

# Bilingualism in Turkey

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## I. Introduction

Bilingualism, i.e. competence in more than one language, can be thought at either an individual or social level. Some citizens in a society with more than one official language may be monolingual as in most of the states in Africa, or some citizens in a society having one official language may be bilingual or even multilingual, as in Turkey.

‘Who is a bilingual?’ An answer for this question has long been a matter of discussion. Should an individual who uses and understands a few words in another language be treated as bilingual? Is a person who has an excellent command of three languages such as English, French and German, like George Steiner considered a bilingual or multilingual? (Edwards 1994:55). There are different arguments among linguists on what bilingualism is. For example, for Bloomfield (1933:56) ‘native-like control of two languages’ can be taken as the criterion for bilingualism. However, Haugen (1953:7) mentions that when he observes a speaker of one language producing complete meaningful utterances in the other language, he can call him a “bilingual”. Diebold (1964), on the other hand, gives a minimal definition of bilingualism by using the term ‘incipient bilingualism’ to characterize the initial stages of contact between two languages. According to Hockett (1958:16), a person might have no productive control over a language, but be able to understand utterances in it. In such instances he uses the term ‘semibilingualism’, other linguists generally speak of ‘passive’ or ‘receptive’ types of bilingualism (Romaine 1989: 10-11).

Due to several factors like politics, natural disaster, religion, culture, economy, education and technology, or just because of their own preference (Wei 2000: 3-5), people speaking different languages come into contact in settings where they are treated as bilingual or multilingual. However, beside a number of factors such as age, sex, intelligence, memory, language attitude and motivation, the language use of a bilingual or multilingual involves different factors such as *degree* (the level of the languages that an individual uses), *function* (for what he uses his languages, what role his languages have played in his total pattern of behaviour), *alternation* (to what extent he alternates between his languages, how he changes from one language to the other, and under what conditions) and *interference* (how well the bilingual keeps his languages apart, to what extent he fuses them together, how one of his languages influences his use of the other) (Mackey 1962 in Wei 2000: 27).

The question of who is and who is not a bilingual may be better explained by definitions provided in Table 1.

These distinctions are mostly made depending on bilingual individuals and it is hard to measure bilingualism and determine the type of individual bilingualism when masses of people are considered. However, there is another distinction on the societal level as well: ‘elitist bilingualism’ (or *elite* bilingualism (Edwards 1994: 83) and ‘folk bilingualism’ (Harding and Riley 1986: 23-25). *Elitist* bilingualism has been described as “the privilege of middle-class, well-educated members of most societies” (Paulston 1975 cited in Harding and Riley 1986: 24), whereas *folk* bilingualism results from ‘the conditions of ethnic groups within a single state who have to become bilingual involuntarily, in order to survive’ (Tosi 1982 cited in Harding and Riley 1986: 24). Tosi comments:

The distinction is a crucial one, as it shows that whilst the first group uses the education system which they control to seek bilingualism, the second group has bilingualism foisted upon it by an education system which is controlled by others. Research findings are also consistent in showing that privileged children from the dominant group do well academically whether they are educated in their mother tongue or in a second language (cited in Harding and Riley 1986: 24).

Type of Bilingual	Definition
Additive Bilingual	An individual whose two languages combine in a complementary and enriching fashion.
Ascendant Bilingual	An individual whose ability to function in a second language is developing due to increased use.
Balanced Bilingual (equilingual) (symmetrical bilingual) (ambilingual)	An individual whose mastery of two languages is roughly equivalent.
Compound Bilingual	An individual whose two languages are learnt at the same time, often in the same context.
Co-ordinate Bilingual	An individual whose two languages are learnt in distinctively separate contexts.
Covert Bilingual	An individual who conceals his or her knowledge of a given language due to an attitudinal disposition.
Diagonal Bilingual	An individual who is bilingual in a non-standard language or a dialect in an unrelated standard language.
Dominant Bilingual	An individual with greater proficiency in one of his or her languages and uses it significantly more than the other language(s).
Dormant Bilingual	An individual who has emigrated to a foreign country for a considerable period of time and has little opportunity to keep the first language actively in use.
Early Bilingual (Ascribed Bilingual)	An individual who has acquired two languages early in childhood
Functional Bilingual	An individual who can operate in two languages with or without full fluency for the task in hand.
Horizontal bilingual	An individual who is bilingual in two distinct languages which have a similar or equal status.
Incipient Bilingual	An individual at the early stages of bilingualism where one language is not fully developed.
Late Bilingual (achieved bilingual)	An individual who has become a bilingual later than childhood.
Maximal Bilingual	An individual with near native control of two or more languages.
Minimal Bilingual	An individual with only a few words and phrases in a second language.
Natural Bilingual (primary bilingual)	An individual who has not undergone any specific training and who is often not in position to translate or interpret with facility between two languages.
Productive Bilingual	An individual who not only understands but also speaks and possibly writes in two or more languages.
Receptive Bilingual (semibilingual) (asymmetrical bilingual) (passive bilingual)	An individual who understands a second language, in either its spoken or written form, or both, but does not necessarily speak or write it.
Recessive Bilingual	An individual who begins to feel some difficulty in either understanding or expressing him or herself with ease, due to lack of use.
Secondary Bilingual	An individual whose second language has been added to a first language via instruction.
Semilingual	An individual with insufficient knowledge of either language.
Simultaneous bilingual	An individual whose two languages are present from the onset of speech.
Subordinate bilingual	An individual who exhibits interference in his or her language usage by reducing the patterns of the second language to those of the first.
Subtractive bilingual	An individual whose second language is acquired at the expense of the aptitudes already acquired in the first language.
Successive bilingual (consecutive bilingual)	An individual whose second language is added at some stage after the first has begun to develop.
Vertical bilingual	An individual who is bilingual in a standard language and a distinct but related language or dialect.

