Soy adı	Babası adı	Anası adı	Do. ta	İmza
~~tam~~ ~~TEZEL~~	MEHMET	FATMA	1323	
~~tam~~ ~~TEZEL~~	SADRI	ZEYNEP	1327	
~~tam~~ ~~TEZEL~~	MUSTAFA	NERIMAN	1932	
~~tam~~ ~~TEZEL~~	MUSTAFA	NERIMAN	1933	
~~tam~~ ~~TEZEL~~	MUSTAFA	NERIMAN	1934	

larak = Tezel = i kabul ediyorum

nmiş ise = Şener - olarak

Mus

mak vazifesini bana

kirse koy adları yukarıya yazılmıştır.

masını dilerim.

BÜYÜK ADA nın CAMİ mahallesi

HAL sokağında 27 ev

MEHMET OĞLU MUSTAFA

NAMING AND NATION-BUILDING IN TURKEY

The 1934 Surname Law

Meltem Türköz

Naming and Nation-building in Turkey

Meltem Türköz

Naming and Nation-building in Turkey

The 1934 Surname Law

palgrave
macmillan

Meltem Türköz
Işık University
Şile/İstanbul, Turkey

Cover illustration: Design by Ran Shauli

Guide to Spelling and Pronunciation and Special Characters

Modern Turkish uses a modified Latin alphabet, adopted in 1928. Though most consonants are pronounced the same as in English, there are some exceptions.

c is pronounced as j as in *Jane* (hoca)

ç is pronounced as ch as in *child* (çocuk)

ş is pronounced sh as in *shell* (şen)

ğ serves to lengthen the vowel that comes before it *oğlu* (pronounced oh-loo)

g is pronounced hard like in *garment*

Modern Turkish has eight vowels:

a is pronounced as in *father*

e can be pronounced in a closed way, as in *met*, or in an open way as in *gal*

ı this is a sound that is foreign to English. It is similar to the e in *open*

i can be pronounced as in *sin* or as in *eel*

o as in *open*

ö is similar to the i in *bird*

u as in *look* (Mustafa)

ü is similar to the ew in *flew*

The letters Q, W, and X don't exist in the Turkish alphabet and are only used for borrowed words.

Acknowledgments

Interviews with women and men who agreed to speak to me about their memories of the 1930s were crucial windows into understanding the many facets of the way the Surname Law was received. For the memory slices they shared with me in their older years, I thank my interviewees with all my heart. I do not claim that this book is a comprehensive coverage of all demographic groups' experiences of the Surname Law; rather, this study reveals patterns of experience, paths of internalization, and corridors of remembering of Turkish citizens residing in Western Turkey. Though I contemplated collecting additional data encompass a broader demographic base, I decided to leave that step to a later project, since it would also be informed by a dramatically different present and would be conducted with a different generation.

In its earlier incarnation, this book was a dissertation submitted to the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate Program in Folklore and Folklife. In the following pages, I have expanded the manuscript with additional archival documentation from the Prime Ministry Archives, unpublished documents from the population registry, updated to reflect more recent work, and woven through conceptual strands from law and narrative and sociolinguistics.

I want to thank my dissertation supervisor Dan Ben-Amos, and the members of my committee, Regina Bendix, Lee Cassanelli, and finally my first advisor and mentor, Margaret Mills. I chose the program in Folklore at Penn at the encouragement of my valuable friend and mentor, Arzu Öztürkmen.

Turkey, our history, too has parts unknown. My father understood the importance of the research and accompanied me to coffee shops in Yeni Foça to introduce me to people his age. He annotated my notes so that I could understand the language of the parliament with more ease. They too were children of the Republic, and it is to their loving memory, and to all the stories that I remember, and those I did not hear, that I dedicate this book.

Parts of this manuscript, particularly excerpts from Chaps. 1, 5 and 6, have been published in similar or overlapping form in *Middle Eastern Studies* (Türköz 2007) and in a volume on the Social History of Modern Turkey (Brockett 2011).

