T.R.
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GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES M.A. PROGRAMME

M.A. THESIS

THE POLITICS OF PHONETICS, ORTHOGRAPHY AND GRAMMAR DURING THE PERIOD FROM *TANZİMAT* TO THE ALPHABET REVOLUTION

SAFİYE TÜRKER
12728011

THESIS SUPERVISOR
ASSIST. PROF. FATMA TUNÇ YAŞAR

İSTANBUL
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ÖZ

**TANZİMAT'TAN HARF İNKILABI'NA "SAVTİYAT",
İMLÂ VE GRAMER POLİTİKASI**
Safiye Türker
Mayıs, 2019

Bu tezde Tanzimat döneminden Harf İnkılabı'na uzanan süreçte Türkçenin yazıldığı alfabelerin tedricen nasıl fonetik hale geldiğini ve bu alfabelerin imlâ ve gramerle olan etkileşimi incelenmektedir. Bu çalışmada "Türkçe yazı dilinin konuşma dili baz alınarak nasıl inşa edildi ve bu süreçte alfabenin rolü nedir?," "Harflerin gerek ıslah edilmesinde gerek tamamen değiştirilmesine hangi motivasyonlar rol oynamaktadır?" ve "Bu değişiklikler sembolik ve yapısal düzlemde ne anlam ifade etmektedir?" sorularına cevap aranmaktadır. Bu yüzden asıl olarak Latin harfleri kabul edilmeden önce de mevcut harfleri fonetik hale getirme çabalarının izinin sürülebileceği alfabe, imlâ, gramer kitapları ve bunların yanında söz konusu dönemde bu konuların ele alındığı gazete yazıları gibi birincil kaynaklar incelenmiştir. Geç Osmanlı döneminden itibaren yazılan ve konuşulan Türkçe arasındaki fark bir "temsil krizi" olarak algılanmış ve bu "temsil krizini" aşmak için yapılan bütün girişimler Türk dilinin modernleşmesinin bir safhasını oluşturmuştur. Türkçe konuşma dilinde yazılı metinler her daim mevcut olmasına rağmen bilhassa Tanzimat'tan itibaren yazı dilinin konuşma diline dayandırılması savunulmuş, daha önceki yazı ve konuşma dilinden ayrı standart bir varyant oluşturulmaya çalışılmış ve konuşma dilinin baz alındığı bir yazı dili ayrıcalıklı bir konuma gelmiştir. Bu anlamda, gerek Arap harflerinden türetilmiş Türk "elifbası" gerek Latin harflerinin baz alındığı Türk "alfabesi" ve bunları fonetik hale getirmek için sunulan bütün taslak ve öneriler Türkçe yazı dili ve konuşma dili arasındaki diyalektik ilişkinin bir sonucudur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Alfabe, elifba, Türk dili, Osmanlı Türkçesi, sesli harfler, sessiz harfler, yazı, konuşma, ses-merkezcilik, imla, gramer, sarf, nahiv

ABSTRACT

THE POLITICS OF PHONETICS, ORTHOGRAPHY AND GRAMMAR DURING THE PERIOD FROM *TANZİMAT* TO THE ALPHABET REVOLUTION
Safye Türker
May, 2019

This thesis handles the phonetization process of the scripts representing written Turkish and their mutual interaction with the Orthography and the Grammar during the period from *Tanzima*t to the Alphabet Revolution, trying to answer questions such as "How was the Turkish language reconstructed as a written variety based on speech?" "What sort of motivations lie behind the reformation or the complete change of the letters?" and "What are the linguistic implications of these changes?" In the light of these questions, the alphabet, orthography and grammar books as well as the newspaper articles published in this period were investigated as primary sources. The *telos* of the Turkish linguistic modernization was constructed as the impossible task of "overcoming the representation crisis" between the written and spoken varieties of the Turkish language. This process ran parallel with the replacement of the privilege of writing with the superiority of the spoken variety. In this sense, it was assumed that the change of the script was not a value-free technical amendment but one of the consequences of the interplay between the spoken and written varieties of the Turkish language.

Keywords: Alphabet, Turkish language, Ottoman Turkish, vowels, consonants, writing, speech, phonocentrism, orthography, grammar, morphology, syntax

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İstanbul; May, 2019 Safiye Türker

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1. INTRODUCTION

Alphabet is a subject matter located at the intersection point of various realms ranging from linguistics to aesthetics. On the one hand, it could be handled at a highly abstract level in terms of semiology, linguistics or philosophy of language and on the other, it is the crucial instrument of the acquisition to literacy as an element of material culture. It is, most of the time, acquired at the elementary level of the education system and it continues to be a familiar and natural part of everyday life. The alphabet also becomes the bearer of ideological programs at the macro level along with its function at micro and individual level.

Since the 19th century, rather than being spontaneous, linguistic changes ran parallel with nationalism as an ideological program. Language planning was the centre of interest for many newly-born nations. Even though the language planning process had many different aspects according to speech communities, its important phase is generally to put a standard variety based on the most prestigious dialect of the spoken language. At this point, one of the main purposes of this process is to close the gap between written and spoken varieties. Therefore, the decisive role belongs to alphabets because if the alphabet is not phonetic, it is hard to close this gap.

The Turkish Language Revolution with all its peculiarities could also be mainly handled in this framework. As other reforms in the early Republican period, it was a symbolic change implemented in order to transform everyday life. The New Turkish Letters were introduced and prevailed by means of a mass mobilization in a shorter time than expected -if not even overnight as often claimed. This radical change at the symbolic level usually overshadows the fact that it was a consequence of a long linguistic modernization process which could be traced back to the Ottoman period.

When we focus on the complete change of the letters from the Arabic-based ones to the Latin-based ones, it seems to be a sharp rupture. However, if we read this process as phonetization of the alphabet, the continuations between the two periods become more obvious. In fact, what lies behind the phonetization of the alphabet is that writing becomes a representation and record of the spoken language. As much as written language reflected the rhythm of the spoken language and became the

record of its vocabulary, it was regarded as "perfect;" when it was unable to represent the spoken language, it was seen as "deficient." Besides, the other significant factors in these linguistic changes were communication technologies and print capitalism. The new types of media such as the newspaper created a new sort of written language and prose whose main purpose was to make possible communication between the state and the individual and to let individuals imagine that they are a nation. As Marshall McLuhan stated, people started to see themselves as a unity for the first time with the synchronization between the print culture and nationalism (McLuhan, 2011, 401).

Imperial diglossia was seen as an obstacle in front of this communication. What was intended with diglossia in the Ottoman context was the difference between the written language with its Arabic and Persian loanwords and grammar rules, and the vulgar spoken language in which these loanwords were adapted to the structure of Turkish language. Especially the written variety was called "Ottoman language" in the late Ottoman period and the gap between these two varieties was seen as a "representation crisis." However, to eliminate this representation crisis went beyond a simplification movement. It required a more structural change and along with that the preparation of a new grammar, orthography and alphabet books as well as a new historiography of the Turkish language and its writing.

The debates both in the Ottoman and the Republican periods were not independent from the general tendencies in linguistics in the world, particularly in the West. One of these tendencies was to put the phonetic writing in an advanced stage of evolution of writing systems. Generally, it starts with the hieroglyphics or ideographic writing and ends up with the Latin letters. Indeed, the Latin letters were derived from the Greek letters and the invention of phonetic writing by the Greeks was accepted as the turning point. Surely, this historiography of writing serves to a teleological narrative and it assumes that other peoples will adopt the phonetic alphabet eventually. Another tendency was to accept writing as a record of speech which is based on the assumption which Roy Harris called "traditional wisdom". Harris calls it traditional because we tend to think that we first speak and then register the sounds we utter. In this sense, writing was not a sign referring to the thing outside but a sign of a sign (Ogden, Richard, 1946). In other words, sounds refer to the thing and then writing becomes a secondary signification system subjected to speech.

The concept of *phonocentrism* coined by Jacques Derrida makes us trace a long-running debate. It was a good departure point to evaluate the approaches which give a decisive role to alphabetical writing and it also had deeper philosophical

implications in order to criticize the foundations of Western metaphysics. Yet, it could not find an empirical response in the realm of linguistics. Derrida's aim is to depict the complex relationship between them rather than reversing the dichotomy between speech and writing in favor of writing. He deconstructs the privilege of speech which the phonetic alphabet made possible in *Of Grammatology* (1967) by establishing dialogues with mainly J. J. Rousseau, Ferdinand de Saussure, C. L. Strauss and the linguist Ignace Gelb. For Derrida, although they argue against the Western *logocentrism*, they spoke within it so that they could not escape from it.

What Derrida did in *Of Grammatology* is to reveal the blind spots of structuralism. In many places of *Of Grammatology*, he tackles with the Saussurian linguistic terms. Indeed, it is revolutionary that Saussure conceived language as a structure. According to his understanding, signifier and signified is like two sides of a coin, however, what makes a language a structure is the difference among signifiers, and also meanings. Nevertheless, Derrida objects this signified-signifier dualism and expands the concept of difference, which is essential for structuralism, to the concept of *différence* as a difference which only occurs in writing. While speech is possible only with the presence of subject, meaning is always "deferred" in writing. For Derrida, there is not an ultimate signified and language remains just as "a free play of differences." So, Derridean différence includes not only an endless of differences among signifiers but also "a constant deferring" specific to writing.

For Derrida, writing has always been ignored and repressed in the Western philosophical tradition from Plato to the modern philosophers. Even though the structuralism put forward "difference," it did not challenge the secondary status of writing. In this sense, the classical approach is that there is a natural bond between sound and sense; speech represents the sense or thinking and writing also functions as a secondary instrument to record the sounds (Evans, 1991, 159; Neel, 2016, 110). Even though the phonetic alphabet had the main role which makes this sort of writing, as a representation of representation, it has been accepted as natural and its effect was not examined.

> "The system of language associated with phonetic-alphabetic writing is that within which logocentric metaphysics, determining the sense of being as presence, has been produced. This logocentrism, this *epoch* of the full speech, has always placed in parenthesis, *suspended*, and suppressed for essential reasons, all free reflection on the origin and status of writing" (Derrida, 1976, 43).

For Derrida, the privileged place of phonetic alphabet and so phonetic writing is related to the logocentric thinking rooted deeply in the Western thinking (Norris, 1987, 69). Accordingly, rational thinking is only possible with phonetic writing and it

is assumed that other forms of writings such as Chinese writing or ideograms could just pave way to the figurative thinking and metaphors but not abstract thinking. In other words, only the letters, which do not signify a thing out there in themselves, make abstraction possible in thinking. Derrida says that a sort of embodiment of voice thanks to arbitrary signs is the ground of the metaphysics of presence. So, the contribution of Derrida is to examine writing and to put it as a science, namely "grammatology."

The aim of Derrida is not to reverse the hierarchy between speech and writing but to subvert it. Even it seems so natural that speech comes first, Derrida puts that writing precedes speech. For him, there is no oral culture free from writing (Norris, 2002, 28). In order to explain this, he coins the term arche-writing. It is one of the grammatological terms which he invented and used in an ontological way (Said, 1975, 340). Even though this arche-writing has already been erased and cannot be put empirically, it can be found in all sorts of writings such as mathematical formulae or symbols and ideograms by means of traces along with phonetic writing. For Derrida, the language used in mathematics could be read as a challenge to logocentrism because mathematical symbols are not the correspondence of the sounds (Baring, 2014, 297).

Even though Derrida has generally been criticized of such as having an intrinsic way ofwriting, and of misreading Saussure and others (Evans, 1991), his approach provided a departure point for understanding and explaining the situation of writing and literary issue in non-European cultures. For instance, Kojin Karatani applies to the Derridean terms in order to indicate how speech dominated in the Japanese literature and what sort of impact it made. According to Karatani, the prosopal of the latinization of *kanji* letters is in the essence of the *genbun itchi* movement in Japanese literature, which literary means the unification of the spoken and the written languages (Karatani, 1993, 45-46). The phonetic writing systems were found economical, precise and egalitarian in the 19th century in Japan as well and they were seen superior to the *kanji* writing. Indeed, Karatani concludes that the understanding of the superiority of phonetic writing and the subordination of writing to the sounds continue to be the main themes, even though the *kanji* letters were not Latinized. That is to say, phonocentric bias could be existed in a non-phonetic writing as well (Karatani, 1991, 47).

In the case of Arabic language and alphabet, Timothy Mitchell establishes a parallelism between a crisis in political authority and a crisis in the nature of writing (Mitchell, 1988, 131). "The image of the political process corresponds both to the

new, mechanical image of the body and the new understanding of writing" (Mitchell, 1988, 158). Mitchell points out not only the new communication technologies, particularly telegraph, in the colonization process of Egypt but also how the understanding of writing changed with the emergence of them. Words were not separate beings any more but they became parts of a whole or a structure as a instrument of representation (Mitchell, 1988, 141). Mitchell suggests that Derridean différance, which is a play of differences, could be best observed in Arabic writing because of its peculiar inscriptional features. One of them is the absence of the vowels. Mitchell emphasizes that vowels are European inventions because *harakat* (phonetication marks) in Arabic language cannot be separated from the letter. Besides, he also put forward that Arab grammarians did not try to discover the rules of the Arabic language but they put *sarf* as "difference" and *nahiv* as "sameness" (Mitchell, 1988, 148).

When we come to the reforms in Turkish language and letters, indeed it has many common-points with Japan and Egypt cases. As in *genbun itchi* movement, the proposals of the reforming the Arabo-Persian letters or changing them to the Latin ones have always gone hand in hand with the reconstructon of the Turkish spoken variety as a written language. In this sense, even before the adoption of the Latin letters, the understanding of giving privilege to the spoken language has already been dominated. The written Turkish started to function like a phonograph. So, the term of phonocentrism, which Derrida used in order to criticize the secondary status of writing in the Western thinking, was also prevalent in the Turkish intellectual realm as well. Even the spoken word had an importance before, we can say that it became decisive in the 19th century depending on many factors such as the emergence of the communication technologies, print capitalism and linguistic modernization.

Even though the concept of phonocentrism was not a conceptual framework for the linguists, they did not underestimate it and revised their assumptions about the privilege of speech. For instance, in *the Power of the Written Tradition*, anthropologist Jack Goody argues that Derrida generalizes writing and considers speech as a form of writing instead of viewing writing as a record of speech (2000, 112). He also adds that Derrida overlooks the studies which privilege writing (Goody, 2000, 111). For Goody, the difference between the written and oral culture, which created "the contemporary civilization," could not be overcome (2000, 118). In another work, in *the East in the West,* he comments that the same achievements

could be reached by means of the non-alphabetic writing systems as well as by using the Latin alphabet (Goody, 1996, 10).

Another significant work in this realm is *Orality and Literacy: the Technologizing of the Word* (1982) by Walter J. Ong. According to Ong, analytical thinking started with the alphabetical writing invented by the Greeks (2012, 24). Alphabetical writing with its visible vowels had a positive and important role in democratization and passing over the borders of orality (Ong, 2012, 89). As the title implied, the main thesis of the book is that writing is a technology just like the printing press and the computer (Ong, 2012, 81). He does not attribute naturalness to writing. Moreover, Ong claims that the technology of writing has already an impact over orality and we cannot find a pure oral culture free from the influence of writing. Writing transformed the nature of oral culture, which has already been analytical to some extent (Ong, 2012, 8). In other words, it is not possible to make a clear-cut distinction between writing and speech. In this sense, his argument seems closer to the arguments of Derrida. Even though Ong agrees with Derrida in that writing is not a supplement to the spoken word, he insists on the primacy of orality over writing (Ong, 2012, 76). For Roger Chartier, Goody, Ong and Henri-Jean Martin followed the route opened by Vico, Concordet and Malesherbes in the 18th century in terms of scheduling the periodization of the history according to different forms of writing (Chartier, 1998, 204).

The studies on writing and the alphabet were improved by the contribution of the communication theory of the Toronto School as well. In *Empire and Communications* (1950) and *The Bias of Communication* (1951), Harod Innis pointed out the decisiveness of the medium and its materiality. For Innis, writing as a medium shapes the social organizations. He also emphasizes that this media is not neutral and determines the relation between power and knowledge. About the alphabetic writing in particular, he gives examples from history which suggest that a simple and flexible alphabet leads the democratization of society (2008, 31). As one of the important figures of this school, McLuhan followed Innis and gave the main role to the medium as in his famous saying, "the medium is the message." He also claimed in *the Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962) that whereas the Western culture is based on visuality thanks to the phonetic alphabet, the Eastern culture remains acoustic. For McLuhan, the direct impact of the phonetic alphabet was to change the proportion among senses (McLuhan, 2011). The phonetic writing isolated meaning from sound and transformed it into a visual code. It also influenced the way of speaking. The principle of one sound-one letter correspondence led to the reduction

of declensions and created a bad grammar and monotone prose (McLuhan, 2011, 423).

In terms of linguistics, Harris embraced an integrationist approach about writing and the alphabet in *Rethinking Writing* (2000). According to Harris, form and meaning cannot be separated from each other and the meaning of a sign emerges from its social function. In terms of "glottic writing," he takes a different route from structuralism and nomenclaturist thinking which assigns writing as a secondary role as the sign of a sign. So, he criticizes an understanding of writing as a representation of speech. For Harris, alphabetical writing is one of the fundaments of the Western thinking and a radical revision of the alphabet needs to be reconsidered (Harris, 2000, 134). In this sense, Harris finds Derrida as an extreme example of those who problematize the traditional way of writing. Nevertheless, he adds that the concept of “arche-writing” put by Derrida could not be dealt with scientifically (Harris, 2000, 40). Florian Coulmas as a sociolinguist pays attention to Derrida’s arguments and think they are the good starting point to revise the relationship between writing and speech. Coulmas says that writing includes not only the expressions of speech but also other sign systems such as theoretical mathematics (Coulmas, 2013, 9). Yet, he limits his study to the investigation of the relation between “glottic writing” and society in *Writing and Society: An Introduction* (2013).

As seen above, the relationship between writing and speech has been handled by scholars in various aspects in the general literature. We can say that Derrida’s criticism against the privilege of speech over writing altered the treatment of the relationship between writing and speech. The superiority of phonetic writing was put into parentheses even though its utility was not denied. When we come to the case of the Turkish letters, a more critical and analytical perspective on the Turkish language planning process and the alphabet reform was eventually embraced by the scholars of the Turkish language and its history in the light of current theoretical approaches.

The early works which handle the Turkish language planning process were written after the reforms of the early Republican era were stabled and their first consequences started to emerge. Agâh Sırrı Levend in *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri* (1949) gives a far-reaching account of the evolution of Turkish language. Levend claims that Turkish language followed a progressive way by establishing a parallelism between the development of language and its simplification. So, in this process, every phase of this development seems inevitable

and serves to a teleological narrative. In a similar way, Zeynep Korkmaz interprets the revolution as a "historical necessity" like other reforms at that time from "the perspective of the Revolution" in *Türk Dilinin Akışı İçinde Atatürk ve Dil Devrimi* (1963). Another work was *Language Reform in Modern Turkey* (1954) by Uriel Heyd. The main focus of Heyd was the socio-cultural and linguistic effects of the language reform. In this sense, Heyd takes the 1928 Alphabet Revolution as a turning point for the rest of the language engineering process. He had a balanced attitude in analyzing especially the political consequences of the reform.

Some basic documents related to the Alphabet Revolution appeared in *Harf Devriminin Öyküsü* (1958) by Sami N. Özerdim and *Atatürk ve Harf Devrimi* (1973) by Mehmet Şakir Ülkütaşır. Besides, in a more recent time, some more comprehensive studies were done on this issue. Rekin Ertem brings together the prominent writings about the alphabet proposals from the late Ottoman period to the Republican period in *Elifbe'den Alfabe'ye: Türkiye'de Harf ve Yazı Meselesi* (1991). This work includes a conglomeration of even the slightest texts related to the subject rather than their in-depth analysis. It also tackles with the subject matter from a distance, leaving aside the perspective of "the Revolution." In *Türk Yazı Devrimi* (1992), Bilal Şimşir does not only present an extensive account of and provide archival materials on the Turkish Alphabet Revolution but he also evaluates them in a socio-historical context. Yet, he maintains a progressive approach in his explanations about the role of the Alphabet Revolution.

Geoffrey Lewis undertakes the writing of the linguistic history of the Turkish language in *the Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success* (1999). As the title implied, he finds the reform catastrophic because it ended up with some extreme purification experiences in the 1930s. On the other hand, it was successful in leading to the growth of literacy rates. According to Lewis, although this reform seems to diminish the gap between the high and low varieties of Turkish language, it creates another gap replacing the Arabic and Persian loanwords with neologisms. Emmanuel Szurek also attempted to write the linguistic history of the Turkish Language Reform in his Phd dissertation, *Gouvernor par les mots: une histoire linguistique de la Turkie nationaliste* (2013). In his study, he developed an approach out of methods of different realms such as *long durée*, sociolinguistics and linguistic history with metalinguistic awareness in order to analyze the ideological implications of the reform. Specifically, regarding the alphabet reform, Szurek and Birol Caymaz wrote the article "La révolution au pied de la letter. L'invention de 'l'alphabet turc'" (2007) in which they handled the issue in a problem-oriented way on theoretical

grounds. They claim that the alphabet reform was not only a literacy issue but it also shaped the cognitive world of the people. Therefore, whereas the latinization of the alphabet is positive and productive in terms of utility and the simplicity of the Latin letters, it also allows for the control of the State through language in a more strict way.

Another scholar who deals with the alphabet issue from a critical perspective is İlker Aytürk, especially in his works "Turkish Linguists against the West: the Origins Linguistic Nationalism in Atatürk's Turkey" (2004) and "The First Episode of Language Reform in Republican Turkey: The Language Council from 1926 to 1931" (2008). In both articles, Aytürk embraces a problem-oriented approach and investigates the political and ideological role of linguistics in the Turkish political arena since the 19th century. Among the works which limit their scope with political and ideological aspects of the subject, we can also count "Des charactèrs arabes à l'alphabet Latin: un pas vers l'Occident?" (1995) by François Georgeon, "Modernization, Nationalization and de-Islamization: the Transformation of Turkish during the 19th and the 20th centuries" (2008) by Johann Strauss and "De l'osmanli au turc de Turquie, les aventures d'une langue" (1988) by Nicolas Vatin as well.

Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey (2011) by Nergis Ertürk became one of the significant sources for a scholar who studies the Alphabet Revolution. Ertürk handles the Turkish Alphabet Revolution on a thick theoretical basis. She follows a Derridean route throughout the book not only in terms of conceptual framework but also methodology. She does not offer novel material for those who study this subject matter, but her contribution resides in the novelty of her arguments and the way she articulates and interprets them. She argues that the Alphabet Revolution is neither a derivative nor a progressive evolution nor is it a radical rupture, but rather a contingent intersection of a large-scale historical formation (Ertürk, 2015, 13). She mainly investigates the impact of the Turkish linguistic modernization and ultimately the Alphabet Revolution in the literary works of writers such as Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Peyami Safa and Nazım Hikmet. She does a formalistic reading of these works; in other words, she tries to explain what sort of effect the change in the form created in the contents of these works.

There are also some other studies which investigate the relationship between writing and speech in the Turkish language. It would be better to mention a few of them because this thesis deals with the latinization of the Turkish letters in the context of the reconstruction of the Turkish language as a written form of the spoken variety. Strauss analyzes the linguistic environment in his article, "Diglossie dans le domaine

ottoman. Evolution et péripéties d'une situation linguistique”(1995). Goody identifies the relation between the written and oral cultures in Turkish as an interplay in “Questions of Interface in Turkey” (1995). Hayati Develi set forth an extensive and clear-cut account of the language called "Ottoman" in *Osmanlı'nın Dili* (2006). Yavuz Kartallıoğlu compiled the sources and latinized the samples of the sources which could reflect the spoken variety in the Ottoman period in *Osmanlı Konuşma Dili* (2017).

The social motivations and consequences of the alphabet and language reforms were touched upon in the context of literacy studies. In this sense, Georgeon mainly handles the reading and writing practices in the Ottoman Empire in “Lire et écrire à la fin de l'Empire ottoman: quelques remarques introductives” (1995). Strauss scrutinizes the literacy rates after the Alphabet Revolution in “Literacy and the Development of the Primary and Secondary Educational System: the Role of the Alphabet and Language Reforms” (2008). Orhan Koloğlu especially gave an extensive account and excerpts from the alphabet debates in *Osmanlıcadan Türkçeye Okuryazarlığımız* (2015). In this realm, the remarkable study was conducted by Hale Yılmaz. Indeed, in “*Learning to Read (Again): The Social Experiences of Turkey's 1928 Alphabet Reform”* (2011), she answers a curious question: "How do people react to the Alphabet reform and mass mobilization of literacy and what are their lived experiences within the *millet mektepleri* (nation schools)?" She sheds light on a neglected aspect of the Alphabet Revolution by accessing information not only from the state archives but also from the personal narratives.

This thesis handles the Alphabet Revolution as a by-product and also the ultimate phase of the reconstruction process of written Turkish on the basis of spoken Turkish. The gap between the two varieties, defined as "representation crisis," was sought to be overcome in various ways. The Arabo-Persian letters were seen as the key-point of this crisis. While the modification of these letters was found adequate in the late Ottoman period, the Republican solution was the adoption of the Latin letters. The principle of the representation of one sound with one letter continued to exist in both periods. The Turkish language became a linguistic object of the policies of phonetics, orthography and grammar in order to reach "a perfect representation ideal" and "a natural writing as a register of speech." In this study, I will search for the answers to these questions: Firstly, "How was Turkish reconstructed as a written language based on speech?" Secondly, "What sort of motivations lie behind the re-modification and complete change of the letters?" And finally, "What are the

linguistic implications of these changes?" I do not deal with the social aspects of this issue directly. The main characters of this narrative are the letters. Even though subjects such as phonetics, orthography and grammar seem highly normative, they are also the arenas of political contestations. I will try to construct a narrative based on a political tension between continuity and rupture through some minor linguistic elements such as phonetization marks, diacritics, digraphs, consonants, vowels, suffixes and so on. Indeed, in most of the classical surveys on the reform of Turkish language and alphabet, political figures and events loomed large as actors. However, most of the time, the norms which are determined arbitrarily by people start to determine their acts. As Kayaalp and Altuğ stated that standards function independently from their creators and they gain freedom and anonymity (Kayaalp, Altuğ, 2018, 12).

Derrida's concept of phonocentrism was a starting point for this thesis as well. The change of the alphabet was not a value-free technical amendment but one of the consequences of the interplay between the written and the spoken varieties of the Turkish language. The main argument of this thesis is that the Turkish written language was reconstructed as a record of the spoken Turkish and the alphabet had a decisive role in all the phases of this process. There are many and distinct sources to reveal all these phases both in the late Ottoman and in the early Republican periods.

The main primary sources of this thesis are the alphabet, grammar and orthography books. We generally regard them as normative texts as in the case of Mathematics or Logics and tend to forget that they could change and transform to historical evidence in time. Indeed, they are rich in terms of discovering the cognitive world and political tendencies of the time by tracking the minor linguistic elements in them. A great number of alphabet books were written in the late Ottoman and the early Republican periods. Their titles changed from "elifba" to "alfabe" gradually. Some of them were more decisive in terms of Turkish linguistic history. For instance, *Elifba-yı Osmani* by Selim Sabit is the first alphabet book prepared according to the phonetic method. Another significant one is the Stamboul alphabet by Şemseddin Sami. It was designed on the ground of the "one sound-one letter principle." In the time period at stake, many grammar books were written as well. The vowels specific to Turkish language started to be demonstrated in these grammar books. Besides, the Turkish language became more privileged and prestigious than the rules of the Arabic and Persian languages. However, this happened eventually from *Kavaid-i*

Osmaniyye to the Grammar Report. These grammars were constructed on the base of a phonetic writing. Therefore they come into focus of this study.

In addition, this thesis benefited from newspaper and journal articles on the topic. As in many other subjects, linguistic issues are disputed primarily in newspaper pages. However, I paid attention to the changing form of the written language, namely its material side as well as its content and arguments. These linguistic debates deepened eventually and they started to be treated in treatises, some of which I also read carefully. This study could be defined as a linguistic history thesis. The concept of phonocentrism provided me a good vantage point but I did not enter dense theoretical debates throughout the thesis. On the other hand, I found an opportunity to discover a huge number of primary sources related to my questions thanks to this concept and evaluate them from a new perspective.

This thesis is composed of three chapters. The first chapter explores how the dichotomy between the written variety of Turkish called "Ottoman" and the spoken variety was constructed throughout the periods at stake. The second chapter is the voluminous part of this thesis in which the Ottoman period was handled. It is very common to mention the developments in this period as background information for the future of the Alphabet Revolution. My purpose is, in this chapter, to deal with this period with its own peculiarities and its own paradigms but not for the sake of a teleological narrative. In the third chapter, the early Republican period is handled which the Alphabet Revolution as its summit. In terms of time-period, it is limited to the foundation of the Turkish Language Society in 1932. Even though the linguistic consequences of the Alphabet Revolution extend to the hardcore linguistic purification process in the 1930s, I will just deal with its direct outcomes in its aftermath. My purpose is to examine the neglected and overshadowed fragments of this event in this time period and to show the gradual evolution of the debates on language and the alphabet before and after the Alphabet Revolution.

2. THE DICHOTOMY OF ARTIFICIAL "OTTOMAN" WRITING VERSUS NATURAL "TURKISH" SPEECH

All the modifications to the alphabet from the Ottoman period to the Republican era were related to the interplay between written and spoken varieties of language, the main, expressed purpose was always to close the gap between them. Yet, the nature of the gap was not always clearly specified. On the contrary: it was changeable and depended on many factors. First of all, a dichotomic relationship emerged between these two varieties when they were given distinct names. The high written variety was named "Ottoman" while the spoken one "Turkish" and artificiality was considered as the property of the former language and naturalness was attributed to the characteristic of the latter. Eventually, the gap will be closed as much as possible in favor of the spoken variety, particularly due to the invention of journalistic language and the promotion of the İstanbul vernacular language.

One of the main motivations behind the Turkish language reform, whose summit was the Alphabet Revolution, was to eliminate the traces of the "artificial" Ottoman language from the "natural" Turkish language. Most of the time, the simplification of Turkish language was contextualized according to a linear historical approach which proposes that the complicated "Ottoman" language evolved and got simpler in time (Levend, 1960). Even though these concepts of "artificiality" or "naturalness" are very problematical, they have been accepted as a given both in the Turkish language and literature studies and in the history of theTurkish language. Hakan Karateke says that the understanding of "artificial" Ottoman language was shaped by some intellectuals and men of letters such as İbrahim Şinasi, Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha and their criteria seems far from scientific under the influence of the anti-monarchic intellectual atmosphere of the day. What is significant here is that this understanding became decisive in the subsequent academic studies (Karateke, 2010, 45-46).

First of all, it is possible to follow the reoccurrence of this artificiality-naturalness dichotomy in various time periods. We can find one of the first examples of this theme in the essay "Şiir ve İnşa" (Poetry and Insha Composition) of Ziya Pasha. According to the author, every nation has its natural poetry and prose, but both the Ottoman poetry and insha, the highest form of prose, are hybrid constructions

because they imitate their Arab and Persians analogues. Nevertheless our true poetry and prose therefore lie "among the people living in İstanbul and countryside". For Ziya Pasha, it was impossible to write correctly without proofreading the draft many times, and the only solution to this was "to chase the natural way" (Ziya Pasha, 1868 as quoted from Yeni Türk Edebiyatı…, 1978, 45-50). Indeed, we encounter a similar romantic approach to Ziya Pasha's, which hoped to find natural language among people, in a traveller's notes. When Bishop Southgate visited Turkey in 1836, his impression was that the Turkish language had remained natural and intact because its grammar rules were not codified.

> "Admirable as is the symmetry of the Turkish language, perfect as is the uniformity of its structure, regular, free from anomaly and philosophical as are its forms it has remained to this day in the original without a grammar. Its order and beauty appear a pure accident. A Turk knows it as he learns it in childhood" (Southgate, 1840, 76).

Turkish as a natural spoken language was one of the main themes of the New Language Movement in the Second Constitutional period as well. Its pioneer, Ömer Seyfeddin, proposed in his article "Yeni Lisan" (New Language), that "now a new and natural language, their own language, is necessary for the Turks who begin a new life, an awakening epoch" (Ömer Seyfeddin, 1327/1911, 3). A new and natural language as the main component of Turkish identity becomes a departure point for the salvation of the Empire in an essentialist way. One can encounter this artificiality-naturalness dualism even during the period in which the Republican language policies were criticized. For instance, in *Dil Davası* (Language Question), İsmail Habib Sevük wrote, "[…] because of taking loanwords excessively, it brought about binary opposition. One is the spoken language, another one is the written language. The former is the language of life; the latter is the language of paper. The language of life is a living being; the language of paper is dead" (Sevük, 1949, 10). Sevük assigns "artificiality" not only to the Ottoman language but also to the language which emerged as a consequence of the language policies pursued in the Republican period. He calls it "double artificiality" (*suni katmerlik*). In recent times, Mertol Tulum uses an analogy to explain the relation between the Ottoman written language and the spoken variety; he calls artificiality in written language a "flamboyant dress" that language is disguised in, which covers the natural dress, but underneath "the skeleton remaines the same" (Tulum, 2010, 26). When Tulum describes the Ottoman prose and insha style, he emphasizes the artificiality of the Ottoman written language by embracing the assumption of an intact and natural spoken language.

What intended with the “artificial” Ottoman language, in which Arabic and Persian words and grammar rules loomed large, was indeed insha writing. Insha literally means "construction,” "style" and "composition" and is the Islamic world’s counterpart of a genre called in the West copybooks, stylebooks and letters manual (Roemer, 1986, 1275). As Hans R. Roemer stated, insha emerged not only under the influence of the Arabs or the Persians but also the Byzantines. For instance, Christine Woodhead points out that the letters in the Ottoman collections are similar to the letters written by the elites of other societies (Woodhead, 2010, 218). However, languages such as Turkish, Persian, Urdu and Chagatai developed insha writing, as a literary genre, in their own particular ways. And the Turkish insha had its own stylistic features in addition to the influence of Arabic and Persian insha writings (Roemer, 1986, 1277).

According to Andreas Tietze, insha writing was composed of rhyme, rhythm, internal rhyme, alliteration, homonym, homographs, figura etymologica, the usage of proverbs and idioms and comparisons among objects-animals-people (Tietze, 2010, 189-213). Apart from these, Develi listed other components of insha such as borrowings, *seci*, tropes and unnecessary adjectives (Develi, 2010, 84-124). *Seci* is as a prominent element of insha writing. It is used in prose instead of the rhythm or meter in poetry, and it also provides harmony. It might be said that mostly in the texts written in prose, there are same rhymes and meters or both of them in the endings of the sentences or paragraphs (Durmuş, 2009, 273). İsmail H. Aksoyak comments that *seci* had a syntactical function along with providing harmony (Aksoyak, 2010, 67). The usage of *seci* can be traced back to the pre-Islamic period. At first, it was improvised according to the natural speech, and then transformed to a language game after the 10th century by the mixing the Arabs with other peoples. Thus, to do *seci* was criticized because it had no contribution to clarifying meaning (Durmuş, 2009, 274). Indeed, it was the same grounds on which the insha writing and therefore the Ottoman Turkish was handled and found artificial.

The insha writing as a high written variety was also defined as *Türki-i Fasih* and it was contrasted with the *Türki-i Basit* by Fuad Köprülü in his famous article “Milli Edebiyat Cereyanının İlk Mübeşşirleri ve Divan-ı Türki-i Basit" (*Divan-ı Türki-i Basit* and the First Forerunners of the National Literature Movement). Indeed, *fesahat,* which meant the proper usage of language, namely the utterance of Arabic and Persian words without their adaptation to the Turkish pronunciation, was seen as the main feature of the literary language. According to Tulum, the literary elite created "a language of reading" pronouncing these words in accordance with their original

versions. It was necessary to avoid three things for a perfect *fesahat*: *tenafür-i huruf* (the cacophony), *garabet* (the usage of rare words) and *kıyasa muhalefet* (irregularity). The sounds had to be in harmony and be pronounced easily. Only the words known to everybody should be used. However, what intended here with "garabet" was not Arabic or Persian words but the words of "vulgar Turkish" (*kaba Türkçe*). In addition, words should be said according to the general convention determined by other writers. It also meant the usage of borrowings without any change while reading and writing (Tulum, 2010, 33-40).

It was accepted that prominent intellectuals and men of letters such as İbrahim Şinasi, Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha started the simplification movement, namely the tendency of giving up the Arabic and Persian borrowings and grammar rules. Köprülü, however, objects to this argument in the article "Milli Edebiyat Cereyanının İlk Mübeşşirleri ve Divan-ı Türki-i Basit". According to Köprülü, it was not true that Şinasi invented the pure Turkish as a novelty because that would have been only an extension of the *Türki-i Basit* which can be traced back to the pre-Tanzimat period. For Köprülü, Ziya Pasha developed a national literature program under the influence of the French Romanticism. In other words, Ziya Pasha only opposed to a language in which he saw as "an amalgam of three languages" rather than defending *Türki-i Basit* movement. Similarly, Köprülü claimed that Namık Kemal remained under the influence of the West. For Köprülü, the position of all of these men of literature was more a reaction agaist the old regime than a new vision implemented it in their styles. Köprülü describes Tatavlalı Mahremi and Edirneli Nazmi as the pioneers of the *Türki-i Basit* movement. Both of these poets wrote in a plain Turkish using *aruz* meter. Köprülü pointed out that the first theoretician of this movement was Esad Efendi, who translated the introduction of an Arabic book *Mustatraf*, while its first practitioner in modern times was Akif Pasha (Köprülü, 1986).

Hatice Aynur points out that Köprülü's position was accepted as a reference point in the history of Turkish literature. However, Aynur adds that Köprülü constructed a linear historical text from *Türki-i Fasih* to *Türki-i Basit* according to the ideological circumstances of the time when the text was written. Above all, the usage of evidence in his thesis was also weak. For instance, Aynur suggests that it was coincidental to select Mahremi instead of other poets who wrote in a plainer Turkish during the same time period (Aynur, 2009, 34-59). For Karateke, *Türki-i Basit* was set forth in order to support the theories of national language by Köprülü. A search for the forerunners of national literature was in accordance with the nationalist atmosphere of the 1910s. However, Karateke states that what is scientifically true

would have been revealed according to how this movement, if there really was such a movement, was perceived during its own time (Karateke, 2010, 49).

Develi analyses Ottoman Turkish with its written and spoken varieties and tries to explain it in the form of a pyramid. According to Develi, the spoken variety lies at the bottom of the pyramid, the lower written variety at the middle and the higher written variety at the top. There is an interaction between the written and spoken languages and in addition, the Arabic and Persian elements have an impact on all of these three layers. Even though the spoken language was the subject matter of linguistics, it is impossible to reach an intact spoken language because it is either recorded or has already been exposed to writing and therefore transformed. In this case, whereas the lower written language includes the texts produced for the intention of communication, the higher written language was used in the artistic texts. Nevertheless, the spoken language reflects the language usages not only by common people but also by intellectuals (Develi, 2010, 86-88). İhsan Fazlıoğlu posits that the intellectuals acquired the Islamic culture through the Arabic and Persian languages and they needed to express it in the Turkish language because henceforth the audience was Turkish; in other words, they solved the problem of meaning by articulating the truth in Turkish (Fazlıoğlu, 2003).

The texts produced in Ottoman Turkish were never monolithic. For instance, whereas the same writer could use the higher variety of written language, he could also embrace a simpler language in another work. It is even possible to experience different styles in various chapters of the same work. In a similar way, in the Ottoman diplomatics, some sections of documents such as *davet, unvan* and *nakil* contained a great deal of Arabic and Persian loanwords while other sections including *nakil* and *tehdit*, became more simplified (Develi, 2006, 87). In fact, the styles and languages of writers changed according to their aims and audience. For example, writers of advice such as Koçi Bey used a clear and simple language (Woodhead, 2012, 145). Thus, to read the language of the pre-Tanzimat period as just a "flamboyant and complicated language" and to equate it with the insha writing is to repeat the post-Tanzimat period discourse. For Selim Kuru, the reduction of the language of the past to a monolithic language while ignoring its differences and nuances means "to erase the subject matter" (Kuru, 2010, 17-18).

This phonocentric approach had various sources in the Ottoman period. In the 18th and 19th centuries, as Köprülü suggests, the influence of the French Romanticism was obvious. One of its reflections was to define speech as “natural,” intact and as a living being and writing as “artificial.” Güzin Dino also proposes that the French

literature contributed to the emergence of the Tanzimat literature (Dino, 1978). However, in terms of the simplification of Turkish language, Şerif Mardin affirms that the influence of the West was just one of its phases. For instance, in the first stage, simplification occurred as a solution to communication problems while in the second stage, there was both a direct and indirect impact of the West. The third stage was the attempt of Turkish journalism to construct a new written language (Mardin, 1961, 250-271).

The secondary status of writing was seen as one of the fundamentals of the Western civilization and this approach traces back to Aristotle and Plato (Harris, 2000). It could be explained by the help of a triangle of signification. In the Aristotelian nomenclaturist tradition, while the relationship between reference and symbol of reference and referent is direct; the relationship between reference and written symbol is indirect. In other words, there is a spoken symbol between the written symbol and reference. In this approach, spoken language is closer to reference and more natural while writing is a sign of a sign. Harris argues that it would be an elegant solution to link the written symbol to reference by eliminating the spoken symbol (Harris, 2000, 4-35). Indeed, we need to put into parentheses the artificial writing-natural speech dichotomy since the invention of writing also had a great effect on the oral culture. As Ong suggests, writing is a technology and it is not possible to find an intact speech far from the impact of written culture (2012).

As Nicolas Vatin put, writing was conceived as essential and the spoken word was complementary in the early Ottoman administariton practices (1995, 144-151). However, writing started to be seen as the representation of the spoken variety of Turkish language during the Tanzimat period. The true nature of writing also evolved to be a recording of speech. Therefore, while the wriiten language was decisive in the spoken variety, the spoken variety got the essential role so that could shape the written variety of Turkish language. In this sense, the artificiality-naturalness dichotomy was very functional to construct the spoken variety as the natural side.

2.1. Naming the Language: Ottoman Turkish, Ottoman or Turkish?

Naming the language either “Ottoman” or “Turkish” was not just a terminological problem but it was related to the essence of this language and the identity of people who spoke it. The names “Ottoman” and “Turkish” were shaped historically and they gained different meanings at each stage. Is the Ottoman language completely different from Turkish or just one of its varieties? Is it just a sequence of Turkish which was used in a limited time period or the version of Turkish written in an Arabo-

Persian alphabet? It is important to pursue genealogy in order to understand the main assumptions and motivations behind the language planning process in the late Ottoman and early Republican periods.

The Ottoman language has often been defined as an artificial written language composed of three languages and used only by the elites. This definition or theme reoccurs in the various realms such as literature and history. According to Levend, the name “Ottoman” could not be assigned to the whole language but particularly to the language of Veysi and Nergisi[1], which followed a different route from the dervish lodge’s and people's language under the influence of the Arabic and Persian languages after the 16th century (Levend, 1960, 12-14). In a similar way, Tahsin Yücel describes the Ottoman language as being artificial and Ottoman literature just as the literature of a happy minority (Yücel, 1993, 61). On the other hand, Karateke argues that the description of language as "flamboyant and artificial" is an overgeneralization and the term "artificial" brings with it a baggage of meaning. Indeed, it belongs to the discourse of Tanzimat intellectuals, which they used in order to despise the poetry and prose written under the patronage of the palace (Karateke, 2010, 46).

When the “Ottoman” language was posited in a dichotomic relationship with Turkish, it led us to ignore the fact that the Turkish language became the language of the State in the early Ottoman period. For instance, in the Seljukian time, the Arabic and Persian languages were employed in bureaucracy instead of Turkish. Especially after the 13th century, the Anatolian territory started to be Turkified and Anatolian Turkish developed as a written language and it became the language of the State (Develi, 2006, 47-48). This written language was standardized after the conquest of İstanbul. It was possible to observe different orthographies which reflected the spoken Turkish in the texts phonetization marks used in the 13th and 14th centuries. However, these marks started to be seen less frequently at the beginning of the 16th century and then the words started to be written as clichés. This fixed orthography demonstrated the original utterance of the Arabic and Persian loanwords. Then, the classes of *ulema* and bureaucracy, who never gave up using the Arabic and Persian languages, constructed a private language and cut their link with the people (Develi, 2006, 64). This written language had an effect on the spoken language of these classes as well and it created a sort of "language of reading" (Develi, 2006, 55). Nevertheless, it never became a completely different language and continued to share some common codes with the language of people. There was a relatedness

[1] They are the most prominent names of whom apply the insha writing in the highest artistic level.

and affinity between codes, which made Develi conclude that it was just one of Turkishes which was used at this time period.

The meanings of the terms "Ottoman" and "Turk" started to change in the 19th century. The term "Ottoman" was used as the name of the dynasty and state for a long time. In the Tanzimat period, it began to refer to an umbrella identity under which the various *millets* (nations) subjected to the Ottoman Empire had equal rights. On the other hand, Europeans used this term as a synonym of the term "Turk". For instance, Şemseddin Sami gives a definition of “Ottoman” in the *Kâmûs-i Alâm*:

> “They are from the Anatolian and Rumelian settlers as a branch of great Turkish millet [...] after prevailing of the principles such as equality and law among the Ottoman *millet*, the implications of the word Ottoman expanded and this name started to be used for all *millets* subjected to the Ottoman” (Şemseddin Sami, 1311/1893-1894, 3129).

Şemseddin Sami points out that the usage of the name "Turk" remained limited to the Anatolian peasants. In the Ottoman press, the usage of the word "Turk" and its derivatives emerged before the Hamidian period and it became widespread (Şemseddin Sami, 1298/1881, 177-181). Turkish writers employed this word not only in political and historical but also in national and linguistic senses. Whereas its political meaning corresponded to the sense the Europeans attached to it, its linguistic meaning was employed to serve to introduce the Turkish *millet* and peoples, which started to prevail as a new idea (Kushner, 1998, 31).

In fact, the Ottomans called this language as "lisan-ı Türki" for a long time. "Lisan-ı Osmani" is, on the other hand, a term which the Tanzimat intellectuals put into circulation (Develi, 2006, 64-65). Because the meaning of the word "Ottoman" was changed by the ideology of Ottomanism, the language had to be called Ottoman language according to the mindset of these intellectuals. Turkish was seen as one of the elements of Ottoman language. For instance, *Kavaid-i Osmaniyye*, which was written by Ahmed Cevdet and Fuad Pasha in 1852 as the first modern grammar book of the Turkish language, was composed of three sections: Arabic, Persian and Turkish. In 1880s, some debates on the essence and character of the Ottoman language started. Whereas Turkish was seen as a component of the Ottoman language, the Ottoman Turkish started to be defined as a branch of the Turkish language family.

The transition from the Ottoman language to Turkish was not sudden. David Kushner claims that the term *lisan-ı Osmani* was used until the end of the Hamidian period (Kushner, 1998, 95). Yet, when we looked at the curricula, the courses under the name *lisan-ı Osmani* continued to exist after the Hamidian period as well. The

course named *Türkçe* included skills such as writing (*tahrir*), recitation (*ezber*), reading (*kıraat*), and the knowledge of *sarf* and *nahiv* according to the curriculum of the *Darülmuallimin* (Darülmuallimin-i İbtidailere Mahsus Müfredat Programı, 1330/1912-1913, 5). On the other hand, this course was given as *lisan-ı Osmani* in the *Mekteb-i Sultani* (Mekteb-i Sultani'nin Sınıf-ı İbtidaiye ve Taliye Ders Programları, 1929/1911-1912, 9). As seen above, they were employed interchangeably for a long time. Kemal Karpat believes that Ottomanism became a cocoon in which Turkism flourished (Karpat, 2004, 451). This was true in terms of language as well. There were few differences between the books named as "lisan-ı Osmani" or "lisan-ı Türki". In a similar way, the Turkish *sarf* and *nahiv* books continued to include the Arabic and Persian chapters. For instance, the *Lehce-i Osmani* (the Ottoman Dialect) by Ahmed Vefik Pasha, which became a sample for later studies, was the first dictionary of the Anatolian Turkish which made a distinction among Arabic, Persian and Turkish words and it also included words from the Chagatai dialect (Öksüz, 1995, 26), but its name means "the Ottoman dialect." Cevdet Pasha also revised his grammar *Kavaid-i Osmaniyye* (1281/1864-1865), and changed its name to *Kavaid-i Türkiyye* (1292/1875-1876) (Mardin, 1961, 270).

There were some criticisms against the usage of the term "Ottoman" for Turkish language. Prominent intellectuals such as Ali Suavi and Şemseddin Sami argued that there is not such a *millet* as "Ottoman", therefore, there cannot be an Ottoman language. A language should only belong to a nation; that is to say, there should be a correspondence between a language and a nation. Ali Suavi says that the term Ottoman language comes from terminology used in politics and it does not make any sense. He further argues that the grammar rules of Arabic and Persian languages should be assimilated to the Turkish rules (Öksüz, 1995, 23). Şemseddin Sami gave clear-cut definitions of these terms "Ottoman" and "Turkish". In his article, "Lisan-ı Türki," Şemseddin Sami emphasized that "Ottoman" was just the title of the state while, on the other hand, language and nation went back to the pre-Ottoman period. For Şemseddin Sami, the name of this people was "Turk," and the name of their language was therefore "lisan-ı Türki" (Şemseddin Sami, 1298/1880-1881, 177-181).

Şemseddin Sami made a distinction between Eastern and Western Turkish languages instead of one between Ottoman-Turkish and Chagatai. For Şemseddin Sami, the influence of Arabic and Persian languages did not change the essence of Turkish, so if Turkish was purified from the loanwords, it would return its original form while realizing, at the same time, the unification of the Eastern and Western

Turkish. He was, however, not a strong defender of purification and believed that this unification would be possible through the İstanbul Turkish. On the other hand, he also searched for words in other Turkish dialects that could contribute to the creation of a standard Turkish (Şemseddin Sami, 1298/1881, 177-181). In this sense, *Kâmûs-i Türkî*, prepared in 1901, was important. When he mentioned a Turkish dictionary, he used the term "lügat-i milli" (national lexicon) (Öksüz, 1995, 26). The terms such as "kavaid-i Türkiyye" or "sarf-ı Türki" became more widespread and for example Süleyman Pasha called his grammar book “Sarf-ı Türki”, which was written in order to facilitate Turkish instruction. Nevertheless, the supporters of the Ottoman language argued that if the original form of the language was protected, it could be called Turkish. It was not possible anymore to establish its relationship with other Turkish languages because it separated itself from its Central Asian source (Kushner, 1998, 89).

In the Second Constitutional period, the New Language Movement makes a sharp distinction between “Ottoman” and “Turkish” in the *Genç Kalemler Journal*. The first writing about the Turkish language in this journal was “Türkçe mi Osmanlıca mı?” (Turkish or Ottoman Language?) by Kazım Nami. Even though the content of this article did not live up to its promise, it reflected the necessity of a clear-cut definition of the language at stake (Arai, 1994, 56-60). However, in the second volume of the journal, it was more obvious that the New Language was equated with Turkish and the simplified version of the language was put into practice. In the *Journal of the Genç Kalemler,* many poems and stories were written in the New Language and this was especially denoted above the text in the way “written with the New Writing”.

The words “Turk” and “Turkish” gained a more prestigious meaning eventually while the exchange value of “Ottoman” was decreasing. According to Mardin, the term “Ottoman” remained ambiguous when used as the name of the language and the Turkish identity continued to be fabricated by exposure to a number of “games of adaptation” (Mardin, 2002, 124-125). However, as Mardin specified, in this identity-switch process, “two opposing elements were contained in this switching: the complete changeover and the change by maintaining the differences” (Mardin, 2002, 117). Indeed, the preference of “Ottoman” or “Turkish” for naming the language in question was never value-free. Every time these two words were uttered, new meanings and values were articulated. In the late Ottoman period, to refer to the language as Turkish meant the retrieval of Turkish vernacular and a new written variety; however, the shared codes continued to exist, so two distinct names did not refer to distinct languages.