Table 1. A variety of bilinguals (Wei 2000: 6-7)

Depending on different definitions of bilingualism, a great number of sociolinguistic researches have been carried out focusing on diglossia, language choice etc. (see Ferguson 1959, Fishman 1965,

1967), social mechanisms in bilinguals' interactions (Blom and Gumperz 1972, Myers-Scotton 1988, Auer 1988, Wei, Milroy and Ching 1992), code-switching patterns observed in the language use of bilinguals (Poplack 1979/80, Clyne 1987, Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995, Johanson 1993, Myers Scotton 1993), language acquisition processes of bilingual children (Genesee 1989, Meisel 1989), mental processes of bilinguals in terms of psycholinguistics (Obler, Zatorre, Galloway and Vaid 1982, Paradis 1990), processes used in bilinguals' speeches (Green 1986, De Bot 1992, Grosjean 1997) and attitudes towards languages used by bilinguals (Kraemer and Olshtain 1989, Baker 1992).

In most of the countries, bilinguals also persist their culture, life style, religion, ethnicity, etc. together with their first language. Since 1970s, extensive researches have been carried out on complex relationships among language, communication and ethnicity (see Edwards 1985, Gumperz 1982, Hall 1992, Oksaar 1992). There are some researches on especially in-group processes, communication and relations (see Fishman 1977, Giles & Saint-Jacques 1979, Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey 1990, Tajfel 1978, Türkdogan 1998). Giles et al. (1977) also put forward 'ethnolinguistic vitality framework' to investigate these in-group processes, which based on Tajfel and Turner's (1979) 'Social Identity Theory'.

This study aims at describing the historical and present profile of bilingualism in Turkey. Since the measurement of individual bilingualism as defined by Baker and Prys Jones (1998:2 cited in Wei 2000: 6-7) needs a very hard and extensive research when a whole country is considered, a description of bilingual people living in Turkey with regard to the types of bilingualism at societal level – elitist and folk bilingualism - from a historical point of view is presented here. In other words, an overview of bilingualism throughout the history from the earliest times upto the present time will be given in this study.

## 2. Bilingualism in Anatolia before Turks

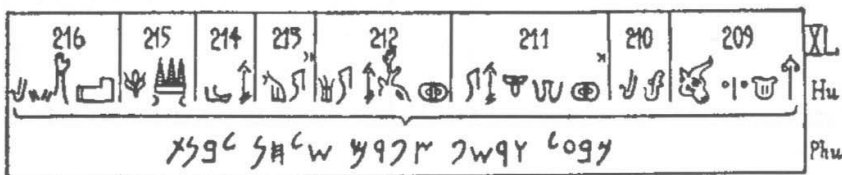
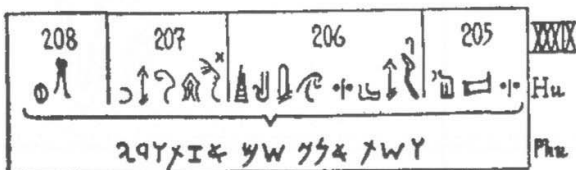
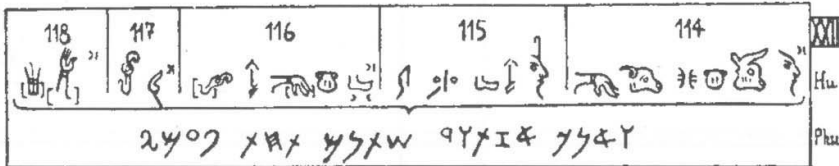
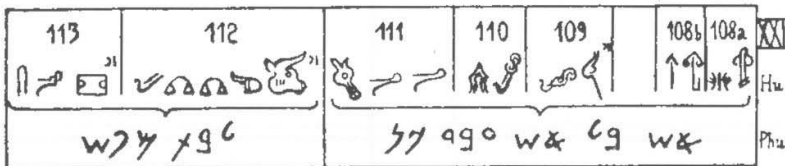
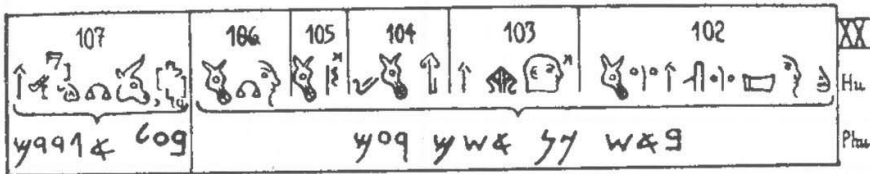
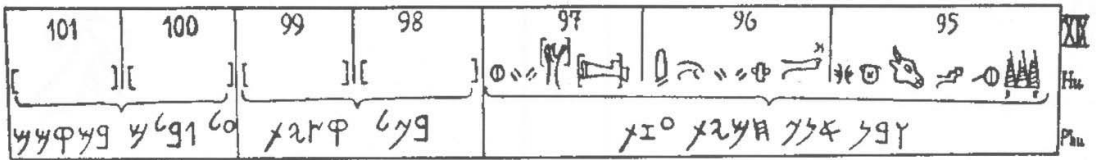
The land of Turkey is located at a point called Anatolia having Greek origin with the meaning of 'the place where the sun rises' (<http://serhatyeniceri.sitemynet.com/ILKCAG>), where the three continents constitute the ancient world, Asia, Africa, Europe. Anatolia, with its long past, has been the cradle of many civilizations. Due to its feasible geographical conditions, rich natural sources, and warm climate, it has attracted people since the earliest times of history. Hence, it has a very rich historical background.