CONTENTS

List of Figures

Introduction: Surnames
and the Construction of Turkish Citizens

As everyday performers of cultural and personal identity, names have long been a concern to nation-states, which have, at times, intervened to mandate renaming in a prescribed language. The Republic of Turkey's Surname Law of 1934[1] ruled that citizens adopt and register Turkish language surnames. Given two years in which to perform this task, citizens were restricted in their choices by Article Three of the law on existing or newly adopted surnames: Names with reference to foreign nationalities, races, tribes, and morally inappropriate and ugly names were prohibited. Citizens who did not voluntarily come to register a surname, would be assigned a name by the local official.

As a historical ethnography of surname legislation informed by James Scott's notion of the modern state as an entity that seeks legibility (1998),[2] my book explores this law's genesis in the cultural nationalist imaginary, its drafting in parliamentary debates, its shaping by the Language Reform, and its release and variously mediated popular reception among citizenry. My project uses oral historical narrative, official parliamentary and previously untapped documents from registries, archival documents, and visual and written material from popular media. This book brings narrative methodology and pragmatics to bear on the various contexts in which names and surnames became created or maintained and, more specifically, how names became sites of neutralized or augmented meaning. I argue that surnames circulated in

competing, parallel, and overlapping cultural economies absorbing of, opaque to, or paralleling the state-disseminated culture. Oral historical and petition statements show that while much of the reception of the law took place across context-dependent and culturally defined status relationships, there were other situations providing upward or downward mobility. Depending on the perceived and actual relationship of the interlocutors, names were taken, received, created, bestowed, translated, truncated—and even bought. Selected population registry records indicate that while many families maintained surnames that had been registered previous to the law, others came to have new surnames that either erased their background, or paralleled other local names. Petitions by, and oral historical interviews with members of Armenian and Jewish citizens show attempts to neutralize or maintain ethnic markers in names, or directives by the registry to replace ethnically or religiously marked names with a Turkish name, but there are also cases where families were able to maintain original family names. Ultimately, the Surname Law was mediated through agents who often reinforced existing patterns of authority and in circumstances that particularized the nature of the surname adoption. Beyond larger patterns, there was great variation among the experiences of surname adoption, depending on the relationship of the citizen and official to one another and to the particular geographic location.

The Surname Law is one of the last reforms undertaken by the Republican People's Party (RPP) under Mustafa Kemal, who, under a separate law that year, acquired the surname, Atatürk,[3] chief of Turks. As students of modern Turkey are well aware, the elite driven reforms were designed to transform all aspects of life, including costume and language, and to sever Turkey's ties with an Islamic, Ottoman past. Much has been written about what the reforms intended to accomplish, and recent decades have seen a growing body of work that explores social and cultural history as well as the transnational history of the reform period.

My study enriches an emerging social and cultural history of this period marked by a focus on new sources that both challenge and complement official and political history approaches. Current approaches question previous periodization, draw from sources beyond the urban and political centers, and employ methodologies in oral history, anthropology and cultural studies to uncover and deepen understanding of the broader impact of major events that had been omitted from official historical accounts.

The population registry documents I accessed are typically closed and the petitions, correspondence and name lists opened up an exciting new source base and made it possible to see the "graphic artifacts" (Hull 2003, 290) of surname registration. Though set in the context of the study of modern Turkey, my book is informed by the history of surname legislation in a broader geography and places Turkey's surname legislation in a historically comparative framework.

The Republic of Turkey, successor to the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire, was declared in 1923, and immediately thereafter, its government led by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) launched a series of reforms to sever the new republic's ties with the imperial past,[4] to catch up with Western sociocultural and political standards, and to consolidate a nationalized citizenry. In Turkish official sources, these reforms are known as *Atatürk Inkilapları* (Atatürk revolutions).[5]

These reforms began with the abolition of the Caliphate and the exiling of the Ottoman Dynasty in March 1924 and continued with the Hat Law,[6] which replaced the fez[7] and other traditional headgear with the western style hat. In 1926, the government adopted the Italian Penal Code and the Swiss Civil Code and also the Western clock and calendar.[8] With the Alphabet reform in 1928, the Arabic alphabet was replaced by the Roman script,[9] and the Language Reform was launched in 1931 to weed out Arabic and Persian loan words in Ottoman Turkish and replace them with rediscovered, or invented, Turkic equivalents.