2.2. Imperial Diglossia

The elimination of dualism in language was indicated as a main purpose of linguistic modernization of Turkish or of the subsequent language planning process. As seen, this dualism was directly related to the denomination. One of the written varieties of Turkish was named "Ottoman language" and it was used in a political and ambiguous way. Then, it became the object of criticism after one of the dialects of Turkish was determined as the standard form and took its place.

Dualism in this period in the history of the Turkish language might be explained and clarified by means of diglossia, a concept coined by Charles Ferguson. Indeed, diglossia was not a situation peculiar to Turkish but it had been prevalent in many speech communities for a long time. Generally, diglossia emerges when some speakers speak two or more varieties of the same language in different situations. Ferguson gives Arabic, Greek and Swiss German as famous examples of diglossia. He also states that there should be at least two varieties for the emergence of diglossia: a high (H) variety and a low (L) one. There are differences between these two varieties in terms of function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardization, stability, grammar, lexicon and phonology. For instance, the H variety is used in more formal situations and it is regarded as more prestigious than the L variety. The H variety, on the other hand, is not a native language and is acquired by means of formal education. While the H variety has its own grammar, orthography and dictionaries, there is not any normative study for the L variety, which is simpler than the H variety in terms of grammatical structure. The words in H variety cannot occur in the L variety or vice-versa, and the common words can have different usages or meanings. However, in terms of phonological structure, the gap is changeable and unsteady between two varieties (Ferguson, 2000, 58-73). Ferguson's definition of diglossia is as follows:

> "*Diglossia* is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation" (Ferguson, 2000, 68).

Clearly, this definition can hardly include all the similar situations since every language has its own peculiarities. That is why the concept of diglossia was criticized as an overgeneralization. Thus, this concept was expanded and new concepts were derived from it in order to explain peculiar circumstances of languages such as biglossia. On the other hand, Alan Hudson points out that it is

difficult to discern diglossia from societal bilingualism. The distance between two varieties sometimes could lead to the confusion about whether they are varieties of different languages or the same language (Hudson, 2002, 10). The nuance which makes us distinguish two situations is the "relatedness between codes." In the case of relationship between Ottoman and Turkish, there was a similar confusion. Is the Ottoman language a different language or is it a highly differentiated variety of Turkish in terms of grammatical structure or its lexicon? The answer to this question goes beyond the borders of linguistics, playing a role in the construction of a new Turkish identity.

Fishman distinguished among four types of linguistic communities with regard to diglossia and bilingualism, including those where both diglossia and bilingualism occur; those in which neither of them does; diglossia without bilingualism; and bilingualism without diglossia (Fishman, 2000, 74-81). In the Ottoman context, we can see both bilingualism and diglossia. As Bernard Lory argued, Turkish was the second most spoken language variety in the Balkans and this bilingualistic situation was established in favor of Turkish. It was not only the language of power but also that of trade, exchange and bureaucracy. Turkish was used in communication among communities (Lory, 2000, 297-302). However, Lory states that Turkish became a lingua franca without its own particular grammar rules. Therefore, it would be better to talk about “Turkishes” as a bulk of utterances rather than a Turkish as a language system (Lory, 2000, 306). Strauss uses the term diglossia in order to describe the linguistic situation in the Ottoman. Nevertheless, he claims that there was diglossia not only in the Turkish language but also in the other languages such as Greek and Armenian in the Ottoman (Strauss, 1995b, 221-255). Moreover, there was an exact example of the situation in which both diglossia and bilingualism occurred. Turcophone Phanariots contributed to the Ottoman literary language belonging to another speech community. They did not embrace Turkish just as the spoken variety but they mastered the H variety of Turkish and elaborated on it. Until the 19th century, the monopoly of the Turkish language was in the hands of the Phanariot dragomans especially in the contacts with the West (Strauss, 1995a, 191).

Writing is another significant factor in the emergence of the diglossia phenomenon (Hudson, 2002). According to Hudson, there is not a cause and effect relationship between them, but writing provides the convenient conditions for its emergence. Ferguson says that the graphization of a language to writing adds another variety (Ferguson, 1968 as quoted from Hudson, 2002, 25). Writing makes a language

fixate while at the same time erosion occurs in the spoken language in terms of its phonology. Yet, writing could not be the only reason for the appearance of diglossia.

In the Ottoman Turkish case, as said before, the variety which was defined, most of the time, as "an artificial language full of Arabic and Persian words and rules" generally referred to as the insha language. Indeed, insha construction was just one of the styles of written languages in the Ottoman period and it was not uniform and monolithic. Even though it had an impact on the way of reading of a limited social group, it was not the same of the H varieties of Arabic or Modern Greek because they are the spoken varieties as well as the written ones. For instance, Develi compares two writings of Şinasi in order to indicate how code-switching occurred. The letter Şinasi wrote to his mother from Paris was simpler than an article he wrote in the first issue of the *Tasvir-i Efkar* newspaper. The former one was his native language and the latter one was acquired afterwards (Develi, 2006, 75-76). Indeed, the language of the letter was a variety which could be understood easily today. Which one will be used depends on the audience and situation. This H variety remained specific to the written language, so the concept of diglossia would be helpful in clarifying this situation.

Therefore, in order to diagnose what sort of diglossia it is, the right thing to do is to measure the distance between the written and the spoken varieties in the Ottoman period. In terms of linguistics, it is possible to take some visual or sound recordings in order to measure this distance between writing and speech. However, they are not available for the study of everyday speech in the past when when there were not any cameras or recorders. Then, the evidence would be court records, the descriptions of foreign travellers in order to make a study in the realm of social history of a language (Burke, 2004, 11-12). In order to diagnose to what extent Ottoman diglossia happened, we need to use the texts that best reflected the spoken language at that time. Yavuz Kartallıoğlu listed all these sources which include transcription texts, the Ottoman chronicles, judicial records (*şeriye sicilleri*), the *Book of Travels* (*Seyahatname*) by Evliya Çelebi, the *Galatat* dictionaries, *Kâmûs-i Türkî* and *Persenk*, folk tales, plays, novels, newspapers and comic books (Kartallıoğlu, 2015).

It is also possible to find the transcription of spoken Turkish in the grammar books or dictionaries prepared by foreigners. They were written not only in the Latin letters but also in Armenian, Greek and Cyrillic. These alphabets provide the representation of the spoken language because they were all phonetic. In some of these texts, there was room for transcriptions of everyday conversations in Turkish,

which Strauss calls them "the museum of the Ottoman spoken language" (Strauss, 2000). His usage of "museum" is significant because thanks to these texts, some aspects of the spoken language could be shed light upon through fixation, and so its characteristics became visible. The Ottoman chronicles also recorded some spoken language. By means of the judicial records, we find an opportunity to see in which ways people talked in the past. The *Book of Travels* by Evliya Çelebi also gives us many examples of all the levels and styles of not only the written but also the spoken language.

The *Galatat* dictionaries were another source for discovering the spoken Turkish in the Ottoman period. They present the Turkified versions of loanwords. They were called *galatat* (mistakes) because they were far from the original pronunciation of the loanwords. The loanwords were adapted to the phonological structure of the Turkish language, so their pronunciation was initially seen as a "mistake," but then it was forgotten that they were mistakes. For instance, Şemseddin Sami did not only take the original versions of the Arabic and Persian words but also for their adapted versions to the phonetic structure of Turkish language in his dictionary *Kamûs-i Türkî*. He also called their vulgarized versions *zebanzed* (Şemseddin Sami, 1317/1899-1900, 681). Similarly, the *Persenk* was written by Feraizcizade Mehmed Şakir by means of the alphabet that shows all the vowels of Turkish, so it is possible to have an idea about the pronunciation of the words at that time (Kartallıoğlu, 2015). In the 19th century, a written language which got closer to the spoken language or to one of the derivatives of the spoken language became prevalent in genres such as novels, stories, newspaper articles. Even though these written records presented us with the fixation of the spoken language, the the spoken variety must have been filtered to fit the rules of writing, and it would be misleading to assume that they are the pure and natural replications of the spoken language. Indeed, the representation of the spoken language was reproduced by means of the technology of writing.

In order to identify the spoken language in the Ottoman period, the transcription texts in Latin, Armenian, Greek and Cyrillic letters were generally preferred. For instance, Strauss constructed his study about the Ottoman talk on the conversation texts which took place in the final chapters of grammars or phrasebooks (Strauss, 2000). The texts in Arabic letters were not seen as appropriate because the vowels were invisible and words became clichés, and then they were not convenient in order to show linguistic differences in terms of space and time. Yet, the *Book of Travels* by Evliya Çelebi remains an exceptional example. Boeschoen was the first

person to analyze the *Book of Travels* in the context of linguistics as he investigated one of its chapters related to Diyarbakır in his article "*Seyahatname* as a Source for Linguistic Investigation". On the other hand, Develi and Musa Duman applied the same method to the first three volumes of the *Seyahatname* (Develi, Duman, 1995, 9-10). Indeed, *the Book of Travels* was exceptional, particularly in terms of phonology. Robert Dankoff states that Evliya Çelebi tries to give every phonetic nuance in not only Turkish but also other languages. He was careful to “record” the language and put the points and phonetization marks meticulously as much as possible in the Arabic letters. According to Dankoff, he was good at phonology thanks to his mastery in *ilm-i tecvid* (the art of reading the Quran) (Dankoff, 2008, 26-28).

In the years 1917-1918, a German orientalist and an expert on the Semitic languages, Gotthelf Bergstrasser, did an experiment in order to investigate the phonological structure of the Turkish language. His main purpose was to reveal the features of the variety spoken by the literary class living in İstanbul, but not used by the ordinary people. His starting point was whether there is an agreement on the spoken language of İstanbul. There were already some transcription texts such as the writing of Prof. G. Yacob about the grammar of vulgar Turkish, and the publications transcribed by Kunoş and Turkish shadow theatre (Bergstrasser, 1936, 4). According to Bergstrasser, these texts could just reflect the vulgar Turkish, for the texts in the phrasebooks and grammars were artificial and did not represent the true and natural pronunciation: these were either recorded in the Latin letters roughly or distorted by the Armenian pronunciation if they were recorded in the Armenian letters. Therefore, it would be misleading to assume that the speech in these texts were the true Turkish (Bergstrasser, 1936, 3-6).

The method which Bergstrasser followed in his investigation was to have the scene taking place between Sabiha and Hatice in the play by Abdülhak Hamid entitled "İçli Kız" (Sentimental Girl) read by, firstly, a secretary and then by three women and three men, and then compared their readings. His purpose was to gather enough data necessary for the phonetics through Turkish sample. For this aim, he determined the pronunciations of words, the intonations of sentences and respirations by means of a phonograph (Bergstrasser, 1936, 6-7). He reached the conclusion that there was a standard pronunciation among the class of intellectuals in İstanbul.

> “The Arabic and Persian loanwords were Turkified in the language of the people. However, it should be assumed that the non-Turkified words in the texts produced by and for the people could be borrowed from the written language. And they should be dealt with according to the

> rules of the written language. They have no value in terms of phonetics. Yet, the words which are not Turkified completely are interesting" (Bergstrasser, 1936, 5).

The experience of Bergstrasser was done in a time when the gap between the spoken and written languages started to close by means of the emergence of journalistic language, the promotion of the usage of İstanbul vernacular language as a written variety and the prevalence of new genres such as novels, plays and newspapers. Particularly, the New Language Movement had already started a campaign in order to make İstanbul Turkish the standard language and they implemented their program in their own writings and magazines. This contributed to the decrease of the difference between the spoken and written varieties. What Bergstrasser found interesting was indeed that Tulum called it "language of reading" and the spoken language of the literary class was influenced by the written language.

We can say that the decline of diglossia started to be observed in many speech communities because of some similar and parallel developments, the main reasons being mass literacy, the spreading of communication technologies and the emergence of nationalism and national languages (Hudson, 2002). This list would be extended in detail. However, in all of them, the common point was that the vernacular occurred as a new variety and gained a prestigious status. In the case of Turkish language, this vernacular was the İstanbul Turkish, which is promoted by the New Language Movement pioneered by the team of the *Genç Kalemler Journal* and accepted as the ground for the newly tailored Latin letters in the Republican period.

2.3. Fabricating a Journalistic Language

The Ottoman diglossia started to be dissolved by the emerging of new written language varieties. Among principal factors in this situation, we can count the generalization of education, the communication technologies and democratization. In the focus of all these factors, there were the developing communication between the state and the individual. The main medium of communication was the print and it changed the structure, form and content of the language. The most important consequence of the print culture in the Ottoman was the newspaper. The journalistic language was not only a simpler language than the traditional insha language, but also a new written language variety in accordance with the print culture.

Benedict Anderson mentions that the print-language occurred as a new variety. According to Anderson, this new language paved the way for national

consciousness. These print-languages "created unified fields of exchange and communication" by standing somewhere in-between Latin and the spoken language" (Anderson, 1991, 44). Indeed, the spoken languages were composed of many dialects and varieties and it was hard to publish in each of these dialects. In other words, there was a sort of economy of scale in the realm of print and a new variety emerged in order to reach as much audience as possible. Therefore, people started to communicate with each other via "print and paper". Another effect of printing on language was to make it fixate. Anderson exemplifies this from the French language. The 12th century French highly differentiated from that of the 17h century. He adds that even though we are familiar with the 17th century French, the French language in the 12th century was not accessible to the people living in the 17th century (Anderson, 1991, 37-46). In a similar way, Ong also points out that writing as a technology had an impact on language nevertheless, the effect of print on the language was far much greater (Ong, 2012, 116).

According to Anderson, this linguistic turn emerged eventually in Europe. It was not a consequence of the various language policies as in the 19th century (Anderson, 1991, 42). The Ottoman Empire was introduced to the print nearly 300 years after Europe, and to the newspaper after nearly 250 years. The Empire employed the former one for 200 years and the latter for 100 years, and then handed down its experiences to the Republic (Koloğlu, 2010, 154). For Koloğlu, what is decisive in the Ottoman time was the newspaper rather than the book culture. Newspapers had a great role particularly in the propagation of new ideas whereas the usage of the book remained limited. During the period newspaper was popular in the Ottoman Empire, nationalism had already become an ideology and started to prevail outside Europe. Thus, it was not a spontaneous development that a new Turkish written language variety emerged in accordance with the print culture. In other words, it was not just a natural consequence of print-capitalism but a newly emerging language planning process.

Koloğlu states that the newspaper was the first thing to read for a person who had just acquired literacy. On the other hand, books did not have such a function in the Ottoman Empire (Koloğlu, 2010, 158). Newspapers were instructional in many ways. After the emergence of newspapers, it is known that books were first published in a serialized way in newspapers, and then they were compiled and edited in the form of a book. The knowledge about the political and economical developments in Europe was introduced to the Ottoman audience by means of newspapers. However, in this transmission, the source was not the original and academically

serious work, but the one written for general readers by taking some extracts or sometimes summarizing. For Koloğlu, this knowledge was presented, most of the time, without any evaluation and in an unorganized way. For instance, there was an analogy in the newspaper *Ruzname-i Ceride-i Havadis* referring to the newspaper as "a ship on which each of its passengers just talks about different subjects according to their interest in a random way" (As quoted from Koloğlu, 2010, 159). In addition, as Kushner stated, the newspaper audience who follow newspaper culture in a regular way emerged in the Hamidian period (Kushner, 1998, 23).

With the appearance of print-language in the Ottoman Empire, various prose genres also proliferated such as the novel, the play, the essay, and literary criticism, newspapers being the medium in which all of these flourished and ripened (Dino, 1978, 23). According to Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar, in no country, did newspapers play the role that they played in the Ottoman cultural context. He suggests that newspapers became the generators of ideas in the Ottoman cultural atmosphere rather than a tool for the propagation of ideas as in other cultures. Some concepts such as "motherland, nation, right, liberty" became widespread thanks to newspapers. Indeed, the development of a print culture and language (or journalistic language) ran parallel with the propagation of nationalism as an ideology. Another important effect of the newspaper was, for Tanpınar, that it caused the tradition of *Divan* poetry to collapse. Poems were published in newspapers without meticulous revision and poet found himself in front of the mass as audience. Therefore, the internal structure of poetry also changed (Tanpınar, 2006, 181-186).

It is a general tendency to accept İbrahim Şinasi as the founder of journalistic language. According to Dino, the *Tasvir-i Efkar,* which was founded by Şinasi, was a school of literature. Moreover, Şinasi was generally shown as the inventor of the logically organized text. For Dino, this stemmed from the fact that Şinasi had embraced the rationalism of both Islamic and French cultures. "Şinasi contributed to the Turkish literature by the consciousness of an organized language which were composed of new construction of sentences articulated with clauses and clear-cut and balanced style" (Dino, 1978, 24).

In a similar way, Mardin states that Şinasi was the first thinker who had a deep understanding of the Western culture. What Şinasi transmitted from the Western culture was "formal relations" which came with the print culture, instead of the passing of knowledge from one person to another in an informal way. For Mardin, Şinasi established "the culture of rational communication" instead of relying on authority (Mardin, 2011, 84-85). The novelties Şinasi brought were not limited only

to the organization of the text or language but also to the audience. For Mardin, it was revolutionary that Şinasi opened up the communication net to the people, whereas before, this was only allowed to the intellectuals. In other words, Şinasi put into practice his liberal ideas by creating a new and a simple style and this constituted his reviolutionary approach. Moreover, his plain prose stood on the opposite side of the esoteric *Divan* literature (Mardin, 1961, 267-268).

There were objections about the leadership of Şinasi in the simplification process of Turkish. According to Köprülü, what Şinasi called "pure Turkish" was not a new invention but an extension of the *Türki-i Basit* movement which Köprülü traced back to Tatavlalı Mahremi and Edirneli Nazmi. Köprülü also suggests that Şinasi still remained engaged to the conventions of the classical literature and did not contribute to the *Türki-i Basit* movement. In other words, even though Şinasi preferred a plainer language in his newspaper writings in order to facilitate the communication with the ordinary people, he did not put a significant work in this language. Köprülü also emphasizes that even though a simple language was employed by both the poets of *Türki-i Basit* movement and the pioneers of the school of Şinasi-Ziya Pasha-Namık Kemal, their motivations were differentiated in some respects. The latter one developed under the influence of the ideas of the French Revolution and therefore the French literature. For Köprülü, the purpose of this school was to create a bourgeoisie literature inspired by the French literature and journalism was one of the main mediums for this (Köprülü, 1986, 299-302).

Another objection against the leadership of Şinasi comes from Said Pasha (1838-1914). Said Pasha argued that the journalistic language which was written in short sentences with a simpler Turkish emerged before Şinasi. Indeed, for Said Pasha, the Turkish words were written separatedly once, they started to be jointed after the expansion of the Empire (Said Pasha, 1327/1909-1910, 80). According to him, while the former was the natural way of writing, the latter one implies the deterioration of the written language.

> "The journalistic language is free from deficits and it is worth to praise because the journalistic language is related to the literary language, political terminology and the language of history. The journalistic language is the natural language because we employ clear-cut expressions in our everyday speech but not terminology. So, if it is the natural way, why do we need to search for another method?"[2] (Said Pasha, 1327/1909-1910, 8).

[2] "Bildiğimiz gazete lisanı ise nekaisten ari takbihe değil tahsine layıktır. Zira lisan-ı edeb, lisan-ı siyaset, lisan-ı tarih ile gazete lisanı arasında pek çok alaka vardır. Lisan-ı tabii gazete lisanıdır. Çünkü tabiat-ı mükalememizde mustalah değil vazıh, menus tabirler istimalini ihtar ediyoruz. Söz söylemekte kanunu tabii bu olursa yazmakta başka usul aramak neden lazım olsun?" (Said Pasha, 1327/1909-1910, 8).

For Said Pasha, writing should represent the external reality as in the case of painting. If an artist depicts the nature with his brush, the writer should describe it with his pen (Said Pasha, 1327/1909-1910, 84). What Said Pasha mainly criticized in his book *Gazeteci Lisanı* (Journalistic Language) was the written language in use at that time. Even though his purpose was not to analyze this newborn print language thoroughly in terms of form, he observed that the spaces among words were required in the journalistic language and they made the text clearer. As Ong said, the control of space on the page is a novelty emerged with the print technology. The print makes words reified (Ong, 2012, 117). In this sense, *Gazeteci Lisanı* shows that the Ottomans were aware of the fact that the print technology had an impact on language (Strauss, 2005, 223-255).

There was also change in the content of language as well as its form. Henceforth, it was important to transfer "the facts" as they were. According to Ong, in manuscript culture, poetry and rhetoric were separated completely from each other. With print, some new genres emerged such as catechism books and textbooks and their main function was to present "facts", as "memorizable, flat statements that told straightforwardly" (Ong, 2012, 131). On the contrary, in oral and manuscript cultures, proverbial statements were prevalent (Ong, 2012, 132). We can see similar changes in the Ottoman context as well. For instance, Mardin comments that "the naturalness" in the style of Akif Pasha was because he told "an event" at the formal level in a clear way (Mardin, 1961, 261). Köprülü also thinks that he was the first practitioner of the *Türki-i Basit* movement in the late Ottoman period while Esad Efendi was its first theoretician (Köprülü, 1986, 271-315).

In this sense, print-language, which flourished in newspapers, will have an effect on the other genres, mainly the novel. For instance, Fatih Altuğ argues that *Müşahedat* (Observations) by Ahmed Midhat sails between the news and the novel genres. As the name of the book reveals, the writer reports his observations about the reality out there, but not his impressions. It was one of the features of the journalistic style to emphasize "the naturalness, truth or reality" of the objects or events out there (Altuğ, 2006, 108-109).

The journalistic language which was the name of the print language in the Ottoman context was neither the insha prose nor an exact recording of the spoken variety. Even though it was emphasized that it was the most natural way of writing, it was not only the by-product of the dialectics between written and spoken varieties of Turkish language but also the consequence of communication technologies such as

print capitalism. So, the Ottoman intellectuals were aware of these developments and they took an active role in tackling with its effects.

2.4. İstanbul Vernacular Language: Giving Voice to the Ordinary People

The linguistic modernization process of Turkish could be read as the history of constructing the written language on the basis of the spoken language or, in other words, deriving it from the spoken language. Turkish had already been a new form as print language in accordance with this new medium since Tanzimat era. However, this new variety was also seen as "artificial" like the insha style. In this sense, the most influential criticism was made by the New Language Movement. The supporters of this movement proposed taking the natural way of the spoken language as the base. For them, this natural language was nothing but “the Turkish which the native İstanbulite women spoke” (Ömer Seyfeddin, 1330/1914a, 105-107).

In the Second Constitutional period, there were two tendencies in terms of language: purification and simplification. The *Türk Derneği* (Turkish Association), founded in İstanbul after 1908, came closer to the former one. Most of its founders and writers were émigrés from the Central Asia. Its main founder was Yusuf Akçura (Arai, 1992, 26). The Association had the nationalist mission to unify all the Turks inside or outside of the Ottoman Empire. So, the grounds for this unification were the Ottoman-Turkish (Arai, 1992, 23-48). What sort of program will be followed on the language issue was listed in the declaration of the Association. In the first article of those which were related to the language issue, it was mentioned that the phases of Turkish language will be investigated along with the method of its simplification; in the fifth article, the use of the Ottoman-Turkish will be encouraged; in the sixth article, the dialects of Azerbaijan, Afghanistan, Bukhara, etc. will be made closer to the Ottoman-Turkish; in the seventh article, the Ottoman-Turkish and civilization will be widespread by opening schools and publishing newspapers; in the eighth article, from the Arabic and Persian borrowings, the Turkified frequently used ones will be kept (Türk Derneği Nizamnamesi, 1324, 331-332). The Association uses the words "Ottoman" and "Turkish" interchangeably. The Association had a claim to revive the vulgar Turkish spoken by people by means of this program. However, they did not give a clear-cut definition of "the people".

The Association also published the *Journal of Türk Derneği* which handled all sorts of subjects related to Turcology. The main purpose of the Association and of the Journal was to produce knowledge in the realm of Turcology, which was summed up in the title of the article by Yusuf Akçura, "we need to know Turkishness and know

each other" (Türklüğü Bilmeli ve Bilişmeliyiz)(Arai, 1992, 45). The writings in the journal ran parallel to the principles in the declaration. On the other hand, the linguistic approach of the Association was not only theoretical but also practical. For instance, it included compiling alphabetically the words the people spoke, old folk songs, folk tales and proverbs, investigating their etymologies and looking them up in the dictionaries written by Şemseddin Sami and Ahmed Vefik Pasha (Arai, 1992, 41-43).

The *Genç Kalemler* Movement criticized the *Türk Derneği* for being tended to the purification. On the other hand, this movement put forward the "New Language" as a program and defended the simplification of Turkish because "words are not descriptions of the signified but signs, and therefore simple words fulfill this function better" (Ziya Gökalp, 1923, 361-362). The new language approach was based on the idea that languages were composed of the declensions of words (morphology) but not their roots (etymologies). According to this understanding, loanwords did not damage to the naturalness of a language, but when a language starts to borrow grammar rules, it becomes artificial. According to Toprak, this approach was also embraced at that time by linguists like Max Müller (Toprak, 2017, 33). Indeed, the New Language was a modern movement in accordance with the linguistic approach of the day by assuming the supremacy of speech over writing.

The pioneers of the New Language Movement were Ömer Seyfeddin, Ali Canip and Ziya Gökalp and the essence of their program was to make İstanbul Turkish the written language. They shared their ideas in various subjects in the *Journal of the Genç Kalemler*. They defined "the New Language" program in contrast with the "artificial" and old language which not only borrowed foreign words from other languages but also grammar rules. This artificiality of "the old language" was emphasized in the ways of “the *Enderun* jargon,” “the language of *Bab-ı Ali* (the Sublime Port)” or “the language of *Tanzimat.*” In this sense, the New Language constitutes the natural part of this dichotomy. However, the names of "Ottoman" and "Turkish" were not used interchangeably and "the artificial old language" was called "Ottoman" and "the New Language" was called "Turkish". Their linguistic understanding was put into practice in their writings for the journal of the *Genç Kalemler*, especially in the second volume of the journal (Arai, 1992, 60).

The New Language Movement was not just a linguistic and literary issue but a political program. The period between 1908 and 1923 was a period of transition and the Ottoman society faced many intellectual, economical and political transformations (Karpat, 2004, 421). There was a new sort of life vision and program

behind the New Language discourse. In other words, the New Language was the departure point in the transition process from Ottomanism to Turkish nationalism (Toprak, 2017, 26-31). The sociological and theoretical dimensions were established by Ziya Gökalp and articulated in “Yeni Hayatlar ve Yeni Kıymetler" (New Lives and New Values) (Ziya Gökalp, 1327/1911 as quoted from Genç Kalemler Dergisi, 2014, 236-238). Ziya Gökalp, who conceived language as a living being which could be reformed and renewed, thought that Turkish language should be modernized and Europeanized in terms of notions, Islamized in terms of terminology and Turkified in terms of the rest of the words, syntax and grammar rules (Heyd, 1950, 119). Yet, he was not a defender of a total change of the alphabet. Whereas the theoretician of this “new life” was Ziya Gökalp, its actual practitioner was Ömer Seyfeddin. According to Karpat, Ömer Seyfeddin established the link between the late Ottoman and the early Republican periods not only by describing the individual drama of this transition period but also by creating an everyday language that could reach the masses (Karpat, 2004, 421).

The main principles of the New Language Movement about language could be listed in the following way. Turkish constructions will be preferred instead for Arabic and Persian constructions except for those which are the simple ones such as *sadr-ı azam* and *Bab-ı Ali*; and the singular ones in terms of meaning such as *evlad* (children) and *talebe* (students). Even the origin of these words was Arabic or Persion they were embraced as Turkish words. Morphology and etymology will be separated completely, and the Arabic and Persian words will be accepted as "irregular"(*semai*) without making etymological or morphological explanations about them. The forms of the Arabic and Persian words which were embraced by the *avam* (common people) will be preferred instead of those used by the *havas* (the elite people). In addition, the borrowings from these languages will be subjected to the rules of Turkish. The New Language will be based on the İstanbul vernacular language but not on the Anatolian, Rumelian or the Chagatai dialects (Öksüz, 1995, 96-99). Even though Turkish had many dialects, İstanbul Turkish was seen as "the politest and the most elaborated form of Turkish" (Ömer Seyfeddin, 1330/1914b, 73-74).

The clear-cut definition of İstanbul Turkish was given by Ömer Seyfeddin. People from various classes settled down in İstanbul. The society was composed of poets adherent to the old literature, the *ulema* and the pious (*softalar*), teachers using old terminology, conservative bureaucrats keeping the style of *Bab-ı Ali* alive, the second class people, the women educated according to the educational policy

followed during the Tanzimat period, the women not well-educated according to the educational policy followed during the Tanzimat period, foreigners and non-Turks (Ömer Seyfeddin, 1330/1914a, 121-122). According to Ömer Seyfeddin, even though all the representatives of these classes claimed that they spoke İstanbul Turkish, the actual İstanbul Turkish was only the natural and simple Turkish which the native İstanbulite women spoke (Ziya Gökalp, 1968, 102).

The New Language Movement was blamed for returning the language back to the Chagatai even though they emphasized that they did not have such an intention. It was said that the new language became a language of science but it could not be the language of art (Öksüz, 1995, 131). In addition, their attempt to overcome the *avam* and the *havas* distinction in the language was underestimated. For instance, Köprülüzade said that the youth of Selanik tried to create "a Turkish esperanto" (Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, 1327/1911, 365-366). Whereas the defenders of the New Language found the Ottoman written variety artificial, the written form of the İstanbul Turkish was considered as artificial by the adherents of the old language. For instance, Cenab Şehabeddin criticized them by making a comparison between the old and the new languages and challenged them to “send a letter to Kashgar. You would mention about the unification of the Turks, issues of nation and race, the idea of nation in New Language; I would order a tea in *Enderun* jargon, and let us see which one our brothers there will understand?" (Cenab Şehabeddin, 1328/1912, 242-243). Cenab Şehabeddin meant that the Turkish people in distinct places were more familiar with the old language than this new promoted dialect. On the other hand, for its supporters, the New Language was not an arbitrary invention but the consequence of the social evolution. It was also justified and legitimized sociologically. For them, it proved that the language in newspaper got closer to the New Language (Öksüz, 1995, 131-132).

We can also see the impact of the New Language Movement in the *Elifba Raporu* (the Elifba Report) which was prepared by the *Dil Encümeni* (the Language Council) in 1928. In the report, it was particularly emphasized that the newly tailored alphabet was not phonetic enough to represent all the sounds and nuances in all the Turkish dialects although the main motivation of the Alphabet Revolution was claimed as the elimination of the gap between the written and the spoken languages. The standard language would be based on the İstanbul Turkish which the literary class spoke in order to overcome the Ottoman diglossia. Additionally, in a similar way to the New Language Movement, the Arabic and Persian borrowings would be accepted as Turkish if they were adapted to the phonetic structure of Turkish. However, their

etymology or the rules of morphology would be ignored and assumed irregular. We can thus say that the Republican policy on the language was closer to the New Language Movement whereas its policy in the 1930s resembled the program of the *Türk Derneği*. Yet there was a meaningful difference between the İstanbul Turkish of the Language Council and the one of New Language Movement. For the supporters of the New Language, it was emphasized particularly that the İstanbul Turkish was "the Turkish spoken by the native İstanbulite women" but not the variety the elite class or the intellectuals spoke. In addition, even though this movement defended the eradication of diglossia in Turkish fiercely, they never put the changing of the letters into their agenda. For instance, Fahir İz said that the New Language Movement had no effect on the language created by the Language Revolution (İz, 1983, 173-189). In a similar way, Ragıp Hulusi Özdem commented that Ziya Gökalp remained as a defender the New Language and could not grasp the new Turkish proposed in the Republican period (Özdem, 2000, 201-229).

3. THE REFORMATION OF THE LETTERS AS A NECESSITY FOR ORTHOGRAPHIC FIXATION FROM *TANZİMAT* TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL ERA

The seemingly sharpness of the revolutionary resolution in the Republican period overshadowed the significance of the attempts and implementations on the reformation of the alphabet in the late Ottoman period. They were generally seen just as the moments of a teleological sequence on the way to the Latinization of the Arabo-Persian alphabet. The total shift of the script with its new and convenient orthography was the main issue in the Republican period. Nevertheless, it was the least probable solution in the search for an orthographic regulation in the post-Tanzimat period. It would be present-minded and misleading to presume all endeavours as inevitable steps for a further radical shift and to marginalize all oppositions. So, it is worth to evaluate these attempts and implementations out of a teleological narrative which could be summarized as "from the obscure Arabic alphabet to the logical Latin alphabet."

My aim, in this chapter, is to analyze the specific features of the various reformation proposals on the existing alphabet. First of all, I will handle the first attempts to reform the alphabet. Even if they did not give birth to tangible outcomes at once, they paved the way for infinite debates and various implementations. Secondly, I will revise the first implementations of the reformation of the alphabet (*ıslah-ı huruf*), namely the separated letters and the appearance of vowels among consonants and the phonetic method of reading and writing. Thirdly, I will scrutinize the diverse proposals of changing the alphabet (*tebdil-i huruf)* and the scriptural environment at that time. In this part, I will explore to what extent the Latin alphabet was regarded as an alternative to replace with the consonantal Arabic script. It is worth asking if the existing script was reorganized according to the logic of the phonetic alphabet, and what the difference between the transformation and the reformation of the alphabet could be. Besides, we should keep in mind that the adherents of the reformation of the alphabet were divided into two groups; those who viewed the reformation as a preparation process for Latinization and those who advocated the reformation so as to evade the proposals of Latinization of the letters.

When we have a glance at the debates of the Tanzimat period, it is obvious that one of the central problems related to language and alphabet was the orthographic standardization. First of all, a clear-cut scientific terminology was necessary. Secondly, there was a pedagogical concern. In order to promote mass literacy, an orthographic order must be provided. Thirdly, the press was the most important realm in which such an order was needed for a flawless transmission of messages. It was claimed that there was an orthographic chaos because every writer and newspaper had its own orthography. Unless being regulated, nobody would understand who wrote what. The prominent intellectuals came to the conclusion that the consonantal "Arabo-Persian" alphabet was the source of this orthographic messiness. Whereas some of them proposed to make the necessary amendments to it, the rest of them saw a predicament with it and preferred its replacement completely with another set of letters.

Even though the adapted Arabic letters were used for Turkish language for nearly a thousand years, they were not problematized until the Tanzimat period. The adherents of the Latin letters supported the thesis according to which the discrepancy between Turkish language and the Arabic language was already traced back to the earlier eras by quoting Kâtip Çelebi: "Everybody acknowledges that they have never read a book which was written correctly during their lifetime" (As quoted from Karal, 1994, 63). It is evident that Kâtip Çelebi did not refer to a language planning process as a radical shift or even to an orthographic standardization in a modern sense. On the other hand, this statement of Kâtip Çelebi gives us the opportunity to ask why people did not come up with a solution until Tanzimat if they did not understand what they read.

Orthography generally implies punctuation, spelling, capitalization and so forth. Nevertheless, in the Ottoman context, it was more than these because the Ottoman Turkish was not only an ornate language composed of the vocabularies of Arabic, Persian and Turkish but also an amalgam of the grammar rules of these three languages. The decisive point here was whether the relation among them was organic or physical. For instance, Şemseddin Sami answered that it was just a physical interaction among these languages and they could be separated easily from each other (Şemseddin Sami, 1298/1881, 177-181).

Levend points out that the grammars of three languages had occasionally been used in an eclectical and arbitrary way. For instance, the gender agreement between name and adjective in the Arabic grammar was usually violated. The Turkish plural suffix “–lar*”* was added to an already plural Arabic noun. Even a poet

could write the same word in different ways in the same poem. Levend gives numerous examples of this eclectical usage, labelling most of them as "mistakes" according to his correction criterion (Levend, 1960, 61-67). However, Karateke finds Levend's approach problematic because it was anchoronic (Karateke, 2010, 47-48). On the other hand, as McLuhan said, it is useless to search for mistakes at a time when there was no orthographic and grammatical standard (McLuhan, 2011, 423). Yet, for the modernizers of Turkish language, it continued to be the main question whether the Arabic and Persian words should be subjected to the Turkish grammar or the Turkish words to the Arabic and Persian grammars in order to get a coherent structure of language.

First of all, we should clarify how components of language such as orthography, vocabulary, grammar and terminologies are related to the writing system. If we do not know *sarf* (morphology) and *nahiv* (syntax) in the Arabic consonantal writing system, there is a mute or polyphonic text in front of us. Context and familiarity is crucial in comprehending a text which is written in the Arabic letters. By the modernization process of the Ottoman Empire, new terms started to be imported to the Ottoman glossary in science, military affairs and medicine. Therefore, it became problematic with whether Arabic or Turkish orthography they should be written. At the very beginning, the need for an orthographic clarity was related to the transmission of terminology, namely a matter of how the contexts of the newly imported terms should be denoted. When they were written with the existing orthography, there was the risk of confusion with other words.

In addition to the terms and contexts, the print culture was a new and unfamiliar medium. In order to convey the messages to the target as clearly and flawlessly as possible, orthography should be forged so that the meaning could not be damaged. The target was not only the scholars, poets or intellectuals anymore, but also the ordinary people. In order to write in colloquial language, it was necessary to reorganize the grammar and the vocabulary. The grammar should be the grammar of the spoken Turkish and the vocabulary should be limited to the vocabulary of the spoken language. Therefore, without knowing the Arabic and Persian grammar rules, it would be possible to read and write if the obstacles in front of the phonetization of the script become eliminated. In the late Ottoman period, this argumentation could be pursued in the writing of various authors, from Şinasi to the leading figures of the New Language Movement.

In the very beginning of *Usûl-i Tenkît ve Tertîb* (1886), which was particularly written to clarify how a proper writing should be organized on paper by means of punctuation, Şemseddin Sami gave a precise definition of a novel concept of writing:

> "Writing is the depiction of speech. Just as the more similar a painting is to the thing which it depicts, the more perfect it is; the more successful a writing reflects the pronunciation, the style of expression of speech and the conditions behind it when being uttered, the more perfect it will be" (Şemseddin Sami, 1303/1885-1886, 1).[3]

It seems to be a commonplace definition through the lens of our linguistic habits; however, it reflected a deep rupture at that time by assuming that "the perfection of writing" depended on the representation of speech. According to Şemseddin Sami, this "scrawly" writing should be articulated as in speech. Thus, it could be read as the manifestation of phonocentrism as well, which basically means the privilege of speech over writing. We should keep in mind that without introducing such an approach, the attempts and implementations of the reformation of the script or changing it completely could not have been put on the agenda.

3.1. The First Attempts to Modify the Alphabet

Münif Pasha's speech, which appeared under the title of "İmla Meselesi" (The Orthography Issue) in the *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye* (the Ottoman Scientific Society) (1862), was accepted as a milestone in terms of long running alphabet debates. Münif Pasha mentioned the difficulties of the existing alphabet and proposed two remedies to overcome them. The first one was to make vowels visible and the second one was to separate the letters (Münif Pasha, 1280/1863, 70-77 as quoted from Budak, 2011, 259-267). Without doubt, this speech was important because this was the first time it was uttered and problematized with such solutions even though there were some previous attempts to make the alphabet phonetized.

In the speech, Münif Pasha set forth the idea that the writing system should be reformed so that reading and writing in the Arabic letters ought to be facilitated. According to him, any word could be read in five or ten ways due to a lack of phonetization marks. Merely the specialists who were already familiar with the context could read the words correctly. For instance, the word of "كورك" could be read in six ways: (kürk [fur], gevrek [crispy], kürek [shovel], körük [bellows], görk [splendor], görün [seem]); and the word of "اون" could be read in three ways (on [ten], ön [front] and un [flour]; in fact, in four ways if the "ün" [fame] is also added to

[3] "Yazı sözün tasviridir. Bir resim tasvir etdiği şeye ne kadar ziyade benzerse, o kadar mükemmel olacağı gibi, bir yazı dahi, sözün, mütekellimin ağzından çıkarken, ibraz ettiği ahvali ve suret-i ifade ve telaffuzunu ne kadar ziyade anlattırabilirse, o kadar ziyade mükemmel addolunmak iktiza eder" (Şemseddin Sami, 1303/1885-1886, 1).

this list) (Münif Pasha, 1280/1863 as quoted from Budak, 2011, 259-267). That is to say, only the context would be helpful to acquire a proper meaning. In addition, Münif Pasha specified a number of difficulties such as the lack of capital letters for proper names and the hybrid and complex constructions composed of Arabic, Persian and Turkish. For him, our writing is an obstacle in front of the generalization of education (*intişâr-ı maarif*), sciences (*intişâr-ı fünûn*) and mass literacy. For example, in Europe, people could read and write easily regardless of whether they were young or old, man or woman and servant or worker. In his opinion, we encountered a similar difficulty in the realm of the press as well. Besides, we needed three times or twice more letters- even in the *nesih* script- than which the Europeans used in order to publish books. Münif Pasha proposed two remedies to overcome all these difficulties:

> "One of them is that without making any change on the shapes of the existing words, to put some phonetization marks by the help of newly invented signs; and the other one is to write using separated letters but like in the foreign languages, inserting vowels between the consonants on the same line" (Münif Pasha, 1280/1863 as quoted from Budak, 2011, 266-267).[4]

According to Münif Pasha, the second option was more preferable than the first one because the phonetization marks posed the risk of being confused, which meant that publishing would become more difficult than before.

The intention lying behind the proposals of the alphabet reform depended on many factors including the personality of Münif Pasha and the vision and function of the *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye*. As Tanpınar observed, Münif Paşa was an eclectical intellectual of his time and was influenced by the enlightenment thinkers of the 18th century such as Voltaire and Fénelon (2006, 170). For example, the *Mecmua-i Fünûn* (the Journal of Sciences), the periodical of the Society, could be regarded as the counterpart of the French Encyclopedia and for the first time, the Ottoman audience got in touch with the scientific ideas of the West (Mardin, 2000, 238-239). Münif Pasha was also interested in many other fields including economics, philosophy, journalism and literature. He trained in the Translation Bureau and therefore language became one of his occupations. Before handling the alphabet, he also wrote a few articles about *sarf* and *nahiv*, and pointed out that the *Mecmua-i Fünûn* should be published in a plainer language.

As seen in science and literacy, the main paradigms used by Münif Pasha were framed in European understanding, which means that Münif Pasha's approach was

[4] "Birisi, kelimat yine heyet-i hazıra üzere ibka olunup, fakat alt ve üstlerine harekât-ı malume ile bir takım işarat-ı cedide vaz olunmak ve diğeri dahi hurûf-ı mukattaa ile tahrir olunup, bil-bümle elsine-i ecnebiyyede olduğu misüllü iktiza eden harekât-ı hurûf sırasında yazılmaktır" (Münif Pasha, 1280/1863 As quoted from Budak, 2011, 266-267).

not independent from the discourse of progress in the 19th century. It is not accidental that putting the modification of the alphabet into agenda was related to this positivistic approach. Scientific language requires a more simplistic medium to transmit the knowledge without any flaws, so the emphasis was on the transmission of the ideas, namely, what to say rather than how to say it. Writing should be clearer, more precise and more exact. Still, the Ottoman writing and its alphabet with its ambiguities, which was suitable for the poetical construction, was inadequate for the scientific language. As Ong stated as follows:

> "What is distinctive of modern science is the conjuncture of exact observation and exact verbalization: exactly worded descriptions of carefully observed complex objects and processes. The availability of carefully made, technical prints (first woodcuts, and later even more exactly detailed metal engravings) implemented such exactly worded descriptions" (Ong, 2012, 125).

For Münif Pasha, an alphabet with the visible vowels and the separation of letters, in a very similar way to the Latin alphabet, would be rational and in harmony with the scientific language. It is obvious that Münif Pasha shared the belief that the Europeans had in the superiority of the Latin alphabet in an implicit way at that time.

Nevertheless, we need to ask whether appealing only to the Westernization paradigm was satisfactory to explain this case. What was the role of other factors such as bringing an order to the orthographic anarchy; the orientalistic studies and bias; embracing the discourse of progress in the 19th century that the phonetic alphabet was seen as a key factor for the development of sciences and rationality; and finally, the phonocentrism which was already inherent in the Eastern thinking. In the following parts, I will look at the backgrounds and implications of these two remedies that Münif Pasha suggested and investigate how the phonocentric view triumphed before the Latin letters were adopted in 1928.

3.1.1. The Introduction of Vowels

Writing systems are classified into phonetic, ideographic and consonantal, any kind of writing being presumed to belong in one of these categories. Yet, in practice, it is hard to find pure phonetic or pure ideographic writing as such. The Arabic alphabet also has been defined as a consonantal alphabet even though the term "consonantal alphabet" is very questionable (Harris, 2000, 121-137). The Arabic and the Greek letters come from the same root, therefore, one may wonder how the transition from the consonantal Semitic letters to the phonetic Greek letters was achieved. Was there any decisive moment? If the Arabic alphabet is not a pure consonantal alphabet, to what extent can it be assumed to be a phonetic alphabet? We know that there is not generally one-to-one correspondence between a sound

and a symbol in all Semitic writings. Nevertheless, some ambivalent experiences and sometimes experiments on the alphabet in the late Ottoman period put all these classifications under erasure and created the opportunity to reconsider the writing systems and their classifications.

Indeed, the Arabic alphabet is not purely consonantal. The Arabs struggled with reading a word in the correct way for ages because the *sarf* (morphology) gave only the knowledge about gender and number. The case endings were read in several ways and these different readings created a big change in meaning. Particularly, in the early Islamic period, the phonetization marks were invented by Abu'l Aswad ad-Duali in order to protect the true recitation of the Quran. After the Islamic conquests, people who spoke diverse languages were included within the Islamic territory where the Arabic language was dominant. People mixed with the Arabs and their languages mixed with Arabic, which seemed dangerous to the Arabs as they risked losing the purity of the Arabic language. Thus, Abu'l Aswad began to record the *nahiv* (syntax) to prevent it from corruption and the first philological studies began around the codification of the Quran. They included the reform of orthography and the selection of dialectical variants (Versteegh, 2005, 9). Indeed, it was not surprising because studies on language mostly became the consequence of the scriptural and hermeneutical occupations.

Could the usage of phonetization marks be interpreted as a sort of phonocentrism? In other words, does it imply the privilege of speech over writing? As Kees Versteegh argued, the Arab territory was not isolated and the Arab grammar did not come out spontaneously. At that time, the Greek grammar tradition was widespread in Hellenistic territories and there was an interaction between them. Surely, it does not mean that the Arabic grammar was borrowed totally from the Greek tradition. Yet, as he stated: "The first real grammarians did not have anything to do with the Aristotelian logic of speech, but with the living practice of grammar which existed all over the Near East" (Versteegh, 1977, 7). In this interaction, the Syrian had an intermediary role. Therefore, according to Versteegh, the Arabic grammar remained under the influence of Greek logic. On the other hand, the Quran, *Hadis* and the poetry of the pre-Islamic period were regarded as a normative part of Classical Arabic in a supra-tribal way, the vernacular and popular language being particularly preferred by non-Muslim Arabs (Versteegh, 1977). The intention in putting the phonetization marks on the letters of the Quran was not to write sounds as in the spoken language even though it was influenced by the Greek writing system indirectly. In other words, it is not a speech oriented but a text oriented concern.

In fact, the inherent phonocentrism in the East did not follow a steady route. For instance, in Islamic culture, even though it seems that writing has always had a privilege, it does not underestimate the face-to-face relation between teacher and student, which provides the the presence of both. Yet, even the source of the knowledge remains bound up with the written text (Schick, 2011, 23-24). Therefore, the relation between speech and writing in İslam can be defined as dialectical as Derrida intended to do. On the other hand, as Matthew M. Koushki put forward, even though the privileged place of speech over writing which Plato asserted was rooted in the Islamic thought as well, after the 8th century, the superiority of writing was argued by Arabic and Persian encyclopedists. Koushki adds that between early Muslim lettrists and Derrida, there is a parallelism in terms of denying speech-writing hierarchy (Koushki, 2016). Rather differing from Derrida, they completely reversed the hierarchy.

In order to evaluate the linguistic legacy and intellectual culture, the explanation of the East-West rupture was not adequate. As seen, the writing based on speech could not be explained only by the Westernization paradigm. An assumption of the sharp distinction between the East and the West is inadequate in showing the artificiality of these "geographical" entities. Indeed the concept of phonocentrism which was not limited to the West is a more encompassing term to evaluate the reformation of the alphabet and the argumentations behind it. Yet, the oriental studies in the 18th and the 19th centuries had a great impact on the phonetic representation of languages such as Arabic, Persian, Turkish and so forth. Indeed, as Mitchell points out that the *harakat* (phonetization marks) is not the equivalent[5] of vowel. For him, the *hareke* means “movement” and it cannot be separated from the letter on the contrary to the vowel which he calls as an European invention. Therefore, he concludes that “a vowel is not something ‘missing from’ Arabic” (Mitchell, 1988, 146-148).

The search for a universal language and universal alphabet can be traced back to the 16th century. The interest in transcribing the world languages to acquire an accurate description of sounds was born in the 18th and 19th centuries in order to facilitate communication between scholars, missionaries and travellers (Lepsius, 1981, 10). It was believed that if the languages outside the Europe were latinized by means of transliteration and transcription, their geographies, particularly the Middle East and the Far East, would be accessible. In the early samples of those sorts of

[5] Nevertheless, throughout this study, the term of “equevalent” has been used “under erasure.” On the other hand, the uses of harakat is not same as the usage in the Turkish language.

alphabets, symbols, diacritical marks and digraphs were used regardless of whether they were designed for an oriental study or not. Afterwards, they were reduced to contain only the Latin alphabet. For instance, in *Dissertation on the Orthography on Asiatick Words in Roman Letters* (1788), Sir William Jones offered a common transcription method for Indian, Arabian and Persian. He also argued that every writer had his own notation system in any European alphabet, but none of them were complete. He emphasized that the names of persons and places and the titles of the books should be written in a less defective orthography in order to give more correct information about the history and the geography of the eastern world (Jones, 1788, 176).

In a similar way, Constantin François Volney, as a historian and orientalist, designed a standard alphabet for the oriental languages in *Simplification de langues orientales ou method nouvelle et facile* (1795) in which primarily Turkish and Persian were handled, however in the appendix there was an Arabic grammar as well. This alphabet was based on "one sound-one symbol principle" which was supplied by the Greek letters and digraphs were not used. According to him, even though the Eastern languages were more harmonious and simpler than any European language- with the exception of Turkish- the opposite seemed true because of their complexity and accessories such as letters (Volney, 1795, 37). He said that while Arabic is like a painting of words, in European languages all details were shown and there was no complexity. In a later work, *L'Alphabet européen appliqué aux langues asiatiques* (1819), he recovered the shortcomings of his former proposal and offered a new alphabet based on Latin letters so that Turkish, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew and Ethiopian could be read by conserving the sound values (Volney, 1819).

Volney was also one of the enlightenment thinkers who was known well by the Ottoman intellectuals of that time because if his naturalist explanation of the decline of empires. Münif Pasha translated a selection of his works. For example, *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie* (1787), one of his main works, was published under the name of "Harâbât-ı Tedmur" in the *Mecmua-i Ebuzziya* (1298/1881, 307-309). Besides, Hoca Tahsin Efendi published an article, "Aklâmu'l-Akvâm" (the Words of the Nations) in the *Mecmua-i Ulûm* (1296/1878-1879, 64-65) which was the continuation of the *Mecmua-i Fünûn*, and mentioned Volney and his opinions on the oriental languages. It gave a clue to what extent the studies of Volney on languages were known in the Ottoman intellectual realm at that time:

> "Especially, if handled the grammar prepared by Volney, it could be seen that the available alphabets are surrounded by deficiencies and orthographic shortcomings. The main reason for the lack of civilization in the Eastern countries is because of the deficiency in their writing whose

> function is the exchange of ideas. While all children could learn their language in such a short time, how difficult for them to read and write the letters and how much time they waste to reach this aim" (Hoca Tahsin Efendi, 1296/1878, 64-65).[6]

Hoca Tahsin evidently shares and repeats Volney's views. Although there are many components of civilization, the alphabet was indicated as one of its main foundations. Indeed, themes such as "deficiency of alphabet or writing," "orthographic chaos," "exchange of ideas" or "easiness of reading or writing" were already prevalent. But in this case, the source of these themes was overt and not localized or islamized differing from the earlier attempts. For instance, around the time when the speech of Münif Pasha was at stake, there was another proposal by Mirza Feth-Ali Akhundzade. He was an Azerbayjani poet, playwright and interpreter regarded as one of the pioneers of the Azerbayjani modernization (Georgeon, 1996, 100). Although he was not an orientalist literally, he designed a common phonetic alphabet for Turkish, Persian and Arabic and justified it also by the civilization discourse.