From the point of sociolinguistics, particularly in terms of bilingualism, examples of bilingual scripts written in languages used in ancient Anatolia, which came out as a result of language contacts will be laid out in this sub-section. Some of the cognate words found in these languages are also given as the proof of language contact among these languages.

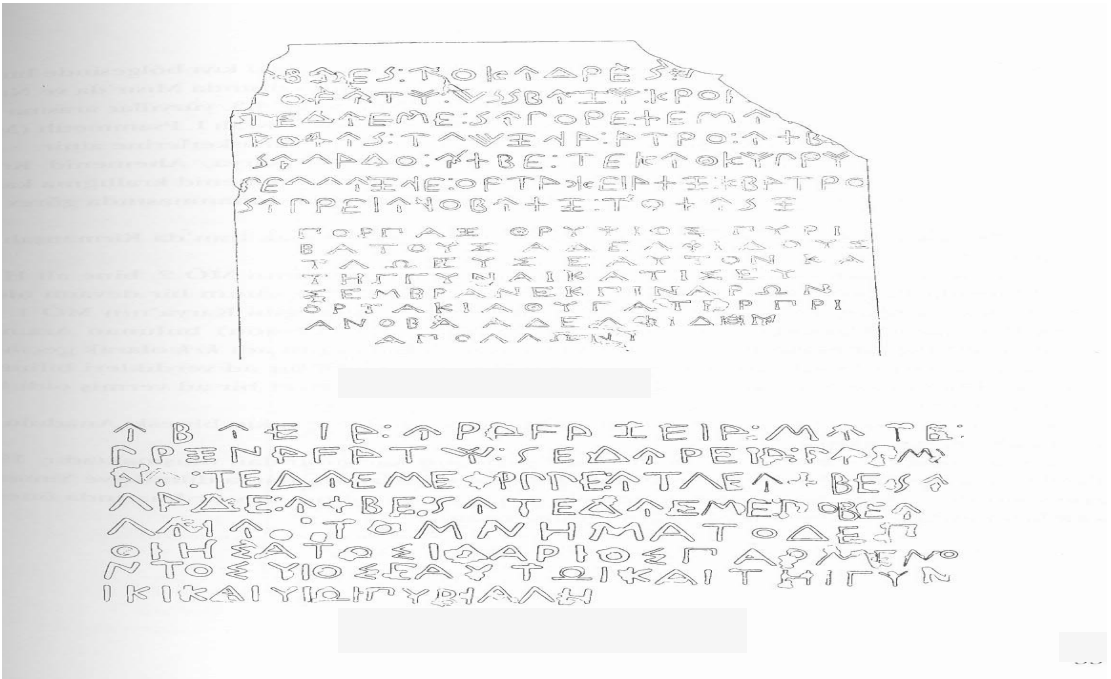
There have been a number of researches on languages used by civilizations settled in Anatolia. The first written scripts in Anatolia belong to 2000 B.C. found in Bogazkoy. Since 1906, more than 30,000 cuneiform written tablets have been found. During the World War I, Bedrich Hrozný, professor of Assyriology, showed successfully that Hittite is an Indo-European language. He published the first grammar of Hittite in 1917. In later years, a team including Ferdinand Sommer, Albrecht Goetze, Johannes Friedrich and Hans Ehelofl studied Hittite thoroughly and established the branch of *Hittitology* on firm basis. We find some other important studies on the *Hatti* language by A. Kammenhuber, J.Klinger, on the *Luwian* language by J. Freu, J.D. Hawkins, E. Laroche, H.C. Melchert, F.Sterke, R.Werner, on the *Lydian* language by R. Gusmani, P.Neuman, Ö.Griechisch, on the *Carian* language by W.Eilers, on the *Palaian* language by O.Carruba, on the *Lycian* language by M.Mellink, H.Pedersen, on the *Hurrian* language by E.Neu, M.Salvini, E.A.Speiser, G.Welhelm, and on the *Sidean* language by W.Brandenstein, H.Th. Bossert. In the last 60 years, a number of scientific researches on Anatolian languages have been carried out by Turkish academicians like Sedat Alp (founder of Hittitology in Turkey), A.M.Dinçol, B. Dinçol on the *Hittite* language, Muhibbe Darga on the *Sidean* language, Ahmet Ünal on the *Hurrian* language, Emin Bilgiç, Kemal Balkan, Firuzan Kanal, Mebrure Tosun, Kadriye Yalvaç on different languages at different departments of archeology and ancient Languages established at different Turkish universities. The Institute of Turkish History established in 1930 by Atatürk also has carried out many researches on Anatolian languages and cultures (Akurgal 1997: 145-148 and Alp 2000:179-184).

According to the written scripts found in Bogazkoy, the language of Hatti civilization, the earliest civilization settled in Anatolia, was used during 3000 B.C. However, we do not have information when the Hatti language was begun to be spoken in Anatolia. Ancient Anatolian languages are studied in two groups. In the first group, there are Hittite, Luwian (samples of written scripts in cuneiform, hieroglyphs were found), Palaian, Hurrian and Kaškian languages belonging to 2000 B.C. In the second group belonging to 1000 B.C. there are other languages mainly Urartian, Phrygian, Lidyian, Lykian and Sidean languages. Hieroglyph Hittite (Hieroglyph Luwian) is the only one language remained in written scripts from 2000 B.C. to 1000 B.C. The Luwian language is the only language lived the longest. In order to reveal some samples indicating bilingual situations during the ancient Anatolia, we will present here some written scripts without their detailed phonetic transcriptions and translations due to space limitations (all samples are taken from Alp 2000).