The Turkish Grand National Assembly (GNA) ratified the *Soyadı Kanunu* (Surname Law) on June 21, 1934. The law enforced the registration of Turkish surnames and reversed traditional name sequence by stating that a surname should follow the personal name in speech and writing. More importantly, it mandated that surnames be in Turkish and be devoid of markers of religion, ethnicity, and Ottoman hierarchy. It forbade names belonging to civil officials, tribes or foreign nations, and names that were morally unsuitable or disgusting.

That fall, the GNA bestowed upon the founder of the nation, Mustafa Kemal, the surname Atatürk (chief of Turks), by which he would henceforth be known. Shortly thereafter, "The Law on the abolition of such appellations and titles as *efendi*, *bey*, and *pasha*" would ban all religious, military, tribal, and other honorific titles.[10] The following month, the *Resmi Gazete* (Official Gazette) would publish the *Soy Adı Nizamnamesi*[11] (Surname Regulation), providing detailed guidelines for state registrars and other local officials on enforcing the law. Citizens were notified of the law via daily

newspapers, the religious directorate, and through educational institutions. Newspapers, books, and registry offices made available lists of acceptable names to guide the populace in their search for a new family name.

The Surname Law is routinely included in the history of modern Turkey but has not received the same attention as the preceding reforms, even in the official perspective. In university textbooks that reflect the official history perspective, the Surname Law has received a scant description and is often presented without any comment (Ertan 2000, 256). It is likely that this is because it was received with relatively less controversy compared to other reforms of the time. With a rising interest in identity, nation-building and sociocultural history, since the 1990s it has come under increasing scrutiny. Nevertheless, it was a law which citizens complied with by lining up outside civil registries to adopt surnames, and each family's story is unique, though patterned by proximity to urban centers, or level of geographic or social mobility, and positioning in the evolving nation-state.

Kemalist Reforms and Critical Perspectives

Scholars today do not dispute that the reforms undertaken under the new republic were top-down measures designed to transform a population from above. Reşat Kasaba and other scholars of modern Turkey compare the political elites of the early republic to the Jacobin movement, whose top down reforms from 1793 to 1794 encompassed all aspects of life, including the calendar, names, and clothing (Kasaba 1997, 30). Critiques of this period have focused on the fact that it was top-heavy, driven by a modernizing elite that imposed institutions, beliefs, and behavior on Turkey's people (Kasaba 1997; Keyder 1987; Mardin 1997). The critical and social history[12] of Turkey is informed by a broad social science base, and challenges previously held assumptions. By questioning issues such as the periodization of modern Turkey, the singularity of Mustafa Kemal as an agent of the nation, by looking beyond the political center to the provinces, by focusing on methodologies of oral history to uncover intersections of gender, ethnicity, and class, by seeking out sources beyond the center, and finally by bringing a comparative lens to Turkey's modernization, these studies offer both correctives to, and a deep expansion on earlier studies.

Earlier approaches to the Kemalist years, informed by a unilinear model of modernization, have been criticized for minimizing social ambiguities that did not fit into narrow schemas of progress.

Most such authors regarded the breaking of traditional ties as so urgent a task that it mattered little what methods were used to achieve that end. So long as those methods were directed against institutions and practices portrayed as intrinsically antithetical to progress and modernization (meaning, in most cases, Islamic), they could be justified. (Kasaba 1997, 30)

Since the late 1980s, there has been more of an interest in the "less tangible effects of processes of social transformation … the emergence of new identities and forms of subjectivity, and…the specificities of the 'modern' in the Turkish context" (Kandiyoti 1997, 113).

The social historical works are united in their insistence on looking beyond the "phoenix rising" story of modern Turkey with the periodization, attributions of agency, and narrative direction that entails. Historians and historical studies of modern Turkey have moved away from previous narratives[13] that saw the emergence of modern Turkey as a stark rupture and also from "the image of Turkey arising from the ashes like a phoenix" (Zürcher 1992, 237). They have focused increasingly on the continuity between the Tanzimat reforms, the Young Turk Era, and the early years of modern Turkey (Meeker 2002; Deringil 1993; Zürcher 1992; Georgeon 2000).