Akhunzade had studied on a modified alphabet since 1857 and he preferred to present his draft to the Ottoman Empire which, he believed, was the best place to implement it. Firstly, he showed his specimens to Ali Paşa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Fuat Paşa, the grand vizier, who forwarded this issue to the *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye* to be negotiated. In the meeting which he also attended, he accounted the deficiencies of the existing alphabet in a similar way to Münif Pasha and offered his proposal, which was the most seriously elaborated one according to Hamid Algar. The basic principles of this modified alphabet were "the substitution of additional strokes for dots serving to differentiate letters of identical formation; and establishing a single form for each letter, capable of junction with all other letters, so that each word should correspond to an undivided letter group" (Algar, 1969, 117). Thus, the Society focused on three questions: What were the deficiencies of the available alphabet? What was his proposal? What was the difference from the proposal of Münif Pasha's proposals? The difference was significant because Akhundzade associated the uniform individual letters again by means of a junction, while Münif Paşa suggested separating them before. As a result, Akhunzade's project was rejected. The *Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye* accepted that the letters should be reformed but concluded that Akhunzade's proposal was not helpful in

[6] “Hususen Volney ve "Vostod" un sarf ve nahivleri mütalaa olunursa, mevcut elifbaların müştemil oldukları uyûb ve nevâkısa ve hece ve imlâlar kusurlarına kesb-i ıttıla edilir. Memâlik-i Şarkiyye'nin noksan-ı temeddüdünün başlıca sebebi âlet-i teâti-i efkâr olan yazıların noksanı idiğine hükmolunur. Cümle etfâl mâderzâd lisanlarını bir müddet-i kalîle zarfında tahsil-ü tekmil ettikleri halde, kıraat ve kitâbet-i ibârât hususunda ne kadar suûbetler çekerler, ne vakitler zayi ederler” (Hoca Tahsin Efendi, 1296/1878, 64-65).

overcoming the difficulties associated with the usage of letters in press. It was decided that the process of publishing books would be more complicated with this new set of letters (Algar, 1969). Henceforth, Akhundzade did not give up and, several years later, asserted that:

> "[...]it is necessary to leave the Islamic alphabet completely, to take the ways of writing of the Europeans, to read and write from left to right. Omitting the letters and picking up the shapes of the letters from the Latin letters, a brand new alphabet must be made up, which the vowels are written between the consonants, shortly, to replace the syllabic alphabet with the phonetical alphabet[...]" (Caferoğlu, 1933, 441 as quoted from Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi, 2008, 979). [7]

It is obvious that for Akhundzade, a phonetic alphabet had the central role in the civilizing process, whether it was composed of Arabic characters or Latin characters. Like Akhundzade, Malkom Khan, designed a phonetic alphabet by using similar arguments as Akhundzade. Except for the uniform character of the letters, Malkom Khan's project was a bit different from Akhunzade's. Malkom Khan left the junction which Akhundzade proposed previously and preserved the dots and invented special marks instead of vowels which, he claimed that they would gradually disappear and be located between the consonants as vowel letters (See figure 1) (Algar, 1969, 119).

The main contribution of Malkom Khan to the issue can be seen in the debate with Namık Kemal. Malkom Khan responded to an article of Namık Kemal in the newspaper *Hürriyet* through a letter. In the article, Namık Kemal set forth that the Muslim children fall behind the Armenian, Greek and Jewish children because of the defective method of teaching, but not because of the alphabet itself (Namık Kemal, 1286/1869 as quoted from Tansel, 1953, 227). On the other hand, Malkom Khan, in his letter, mentioned that the essential problem was with the alphabet. He also emphasized that it was impossible to catch up with the European civilization without the reformation of the alphabet. According to him, only the alphabet was responsible for "the lack of security in life, honor and property, the lack of popular rights and freedoms, the dilapidation of highways, the abundance of cruelty and oppression and the scarcity of justice and equity" (Malkom Khan, 1286/1869 as quoted from Algar, 1969, 121).

Even though Namık Kemal agreed that the reformation of the alphabet was necessary to some extent, he found these extreme proposals unacceptable. For Namık Kemal, such a radical change would cause the literate people to return to the

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[7] "[...]Lâzımdır İslâm elifbasını bikülliye terkedip Avrupalıların usûl-ı hattını getirmek ve yazıyı soldan sağa yazıp okumak ve noktaları bi'lmerre sâkıt ve hurûfların şeklini Lâtin huruflarından intihâb edip taze bir elifbâ tertib eylemek ve hurûf-ı müsevviteni hurûf-ı semitenin yanına yazmak, hulâsa sîlâbî elifbâyı alfabetî elifbâya mübeddel etmek[...]" (Caferoğlu, 1933, 441 as quoted from Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi, 2008, 979).

elementary level of reading and writing and all books to be republished. It is possible to say that the attempts of Akhundzade and Malkom Khan were considered suspicious, even heretical, at that time. Indeed, they were aware of the situation and proposed previously a totally phonetic Arabic script instead of the Latin one. The Arabic letters were associated with the Quran directly and the Quran written in separated letters or syllabic style was unimaginable. On the one hand, they argued that the alphabet did not deal with religion and on the other hand, that their alphabet proposals were more beneficial for everybody in terms of learning and teaching İslam. Yet, as Algar put it, they tried to reduce Islam to a component of culture and dealt with it in a secular way rather than as ultimate truth (Algar, 1969).

In a similar way, Namık Kemal found the reformation of the letters inevitable. According to him, the problem could be solved via developing some special signs for the surplus sounds in Turkish and making them explicit without any radical or total change in the Turkish language. The sounds of the letters "ث, خ, ذ, ض, ظ, ع" were not pronounced in spoken Turkish. In addition, the "ح" gave the same sound with the "ه", the "ص" with the "س", and the "ط" with the letter "ت". Nevertheless, in a letter in which Namık Kemal expressed his ideas in a detailed way to Menemenlizade Rifat Bey on 8 August 1878, he said that if we omitted those letters because they complicated the orthography, we would just multiply the homonyms, which we already struggle to understand from the context. For instance, writing "ظاهر" (*zâhir*, which means "apparent") in the same way as "زاهر" (*zâhir*, which means "glittery") eradicates the difference between them (Tansel, 1953, 240).

According to Namık Kemal, someone can read the text as long as he knows the meaning of the word. If he does not know it, it is impossible to read just by learning letters. He also accounts for the drawbacks of the Latin alphabet such as the difficulty of writing from left to right, the inadequacy of the Latin letters in representing the Turkish sounds. Yet, his most interesting and linguistically legitimate argument was the impossibility of writing by means of a one-to-one correspondence. He commented in his personal letter to Binbaşı Ömer Bey:

> "First of all, I could not understand why do we have to write all words of the civilized nations and the subjected to the Empire letter by letter? Shall we write a French letter or a Laz book in Turkish letters? Which language enables us to write the pronunciation of every nation letter by letter in the world?" (Namık Kemal, 1295/1878 as quoted from Tansel, 1953, 243).[8]

[8] "Evvelâ anlayamam ki biz kâffe-i milel-i mütemeddinenin ve bizde mevcut olan akvamın her söyledikleri lâkırdıyı aynı aynına yazmağa neden muhtaç oluyoruz? Türkçe hurûfu ile Fransızca mektup veya Lâzca kitap mı yazacağız? Her kavmin telâffuzunu aynı aynına muktedir, dünyada hangi lisan vardır?" (Namık Kemal, 1295/1878 As quoted from Tansel, 1953, 243).

He adds that if we search for an alphabet which reflects the all differences among sounds, it would not be less complicated than Chinese characters. He points out that an alphabet which represents speech in an exact way would be imaginary and also harmful because of paving the way for ethnocentrism. He supports his thesis by quoting from Leibniz, who argued that with "a good alphabet for me, a good language for you and by means of this power I shall make a nation" (Namık Kemal 1878 as quoted from Ertem, 1991, 111). He also warns that if every community in the Empire had its own alphabet, it could be used as a weapon against the state as the Albanians did by constructing their unity through a brand-new alphabet (Namık Kemal as quoted from Tansel, 1953, 245). The significant point here is that Namık Kemal handles the issue by linguistic self-reflexivity. Indeed, there are an infinite number of sounds between two represented sounds. The representation crisis could never be overcome.

Apart from these arguments, there were some endeavours to bring order into the orthographic chaos. We can trace these attempts back to as early as to the foundation of the *Encümen-i Daniş* (the Ottoman Academy) in 1851. The main purpose of this institution was to write and publish a Turkish grammar book, a Turkish dictionary and a history book which could be understood by the general public. Thus, *Kavaid-i Osmaniyye* became the first grammar book which was written by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha. For Kushner, this grammar book included the Arabic and Persian grammar rules; however, it was organized according to the French method (Kushner, 1995, 103). On the other hand, Mardin states that this grammar book could be accepted as the starting point in the linguistic modernization process (Mardin, 161, 261).

Ahmed Cevdet Pasha was another adherent to the simplification of Turkish. For him, Turkish should be so precise that scientific terms and subjects could be articulated easily. He was also acknowledged as the first person who pointed out that the Arabic alphabet should be adapted to Turkish, in *Medhal-i Kavaid* which was the abridged edition of *Kavaid-i Osmaniyy*e (Özkan, 2006, 224). He suggested three points for *nasal* n (sağır kef) - as "ڭ"- and some signs for the rounded vowels in order to give the sounds of "o, ö, u, ü" in order to approximate the written word to the spoken Turkish.

3.1.2. The Separated Letters

Another aspect of reforming the letters was to write them in a separated way. The forms of the Arabic characters change according to their places; that is to say, in the

beginning, the middle or the end. It is necessary to learn not only all these different forms but also how and where they are joined or separated in order to write a word correctly. Thus, the reform concentrated on creating a single form instead of three to acquire a convenient alphabet for reading, writing and printing.

The question was in which way this task would be accomplished. For instance, although Münif Pasha proposed to separate letters, Akhundzade joined them by means of a junction again. We do not have a sample of the draft by Akhunzade; however, we know about it from his writings:

> "Mirze Feteli, you left the points and inserted the vowels on the same line with the consonants according to your own peculiar and novel method. Nevertheless, in the previous proposal, you had made the letters compounded. If the purpose of changing the alphabet is to facilitate reading and writing, why did you ignore the superiority of the separated letters over the compounded letters?" (Akhundzade, 1295/1878 as quoted from Özgül, 2005, 91).[9]

Akhundzade's answer was that the separated letters might seem odd to people. It was not appropriate for writing the Quran in this way and also it would take up more space. We can say that if this project would be accepted, it was intended to be applied not only to the writing of sciences or bureaucracy but also to the religious texts. It is obvious that Akhundzade as a reformer did not want to take reaction. He tried to legitimize his proposal by means of the respect for religion. On the other hand, Malkom Khan's design, except for the letters in single forms, was a bit different from the project of Akhundzade. He continued the retention of dots and the phonetization marks (*harakat*) not diagonally but vertically. Particularly, he inserted the vowel signs among consonants as well in its revised version (See figure 1). He also published three books in these letters, the *Gulistan* of Sadi, a selection from the *Nahj al-Balagha*, a collection of Turkish proverbs, the *Durub-i Emsal-i Müntehabe*, in order to show how the perfected version of his alphabet was compatible for three languages: Persian, Arabic and Turkish (Algar, 1969, 126). At this point, it is noteworthy to ask what was the difference between both the phonetized and separated Arabic characters and the Latin alphabet? Why did they attempt to modify instead of proposing the Latin letters first?

[9] "-Mirze Feteli, siz öz yeni üsulunuzda nögteleri tamamile atmışsınız ve bütün harekeleri herfler sırasına dahil etmişsiniz. Lâkin sözlerin terkibinde herflerin bitişikliyini evvelki gaydada sahlamışsınız. Elifbanı deyiştirmekten megsed ohuyup-yazmağı âsanlaşdırmagdırsa, ne içün bu işde ayrılan, bitişmeyen herflerin mürekkeb ve bitişen herflerden üstün olduğunu nezerde tutmamışsınız?" (Akhundzade, 1295/1878 as quoted from Özgül, 2005, 91).

Figure 1: An Excerpt from the *Durub-i Emsal-i Müntehabe* in the Separated Letters by Malkom Khan

İskit, Server R. **Türkiye'de Neşriyat Tarihine Bir Bakış**. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1939

For Akhundzade and Malkom Khan, this modified alphabet was a semi-solution for adapting the logic of the Latin alphabet instead of taking it directly. Although they spoke explicitly within such an Orientalist discourse, their proposals remained implicitly Orientalistic. As Edward Said noted, for the linguists who have dealt with oriental languages, these languages were obscure areas which had to be brought to light (Said, 1995, 113-148). Languages such as Arabic, Persian and Hebrew should be handled as an object to be observed as in the case of biology and they should be rendered clear and reasonable. Mitchell also suggests that language has been tought as an organism by Orientalists in the nineteents century European knowledge. And the words were exmined like the cells of which an organism is composed (Mitchell, 1988, 139). As seen, William Jones and C. F. Volney tried to make a standard alphabet in Latin characters which was based on "one sound-one symbol" principle for the transcription of these languages. In the case of the projects of Akhundzade and Malkom Khan, they seemed to conserve the "Islamic" writing at first sight; however, they shared the same concern: the articulation of writing which would represent the speech in a clear and illuminated way by modifying the anatomy of the script. That is to say, the letters should follow each other "one by one" in a linear way without leading to any confusion. On the other hand, as seen before,

writing the letters, especially the vowels, is not just a superficial subsitition. As Mitchell said that even though the consonants and vowels can be existe individually, the *harakat* does not have a separate being from the letters (Mitchell, 1988, 146-148).

Another argument at that time was that the joined letters which were differing in the beginning, the middle and the end were not convenient for printing. According to this argument, we needed many more characters in a typeset than European countries: approximately five hundred and sometimes extended to nine hundred. For instance, in 1302/1882, in Egypt, Mehmet Hasan Efendi published a treatise by using 28 characters instead of 500 based on the one sound-one symbol principle (Tansel, 1953, 246). On the other hand, without any reformation, there had already been a revival in printing at that time not only in Ottoman Turkish but also in Arabic itself (Koloğlu, 2010, 150).

It is not accidental that İbrahim Şinasi, who was regarded as the founder of the journalistic language, was interested more in the material side of the alphabet than in the other aspects. For İbrahim Şinasi, written languages should be organized in a precise way to be based on logic. "Long, complicated and obscure *insha* sentences have been defeated by the short, clear and intense prose of Şinasi" (Dizdaroğlu, 1982, 25). In a similar way, he contemplated printing and the joined letters. Tanpınar said that Şinasi preferred the style of calligraphy in harmony with his precise prose in the newspapers he published, such as *Tercüman-ı Ahval* and *Tasvir-i Efkar*. He did not invent a new alphabetical system, but he reduced the typeset to 112 letters, which he imported from Paris and used for a while. Even if they were practical, they did not appeal to people. For Ebüzziya Tevfik, it was not necessary to reduce the typeset in order to publish with 519 characters in the best way (Tanpınar, 2006, 199).

Even though writing was conceived mostly as an intangible phenomenon, its material and technical aspects were very important and controversial. Partha Chaterjee argues that Asian and African forms of nationalism or Westernization processes contain aspects such as the division between the material and the spiritual realms (Chatterjee, 1993, 3-14). We can observe that a similar distinction was made by a Turkish intellectual as well. According to Ziya Gökalp also, while the elements of civilisation (*medeniyet*) are artificial, common and constructed, the components of national culture (*hars)* are natural and specific to each nation (Gökalp, 1968, 27-41). If we assume such a dualism in language, it could be hard to the relationship between writing and alphabet. Indeed, the reduction of the type-

case was also decisive in the way of writing the words. Therefore, it is not free from morphological and syntactical issues. Even such a material/non-material distinction was functional in creating discourses in the process of adaptation and resistance to the West, indeed, it is hard to identify where they exactly divorce from each other. In the case of the relation between writing and alphabet, when we take into consideration the emergence of the communication technologies, their impact could not be ignored in the genre and content of writing.

3.2. The Implementation of the Phonetic Writing in the Constitutional Era

The proposal of Münif Pasha and the designs of Akhundzade and Malkom Khan were not welcomed. Particularly, the petition of Malkom Khan was rejected firstly by the *Şurâ-i Devlet* (The Council of State) in 1868 and then by the *Nafia Nezareti* (the Board of the Useful Affairs) in 1870. It was found suspicious to what extent the reformation of the script could be functional because there was a probability of public disorder related to the civilization discourse (Aydın, 2014, 139-152). A phonetic writing with separated letters, in this period, remained as an avant-garde endeavour. The main concern was to organize the orthography. Many writers tried to modify the letters "ا, و, ى " and "ک" in order to create a specific orthography for Turkish. Nevertheless, none of them was accepted as the common and standard solution, and the existing orthographic chaos multiplied.

In the Second Constitutional period, there were some official and non-official attempts to regulate the orthography and make radical shifts on the script. In order to standardize and facilitate orthography, four commissions were founded. They were the commissions of *sarf* (morphology), *imlâ* (orthography), *lûgat* (language) and *ıstılahat-ı ilmiye* (scientific terminology). They also published the treatises on morphology and orthography (Ülkütaşır, 1981, 22). The *Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti* (the Ministry of Education) enabled the *Sarf ve İmla Encümeni* (the Commission of Morphology and Orthography) to prepare the *Usul-i İmla* (the Method of Orthography) in 1917. In its introduction, it was specified that apart from the Ottomans, the French, the German, the American and the Portuguese also had trouble with orthography and mentioned the implementations they used. In addition, the Arabs improved vocalization marks (the system of *hareke*) and until the seventh century, these marks were employed in Turkish language instead of vowels. However, the Arabic alphabet was inadequate for Turkish language because the problem was not just the indication of vowels but the transformation of the consonants. The way of writing words was arbitrary, depending on the writer. "In the

books written in the same year, we encounter the same word in several orthographies as in "كوروشور,كوروشر , كورشور , كوروشير, كورشر,كوريشير" (görüşür [he meets]). It was also emphasized that another factor which made the orthography incoherent was the *aruz* meter (Arabic prosody) (Usul-i İmlâ, 1333-1335/1917-1919, 11-12).

In the first chapter of the *Usul-i İmlâ*, entitled “Usul-i İmla, Saitlerin İstimalinde İttiba Olunan Esasat ve Nazariyyat” (the Theories and Principles in the Usage of Vowels), it is specified that after Turks’ conversion to Islam, they used two kinds of orthography: Chagatai in the East and Seljukian in the West. In a section of “Cevahir-i Kelimatda Savait” (The Vowels in the Essence of the Words), the orthography was divided into three phases. The first was the phase of vocalization marks (*hareke devresi*). Most of the books belonging to the Anatolian people were marked by vocalization marks. The second was the meter phase (*vezin devresi*). Turkish words started to be written according to Arabic meters (*vezin*), so the difficulty of reading in Arabic influenced Turkish. Nevertheless, some men of letters began to consider the etymology and the true nature of the words and tried to break away from the influence of Arabic by making the vowels visible. The third was the vowel phase (*sait devresi*). This phase was complicated since some people used vowels in a conservative manner while others did not, which may explain why we see the same word rendered in different ways (Usul-i İmla, 1333-1335/1917-1919, 19).

Apart from the studies on orthography, there was a more radical attempt, the *huruf-ı munfasıla* (the separated letters) movement, which cannot be underestimated, particularly in terms of linguistic history. In the Second Constitutional era, Münif Pasha's proposal - the introduction of vowels and the separation of letters - was revived and made widely known to the public and institutionalized by the contribution of the *Islah-ı Huruf Cemiyeti* (the Society of the Reformation of the Letters) around the journal of *Yeni Yazı* (See figure 28). The Society was established on 3 February 1911 by the invitation of Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem. Dr. Milaslı Hakkı Bey acted as its pioneer. Among its members there were prominent names at the time such as Ali Nusret, İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğu], Cihangirli M. Şinasi, Celal Nuri [İleri], Celal Sahir [Erozan], Süleyman Nazif, Cenap Şehabeddin, Ispartalı Hakkı Bey. The aim of the Society was to promote the New Writing invented by Milaslı Hakkı Bey and designed by Mustafa Rakım Bey, and to increase mass literacy.

Yet, there was another implementation during the post-Tanzimat period. The *Usul-i cedid* (the new method of teaching) or *usul-i savti* (the phonetic method of teaching)

was less radical but more effective than the *huruf-ı munfasıla* writing at increasing mass literacy. This method was not only the important part of the reforms in education in the late Ottoman period but also the essence of the *Cedidist* movement. Under the second subtitle, I will handle the method of the *usul-i savti* and its role in the alphabet and orthography debates.

3.2.1. Scientific Writing with Arabic Characters

In the late Ottoman context, scientific writing connoted a written language compatible with the scientific terminology in terms of content. By publishing the journal named the *Mecmua-i Fünûn*, one of the aims of the *Cemiyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye* was to simplify the written language in terms of vocabulary, syntax and semantics as a medium in which scientific knowledge could be produced. The alphabet should be in accordance with this simplified language because a rational content requires a rational form. Instead of adopting the Latin alphabet or even to propose it explicitly, it was proposed that the script should be reorganized according to phonetic criteria by conserving the symbolic value of the Arabic letters. It was implicitly assumed that any kind of scientific development emerged thanks to the Latin alphabet, which was generated from the phonetic Greek alphabet. As seen in the case of Malkom Khan, there was such an explicit orientalist approach that the Arabic letters were kept responsible for the all corruption and backwardness in the Islamic countries. For Malkom Khan, only the Latin letters could be the cure and the separated letters (*huruf-ı munfasıla*) were just an intermediate stage.

It is interesting to scrutinize the differences and similarities between the New Writing of Milaslı Hakkı Bey and especially the last design of Malkom Khan (See figures 1 and 2). Except for the typologies of the scripts, they departed from the same principle. For both of them, the main reason for our backwardness was nothing but the existing script and the solution they applied was primarily to write the letters separately. Whereas, in order to show vowels, Milaslı invented the signs generated from the letters "ا, و, ى ", Malkom Khan phoneticised the writing by changing the places and directions of vocalization marks. Indeed, it was hard to categorize them into this or that style such as *nesih*, *talik* or *kufi*. Yet, the main difference between them emerged in terms of the rationales they used. For Milaslı, the New Writing was not a permanent solution, but it was a perfect synthesis of Arabic letters and Latin alphabet. The *millet* was threatened by the Latin letters and in order to avoid its peril, the Arabic letters should be modified or perhaps restored in a “scientific way”.

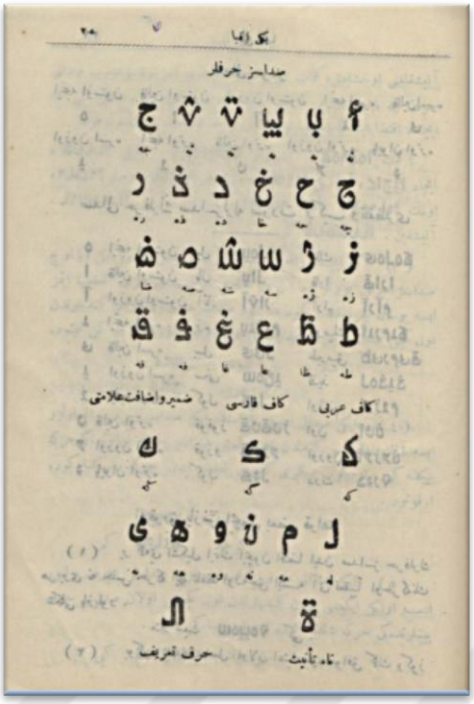

Figure 2: The Letters of the New Writing and Their Equivalents in the Existing Arabo-Persian letters

Yeni Elifbanın Muhassenatı. Islah-ı Huruf Cemiyeti Namına G. A. R.. İstanbul: Tercüman-ı Hakikat Matbaası, 1334.

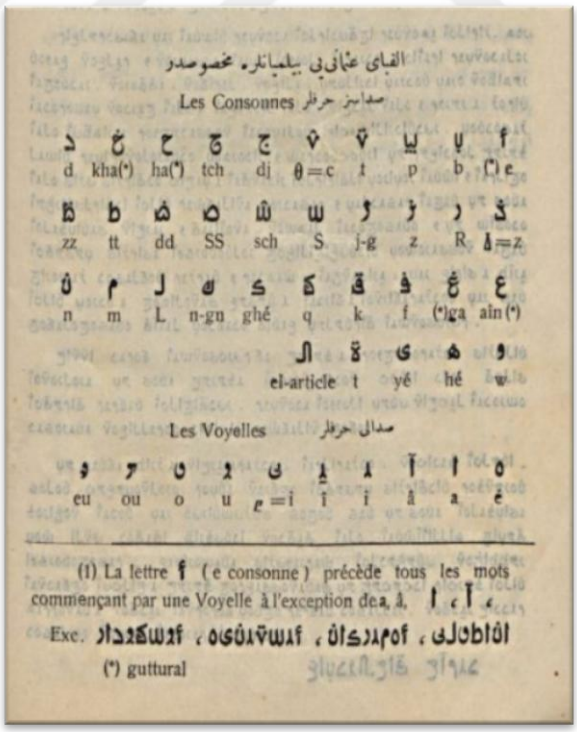

Figure 3: The Letters of the New Writing and Their Equivalents in the Letters of French orthography

Yeni Elifbanın Muhassenatı. Islah-ı Huruf Cemiyeti Namına G. A. R.. İstanbul: Tercüman-ı Hakikat Matbaası, 1334.

The interesting point is that in the writings of Milaslı, there is no reference to Malkom Khan's previous attempt even though their projects are based on the same principle. Moreover, for both of them, the main reason for the backwardness of Muslim societies is their complicated writing. Nevertheless, the differences between them are decisive. Malkom Khan accounts for all the clichés of Orientalism by saying that writing is responsible for all the corruptions. For him, Islam is just a cultural ingredient rather than a religion, while Milaslı considers that the fundamentals of Islam cound be reconciliated with the discourse of progess and civilisation. On the other hand, since he saw the Latin letters as dangerous in terms of conserving religion, he invented the the disjointed letters so that could compensate them.

One of the offshoots of Orientalism discourse is the appearance of linguistic studies, or so-called philology. According to these studies, not only the Arabic letters but also the Hebrew, Urdu and Chinese graphemes lack the qulity of being rational because they are either half phonetic or not phonetic at all. They are thought as obscure, illegible, flawy, defective and exotic. According to Edward Said, Silvister de Sacy scrutinized them like an object, clarified their meaning, and gave them *voice* in the sense of pedagogic and rational utility, "[…] he speaks of his own work as having *uncovered, brought to light, rescued* a vast amount of obscure matter. Why? In order to *place it before* the student" (Said, 1995, 127). In this sense, we can find a similar concern in the New Writing discourse. Indeed, Milaslı's justifications completely overlap with academic Orientalism. Besides, they are more systematic than Malkom Khan's, and tries to rationalize language and letters. For him, they should be rescued from confusion and obscurity. Their forms should be so straight as to be in harmony with lines. In doing so, the main criterion is "explicitness". The catchier and more explicit they are, the closer to perfection they will be. The alphabet should be a "visible speech". Separating letters creates a graphic articulation because what cannot be articulated is regarded as non-existing.

According to Milaslı, education was a requirement for the people from all classes and ranks, and if mass literacy (*tamim-i maarif*) increased, Islamic countries would progress. Our achievements in the past are incomparable with the progress of today's Europe because progress is possible only by increasing literacy rates but not by having several brilliant minds. The obstacle in front of mass literacy is merely the existing script. So as to read this script, first of all, it is necessary to understand the context (*siyak* and *sibak*), which takes many years in school. However, peasants and workers cannot spare time for this. When a child graduates, he should be able to read any type of information, not only the things he learned in school (Milaslı

İsmail Hakkı, 1331/1912-1913, 5). In order to accomplish this, he invented the New Writing and started to introduce it firstly in the newspaper *Teceddüt* (Innovation). One of his publications on the New Writing was *Tamim-i Maarif ve Islah-ı Huruf* (1908) (The Generalization of Education and the Reformation of the Letters). In order to teach the script of the New Writing, *Yeni Yazı ve Elifbası* (the New Writing and its Alphabet) (1909) and *Yeni Harflerle Elifba* (The Alphabet with the New Letters) (1917) were published as well. *Yeni Yazı Hakkında Varid Olan İtirazlar ve Suallere Cevap* (The Response to the Questions and the Objections about the New Writing) in (1331/1912-1913) was written in the question and answer format, aimed to defend the New Writing. He clarified the reasons behind his motivations and aims by inventing the New Writing by answering twenty questions.

The script designed by Milaslı was composed of ten vowels, thirty-four consonants and the Arabic definite article (*harf-i tarif el*). Milaslı does not use phonetization marks and puts the vowels between the consonants. *Fetha*, the sound of "a", is generated from "ا". He prefers "ه" for the sound of "e". The letter "ى" does not change much and gives the sound of "ı/i". The sounds of "o, ö, u, ü" are generated from "و". It was claimed that the main feature of this writing is to be based on the scientific principle; in other words, there is a one-to-one correspondence between the sign and the sound. The differences among the letters are made sharper in terms of appearance because while being reshaped, just the characteristics of letters are kept. For example, the teeth of the letter "س" are its distinctive part and then its tail is omitted (See figure 1). The significant point here is to prevent the letters from being confusing by making the differences explicit. Although writing direction should be from right to left, but in a way different from the Ottoman writing (*Hatt-ı Osmani*).

He wrote articles and treatises to defend this New Writing. We chose some critical questions from the book mentioned above in order to exemplify the arguments behind the New Writing, in terms of the conceptual framework of this study. "Is it more important to simplify the language by omitting some letters instead of inventing a new writing?" According to Milaslı, if we practice the New Writing, we do not spend much time in school because of the easiness of its training, thus we are not exposed to ambiguous words. It is impossible to standardize orthography by means of old writing. With the New Writing, since it is not likely to read incorrectly, there is no need to leave the surplus letters out (Milaslı, 1331/1912-1913, 17-18). "Is it not better to adopt the Latin letters directly?" His answer is that Latin letters are foreign for the spirit of *millet* (nation). Without adding eighteen letters to it, the Arabic loanwords cannot be written and the language becomes confusing (Milaslı,

1331/1912-1913, 36-37). “Is not the New Writing defective in terms of aesthetics while the old writing is very qualified?” In the old writing, letters overlap and in order to hide this deficiency, the points are invented as ornaments. However, the main function of writing should provide an easy reading. The most beautiful writing is the one which accomplishes this aim as easily as possible (Milaslı, 1331/1912-1913, 22-23). “Is it not hard and slow to write with the separated letters?” The separated letters (*Huruf-ı Munfasıla*) are both natural and precise so that the speed of writing should be compatible with the speed of speech and listening. Moreover, it provides efficiency in terms of time and space (Milaslı, 1331/1912-1913, 22-23). “Why are the points left out completely?” About the points, the writing should be moderate. The amount of points needed could be as many as in the Latin alphabet (Milaslı, 1331/1912-1913, 25). “How do those who are trained with the old writing correspond with those who learn the New Writing?” Milaslı says that the New Writing does not displace the old writing. Those who know the old writing will keep reading and writing with it. Yet, from now on, everybody can read and write on by themselves (Milaslı, 1331/1912-1913, 20-21). “How does the Islamic world react to the New Writing?” The Islamic world is under attack by the use of Latin letters and there is no chance they will be welcomed. This writing should be preferred, however to the Russian, Roman or Urdu letters. By means of the New Writing, the people from all Islamic countries would communicate and understand each other easily (Milaslı, 1331/1912-1913, 13-14).

In addition, Milaslı İsmail Hakkı also has an approach of admixture of economic rationality and pedagogy. What is important in writing is efficiency and easiness. Writing should save time and space. It goes hand in hand with the demotion of writing as well. Since the peasants and the workers could employ it in their jobs in a pragmatic way, writing should be reshaped to make them literate as soon as possible (Milaslı, 1331/1912-1913, 22-23).

Another important point is the historiography which Milaslı assigned to the New Writing. He believed that the letters in which the Quran was first revealed were very different from the existing alphabet and emphasizes that the points and vocalization marks emerged after the revelation of Quran. In other words, he starts historiography with an archaic form of the Arabic alphabet. He also adds that it was from the same family the Hebrew writing proliferated. Yet, they have a more clear and rational writing than us, because they kept writing in separated forms (Milaslı, 1331/1912-1913, 12).

He objects to the adoption of the Latin letters because they are foreign to "the spirit of the *millet*" and points out that Turkish could be written in different phonetic alphabets. For instance, in Anatolia, some of those who speak Turkish write in Greek. In a similar way, the Turks in Russia write in Cyrillic alphabet. He finds these examples functional for his purpose, namely the New Writing. For him, it brings together not only the Turks but also all the Muslims (Milaslı, 1331/1912-1913, 10).

Indeed, the implications of Orientalistic discourse in the realm of linguistics were generally neglected but we can see its implicit and explicit implications in this case. For instance, the Orientalistic discourse was transferred directly in the discourse Malkom Khan when he indicated the jointed Arabo-Persion alphabet with its invisible vowels as a source of evil. It is obvious that whereas Malkom Khan as “an Oriental” does not have concern such resistance but adaptation to the Eurocentric modernity, Milaslı ended up with the similar style of letters putting them as a solution of resistance to the dominance of the Latin letters. Even the proposal of Milaslı İsmail Hakkı seemed free from the discourse of Orientalism at first sight it is one of its implicit expressions. In this sense, it could be seen as “double movement” (Makdisi, 2002, 795). As Ussama Makdisi set forth, Orientalism proliferated and continued to be produced outside the West. Indeed it was reproduced even by the East itself. It had many variations so that cannot be limited to binary oppositions of domination and resistance. One of the characteristics of “Ottoman Orientalism” is its ambiguous relationship with the West (Makdisi, 2002, 769). Similarly, Ethem Eldem defined it as “an awkward relationship” and emphasized that the Ottoman tried to create “a grey zone” between “admiration and resentment” (Eldem, 2015, 95).

3.2.2. The Army Alphabet

The New Writing was a phonetic writing with Arabic characters. It supposedly had many virtues, and one of them was being designed according to scientific methods. It had both features of the Ottoman writing and those of other nations, namely those which employed the Latin alphabet. It was officially implemented as well to some extent. In 1914, Enver Pasha launched another *huruf-ı munfasıla* writing inspired by the New Writing to be used in the army correspondences. Yet, the *huruf-ı munfasıla* experience remained a radical attempt. It did not become widespread except for the *Yeni Yazı* magazine, a few alphabet books, the annuals and the maps published during the First World War (See figure 29). We do not encounter any publications for the general public such as newspapers, novels or textbooks written in the *huruf-ı munfasıla* writing.

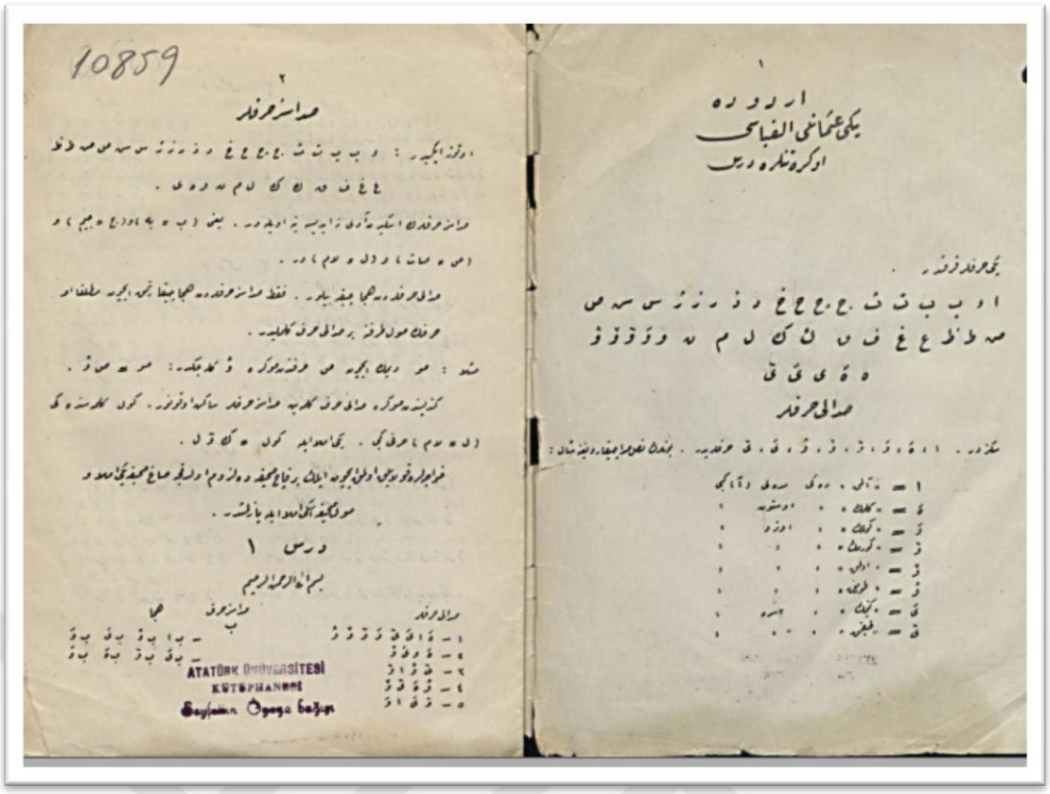

Figure 4: The New Turkish Alphabet at the Army

Orduda Yeni Osmanlı Elifbası. [1326/1911].

In terms of progressive evolution, the Army Alphabet (or similar versions) was seen as a project destined to fail because of its bad timing. Referring to Enver Pasha's endeavour, Mustafa Kemal pointed out that, "once you have started it, do it accurately and be courageous and give it a civilised form." In other words, he suggested adopting "the Latin letters directly" (Ertem, 1991, 153). This attempt was interpreted as sloppy work in a supposedly inevitable trajectory. When we accept this interpretation, there is nothing to say and to do apart from the perfect end of a teleological historical line. Yet, giving an ear to the discourse behind the new writing requires re-evaluating where continuities and breaks start and end.

In *Variations sur l'écriture*, Roland Barthes argues that whereas scientists have studied only the ancient writings such as hieroglyphs, Greek and Latin letters meticulously, there is no word on modern writing. Paleography has a monopoly on the study of writing and the furthest point it could reach is the sixteenth century. He also wonders in which way we should deal with the writing of the nineteenth century. Barthes concludes that the historian in that situation is driven into amnesia because her memory is closed to today. Again, for him, writing has been oppressed while being modernized (Barthes, 2006, 35). The existing new writing invented in the late

Ottoman period was dysfunctional, hybrid and heretical not just for that time but also for today; however, disturbing the amnesiac situationcan create an interstice. On the one hand it could be seen as an avant-garde attempt for the time, and on the other, it remains as conservative because of the retention of the Arabic characters by the adherents of the Latin letters. So, how should one deal with "this existing new writing"? It would be helpful to start with the word "new."

The two components of novelty discourse in the late Ottoman context are related to each other: the new language and the new writing system. The leading figures of the new language are Ömer Seyfeddin and Ziya Gökalp, both of whom are against a radical change in the alphabet. However, both the new language and the new writing are innovative and radical projects for their time. They establish a dichotomy between the new and the old. On the other hand, both employ the term "new" in an ambigious and ambivalent way. For example, the new language comes into being as a simplification movement against the probability of purification of language, and in the same way, the new writing could be interpreted as a conservative response against the adoption of the Latin alphabet. In this sense, "new" is a solution to be modern and Ottoman at the same time without uttering "Western."

3.2.3. Question of the Restoration of the Letters

Even though Milaslı's project was a peculiar one, there were many people who dealt with the alphabet. His arguments were also interesting and help deepen our understanding of the New Writing. İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu], who was a calligrapher, playwright, and politician, wrote about the separated letters as a member of the *Islah-ı Huruf Cemiyeti*. He has numerous works in several fields, but the ones on writing were *Tadil-i Huruf Meselesi* (The Question of the Restoration of the Letters) (1328-1330/ 1910-1912), *Yazının Usul-i Tedrisi* (The Method of Teaching Writing) (1340/1920) and *Türklerde Yazı Sanatı* (The Turkish Art of Writing) (1958). Particularly, *Şekiller Nasıl Tedkik Edilir?* (How to Examine the Forms) -the third treatise of *Tadil-i Huruf Meselesi*- which he co-authored with Cihangirli M. Şinasi, sheds light on the motivations of the proponents of the New Writing. According to İsmail Hakkı, the most important elements in a script are, in turn, character (*şahsiyet*), legibility, rapidity and art (İsmail Hakkı, 1328-1330/1910-1912, 13). The difference between letters should be significant in terms of length, shortness and straightness. He emphasizes that character is the spirit of an alphabet (İsmail Hakkı, 1328-1330/1910-1912, 9). According to him, the existing

letters are in constant evolution and they have changed until that time. Therefore it proves that they could be reformed again (İsmail Hakkı, 1328-1330/1910-1912, 13).

In addition, the scripts of Arabic countries are different from each other and we too could reshape our letters. For this aim, there is no obstacle in terms of religion, but in terms of customs and traditions, so the main concern here is how to accomplish this. For İsmail Hakkı, the letters should be handled and modified with artistic motivations. Yet, the purpose is to create a writing which could facilitate the instruction of reading and writing as soon as possible along with the conservation of beauty of writing (İsmail Hakkı, 1328-1330/1910-1912, 18-20). The letters should be made explicit without damaging their characteristics and by making them unfamiliar. For instance, the Kufic writing has this merit in terms of being straight, nevertheless, its defect is that the form of letters changes according to their places, namely in the beginning, the middle and the end (See figures 5 and 6) (İsmail Hakkı, 1328-1330/1910-1912, 22).

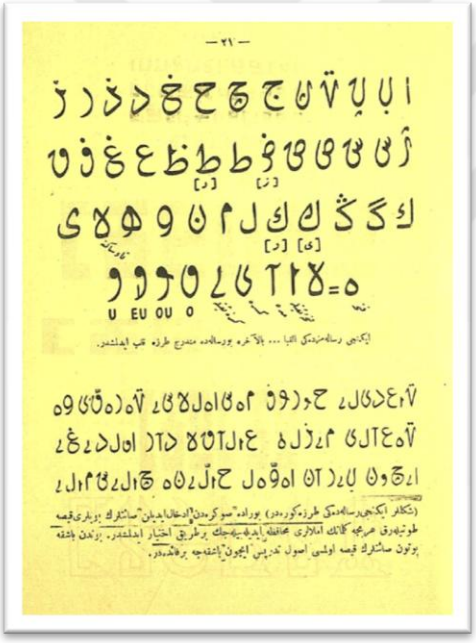

Figure 5: The Separated Letters of the New Writing in the *Şekiller Nasıl Tedkik Edilir?*

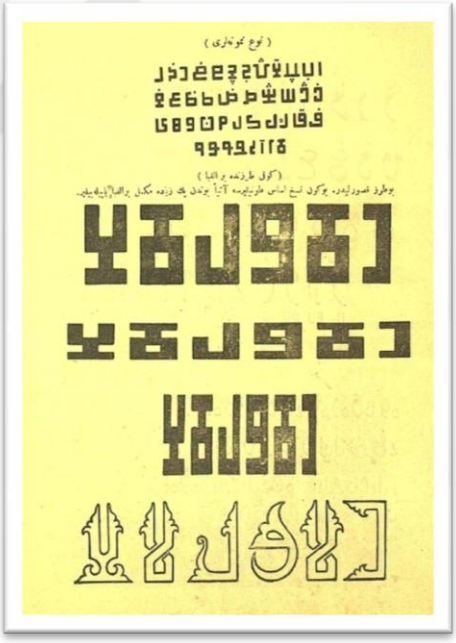

Figure 6: The Separated Letters of the New Writing in Kufic style

İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu]. **Tadil-i Huruf Meselesi: 3. Risale: Şekiller Nasıl Tedkik Olunur?** İstanbul: Nefaset Matbaası, 1328-1330.

Another flaw of the existing writing is its lack of harmony. The letters seem to linger in the air in addition to not being economical because and, when published in small print, impossible to read. In order to cope with this problem, there are two choices: either adopting Latin letters directly or adopting only the style of Latin letters. The

best solution, for Ismail Hakkı, is to restore the Islamic letters by making them the equivalents of the Latin letters. That is to say, the letters should be written separately by conserving their main features. They should also be memorable, familiar and easy to learn (İsmail Hakkı, 1328-1330/1910-1912, 39).

3.2.4. The Orthography of *Servet-i Fünûn*: A Criticism against the New Writing

In this period, there were some trials with this writing in the newspaper *Servet-i Fünûn*, which was called the orthography of *Servet-i Fünûn* afterwards. One of the opponents of separated letters is İsmail Subhi. He explained his proposal in the article “Servet-i Fünûn İmlası” (the *Servet-i Fünûn* Orthography). According to him, it is adequate to show every vowel without isolating all letters. Besides, it was adequate to throw away some characters and to employ the vowels.

İsmail Subhi stated that the type case composed of 363 characters and most of them are indeed the same. Therefore, there is no harm in omitting the recurrent ones. So, he was in favour of the elimination of the 229 of them (İsmail Subhi, 1327, 349-350), as seen in the figure 7:

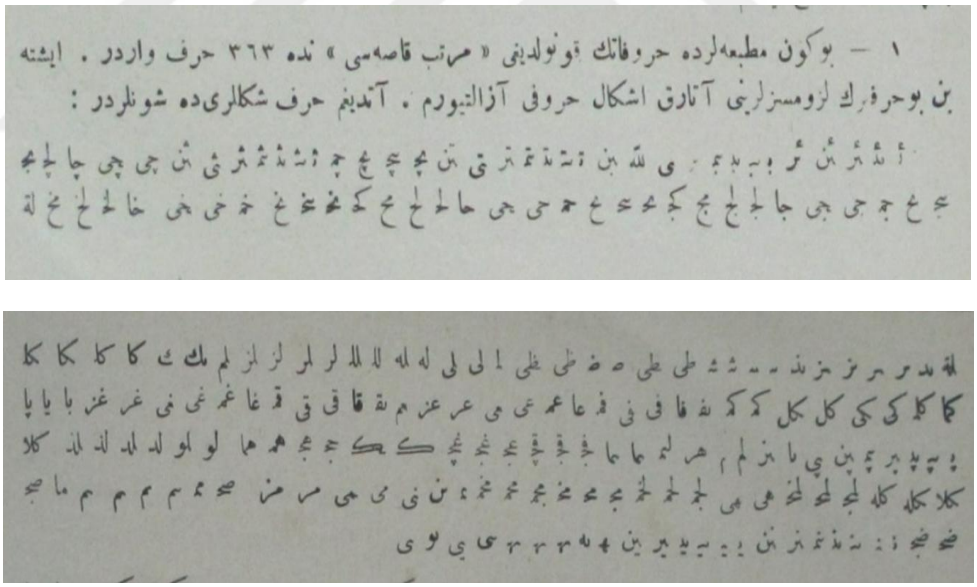

Figure 7: The Omitted Characters from the Typecase by İsmail Subhi

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İsmail Subhi. 1327. Servet-i Fünûn İmlâsı. **Musavver Salname-i Servet-i Fünûn**.v.3: 346-353.

On the other hand, İsmail Subhi thinks that the 134 characters of the type case should be kept (İsmail Subhi, 1327/1909-1910, 350), as seen in figure 8:

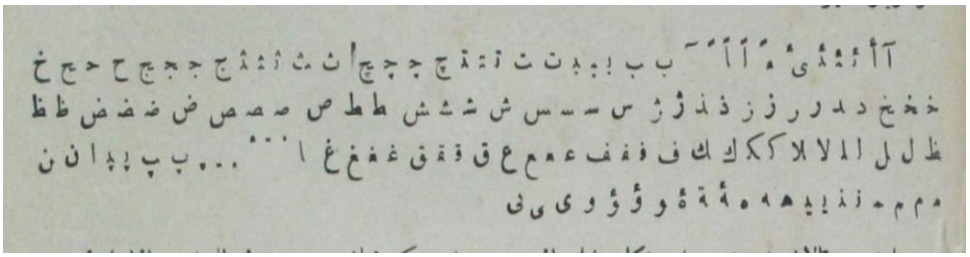
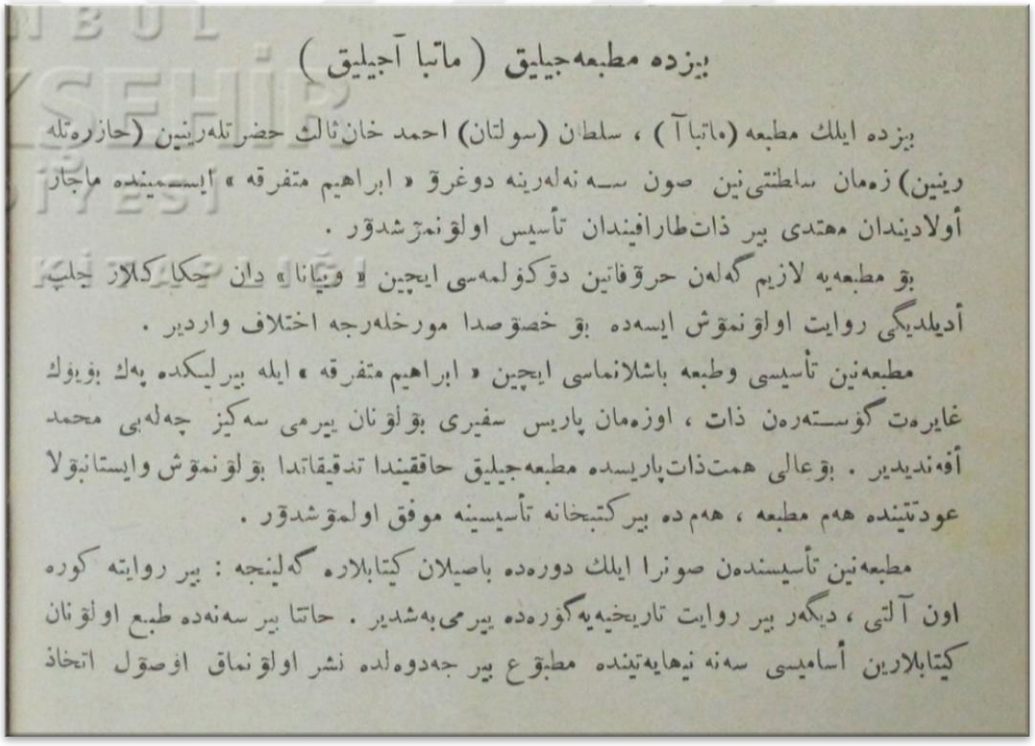


Figure 8: The Adequate Characters for the *Servet-i Fünûn* Orthography.

İsmail Subhi. 1327. Servet-i Fünûn İmlâsı. **Musavver Salname-i Servet-i Fünûn**.v.3: 346-353.

İsmail Subhi, in the end of his article, also gives a sample text, entitled “Bizde Matbaacılık” (Our Printing), which was written with the characters not omitted (See figure 9) (İsmail Subhi, 1327/1909-1910, 352).