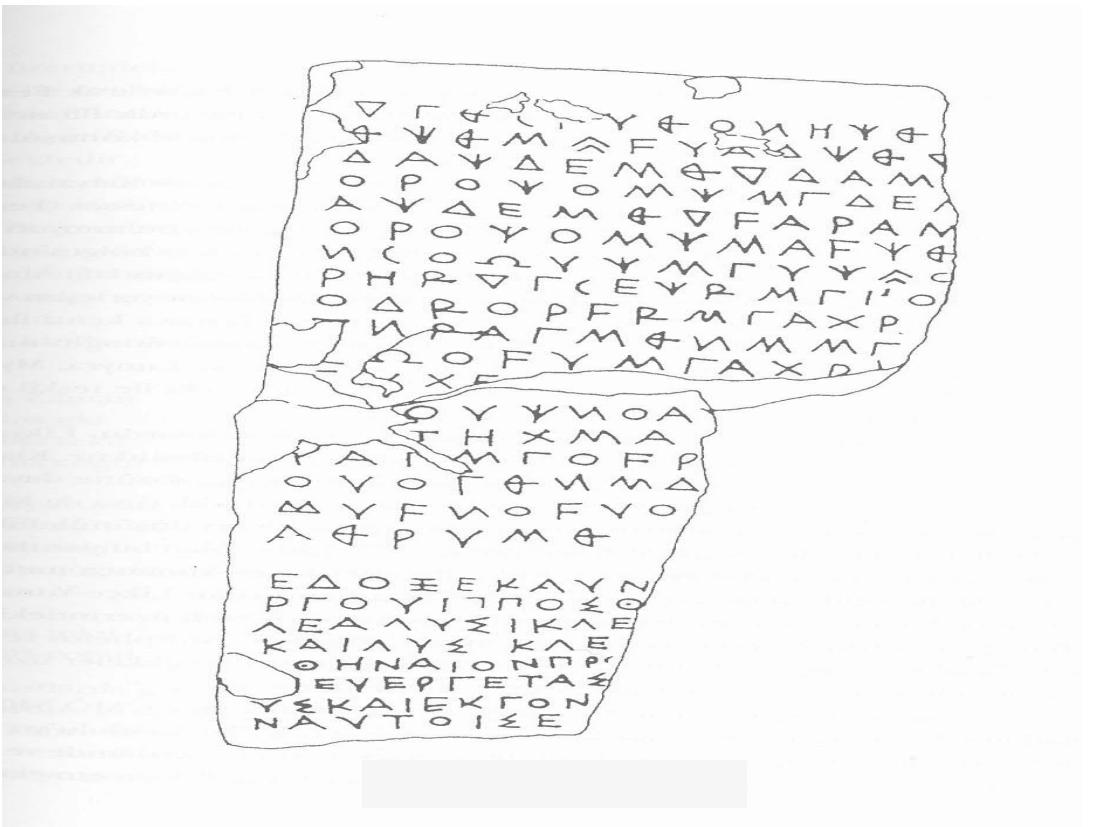
*A Bilingua written in Luwian Hieroglyphics and Phoenician Alphabet*



*A Bilingua written in Lydian and Greek languages*



*A bilingua written in Karian and Greek languages*



As a result of inevitable language contact among Anatolian languages, we find some cognates in these languages found in the above written scripts used for political, commercial, military purposes. Examples of these cognate words are as follows (Table 2):

<b>Luwian</b>	<b>Hittite</b>	<b>English</b>
adduwali-	idalu-	bad
anni-	anna-	mother
aya-	iya-	to do
hattulahi	haddulatar	health
man	man	if
tarmi	tarma	nail
za	ka	this
<b>Palaian</b>	<b>Hittite</b>	<b>English</b>
ahu-	eku-	to drink
ani	aniya	to do
azzik-	azzik-	to eat frequently
kart-	kart-	heart
kuit	kuit	because
ka	ka	this
<b>Urtian</b>	<b>Hittite</b>	<b>English</b>
ag-	ag-	to bring
aru-	ar-	to give
pabani	pabani	mountain
ewri	ewri	king
pili	pala	canal
pura	purame	servant

Table 2. Some examples of cognate words in Luwian, Hittite, Palaian and Urtian (Alp 2000: 4-44).

Following the time of Alexander the Great, in the Hellenistic and Roman age and during the Byzantine civilization, Latin and Greek languages were heavily used in Anatolia. In fact, Latin was the official language until the time of Herakleios in the Byzantine, while the public was speaking Greek. At the time of Herakleios, Greek was accepted as the official language of the Empire (Ostrogorsky 1963:22,26,51,99). For other speech communities speaking languages apart from Latin and Greek, we see Slavic people speaking Slavic languages. They were brought to the Empire basically to serve for the army and to improve the economical conditions of the places where they were settled (Ostrogorsky 1963:122). After migration waves towards the west, Turks began to settle in Anatolia as well (official settlement was in the 11th century A.D.).

### 3. Bilingualism in Anatolia after Turks

Before coming to Anatolia, the elitist and folk types of bilingualism were observed among Turks in their states established during the time of history. For example, Turkish, Gothic and Latin languages were spoken in the palace of Atilla (Demircan 1988: 17) and commercial and political relations with the Chinese people were established by the help of bilingual groups living at the borders of the Hun Empire. In the following centuries, it is known that Mani and Budha religions were tried to be introduced and spreaded among the Turks by translations made by some Turks (Demircan 1988: 17).