In discussions of the state's control over the dissemination of Kemalism, scholars have described the population as indifferent, passive, unlike populations that participated in upholding authoritarian regimes, elsewhere in that period. In arguing that the regime of the 1930s could not be considered technically fascist, because it did not have a mass social base, Keyder maintained that it was a "regime established over a society which had not yet become a 'people', let alone citizens" (Keyder, 109). This description of passivity may have also been used in comparative ways, as Keyder, for instance, compares the participation of the masses in Turkey to Italy. Yet Turkish citizens of different geographic origins, of different classes were cognizant of ways they could or could not act upon their world, as more recent studies have shown.

Gavin Brockett's work, based on provincial newspapers, focuses on "popular identification with the 'nation'—as distinct from the articulation of nationalism as an ideology" in the first decades of the republic. Provincial newspapers were important aspects of the process of nation-building in that "they allowed people to actually participate in the 'theater of the nation'" (Brockett 2011, 125).

A notable example of a study that examines the various ways that citizens mediated and acted in response to the major reforms is Hale Yılmaz's *Becoming Turkish* (2013), which draws on exhaustive archival sources, print

media, and oral histories to document the dress laws, language and alphabet change, and national holidays.

Yılmaz's monograph is based on detailed archival data, press clippings, as well as oral historical interviews and memoirs and illustrates the variety of ways that citizens responded to the reforms. We see, for example, that the government made use of the Diyanet İşleri Riyaseti's (Directorate of Religious Affairs) reach into communities through mosque sermons to instruct or guide citizens for the male dress reform (Yılmaz 2013, 39). We learn from Yılmaz's study that local producers and consumers of *peçe*, or head coverings, petitioned the government in writing to complain about the imposition of the dress reforms, which sometimes involved gendarmes pulling off women's covering (ibid., 135).

Oral history methodology has been a major tool in interpreting the historical memory among various groups, and as Neyzi has pointed out, many of these studies have been done by anthropologists and sociologists working in a historical framework (Neyzi 2010). One of the absences from the study of Turkey and the Ottoman Empire was comparative work that placed the reform process in the context of a broader geography and recent studies have focused on the authoritarian nationalisms under Atatürk and Reza Shah, while others have explored the way in which Atatürk's personage and reforms were perceived in France and in Nazi Germany (Atabaki and Zürcher 2003; Dost-Niyego 2014; Ihrig 2014).

My book seeks to explore the way that the reforms were received, appropriated, negotiated, and brokered within families and communities. In their inspiring work on the production of legal identities, James Scott et al. tell us that "there is no State-making without state naming" (2002, 4) and the fixing of surnames by modern states is one of the ways that states make populations legible (Scott 1998). Drawing from this notion, what unfolds in the following pages is about the state's blueprint for order and unity and the various worlds that conform, approximate, and transform that order.

Narratives about the process of surname legislation in Turkey, many relating the interactions between officials and citizens, provide a productive site to explore the boundaries between the state and the different groups that it sought to transform, assimilate, or marginalize. In surname narratives, which are invariably stories about bureaucracy, interviewees positioned themselves—often simultaneously—in perceived social

orders, or affective states. As a result, they offer a unique window into micro-social worlds that have been variously termed as "individual possibilities of action" (Burke 1993), "mattering maps" (Migdal 2001), or "lifeworlds" (Schutz & Luckmann 1973; Mardin 1997). A surname change by itself did not transform a life dramatically, but it was one of the ways in which positioning, or repositioning toward the state and community, took place.

An ongoing guiding image for this project has been the social life of the state's fantasy. In his chapter on the "Census, Map and Museum," Benedict Anderson discusses the manner in which colonial administrators in Malaya ascribed the local population with arbitrary categories. Even though those categories were not related to the local population, over time, the traffic-habits of people in schools, banks, and other institutions gave social life to the state's earlier fantasy (Anderson 1991, 169). The interview material yields some idea of these traffic-habits or in Agha's words, "speech chains" (Agha 2003, 245) through which seemingly arbitrary surnames become attached to their bearers.

The Surname Law in Scholarship

The evolving nature of the interest in the Surname Law can be said to parallel scholarly interest in the Atatürk reforms. A modernization trajectory informed scholarship from the 1960s and 1970s and the Surname Law was perceived as an appropriate culmination to earlier reforms, both a Westernizing and a modernizing move. Both Bernard Lewis and Geoffrey Lewis describe the Surname Law as an administrative measure necessitated by a "complex society," or as one that would alter a traditional Islamic system of nomenclature.