بیزده مطبعه‌جیلیق (ماتبا آجیلیق)

بیزده ایلك مطبعه (ماتبا آ) ، سلطان (سولتان) احمد خان ثالث حضرتلرینین (حازره‌تله رینین) زمان سلطنتی‌نین صون سنه‌لرینه دوغرو « ابراهیم متفرقه » ایسمینده ماجار أولادیندان مهتدی بیر ذات‌طارافیندان تأسیس اولونمشدور .

بو مطبعه‌یه لازیم گه‌لن حروفاتین دوکولمه‌سی ایچین « ویانا » دان جکلر کلاز جلب أدیلدیگی روایت اولونموش ایسه‌ده بو خصوصدا مورخلرجه اختلاف واردیر .

مطبعه‌نین تأسیسی وطبعه باشلانماسی ایچین « ابراهیم متفرقه » ایله بیرلیکده بك بویوك غایرت گوسته‌رن ذات ، اوزمان پاریس سفیری بولونان بیرمی سه‌کیز چه‌له‌بی محمد أفه‌ندیدیر . بوعالی همت‌ذات‌پاریسده مطبعه‌جیلیق حاقیندا تدقیقاتدا بولونموش وایستانبولا عودتینده همم مطبعه ، همم ده بیرکتبخانه تأسیسینه موفق اولمشدور .

مطبعه‌نین تأسیسندن صونرا ایلك دوره‌ده باصیلان کیتابلاره گه‌لینجه : بیر روایته کوره اون آلتی ، دیگر بیر روایت تاریخیه‌یه گوره‌ده بیرمی‌به‌شدیر . حاتتا بیر سه‌نه‌ده طبع اولونان کیتابلارین أساسی سه‌نه نیهایه‌تینده مطبوع بیر جه‌دوه‌لده نشر اولونماق اوصول اتخاذ

Figure 9: Our Printing: An Excerpt Written in *Servet-i Fünûn* Orthography

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Musavver Salname-i Servet-i Fünûn. 1327.

For İsmail Subhi, this sort of writing particularly is beneficial for those who want to learn reading and writing. Moreover, it could be more helpful if the learner is not Turk or Muslim. He also adds that these diminished characters of the type case are convenient for recording of the Arabic and Persian borrowings according to the Turkish pronunciation. As seen, either in the way of the New Writing or in the way of

Servet-i Fünûn orthography, the phonetic principle was internalized without the adoption of the Latin letters. Therefore, its consequences both in the realm of linguistics and the material culture were not independent from each other.

3.2.5. The Phonetic Method of Teaching (Usul-i Savti)

When Münif Pasha put the separated and phonetic writing into agenda and Milaslı designed an alphabet to carry out this proposal after nearly half a century, their main motivation was pedagogical. Münif Pasha saw it crucial in terms of "the education of people mentally" (*halkın fikren terbiyesi*). For Milaslı, it was possible to train geniuses with the old writing, but nations grow stronger thanks to the masses acquired basic literacy skills rather than due to the well trained and cultivated minorities. The question here is that, in order to achieve this aim, is it necessary to write letters individually or is it enough to create new methods of instruction and a clearer typography? In fact, while the alphabet and orthography debates among intellectuals were carried on at linguistic and abstract levels, some reforms were already put into practice in education. The method of *usul-i savti*, one of these reforms, was the new way of teaching the alphabet.

The main objection against the *huruf-ı munfasıla* attempt and, -later on, the transition to the Latin letters-, was the invariability of the Quran letters. In fact, the Arabic letters were the outcome of evolution throughout the time and they were historical because the savants, at early years of Islam, punctuated the letters to sharpen differences between them and improved the phonetization marks to read the Quran as correctly as possible (Çetin, 1991, 276-309). On the other hand, neither the Arabic language nor the Arabic letters were allocated only to the Muslims but also to the Christians. Yet, this fact does not overshadow their symbolic importance, which makes Muslims come together based on demographic aspects even without knowing the meaning of any Quranic word. As Anderson said "[…] written Arabic functioned like Chinese characters to create a community out of signs, not sounds" (Anderson, 1991, 13). In the alphabet debates in the Constitutional era and afterwards, the symbolic side the Quranic letters was surely at stake. Beyond that, there was also an organic relation between the Quran and the Arabic consonantal writing system, which determined the practice of reading and writing and the whole instruction way.

The Quran is not just for reading and writing like any book. It is thought that it is risky to try to read the Quran without any guide because it paves the way for misreading and so to misinterpretation. It is directly related to the consonantal structure of the

Arabic alphabet. Words and letters are open to alternative readings because the Arabic spoken word is represented in a reduced way in writing. Arabic grammar rules-namely *sarf* and *nahiv*, restrain misreading partly. Nevertheless, they are not adequate because the Quran is regarded as the sacred text of which any letter cannot be changed. The Quran could be the source for these grammar rules but cannot be subjected to them. After all, *sarf* and *nahiv* are the discovered and developed rules. People determine and come to terms with them. The main method to prevent misreading and misinterpretation is recitation, which requires human presence (Messick, 1992). Thus, the instruction of the Quran is the embodiment of the Quran as well and the features of Arabic alphabet have a crucial role in this process.

3.2.5.1. "From Familiar to Unfamiliar": *Elifba-yı Osmani* as the First *Usul-i Savti* Alphabet

In the late Ottoman period, an important element in the modernization of education was the new method which was called "usul-i cedid". This new educational model was introduced by Selim Sabit Efendi. It could be seen as the synthesis of the modern and traditional ways of education (Somel, 2001, 170). Even though the *usul-i cedid* included a range of novelties from materials and space of instruction to the behaviors of teachers, there was the *usul-i savti* (phonetic method) in its essence. The first step to acquire the new and unfamiliar knowledge was to learn alphabet. So, *usul-i cedid* or *usul-i savti* was the new method of teaching the alphabet enabling learners to read not only the already memorized text but also the unfamiliar things.

Until the *usul-i savti*, the *elifba cüzü* had been used, which was arranged according to the *usul-i tehecci* (the method of spelling). It contained only the Arabic letters; that is to say, it did not include Turkish letters such as "پ (p), چ (ç), ژ (j), ڭ (nasal n)". In the instruction process, children were first introduced to the names of letters as in "ا (elif), ب (be), ت (tâ), ث (te), ج (cim), ح (ha), خ (kha), د (dal)" and so on. In order to make them more memorable, they were also codified by being compared to some shapes. For example, the letter "ا" resembles a rafter; "ب" is like a boat; "ت" resembles "ب". After the introductory letter chart, on the other page, there was a chart showing how the letters were read with the phonetization marks, namely *fetha*, *kesra* and *damme*. So, children used to memorize all the letters in this way "cim fetha ce, cim kesra ci, cim damme cu." After this short introduction, they started to memorize some excerpts from the Quran. And learning the letters went along

memorizing the Quran. For instance, when they learned "vecealna[…]," they spelled it in the way of "va fetha, cim fetha…" (Temizyürek, 1999, 61). Therefore, children did not learn their meaning because the explanation of the Quran belonged to the realm of *tefsir* (exegetics) which could only be acquired after long training.

In this sense, the *Elifba-yı Osmani,* the first *usul-i savti* alphabet book, was written by Selim Sabit Efendi in 1297/1879-1880 although the Turkish letters were included firstly in the *Nuhbet ül-Etfal* by Doctor Kayserili Rüştü in 1857. The *Elifba-yı Osmani* served as a model for numerous alphabets in the late Ottoman period and it was influential on the alphabets printed after the alphabet revolution (Fortna, 2013, 185-219). The Turkish letters were contained in this alphabet as well. The main feature of this alphabet book was to be designed in order to teach the sounds of letters directly instead of the letters with their names. First of all, the letters were introduced with three phonetization marks: *fetha, kesra* and *damme* (See figure 10) (Selim Sabit, 1303/1885-1886, 6-7).

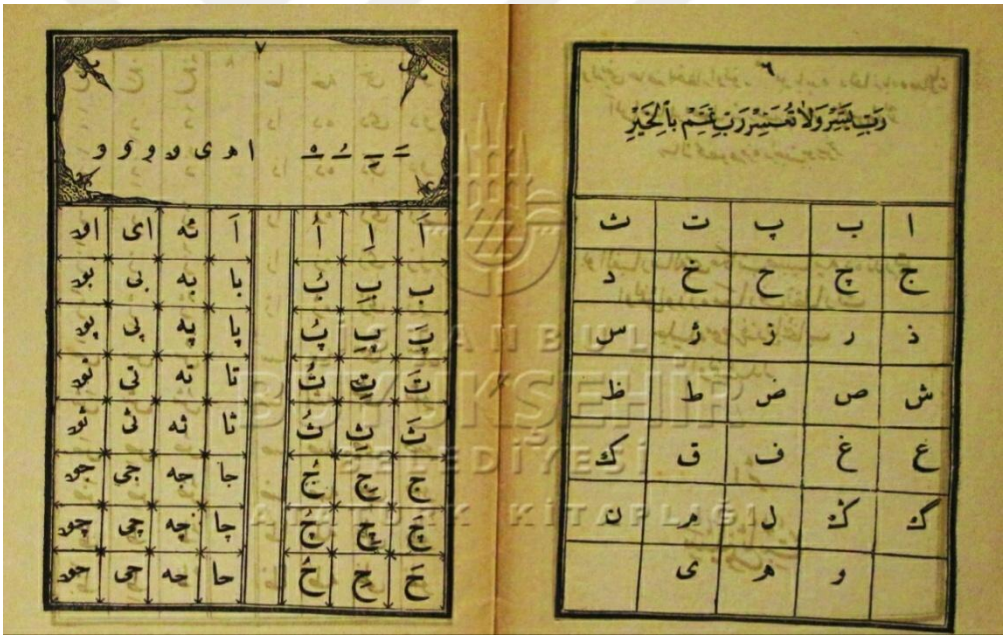

Figure 10: The Introduction of the Letters in the *Usul-i Savti* Alphabet

Selim Sabit Efendi. **Elifba-yı Osmani**. İstanbul: 1303/1886.

After this, it was the turn of the words composed of two letters and one phonetization mark as in the Figure 11 (Selim Sabit, 1303/1885-1886, 10-11):

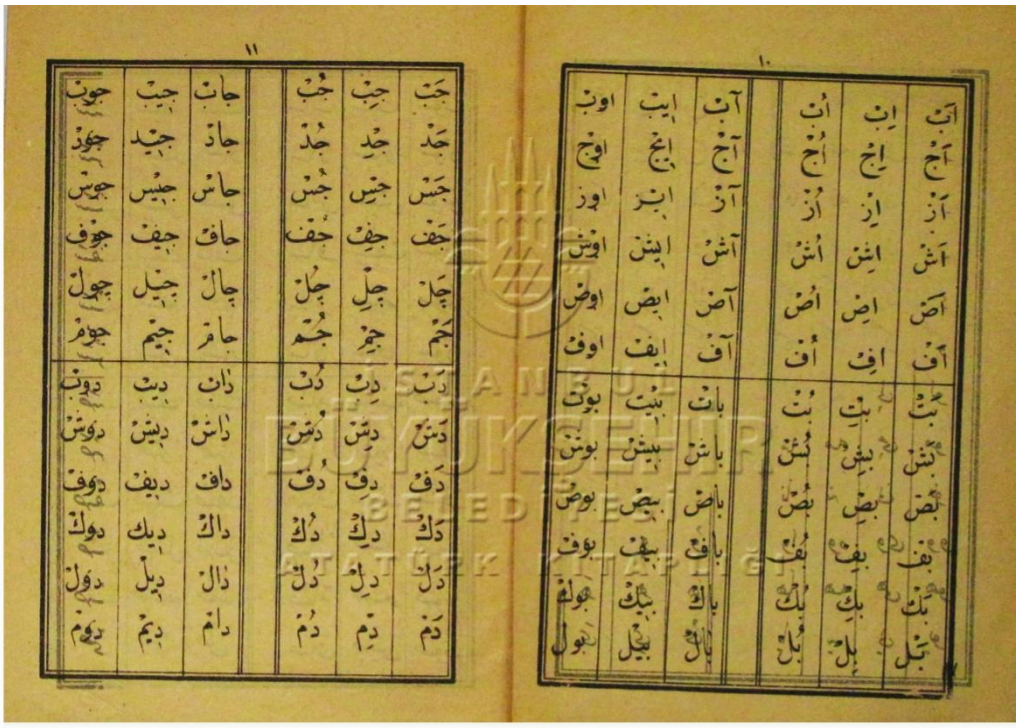

Figure 11: Learning to Read the Words with the *Usul-i Savti* Alphabet

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Selim Sabit Efendi. **Elifba-yı Osmani**. İstanbul: 1303/1886.

These words should be chosen from the familiar things for children such as the names of animals, fish, birds, months and so on. At first sight, there seems to be no difference between the old and the new methods. Nevertheless, the new method is based on the principle of "from the familiar to the unfamiliar" and it makes children read whatever they encounter. It was more than the transmission of fixed knowledge. Another important feature was to provide the instruction of reading and writing synchronically.

Based on the 1869 the *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi* (the Regulation of General Education), the schools were divided into private and public (Sakaoğlu, 1991, 76-77). The administration of public schools belonged to the state. There were three levels: ***sıbyan*** and ***ruşdiya*** as primary schools, *idadiye* and *sultaniye* as secondary schools, and higher education. In the ***sıbyan*** schools, according to the statute, the alphabet with the *usul-i savti*, *tecvid* (the art of reading the Quran), some treatises on *ahlak* (morals), *ilmihal* (catechism), writing exercises, basic arithmetic, abridged Ottoman history, basic geography and some writings including useful knowledge were taught. The *Elifba-i Osmani* by Selim Sabit was the alphabet book determined to be taught at ***sıbyan*** schools by the *Maarif Nezareti* (the Ministry of General Education). Another book of Selim Sabit, the *Rehnuma-i Muallimîn,* which was

prepared as a pedagogical guide for teachers about the details of the *usul-i cedid*, was the report presented to the Commission of the Reforms. As seen, despite the addition of the new courses to the curriculum, the instruction of the Quran was not eliminated. In a similar way, in the many alphabets designed with *usul-i savti*, the fragments from the Quran continued to exist in the following pages. Although it was an effective method, it did not require radical changes.

3.2.5.2. The *Cedidist* Extention of *Usul-i Savti*

The usul-i cedid or *usul-i savti* had an important role in the development of the Cedidism, which was an influential social and political movement throughout the region of Central Asia. İsmail Gaspıralı was accepted as the leader of this movement despite a few predecessors before him. Like Selim Sabit, he also wrote the *Hâce-i Sıbyan* to teach the alphabet with the new method and the *Rehnüma-i Muallimîn* as a guide for teachers. This parallelism was not surprising because the Ottoman Empire was the cultural centre for the Muslims in Russia's hinterlands (Georgeon, 1996, 102). We can say that the reforms in the Empire were the main inspiration for Gaspıralı, even though not the only one. For Gaspıralı, during the instruction process of the alphabet, firstly the sounds should be taught, not the syllables, and then children should read the texts prepared level by level on the basis of the principle "from familiar to unfamiliar." The curriculum contained courses like geography, history, maths, health, calligraphy and so on, in addition to the teaching of religious knowledge. Gaspıralı opened a school in Bahçesaray to prove how effective this method was (Georgeon, 1996, 101). The teacher who Gaspıralı trained gave lessons to children four hours a day for forty five days. At the end of the course, Gaspıralı tested the children before witnesses and the children proved they could read a text they had never seen before (Lazzerini, 1973, 27-30 as quoted from Saray, 1987, 45-46). Thus, the number of *usul-i cedid* schools increased day by day and the new method makes possible to acquire functional literacy in a short term by means of the Arabic alphabet rather than the Latin alphabet.

Another realm in which Gaspıralı succeeded was journalism. The *Tercüman* newspaper was one of the popular newspapers in the Ottoman Empire, the main reason behind its popularity was its plain Turkish. In *Tercüman*, a phonetic orthography was employed as well. Gaspıralı, in his writing “İmla Meselesi,” stated that "*usul-i savti* (the phonetic method of teaching) and *savti imla* (phonetic orthography) supplement each other. What gives birth to *savti imla* is *usul-i savti*" (Gaspıralı, 1913 as quoted from İsmail Gaspıralı Seçilmiş Eserleri: Dil, Edebiyat,

Seyahat Yazıları, 2008, 165-170). Gaspıralı started to publish the newspaper *Tercüman* in 1883. The language of *Tercüman* was the Ottoman written language mixed by Crimean Tatar dialect. He chose the Ottoman written language because it was the most developed Turkish written language among other dialects. Gaspıralı also followed the debates of the simplification of language in the Ottoman Empire. According to him, the Ottoman vernacular was not a national language but a language of bureaucrats. Even if the most esteemed usage of this language belonged to Namık Kemal, the most acceptable one was Şemseddin Sami's precise and simple language (Gaspıralı, 1305/1888 as quoted from İsmail Gaspıralı Seçilmiş Eserleri: Dil, Edebiyat, Seyahat Yazıları, 2008, 29-30).

As declared in Gaspıralı's motto, "union in language, idea and at work," this goal could be achieved providing that a Turkish grammar and a Turkish dictionary were written. Although he was critical about the dense usage of Arabic and Persian words, he supported the Arabic letter because of the bond of Turkish people with the Quran. In *Tercüman*, he stated that "we do not touch the orthography of the Arabic words, and we find useful to write the Turkish words as they are read. Yet, we do not invent new things, we quit nothing. We just employ the *usul-i savti* everywhere" (Gaspıralı, 1331/1913 as quoted from İsmail Gaspıralı Seçilmiş Eserleri: Dil, Edebiyat, Seyahat Yazıları, 2008, 165-170). For example, "بکا"(baña [to me]), "سکا" (saña [to you]), دکز (deñiz [sea]), "دکرمن" (değirmen [mill]) will be written as "باکا", "ساکا", "ده نیز", "ده کیرمن". Gaspıralı also emphasized that he was defending this as a liberal but not as a conservative. The newspaper was read throughout a vast territory from İstanbul to China thanks to the Arabic alphabet because this alphabet covers the differences among the dialects (Kırımlı, 1990). This reinforced Gaspıralı's aim of unification rather than hindering it.

3.3. Heterographia: Turkish, the Language of Alphabets

In the Constitutional period, it was established a parallelism between the alphabet and a house. It would be better to keep dwelling in the same house rather than moving out. So, instead of a radical change, it was necessary to maintain and restore it. Yet, some arguments of changing alphabets were at stake even though they were not strong. The interesting point was that the alternatives instead to Arabic letters were various and not limited to the Latin letters. Among them, there were the Armenian alphabet, even the Orkhon and the Uighur writings (Ertem, 1991, 257).

There was a short running but interesting debate about the Armenian letters. Ahmed Midhat, in his article in the *Kırk Ambar* (1291/1874, 169-188), accounted the deficiency of Latin letters and celebrated the perfection of the Armenian letters. According to him, the Latin alphabet was inadequate to write even the languages generated from the Latin language, except for Italian. For instance, in order to utter the sound of "ç", more than one letter was needed. In terms of deficiency, the Greek letters were even more inadequate than the Latin letters. So, how could the deficiency of the *elifbe-i Osmani* (the Ottoman letters) be compensated? Ahmed Midhat stated that "therefore, we can consummate the alphabet by combining the existing letters with the letters from other alphabets, and then scrutinize all the sounds which a person can articulate"[10](Ahmed Midhat, 1291/1874, 169-188). For him, although it was necessary that the alphabet should be in accordance with the pronunciation of the definite language in the past, every kind of letters would be used thereafter in order to utter the names of people and countries because geography and history were common for all humanity. Thus, he professes the universalist approach of borrowing any letter from any alphabet, yet, he does not completely propose adopting the Armenian letters even though he praises them.

There was another polemic in the newspaper *Vakit* in 1883, which was claimed that Macid Pasha proposed the adoption of the Armenian letters. He denied this and wrote another article, in which he stated:

> "[…] I have put forward that the Armenian letters are perfect so as to utter all kind of sounds by mentioning the Armenian letters as a proof to my argument. Yet, there is no use to employ these letters unless our language catches up with the German, French, English and Greek languages in terms of science and literature"[11] (Macid Pasha, 1300/1883 as quoted from Ertem, 1991, 126).

We do not know exactly whether Macid Pasha proposed the adoption of the Armenian letters or not. Nevertheless, it is evident that there was a general belief on the perfection of the Armenian letters and also on that the perfection of letters could be measured by the abundance and variety of sounds.

The Ottoman Empire has been described as multi-religious, multi-national and multi-lingual. In terms of language, the spoken language is accepted as criteria yet, the decisive role of the alphabet was generally neglected. The interaction among

[10] "Elhâsıl mevcut hurûf-ı hecâyı cem ederek bizde olmayanı diğerinden almak be bade insanın ağzında taban daha kaç nevi salt mahreci varsa onları dahi tedkik etmek suretiyle hurûf-ı hecâ ikmal olunabilir" (Ahmed Midhat, 1291/1874, 169-188).

[11] "[…] Bu müddeâma delil olmak üzere misâl olarak Ermeni gazetelerini zikr ile Ermeni hurufunun her türlü sadayı edâya kâfi ve mükemel ise de lisânımız servet-i ilmiye ve edebiye husûsunda Alman ve Fransız ve İngiliz ve Yunan lisânları derecesine vâsıl olmadıkça hurûf-ı mezkûreyi istimâlden bir fâide hâsıl olamayacağını dermeyan etmiştim." (Macid Pasha, 1300/1883 As quoted from Ertem, 1991, 126).

speech communities was not only at the lingual but also at the graphic level. It was possible to encounter a spoken variety that could be written in other scripts in the Ottoman Empire and which had some linguistic consequences. So, in order to define this situation, *heterographia* might be a helpful concept.

The *millet* system in the Ottoman Empire was designed according to the central role of religion, but not that of language. For a community, while it was not necessary to speak only one language or only the language of its own community, alphabets were more decisive on the differentiation of identities (Lewis, 1968, 425-426). For instance, it was not surprising that the Armenians who spoke Turkish employed the Armenian alphabet, the Karamanlis who spoke Turkish employed the Greek alphabet and the Turks who spoke Greek employed the Arabic letters. That is to say, in this case, there was no "one nation, one language" or "one language, one alphabet" formula. Moreover, in the late Ottoman period, due to the fact that the print culture existed along with the oral tradition and verbal communication, the number of languages in circulation increased and new language-alphabet combinations occurred.

The main concern in this section is to scrutinize the alphabets in which Turkish was written at the same time in the 19th century and the interactions among them. In this sense, *heterographia* could be a helpful cencept. The term is inspired from *heteroglossia,* coined by Bakhtin (1981). According to Coulmas, *heterograph* means "a differentiation in spelling which distinguishes different meanings of homophonus words or phrases, e.g. *read, reed, Reed, Reid*" (2006, 202); and, *heteroglossia* is put by Mikhail M. Bakhtin as the main feature of a language for Bakhtin, as it is composed of different voices even if it is standardized (Bakhtin, 1981). In this definition, while speech or the spoken language is decisive, the alphabets and their influence on language are not mentioned which are so crucial for the Ottoman context that could not be neglected. Heteroglossia could describe the linguistic situation to some extent. Indeed, it is necessary to ask whether Turkish still remains the same Turkish as long as it is written in the Arabic, Greek, Hebrew or Cyrillic letters.

The simplification of language or the standardization of orthography was becoming an important issue not only for Turkish but also for all other languages in the Ottoman Empire, particularly as a result of the developments in the communication technologies (Strauss, 1995b). Yet, it was not a value-free process. Language started to have a central role instead of religion under the influence of nationalist movements. The grammar, vocabulary and syntax of the languages were

reconstructed in order to support a coherent national narrative in a strategic way. These newly tailored elements were just slowly articulated to the language as a stratum. As Bakhtin argued, a language is heteroglot and represents not only a sum of rules, but is composed of dialects, jargons and speech genres. These components coexist in a dialogical way (Bakhtin, 1981). Nevertheless, the concept of *heteroglossia* remains logocentric in order to explain the Ottoman context, which included various alphabets that the same language was written in, in addition to speech-genres. In other words, so as to understand Turkish written with Greek, Armenian, Hebrew and Cyrillic letters and its social implications, we had better expand the term *heteroglossia* to *heterographia*[12].

At the time, when the debates started about whether Arabic letters were in accordance with the Turkish language, the Armenians preferred Armenian in schools by means of the secular education after Tanzimat (Ergin, 1977, 1039-1040). After the Greek war of independence, the Greek language had the main role in creating a Greek nation. The inculcation of Greek was not limited to the Greek territory. One of the aims of the Hellenist nationalist movement was to carry out a unified Greek nation by means of teaching Greek to the Turcophone Karamanlis. On the one hand, the contestations among various newborn national discourses continued, and on the other, the number of publications in which the existing languages were written in different alphabets increased. Surely, other languages have been written with many alphabets throughout the time just as Turkish has been written in thirteen alphabets so far (Tekin, 1997). Yet, in this case, the same language was written with different alphabets synchronically in the same territory and there was an interaction among them. For instance, we can find some classical works such as *Köroğlu*, *Şah İsmail* and *Aşık Garip* not only in Arabic letters but also in Armenian and Greek letters. In a similar way, in the same time period, some works were translated from the Western languages to Turkish in the Arabic alphabet, Turkish in Greek alphabet and Turkish in Armenian alphabet. There was a huge literature composed of manuscripts and printed works, religious and non-religious and so forth, written in Armenian, Greek, Hebrew, Cyrillic and Syrian alphabets. Before dealing with this literature, it would be beneficial to glance shortly at the languages in circulation in the late Ottoman period.

In this period, the diversity of languages and alphabets in the Ottoman was beyond a cosmopolitanism cliché. We know that Kevork Zartanyan published a wall

[12] The same concept was used in an article written recently entitled as “On Roman Letters and Other Stories: An Essay in Heterographics” by Lock, C. (Lock, 2016, 158-172).

calendar in eight languages from 1870 to 1888 (Pamukciyan, 2003, 386). Besides, apart from dictionaries in Turkish, there were many other dictionaries and grammar books in Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Greek, French, Italian, German, Bulgarian, English and Russian languages. We encounter also some works in Bosnian, Serbian and Kurdish. For example, İbrahim Edhem Pasha wrote two books about Bosnian and there were catechism books translated from Turkish to Kurdish and Serbian (Ayaydın Cebe, 2009, 83).

The Arabic language was important in the 19th century as in the former years. If the main reason was that the Quran cannot be translated to Turkish, another one was Abdulhamid's policy based on the rediscovery of the Arabic world. Moreover, it was taught in modern schools along with *medreses*. Thus, a number of dictionaries and grammar books continued to be published (Berkes, 2008, 435-438). The number of published Persian dictionaries was more than a hundred, suggesting to what extent Persian was influential, though this influence was not as strong as it was in the 15th century poetry. For instance, Sünbülzade Vehbi's *Tuhfe* was so popular that it was published in Armenian letters while one of the popular grammar books was Mehmed Murad Nakşibendî's *Kavaid-i Farsiyye* (Ayaydın Cebe, 2009, 90-92).

In the time period at stake, French was included in curriculums and became a semi-official language especially because of the diplomatic relations with France. More than fifty French-Turkish dictionaries were published, and more than a hundred and fifty bilingual work. For example, a French novel, *Les Mystére de Péra*, inspired by *Les Mystére de Paris* by Eugene Sue, gained a great popularity and it was also translated into the Karamanli language (Turkish in Greek letters) and Ladino. We can say that German was ranked the second language after French, while English began to be known after 1880. The Italian language was known among the Armenian and Greek communities because of trade rather than due to the Muslim and Turkish communities (Strauss, 2003, 42).

Towards the end of this century, Russian was added to this list of languages, with some Russian grammar books published for the *Mekteb-i Fünun-ı Harbiye* (The School of Military Sciences). Bulgarian, on the other hand, was born as a literary language in the 19th century. Mustafa Subhi's *Tuhfe-i Sabrian Lisan-ı Bulgari* was published in 1879 in İstanbul. Greek became the cultural language for the cultivated Bulgarians and Romanians since the 18th century. The Greeks were not the only Orthodox community under the hegemony of the Ottoman Empire, but also the Serbs, the Bulgarians, the Romanians, the Albanians and the Arabs and some of them were speaking Turkish (Anzerlioğlu, 2003, 106). In particular, in Anatolia, the

Karamanlis were speaking Turkish but writing with Greek letters. In a similar way, most of the Armenians were also speaking Turkish after the significance of the Classical Armenian *krapar* diminished. In addition, there were some Greeks who spoke Armenian but wrote with Greek alphabet and some Catholics in the Eastern Mediterranean who spoke Greek but wrote with Latin letters (Kut, 1993, 19). We can multiply these alphabet-language match examples by adding the Jewish people who spoke Greek and wrote in Hebrew letters and Ladino -Spanish written with *Rashi* letters -the native language of the Sephardi Jews (Clogg, 1996, 68).

Works written in Turkish with Armenian letters in fields such as philosophy, history, natural sciences and so on can be found from the 14th to the 19th century. Most of them were in verse such as folk poems, stories, fables and *manis* told by ***aşuğs*** (Armenian folk poets). The first Turkish book with Armenian letters was written by Sivaslı Mekhitarist Sepasdatsi and published in Venice in order to teach modern Armenian in 1876 (Koptaş, 2002, XII; Pamukciyan, 2002). The Mekhitarist Congregation also published many books in linguistics. The Catholic and Protestant churches used Turkish with Armenian letters to propagate Catholicism and Protestantism among the Armenians as the Gregorian church did the same for a counter propaganda. In the first years, the printed works were generally religious and philosophical. Between 1850 and 1870, many books were published in history, literature, philosophy and so forth along with magazines and newspapers. As Turgut Kut said, some works were translated from Western languages into Turkish firstly in Armenian letters and then in Arabic letters (Kut, 1985, 195-214).

Moreover, the Eastern classical works such as *A Thousand and a Night, Köroğlu, Leyla and Mecnun, Şah İsmail* were included in this literature. The first Turkish novel was, contrary to the general belief, not Şemseddin Sami's *Taaşuk-ı Talat ve Fıtnat,* but *Akabi's Story* by Hovsep Vartanian in 1851 (Cankara, 2011, 5). As we learned from *the Bibliography of the Books in Turkish with Armenian Letters* by Hasmeg İstpenyan, Ahmed Midhat's *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* was published in Armenian letters as well. There were not only books to teach Ottoman Turkish for Armenians, but also books to teach Armenian to Turks (Ayaydın Cebe, 2009, 102). For instance, Metin And mentions that Turkish readers learnt Armenian letters and subscribed to some periodicals such as *Manzume-i Efkar*. Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz], who was the owner of the newspaper *Servet-i Fünun*, wrote in his memoirs that he had learned Armenian to be able to read the novels translated from French with Armenian letters (And, 1972, 36). It is interesting that the last work in Turkish with

Armenian letters, *Burunkışla'dan Daldan Dala* by Ğevont Sahakyan was published in 1959 (Koptaş, 2002, XXII; Pamukciyan, 2003).

The Karamanlis were the Orthodox Christian community who lived mainly in cities like Karaman, Kayseri, Niğde, Nevşehir and so forth, spoke Turkish and wrote in Greek letters. Regardless the perspective of a nation-state, it was claimed that they were "either Greek or Turk". According to a Greek thesis, the isolated Greek population were living in Anatolia, interacted with Turks and were Turkified. On the other hand, those who claim that they were originally Turks argue that they were the descendants of the Turkish soldiers who settled down before the conquests of the Ottomans or those that they fought for Byzantium. Both of the arguments have an essentialist and at the same time present-minded approach. The narratives of Turkish and Greek nation states were recently constructed, and they did not exist in the 19th century (Clark, 2008). As Haris Exertoglou affirms, language started to be accepted as an objective criterion for people's identity in the 19th century and it became widespread in the 20th century (1999, 75-92). As soon as it gained supremacy, other historical factors like religion became less and less important and the social formations existing before nations were formed were lost. So, it is possible to understand the Karamanlis only by placing them in the Ottoman context instead of "either/or categories". They were the part of Orthodox community in the Ottoman Empire and they took place in the *millet* system. Thus, they were influenced from any change in the system. The term "minority" started to be redefined after the 1869 Ottoman Nationality Law (Balta, 2012, 122).

The printed works in Karamanlidika trace back to 1718 (Balta, 2014, 129). Until the mid-nineteenth century, religious works were mainly printed such as catechisms, plasters, and the vitae of saints. The aim here was to enlighten the Christians in the eastern part of the Ottoman Empire "since they have forgotten their Greek language, cannot understand what is read in church and thus are led far from the way of God" (Balta, 2014, 58-59). It was considered that they will prevent the Orthodox Christians from both Islamization and the Western religious propaganda. The second period in the Karamanlidika printed works started with the activities of the Bible Society in Anatolia and continued until 1922. Since the mid-nineteenth century, secular books started to be printed. These included popular books like books on general education, literary works and novels. Some of them were translated from French. The prominent name in introducing the Western literature to Karamanlidika was Evangelios Misiliadis who was a translator, a publisher, a journalist. He was also the writer of *Temaşa-i Dünya ve Cefakar-i Cefakeş*, the only

original novel in the Karamandilika. He published the newspaper *Anatoli*, one of the long running newspapers at that time. Besides, we can say that the annuals, the guidelines of societies, the textbooks about geography, music, language, history and some alphabet books were included in the Karamanlidika secular books (İbar, 2010). As in the case of Turkish with Armenian letters, *Köroğlu, Aşık Garip* and *Şah İsmail* were among the popular secular books (Balta, 2012, 133). Another parallelism was that the two works of Ahmed Midhat, *Yeniçeriler* and *Şeytan Kayası*, were written originally in the Karamalidika (Koz, 2002, 160-173).

There were variations in the Karamanlidika works in terms of language, which consisted of one literary language and diverse dialects. A literary Turkish was employed in the Turkish grammar books, in the dictionaries written for the Greeks and also in the holy book translations published by the missionary organizations. Some of the dictionaries were prepared to teach Greek to the Orthodox were included phonetic features of dialects along with the literary Turkish (Anzerlioğlu, 2003, 182-184). The interesting point here is to what extent the Karamanlidika alphabet differentiated from the Greek alphabet. While there were not the letters such as Δ (delta), Ψ (psi), X (ksi) , Ω (omega) in the Karamanlidika alphabet, the consonants of B, D, Ş, K and the vowels of Ö and Ü were also added to it (Anzerlioğlu, 2003, 184).

Turkish was also written with Cyrillic, Hebrew and Syrian letters, but these writings did not amount to the Turkish literature written with Armenian letters and the Karamanlidika. Particularly, we encounter Turkish with Cyrillic letters in İstanbul, Serbia and Bulgaria. As in the former cases, they too were divided into religious and secular works. The first book in the religious literature was *Hazret-i Avram* in 1845, which had a counterpart in the Karamanlidika as well. As the secular books, the music anthologies, the grammar books and the dictionaries for the Bulgarians who wanted to learn Turkish, could be counted. Most of them were published in İstanbul. One of the literary works in the Turkish with the Cyrillic letters was *Mesaliye Hekayet*, which was also published in the Greek letters in 1840. Besides, an anthology of the tales of Aesop was published in 1852 (Kappler, 2011, 43-69).

The first text in Turkish with Hebrew letters was an anonymous manuscript of *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*. This work was in the Bodleian Library where it was brought from Jerusalem. Ugo Marazzi studied on it in 1980 (Çulha, 2011, 88). Since the mid-nineteenth century, some periodicals and books started to appear as well. In 1867, the newspaper *Şarkiye* was published in 1876 with Hebrew letters, the *Ceride-i Tercüme* with Rashi letters by Nisim Nyego and in 1872 the newspaper *Zaman*.

Besides, Moiz Franco published *Üstad* with *rashi* letters in İzmir from 1889 to 1891. The vision of *Ceride-i Lisan*, published in 1899 by Avram Leyon was remarked evidently as "to make Turkish prevalent among the Jews" (Mignon, 2011, 77). *Kalb-i Şikeste* could also be accepted as a turning point. It was written in Turkish with Hebrew letters by Avram Neon, one of the Ottoman Jews, in 1901 (Mignon, 2011, 78).

Turkish was written in Syrian letters as well. Especially, the Syrian religious men were using the Ottoman Turkish in the official correspondences and sometimes in internal affairs. The Syrians preferred to write in Turkish because it was more neutral than Arabic or Armenian, which were stigmatized as foreign languages (Harany, 2011, 18). We do not know exactly at which time Turkish started to be written with the Syrian letters; however, there are some letters and religious manuscripts that can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century (Harany, 2011, 22). For instance, there were two periodicals, *İntibah* and *Hayat*. In the early years of the 20th century, the number of the correspondences, manuscripts, printed religious works, books and newspapers increased. Some periodicals, like *Bethnahrin,* survived until the 1930s. In terms of linguistics, this form did not deviate from the Ottoman Turkish (Harany, 2011).

Can we interpret the Turkish written with diverse alphabets as a lost paradise of multiculturalism in the Ottoman Empire? The 19th century was the time for reforms in the Ottoman Empire. One of the novelties was the large-scale bureaucracy which had never extended before. In this context, to learn Turkish was not only a preference for the diverse communities which wanted to defend their benefits and establish good relations with the state. In this time period, other important factors were the press and the schooling in the post-Tanzimat period. While a standard language was necessary in order to publish more books and newspapers, schools were responsible for teaching this standardized language so that people could read these publishing. We are already familiar with the debates on the simplification of Turkish. Yet, the same debates were available in languages like Armenian and Greek. For instance, the Greek language was the main component of the Greek nation under construction at that time. Speaking Armenian in a purified way was an important issue for the Armenians as well. The *millets* which were defined by their religion started to fabricate their national narratives around the language. On the other hand, as seen, Turkish with Greek or Armenian letters was functional for both the propaganda of the missionary organizations and the counter propaganda of the churches.

Turkish written with different alphabets did not mean to facilitate the transmission of the message from the centre to the various communities. It was not a one-sided process: it provided a locus of enunciation. Some classical or popular works, as mentioned above, were recreated and reinterpreted in different letters according to the world of meaning of every community. We should keep in mind that the alphabets, as the main criteria of identities at that time, were not merely technical and secondary tools for the transmission of a message, but they had an important effect on the language used and its content.

3.4. The Albanian Letters or the Stamboul Alphabet

The *Arnavud Hurufatı* (the Albanian Letters) or the Stamboul Alphabet was fabricated in 1879 by Şemseddin Sami and employed prevalently in Albania until around 1908. In the historiography of the Turkish Alphabet Revolution, its explanatory role was generally neglected or summarized. The departure point of this study is to handle how the alphabet was based on the spoken language and what its social and political implications were. In order to grasp the Turkish Alphabet Revolution deeply, we need to deal with the fabrication process of the Stamboul alphabet, the motivations behind it and its form in details.

The debates on language and alphabet in İstanbul and Albania were not independent from each other, as seen in the double name of the newly tailored alphabet for the probable Albanian nation. The developments in Albania were the agenda of the intellectuals in İstanbul as well. According to Namık Kemal, a Latin alphabet would stimulate the separatist movements (Tansel, 1953, 240). Halil Halid Bey, in his article “Müslüman Arnavudlar ve Arabi Harfleri” (Muslim Albanians and the Arabic Letters) stated that this change of alphabet was a great threat for all Ottomans and it should be evaded (1328/1910, 33-34). On the other hand, for the supporters of the Latin letters, it was an event to celebrate. Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın], in his article “Arnavud Hurufatı” (The Albanian Letters), defended the right of the Albanians to choose the Latin alphabet (Hüseyin Cahit, 1910, 1). For him, the Latin letters should be adapted to Turkish language as well because it was easier to read and write by means of them. He also argued that the Arabic letters were not related to the Turks or Islam.

In Albania, as in the other regions of the Empire, the alphabet was related to religion. The Muslims who spoke Albanian employed the Arab letters, the Orthodox the Greek letters and the Catholics the Latin letters. It was not a problem previously. When the break-up of Albania occurred as a risk, they needed to take measures.

The main common point for all communities was Albanian as the spoken language, but the construction of Albanian as a common literary language was also thought as a solution against disintegration. For this purpose, the invention of a proper alphabet for Albanian had the key role. Şemseddin Sami pointed this out in his book *Arnavutluk Ne İdi, Nedir, Ne Olacak?* (Albania-What Was It, What Is It and What Will Become of It?) (1899): "Albania cannot exist without the Albanians: the Albanians cannot exist without the Albanian language, and the latter cannot exist without its own alphabet and without schools" (Şemseddin Sami, 1899; Skendi, 1967, 129).

An independent Albania had a critical role in the domestic and foreign policy of the Ottoman Empire. As in many cases, the Albanian identity and nationalism took its form in the contestation with the rival nationalisms. It was an answer to the Panslavism, Greek nationalism and the irredentist policy of Italia. The Ottoman Empire, taking into consideration all these, tried to keep Albania in a convenient position in accordance with its own interests in order to protect the integrity of the Empire. Yet, its approach to a distinct Albanian alphabet was uneven. Sometimes, it supported the attempts of the invention of an Albanian alphabet because it did not want a divided Albania. Sometimes it prohibited the usage of the Albanian alphabet on the grounds that it could cause the separation of Albania from the Empire (Clayer, 2013, 149-176). In any case, İstanbul as a political and cultural centre was decisive in the fabrication process of an Albanian alphabet. So, it is not surprising why it was called the Stamboul Alphabet as well by the Albanians.

What makes the Albanian alphabet important for this study is the main role played by Şemseddin Sami in terms of both Albanian and Turkish linguistic nationalisms. Şemseddin Sami did not propose any Latin alphabet for Turkish, but he was the first person who found the Latin counterparts of Turkish sounds in the introduction of the *Kâmûs-i Fransevî* (Ertem, 1991, 124). He built the theoretical framework of Turkish isolated from the Arabic and Persian grammar rules and constructions, which has been effective until today. His lexicographical and encyclopaedic works also supported his thesis. Even though, at first glance, it would seem contradictory, he applied a similar thesis to the Albanian language. If there was no organic relation between Albanian and Arabic, the pure Albanian spoken language could be the basis of a new literary language instead of Arabic or Persian (Vezenkov, 2013a, 335). Yet, in this case, he went one step further and invented an alphabet to give the sounds of the Albanian spoken language, which was founded on the same principle of "one-to-one correspondence" as the new Turkish alphabet in 1928.

Indeed, the Stamboul alphabet was not the first or the last alphabet produced for Albanian. Albania was the intersection of three religions (Muslim 70%, the Orthodox 20% and Catholic, 10%), four *vilayets* (Yanina, Shkodar, Kosova, Monastier) and two dialects (Tosk in southern Albania and Geg in northern Albania). Three alphabets of three religious communities -namely the Arab, Greek and Latin alphabets- were adapted to the sounds of Albanian before (Trix, 1999, 225-272). The Hellenist movement in the 19th century was in favoure of Albanian to become a literary language. Its departure point was the common root theories which were presumed a bond between the Albanians and the Greeks in a distant past. According to the Hellenistic approach, Albanian could be deemed as a dialect of Greek or a literary language but without any grammar. In 1866, Jani Vreto employed a Greek alphabet completed with Latin letters in a Greek grammar book printed in İstanbul.

The bond between Albanian and Greek was emphasized in the context of Italian irredentism as well. The Arbereshe priest and linguist Demetrio Camarda published an alphabet booklet in 1869 and proposed Latin letters for the Geg dialect and Greek letters for the Tosk dialect. For the purpose of making Albanian a literary language, some of those who worked hard were the Protestant missionaries. The British and the Foreign Bible Society had started to make Bible translations since the mid-nineteenth century. Kristo Kristoforidhi undertook this work. Since 1866, ten books with the adapted Greek letters in Tosk dialect and the adapted Latin letters in Geg dialect were published at Agop Boyacıyan printing house (Clayer, 2013, 149-176).

These books published by Bible Society were presented to the Sublime Porte as well. As required by the 1869 *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi* (the Regulation of General Education), the Ottoman authorities decided to constitute a commission to choose an alphabet for the Albanian language. At first, the options were limited by either the adaptation of Arab letters for Albanian language or the invention of a brand new alphabet. Gradually, the Latin letters predominated but they were not approved because the edict was not promulgated. The members of this commission were Hasan Tahsin, İsmail Kemal Bey Vlora, Pashko Vasa, Jani Vreto and Sami Bey Frasheri. İsmail Kemal Bey stated that the Greek or Latin letters were more proper then the Arabic letters. According to Hasan Tahsin, the Arabic letters were not suitable for the spreading of knowledge (Clayer, 2013, 167-176).

Pashko Vasa who was in the high ranks of the Ottoman bureaucracy, also supported the Latin alphabet because it was the alphabet of the Europeans. Yet, for

Jani Vreto, in the case that those alphabets were accepted, diacritics would be inevitable to articulate and represent the sounds specific to the Albanian language. It should comply with the principle of "one-to-one correspondence." The Greek and Latin alphabets should be synthesized and completed with the newly invented letters (Vezenkov, 2013b, 501). The bond with the Greeks was worth protecting because the Greek alphabet was the predecessor of the Latin alphabet and the Greeks were the explorers of knowledge and science in Europe (Clayer, 2013, 164-176). Apart from these, we cannot skip a few of individual endeavours. In 1869-1870, Davut Boriçi published an Albanian alphabet with Arabic letters. In addition, Naum Veqilharxhi also published an alphabet of 32 letters which was a mixture of Armenian and Hebrew characters along with Greek and Latin letters. Moreover, as Alpan indicated, almost thirty diverse alphabets were published between 1860 and 1875 (Alpan, 1979, 8-9).

After the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878), it was decided to divide Albania between Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro. In order to prevent this, a meeting was organized under the leadership of Abdyl Frasheri in Prizren, and in 1879, the Albanian Scientific Society was founded by Şemseddin Sami as chief executive. In the regulation of the Society, the aim of the society was declared as "to publish and spread the original and translated works in Albanian among the Albanians for the education given by the Society as soon as necessary" (Cemiyyet-i İlmiyye-i Arnavudiyye Nizamnamesi, 1297/1879-1880, 217-219). Thus, the drafts of alphabet designed by Hasan Tahsin, Pashko Vasa, Jani Vreto and Şemseddin Sami started to be scrutinized. The proposal of Şemseddin Sami was accepted on March the 19th in 1879 and published in A. Zeliçit printing house. It included some reading texts and the writings of Şemseddin Sami and Pasha Vasa and Jani Vreto apart from the explanation of the letters. Its 20.000 copies were sent to Romania, Egypt, Bulgaria and the United States. Besides, in Bucharest, Constanta, Sofia, Thessaloniki and in Egypt, books and newspapers were published with this alphabet (Alpan, 1979, 11). The Stamboul alphabet consisted of 36 letters (7 vowels and 29 consonants). Digraphs were not used because the principle of "a letter for a sound" was embraced. For instance, "sh" was not used instead of "ş". In order to supply the letters which were specific to Albanian, 5 letters were borrowed from the Greek and 6 letters from the Cyrillic alphabets, while some diacritics were invented (See figures 12 and 13) (Şemseddin Sami, 1879; 1909). Thus, we can say that the Stamboul alphabet was a hybrid alphabet.

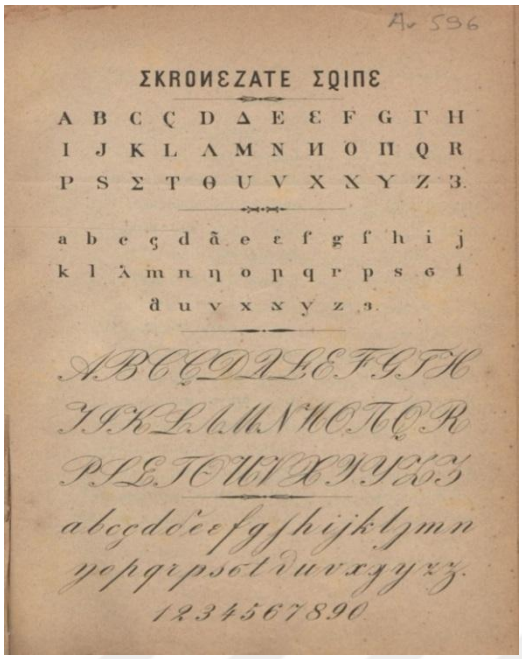

Figure 12: The Upper and Lower Cases of the Albanian Letters and Their Handwriting Forms

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Şemseddin Sami. **Arnavutça Kıraat Kitabı**, İstanbul,1879.

ABECEJA ÇQIP

L'alfabet Albanais.

Çq.	fren.	tyrq.	ɛembɛÃ	Çqip.	fren.	tyrq.	ɛembɛÃ
a	a	آ	ar	n	n	ن	nate
b	b	ب	bar	ŋ	gn	ڭ	ŋeri
c	ts	تسه	cap	o	o	او	ore
ç	tch	چ	çap	p	p	پ	pule
d	d	د	daɯ	q	q	ك	qepe
ð	dh	ذ	ðe	r	ɾ	ر	rip
e	e	اې	eße	rr	rr	رر	rrap
ɛ	e	ا	engeÃ	s	s	س	sy
ff	f	ف	frike	ɯ	sch	ش	ɯoɯe
g	g	خ	gale	t	t	ت	trim
gj	gh	ڭ	garper	θ	th	ث	θane
h	h	هـ	hole	u	ou	او	uße
		اې	i mire	v	v	و	vaše
j	y	ى	jave	x	dz	دز	xbaðure
k	k	ق	kaɯte	x	dj	ج	xami
l	l	ل	lakɯr	y	u	او	yÃ
ƛ	lh	لل	ƛambe	z	z	ز	zemere
m	m	م	meme	ʒ	j	ژ	ʒuʒuÃ

Figure 13: The Equivalents of the Albanian Letters in French Orthography and Turkish Orthography in the Arabo-Persian Letters as well as Their Usages in Words

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Sami Frasheri**. Abetare e gjuhese shqipe**. İstanbul: Rufeja, 1909.

If Arabic letters were chosen, only seven letters would be needed. In this case, it is worth asking why Şemseddin Sami preferred the Latin alphabet. According to Frances Trix, the Greek alphabet was related to the Orthodox Church and the Arabic alphabet related to Islam, the most neutral one being the Latin alphabet (Trix, 1999, 258). Surely, the Latin alphabet could be more neutral because it was used in a more prevalent way not only by the Catholics but also the Protestants. Yet, in the Albanian context, it would be misleading to underestimate its relation with Catholicism in addition to the Italian irredentism. On the other hand, as Trix pointed out, the other reasons are more convincing. Şemseddin Sami, just like his contemporary intellectuals, was familiar with the French language and the Latin alphabet (Trix, 1999). Yet, apart from them, he was also acquainted with Greek in Zosima high school (Levend, 1969, 40).

The most important factor in his preference was the International Phonetic Alphabet designed by German linguist and Egyptologist Karl Richard Lepsius. Şemseddin Sami was informed about Lepsius and his phonetic alphabet via his friend Kristoforidhi (Trix, 1999, 258). His main motivation was to invent an alphabet based on the principle "a letter for a sound" in accordance with the scientific foundations. In other words, we can say that it was fabricated under the influence of the discourse which could be formulated as "the more phonetic an alphabet was, the more scientific it was". Except for being a hybrid alphabet, it could be regarded as the predecessor of the new Turkish letters in 1928. It is evident that both of them were inspired by the Lepsius system.

There were many other alphabets along with the Stamboul alphabet, but the latter was the dominant one. One of its limitations, however, was that the Greek and Cyrillic letters in this alphabet did not exist in the European printing houses as the Catholic churches used the Latin letters under influence of Rome and Austria. The Agimi Society (1889) and the Bashkimi Society (1901) also invented their own alphabets. While digraphs were used to render the sounds that did not exist in the original Latin alphabet in the Bashkimi alphabet, diacritics were preferred in the Agimi alphabet. In order to establish a common alphabet out of this multiplicity, a congress was organized in Manastır (Bitola), where the alphabets voted were the Stamboul and the Latin alphabets, as well as Agimi, Bashkimi, the Jesuit, and the Kristofrodhi alphabets. While the Muslims and some Catholics voted in favour of the Stamboul alphabet, the Orthodox and some Catholics voted for the Bashkimi alphabet. Consequently, it was decided that the Stamboul alphabet, Agimi and

Bahskimi alphabets could be used at the same time. Thus, the adapted Greek and Arabic letters for Albanian remained out of circulation (Bilmez, 2008, 22-31).