While migrating to the west, Turks converted to Islam. Hence, at the time of Seljuks (the first empire established by Turks in Anatolia) Turkish and Persian became the language of the crown members, Turkish the language of the army, whereas the official language of the Empire was Persian. They also used Latin in their political affairs with Europe and the Byzantine. Scientific and literary products were in mostly in Persian, whereas Arabic was used for religious purposes. Officials, scientists, educators, most of the noblemen and religious people who were educated at *medreses* (a kind of school where courses on different branches of science and literature beside courses on religion and the Arabic language to teach Islam were heavily taught) became bilingual or multilingual (Demircan

1988: 18-23). The majority of the public continued to speak Turkish, although no literary, political, etc. documents were written in Turkish except for the spoken language of worship. Turkish was also taught especially Arabic people as a foreign language. The first book to teach Turkish to the Arabs was *Divanu Lûgat-itTürk*, a 638-long-pages dictionary written by Kasgarli Mahmut between 1068-1072 (Atalay 1939, Caferoglu 1970). Although an inductive approach (from samples to the rules) was followed in this dictionary, it may be appropriate to claim that Turkish learnt mostly through audio-lingual method at medresses and among speakers of the Turkish language. This method was confirmed by the situation in which *devshirmes* (young people brought from the conquered countries to be educated for being soldier in the army) learnt the Turkish language (Demircan 1988:24).

At the time of the Ottoman Empire, Turkish people were educated in the Arabic language at medreses, skillful young devshirme boys in the Turkish language, i.e. both of these group were educated in a foreign language. The basic reason of this type of education was claimed to change their identity. For a long time, Turkish people were enrolled in education in order to be muslims and scholars and devshirmes in order to be officers and soldiers. As a result of this attitude of the Ottoman Empire, Turks forgot their Asiatic origins, while other non-muslim minorities underwent the protection of churches. For example, Rums (Greeks of Turkish nationality) continued to educate their members in their mother tongue at their churches (Ergin 1977), whereas through education where Arabic was the medium of instruction, muslim Turks who had not Arabic origin could not get out of the theocratical circle because they could not find opportunity to be educated in Turkish. The officials and the intellectuals created a diglossic society by creating a high variety called *Osmanlica*, a mixed language of Turkish, Arabic and Persian. Meanwhile, we cannot talk about a specific language as the language of education for the public. Moreover, it cannot be claimed that laymen showed interest in learning a foreign language, especially language(s) of non-muslim speech communities. Being literate was a privilege for those who attended medreses and foreign language teaching was determined in terms of the needs of the army and the government. Since there had always been needs for people who knew other languages rather than Turkish, secondary or high school education in a foreign language continued until the collapse of the Empire.

Until 1773, there had been schools where Islamic education in Turkish with materials written in Arabic script was given but their numbers were very limited. After 1773, education in secular schools was in French due to the lack of Turkish textbooks and instructors. Meanwhile, foreigners in their schools did not come across any legal regulation or obstruction in terms of selecting the language of medium of instruction.

Until 1908, it seems that there had been no regulation prepared especially for the education of Turkish people, and minorities had been supported officially (There have been many historical documents indicating permissions of the Ottoman Empire for non-muslim communities to establish their schools (For example, No 4. Church Register, cited in Güler 1996: 136). With the claim that Turkish was not sufficient as an education language, French continued to be the education of language in most of the public schools.

There have been a number of other schools established by Catholic missionaries where Turkish, Latin, Italian, Greek, French, Armenian, Hebrew, Arabic and Persian languages were taught. Their number was more than 1000 in the Ottoman Empire and more than 100 in the Turkish Republic (Polvan: XI cited in Demircan 1988: 70).

Besides, the number of students enrolled in a foreign language education increased during the 19th century. After 1914, under the conditions of war, foreign schools were closed, other schools underwent strict administration and inspection and their number of students were limited (Demircan 1988: 180-181). However, some foreign schools were allowed to re-open in Turkey in 1921. Their number is as follows (Table 3):

Type of school	Armenian	Jewish	Greek	US A	French	German	Austrian	Italian	Iranian	
Kindergarden	20	2	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	
Primary	26	2	18	-	-	-	-	3	1	
Secondary	10	1	5	4	7	1	2	2	-	
Lycee	5	1	6	4	5	1	2	1	-	
Total	<b>133</b>	61	6	31	8	12	2	4	8	1

Table 3. The number of schools of minorities and foreigners in 1921 (Akyüz 1982: 240-41 cited in Demircan 1988:76).

The number of Turkish students in foreign schools has been as follows: 1% in 1890, %56 in 1900, 51% in 1926, 64% in 1931, 76% in 1937 and 100% today (Demircan 1988:77). Therefore, these numbers could be taken as the indicators of elitist type of bilingualism during the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.

Well-documented statistics about the public began to be gathered periodically at the time of Suleyman, the Magnificent. But the first Census was done in 1830-31 with many deficiencies. So, the most thorough studies for a more reliable census were made after 1877-78 (Güler 1996:76). The last census of the Ottoman Empire was done in 1914 on the basis of islamic and non-islamic groups living in the Empire (Table 4) (Güler 1996: 78).