> The Turks, like other Muslim peoples, were not in the habit of using family names. A man would be known by his personal names, given at birth, supplemented by a second name given in childhood, or by his father's name. Surnames existed, but were rare, and not in common usage. The more complex and extensive system of a modern society made a system of family names desirable; the adoption of the new civil code made it immediately necessary. (Lewis 1961, 289)

Geoffrey Lewis mentions the system of nomenclature, but focuses on the Surname Law as an administrative measure of individuation.

> Previously the Arab system of nomenclature had been in general use and it was given official force in 1881, from which year identity documents had to show one's father's name: Ahmed son of Mehmed. To distinguish among all the Ahmeds whose fathers were called Mehmed, a word might be added denoting the birthplace or a physical peculiarity: Ahmed of Sivas, son of Bald Mehmed. Men of ancient lineage might have a family-name, but most people did not. (Lewis 1974, 123)

Scholars from anthropology and folklore, meanwhile, focused on surnames and naming as indicators of social change, focusing on modernity and secularization. Robert Spencer found that "through names one is able to obtain some impression of the nature of the traditional unit of Turkish social structure and at the same time to note how the concepts surrounding the interrelations of persons in society are being modified" (Spencer 1961, 205). The Surname Law was interesting to him, insofar as it influenced the peasants whom he described as being resistant to the idea of surnames, because of the segmented lineage system. He pointed out that "the segmented lineage system is not accustomed to operate in terms of surnames of an essentially European type "(1961, 206). He maintained that the motivation for passing the surname law in Turkey "apart from an eagerness to emulate Western societies, was facility of taxation and military conscription" (Spencer 1961, 207). Spencer expressed concern with the speed of modernization in Turkey:

> the process of lineage proliferation has tended to become accelerated by the presence of the surname. Further, the new unit then tends to become more fixed. Fragmentation occurred rapidly because of the choice of different surnames by members of the same lineage. In theory, the family or household head was expected to make the choice for all members of the group. But this was not always the case. Still predominantly rural the Turks are confronted with the extensive movements into cities and towns. Forced into the individualized residence patterns associated with town and city life, the modern Turks tend toward the formation of small nuclear families each with a distinctive surname. The end result is a massive kind of social change in which the name problem is only one aspect. (216)

On the one hand, Spencer attributed great importance to the capacity of surnames to produce social division, yet acknowledged that surnames are "only one aspect" of this change.

Richard Bulliet's study of first names in Turkey (1978) draws tentative conclusions about political modernization. Bulliet used name patterns in parliament and school lists, hypothesizing that "political modernization in Turkey might be reflected in the frequency of use of common first names like Mehmet, Ahmet and Ali, closely associated with the Islamic religion" (ibid., 489). Using three typically Islamic names—Ahmet, Ali and Mehmet—as a gauge factor, Bulliet examined the names of the fathers of the members of the 1920 parliaments as well as lists of entering students in the economics department of Istanbul University, and elementary school children's names from Istanbul. Bulliet concluded that although there's a new trend toward Turkish names, the popularity of Ahmet, Ali, and Mehmet has not subsided. Yet, the positioning of these names as Islamic and their opposite as modern was not straightforward. Does an Islamic name necessarily make a politically conservative man?

To this question, folklorist and ethnographer İlhan Başgöz offers a corrective. Based on given names in Turkey between the 1930s and the 1970s, Başgöz found that many religious names are often selected because they belong to parents or relatives and "reflect a family, and not religious, devotions (Başgöz 1998b, 226).

Başgöz's findings on personal names also correspond to surnames. For example, he found that mobility to the cities and education played a significant role in the tendency to take new Turkish names. Moreover, industrial or military personnel assigned to provincial towns brought naming practices from the cities. He found that mobility to the cities and the presence of state or industry personnel in villages altered onomastic regimes. Başgöz discovered that urban centers had the highest density of Turkish names and that typically Turkish tended to diminish further from these centers. On closer examination, he discovered the significance of social context in naming. Başgöz spoke with a family who had named their daughter the Turkish name *Aysel* (moon flood), which at first may indicate associations with a mythical Turkic ancestry. However, he discovered from the parents that the occasion for naming their daughter *Aysel* had been the American landing on the moon.