Even though the Stamboul alphabet was designed to represent the sounds of the Albanian language, as Nathalie Clayer put, there were also some Turkish publications written in this alphabet. For instance, some articles in Turkish were written in the Albanian letters in the *Drita* journal 1904 and Turkish was written in the Latin based Albanian letters in the way that ""Bi izn-illahi teɛala bu num ɛrodan itibar ɛn arnaud lisan i azbylbejani ɛlifbasile bir parçɛ tyrkçɛda jazmaga baσλajorez" (Since this number, we start to write in Turkish in the Albanian alphabet). In a similar way, the newspaper *Esas* was published in both the Arabic and the Latin letters in 1329/1911. However, the part written in the Latin letters was in French orthography (Clayer, 2004, 253-264). This implies that the Albanian letters were not only related to the Albanian language policy but also an early rehearsal of the Latin based new Turkish letters in 1928.

4. SEARCHING FOR THE PERFECT ALPHABET (1923-1932)

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, one of the implications of the progressive paradigm was that the Latin alphabet generated from the Greek alphabet was the most convenient alphabet for the flourishing of science and rational thinking (Harris, 2000, 1-16). It was also the time that national identities were emerging. A language "written as it is read" was seen as crucial for these newly born national identities. For the construction of the written language on the ground of the spoken language, the phonetic alphabet had a great role.

In the linguistic modernization process of the Ottoman Empire, it was highly unlikely to adopt the Latin alphabet, yet the phonocentric approach became the departure point in the language debates as a component of the progress discourse. Even though most of the actors of these debates did not assign superiority to the Latin alphabet they often mentioned the principle of “the representation of a sound with a letter,” so writing had already begun to take a new shape according to this principle. When we have a glance at the grammar, orthography and alphabet books written in the late Ottoman period, we encounter various proposals about how the vowels could be made visible. However, the aim was not the complete change of the existing alphabet but putting an end to the orthographic anarchy.

In the Republican period, we witness radical implementations instead of the Ottoman way of eclectical solutions in various realms of life and the adoption of the Latin alphabet was one of these implementations. In 1928, the "Türk Harflerinin Kabul ve Tatbiki Hakkında Kanun" (the Law of the Adoption and Application of Turkish Letters) was enacted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly, and in a short time this new set of letters got more prevalent, with a mass mobilization. The New Turkish Letters were often described as perfect, their perfection being based on the perfect match between the graphemes of the new Turkish alphabet and the phonemes of the Turkish language differing from the Arabic letters.

Even though the substitution of the Latin letters with the Arabic letters was significant symbolically, it had deeper implications because letters were beyond being just labels on things that could be put on and taken off easily. In this sense, the main question I will try to answer in this chapter is that if the written language

had already evolved to be a record of the spoken language within the Turkish alphabet generated from the Arabic letters, what does the total change of the alphabet mean apart from the change of one set of signs with another set of signs?

First of all, I will handle the evolution of the arguments in the texts produced between the years 1923 and 1928. Indeed, their contribution was to break the perception of a sudden transition from the Arabic letters to the Latin ones. In the center of all debates in both the treatises and the newspaper articles, the question was whether to continue with the Arabic letters or with the Latin ones. However, my purpose in this section is to examine the arguments of the supporters of both the Arabic letters and the Latin letters and to reveal the common and different points in these arguments rather than investigating simply who takes which side. Secondly, I will search for an answer to what extent the Alphabet Revolution could be seen as an extension of the discipline of Turcology. The Baku Turkology Congress in 1926 was a crucial meeting for these studies and the agenda of this congress was concentrated on the designation of Latin alphabets for the Turkic peoples in the Soviet Union. Even if there is not a cause and effect relationship between the Baku Congress and the Turkish Alphabet Revolution, it is plausible to search for a correlation. Although the Alphabet Revolution was not the consequence of the decisions taken in Baku Congress, we need to ask to what extent the Baku Congress had an effect on the process of the Alphabet Revolution by looking at the worldwide context and its place among the similar situations.

Thirdly, I will mainly focus on the alphabet and the grammar reports with their reflections in the magazines and the newspaper articles. These texts are not only the formal, elaborated and ultimate versions of all the previous projects but also samples of linguistic texts such as the alphabet, orthography and grammar books published in the following years. I will also deal with the first publications with the new Turkish letters shortly and then, my main concern is to investigate the relation between the new set of letters and the grammar written after the Revolution. It is obvious that the purpose of the Revolution was not just the symbolic change or the simplification of the vocabulary but the structural change. The general idea was that the true Turkish rules had been oppressed under the Arabic and Persian grammar rules for centuries and it was time to save Turkish from their yoke. If the foreign rules were filtered from the body of Turkish language, then the Arabic letters, which were organically related to the Arabic grammar rules, were not necessary either. At this point, the question is to what extent this aim was accomplished by means of the complete change of the letters.

In terms of time, this study is limited to the foundation of the *Türk Dil Kurumu* (the Turkish Language Institute) in 1932. Surely, many implementations in the thirties such as the Turkish Language and History Thesis, the Purification Movement and the Sun Language Theory were related to the Alphabet Revolution even indirectly. Without the adoption of the Latin letters, it would be hard to justify them. However, in this thesis, I will stick to the directly related debates and implementations of the Alphabet Revolution and will not go beyond the year 1932. All these subtitles would be significant in the specific context of the Republican period. When passing from the Ottoman phase to the Republican phase, in order to place the language issue in its particular context, we need to take into account the agency of Mustafa Kemal and the paradigms such as Westernization and continuity-rupture.

It was a general tendency to claim that by the Alphabet Revolution like the rest of the reforms[13], it was aimed to cut the relations with the East and to integrate into the West (Zürcher, 2004, 191; Toprak, 2012, 147). However, the East and the West are assumed inherently as fixed geographic categories in these interpretations. In this case, we need to keep in mind that the theoretical approach of the substitution of the Western values and symbols with the Eastern ones is not helpful in order to deeply understand either the Ottoman or the Republican experience. According to Mardin, to handle the Westernization paradigm in the frame of cause and effect relation as in billiards games would be misleading and inadequate in shedding light on some local developments (Mardin, 1961, 250-271). For instance, the early debates and implementations on the adoption of the Latin letters emerged within the borders of the Russian Empire - afterwards in the Soviet Union- for the Turkic peoples as well as in Iran, Japan and China, and even in the Arabic countries (Shivtiel, 1998). As Mulallim B. Zeki said that “the adoption of the Latin letters means to be Westernized. Interestingly, Westernization comes from the East, not from the West to our country” (1926, 2).

Nevertheless, in order to understand the particular context of the language debates on alphabet, orthography and grammar, we also need to revise the difference

[13] Sami N. Özerdim gives a detailed list of all these reforms day by day in *Atatürk Devrimi Kronolojisi* (1963). It is worth to remember the closely related and similar reforms to the Alphabet Revolution. First of all, the sultanate was abolished on 1 November 1922 and the abolition of the caliphate was accomplished on 3 March 1924 by Assembly, in addition to this, all religious schools were taken under the state control (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat*). On 26 December 1925, the Law about the Adoption of International Calendar and Hour (*Günün Yirmi Dört Saate Taksimine Dair Kanun*, no.697; *Takvimde Tarih Mebdeinin Tebdili Hakkında Kanun*, no.698) were enacted, therefore, instead of the Hijri calendar and the Rumi calendar, the Gregorian calendar, which begins by the birth of Jesus, was accepted officially. In 1928, just before the adoption of the Latin letters, on 24 May the Law of the Adoption of International Numbers (*Beynelmilel Erkamın Kabulü Hakkında Kanun*, no.1288) was passed and also on 10 April some constitutional amendments were made, the most important article was the abolition of the statement ”the religion of the Turkish Republic is Islam”.

between the Ottoman way of eclectical Westernization and the Republican way of wholesale Westernization (Hanioğlu, 2011). If the Ottoman Westernization model and also its dilemma were crystallized in the distinction of culture-civilization by Ziya Gökalp, the Republican way of Westernization was the violation of this distinction. Even though Mustafa Kemal was one of the followers of the Westernization movement lead by Abdullah Cevdet in the Ottoman period, he carried out the dreams of the Ottoman Westernizers even beyond their imagination (Hanioğlu, 2011, 61). Also, as Andrew Mango said, “he rejected euphemism and called a hat a hat” (Mango, 1999, 433). If we adapt this statement to our case, “he rejected euphemism and called the Latin alphabet Latin alphabet." After the various experiments with the Arabic letters, it was surely a straightforward approach. Nevertheless, it was still problematic whether changing the letters could be more complex than an element of material culture or not.

In terms of the continuity-rupture paradigm, it is hard to discern between the Ottoman legacy and the Republican innovation. The newly born state got the most important heir of the Empire. As Erik J. Zürcher stated, “it inherited not one of the limbs but the head and the heart of the Empire, its cultural and administrative center” (Zürcher, 2010, 141). Michael Meeker also draws attention to the continuity between the Imperial and the Republican practices rather than a radical change. According to him, the Turkish Republic referred to the Imperial practices inevitably. Even if the Ottoman Empire was depicted as a corrupt tradition in the official discourse of the Turkish Republic, it remained as a source of inspiration. Moreover, the Ottoman Empire had already created a state people[14] before the Turkish Republic. For Meeker, the contribution of the Republic was just to present a national project instead of the imperial one to this already created state people; in his own words, “this imperial project prefigures the national project” (Meeker, 2001, xviii).

The turning point from the Imperial project to the Republican project was the Balkan Wars (Zürcher, 2010, 148). Before the Balkan wars, several formulas such as Ottomanism or Islamism were coined as an answer to the question “how the Ottoman Empire is possible” and they had a chance to be decisive in the fate of the Empire. Yet, after the Balkan Wars, Turkism appeared more functional as a reference point in the survival politics of the Empire. As Zürcher suggested, “what was national was no longer in doubt by the end of 1912” (2010, 148). Even though

[14] “The state people” mean the Ottoman subjects who started to establish closer contacts with the state and have a role in decision-taking process. As in the title of the book by Meeker, “a nation of Empire”, the Republic had already found a people who began to be nationalized and it just resumed this process.

to what extent the definition of “Turkishness” fitted the national identity in a modern sense was problematic, it interrupted the Ottoman way of Westernization. It is possible read the Westernization of the Republic as a synthesis of this interrupted Westernization and the Western way of nationalization.

We also need to keep in mind that the mindset of the Republican state officials was ideologically shaped in the late Ottoman period. For Abdülhamid the Second, the West was a model particularly in the realm of education and a positivistic curriculum was followed in the Western style schools (Mardin, 2011, 15). It was a general theme to synthesize Islam with the science and technology of the West. In this sense, westernization meant to believe in modern science and biological materialism (Hanioğlu, 2011, 228). One of the motivations of Mustafa Kemal while implementing the Republican reforms was his engagement to the Enlightenment values and scientism. For example, one of the arguments on behalf of the Latin letters was that science could be possible only by means of the Latin letters.

4.1. The Evolution of the Alphabet Debates: “Our Letters are the same as the Latin Letters according to the Scientific and the Historical Principles”

The contribution of the writings between 1923 and 1928 to the different aspects of language and particularly alphabet was important in terms of following the gradual evaluation of the alphabet discourse in the late Ottoman period and the Republican period. To neglect how this subject was treated by the prominent intellectuals in the years just before the Alphabet Revolution leads to the misinterpretation or the exaggeration of the rupture throughout this transition process.

As seen in the second chapter, newspapers remained the main medium for the discussions about language in the Ottoman period. However, in the course of time, we witness that these discussions became more elaborated in terms of linguistics and started to be handled in treatises.[15] Even though the authors of these texts emphasized that they were not linguists, they constantly referred to some thesis

[15] Ali Seydi, *Latin Hurufu Lisanımızda Kabil-i Tatbik midir? (1924);* Avram Galanti, *Türkçede Arabi Lâtin Harfleri ve İmlâ Meseleleri* (1925); İsmail Şükrü, *Asrî Türk Harfleri* (1925); İsmail Şükrü, *Lâtin Harfleri* (1926); Alimcan Şeref, *Harflerimizin Müdafaası* (1926); Necati Kemal, *Elifba İnkılabı* (1926); Hidayet İsmail, *Arap ve Lâtin Harfleri* (1927); Avram Galanti, *Arabi Harfleri Terakkimize Mâni' Değildir* (1927); İstapan Karayan, *Muaddel Lâtin Harfleriyle Elifba-yı Türkî Projesi* (1927); Ali İlhami, *Türkçe Yazı ve Latin Harfleri* (1927); A. Azmi, *Eski ve Yeni Harfler Hakkında Bazı Mütalaalar* (1928); Mithat Sadullah Sander, *Lâtin Harflerinin Türkçeye Tatbiki* (1928). These were listed in *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri* by Agâh Sırrı Levend (1960, 399-400). But the name of the writer "Ne Konuştuğumuzu Bilelim" was written as Mahmut Arif Bey instead of Mahmut Afif Bey. Except for them, in this study, the *Yazımız* by Yusuf Samih Bey, who was known as Asmai, and thte *İlmi ve Tarihi Esaslar Nazaran Harflerimiz Latin Harflerinin Aynıdır* by Tahsin Ömer were included.

related to the main problematics of the realm of linguistics. They also tended to deal with their subject more systematically by supporting their theses with examples and by proposing new alphabet designs.

It is possible that these texts were mentioned in the general sources of the literature of the Alphabet Revolution. Nevertheless, their contents and arguments were not well-evaluated except for identifying who is the supporter or the opponent of the Latin letters. All these texts indicate that the Alphabet Revolution was the consequence of discourse elaborated with some linguistic arguments in time rather than a sudden change. In this sense, to do a close reading of these treatises is important in order to understand both the overlooked fragments and the background of the Revolution.

We can say that the strong opposition against the Latin letters continued during the early years of the Republic. The newspaper *Akşam,* on 28 March 1926, started a set of interviews searching the answer to this question: “Latin harfi kabul edilmeli mi, kabul edilirse menfaatimiz nedir, zararımız nedir?” (Must the Latin letters be adopted, if yes, what are the advantages and disadvantages for us?). Just 3 of 17 people who answered this question were on the side of the Latin letters: Abdullah Cevdet, Mustafa Hamid, and Refet Avni Aras. The opponents were Halit Ziya, Veled Çelebi, Necip Asım, Ali Canip, İbrahim Alaaddin, Fuat Köprülü, Zeki Velidi Togan, Ali Ekrem, Muallim Cevdet, Avram Galanti, Hüseyin Suad, Halil Nimetullah, İbrahim Necmi and Gombotes Zoltan (Latin Harflerini Kabul Etmeli mi, Etmemeli mi?, 1926, 1). However, some of them changed their minds in a shortly afterwards. For example, İbrahim Necmi, who was not a linguist but who was known for his works on the Turkish language, became one of the leading figures of the Alphabet Revolution afterwards. Moreover, he contributed to this process by writing the alphabet and grammar books and also took part in the construction phase of the Turkish Language Thesis. On the other hand, the others, including Avram Galanti continued to develop counter arguments against the Latin Letters.

When we focus on the change of the letters as a structural change going beyond a symbolic change, the divisions such as the Arabists and Latinists could make us miss the point. Because whether all these intellectuals were the supporters or the opponents of the Latin letters, they already had modernist attitudes on the reformation of the Turkish language. Their approach, which can be defined as combination of “writing as a record of speech” and “alphabet as a representation of the sounds of spoken language,” was highly prevalent at that time. Even the most radical opponents of the Latin letters were not free from this discourse. Therefore, it

is not surprising that the endeavors for the reformation of the Arabo-Persian Turkish letters in order to eliminate the Latin letters as an alternative started to serve as a background for fabricating the orthography based on İstanbul vernacular with Latin letters.

In this sense, it gets more important to examine the arguments in these texts which claim to deal with the alphabet in the context of linguistics in a more extensive way. The main topics vary from the historiography of writing to the relation between civilization and writing; from the discrepancy between the Turkish language and the Arabic letters to some new alphabet drafts. First of all, most of these texts start with a historiography of writing generally tracing back to the hieroglyphics, or sometimes they also contain an Islamic narrative about the development of the Arabic writing. Different points are emphasized in this historiography according to its writer, or sometimes the same points serve to support different theses.

One of these texts, *İlmi ve Tarihi Esaslara Nazaran Harflerimiz Latin Harflerinin Aynıdır* (Our Letters are the same as the Latin Letters according to the Scientific and the Historical Principles) was written by Tahsin Ömer. According to Tahsin Ömer, Latin letters are just a modified version of Arabic letters, which are written from the left to the right, therefore he concludes to the necessity of the adoption of the Latin letters (1339/1920-1921). In order to justify his thesis linguistically, he applies to a historiography on the origin of writing. Both the Arabic and the Latin letters are basically phonetic, phonetic writing being the last phase of the evolution of hieroglyphics. "The Egyptian writing was grounded on the alphabetic principle, which is indispensible for any writing in order to be logical, as all the current writings were" (Tahsin Ömer, 1339/1920-1921, 11). Departing from this principle, the Phoenicians fabricated the Phoenician alphabet based on the sound-letter correspondence and the Greeks enriched it by amending it and by adding new letters. The distinctive feature of Greek letters was that "they were convenient for writing not only Greek but also many other languages" (Tahsin Ömer, 1339/1920-1921, 19). Latin letters are more or less modified versions of the Greek letters. For Tahsin Ömer, however, even though Arabic letters are based on the phonetic principle just like Latin letters, they are illogical and deficient because they lack the vowels which the Greeks introduced. Moreover, they are not compatible for Turkish, which is essentially a Turkic language.

In *Muaddel Latin Hurufu ile Elifba-i Türki Projesi* (The Project of the Turkish Alphabet with its Latin Counterparts) (1927), İstepan Karayan aims to create a perfect and national alphabet in accordance with the Turkish language. He

determines seven principles for its perfectness, which are: the visibility of the vowels, the representation of a sound only with a sign, the separation of consonants from vowels, and the isolation of each grapheme from dots and signs. Furthermore, writing had to be only for being read and no letter should be cut and jointed to another letter (İstepan Karayan, 1927, 15). For Karayan, the main requisite for a perfect Turkish alphabet is to carry all these features and the adoption of the Latin letters is not enough for perfectness. Even the Latin letters are deficient because they have only some of these principles. Nevertheless, the main material of this new alphabet will be the Latin letters. Karayan establishes an analogy between an alphabet and a building. He says that Latin letters are used just as "construction materials" and also some of them are used by being modified and reformed according to the need of "this building." Even though these materials are foreign, the style of this building could remain national. Like Tahsin Ömer, Karayan also gives a similar historiography of writing but in a lengthier way. For him, all the alphabets were generated from the ancient Egyptian alphabet. Therefore, no alphabet is national because their main materials trace back to the Egyptian alphabet. If the materials of both the Arabic letters and the Latin letters come from this same ancient origin, it is plausible to take the Latin ones (İstepan Karayan, 1927, 43-45). Besides, there is no need to invent brand new graphemes while all the civilized nations are already using these letters.

İsmail Şükrü claims in his treatise, *Latin Harflerinden Daha İyisini Bulalım* (Let Us Find a Better Alphabet than the Latin Letters), that it is necessary to find a modern and scientific alphabet for Turkish which is neither Arabic nor Latin. He argues that "we need to find modern letters according to the sounds and harmony of our language by comparing each letter of these alphabets, by keeping the advantageous aspects and getting rid of their disadvantages" (İsmail Şükrü, 1926,11). He does not refer to the linear narrative composed of the hieroglyphics, the Phoenician, the Greek and the Latin writing but to the classical narrative on the development of the Arabic writing after the Quran. He just emphasizes that Arabic writing is a Syrian invention instead of tracing it back to the hieroglyphics. He also mentions how the latter were transformed by Ebu'l Esved ed-Dueli and Haccac by developing phonetization and diacritics marks. He also concludes that "practice of Arabic reading without phonetization marks is similar to teaching muteness to the people capable of speaking" (İsmail Şükrü, 1926, 30). However, the author does not present any alphabet draft which is composed of advantageous points from both of these alphabets.

In *Latin Hurufu Lisanımıza Kabili Tatbik midir?* (Is It Possible to Apply the Latin Letters to Our Language?), Ali Seydi, who will defend the Latin letters after the Revolution, handles the history of Arabic writing by not putting it in the context of a linear and progressive history of writing. He claims that Turkish could be read and written by the reformation of letters without a hitch. He also reminds us that the Seljuks and the Ottomans adopted the *nesih* script by adding new letters. At this point, he asks, "have the letters which we called Arabic been stable and fixed in quantitative and qualitative aspects so far?" and points out to their diversity throughout the time (Ali Seydi, 1924, 11). In other words, he implies that if these letters have evolved in many ways so far, they have a potential to be renewed, and also that what is plausible is to benefit from this capacity instead of eliminating them.

Of the opponents of the Latin letters, Yusuf Samih (Asmai) and Avram Galanti also tend to defend their thesis with strong linguistic arguments by referring to the history of writing. According to Asmai, "our writing" is "a religious work of art" (*eser-i dini*) and a "political symbol" (*esvar-i siyasi*) (Yusuf Samih, 2014, 59). Just like the supporters of the Latin letters, Yusuf Samih Bey begins his treatise, *Yazımız* (Our Writing), with research on the origin of writing. He remarks that not only the Arabic letters but also the Latin letters were generated from the Egyptian hieroglyphics. By citing Ahmed Kemal Pasha, a professor of Ancient Egypt, he builds a narrative on the genesis of Egyptian civilization. According to this narrative, after a sort of flood, some struggles emerged among the tribes in the Egyptian territory, with some of them dominating others and establishing a sedentary life. Thus, they started to draw objects in order to express themselves. In the course of time, these drawings remained inadequate and transformed to words composed of one or two syllables. These syllables turned into letters and constituted the phonetic ground of both the Arabic and the Latin letters. Asmai also gives a brief table which he compiled it from the woks of Alman Brooks Pasha and Abdulfettah Ubade Efendi, the writer of the *İntişaru'l Hatti'l Arabi* (See figure 14) (Yusuf Samih, 2014, 46-51). In the first column of this table, the Turkish letters were entered and in the last one the Latin ones. He also mentions the phases of the Arabic writing under the influence of İslam. The crucial point was the inventions of phonetization marks and some diacritics to make them be read correctly after the creolization of the Arabs with the Turks and Persians. He also does not overlook the importance of some sorts of scripts such as *kufi, nesih, sulus* and *talik* as a part of this evolution and the contribution of the Turks with the invention of *rika* writing to the Arabic writing.

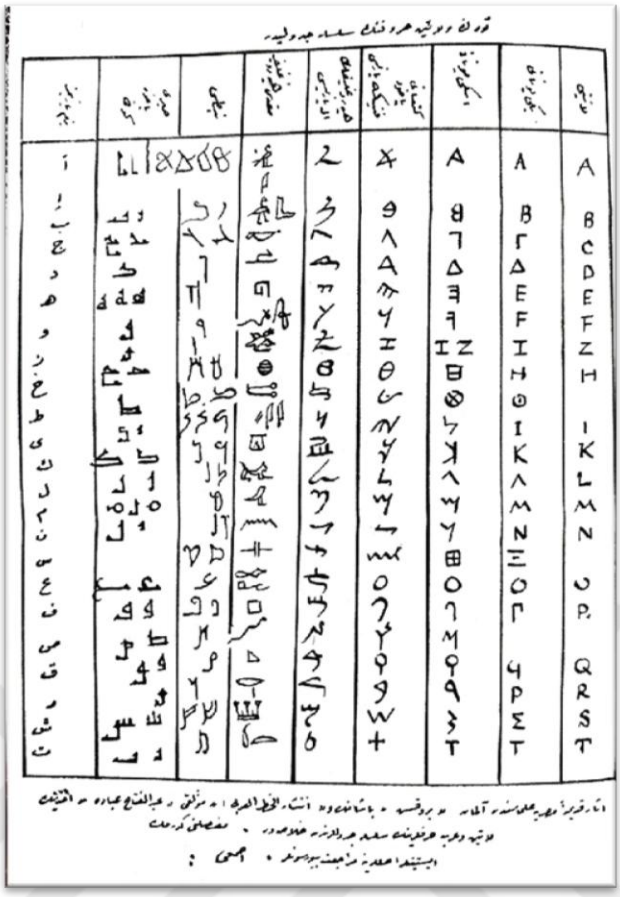

Figure 14: The Abridged Chart of the Writing Systems Composed by Yusuf Samih

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Yusuf Samih (Asmai). **Yazımız**. İstanbul: TİYO, 2014

In a similar way, Avram Galanti mentions shortly the emergence of the Arabic writing in his treatise *Arap Harfleri Terakkimize Mani Değildir* (the Arabic Letters are not Obstacle in front of Our Progress)(1925). He claims that both the Arabic and the Latin letters come from the Phoenician writing. We also encounter his interesting thesis in his article "Kullandığımız Türkçe Yazının Menşei" (The Origin of the Turkish Writing in Use). Indeed, Galanti means Arabo-Persian letters when he mentions "Turkish writing." According to Galanti, "the origin of the Arabic letters is Nabataean, the Origin of Nabataean is Aramaic, and the origin of the Aramaic writing is Hebrew and Phoenician, the origin of the last two being Chaldean" (1918, 283-284). That is to say, the Turkish alphabet composed of the Arabic letters is in fact of Chaldean origin. Then, he searches for the relation between this writing and the Uighur writing. He says that the Uighur writing generated from the writing called *İstrongilo* which is closely related to the Syriac writing. He therefore concludes that if both the Syriac and the Arabic writing derived from the Nebataean writing, the Turkish writing is

ultimately Chaldean whether it came from the Arabic or the Uighur writings. In another of articles, "Kullandığımız Elifba Harflerinin Menşei ve Manaları," (the Origin and Meanings of the Letters in Use) he even tries to refute the thesis of some European linguists such as E. de Rouge, W. Deccke, Detitsch and Jensen, who claim that the Arabic-Semitic writing evolved from the Hieroglyphics and cuneiform script (Avram Galanti, 1918, 153-154).

In these texts, there was an effort to search for a correlation between writing and civilization as well. It was generally affirmed, whether explicitly or implicitly that only phonetic writing could make us catch up with the standard of civilization and the other writing systems are inadequate and deficient. Here, the phonetic writing is not the equivalent of the Latin alphabet in an exact way. On the other hand, there were also counter-arguments which denied any positive relation between writing and the alphabet. For instance, for Ali Seydi, Latin letters are the most deficient ones among the Slavic, Greek, German and Armenian letters in terms of "syllables and articulation points" (*hece ve mahreç*) because it is not possible to modify them according to "the sounds" (*kisve-i esvatına*) of each nation. After emphasizing the perfectness of the Armenian letters, he states that the alphabet cannot have the main role in the progress of a nation, and that it is not possible to find a correlation between writing and civilization (Ali Seydi, 1924, 30), yet it is a requirement to improve and reform the current alphabet. In a similar way, Galanti claims that the alphabet and orthography issues are not central for progress. He also supports his thesis by pointing out the difficult orthographies of some nations such as the French, the English and the Japanese (Avram Galanti, 1925, 39-52). For Asmai, there is no use to make use of the Latin letters because we will still remain Eastern people in the eyes of the Western people despite changing our writing.

Tahsin Ömer, who is one of the supporters of the Latin letters by emphasizing the sameness of these two kinds of alphabets, assigns a crucial role to writing in terms of accumulation and continuation of knowledge and experience. For him, there is science at the heart of the European civilization and science is only possible if knowledge is transmitted from a generation to the next via writing. Writing protects our immaterial and moral being and even our material being, which is finite (Tahsin Ömer, 1339/1920-1921, 5). İsmail Şükrü also says that civilization and progress depend on "maarif," which in turn depends on an alphabet issue. However, İsmail Şükrü's main concern is related to the structural dimension of language. For him, we can retrieve "our grammar only if we reform our letters. This means discovering an

eternal grammar (*ezeli gramer*) but not reconstructing it (Tahsin Ömer, 1339/1920-1921, 28).

Ali İlhami defines writing in this way: "Writing means the representation of each consonant and vowel by only one grapheme in a separated way in order to fixate language under some definite and limited simple signs with its all articulation points and sounds" (Ali İlhami, 1927, 3). It is clear that what he understands from writing is just one form of writing, and this is phonetic writing. He reduces the concept of writing to just one kind of writing and assigns superiority to it, saying that "various writings, beginning from the hieroglyphics to our time evolved for the purpose mentioned in this definition" (Ali İlhami, 1927, 9). Thus, he justifies this superiority by placing it in a teleological narrative of writing. However, interestingly, Ali İlhami adds that even the civilized and developed nations of the day could not acquire this type of writing. The writing in this definition is in fact an ideal writing and not only the Arabic writing but also all other writings are deficient in this sense. On the other hand, the Latin letters are the closest ones to this ideal and by their means, it is more possible to provide "vocal harmony" (*aheng-i telaffuz*).

We also encounter some alphabet drafts based on Latin letters and the principles of their adoption in some of the texts in this period. For instance, Karayan deals with the value of each existing Turkish letter in the Latin alphabet at length. He defends that the material of the new alphabet should be the Latin letters and also points out which letter corresponds to which Latin letter (İstepan Karayan, 1927, 28-32). İstepan Karayan designed an alphabet according to the principles he listed above. His alphabet was composed of eight vowels and twenty four consonants. He employed the Latin letters for the common sounds as they were however he invented new characters for the sounds whose counterparts were not existed in the Latin alphabet. The nuances among sounds were demonstrated in his alphabet as well (Ertem, 1991, 271-272).

Tahsin Ömer gives the counterparts of the Arabic letters in the Latin alphabet to demonstrate their similarity. Even if it is not exactly a new project, it is worth mentioning. He tries to find a far-fetched graphic resemblance by distorting their familiar appearance, curving the shapes of letters in both alphabets by sometimes rotating them horizontally or vertically (See figure 15). For example, in order to establish a similarity between “ب” and “B”, the letter "B" was rotated horizontally; between “غ” and “g”, the right half of “g” was erased lightly; between “ل” and “L”, it was added a small flaw from the right point; between “م” and “m”, the right leg of “m”

was omitted; between “ذ” and “z”, a small scratch was put on its top towards the right; between “ى” and “y”, “ى” is written horizontally. Also, it is interesting that he determined "c" for the equivalent of the letter “ق” (Tahsin Ömer, 1339/1920-1921, 3). At first sight, these modified letters seem clumsy, but they are indeed designed according to the similar principle of the International Phonetic Alphabet. The chart prepared by Tahsin Ömer in order to render the counterparts of the Arabic letters in the Latin alphabet. Yet, the letters of both alphabets were distorted to prove their common origin (Tahsin Ömer, 1339/1920-1921, 3).

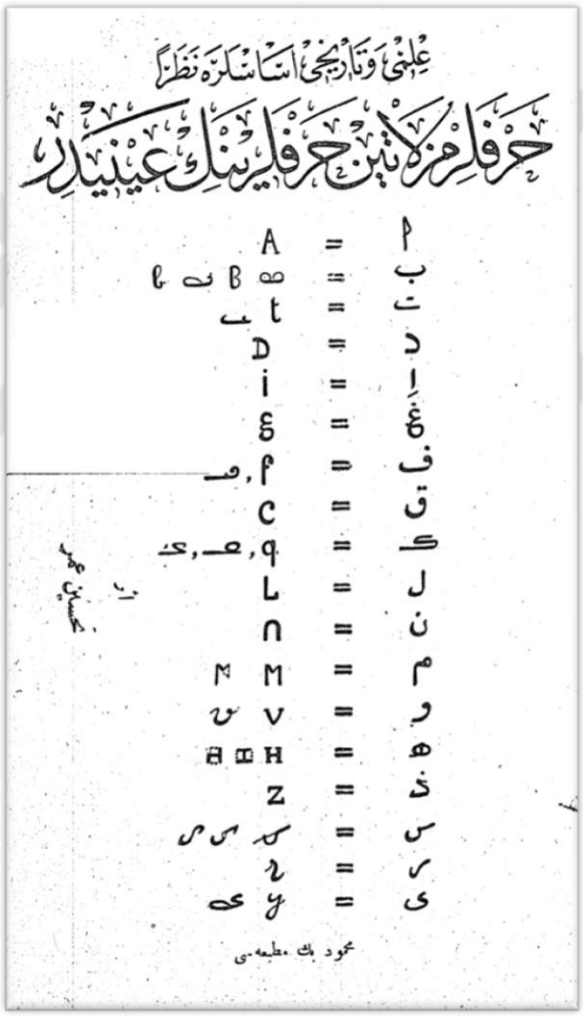

Figure 15: Our Letters are the same as the Latin Letters according to the Scientific and the Historical Principles

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Tahsin Ömer. **İlmi ve Tarihi Esaslara Nazaran Harflerimiz Latin Harflerinin Aynıdır**. İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1339/1920-1921.

A more systematical proposal belongs to Ali İlhami who prefers diacritics to digraphs. According to him, the usage of digraphs makes writing longer and leads to confusions. Therefore, he does not use “dj” for “ج”, “tch” for “چ”, “kh” for “خ” and “ch” for “ش”. Instead, he proposes “c” for “چ”, “ç” for “ج”, "ħ" *for “خ”*. The scratch on the “ħ” will be omitted when its sound disappears (See figure 16). He also prefers a different form of "g" for “ع” (See figure 19), a letter similar to "j" for “ش” (See figure 20), "q" for “گ” (See figure 21) (Ali İlhami, 1927, 20-23). Ali İlhami also gives no overt reference to the International Phonetic Alphabet and he modifies some letters using the same logic. Moreover, for instance, the letter "ħ” was available in the 1921 chart of the International Phonetic Alphabet as the equivalent of the Arabic “ح” but not “خ” (L'Ecriture phonétique internationale: exposé populaire avec application au français et à plusieurs autres langues, 1921).

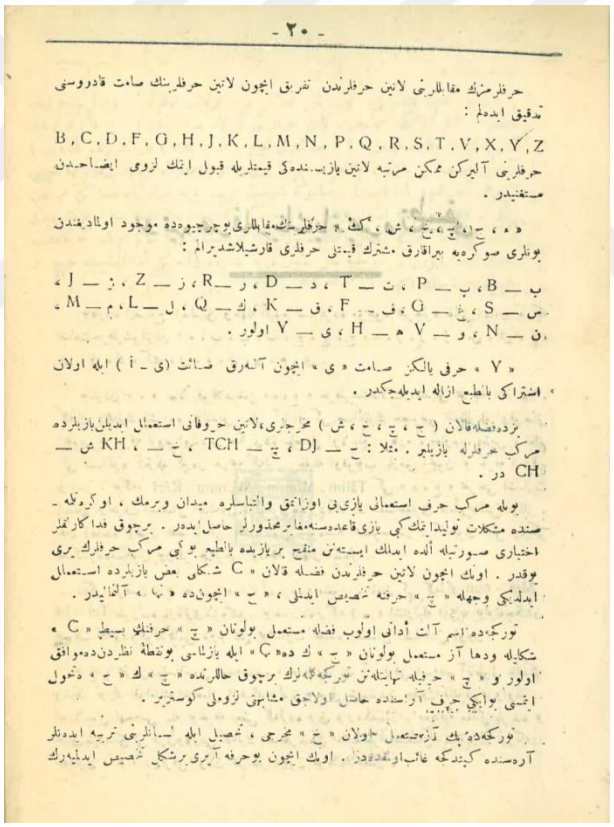


Figure 16: The Latin Equeivalents of the Common Consonants in the Arabo-Persian Alphabet according to Ali İlhami

Ali İlhami. **Türkçe Yazı ve Latin Harfleri**. Erzurum: Demiryolları Matbaası, 1927.

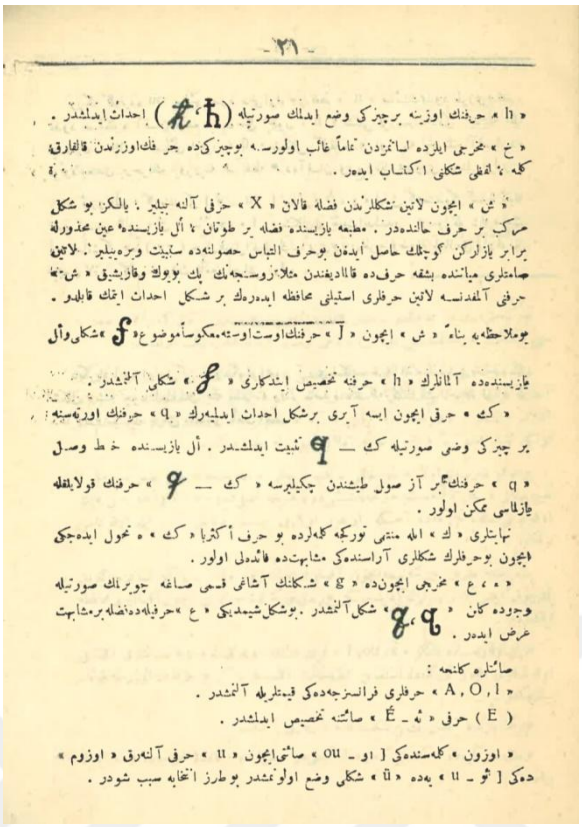


Figure 17: The diacritic Latin Chatacters Invented by Ali İlhami instead of Digraphs for the Letters "خ , ع ,ش ,گ "

Ali İlhami. **Türkçe Yazı ve Latin Harfleri**. Erzurum: Demiryolları Matbaası, 1927.

Figure 18: Ali İlhami's Proposal for the Letter "خ " with Its Handwriting Version

Ali İlhami. **Türkçe Yazı ve Latin Harfleri**. Erzurum: Demiryolları Matbaası, 1927.

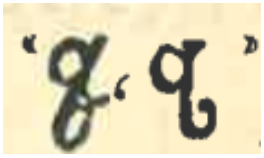


Figure 19: Ali İlhami's Proposal for the Letter "ع", with Its Handwriting version

Ali İlhami. **Türkçe Yazı ve Latin Harfleri**. Erzurum: Demiryolları Matbaası, 1927.

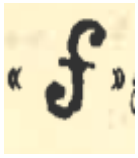


Figure 20: Ali İlhami's Proposal for the Letter " ش ".

Ali İlhami. **Türkçe Yazı ve Latin Harfleri**. Erzurum: Demiryolları Matbaası, 1927.

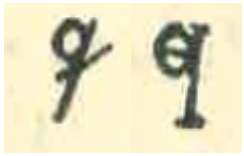


Figure 21: Ali İlhami's Proposal for the Letter " گ " with the Handwriting Version.

Ali İlhami. **Türkçe Yazı ve Latin Harfleri**. Erzurum: Demiryolları Matbaası, 1927.

All these individual attempts at an International Phonetic Alphabet could be traced back to the Standard Alphabet of Lepsius. Indeed, as Ruth Miller emphasized, the standard alphabet of Lepsius could be seen as the precursor for the New Turkish Letters Language Council (Miller, 2013). Karl Richard Lepsius proposed a phonetic alphabet derived from the spoken language so as to transcribe firstly Egyptian hieroglyphics and the African languages (Lepsius, 1981, 6). He also found consonantal writing as dysfunctional, for what makes writing “intelligible” are vowels. Miller also adds that all of them work on the same algorithmic base without a hitch.

In consequence, even though their approach to the historiography of writing is simplistic, all these texts tell a progressive narrative that a phonetic alphabet whether in Arabic letters or in Latin is teleologically the perfect writing, which will be embodied in the Alphabet Report by the Language Council. Even the opponents of the Latin letters seem to form a majority, the arguments in these writings show us that not only the supporters of the Latin letters but also the proponents of Arabic letters have indeed a modernist attitude. Even for the radical supporter of the Arabic letters, the alphabet remains a “visible speech.” They share “traditional wisdom”, as Harris called it, according to which writing was the representation of sounds and the alphabet is an instrument that helps promote “utilitarian literacy” (Harris, 2000, xi). In this sense, to assume the departure point as the distinction between the supporters of the Latin letters and the Arabic ones would mean overlooking what lies beneath.

4.2. The Frame of Turcology: 1926 Baku Turcology Congress

In 1926, the First Turcology Congress was organized in Baku, its agenda being mainly whether the Turkic peoples could adopt the Latin letters or not and if so, in which way this could be achieved. Will it be a standard Latin alphabet or will its different versions range according to the spoken variants of all these peoples? Although the central issue was the adoption of the Latin alphabet, some other topics related to this were a part of its agenda including the history of Turkic peoples, the relationship among the Turkic languages, the history of Turcology, orthography, terminology, development of Turkish literary language and the method of teaching Turkish language. All these subjects could be seen as introduction to the alphabet issue.

Indeed, from the Orkhon inscriptions until the Latin alphabet, writing had an important role in the studies of Turcology. In other languages such as Indo-European, Sanskrit and Ancient Greek, it is possible to trace back the studies via written texts. The discovery of the Orkhon inscriptions by V. Thomsen became a milestone in the realm of Turcology. It presented evidence to investigate the relation between the Turkic peoples and their languages (Hazai, 1998, 810-811). Therefore, a study for a sort of Turkish antiquity started.

According to Halil İnalcık, Turcology emerged as the sub-discipline of Orientalism. He argues that while Western Orientalism was based on the research on the Arabic texts in a hermeneutic method, the study of secular texts in Turkish philologically brought about the discipline of Turcology and it proliferated in many ways. Indeed, we can mention many Turcologies such as French, German, Hungarian, Russian and Soviet Turcologies. The discourse of Turcology was reproduced by the Turks themselves as well as it also became a part and material for the construction process of Turkish identity.

Chronological closeness between the Baku Turcology Congress and the Alphabet Revolution prompts the question whether there is a correlation between them. At the end of this Congress, it was decided that the Latin letters will be accepted by the Turkic republics. Even though this decision was not imposed to Turkey officially, the Latin alphabet was implicitly seen as the most convenient one for the Turkish spoken language in Turkey. The Alphabet Revolution of course was not the implementation of the decisions of the Congress; however it is worth asking to what extent it was inspiring or effective for the actors of the Alphabet Revolution. Eren says that this question was kept silent for a long time lest it could shadow the

authenticity of the Alphabet Revolution (Eren, 1991, 96). Although there is no deterministic relation between them, it was less possible that the political actors of the time neglected such an important event. In terms of the Alphabet Revolution, the Congress makes us see its global context and also how the same discourse was reproduced by other Turkic peoples.

The Turkish delegates in the Congress were Fuad [Köprülü], Hüseyinzade Ali and İsmail Hikmet [Ertaylan]. Fuad Köprülü was already a prominent name in the realm of Turcology, whereas Hüseyinzade Ali studied Turcology in Hungary. No experts on language or alphabet were sent to the Congress. Köprülü presented the paper under the name of "Türk Halklarında Edebi Dilin Gelişimi" (The Development of the Turkish Literary Language) while Hüseyinzade Ali presented "Garbın İki Destanında Türk" (Turk in the Two Legends of the West). Along with them, some other Turcologists such as Paul Wittek, V. V. Barthold, Theodor Menzel, who were in İstanbul at that time, joined the Congress (Demirel, 1999, 36). The Turkish delegates remained impartial, whereas the foreign delegates did not have the right to vote. For instance, Menzel remained impartial despite of that he supported the Latin letters.

There were mainly two groups in the Congress. Those who defended the Arabic letters without any modification were few if any. On the other hand, although the Cyrillic letters were more convenient in terms of the phonetic compatibility to the spoken language, they were not at stake because of their connotations of Russification and missionary activities of Russia (Menzel, 2017, 113). Indeed, all parties, both the supporters of the Latin letters and those in favor of the Arabic letters had a modernist attitude by compromising the phonetic principle (Menzel, 2017, 100). A decision on behalf of the Latin letters was predetermined and in this sense the Congress was quite political, although all fractions defended their alphabets by claiming their technical advantages.

The advantages of the Latin alphabet were counted as its worldwide usage and its separated letters. Indeed, the alphabet was the most important tool of the revolutionary and progressive discourse. For instance, Professor Levi Ivanoviç Jirkov, in his presentation "Alfabenin Teknik Bakımdan Esasları" (The Technical Principles of Alphabet), instrumentalizes writing by means of an analogy between an alphabet and a machine. For him, "the perfectness of writing depends on the tools of writing" (1926 Bakü Türkoloji…, 2008, 284). The more perfect the instrument, namely machine is, the more probable it is to survive (1926 Bakü Türkoloji…, 2008, 289). What Jirkov understood by "tools" was not pen, paper or the printing press.

According to him, the source of the perfectness was the system of written signs, that is to say, the phonetic alphabet.

While the alphabet was handled at such a technical level, the cultural and religious aspects should not be neglected (Menzel, 2017, 101), as also emphasized by Nikolay Feofanoviç Yakovlev. In his presentation, “Alfabe Problemlerinin Türk Halklarının Sosyal ve Kültürel Durumlarıyla İlişkisi ve Yazı Kurallarının Tespit Problemi” (The Relationship between the Problems of the Alphabet and the Social and Cultural Situation of the Turkish Peoples and the Identification Issue of Orthography), he claimed that social and cultural circumstances should be taken into account in addition to the technical aspect while designing a new alphabet. For him, the Latin alphabet will facilitate self-determination. He also said that this alphabet was based on a mathematical formula while the previous ones were developed intuitively (1926 Bakü Türkoloji…, 2008, 270-280).

The critiques of the Arabic alphabet were focused on its incompatibility with modern technology. It is said that it was impossible to type the Arabic letters in either linotype or monotype machines. Besides, it was difficult to discern the Arabic letters from each other since there were too many diacritics, and its most disadvantageous side was the lack of vowels. On the other hand, its esthetic dimension was celebrated and it was accepted that it was faster to write with the Arabic letters. However, these were also seen as defects. For instance, Jirkov claimed that aesthetic concern in writing damages its exactness (1926 Bakü Türkoloji…, 2008, 270-280).

One of the leading figures of those who defend the Arabic alphabet was Alimcan Şeref. His presentation “Harflerimizin Müdafaası” (The Defence of Our Letters) was also published as a book in Turkey in 1926. Alimcan Şeref listed the advantages and disadvantages of both alphabets and ultimately, he claimed that the Arabic alphabet could be more beneficial after a reformation. According to him, it is possible to follow two methods to restore the vowel-deficient Arabic alphabet. Firstly, in order to get vocal harmony, several vowels could be invented and they should be equipped with some signs to show whether they are back or front vowels. Secondly, for both back and front vowels, double vocal sign (*çift vocal işareti)* or a transcription system on the ground of the Arabic alphabet could be adopted. It was thus possible to reshape and fixate orthography by means of the existing alphabet. Moreover, it had already become almost a phonetic alphabet. As seen, his argument was as modernist as the supporters of the Latin letters (Alimcan Şeref, 1926, 36-40).

The decision at the end of the Congress was the adoption of the Latin alphabet as "the New Turkish Letters" by the all Turkic republics. Yet, the method of its implementation according to various vernaculars was left to the authority of each republic (Castagne, 1926, 79 as quoted from Şimşir, 1992, 128). In the following years, diverse Latin alphabets were made particular to each of the Turkic peoples and they included non-Latin characters as well (Eren, 1991, 86). According to Menzel, the alphabet issue was solved in a modernist way as much as possible. He adds that on the one hand, the Pan-İslamist ideas were blocked and on the other, nationalist sentiments were supported (Menzel, 2017).

Menzel also speculated about the attitude of Turkey about this decision. For him, Turkey always had an important role for these peoples as a pioneer in the reformation process. "Nationalist and Turkophone environments always determine their direction according to Turkey" (Menzel, 2017, 121). He also assumes that Turkey will adopt a modern alphabet which is more compatible with its language after big reforms such as the abolition of the caliphate and the dress reform (Menzel, 2017, 122). Even though the majority of the intellectuals was against such a radical change and did not see it probable at that time, the foresight of Menzel will come true and the new Turkish letters will be accepted after two years even by those who opposed such a reform.

One of the reflections of this Congress in Turkey came from Avram Galanti who, in this article, "Bakü Türkoloji Kongresi'nin Gayri İlmi Bir Kararı" (A non-Academic Decision of the Baku Turcology Congress) published in the newspaper Akşam states that in order to evaluate what this decision meant, the first thing was to debate to what extent the delegates were experts in the language realm. He argues that Turcology is such a wide and intrinsic realm that it includes various disciplines such as Turkish culture, literature, geography, economics etc. (Avram Galanti, 1926, 3). A Turcologist is a person who occupies himself with one of these disciplines. For Galanti, it does not mean that a Turcologist who is an expert on numismatic could understand the Turkish law as well. Therefore, the decision of the Congress was not scientific because all the delegates in the Congress were not linguists. He also thinks that the Turkish language reproduces itself thanks to the Arabic scales/patterns and the Arabic letters. If we adopt a European terminology instead of producing terminology by using these patterns, "Turkish would be just a language to be used in personal correspondences and remain at the level of everyday language (*adi bir iş lisanı*) (Avram Galanti, 1926, 3).

In the symposium for the 50th anniversary of the Alphabet Revolution, Hasan Eren states that Atatürk was probably informed that Fuat Köprülü and Hüseyinzade Ali participated to this Congress and they should have given a report to him. However, he adds that he did not encounter such a report in the archives (Eren, 1991, 88). Indeed, there is still just a permission document for the Congress in the Presidental State archives. In the same session of the symposium, Meral Alpay says that she asked the same question. She says that she wrote a letter to İsmet İnönü in 1972 in order to learn more about the relation between the two events and in the reply it was admitted that there was no relation. However, Alpay does not accept this reply as evidence because the signature of İsmet İnönü was not on the letter. She also mentions her surprise on how such a big event could not create some reactions (Alpay, 1991, 92).

According to Etienne Copeaux, there was a race between the Soviet Union and Turkey as to which country was the pioneer in the realm of Turcology, therefore the Baku Turcology Congress became a maneuver of the Soviets in order to get the leadership. If the Soviet Union could make Baku a centre for the studies of Turcology, then it would threaten the prestige of Turkey. Thus, Turkey tried to make the Congress be ignored and forgotten (Copeaux, 2006, 48-49). In 1924, the institute of Turcology was founded in Turkey and attempts were made to organize a Turcology congress, but they failed (Demirel, 1999, 30).

Although the Turkish Alphabet Revolution could not be handled as a consequence of the 1926 Baku Turcology Congress, the Congress could be as its precursor. Besides, it was important in terms of understand the global context and general tendency in the alphabet debates and its reflections and extensions in the Turcophone world. As seen in the second chapter, the alphabet issue had always been related to the political movements, particularly Cedidist movement, in the Central Asia. As will seen in the next chapter, the decisions taken in the Congress were taken account in the preparation process of the Elifba Report.

4.3. The New Turkish Letters: Universal Material, National Alphabet

The current alphabet is more or less the alphabet which the *Dil Encümeni* (Language Council) outlined and manifested as *Elifba Raporu* (the Elifba Report) in 1928. The Council also prepared the *Gramer Hakkında Rapor* (the *Report about Grammar and 'Sarf'*) departing from the Elifba Report. In this section, I will do a close reading of these texts and try to show the relation between them. In order to evaluate these texts, there is need to mention the agency of the Council, its

members, as well as their main motivations. I will then detail how they were received by the public as reflected in in the magazines and newspapers of the time and in the newly written alphabet books after 1928 and the way in which they differed from the previous ones.

A written language based on the spoken language was established to a great degree when we come to the late Ottoman period. The principle “represent one sound with one letter” had already become prevalent. The existing alphabet had already become phonetisized to a great degree even not systematically. There were words with Arabic and Persian origins in the spoken Turkish. Yet, there was a gap between their articulation and their representation in writing because they were pronounced according to the sounds of spoken Turkish. In order to close this gap, new vowels specific to Turkish generated from the letters “ا, و, ى” were added, yet some letters such as “ع, غ, ذ, ث, خ, ض” whose sounds are not in the spoken Turkish continued to be kept.