		Number of population	%
Muslims		12,997,459	80,91
Non-muslims	Rums	1,553,619	9,67
	Armenians	1,212,973	7,55
	Jewishses	130,592	0,81
	Other	169,418	1,06
Total of non-muslims		3,066,602	19,09
Total population		16,064,061	

Table 4. Distribution of population of muslims and non-muslims in 1914 (Memalik-i Osmaniye'nin 1330 (1914) Senesi Nüfus İstatistikisi 1919 in Karpat 1985)

In addition to these numbers of population, we may mention the number of newspapers and magazines published in different languages. In the period of the Ottoman Empire, 1746 journals and magazines were published in 22 different languages. The number of journals and magazines regarding their languages is as follows (Table 5):

Language of journal or magazine	Total number	Language of journal or magazine	Total number
French (including ones published in Egypt)	701	Russian	6
Arabic	300	Armenian	397
English	34	Greek (published by Rums)	155
German	29	Bulgarian	39
Italian	20	Albanian	11
Persian	11		

Table 5. The number of journals and magazines published in the Ottoman Empire (Ebüzziya 1985: 30-cited in Demircan 1988:45).

During the time of the Ottoman Empire, there had been many speech communities speaking different languages (There were 22 non-islamic groups (Güler 1996: 2), 47 ethnic groups (including islamic and non-islamic groups) (Önder 2002: 23). As a result of migration waves especially during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries due to wars in the Balkans (after 1878 Berlin Treaty was signed) and Caucasia (during and after 1853-56 Kirim War), the number of population of these speech communities settled in many different places in Turkey had increased. For example, 1,800,000 Turks from Kirim between 1783-1922, approximately 5,000,000 Turks from Caucasia, Bulgaria and other Balkan countries migrated to Anatolia (Karpat 1985: 60-86).

Here, it may be appropriate to mention a group of bilingual (or multilingual) people serving at the army, whose mother tongue was not only Turkish but Caucasian languages or other languages of the



conquered countries. Being bilingual or multilingual was a privilege and bilingual people were seen in certain domains such as in political, military and commercial affairs with other nations and in religious services. Especially at the time of the Ottoman Empire, most of the non-islamic minorities carried on the task of translation which was one of the most important duties. Moreover, most of the upper level officials had to learn one of the European languages and the best way to learn a language was to work at the *office of translation*, a special office whose responsibility was treated very important in the bureaucracy of the Ottoman Empire (Quataert 2000: 131).

In sum, although the mother tongue of most of the educated people was Turkish, they used mostly Persian during the time of the Seljuk Empire, and Arabic and Persian during the Ottoman Empire due to the heavily usage of these languages for governmental, commercial, scientific and religious purposes. On the other hand, laymen whose mother tongue was Turkish knew only how to read Kouran in Arabic with religious purposes without understanding its meaning.

After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, the number of members of each speech community had been determined on the basis of ‘language(s)’ they speak through censuses beginning in 1927 until 1965. Depending on the data gathered in 1965 Census, the distribution of people in terms of their mother tongue was as follows (Table 6):

	Mother Tongue	Total Population		Mother Tongue	Total Population
Islam Minorities	Turkish	28,438,818	Latin Languages	French	3,302
	Abaza	4,563		Spanish	2,791
	Persian	948		Italian	2,926
	Arabic	365,340	Anglo-saxon Languages	German	4,901
	Albanian	12,832		Flemish	366
	Bosnian	17,627		English	27,841
	Circassian	58,339		Russian	1,088
	Georgian	34,330		Serbian	6,599
	Kurdish	2,219,502			
	Kirman	45		Slavic Languages	Bulgarian
	Kirdash	42	Czechoslovakian		168
	Laz	26,007	Croatian		45
	Pomak	23,138	Swedish		292
	Zaza	1,506	Polish		110
	Other Minorities	Armenian	33,094		Romanian
Jewish		9,981	Other Languages		
Greek		48,096			42,290
			<b>Total</b>		31,391,421

Table 6. Distribution of population of people speaking different mother tongues in Turkey (Genel Nüfus Sayımı 1969).

Although there has not been official data since 1965 about the approximate number of people whose mother tongue is different from the majority group’s language, i.e. Turkish, Table 6 gives us the idea that there are many speech communities living in Turkey whose first language is different. These speech communities may be accepted as the samples of ‘folk’ bilingualism in Turkey.

In terms of elitist bilingualism in the modern Turkey, it is necessary to give information about the Turkish education system.

Before the foundation of the Turkish Republic, each minority had their own schools where the medium of instruction was their mother language and foreign languages were also taught. In the last period of the Ottoman Empire especially after 1895, it is seen that Turkish was began to be taught in schools of minorities whereas minority languages were also started to be taught in Turkish schools. Hence, Greek, Bulgarian, Armenian, and Albanian languages were initiated to teach in Turkish schools besides Arabic and Persian. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, a series of attempts followed each other: The “Act of Unification of Education” (Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu), that was passed in 1924, unified all educational institutions under the control of the Ministry of National Education, which

initiated a design for a national curriculum for schools at different levels. The Turkish Language Association (Türk Dil Kurumu) was founded in 1932 with an important aim to purify the Turkish language of Arabic and Persian words and to standardize the language. The success of the Association in its implementations was accompanied by an increase in the number of public schools opened all around the country. Therefore, Turkish was accepted as the only medium of instruction in public schools. However, foreign language courses were also allowed to be taught at secondary and high schools and universities. Moreover, science and mathematics courses were also taught in a foreign language. For example, immediately after the foundation of the Republic, at secondary school level, we see only Galatasary High School and some foreign schools where science and mathematics courses were taught in a foreign language. As a higher education, Robert College sustained to teach these courses in a foreign language, i.e. English, between the years of 1912 and 1971 (Demircan 1988:96).

Especially at the time of Atatürk, considering needs for learning foreign languages in order to reach at the level of other modern civilizations, some schools, namely College of Turkish Education Association and Yenisehir High School, were established where the medium of instruction was English for all courses except for courses on culture.