Ottoman and Turkish Cultures of Names and Titles

Naming in Turkey is shaped both by Islamic and localized customs that find counterparts elsewhere in the world. In Turkish usage today, *isim* and *ad* are used interchangeably to refer to a proper name. While *isim* is a bor-

rowing from Arabic, the word *ad* is evolved from the Old Turkish, *at,* its first usage from eighth-century Orkhon Inscriptions. Turkish Ottoman names drew from the Arab and Islamic name structures, with "the full name of a person … usually made up of … (1) *kunya*; (2) *ism*; (3) *nasab*; (4) *nisba*, along with nicknames, or *lakab*, or pejorative sobriquets called *nabaz*" (EI2, s.v. "ism"). *Öz ad* refers to a person's given name, and *göbek adı* (umbilical name), sometimes informally used to indicate a middle name, is traditionally a name given on the cutting of the umbilical cord.

Families were known by a variety of terms. *Aile* is a borrowing from Arabic, while *sülale* refers to lineage. In cities, towns and villages, the *lakab*, an Arabic borrowing which means nickname (and later, honorific title) is used to describe names for families. The *lakab* or *lagab* is an Arab word, whose Latin equivalent is considered to be the *cognomina* and can be used for three purposes. The *lakab* can be "honorific … for purposes of identification … and also deprecating" (Schimmel 1989, 12). It is defined as the name that an individual receives after his or her given name and can occur through three channels: through *medih* (bestowal), description and identification, and ridicule. "Most significantly for the development of Islamic culture, the *lakab* developed from being a nickname of praise and admiration … into becoming an honorific title, conferring status and prestige on its owner, since it frequently implied a special close relationship to the sovereign or the divinity or else a reward for personal bravery or services to the state" (EI2 s.v. "lakab"). Bestowed names can be divided into religious and worldly, and the honorific style nicknames are compared to the Roman cognomen such as Africanus and Asiaticus. Under Islam, the term *lakab* came to refer to honorific titles, and with increasing complexity and development in Islamic society, they became more elaborate and "grandiloquent" (EI 1986 (V) Lakab). Early Ottoman sultans, foreign rulers, and dignitaries were named with an elaborate system of titles.[14] Westernizing reforms of the *Tanzimat*, which involved the modernization of the bureaucracy, also included the rationalization and restriction of the unchecked growth of titulature. Traditional titles were regulated and bureaucratized in the late nineteenth century (EI *lakab* (V) 1986). By 1934, many of these titles would be abolished.

The *lakab* in all three of its meanings is in circulation today. Most Turkish families will speak of a *lakap/lakab*,[15] or nickname by which they are known in their town or village, referring to nicknames of bestowal, identification or sometimes, ridicule. Although nicknames that ridicule, or make light of an individual, are forbidden by the Koran in the XLX,

el-Hucurat section (*Türk Ansiklopedisi*, Lakap 455–456), the practice of pejorative nicknaming is well and alive.[16]

Another name in usage among Ottoman dignitaries and poets was the *mahlas*, or second name or pen name. In the Ottoman bureaucratic system, the mahlas was akin to an honorific taken upon promotion and could refer to the bearer's birthplace or personal attributes (Yeşil 2014, 127). As Bouquet points out, it could also bear the marks of the maker of the name, who could be a master, a hierarchical superior, or even the Sultan (2010, 9). Mahlas could also undergo changes, when a higher naming agent than the previous one would bestow the bearer with a name of increased distinction. The taking of a *mahlas* by a Divan poet was called *tahallüs*, or literary *nom de plume*. *Mahlas* were used by poets in the final quartet of their poems as identifiers.

Ottoman Naming

It is clear that several onomastic regimes coexisted during the Ottoman centuries, and the written records kept by the Ottoman state provide partial evidence of patterns particularly among male subjects. The cadastral records, or *tahrirs* from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, show that Turkic names in the first period of the Ottoman era gradually gave way to more Arabo-Persian elements (Ortaylı 1984). The most comprehensive recent research on the Ottoman onomastic regime was published by Olivier Bouquet, whose work on the use of titles in late Ottoman records has enriched understanding of both the rules and the flexibilities offered by the structures of naming among male members of the civil service. Bouquet examines the *sicill-i ahval*, the administrative registers created under the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876–1909) that contain biographical notes about employees in the nineteenth-century civil service (Bouquet 2010, 2). Muslim male names were sometimes changed in schools, after a geographical displacement, or through various professional and cultural environments. Bouquet's work tells us that the *nom d'état* written in the biographical notes was rarely the name used in the quotidian. This is to some degree consistent with modern usage, in which registered, official names often serve a different purpose than the ones used in smaller, face-to-face communities.