Indeed, the same situation was at stake for the adaptation of the Latin letters as well. The Latin alphabets which were prepared to represent the sounds of Turkish language for transliteration or transcription were already in circulation even though they were not prevalent in the official usage (Akçura, 2012, 78) (see figure 33). However, it is not possible to adopt and implement these Latin scripts as they are, because, firstly, they also include the letters specific to Arabic and Persian language, and secondly, the orthographies of these transcription alphabets had specific features of each nation’s writing. Thus, the main mission of the Council was to create an alphabet in the frame of “national phonetics” which will provide the maximum easiness in reading and writing. The critical point was that even though they stuck to the principle “the representation of one sound with one letter,” they avoid making it a transliteration alphabet.[16] What was intended with this new alphabet was neither to record all the sounds in the spoken language with its all nuances nor to transcribe the loanwords as in their original languages.

The first disputes on the language started in the *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi* (Turkish Grand National Assembly) after the declaration of the Republic (Atatürk ve Türk Dili: Belgeler, 1992, 17-22). However, many people thought that the Assembly was not a proper place for these disputations and the need became obvious to

[16] Coulmas mentions about the difficulty of a sharp distinction between transliteration and transcription. However, they should not be confused with transcription. He gives distinct definitions for each of them: "Transcription was the visual representation of verbal utterances by means of special phonetic symbols derived from alphabetic letters, such as the Internatıonal Phonetıc Alphabet" (Coulmas, 2006, 509) and "Transliteration a one-to-one conversion of the graphemes of one writing system into those of another writing system" (Coulmas, 2006, 510).

found an institution for this purpose officially. Thus, the Council was established on 27 June 1927 and its main assignment was to finish the orthographic anarchy and to tailor an alphabet in accordance with the structure of spoken Turkish. The members of the Council could be grouped in three: Falih Rıfkı, Yakup Kadri and Ruşen Eşref as the prominent writers of the day; Ragıp Hulusi, Ahmed Cevad, Fazıl Ahmed as the experts on the subject; Mehmet Emin, İhsan [Sungu], İbrahim Grandi as the bureaucrats (Ahmed Cevad, 1960, 324-325). Although the Council includes experts in linguistics, it did not represent an independent language academy (Aytürk, 2008, 283), as its task was limited from the very beginning to just designing the easiest alphabet possible. In other words, there was no alternative except for designing the Latin alphabet even though the criteria of linguistics demonstrated other diverse and opposite solutions. Alphabet and grammar reports prepared by the Council, were submitted to Mustafa Kemal on 1 November 1928 and at last, they gained an official status.

The making of a grammar report along with the alphabet report indicates that what was intended was not only a symbolic but also a structural transformation. That is to say, it was beyond just a replacement of one set of symbols with another. Until that time, it was a general tendency to use the rules of three languages - Arabic, Persian and Turkish - while learning the grammar of Turkish in Arabo-Persian letters. In the report, it was therefore emphasized that “no particular grammar rules” will be necessary any more in order to read and write Turkish or the words embedded into Turkish (Gramer Hakkında Rapor, 1928, 4). At first sight it seemed that this could be achieved by means of transcription alphabets. However, the Council deliberately avoided an alphabet similar to a transcription alphabet. The main purpose is not to depict all the distinctions among the sounds of spoken Turkish in an elaborated way. What is aimed with *the Report about Grammar and ‘Sarf’* was to present the first and brief example of the grammars which could be written according to this new alphabet.

The Council took account of some theoretical and practical necessities. According to the theoretical aspect, they assumed that language is both a social institution and a natural being, and that the alphabet should be compatible with the phonetic and national structure of the Turkish language. “The most important feature which the new alphabet needs to have” is that each sound is “the representation of one sound by one letter” as a familiar recurrent theme since the late Ottoman era. It also should “not lead to any confusion among the sounds which will be represented by vowels” (Elifba Raporu, 1928, 30). This was the ideal alphabet according to the Language

Council. However, it was not always easy to balance theoretical concerns with practical concerns. The Council claimed repeatedly that their priority was to put forward “a practical alphabet” (*amelî bir elifba*) which will provide the greatest easiness in reading and writing. It was possible to design “an alphabet which is an exact correspondence of the spoken language” (*dakik bir yazı*), or to implement the International Phonetic Alphabet to the Turkish language. Nevertheless, the Language Council does not follow either of these methods and thinks that “a standard representation” (*orta evsafta*) of the sounds is adequate. The basis of this standard representation was “our national phonetics” which was nothing but “the İstanbul vernacular the literary class speaks” (*münevver sınıfın konuştuğu İstanbul şivesi*) (Elifba Raporu, 1928, 30).

The Elifba Report opened with an introduction on the adequate and inadequate aspects of the existing alphabet as in the previous works on the same subject. Then, they pointed out the discrepancy between the sounds of the Turkish language and Arabic letters. They supported this by giving examples such as “انسان” (insan [human]) and “انصاف” (insaf [fairness]), and added that there is no distinction between the letter “س” and the letter “ص” in Turkish (Elifba Raporu, 1928, 4). According to them, for “an exact and correct writing”, only one letter is sufficient if the spoken language is acknowledged as the basis for literary instead of conveying the etymological root of the words from the origin languages.

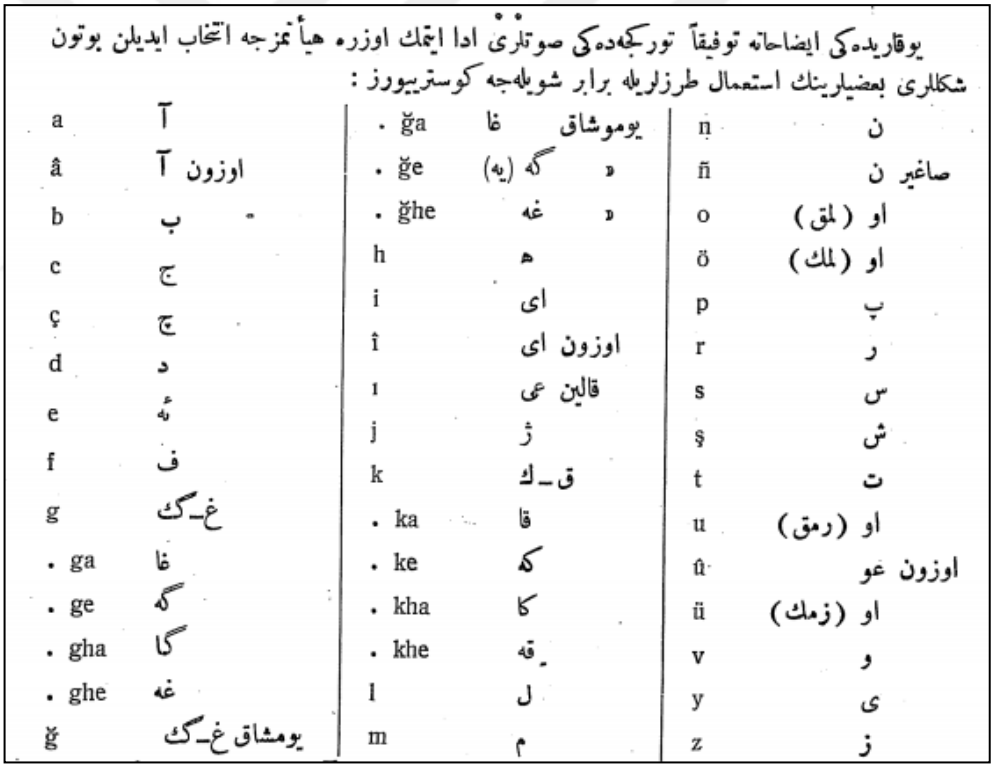
The priority of the Council was how and to what extent could be benefited from the various existing Latin alphabets. Even though the Council avoids adopting any of orthographies of these alphabets, they scrutinize all of them carefully (Elifba Raporu, 1928, 6). They handled transformations of the Latin letters in a comparative way according to the various European languages. The European languages not only derived from the Latin language but their writings also approached the Latin graphics as much as possible. In the report, it was taken account of particularly the transformations of letters such as “æ, c, g, œ, s, ç, w, x, y, z”. The languages whose alphabets were scrutinized were in turn, Italian, Rumanian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, German, Finnish, Hungarian, Polish, Czechoslovakian and Croatian (Elifba Raporu, 1928, 8-10). Then, they touched upon the Albanian alphabet which was designed by Şemseddin Sami in İstanbul and the values of the Albanian letters in the existing alphabet were demonstrated in a tableau. Yet the Albanian alphabet was not seen as convenient for Turkish language because it contained the Greek letters. Another important point the Council paid attention to was that the new Turkish letters must be composed of only Latin letters (Elifba

Raporu, 1928, 12). In a similar way, they also examined the Azerbaijani alphabet which was accepted in 1926 and reviewed the decisions taken in the Baku Turcology Congress, even though it was not a direct implementation of the decisions in the Congress. After the demonstration of the values of the Azerbaijani letters again, they emphasized that Latin letters become "one of the main institutions of Turkishness/Turkish communities" while Azerbaijani letters were not preferable because they contained Russian characters.

The Council also referred to the grammars and the phrasebooks printed in Latin letters in Europe in order to teach Turkish to foreigners (Elifba Raporu, 1928, 19). However, they did not prefer to imitate these letters in these texts because they had the trace of these languages' specific orthographies. Furthermore, they served to specific purposes such as linguistic studies, so the motivation behind them was not compatible with the purpose of "common usage" (*alelade istimal*) of the Council. The Council also deals with the already proposed alphabet projects for Turkish and classifies them in three groups. In the first group, there were those who propose showing all the articulation points of Arabic letters by assigning new values to the Latin letters; in the second group, those who reach the same goal as the reformation by reaching a smaller number of graphemes; in the third group, those who offer to adopt the International Phonetic Alphabet (Elifba Raporu, 1928, 19-20). However, the Language Council decides to prepare an alphabet which represents neither the articulation points of the Arabic language nor the sounds of the spoken Turkish language with all its distinctions.

In the designation of the New Turkish Letters, it was decided to compose them of only Latin letters; in other words, to avoid borrowing any letter from "the Greek, Armenian and Arabic" alphabets or inventing any completely genuine letter. Thus, "ت" and "ط" were replaced with "t"; "ث" , "س" and "ص" with "s"; "ح", "خ" and "ه", with "h"; "ذ", "ض" and "ظ", with "z". The distinction among the sounds of the spoken language was preferred to the etymological distinction in the written language. Indeed, these changes were the least problematic ones after the consensus on the "standard alphabet." The controversial points were related to the usage of digraphs or diacritics and the demonstration of the circumflex in syllables. In order to show the vowels with the circumflex in the Arabic and Persian loanwords, "â, î, û" were used. For the first vowel of the Turkish word "ölmek" (to die), "ö" was chosen and, for the first vowel of the Turkish word "üzmek" (to upset), "ü" was preferred. These vowels are specific to Turkish. For the letter "ش", the diacritic of "ş" was accepted and the Persian "چ" was also substituted with the diacritic "ç"; again, the Persian "ژ"

with the diacritic “j”. Another controversial letter, “اڭ” was said to be replaced with the palatal nasal “ñ” in a similar way to “the Arabic circumflex” (*Arabi mede benzer bir işaretle*) (Elifba Raporu, 1928, 22). So as to differentiate the letter “غ” from the letter of “g” as the correspondence of “گ”, the letter “ğ” was coined by putting a small crescent above the letter “g” (*g harfi üzerine hilalcik vaziyle*). For “ء” and “ع”, different versions of apostrophes were used instead of new Latin characters. Another discussion was on whether different characters will be adopted for the letters “ک” and “ق” or not. For both of them, the same letter, namely “k” was adopted, taking into consideration that they were pronounced according to the vowels next to them (Elifba Raporu, 1928, 31-32). Consequently, it was remarked that the New Turkish Letters were composed of twenty-nine letters and the originally foreign letters “x, q, w” could also be used as auxiliary when it is necessary (See figure 22) (Elifba Raporu, 1928, 36).


يوقاريده‌كى ايضاحاته توفيقاً توركجه‌ده‌كى صوتلرى ادا ايتمك اوزره هيأ تمزجه انتخاب ايديلن يوتون شكللرى بعضيلرينك استعمال طرزلريله برابر شويله‌جه كوستريبورز :

a	آ	. ğa	غا يوموشاق	n	ن
â	اوزون آ	. ğe	گه (يه) »	ñ	صاغير ن
b	ب	. ğhe	غه »	o	او (لق)
c	ج	h	ه	ö	او (لك)
ç	چ	i	اى	p	پ
d	د	î	اوزون اى	r	ر
e	ئه	ı	قالين عى	s	س
f	ف	j	ژ	ş	ش
g	غ ـ گ	k	ق ـ ك	t	ت
. ga	غا	. ka	قا	u	او (رمق)
. ge	گه	. ke	كه	û	اوزون عو
. gha	گا	. kha	كا	ü	او (زمك)
. ghe	غه	. khe	قه	v	و
ğ	يومشاق غ ـ گ	l	ل	y	ى
		m	م	z	ز

Figure 22: All the Graphemes Determined by the Language Council for the Sounds in Turkish

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Elifba Raporu. Ed. Dil Encümeni.1928.

The Council remarked that the intention of the *Report of Grammar and ‘Sarf’* was “to demonstrate in which way the new letters will perform the national phonetics” (Elifba Raporu, 1928, 28). So, they put forward a concise grammar. In this grammar, the

basic rules of Turkish language, which was compatible with the sounds of Turkish and its vocalic harmony, were presented along with a good amount of examples without handling topics such as *nahiv*, rhetorics, style and prose (Gramer Hakkında Rapor, 1928, 3). The previous Turkish grammar books (*Türkçe sarf ve nahiv kitapları*), were composed of three parts such as the basic rules of Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages. In the grammar report, "the intricate and obscure syllabic writing of a foreign language on which our language was grounded" was seen as an obstacle in front of a fixed orthography by accentuating the sounds of Turkish perfectly (Gramer Hakkında Rapor, 1928, 2). In order to put an end to this discrepancy and to orthographic anarchy, they saw a necessity "to break away completely from the Arabic morphology which is moulded in the scales". In so doing, Arabic words will be embedded into the Turkish language as commonplace without analyzing their structures (Gramer Hakkında Rapor, 1928, 5). Indeed, it was intended that not only Arabic or Persian rooted words, but also all the loanwords from any language will be adapted to "the same phonetic orthographic system". The Council also does not forget to add that the Arabic words will be written in a more correct way than in the past (Gramer Hakkında Rapor, 1928, 5).

After breaking up the influence of the Arabic Grammar on the Turkish language, it was time to put forward the "spirit of our grammar;" in other words, "to identify the strict rules of the harmony specific to Turkish and to shed light on our morphology based on suffixes" (Gramer Hakkında Rapor, 1928, 5). This harmony was grounded on the literary İstanbul vernacular language. In the Grammar Report, the rules of this harmony were explained by means of examples. In addition, the elements of Turkish morphology were examined and the suffixes which make possible the verb and noun declensions were listed. Thus, it was claimed that one of the easiest grammars of the world was obtained, so that "a clever and intellectual foreigner could learn it in a week" (Gramer Hakkında Rapor, 1928, 5).

Henceforth, the purpose of the language education was determined to make the next generations accustom to the Turkish morphology which was isolated from foreign morphologies (Gramer Hakkında Rapor, 1928, 5). Therefore, as long as they train these Turkish morphological exercises with the material picked up from the spoken language and books, the potentiality of Turkish language will be revealed. This shows us that all these theoretical approaches or linguistic designations will not remain at a normative level, but, they will serve to the intention of shaping worldviews of the new Turkish subjects. On the other hand, the realm between

linguistic categories and the perception of reality is not deterministic and it is very complex.

Another interesting point in the Grammar Report was about the usage of Arabic and Persian words after the Alphabet Revolution. Even if it is a common tendency to establish a deterministic relationship between the change of the alphabet and the purification movement, it is hard to see an overt politics of purification through this text. On the contrary, the main aim was to keep these words as irregular (*semai*) instead of eliminating them completely. The New Turkish Letters were already arranged by taking into account the fact that they are not many in the spoken language and that they will be gradually decreased. It was also stated that "by keeping these words in dictionaries, which provide the eloquence of our language, the risk of a sudden regression of our language was prevented" (Gramer Hakkında Rapor, 1928, 5).

The "Türk Harflerinin Kabul ve Tatbiki Hakkında Kanun" (the Law of the Adoption and Application of Turkish Letters) was enacted on 1 November 1928. According to the law, by 1 December 1928, all signboards, advertisements, subtitles, newspapers, treatises and magazines must be printed in the new Turkish letters. By 1 January 1929, all Turkish books must be published in them. The deadline of the application of the new letters in the bureaucratic transactions was also 1 January 1929. For the documents submitted by the public to the state, it was permitted to use the old letters until 1 June 1929. In Article 9, it was stated that in education done in Turkish, Turkish letters had to be used. A final deadline for all sort of bureaucratic or private documents such as laws or registers, was set for 1 June 1930 (Türk Harflerinin Kabul ve Tatbiki Hakkında Kanun, 1928, 921-923).

After the adoption of the New Turkish Letters, discussions continued in magazines and newspapers. The main motivation behind the change of the alphabet was the belief that they will facilitate reading and writing, but when we look at the first impressions, the reactions of the day at least show us that they had a difficulty in getting used to this easiness. For example, İbrahim Alaeddin [Gövsa] argues in his article, "Yeni Harfler ve İtiyatlar," (New Letters and Habits) that they made mistakes when reading in the new letters because the source of the perfectness is habit" (İbrahim Alaeddin, 1928, 2). According to him, if the habit of reading in the new letters become "a second nature," it was possible to overcome the difficulty (İbrahim Alaeddin, 1928, 2). İbrahim Necmi also pays attention to the fact that "the new letters could not create new shapes in the minds of those who got used to the old writing yet" because the relation with the old writing was based on a strong habit

(İbrahim Necmi, 1929a, 4). Even though Yunus Nadi described the Latin letters as being a key factor in civilization and education (*maarif*), and as laying the groundwork for the European civilization, he mentioned difficulties in reading (See also figures 41 and 42):

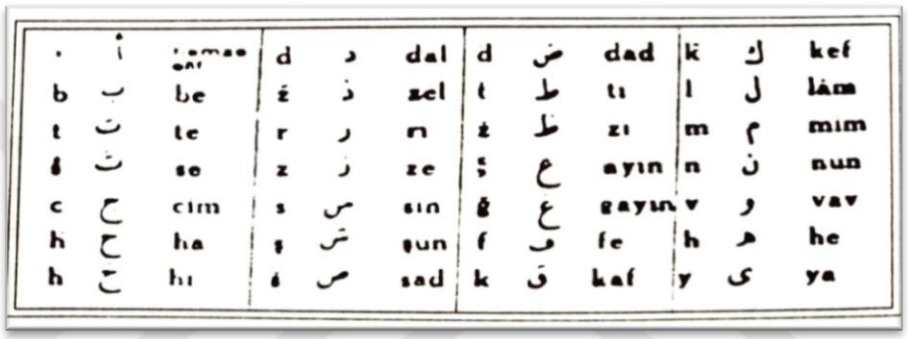
> "We can now imagine that when we look at the lines of an article we decipher the words slowly while in the past, whenever we had a look at a column or at a page of a newspaper, we could find out what was happening in a second and it was enough to read quickly an article or the news by having just one look at it. The difference between this difficulty and that easiness is creating wrinkles between our brows" (Yunus Nadi, 1928, 1).

Another polemical point was on the representation of various graphemes in the Arabic alphabet with only one letter in the New Turkish Alphabet. Although it was agreed on this diminution, there were some reactions and objections to it. Falih Rıfkı, in his article "Türk Harfinin İki İnkılapçılığı" (Two Reformisms of the Turkish Letter), calls "the Rightests" those who defend conveying the Ottoman language without deforming the pronunciation of the Arabic and Persian words. According to him, "what the Rightests inferred from the Alphabet Revolution was just a technical facility which makes telegraph operators and typsetters content". On the other hand, "the Leftists" support a new design which the Arabic etymology and grammar rules are eliminated, as the Language Council decided. In this sense, for Falih Rıfkı, the state's attitude could be regarded as a Leftist one. He says that "if Turkish is purified of not only the Arabic and Persian rules but also of their pronunciation, then the New Alphabet should be a pattern which will make this evolution accelerate instead of obstructing it" (Falih Rıfkı, 1928, 1-5). Even though it was emphasized that the retention of the Arabic and Persian words was more plausible, the statement of Falih Rıfkı was a foresight that a more radical language planning process would follow such a change.

On this topic, another important criticism comes from Sadri Maksudi Arsal who was the writer of *Türk Dili İçin* (For Turkish Language). For him, the Latin letters are not compatible with the Turkish phonetics and could distort the harmony of İstanbul vernacular language. The response of Mustafa Kemal to this criticism was that it is not necessary to add new characters to the existing alphabet because the Arabic and Persian borrowings will be already eliminated gradually (Toprak, 2012, 427-428). Abdullah Cevdet, who was the leading figure of the Ottoman Westernization movement, had also similar critiques. This radical change was too much for him as well, saying that some letters in Arabic words had no equivalents in the new alphabet (Toprak, 2012, 427-428).

In the following years, the strongest criticism comes from the owner of *Maarif Kitaphanesi*, Naci Kasım. Even though he was not an opponent of the Latin letters,

he claims that some words such as “inkılap, istiklal, iktisat” (reform, independence, economy) were misread if they are read as written. Indeed, Naci Kasım had been interested in the language and alphabet issue since the Ottoman time. At that time, he saw a necessity of reformation of the alphabet and in 1910, he wrote the textbook of *Yeni Elifba* according to the *usul-i savti* (phonetic method). In his article “Yeni Türk Alfabesinin Islahı Etrafında” (About the Reformation of the New Turkish Letters), he states, “let us give a newspaper to a fifth grade İstanbulite child: if he does not hear the words from his parents, he will read them without intonation” (Naci Kasım, 1939, 17). Thus, he proposes a new Turkish alphabet in Latin letters, but on the ground of the Arabic letters and tries to make some amendments on it (See figure 23).



'	أ	hemze	d	د	dal	d	ض	dad	k	ك	kef
b	ب	be	ż	ذ	zel	t	ط	tı	l	ل	lâm
t	ت	te	r	ر	rı	ż	ظ	zı	m	م	mim
ś	ث	se	z	ز	ze	'	ع	ayın	n	ن	nun
c	ج	cim	s	س	sin	ğ	غ	gayın	v	و	vav
h	ح	ha	ş	ش	şun	f	ف	fe	h	ه	he
h	خ	hı	ś	ص	sad	k	ق	kaf	y	ى	ya

Figure 23: The Chart Naci Kasım Designed for Providing the Representation of the Arabic and Persian Loanwords

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Naci Kasım. 1939. Türk Alfabesinin Islahı Etrafında. **Yeni Sabah**. 21 June.

Another post-alphabet reform debate was about the dialect. Even if “the literary İstanbul vernacular language” was determined as the ground for the New Alphabet and then for the standard Turkish, there were still questions about it. For instance, Hakkı Tarık, in “Şive Endişesi” (A Concern for Accent), asks whether the Latin letters could conserve the dialect (*şive*) of the Turkish language or whether the old letters conserved it (Hakkı Tarık, 1928, 1). Although there was no overt reference to the New Language Movement in Elifba Report, it was obvious that the determination of İstanbul vernacular as a ground could be traced back to this movement lead by Ömer Seyfeddin in the late Ottoman period. However, there was a meaningful difference between them. Even if the New Language Movement was a consequence of a Turkist discourse, it presented just a solution for an imperial cohesion rather than a nation-state projection.

On the other hand, there were some problematic aspects of taking İstanbul vernacular as base while founding a new nation-state. İbrahim Necmi states that

"İstanbul is neither the middle of Turkey nor its head anymore" (İbrahim Necmi, 1932 as quoted from Korkmaz, 1997, 29). Furthermore, contrary to popular belief, İstanbul Turkish was far from being homogenous. In fact, it was heteroglossic and polyphonic with various accents spoken by people who come from all over the Empire. Mahmud Afif Bey, in his short writing "Ne Konuştuğumuzu Bilelim" (Let Us Know What We Speak) (1928), points out the specific features of the İstanbul dialect just after the making of the New Turkish Letters by the Council. He emphasized that we cannot find an exact phonetic language anywhere in the world but just differences in pronunciation (*söyleyiş farklılıkları*). If these features of İstanbul Turkish, which is, according to him, one of the Anatolian and Rumelian dialects, were taken as the ground for writing, Turkish would go in a different direction from its current written from. However, he also denotes that in either Arabic letters or Latin letters, Turkish was never written as spoken. For him, the claim of the Language Council was not realistic. Even the published writings of the members of the Council and the newspaper writers were not written as the people uttered the language. He adds that "the ground of the adopted writing is not exactly the İstanbul dialect […]: the writing we adopted or will adopt is an ideal writing (*mefkurevi yazı*) which is spoken nowhere but hoped to be spoken everywhere" (Mahmud Afif Bey, 1928 as quoted from Alaybeyli, 2005, 43-55). In a similar way, Aka Gündüz comments in "Öz Dil İşinde Ağız Meselesi" (the Problem of Dialect in the Native Language) that there is not one sort of İstanbul vernacular which could be a pattern for genuine Turkish. There is not one sort of İstanbul vernacular but a hundred and one sorts of accents; he continues by adding that "if the members of the *Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti* (the Society for the Study of Turkish Language) go to İstanbul, and talk to the İstanbulite writers and intellectuals and listen to them, they will probably be surprised" (Aka Gündüz, 1934 as quoted from Korkmaz, 1997, 48).

Thus, as İbrahim Necmi claimed, the thing to do was to create "orta söyleyiş" (a middle pronunciation) which is the synthesis of all articulations within the borders of Turkey (İbrahim Necmi, 1932b, 3). İbrahim Necmi also shows its method. He says that "we will compile many words from all vernaculars in this New Language breakthrough. We will find each of them in diverse places and try to imagine how the written ones were pronounced in the past. The ones collected from the spoken language will probably be articulated differently from one region to other one. Then, we will want to convert all these utterances to one "main pronunciation" (*ana söyleyiş*) (İbrahim Necmi, 1932b, 3). Even though we do not know whether the current Turkish is an extension of this "ana söyleyiş" or "orta söyleyiş," indeed, this

was the motivation and method of the word-collecting mobilization (*söz derleme*) in 1930s. Regarding this “standard pronunciation” (*orta söyleyiş*) debate, Aka Gündüz brings an explanation by connoting *Perseng* by Feraizcizade. For him, “to write as we speak does not mean to write in the way in which our tongue turns the words and sounds in literal meaning, but to express the feelings inside us and the ideas in our head as in spoken language - in whatever dialect” (İbrahim Necmi, 1934, 1-5).

Another discussion about the New alphabet was related to the letters “x, q, w”. In the *Elifba* report, they were mentioned overtly as auxiliary letters so as to be used in the orthography of the foreign borrowings. However, there were some objections on this issue as well. For instance, just the letter “k” was taken instead of “ق” and “ک” and the letter “v”, instead of “و”. Previously, the letter "و " was used not only instead of the consonants "v and w" but also the vowels "o, ö, u, ü". Some saw the lack of them as a mistake. Ahmed Cevad gives a response to this criticism, in “Niçin 'q'yi Almadınız?” (Why Did Not You Take ‘q’?) , in the way that “ق” and “ک” were indeed the same sound but, they could be heard differently according to the vowel next to them (1928, 2-3). He also formulizes this in the way: k= a, ı, o, u / e, i, ö, ü. According to him, it was impossible to embrace an orthographic system which will distort the structure of our language in order to pronounce correctly the foreign borrowings. However, just in the foreign words, the letter “h” could be added next to the letter “k”.

After all, the status of the letters “x, q, w” in this new alphabetic system, ultimately, depends on whether the foreign words will be written according to which orthography. For Falih Rıfkı [Atay], if we write these foreign nouns (particularly proper nouns) according to their own orthography, Turkish children will learn the pronunciation of these nouns wrongly forever. On the other hand, İsmail Müştak approaches differently to this situation by means of an analogy. He says that “why does a man, who could travel all over the world with only one identity, need to disguise while entering into our literary borders” (x ve w meselesi: Dilimizde Kapitülasyon Yaratmak İstemiyoruz, 1933, 3). M. Nermi gives another example and says that even though there is no “j” in Turkish, this letter adopted and “French words flowed continually/abounded in,” even the sound of “j” dominated in our language (dilimiz adeta “j”leşti) (M. Nermi, 1933, 5). For Peyami Safa, the letters “x, q, w” are just several foreign words which there is no need to be afraid of them. Safa states that “he does not understand why such a big nation cares several maggots” (1933, 3).

The Council also published *İmla Lügati* (Spelling Dictionary), the *Muhtasar Türkçe Gramer* (Abridged Turksh Grammar) and several alphabet books. They could be regarded as samples for the similar publications at this era. Moreover, the Council had a function to control all these publications. One of the main aims of the Alphabet Revolution was to put an end to the orthographic anarchy, after the adoption of the Latin letters, another sort of orthographic chaos emerged. By means of *İmla Lügati*, it was hoped to overcome this chaos and to attain a coherent orthography. *İmla Lügati* was written in a similar way to *Kâmûs-i Türkî* of Şemseddin Sami and the *Yeni Türkçe Lügat* of Mehmet Bala (Yetiş, 1989, 4). It was composed of 317 pages and contained 25.000 words in Arabic letters with their Latin counterparts. Hasan Ali [Yücel] criticizes the *Lügat* saying that "it included many Arabic, Persian and even French words however some Turkish words did not take place in it" (Hasan Âli, 1926, 506). It was also published in fascicles. It opens from right to left like many alphabet books at that time (See figure 43 and 44).

Muhtasar Türkçe Gramer was the published version of the Grammar Report. Their organizations were paralleled. Both of them handled "sounds and letters" and "vowels and consonants" in the first section and "the morphology" in the second section (Muhtasar Türkçe Gramer, 1928)(See figures 45 and 46). After the adoption of the Latin letters, many alphabet books were published according to the New Turkish Letters designed by the Council.[17] These alphabets could be conceived as a continuation of the alphabets written in the late Ottoman period according to the *usul-i savti* (phonetic method) in a modern pedagogic way (Fortna, 2013, 192). Fortna points out that along with keeping an attitude of pragmatic didactism embraced in the Ottoman period, the alphabets of the Republican period become "simpler, more brave and colorful" (Fortna, 2013, 197). Generally, these alphabets began with the introduction of letters and then their usage was shown in syllables. In some of these alphabets, images also had an important role (See figure 38). In the

[17] M. Baha, *En Yeni Alfabe*, Matbaa-i Ebüzziya, 1928; İbrahim Hilmi, *Herkese Mahsus Yeni Harflerle Resimli Türkçe Alfabe*, Hilmi Kitaphanesi, İstanbul, 1928; Türk Neşriyat Yurdu, *Resiml Yeni Türkçe Alfabe*, İstanbul, 1928; M. Osman Hamdi, *Yeni Alfabemiz*, Sühûlet Kitaphanesi; Necmeddin Sadık, *Türk Alfabesi*, Akşam Matbaası; *Bir Derste Yeni Alfabemiz*, Vakit Matbaası, 1928; Dil Encümeni, *Halk Dershanelerine Mahsus Türk Alfabesi*, Devlet Matbaası, 1928; *Yeni Türk Alfabesi*, *İmla ve Tasrif Şekilleri*, Devlet Matbaası, 1928; *Yeni Yazı Rehberi*, Kanaat Kütüphanesi Neşriyatı, 1928; K. İsmail, *Kolay Türk Alfabesi*, Kitabhane-i Umumi, İstanbul; *Dil Encümeni Alfabesi*, Askeri Matbaa, 1928; Ahmed Mazhar, *Herkes İçin Kolay Yeni Türk Alfabesi Gazi Harfleri*, Mişel Zelliç Mahdumları Matbaası, İstanbul, 1928; Türk Neşriyat Yurdu, *Yeni Türkçe Alfabe*, Şark ve Maarif Kütüphaneleri, İstanbul, 1928; Mehmet Nurettin, *Eski Yazıdan Yeni Yazıya*, Suhûlet Kütübhanesi Semih Lütfi, İstanbul, 1928; *Yeni Dil Encümeni Alfabesi*, Devlet Matbaası, İstanbul, 1928; *Resimli Ay'ın Cep Alfabesi,* Resimli Ay Matbaası, Türk Limited Şirketi, İstanbul, 1928; Ahmed Şakir,*Mükemmel Türk Alfabesi*, Devlet Matbaası, 1928; *Millet Mektepleri Halk Dersaneleriyle Harf Kurslarında Alfabe, Kıraat, Yazı ve İmla Tedrisi Usulü*, Devlet Matbaası, İstanbul, 1928; Kemal Turan, *Yeni Türk Alfabesi Kolay Kıraet*, Hafız Ali Matbaası, İzmir; Mitat Sadullah, *Resimli Millet Alfabesi*; Muallim Nudiye Hüseyin, *Millet Mektepleri İçin Milli Alfabe*, Resimli Ay.

last chapters of them, reading texts took place as in the previous ones in the Ottoman period.

One of the important features of these alphabets was that the explanations about the new letters and the meanings of the words were given in the Arabic writing because their audience was not only children or illiterate people but the literates in the Arabic letters. In typographic aspect, the Latin letters were privileged and the Arabic letters were written in a smaller scale. Nevertheless, it is possible to encounter some exceptional examples, which the Arabic letters were written in a more apparent way. Most of them open from right to left because both sorts of alphabets were used together. Besides, the designs of these alphabets were similar to the old books (Duman, 1994, 182-192; 2000, 193-201; 2001, 207-211). In the alphabets of the Ottoman period, it was necessary to demonstrate how each letter should be accentuated by means of phonetization marks in a chart after the introduction of letters. In the new alphabets, vowels were shown separately and also their way of reading when they were put next to a consonant.

Another distinctive feature of the alphabets in this era was the usage of some diphthongs such as “kh and “gh” and also the hyphen. The diphthongs “kh” and “gh” had a function to make pronounce the circumflexed “a”. The hyphen was used for separating suffixes from the root. However, they were sees as unnecessary and left after a short while. Even though, palatal nasal “ñ” and the letters “x, q, w” were mentioned in the Elifba Report, we could not see a word about them in these newly tailored alphabets (See figures 24 and 25).

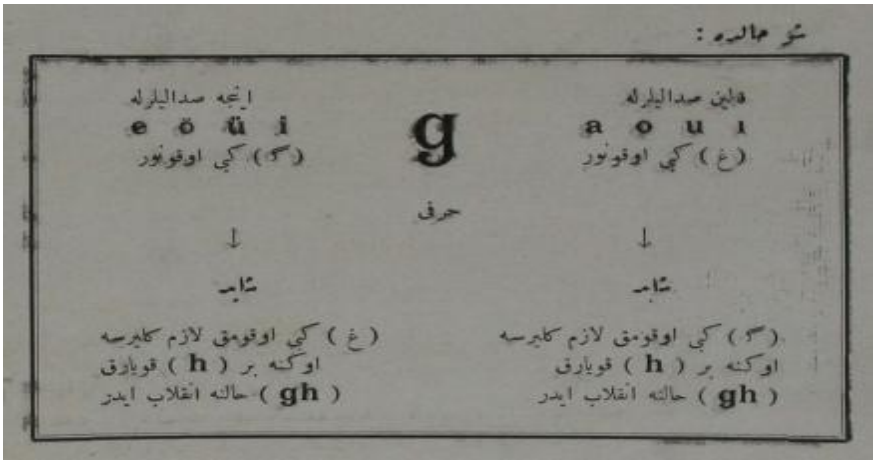

Figure 24: The Usage of the Letter “g” with “h”

Kemal Salih. **"Cumhuriyet"in Türk Alfabesi**. İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1928.

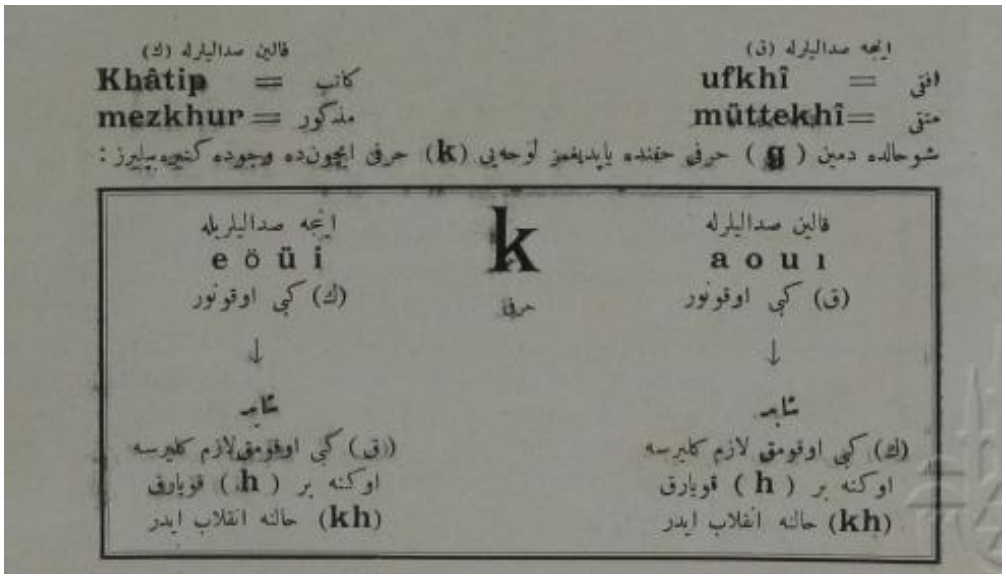

Figure 25: The Usage of the Letter "k" with "h"

Kemal Sâlih. **"Cumhuriyet"in Türk Alfabesi**. İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1928.

It does not go without saying that even though these new letters were made on the ground of the Turkish spoken language, it will be adopted by all communities such as Armenian, Greek and Jewish. Therefore, it is not only a transition from the Turkish language in the Arabic letters but also an end of linguistic situation which is identified as heterographia in the second chapter. For instance, one of the alphabets published in 1928 was entitled as *Yeni Türk Elifbasıyla Türk Alfabesi* (Turkish Alphabet with New Turkish *Elifba*) (see figure 36). The usage of both "elifba" and "alfabe" in the same title exemplifies a sort of confusion. Besides, the alphabet book indeed four titles in four languages. They are in French, Armenian, Greek besides Turkish. Particularly, the French title was interesting because it was not the translation of the Turkish title but completely different as being titled as *L'alphabet pour tous*, which means "the alphabet for everybody." In terms of content, the Turkish explanations were written in both the Arabic and Latin letters along with their French translations. Then, the new Turkish letters were introduced giving their correspondances in the French, Armenian and Greek alphabets. So, it would be misleading to assume that the transition is from the Turkish in the Arabic letters to the Turkish in Latin letters rather Turkish in various alphabets to the Latin alphabet.

According to Miller, even if it was claimed the most probable compatible alphabet for Turkish language, it was true for the future rather than historical present. That is to say, the correspondence between the sounds and letters was more a future projection at that time. Even it was compromised on the Latin equivalents of the Arabic letters, they actually will have their values in the future. Accordingly, as Lewis

cited, a computer-based research was conducted on Turkish language by Nicholas Negroponte, the director of Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1995. A well-programmed synthesizer could read all Turkish words except for the word *ağabey* which is pronounced in the way *abi*. Negroponte states that "at the word level, Turkish is a dream come true for a computer speech synthesizer" (Negroponte, 1995, 145; Lewis, 1999, 37). For Miller also, the shift from the Arabic letters to the Latin one provides an algorithmic perfection.

Consequently, reading the alphabet and grammar reports and their reflections on the public, at first hand, make us revise some neglected points in the process of shift. Making a new grammar according to the new letters demonstrates that a structural change was aimed. The diminution of consonants and addition of vowels had also some implications. This alphabet was based on the same logic with the transcription alphabets or International Phonetic Alphabet, which could be gone far back the standard alphabet of Lepsius. However, it was significant that the Council emphasized the difference of the new letters from them in addition to the national character of the alphabet. So, it was particularly called as "Turkish." Another interesting point is that although the letters "x, q, w" were accepted as auxiliary letters in the alphabet report, they were left out afterwards. And even though the letter palatal nasal "ñ" actually represents a characteristic sound of Anatolian Turkish, it was not a member of new Turkish alphabet or it was not mentioned in the alphabets published after 1928.

4.4. Phonetic Grammar: A New Order of Sounds

It was not accidental that the Elifba and Grammar reports were prepared at the same time. Aftermath the Alphabet Revolution, the main concern was to reshape the existing grammar books. It meant that what was intended is not just a symbolic change with this new phonetic alphabet which generated from the Latin letters. Like the other reforms at that time, the aim was to give a new form to the society. Moreover, all reforms had deeper and structural effects on the society rather than remaining particular. When the language is at stake, to make a new grammar was an attempt to change the worldview or way of thinking of newborn nation-state's citizens. Whether it was in the way of making a grammar *ex nihilo* or retrieving it from depth of the past, there was an intention to reconstruct Turkish language and then Turkish identity. It was another important research topic whether this project triumphed or not, it is worth to ask to what extent and in which way this phonetic alphabet had an effect on the way of writing grammar books. In so doing, we need

to bear in mind that grammar books have a value of historical evidence, even if they seem utmost normative texts. They reflect their time's mentality.

First and foremost, let us remind the recurrent definition of "the Ottoman language." It was described as the amalgam of the rules of three languages, Arabic, Persian and Turkish. In other words, it was implied that the level of mixture was not only lexical but only syntactical. If there were only Arabic and Persian borrowings in Turkish, Turkish could have an opportunity to remain as Turkish language. Nevertheless, the rules of Arabic and Persian become dominant in Turkish and it brought about an artificial language and made impossible to define it as Turkish anymore. As it were, the grammar of Turkish in this amalgam was oppressed. The thing to do was to make independent Turkish from Arabic and Persian ties. The source of this independence was seen in the harmony between the written Turkish and its spoken variety.

It was also directly related to the letters because there was an organic tie between the Arabic letters and Arabic language. To read an Arabic text without phonetization marks, firstly, we need to know *sarf* (morphology), namely the declensions of the nouns and words according to certain patterns; secondly, *nahiv*[18] (syntax), which is the knowledge of how to accentuate the last letter of a word according to its place in the sentence. By means of the knowledge of *sarf* and *nahiv*, there is no need for vowels. Alphabet was decisive not only for grammar but also etymology and orthography.

While this system was working well in Arabic language, there were some difficulties for Turkish language. Indeed, to know *sarf* and *nahiv* was not adequate to read a Turkish (or Ottoman) text correctly. Even the rules of the Arabic and Persian contributed the reproduction process of Turkish language, it never became a language which could be read as Arabic just because it was written in Arabic letters. At this point, we need to clarify the degree of influence of Arabic on Turkish[19]. Was it at lexical or syntactical level? It was obvious that most of the words in Turkish were generated out of the morphological patterns of Arabic and some Arabic and Persian adjectival and possessive constructions were prevalent as well. However, there was still a question whether they are adequate for a syntactical change or not. For instance, Versteegh interprets this abundance of constructions as a syntactical influence (Versteegh, 2001, 494-495). On the other hand, Tulum states that even in

[18] The terms "sarf" and "nahiv" started to be employed to express the grammar rules of all languages not only the Arabic grammar rules.

[19] Indeed, it could be said it was an interaction instead of the dominance of Arabic over Turkish because Turkish also had an effect o Arabic (Lewis, 2000, 301-315).

the “insha”, many Arabic words and Persian construction intertwined throughout the sentence, but it end up with a Turkish verb (Kuru, 2010, 16). In addition all of these, we need to keep in mind that the Ottoman Turkish had diverse variants and each of them could be evaluated according to their own lexical and syntactical structure. Just the *insha* language as a style is not representative for other written genres and also spoken variants.

In order to evaluate the grammar books written after the Alphabet Revolution from the perspective of continuation and rupture paradigm, it is necessary to revise the grammar books in the late Ottoman period and to identify where they differentiated from the previous ones. One of the prominent arguments in this realm is that while Turkish grammar books were written on the ground of Arabic Grammar, and later the French grammar took the place of Arabic grammars. Nevertheless, Abidin Nesimi, in “Türk Dili Sarf ve Nahvi” (The Morphology and Syntax of the Turkish Language), points out that although the Turkish words were conjugated according to the morphological patterns of Arabic even in *Divani Lügati't Türk*, an Arabic *sarf* or *nahiv* did not emerge “as a consequence of the inner evolution of the language”. For Abidin Nesimi, although the French influence in the Tanzimat era paved the way for similar development in grammar and syntax, as the requirement of the aforementioned evolution, French *sarf* or *nahiv* did not become a part of our language. For instance, Hüseyin Cahit and Ahmed Cevad took the French grammar as a criterion, but they never tried to impose it to the Turkish language. On the other hand, Abidin Nesimi says that the syntactical changes in the Turkish *sarf* and *nahiv* were because of some translation problems. He gives examples from the sentences in the novels of Peyami Safa. According to him, the Turkish sentence constructed in the way “fail-meful-fiil” (subject-object-verb) became “fail-fiil-meful” (Subject-verb-object) in accordance with the French syntax (Abidin Nesimi, 1940, 186).

According to Ahmed Cevad, to make a new grammar was a highly difficult job. In his article “Hazırlanmakta Olan Türk Söz Bilgisi (Gramer) Hakkında” (About the Grammar Being Prepared), he points out that if their intention was just to update the old grammar books, it was possible to transcribe and put them into circulation. However, for him, in these grammar books, it was necessary to make some “revolutionary” modifications according to recent developments in the realm of linguistics. “The existing grammar (*sarf* and *nahiv*) books are worn-out and false and baseless”[20](Ahmed Cevad, 1929, 736; 798). These books were written for the usage

[20] Indeed, many grammar books were written throughout the Ottoman period. Of these, *Kava'id-i Osmaniyye* was written by Ahmed Cevdet Paşa and Fuat Paşa, and was acknowledged as the first

in schools and they were grounded on French grammars and also they borrowed the Arabic grammar terminology. Besides, for Ahmed Cevad, not only these old grammar books but also the French grammars, which inspired them, were not adequate in catching up with the last developments in linguistics. Ahmed Cevad explains his argument by means of a grammatical example on the definition of noun (Ahmed Cevad, 1929 as quoted from Yetiş, 2005, 1878-1883).

In the same article, Ahmed Cevad mentions about diverse approaches on the definition of a noun. The European grammars were based on the Greek and Latin grammars. For instance, Aristo handles the speech in ten groups: noun, definite article, adjective, pronoun, verb, participle (*fer'i fiil*), adverb, preposition, clause and exclamation. Another term for "noun", "substantive" could be used as well, in whose the adjectives were dealt with. He says that the French defined the term of "noun" as "the word which makes us name people, animals and things." The same definition was included in our grammars via the French grammars. For Ahmed Cevad, this definition is problematic because the concepts such as intelligence, goodness, beauty and sleep, "which are not people, animals or things-, also are nouns. Similarly, the definition of the English grammarians in the way that "a noun denominates" was not adequate because they did not explain what a noun denominates (Ahmed Cevad, 1929, 798).

On the other hand, Ahmed Cevad suggests another definition: "a noun is the sign for each arbitrarily determined concept."[21] For instance, when one says "asker" (soldier), what we imagine is not a definite soldier but "just an image of an individual because the word of 'asker' is the sign of this image". Ahmed Cevad states that "the essential character of words is generally social and psychological. That is to say, words are the signs of images and ideas in the mind of all nation of just a part of it"

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grammar of Turkey Turkish. Kartallıoğlu remarks that it broke the influence of Arabic grammar. *Medhal-i Kavaid* was published in 1851, which was its abridged version. In it, there was an explanation about pronunciation, differing from classical orthography. In 1866, *Emsile-i Türkiyye* was written by Abdullah Ramiz Paşa. 1885, Halid Ziya wrote the *Kavaid-i Lisan-ı Türki* as a textbook. And *Nev Usul Sarf-ı Türki* of Şamseddin Sami was published in 1892. *Kavaid-i Lisan-ı Türki* of Tahir Kenan in 1889 was significant in terms of mentioning the spoken language in İstanbul and also showing the differences of orthography and pronunciation. When we come to the 20th century*, Mufassal Yeni Sarf-i Osmani* was prepared by a commission as a textbook to be taught in the second grade in *rüşdiyes*, in 1907. Hüseyin Cahit wrote *Türkçe Sarf ve Nahiv* in 1908. For Karahan, this grammar was written according to the understanding of the European grammar and also it starts with the subject of the *aheng-i telaffuz* (vocal harmony) (Hüseyin Cahit, 2000, xiv-xviii). In 1923, Ahmed Cevad published *Türkçe Sarf ve Nahiv Eski Lisan-i Osmani Sarf ve Nahiv.* One of its distinctive features was that it made room for the Turkish components of grammar as much as Arabic and Persian ones. One of the grammar books which were written just before the Alphabet Revolution was *Türkçe Yeni Sarf ve Nahiv Dersleri* by Midhat Sadullah in 1927. In this book, the relationship of orthography and pronunciation was shown under the title of "Türkçe Lahikaların Ahenk Kaidesine göre Okunuşu" (Kartallıoğlu, 2011, 39-40).

[21] İsim keyfiyet kabul eden her mefhumun işaretidir.

(Ahmed Cevad, 1929, 798). It is obvious that the emphasis of arbitrariness here is borrowed from Saussure. The arbitrarily established relationship between signifier and signified was introduced by Saussure and it was a revolutionary move in the realm of linguistics (Saussure, 1959). In his other writings, he also refers to Saussure overtly. The main concern of Ahmed Cevad was to reshape of Turkish grammars according to the modern standard of linguistics.

Ahmed Cevad was already a prominent name in all areas related to language in both the late Ottoman and the early Republican period. His contribution was not limited to linguistic theories. He also had important role in making new grammar (*sarf* and *nahiv*) books as well as alphabet books. A quite number of these were written as textbooks. In 1909, he was chosen as the member for the *Hocalar Kurulu* (the Teachers' Committee) of the *Darülmuallimin* by Satı Bey, who was an educator and pedagogue. In 1920, he wrote *Lisan-i Osmani: Sarf ve Nahiv* and this book was acknowledged as the textbook for the *Darülmuallimin* (Teacher Academy) and for similar schools (Karahan, 2014, 2). He wrote for teaching the grammar of not only Turkish (or Ottoman Turkish) but also Arabic, Persian and French for various grades.

Ahmed Cevad occupied the theoretical aspect of language particularly in the Republican period. In this sense, he wrote *Muhtaç Olduğumuz Lisan İnkılabı Hakkında Bir Kalem Tecrübesi* (An Essay about the Language Reform We Need), two articles on morphology and *Yeni Bir Gramer Metodu Hakkında Layiha* (An Outline of the New Grammar Methodology). Especially in *Layiha*, he gives references to the French linguists such as Saussure, Joseph Vendryes, Antoine Meillet, Ferdinand Brunot and Charles Bally. He submitted *Layiha* to Mustafa Kemal and claimed that it was delayed because it was written after *Türk Dili İçin* (For the Turkish Language) by Sadri Maksudi Arsal. He also claimed that Arsal mislead the language reform (Emre, 1960, 329-333). In this *Layiha*, he defends that the modern developments in the realm of linguistics should be implemented to Turkish language. As Leyla Karahan pointed out that *Layiha* was taken as the reference point for the grammar textbooks written between 1932 and 1934 (Karahan, 2014, 3).

Yeni Bir Gramer Metodu Hakkında Layiha composed of subtitles such as: "language is a system of signs", the convention in language", "revolution in language is not possible," "the age of grammar and language," "the values of signs in language are relative (*nisbi*)" and "phonetic changes in language." Ahmed Cevad states that language is not a natural being but a social institution and convention. He handles language in a semiologic way, defining it as "a system of signs which makes

possible to speak" (Ahmed Cevad, 1931, 16). The most remarkable statement in *Layiha* was about the impossibility of a revolution in language as an inference of his reading of Saussure. According to Ahmed Cevad, it is necessary to be a convention between speaker and interlocutor and this convention, *a priori*, could be changed. On the other hand, when the number of these speakers and interlocutors increased, it becomes harder to change this convention. In fact, Saussure says that a language is a system of signs which depend on each other, and the difference between them is the thing which makes possible this system. Even, at first, these signs started to represent things arbitrarily in an absolute way, when it is established, it is difficult to change the relation among them, and gradually the relation between signifier and signified becomes relatively arbitrary (Saussure, 1959, 131-134).