In parallel with political, cultural, commercial and military affairs with other nations, German and English were started to be used as mediums of instructions especially at universities. Therefore, especially Istanbul University became one of the most famous universities of the world between the years 1933 and 1953. The Institute of Higher Agriculture and Faculty of Language, History and Geography at Ankara University were established where German was used as the medium of instruction. A School of Foreign Languages was also founded to educate teachers of foreign languages. Actually, all these attempts did not give the desired results. Hence, translation studies from other western languages into Turkish were initiated. So, *the Bureau of Translation* was re-arranged in 1940 and classical studies on many subjects were translated into Turkish (Widmann 1981: 36, Yavuz 1987: 147-).

During the first years of the Turkish Republic, public schools and courses were open to teach intensively the standardized Turkish to the public. As a result, 597,010 illiterate adults learnt to read and write in the standardized Turkish in 1928-29 academic year. Meanwhile, the number of schools has increased in the following years. The number of students enrolled in secondary and high schools between the years of 1923 and 1985 is as follows (Table 7):

Years	Number of schools		Number of students		Number of students in total
	Secondary	High	Secondary	High	
1923-24	95	9	13,693	2,914	16,607
1930-31	199	17	41,893	4,186	46,079
1940-41	505	20	140,000	12,844	152,844
1950-51	820	34	143,000	24,815	167,815
1960-61	1469	55	475,000	65,297	540,297
1970-71	3273	152	1,263,000	172,323	1,422,325
1980-81	7346	312	2,217,310	237,369	2,454,679

Table 7. Distribution of Schools and Students (Türkiye İstatistik Yilligi, Milli Eğitimde 50. Yil 1923-73, Cumhuriyetin 50. yılında Milli Eğitimimiz)

The distribution of schools and students reveals that between 1940s and 1950s, there was not a great amount of increase in the numbers of students due to the effects of the World War II. After the period of social conflicts in the 1960s and 1970s, there was a striking increase in the number of students enrolled either at secondary or high schools after 1980s. Within these periods, the number of students who went abroad increased from 10,152 in 1978 to 49,087 in 1981.

While the number of students enrolled in education was increasing, the number of students learning a foreign language also increased. Their number is given in Table 8.

Years	German	French	English	Arabic
1950-51	5,612	79,208	48,434	-
1960-61	30,504	155,824	217,926	4,548
1970-71	116,124	293,057	840,848	49,308
1980-81	303,734	322,245	1,540,138	216,864
1985-86	364,882	292,415	1,552,189	

Table 8. The number of students having foreign language courses at secondary schools (Demircan 1988: 102).

The number of students enrolled in foreign language medium schools is as follows (Table 9):

Years	German		French		English		Italian
	Secondary	Higher	Secondary	Higher	Secondary	Higher	Secondary
1950-51	285	43	4,046	110	2,532	125	58
1960-61	3,233	144	4,619	337	8,505	1,144	561
1970-71	3,005	371	5,251	424	14,711	6,502	459
1980-81	3,603	626	5,911	546	26,189	15,301	482
1985-86	8,653	1,200	8,426	745	72,857	28,485	552

Table 9. The distribution of students enrolled in schools where the medium of instruction is one of the foreign languages (Demircan 1988: 102).

These tables show us that in the last 50 years in Turkey, students at public schools have been learning a foreign language, German, French, English or Arabic and students at private schools have been learning many courses such as the natural and the mathematical sciences in a foreign language. For the situation at higher education, we can only say that some major universities such as Bogazici, Hacettepe, Middle East Technical and Bilkent operate completely in a foreign language, usually English, and some departments of other universities operate bilingually, i.e. medium of instruction is either Turkish or English or both (UNESCO-CEPES quarterly review 2000: 1).

The measurement of the foreign language knowledge is done officially through some foreign language examinations held by OSYM (Center for Selection and Placement of Students in Higher Education Institutions) in Turkey. The Foreign Language Examination (YDS) is used for selection and placement in higher education programs specializing in foreign language and literature. A three-test battery is used for this purpose, including an English test, a French test, and a German test, of which the candidate is to choose one. The content of foreign language tests consists of the following: Vocabulary and grammar, translation, and reading comprehension (approximately 25%, 15% and 60% of the items, respectively). The total time allowed to answer the items in the foreign language test is two-and-a-half hours.

The Foreign Language Examination for Public Officials is used for determining the level of foreign language knowledge of public officials who want to earn promotion in their salaries or occupation. This test is also required while applying for a job at ministries and most of the public institutions. The candidate is to prefer one of the following languages: German, Arabic, Bulgarian, Chinese, Danish, Persian, French, Dutch, English, Irish, Spanish, Italian, Polish, Hungarian, Portuguese, Greek, Russian, Serbian. On the other hand, the candidate working as a technical staff is to take only one of a German test, a French test and an English test. The content and the basic requirement for the test are the same with YDS.

The Foreign Language Examination of Inter-universities Council (ÜDS) is used for determining the level of foreign language knowledge of candidates for associate professorship and for students who want to apply for post-graduate degree at a Turkish university. The content of the test includes vocabulary and grammar, translation, and reading comprehension parts. The candidate is to choose one

of the basic areas: science, health sciences and social sciences. The minimum passing grade is 65 (equal to 513 in TOEFL) for nominees of associate professorship and 60 (equal to 477 in TOEFL) for students applying for a post-graduate degree ([www.osym.gov.tr](http://www.osym.gov.tr)).