For Ahmed Cevad, an archaic convention was embedded in language implicitly and that is why a revolution in language is impossible:

> "All individuals of a group tell their feelings, ideas and intentions everywhere and each moment only by means of language. Therefore, what everybody expects from language is to be understood. And this is only possible by using the signs known by everybody as they are. Any change in these signs could lead to confusion" (Ahmed Cevad, 1931, 17).

His other opposition about the revolution in language was about changing the words because of their etymologies. He also points out that the linguists do not approve the coinages and the words-collecting from vernacular as the replacements of the existing words according to a linguistic criterion. A sudden increase of new words in language causes a revolutionary change and so it becomes impossible for everybody to learn this new language (Ahmed Cevad, 1931, 140). When *Layiha* was presented to Mustafa Kemal, he read it carefully and he had a critical approach about the statements which claim the impossibility of a revolution in language. As far as we learnt from the memoirs of Ahmed Cevad in *İki Neslin Tarihi* (the History of Two Generations), Mustafa Kemal expressed his interpretation by saying that "the French linguists tricked you" (Emre, 1960, 338). Indeed, it was a bit of ironic because, the revolutionary approach of Saussure to linguistics was seen a theoretical foundation for many language-planning cases all over the world beyond routine orthographic amendments at that time.

Another prominent name in language studies at the process of the alphabet Revolution was İbrahim Necmi. He defined grammar as "the science which shows the main rules for reading and writing correctly" and again that "the rules of language must be written to identify and generalize the common points in usage, but not to compel people" (Yetiş, 1989, 13). On the ground of this understanding, he put forward several works such as *Gramer Hakkında Bir Kalem Tecrübesi* (An Essay

about the Grammar), *Küçük Türkçe Gramer* (The Pocket Turkish Grammar), *Türkçe Gramer* (Turkish Grammar) and *Amelî Yeni Türkçe Dersleri* (the New Turkish Practical Guide).

Küçük Türkçe Gramer was written for the fourth and fifth grades of elementary schools. In the fourth grade book, the subjects such as vowels and consonants, circumflex and comma were explained by means of many examples in a simple frame. In the fifth grade, they were just elaborated in details. *Türkçe Grammar* (Turkish Grammar) was written for "the secondary schools and the high schools and the schools for teachers and lifelong learning (*Muallim ve Hayat Mektepleri*)." In its first section, "the phonetics" (*savtiyat*) was handled. Just before this section, İbrahim Necmi mentions about "the definition and origin of grammar" and "the definition and origin of writing" and he scrutinizes vowels and consonants according to their articulation points. He also handles the value of each letter independently and the signs which will help differentiate the Arabic homonyms from each other when they are written in the Latin letters. Punctuation was treated under a separate title. In this section, it was mentioned about the vocal harmony, phonetic rules and phonetic changes in Turkish as well (Yetiş, 1989, 13-14). In the second section, the morphology was handled. İbrahim Necmi deals with the categories such as noun, adjective and pronoun and also the method of word-creation. The third section was allocated to "nahiv" (syntax). In this section, first of all, the subject of "kelam-söz" (word) was handled and also noun and adjective constructions and sentence-making. According to Yetiş, in these books, the old approach to grammar resumed in terms of not only method but also terminology. In this aspect, they have a historical value. For instance, the verbs were grouped as "müteaddi olan ve olmayan" (transitive verbs or non-transitive). There were also many exercises and reading texts in the book. The reading texts were taken from especially the writings of the men of letters after Şinasi (Yetiş, 1989, 15).

Many grammar books after *the Report about Grammar and 'Sarf'* open with the section of "phonetics" and then continue with "morphology," namely the method of word-creating (See figure 46). In the second section, Turkish suffixes took place instead of Arabic scales (*Arapça bablar*)(Gramer Hakkında Rapor, 1928). In these grammar books, both of the alphabets, Arabic and Latin, were used. For instance, İbrahim Necmi writes the rules in the Arabic letters so as to address to everyone but examples were in the Latin letters. Another important point was the terminology. In most of them, the terminology of the late Ottoman period grammar books continued to be used.

Of their differences from the grammar books which were written before the Alphabet Revolution, we can say that they made room for the phonetics, but the previous ones started with section “vocal harmony” (*aheng-i telaffuz*). Ragıp Hulusi remarks that the term of phonetics was used in the sense of “the knowledge of sounds in language” (*dil sesi bilgisi*) by the writers and scholars before the Alphabet Revolution. However, it popularized so as to be disputed in pages of newspapers, being written as *fonotik* or *fonatik* at last *fonetik* as the equivalent of the *savtiyat* (Ragıp Hulusi [Özdem], 1938, 104-109). He also adds that this terms was first mentioned in “Muhitü’l Maarif” by Emrullah Efendi and then in the *İlm-i Lisan* (Linguistics) by Necip Asım. This term was also passed in the columns “Fenni Sütunlar” in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper by Mehmet Sadık. Ragıp Hulusi says that it was made a distinction between phonetics and phonology thanks to the proposal of Saussure. After 1928, phonetics started to use just for “the knowledge of sounds” physical, but “phonology” was used in terms of linguistics. Özdem emphasizes that such a distinction was not seen as necessary previously (Ragıp Hulusi, 1938, 104-109).

One of the intentions in the new grammars was to teach the loanwords in a “semai” (irregular) way, but not “kıyasi" (grammatical analogy).[22] In this context, “kıyas” means to see the relationship between the words derived the same origin according to the Arabic morphology. When these rules were discarded, the Arabic loanwords could be learnt just by hearing as irregular as in the case of learning any word in English. For instance, İbrahim Necmi describes the new Turkish grammar in this way: “the new Turkish grammar has a double mission, firstly it must not include the rules specific to just a part of Turkish words, moreover, it must include all the rules Turkish words are subjected” (İbrahim Necmi, 1929b, 4). According to İbrahim Necmi, even though there were Greek and Italian borrowings, they did not attract attention. However, the Arabic and Persian ones were problematic, because they brought their own rules with them. For him, by means of the new grammar, there is no need to establish a relation among the words such as *katip* (as *ism-i fail*), *mektup* (as *ism-i meful*) and *mekteb* (as *ism-i mekan*), which all are generated from the Arabic root “ketb.”

As far as we learnt from the memoirs of Ahmed Cevad, Mustafa Kemal wanted an Arabic grammar book from Naim Hazım and requested him to read the conjugation of the verb “ke-te-be” and he read in the way: *ketebe, yektübü, kitaben, katibun,*

[22] These terms specific to the Arabic grammar terminology were often passed in the debates at that time.

mektubun, lemyektub, lemma yektub, en yektub, len yektub, iktib etc. When it finished, Mustafa Kemal said:

> "*Kitap* [book]*, katip* [writer]*, mektup* [letter] are mine; the rest belong to the Arabs. You cannot say "bitik" instead of "kitap", and "bitikçi" instead of "katip"; if you say it, they become foreign. The words as such belong to the Uighur lexicon. The *Kitap, katip, mektup* which everybody knows and speaks are Turkish" (Ahmed Cevad, 1960, 341-342).

In *Yeni Bir Gramer Metodu Hakkında Layiha*, Ahmed Cevad emphasizes two points. Firstly, we need to find all Turkish words in language and to make use of them frequently. Secondly, we need to avoid the coinages whose meanings are obscure. He says that:

> "The usage of suffixes contrary to the grammatical analogy (kıyas) distorts and makes them ineffective. As long as a suffix is used according to its existing meaning in language, it becomes more effective, on the other hand, its correspondent concepts in our mind become upside down and this situation hinders to call its connotations. Thus, the suffixes could become irregular" (Ahmed Cevad, 1931, 44).

There were also some debates on grammar in magazines and newspapers. The debate of the dichotomy between the written language and spoken language was still remarkable. Another topic was on the phonetic structure of Turkish. The vocal harmony was seen as one of the distinctive features of Turkish language and it had some political implications. In addition to these two, the suffix issue was a mostly debated one. Arabic morphology made Turkish to reproduce itself for years. When it was given up, it was necessary to create a genuine Turkish morphology. What will make it possible were the suffixes whether discovered or invented. For instance, we witness that too many things were said and written on the suffix "nisbet y or i" at that time.

The attempt to close the gap between the written and spoken languages resumed after the Alphabet Revolution. The main concern here was that the Turkish syntax whose rules were taken from the written language required to be inferred from the spoken variety (İbrahim Necmi, 1932 as quoted from Korkmaz, 1997, 688). The recurrent argument on the artificiality of the written language and the naturalness of the spoken language was still alive. For instance, İbrahim Necmi, in "Türk Cümleleri Canlı Varlıklardır" (Turkish Sentences Are Living beings), says that "the written language gives just a certain sequence of speech. When time passes, the freshest writing wears out, diverges from speech and becomes a static pattern" (İbrahim Necmi, 1933 as quoted from Korkmaz, 1997, 705). When writing solidifies, its shell should be broken and it needs to pick some liveliness from the spoken language. For İbrahim Necmi, when Turkish language is at stake, there are two aims: firstly, to make writing closer to the spoken language and secondly, to Europenization in terms of content (*iç bakımından*). In his other writings, he states that since the

Tanzimat era, the writers took their themes from the lives of people under the influence of the Europe and therefore they recorded the language people spoke. According to İbrahim Necmi, in order to retrieve the true syntax of our language, "we need to explore the fluency in the sentences of our new writers who makes writing closer to speech and also the people's speech as their source" (İbrahim Necmi, 1933 as quoted from Korkmaz, 1997, 705). However, İbrahim Necmi also emphasizes that there are not any evidences to make us identify the true spoken language when all these texts were written.

İbrahim Necmi gives not only examples from the texts of the Tanzimat era writers but also the *Dede Korkut* and the *Book of Travels* by Evliya Çelebi. The verb, which was taught that it came at the end of the sentence, was used in different places of the sentence in these texts. For him, at first sight, it is easy to have an impression that these are the texts distorted by the written language, but, in fact, they are the examples that the spoken language started to change the strict syntax of the written language. The various effects of the spoken language could be observed in these tales written as if speaking (İbrahim Necmi, 1932 as quoted from Korkmaz, 1997, 688). A strong criticism to İbrahim Necmi comes from A. Seni. He, in the article "Dilimizin Yapısı" (the Structure of Our Language), says that there are three main elements of our language, which are "yapıcı" (*fail*), "yapılan" (*meful*) and "yapı" (*fiil*). As seen, he still uses the Arabic grammar terminology to explain the structure of Turkish and basically claims that the spoken language cannot be the foundation of any grammar. "In every language, written language is the foundation and the root". A. Seni gives a sentence whose items are combined in six ways and he asks whether we can say that they have the same meaning or not (A. Seni, 1933, 6). The answer of İbrahim Necmi was that of course they are different and he adds that a Turk, who knows his language well, can use each of them in a proper place. Moreover, he claims that his purpose is to widen the possibilities of Turkish language, by embracing different ways of a saying into the Turkish language (İbrahim Necmi, 1933, 6).

The principle of vocal harmony started to take place in the grammar books in the 20th century. This rule can be summarized as the lack of long vowel in Turkish and the following the back vowel after the back vowel in the first syllable and the front vowel after the front vowel in the first syllable of a word. And it is still indicated as one of the main characteristics of Turkish language today. Mithat Faik, in his writing, "Bir Dilin Kullanılış Kanunları Değişebilir mi?" (Is It Possible to Change the Rules of A Language?), points out that the vocal harmony was one of the foundations of

Turkish, and cannot be changed by linguists (Mithat Faik, 1932, 2). According to him, there are not long vowels in Turkish, and it is not because some had said *a priori* that "long vowels will not be in Turkish anymore," in an arbitrary way. On the contrary, as a consequence of the researches, the linguists could not find such long vowels in Turkish and then they put it as *a posteriori* as a rule. Moreover, this rule is not only prevalent in Turkey Turkish but also in all Ural-Altaic languages. In other words, language was not determined according to the rule, but the rule was inferred from the language. Mithat Faik also states that the Turks adapted the loanwords according to this rule, saying *tüken* instead of *dükkan* (store), *mamur* instead of *memur* (officer). Rıza Nur, in his article "Vokalik Ahenk" (Vocalic Harmony) , points out that this language phenomenon is particular to the Turkic-Altaic languages. For him, this harmony has evolved throughout vernaculars and ages but it found its perfect form in the Turkey Turkish dialect (Rıza Nur, 1939, 3-10).

One of the important aspects of the new grammar was consisted of the "suffixes." In the transition to the Latin letters, what was aimed by eliminating some consonants and adopting new vowels was to keep Arabic and Persian loanwords as irregulars; in other words, to get rid of the necessity of learning the rules and patterns of these languages. On the other hand, they had contributed to Turkish for years and made it more dynamic and gave it the power to generate new words when it was needed. And now it should be compensated with different tools: the Turkish suffixes. At this point, the already existing suffixes in Turkish could be revived or the new ones should be discovered or invented instead of the Arabic prefixes and suffixes. Ahmed Cevad says that "[…] We need to activate the rich expressions which remained in the people's language. On the other hand, it will be a good job if we try to revive the morphemes which are seen now worthless by researching the emergence of languages as needed" (Ahmed Cevad, 1934a, 5). İbrahim Necmi describes this project in the following way:

> "When our suffixes are identified and listed, their usages and meanings are from the examples taken from the mouth of people; when writers started to use the words composed of these suffixes, then we will see how our language will expand in such a short time!" (İbrahim Necmi, 1929c, 2).

For this purpose, the *Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti* (the Society for the Study of Turkish Language) prepared a survey booklet and delivered it to the teachers and experts (Ahmed Cevad, 1933b). What it wanted was to explore the new Turkish suffixes instead of the existing suffixes. Of these suffixes, one of the most polemical one was "nisbet y."

In the first volume of the survey, there was a topic called “Türkçede Nispet Anlatan Şekiller”. The same survey was handled by Ahmed Cevad in the article "Yeni Nispet Şekilleri" in the newspaper *Hakimiyeti Milliye* as well. For “nispet y”, the morphemes such as “-li, -ce, -lik, -insi, -kil, -ir, -iç” were proposed. Some said that instead of this suffix, the French “-ique” and the Enlish “-ic” could be adapted to Turkish, making it evolved as “e(i)k” (Ahmed Cevad, 1934b, 5). According to Ahmed Cevad, this suffix was one of the obscure Ottoman suffixes. He defined it as “one of the legacies of hybridity which the Persian language granted to the Ottoman Turkish”. In French or English, there were several equivalents of this suffix. For him, this suffix is a source of “obscurity,” not of “clarity and richness” because different sayings and meanings in other languages corresponds with only this suffix in Ottoman Turkish (Ahmed Cevad, 1934b, 3).

In order to be able to measure the effect of any change in language, we need to think to what extent our mother tongue shapes the way we think. To exaggerate the universal grammar could cause to equate all languages whether simple or complicated. On the other hand, the cultural relativity theory in language could make us perceive language as a prison to which we are confined by means of the words or rules of our mother tongue. Language planning movements could be regarded as a consequence of this approach by an intention to reorganize the society via language. Guy Deutscher points out that the effect of language does not change so much from one language to the other when it comes to logical reasoning; however, in terms of “memory, perception or associations,” the influence of the mother tongue creates a meaningful difference (Deutscher, 2010, 234). Therefore, the effect of a change in the mother tongue could also be seen in these areas rather than in mathematics. For instance, Robert Godel, who was an observer at the time of the Alphabet Revolution, evaluated it as mainly the replacement of one signifier with another. However, he revises his ideas after twenty years and concludes that it is impossible to create signifiers without touching the signified (Godel, 1984, 271-280).

The influence of the change of the letters on the grammar could be handled on two levels: morphology and syntax. In terms of morphology, to create Turkish suffixes constituted the main part of the language planning process, the purpose being to make Turkish the main apparatus for generating words instead of Arabic. At the level of syntax, what was at stake was to fasten the process which Şinasi started. The approach assigning privilege to speech was just more dominant than in the past. However, it is questionable whether its revolutionary effect was bigger than the journalistic language constructed in the Ottoman period, or not. When we look at the

grammar books, they carry the features of a transition era. They kept using the Arabic grammar terminology. On the other hand, they started with a phonetics chapter, and also instead of Arabic patterns, the Turkish suffixes whether collected or invented, were handled.

5. CONCLUSION

Refik Halid Karay, in his play *Deli*, tells the story of Maruf Bey who misses the transition period from the Ottoman to the Republican era because of the mental illness from which he suffered for 21 years. When he got well in 1930, he tries to resume his life. He was not informed about the declaration of the Republic and all reforms. Indeed, he did not have an idea of what was happening around him. He thought that the newspaper written in Turkish which his grandson, Özdemir, gave him saying that it is very modern was *Le Temps*,

> "Maruf Bey (having a look at the newspaper): You gave me the wrong one. Take this '*Tan*'. I do not know French.
>
> Özdemir: Which French? The newspaper in your hands is in Turkish.
>
> Maruf Bey (looks at it again carefully and turns it over and over): I think these grandchildren are all teasers. Look here! There is not a single word in Turkish in this newspaper.
>
> Özdemir: Oh, really! You do not know that the old letters have fallen into desuetude. The usage of Arabic letters is prohibited! Use Latin! Latin!" (Karay, 1939, 16-17).

This play was one of my motivations to start this thesis. When I first read this work, I realized how obscure such a decisive event was in my mind. To read this work was a self-reflective moment. At first sight, this scene seems to approve the "overnight illiteracy" discourse; however, it implies that such a sudden change could be just fictitious, as social transformations operate in a more complicated way. Maruf Bey's mental illness rather represents our perception of the past and this play could stimulate our curiosity through the missing fragments in the memory of Maruf Bey

This continuity-change paradigm depends on how we look at it. If we see it in the symbolic level, we need to accept it is a rupture. However, it is not sharp, contrary to the general belief. The Turkish language was written not only in Latin letters but also in other phonetic alphabets for a long time during the Ottoman period and it continued to be written in Arabo-Persian letters after the Alphabet Revolution even until today (Yılmaz, 2011). If we handle the issue at the structural level in which the letters are related to grammar and orthography, this rupture moment could shift to a different moment in history. The main motivation behind the Alphabet Revolution, the principle of "the representation of one sound with one letter," goes back to the

late Ottoman period when it dominated the Ottoman linguistic environment and was seen in different endeavors and implementations.

The prominent figures of both the Ottoman and the Republican periods had the linguistic awareness particular to their times and tried to give their own responses to the changing trends in a dialogic relationship with the new linguistic movements in the West. For instance, comparative linguistics was the hegemonic approach in the 19th century. The relatedness of languages was investigated, and they were classified; therefore, language families were created by means of biological analogies. On the other hand, a progressive historiography of writing systems was written. In this sense, the progressive narrative of the writing systems also started to appear in the Ottoman period during which hieroglyphics were taken as a starting point and deemed superior to the phonetic alphabet. The two distinct origins of writing and speech became one of the main arguments for the discrepancy between the Arabo-Persian alphabet and the Turkish language.

In the Second Constitutional period, the New Language Movement whose thesis was to create a new written variety out of the prestigious İstanbul vernacular language was in accordance with the approach "language is the speech" at that time. When we come to the Republican period, its theoretical background was inspired by the Saussurean understanding of language. *Yeni Bir Gramer Metodu Hakkında Layiha* was written by Ahmed Cevad from a structuralist perspective, the Saussurean perspective. Yet, as we learnt from the memoires of Ahmed Cevad, Mustafa Kemal read it and objected to the points that contradicted with the Revolution. This indicates that the actors in both periods tried to catch up with the developments in the linguistic realm on the one hand, and on the other, they adopted them according to their political interests.

The print culture caused a new standard language to emerge as a variety between Latin and many other dialects eventually without being a phase of any language planning process in Europe. However, the emergence and influence of the print culture in the Ottoman era ran parallel to the ideologies of the day such as nationalism. Therefore, the linguistic modernization was to a great extent the outcome of an ideological program: it was deliberate rather than spontaneous. Firstly, the insha language was simplified and adapted to the newspaper language and secondly, the İstanbul vernacular language was proposed as the prestigious dialect for a standard variety. This process also created a dichotomy between "Ottoman" and "Turkish" languages. The former was seen as an artificial written variety and the latter as the "natural" part of the coin. On the one hand, this naming

became the value-laden tools of the political and ideological agendas of the time, while on the other, they continued to be employed interchangeably. Indeed, the relationship between them could be defined as an interplay, as Goody defined it. Besides, as Mardin suggested, it was a game with names, yet it did not occur in a vacuum and these names created their own meaning in the final stage. To assign "naturalness" to Turkish enhanced it to a more privileged place and overshadowed the facts that writing as a technology could not be purely natural and that it had the blueprint of speech. For instance, Ömer Seyfeddin, as the leading figure of the New Language Movement, proposed that the İstanbul vernacular language is the most natural dialect “the native İstanbulite women spoke”, but this idea is unusual because it assumes that they did not deal at all with writing. Indeed, the writing practices of the İstanbulite women needed to be explored.

When we take the principle of the one sound-one-letter correspondence as a departure point, the main rupture started in the Ottoman period; yet, it is hard to give an exact date for this beginning. Even though it was generally assumed that it started with the speech of Münif Pasha and the proposals of Akhundzade and Malkom Khan, there were many factors which had impact in this process. The proposals of the reforming of the letters emerged as an extension of the progress and civilization discourses. The key-point here was mass education (tamim-i maarif). The letters were indicated as the biggest obstacle in front of this goal. These proposals designed by Akhundzade and Malkom Khan were proposed separated letters and visible vowels, but they were not Latin. Indeed, they could be interpreted as an eclectic and hybrid alphabet out of Latin and Arabo-Persian alphabets. Akhundzade and Malkom Khan fabricated these letters because it was assumed that the Latin letters would not be welcomed by the Sharia. Interestingly, similar letters to those they proposed were launched as an avant-garde experimental work by the *Tamim-i Maarif ve Islah-ı Huruf Cemiyeti* (the Society of the Generalization of Education and the Reformation of the Letters) (1911), called the New Writing. Even though they had common points principally, their motivations were completely different. As Milaslı İsmail Hakkı affirm, this writing was produced as a form of resistance against the adoption of the Latin letters to tackle the developments in the modern world. Therefore, their motivation was both reformist and conservative.

We can observe similar eclectic attitudes in various realms of Ottoman life. For instance, a parallelism was often established between dress codes and the alphabet. Dress codes could adapt to the changing world and so could the alphabet, from a perspective in which signs are accepted as labels. As Fatma Tunç Yaşar

noted, the Ottoman way of modernization chose the former solution and tried to find its third way in the tension between resistance and adaptation (Tunç Yaşar, 2016). Yet, even though discourses such as progress and civilization occur in distinct realms, they do not always operate in the same way. While the eclectic solutions in dress code could become more prevalent, the usage of such an eclectic alphabet remained very limited. As Foucault said, even though they seem a coherent whole from a historical distance, their peculiarities begin to appear when we examine them closely. This is the way discursive formations operate (Foucault, 1969). Therefore, while this eclectic *huruf-i munfasıla* did not become prevalent, another implementation, the *usul-i savti* (phonetic method), was meanwhile coined by Selim Sabit Efendi. There were some reactions against it at first; however, it was embraced as an official method in the instruction of basic reading and writing knowledge at the elementary level. This method was at the core of the New Teaching Method and the far-reaching movement, *Cedidism* and it became part of the curriculum in primary education as well as everyday life, being, in this sense, more effective than the other avant-garde proposals in the Constitutional period. It also became the first sample for the future alphabet books even for the written ones after the Alphabet Revolution.

Even though a radical change or modification of letters was not approved officially, Turkish language was already written not only in Latin letters but also in the other phonetic letters used throughout the Ottoman period. We can see this phenomenon especially in the grammar books and the phrasebooks prepared by the foreigners in order to teach the Turkish language. As a result, Turkish in the Latin alphabet emerged in various orthographies according to these foreign countries' own national orthographies. In addition, some orientalists such as Lepsius, W. Jones and F. Volney designed alphabets which enabled writing in all the Oriental languages and their work were known and read by the Ottoman intellectuals who sometimes, gave overt references to them. Although none of these transcription alphabets were adopted as they are, the essence of their linguistic approach became prevalent among the Ottoman intellectuals. This essence could be understood in the way that only the phonetic alphabet, which is based on the principle one sound-one letter, is logical, representing the key-point for progress and civilization. Other writing systems which are not fully phonetic were seen as an obstacle for the achievements of civilization.

Indeed, the implications of Orientalistic discourse in the realm of linguistics were generally neglected, but we encounter its implicit and explicit implications in this

case. For instance, the Orientalistic discourse was transferred directly through the statements of Malkom Khan when he pointed out to the jointed Arabo-Persian alphabet with its invisible vowels as a source of all the deterioration and corruption. It is obvious that whereas Malkom Khan as “an Oriental” does not have concern such resistance, but adaptation to the Eurocentric modernity. Milaslı ended up with a similar style of letters, proposing them as a form of resistance against the dominance of the Latin letters. Even though at first sight the proposal of Milaslı İsmail Hakkı seemed free from the Orientalist discourse, it is one of the latter’s implicit expressions. As Makdisi set forth, Orientalism proliferated and continued to be produced outside the West. Indeed, it was reproduced even by the East itself, and it had so many variations that it cannot be limited to binary oppositions of domination and resistance. One of the characteristics of “Ottoman Orientalism” is its ambiguous relationship with the West (Makdisi, 2002, 769), which Eldem defined as “an awkward relationship” further emphasizing that the Ottomans tried to create “a grey zone” between “admiration and resentment” (Eldem, 2015, 95). In this sense, the *huruf-i munfasıla* attempt could be seen as a “double movement” (Makdisi, 2002, 795) which includes adaptation and resistance at the same time.

Apart from the transcription alphabets, the Latin letters had already started to be used in a more prevalent way in the public sphere. Yet, the first Latin alphabet in the borders of the Ottoman Empire for an ethnic community, the Stamboul alphabet, was designed for the Albanian language by Şemseddin Sami, a prominent Ottoman intellectual, and became the departure point of the Albanian nationalism. Some Turkish texts were also published in this alphabet as well. As Trix suggested, it was the precursor of the new Turkish letters in 1928 (Trix, 1999). Even though it was based mainly on Latin characters, it also included Greek and Cyrillic ones. It was thus eclectic in terms of combining the letters from three phonetic alphabets differing from the *huruf-i munfasıla* experience which combined two more distinct writing systems. The attitude of the Ottoman state to this alphabet was also not coherent, promoting it at times and sometimes banning it according to the changing circumstances in the region. Şemseddin Sami was already informed by the phonetic alphabet of Lepsius, but created his own ingenious design instead of adopting it directly.

While dealing with the change of the alphabet, the linguistic environment in the Ottoman period was generally left aside. Yet, it was indispensible to handle the various combinations of languages and alphabets because the departure point of this study was not only Turkish in Latin letters but also its written records in phonetic

alphabets. The linguistic situation in the Ottoman Empire could be defined in many ways including diglossia, bilingualism, multilingualism and heteroglossia. Indeed, each of these phenomena could be observed in different proportions. Diglossia was not only the main feature of the Turkish language in the Ottoman but also of the other language such as Armenian and Greek. In each of these languages, there was a meaningful gap between high and low varieties. Nevertheless, the appearance of one language in different alphabets was prevalent as well and this could be defined as heterographia. In this sense, the Turkish language was mainly written in Armenian, Greek, Cyrillic, Syrian and Rashi letters as well as in Arabo-Persian letters. So, this phenomenon created its own varieties and literatures. Even though heteroglossia, a concept coined by Bakhtin, reflects linguistic multiplicity and co-existence of different speech genres, it remained speech-oriented and inadequate in explaining the strata created by the alphabet effect in the Ottoman Empire.

When we take into account all of these factors, it became possible to analyze the exact impact of the Alphabet Revolution. Although the quotation from Leibniz, “a good alphabet for me, a good language for you and by means of this power I shall make a nation,” started to circulate in the Ottoman period, it found its true meaning in the Republican period. The perfection of the alphabet was measured according to its compatibility with the spoken language. If the perfection of language for a Turkish nation goes back to the New Language Movement, the aim of the perfect alphabet to create a nation was acquired in the Republican period. This perfection was created not only by adopting the Latin letters at symbolic level but also by compensating for the lack of vowels and eliminating the surplus consonants.

Indeed, it would be misleading to skip from the Second Constitutional period to 1928. Meanwhile, some individual alphabet projects continued to be produced. Moreover, the core subject matter of the 1926 Baku Turcology Congress was the alphabet issue. At that time, the arguments at the Congress were not so different in the way they were dealt with in Turkey. There were generally two groups: the supporters of the Latin letters and their opponents, who also claimed that the existing letters should be reformed and made more phonetic. Almost nobody tends to defend the Arabic letters without reformation. Even the opponents of the Latin letters had a modernist attitude in terms of language.

Particularly, in the treatises written before the Alphabet Revolution, some individual proposals in the Latin letters were presented. Interestingly, they used some Latin characters which existed in the International Phonetic Alphabet but with a different value as counterparts of the Arabic letters. This indicates that the ambiguous

attitude continued. On the one hand, they embraced the Latin letters because they were regarded as universal, and on the other, they tried to create a national alphabet based on them. Indeed, the latter seem awkward when compared to the current letters we are familiar with, but they contributed to the mental preparation for the alphabet change. This scriptural legacy with its Ottoman precursors facilitated and contributed to the invention of the New Turkish Letters.

Similarly, in *the Elifba Report*, it was stated that the New Turkish Letters will be neither the International Phonetic Alphabet nor one of the existing transcription alphabets. They will be national letters designed in order to reflect national phonetics. However, in the invention process of these national letters, many Latin-based alphabets were scrutinized including mostly alphabets of the European nations, the Latin alphabets tailored for other Turkish peoples and even the Stamboul alphabet which was obsolete at that time. The national phonetics will be distilled from the dialect of the İstanbulite literary class. The İstanbul Turkish was brought to the agenda by the team of the New Language Movement in the Second Constitutional period, but none of their names was recorded in the *Elifba Report*. Although the members of the *Dil Encümeni* interacted with this movement before, there was not an overt reference to this movement.

The alphabet books after the Revolution was prepared according to the principles in the *Elifba Report*. The characteristics of these books were the digraphs such as “kh” and “gh”, and the hyphen serving to write some suffixes separately. Besides, both of the alphabets were employed together in the alphabet books in this time period which also continued to be opened from the right. As Fortna stated, these alphabets could be traced back to the Ottoman period in their basic principles but they included a more nationalistic content in the Republican period. Besides, although orthographic chaos had been generally shown as one of the main reasons for the adoption of the Latin letters, it continued in the books and newspapers for a while after the Revolution. When we take account of all these, it is hard to say it was a sharp change. Moreover, as Yılmaz suggested, the Arabo-Persian letters were used not only in private but also in public spaces for a long time, and those who supported the new regime about the implementations of the other reforms reacted to the alphabet reform, an attitude she interprets as a way of resistance (Yılmaz, 2011, 694).

The *Elifba Report* was written related to the *Report about Grammar and ‘Sarf’* (1928), a less known fact about the latter being that it stated that the Arabic and Persian loanwords will not be eliminated but kept as “irregular.” In other words, their

rules will not be taught. Instead of Arabic and Persian morphology, the Turkish morphology will be promoted. In fact, the books of Turkish *sarf* and *nahiv* already emerged in the Second Constitutional period but they contained the Arabic and Persian rules. After the invention of the new Turkish letters, these rules were eliminated, but the terminology of the Arabic grammar continued to be used. Therefore, we can define the marginal effect of the Latin letters was a morphological as well as symbolic break from the past in terms of national grammatology. In terms of syntax, it was rather a continuation because it was one of the shared codes between the high and low varieties in the various periods of the Ottoman Empire.

The break with the past has been a recurrent approach. However, what I have discovered throughout this thesis is that the continuations at micro level between the Ottoman and the Republican periods. Indeed, the Alphabet Revolution was not made only against the Ottoman past but also through its legacy. It is possible to see the relics of the ambiguous double movement of the Ottomans towards the West. It had also inherited the Ottoman Orientalism which was a form of Orientalism produced by the East. On the one hand the Republican response to the West was seemingly determined by an Occidentalistic agenda, on the other hand it produced its Orientalistic double (Ahıska, 2010). As Szurek set forth, the Republican strategy transformed and multiplied it in the ways of the Kemalist anti-Westernism, vernacular Orientalism, mimetic Orientalism (Szurek, 2015, 103-120). In this sense, the Latin letters were introduced as real “Turkish” letters as in the other realms such as national music because Turkishness was promoted as a safe zone freed from Orientalism (Ayas, 2014). In terms of the Turkish linguistic modernization, the “traditional wisdom” of phonocentric approach based on the one sound-one- letter principle and on the privileges the spoken variety often become more convincing. Various attempts to reform the letters created more or less eclectic reappearances of this principle, which was seen as the vantage point of progress and civilization discourses. In other words, this phonetic principle continued to operate and reproduced itself in depth in the form of either the Latin alphabet or the Arabo-Persian letters.

A theoretical concern inspired me to study the motivations and the implications of the Alphabet Revolution on the basis of the interplay between the Turkish written and spoken varieties. Meanwhile, while searching for answers for my questions, I discovered a huge conglomeration of primary sources which wait to be studied from a more critical and analytical perspective. Some of them are the grammar and alphabet books. Even though they were mentioned in some general works in this

area, they have not been treated enough as historical evidence. If they are examined as a subject of a primary source-oriented study from an analytical perspective, it would make a great contribution to the linguistic history of the Turkish language.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Book Cover of *Kavaid-i Osmaniyye* by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha


قواعد عثمانیه

اثر خامهٔ احمد جودت

مکاتب اعداديه‌نك درد نجی سنه‌سنده تدريس اولنمق اوزره معارف عموميه نظارت جليله‌سنجه قبول اولنمشدر .

نظارت مشاراليهانك ٣٦٢ نومرو و ٩ ايلول سنه ٣١٥ تاريخلی رخصتنامه‌سيله طبع ايدلمشدر.

معارف عموميه نظارت جليله‌سيله مطبعهٔ عامره‌نك بالاده كی مهرلرينی حاوی اولميان نسخه‌لر مكاتبه قبول اولنماز .

دار الخلافة العلية

مطبعهٔ عامره

١٣١٧

فيئاتی (٥٠) پاره‌در .

TBMM KUTUPHANESI

Figure 26: The Book Cover of *Kavaid-i Osmaniyye* by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha

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Ahmed Cevdet Pasha. **Kavaid-i Osmaniyye**. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1317.

Appendix 2: The Book Cover of *Yeni Yazı ve Elifbası*

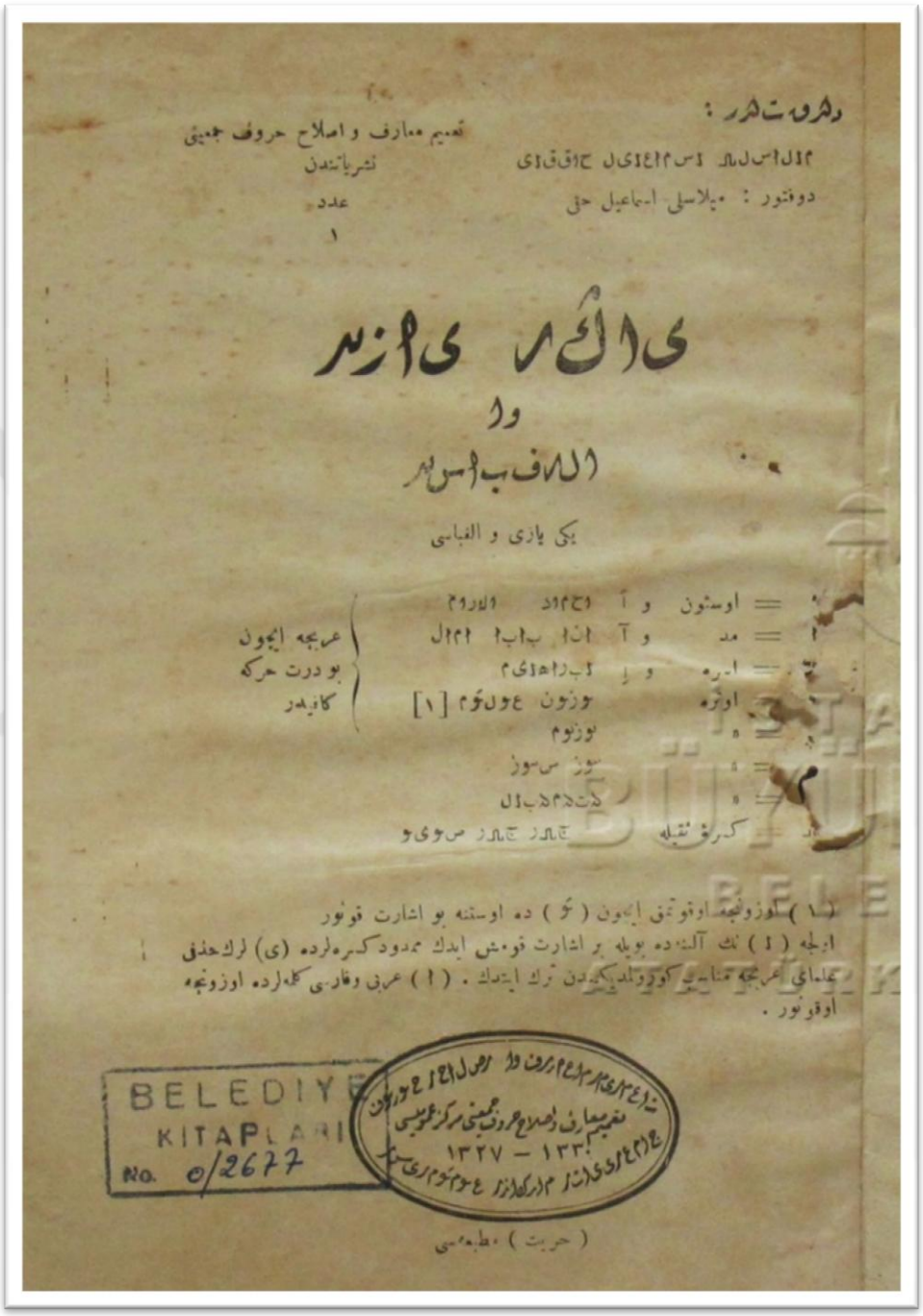


Figure 27: The Book Cover of *Yeni Yazı ve Elifbası*

New Writing and Its Alphabet by the *Tamim-i Maarif ve Islah-ı Huruf Cemiyeti Merkez-i Umumisi* in 1327-1330.

Appendix 3: The Journal of *Yeni Yazı* by the *Islah-ı Huruf Cemiyeti*

Figure 28: The Journal of *Yeni Yazı* by the *Islah-ı Huruf Cemiyeti*

Yeni Yazı Dergisi. 1330. v.1 n.6:1.

Appendix 4: The Book Cover of *Ordu Salnamesi* in 1330

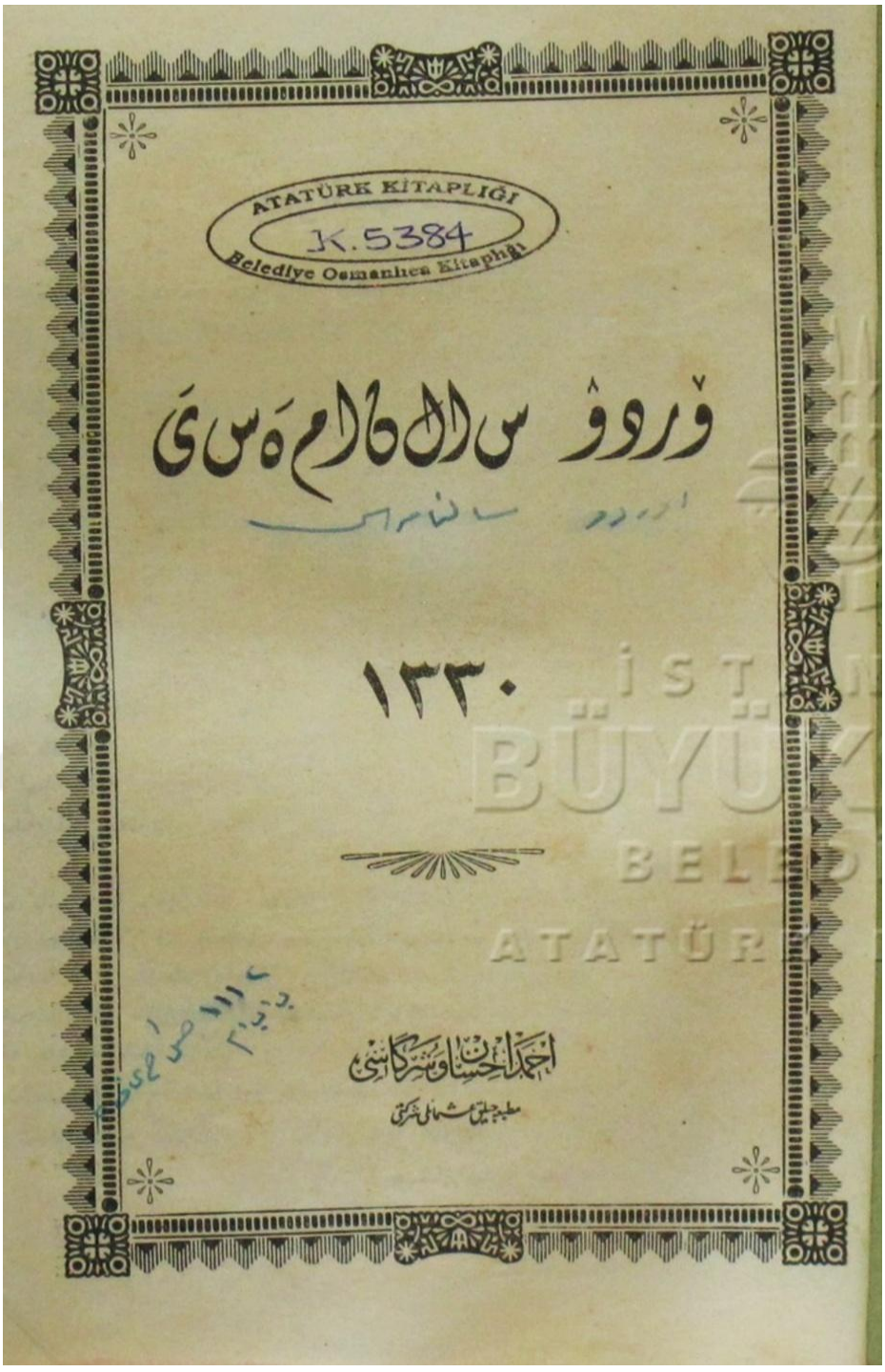


Figure 29: The Book Cover of *Ordu Salnamesi* in 1330

Ordu Salnamesi. Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi, 1330.

Appendix 5: The Book Cover of *Elifba-yı Osmani* by Selim Sabit

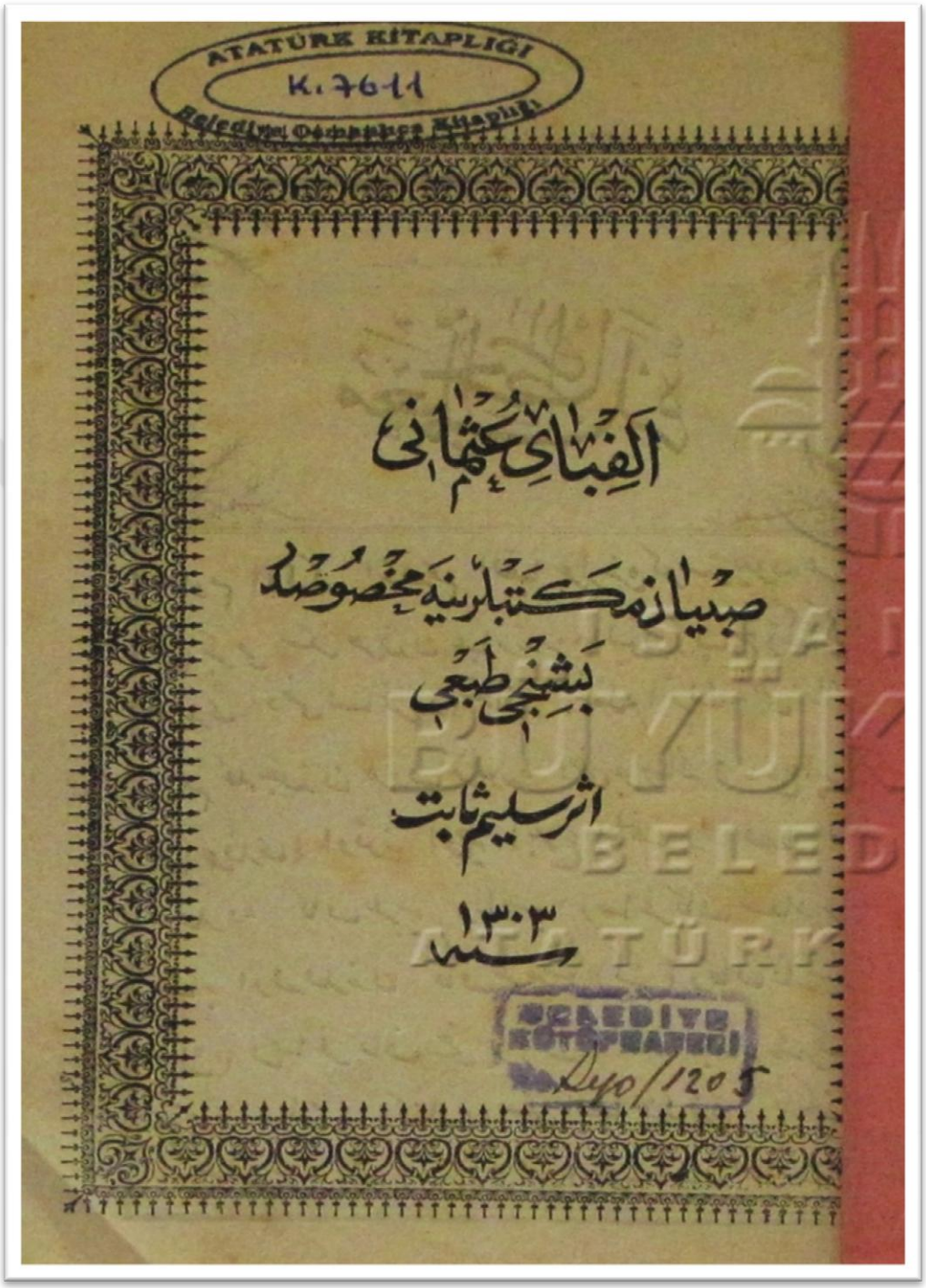
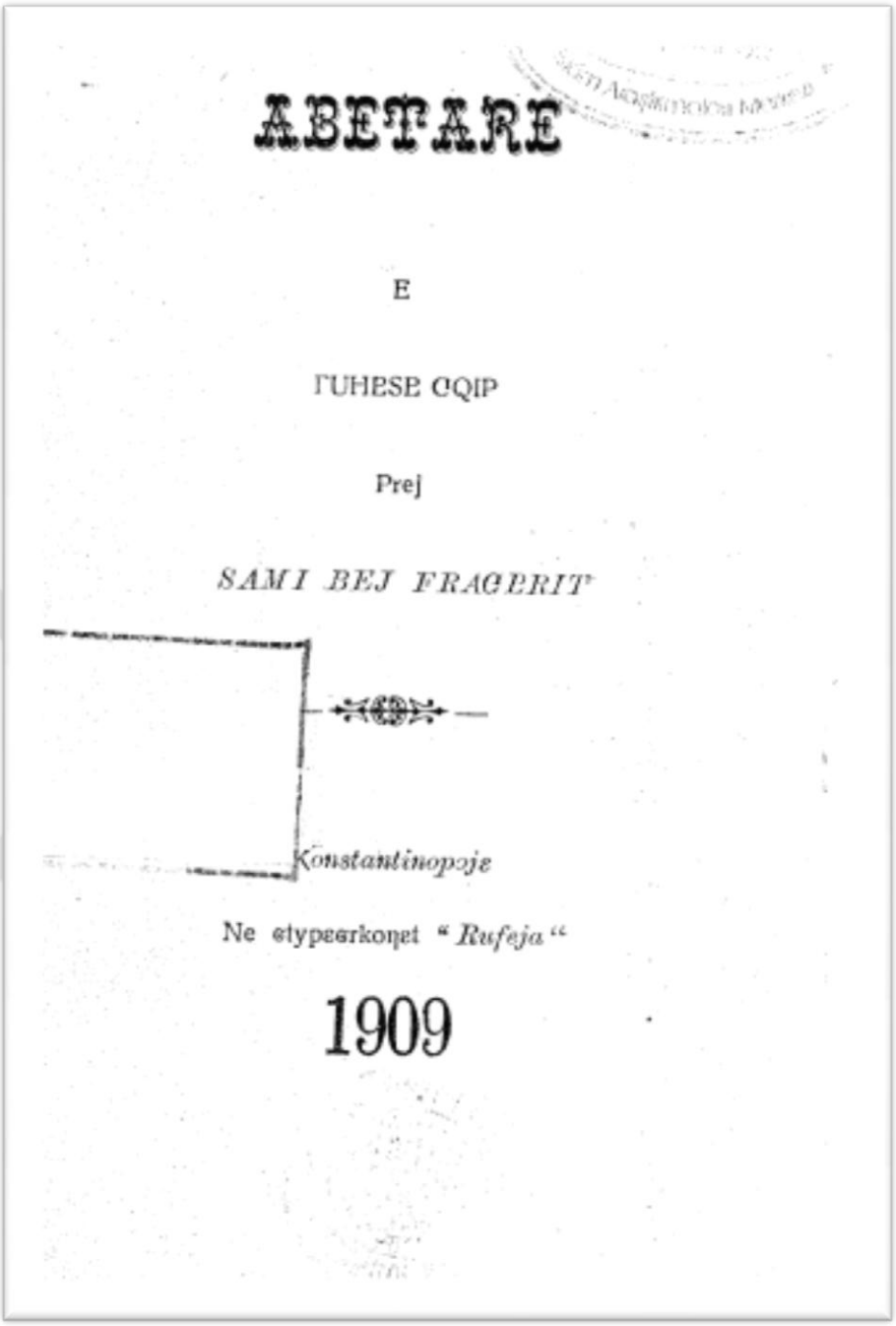


Figure 30: The Book Cover of *Elifba-yı Osmani* by Selim Sabit

---

Selim Sabit Efendi. **Elifba-yı Osmani**. İstanbul: 1303/1886.

Appendix 6: The Book Cover of *Abetare e gjuhese shqipe* by Sami Frasheri


ABETARE

E

GJUHESE SQIP

Prej

SAMI BEJ FRASHERIT

Konstantinopoje

Ne shtypshkonjet "*Rufeja*"

1909

Figure 31: The Book Cover of *Abetare e gjuhese shqipe* by Sami Frasheri

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Sami Frasheri. **Abetare e gjuhese shqipe**. İstanbul: Rufeja, 1909.

Apppendix 7: Would you prefer the Latin letters or Arabic ones?

Figure 32: Would you prefer the Latin letters or Arabic ones?

"In Albania:

-Would you prefer the Latin letters of Arabic ones?

-Neither one nor other… just my gun…"

Kalem. 1326. v.2. n.93: 3.

Appendix 8: A Page from the *Servet-i Fünûn* Newspaper Published in Both Scripts on 20 September 1928.

Servet-i-Fünûn | HAVADIS VE ILAN KISIMLARI | 1675—201 Perşembe, 20 Eylûl 1928

Büyük reisi-miz aylardan beri nurlandırdıkları İstanbula halkın yürekten gelen temennileri arasında vedâ etti-le. Gâzi Hz. şehir namına kendilerini teşyi eden hey'ete beyanatta bulunmuş-lar ve yeni hârfleri-mizin öyretilmesi husûsunda gösterilen ihtimâmdan dolayı memnuniyet-le bahs buyurmuş-lardır.

∴

Gâzi Hz Sinopta yaya olarak şehri baştan başa dolaşmış, kâhvehâne ve çukhânlara uğramış, ve halk ile memleketi alâkadâr eden mesâil üzerinde samimi ve açık hasbihallerle bulunmuş-lardır.

∴

Gâzi Hz. evvelki akşam Salı sunda muallimler tarafından verilen balôda hâzır bulunmuş-lar ve halk tarafından yapılan coşkun tezâhürler münâsibetile belediye reisi vasıtasi-le teşekkürlerini iblağ buyurmuş-lardır.

∴

Baş vekil İsmet Paşa hazretleri Malatyada halka yeni Türk hârfleri hakkında izâhat vermiş-lerdir: bu izâhatın semereleri baş vekilimizin memnûniyetlerini mûcip olmuş-tur.

∴

Cemiyet-i belediye Terkos şirketinin feshini istediğinden Şehremini Muhittin beyin riyasetinde Ankaraya bir hey'et gidecek ve şirketin feshi için teşebbüsâtta bulunacak-tır.

∴

Reis'cumhûr Hz. Salı akşamı Amasyaya azimet buyurmuş-lardır.

∴

İş bankasının Edremit şûbesi 9 Eylûlde parlak merasim-le küşat edilmiş-tir. 9 Eylûl güzel İzmirin kurtulduğu, düşmanın denize döküldüğü gün dür. Edremit dahi o gün kurtarılmış-tır. İşte millî müesse-miz olan ve te'sîsi gününden beri dâimâ kıymetli fealiyeti-yle iktisadî hayâtımızda anbeân artan bir inkişâfa mazhar olan İş bankası Edremitte bir şûbe açmak sureti-yle de yeni bir adım daha atmış oluyor demektir.

Matbaamız türçe yeni harflerin cumlesini tedari etti. Bu hârfler-le her nev' siparişat kabul etmekde-dir.

Figure 33: A Page from the *Servet-i Fünûn* Newspaper Published in Both Scripts on 20 September 1928.

Servet-i Fünûn. 1928. 20 September.

Appendix 9: The Book Cover of *Cumhuriyet Elifbası* by Midhat Sadullah

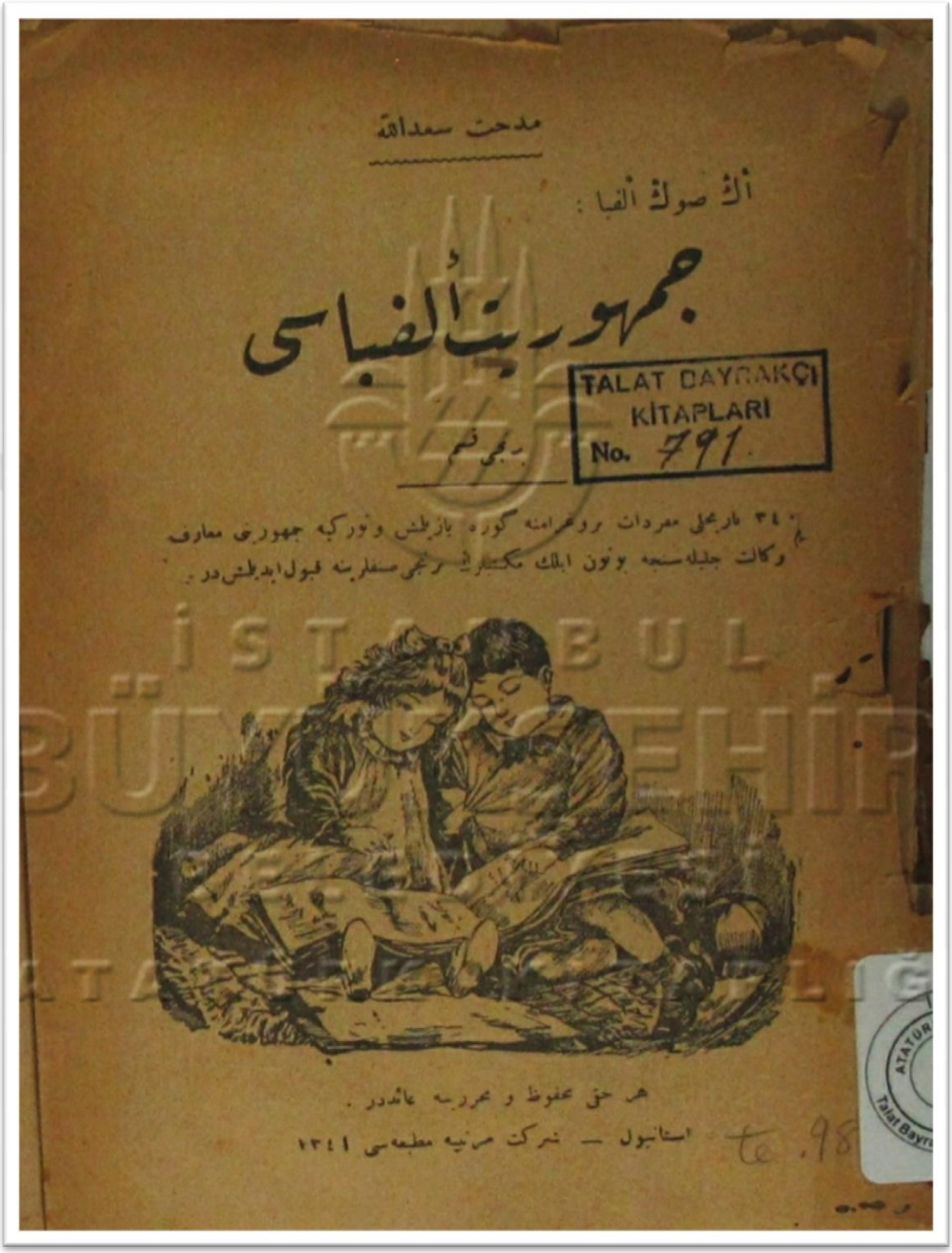

Figure 34: The Book Cover of *Cumhuriyet Elifbası* by Midhat Sadullah

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Midhat Sadullah. **Cumhuriyet Alfabesi**. İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettibiye Matbaası, 1341/1922-1923.

Appendix 10: The Book Cover of *Halk Dershanelerine Mahsus Dil Encümeni Alfabesi* in 1928

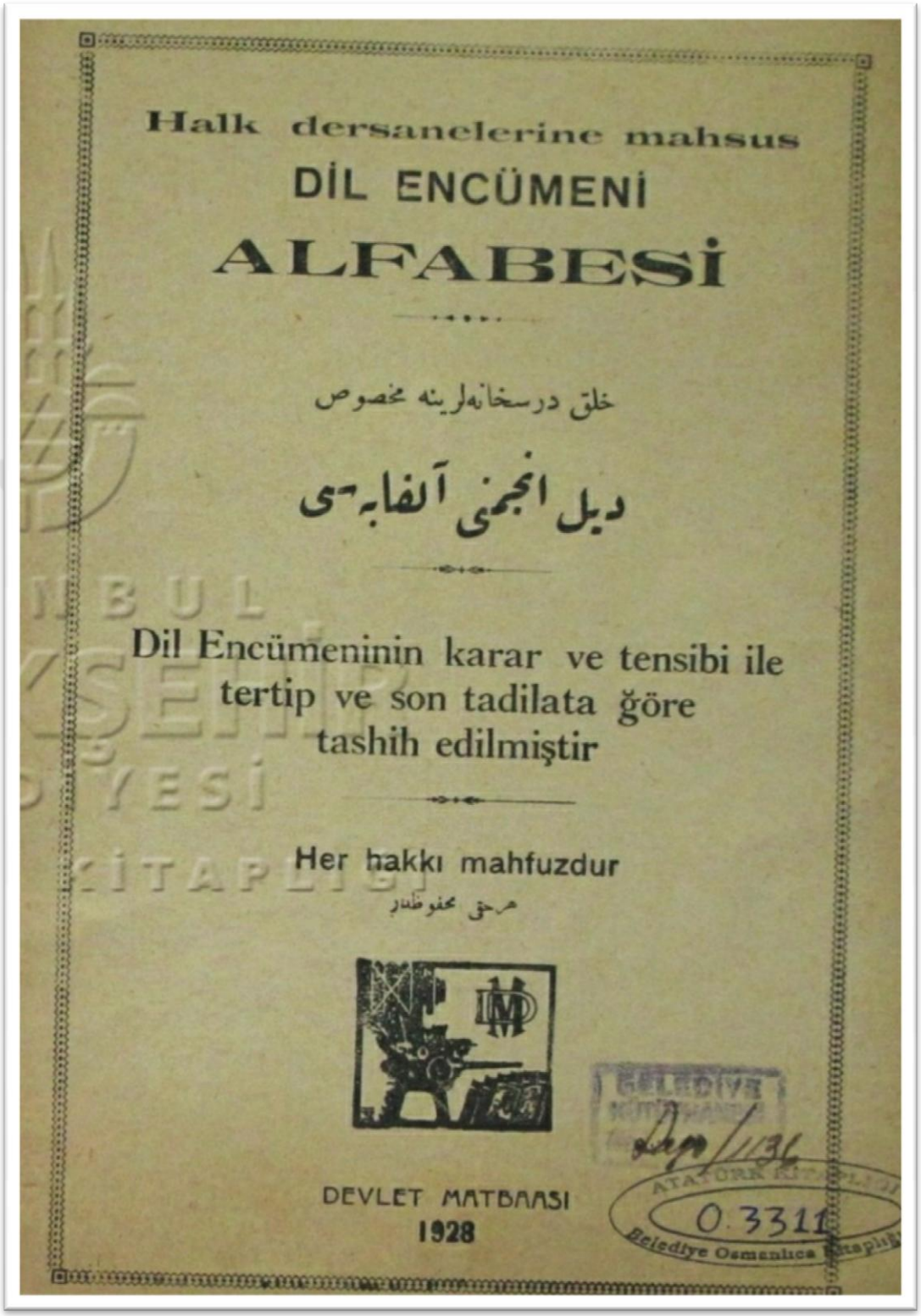

Figure 35: The Book Cover of *Halk Dershanelerine Mahsus Dil Encümeni Alfabesi* in 1928

Halk Dersanelerine Mahsus Dil Encümeni Alfabesi. Devlet Matbaası, 1928.

Appendix 11: New Turkish Alphabet: Alphabet for Everybody: the Book Cover of *Yeni Türk Elifbası: Halk Alfabesi*

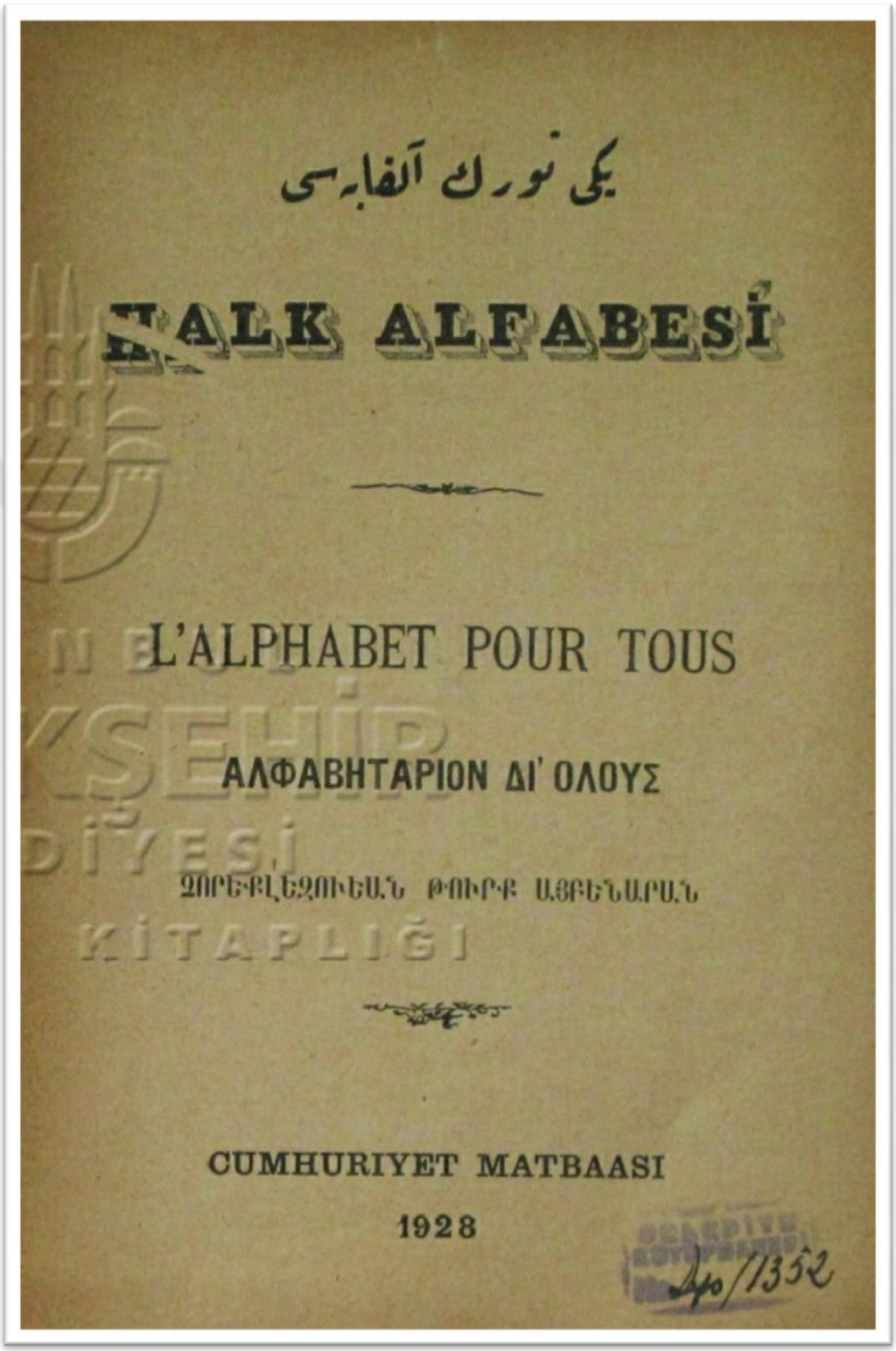

Figure 36: New Turkish Alphabet: Alphabet for Everybody: the Book Cover of *Yeni Türk Elifbası: Halk Alfabesi*

Yeni Türk Elifbası: Halk Alfabesi. Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1928.

Appendix 12: The Book Cover of the "*Cûmhuriyet"in Türk Alfabesi* by Kemal Sâlih in 1928

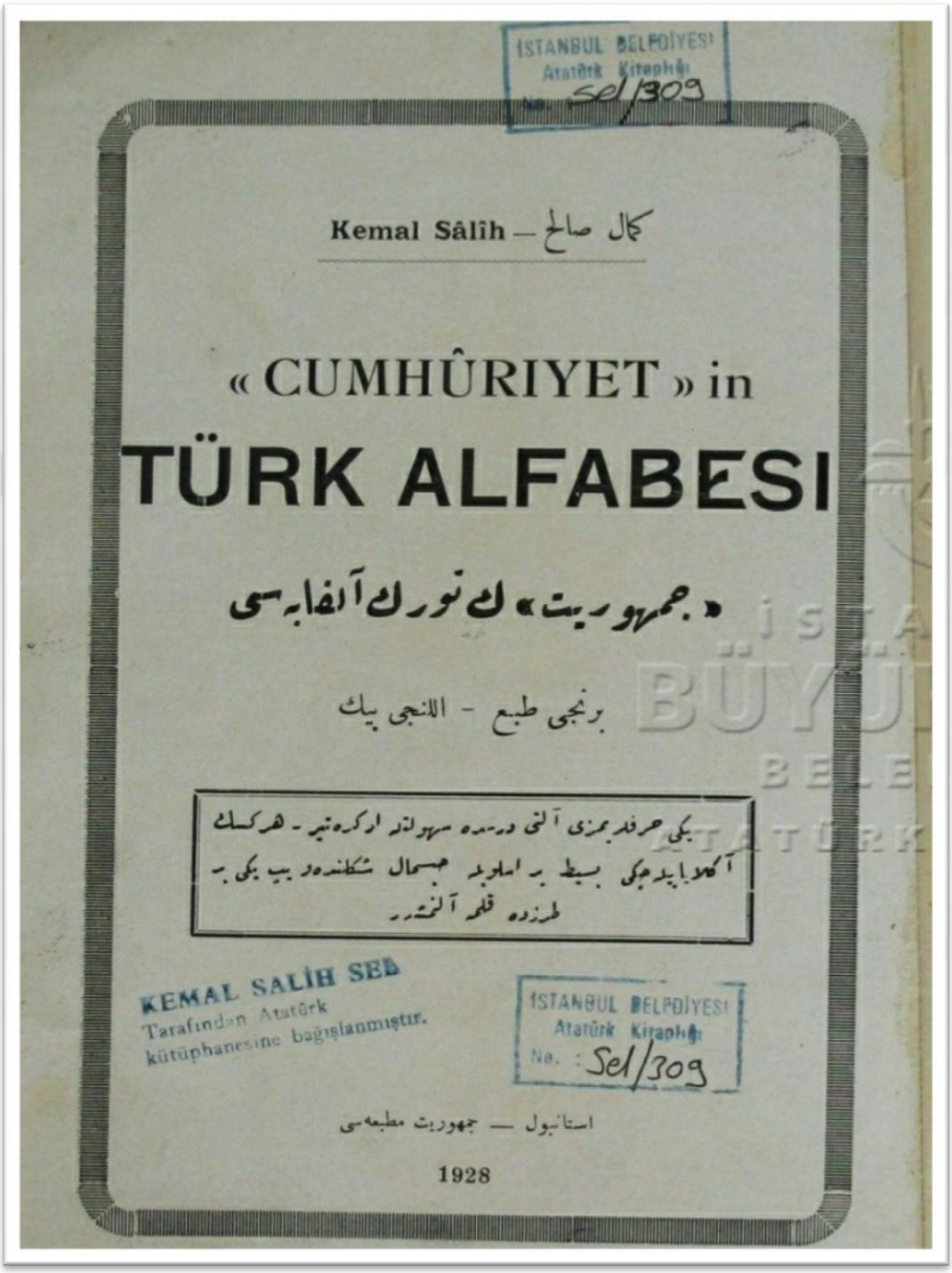

Figure 37: The Book Cover of the "*Cûmhuriyet"in Türk Alfabesi* by Kemal Sâlih in 1928

Kemal Salih. **"Cumhuriyet"in Türk Alfabesi**. İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1928.

Appendix 13: "Okuyan okuyana": the Third Chapter of the "*Cûmhuriyet"in Türk Alfabesi*

Figure 38: "Okuyan okuyana": the Third Chapter of the "*Cûmhuriyet"in Türk Alfabesi*

Kemal Salih. **"Cumhuriyet"in Türk Alfabesi**. İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1928.

Appendix 14: The Perfect Turkish Alphabet: the Book Cover of the *Mükemmel Türk Alfabesi* by Ahmet Şâkir in 1929.

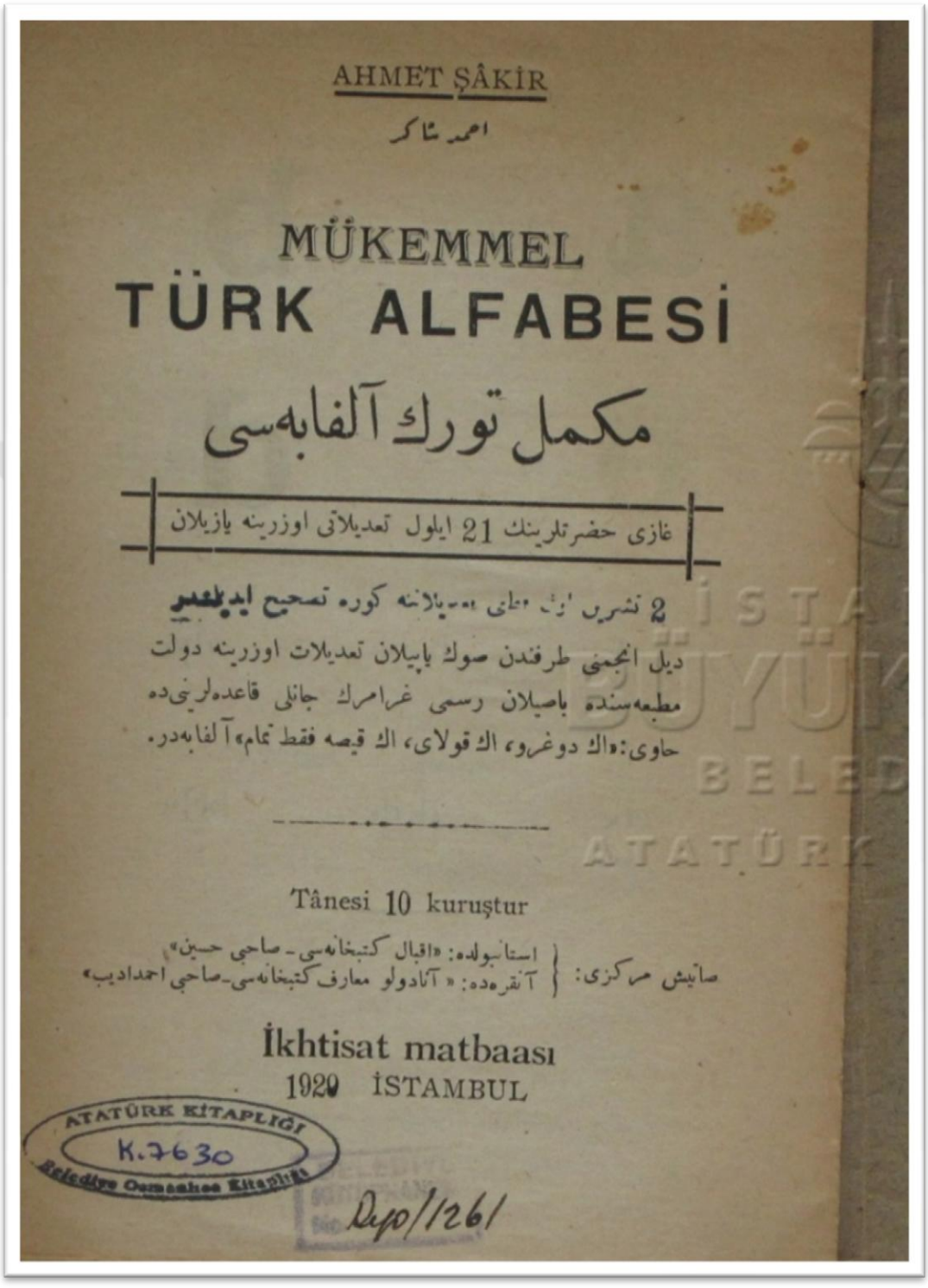

Figure 39: The Perfect Turkish Alphabet: the Book Cover of the *Mükemmel Türk Alfabesi* by Ahmet Şâkir in 1929.

Ahmet Şâkir. **Mükemmel Türk Alfabesi**. İstanbul: İktisat Matbaası, 1929.

Appendix 15: The Book Cover of the *Herkesi Kendi Kendine Okutan Kitap ve Yeni Elifba Muallimlerine Rehber* by Ali Seydi in 1929.

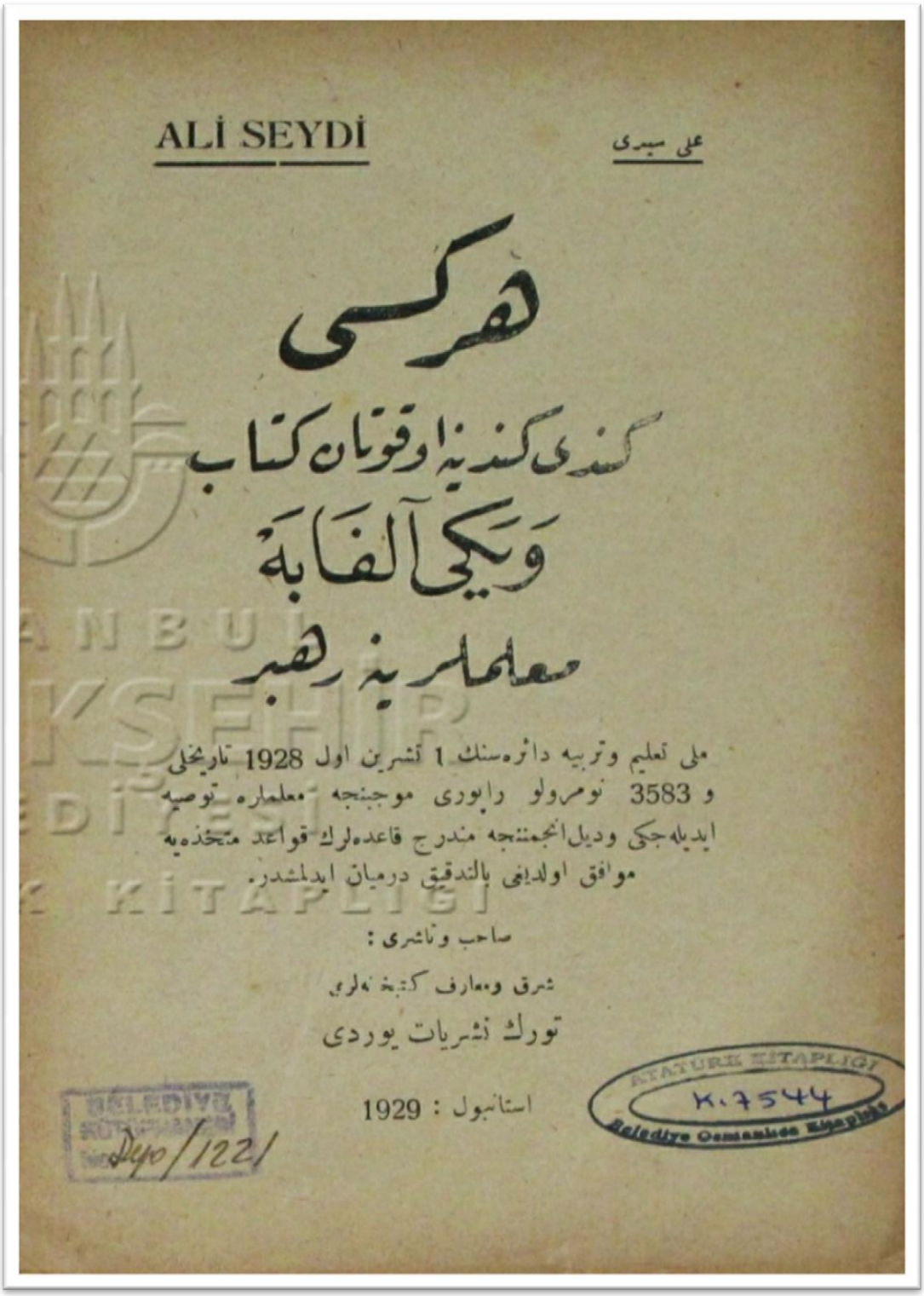

Figure 40: The Book Cover of the *Herkesi Kendi Kendine Okutan Kitap ve Yeni Elifba Muallimlerine Rehber* by Ali Seydi in 1929.

Ali Seydi. **Herkesi Kendi Kendine Okutan Kitap ve Yeni Elifba Muallimlerine**. İstanbul: Şark ve Türk Neşriyat Yurdu, 1929.

Appendix 16: Difficulty = The Typecase of the Arabic Letters

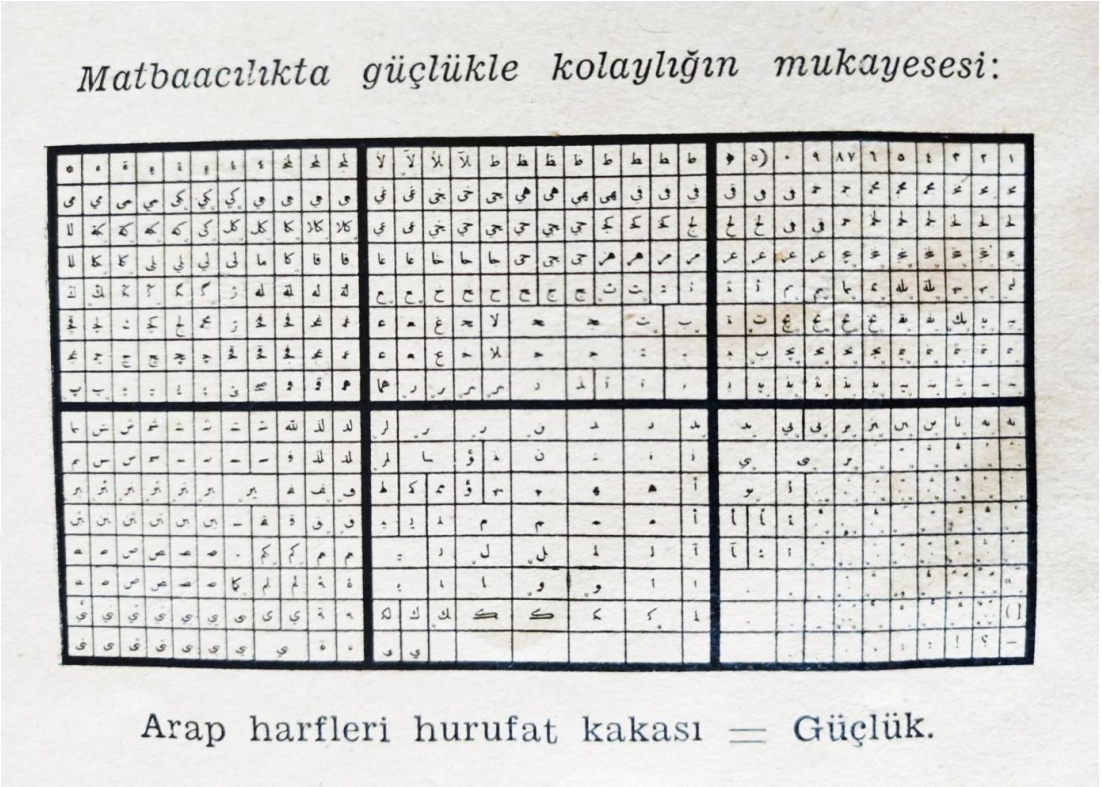

Figure 41: Difficulty = The Typecase of the Arabic Letters

Appendix 17: Facility = The Typecase of the Turkish Letters

Figure 42: Facility = The Typecase of the Turkish Letters

Türk Harfleri: Kabulünün Onuncu Yıldönümü Vesilesile. [1938].

Appendix 18: The Book Cover of *İmla Lügati* by the Language Council

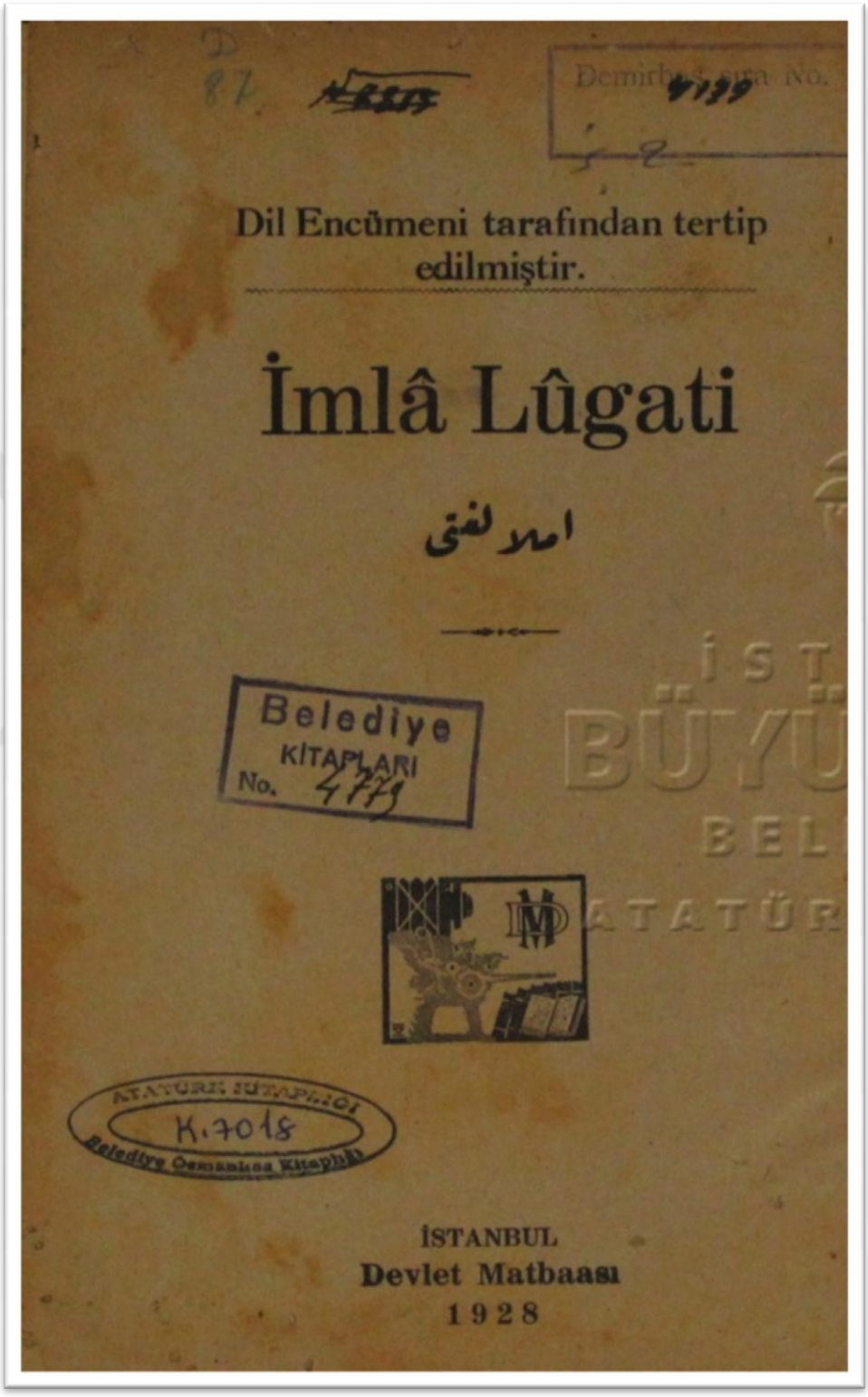

Figure 43: The Book Cover of *İmla Lügati* by the Language Council

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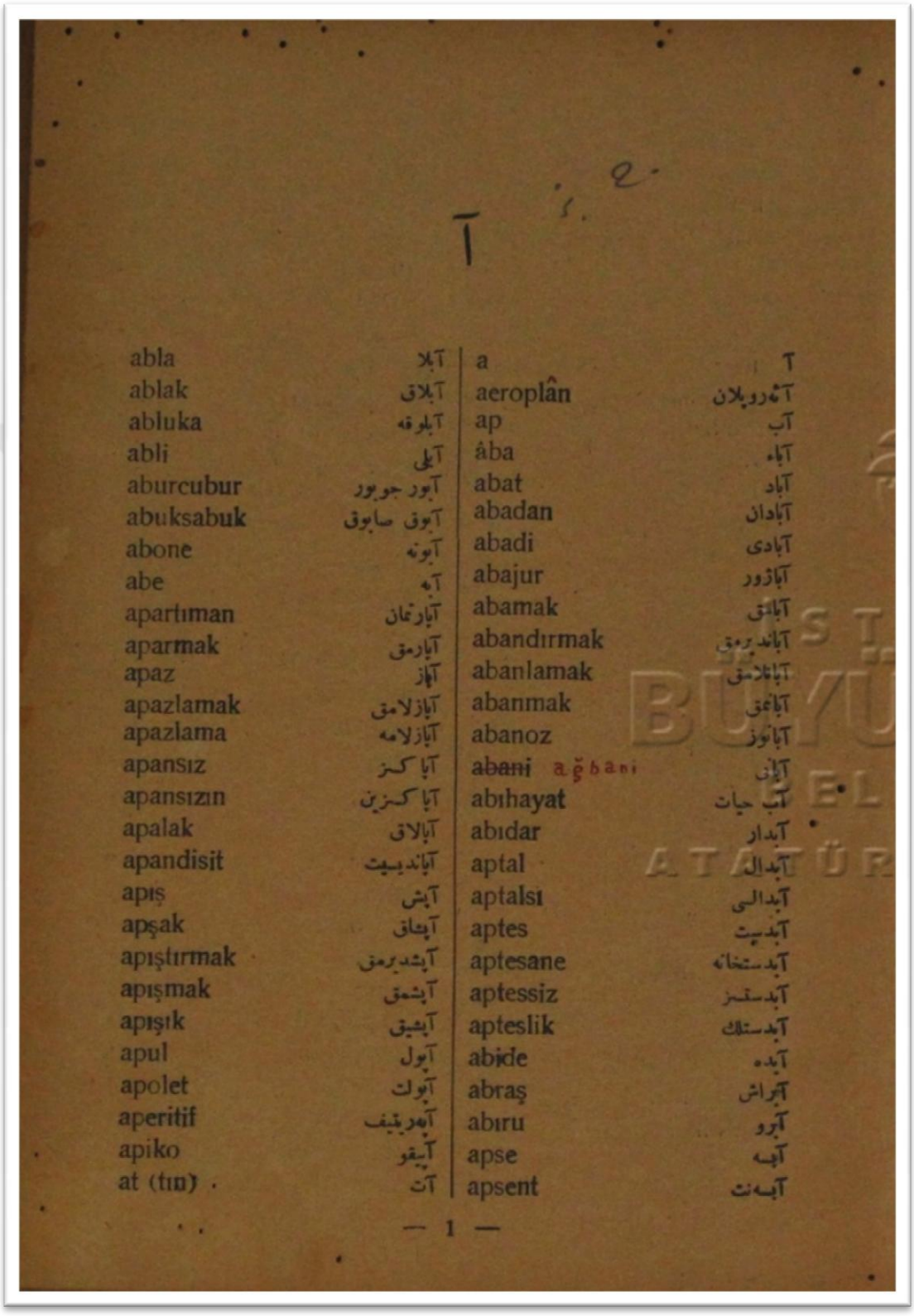
İmlâ Lügatı. Ed. Dil Encümeni. İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928.

Appendix 19: The Turkish Words in the Latin and Arabo-Persian Letters in *İmla Lügati*



آ

abla	آبلا	a	آ
ablak	آبلاق	aeroplân	آئەروپلان
abluka	آبلوقه	ap	آب
abli	آبلی	âba	آباء
aburcubur	آبور جوبور	abat	آباد
abuksabuk	آبوق صابوق	abadan	آبادان
abone	آبونه	abadi	آبادی
abe	آبه	abajur	آباژور
apartıman	آپارتمان	abamak	آبامق
aparmak	آپارمق	abandırmak	آباندیرمق
apaz	آپاز	abanlamak	آبانلامق
apazlamak	آپازلامق	abanmak	آبانمق
apazlama	آپازلامه	abanoz	آبانوز
apansız	آپاکسز	~~abani~~ a.ğbani	آبانی
apansızın	آپاکسزین	abıhayat	آب حیات
apalak	آپالاق	abıdar	آبدار
apandisit	آپاندیسیت	aptal	آبدال
apış	آپش	aptalsı	آبدالی
apşak	آپشاق	aptes	آبدیت
apıştırmak	آپشدیرمق	aptesane	آبدستخانه
apışmak	آپشمق	aptessiz	آبدستسز
apışık	آپشیق	apteslik	آبدستلك
apul	آپول	abide	آبده
apolet	آپولت	abraş	آبراش
aperitif	آپەریتیف	abıru	آبرو
apiko	آپیقو	apse	آبسه
at (tın)	آت	apsent	آبسەنت

— 1 —

Figure 44: The Turkish Words in the Latin and Arabo-Persian Letters in *İmla Lügati*

İmlâ Lügatı. Ed. Dil Encümeni. İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928.

Appendix 20: The Book Cover of the *Muhtasar Türkçe Gramer* by the Language Council in 1928

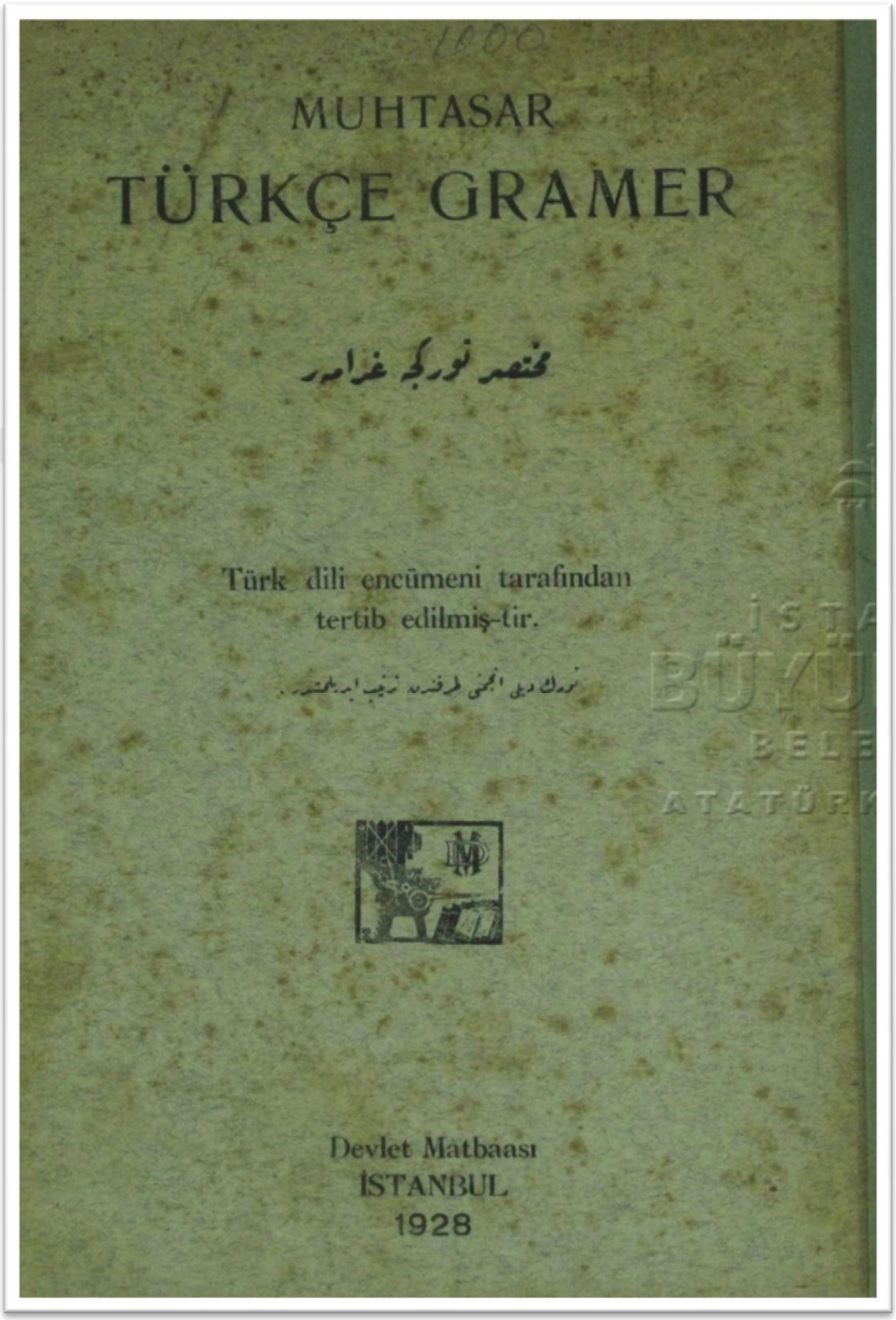
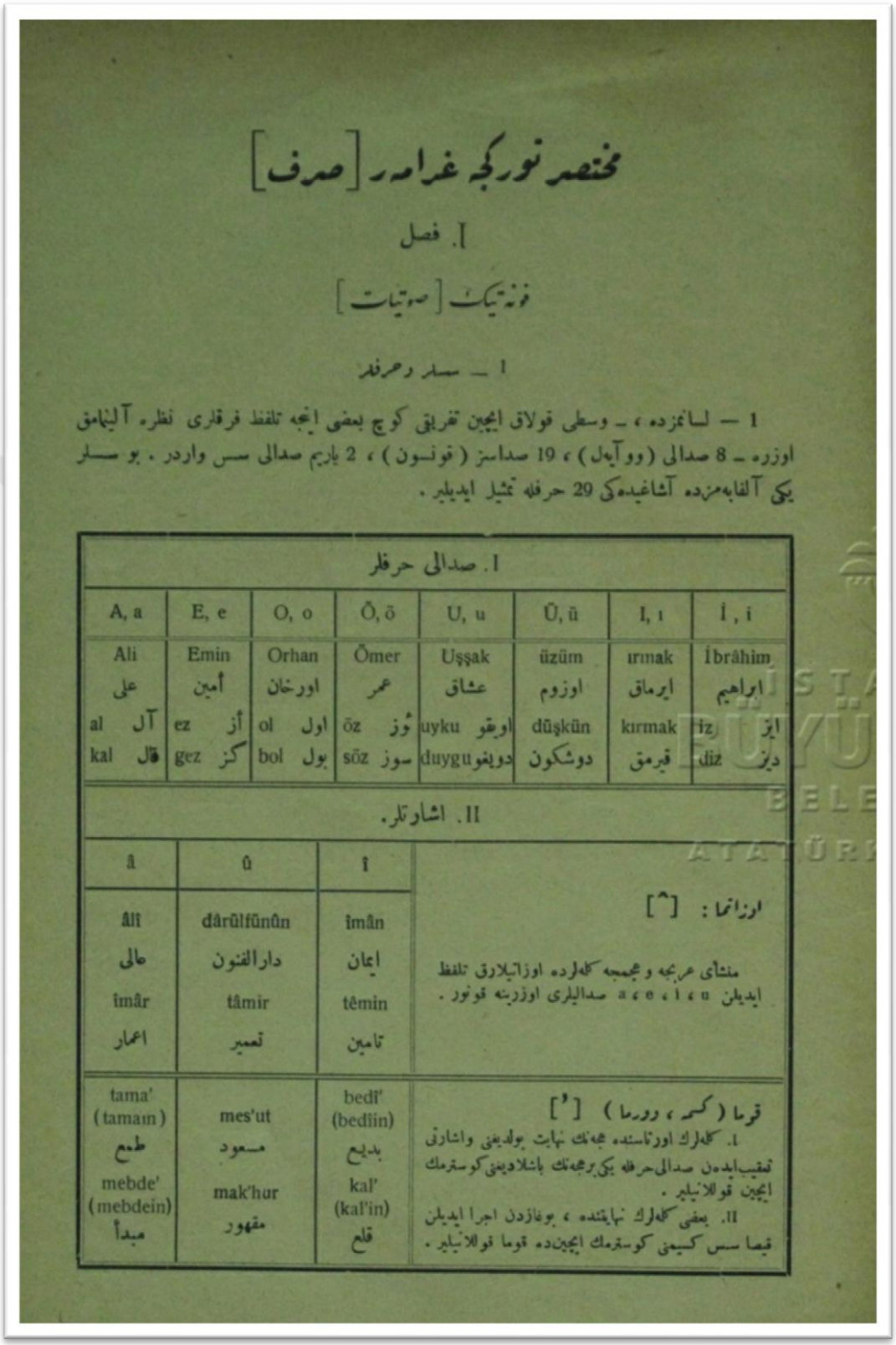


Figure 45: The Book Cover of the *Muhtasar Türkçe Gramer* by the Language Council in 1928

Muhtasar Türkçe Gramer. Ed. Dil Encümeni. İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928.

Appendix 21: The *Sarf* (Morphology) Chapter in the *Muhtasar Türkçe Gramer*



مختصر تورکجه غرامر [صرف]

I. فصل

فونتیک [صوتیات]

1 — سسلر وحرفلر

1 — لسانمزده ، ـ وسطی قولاق ایچین تفریق کوچ بعضی ایچه تلفظ فرقلری نظره آلینامق اوزره ـ 8 صدالی (ووآیل) ، 19 صداسز (قونسون) ، 2 یاریم صدالی سس واردر . بو سسلر یکی آلفابه‌مزده آشاغیده‌کی 29 حرفله تمثیل ایدیلیر .

I. صدالی حرفلر

A, a	E, e	O, o	Ö, ö	U, u	Ü, ü	I, ı	İ, i
Ali	Emin	Orhan	Ömer	Uşşak	üzüm	ırmak	İbrâhim
علی	أمین	اورخان	عمر	عشاق	اوزوم	ایرماق	ابراهیم
al آل	ez أز	ol اول	öz اوز	uyku اویقو	düşkün	kırmak	iz ایز
kal قال	gez کز	bol بول	söz سوز	duyguدویغو	دوشکون	قیرمق	diz دیز

II. اشارتلر.

â	û	î	
âlî	dârülfünûn	îmân	اوزاتما : [^]
عالی	دارالفنون	ایمان	منشأی عربیجه و عجمیجه کلمه‌لرده اوزاتیلارق تلفظ ایدیلن a ، e ، ı ، u صدالیلری اوزرینه قونور .
îmâr	tâmir	têmin	
اعمار	تعمیر	تامین	
tama' (tamaın)	mes'ut	bedî' (bedîin)	قوما (کسمه ، دورما) [’]
طمع	مسعود	بدیع	I. کلمه‌لرك اورتاسنده هجه‌نك نهایت بولدیغی واشارتی تعقیب ایده‌ن صدالی حرفله یکی بر هجه‌نك باشلادیغی کوسترمك ایچین قولانیلیر .
mebde' (mebdein)	mak'hur	kal' (kal'in)	II. یعنی کلمه‌لرك نهایتنده ، بوغازدن اجرا ایدیلن قیصا سس کیمی کوسترمك ایچین‌ده قوما قولانیلیر .
مبدأ	مقهور	قلع	

Figure 46: The *Sarf* (Morphology) Chapter in the *Muhtasar Türkçe Gramer*

Muhtasar Türkçe Gramer. Ed. Dil Encümeni. İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928.

CURRICULUM VITAE

SAFİYE TÜRKER

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

Date of Birth: 06.12.1982
Contact: safiyetrker@gmail.com

RESEARCH INTEREST

Historiography, practices of reading and writing, print and book culture, cultural history, late Ottoman and early Republican cultural history, linguistic history, philosophy of language, history of Turkish language, Turkish language and literature, Arabic language and literature

EDUCATION

2012-2019	MA, **Yıldız Technical University**, İstanbul Humanities and Social Sciences GPA: 3.94/4.00 **Thesis**: The Politics of Phonetics, Orthography and during the Period from Tanzimat to the Alphabet Revolution
2000 – 2005	BA**, Selçuk University**, Konya International Relations GPA: 3.53/4.00
2009- 2020 (expected)	Undergraduate, **İstanbul University**, İstanbul Arabic Language and Literature GPA: 3.61/4.00
2018-….	Double Major, **İstanbul University**, İstanbul American Culture and Literature
2018-….	Double Major, **İstanbul University**,İstanbul Linguistics

WORK EXPERIENCE

July 2018 -	Kadıköy Tarih, Edebiyat ve Sanat Kütüphanesi Librarian
2016 -	Editor

2016, *Hay bin Yakzan'ı Okumak*, Avner Ben Zaken, İthaki Yayınları
2017, *Eleştiri ve Bilginin Gelişmesi*, Imre Lakatos, İthaki Yayınları
2017, *Esnek Hayat: Tehlikeli Yaşama Sanatı*, Brad Evans- Julian Reid, İthaki Yayınları
2018, *Bir Arap Milliyetçisi Yaratmak*, William L. Cleveland, Edebi Şeyler

2005 – 2015	Govermental Schools and Private Courses English and Social Science Instructor

GRADES

08.05.2016	ALES: 88,40616 (Verbal)
04.09.2016	YDS: 86,25 (English)

LANGUAGES

Turkish, native
English, advanced
Arabic, advanced (reading and writing)
French, intermediate (reading)
Ottoman Turkish in printed texts, advanced
Ottoman Paleography, beginning