#### 4. Conclusion

In this study, we have tried to give a comprehensive view of bilingualism in Turkey in terms of elitist and folk bilingualism. Just as in most of other countries, these two types of bilingualism at societal level have been observed in the history and at the present in Turkey. For the earlier times of history, we have seen the written sample proofs of bilingualism resulting from political, commercial, military and religious affairs among civilizations settled in the ancient Anatolia. During the Hellenistic and Roman age, we found Latin and Greek languages together with the language of Slavic people brought to Anatolia for military purposes. Beginning with the settlement of Turks in Anatolia, we see a multilingual milieu consisting of Arabic, Persian, Latin, and other European languages beside Turkish spoken by Islamic and non-islamic groups. Today, together with the official language, Turkish, due to more or less the same reasons stated above, official and social attempts support folk and elitist types of bilingualism in Turkey.

With the Act Number 2923 (released on 14th October 1983), basic regulations of Foreign Language Teaching and Education were determined. According to this act, Turkish citizens are educated only in Turkish as their mother tongue at public schools. On the other hand, teaching foreign languages has always been supported in order to be effective in the international arena, to access modern scientific and technological innovations, to interpret and improve these innovations, to gain knowledge about national and global values and to make comments on them. Foreign language courses are taught at the primary and secondary schools in Turkey, with the aim of having students use a foreign language in consistency with their grade level. Different language teaching programmes are applied in terms of types of schools: schools where a foreign language is taught at a normal degree of density, schools having an intensive foreign language teaching, schools where some courses are taught in a foreign language. With the eight-year-compulsory-education beginning to be implemented in 1997, students of 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> years are to have a compulsory 2 hour-foreign language course in a week. Students of 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> years have a compulsory 4 hour-foreign language course in a week. There are also foreign language teaching activities for kindergarden students and for those of 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> years at schools. Moreover, laboratory studies in the natural sciences can be carried in a foreign language. A second foreign language is also taught for students of 6<sup>th</sup> and above grades, and it is also among compulsory courses in schools where teachers of English are educated ([www.meb.gov.tr/statistics](http://www.meb.gov.tr/statistics)).

According to the projection of 1935 and 1965 Censuses made by Institution of Population at Hacettepe University in 1992, 13,1% of population speak other languages as their first language rather than Turkish (cited in Türkdoğan 1999: 187-88). In 1999, Turkey was accepted as the candidate country for the European Community. Consequently, the Turkish Parliament accepted a series of adaptation regulations to the European Community and Turkish citizens are allowed to teach and learn different languages or dialects that they use in their daily lives through private courses with the regulation on 'learning different languages and dialects used traditionally by Turkish citizens in their daily lives' released in 2002 ([www.meb.gov.tr](http://www.meb.gov.tr)). In addition, a guide was prepared by the Ministry of National Education for adults in order to explain them reasons and benefits of learning a foreign language to raise their language awareness level and ways of learning a foreign language are described in detail ([www.meb.gov.tr](http://www.meb.gov.tr)).

A considerable amount of researches on foreign language teaching have been carried out by academicians at departments of foreign language teaching at universities, for instance, Bogazici (Istanbul), Hacettepe (Ankara), Middle East Technical (Ankara), Anadolu (Eskisehir), Dokuz Eylül (Izmir), Cukurova (Adana) etc.

On the other hand, although limited in number, linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociological researches on bilingual people living in different parts of Turkey have been carried out especially in the last two decades by Turkish academicians. For example, based on Poplack's classification (1980), Imer (1997) examined the language use of Laz people living in the Blacksea region of Turkey. Depending on Johanson's classification (1993), Karahan (1997) studied on the language use of Karachai people living in Tokat (a small city in the Blacksea region of Turkey) in their social networks, where code-switching

patterns are observed. Another study by Karahan (2000) was on the complex relations between the language use of the Bosnian Turks, where code-switching patterns were analyzed on the basis of Myers-Scotton's model (1993), and ethnolinguistic vitality, identity and their attitudes towards their languages and identities. Alagozlu (2002) examined the socio-psychological and sociolinguistic profiles of Kabardian community in the rural and urban areas in comparison of their ethnolinguistic vitality, ethnic identification, social network strength and overall language behaviour. There are also some sociological studies under the cover term 'sociology of sub-cultural groups' at departments of sociology at different Turkish universities (see Türkdogan 1999, Önder 2002). These sub-groups include ethnic groups, migrated groups, minorities which can be accepted as speech communities in sociolinguistics.

As a result of sociolinguistic and sociological studies on speech communities in Turkey, the following points might be summarized as:

- a. According to the results of 1965 Census, and its projection in 1992, approximately one-fifth of Turkish population speak other languages rather than Turkish as their mother tongue and they learn Turkish as the second language at schools and/or by the help of the media at home. Due to the reasons such as seeking job, out-group interaction, earning money, education, living in the majority group, having equal rights with other groups in the society, raising child, being accepted by other groups, moving from one place to another in Turkey, communicating with workmates, dealing in trade, etc., most of members of different speech communities find Turkish very important. But for their in-group friendly interactions and being considered as a member of the community they find their mother tongue as important as Turkish (Karahan 2000, Alagozlu 2002, Türkdogan 1999). Depending on their strong ethnic relations with their groups, they continue to use their mother tongue but in limited domains such as home.
- b. With political, commercial, military and religious reasons, people living in Anatolia have been engaged in bilingual situations. Today, people are heavily taught other languages and they are required to become bilingual through schooling. Being bilingual in especially one of European languages is admired and it is strongly supported by the government and the society. Although the language use of individuals in terms of degree, function, alternation and interference is still in debate and questioned by some Turkish academicians (Demirel 2003, Demircan 1988), working people at private sector and public services at higher ranks are required to know at least one foreign language, preferably English, German, French or Russian which are demanded in especially commercial and political affairs with European countries and Russia. This demand is highly observed in job advertisements.

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