Another difference noted by Bouquet is that while the second names functioned to bring distinction or status in the sixteenth centuries, by the nineteenth century, the "second *ism*, generally disconnected from the

first, become individuating, without an added social or status value" (Bouquet 2013, 289). The structures and usages of names remained the same from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, so that Ottomans from the sixteenth centuries would have been able to recognize their descendants' names. The birth name continued to identify the bearer as Muslim or Ottoman. Ottoman dignitaries of the nineteenth century tended to take on a second or even third *ism*, one more distinctive than the previous. This practice of coupled proper names, such as Tevfik Fikret, or Namık Kemal, used as simple names began among officials at the top of the bureaucratic echelons (ibid., 301–302).

Registration of Citizens from Ottoman to Republic

The nineteenth-century Ottoman state adopted Western statistical knowledge to develop a modern state administration and, at the same time, to control an emerging civil society (Göcek and Hanioğlu 1995). Since the nineteenth-century reforms in population and census offices, registration of families became more common, especially among the elite. Following the destruction of the Janissary Corps in 1826, Sultan Mahmut II (1808–1839) launched a male-only census to create a new army and bureaucracy (Shaw 1978). In the *de jure* Ottoman census of 1907 (*tahrir-i nüfus*), which was the second census to include information about males and females, individuals were recorded on the basis of their membership in a *hane* (household), the most common residential group. These were also the first empire-wide censuses that were held for purposes beyond taxation and military conscription and registered individuals were "issued a *nüfus tezkeresi* (population certificate), a combination of a birth certificate and identification card" (Duben and Behar 1991, 16–17). Duben believes that "registration was more complete for the literate and sophisticated civil service and commercial classes and less so for the petit bourgeois, artisanal, and wage-laboring classes" and that "artisan-shopkeepers and, in particular, wage laborers may have been underrepresented" (ibid.).

NAMES AND THE LAW

James Scott places surname laws among the measures modern states take to make a population legible (Scott 1998). Even before the modern state, rulers took measures to control transmission of names and titles, limited people's ability to change their names, and protected names from usurpa-

tion. Although the enforcement of the obligation to carry surnames and to adapt names to a linguistic standard would seem to represent a newer stage of state control, linguistic rules applied much earlier, though perhaps not in a widespread manner. In the fifteenth century, "[w]hen King Edward IV wanted to consolidate his political sovereignty of Ireland he sought to render the Irish people English nationals, in part by forcing them to change their names" (Stevens 1999, 162). In 1654, Philip IV is said to have enforced the use of "Spanish" names by the Moors, and in 1848, the "Hungarian monarchy forced Germans to take on "Hungarian" names" (ibid.).

In each historical period, we see the laws on naming arise from the "divergent purposes for which a semantic order is created" (Scott et al. 2002, 6). In ancient Rome, the *tria nomina* consisted of the *praenomina* (personal or given name), *nomen or gentilica* (placed the bearer in a gens or kinship group), the *cognomen* (personal nickname or epiteth acquired during a lifetime) (Wilson, 4). This system developed out of the needs of identification in a complex society and was a sign of privilege, conferring the status of citizenship. The *tria nomina* was a sign of social distinction and also a tool for the state, which kept registers of names collected every five years in censuses. Sources on the history of surnames agree that it was in the medieval period that surnames as we know them came into use, but also indicate that this was a gradual process (Brunet and Bideau 2000, 8 cited in Wilson 1998). Brunet and Bideau distinguish the more organic spread and homogenization of surnames across Europe from situations in which "patronyms have been attributed in more specific contexts in a hurried manner" (Brunet and Bideau 2000, 8). Slave naming, the naming of peasants, or foundlings are examples to which they refer in this regard.

Until the beginning of surname use in the medieval period, single names were more prevalent under the Germanic influence. Although these were single names, most were compound or dithematic, consisting of two parts that could be combined to create variety and indicate parental affiliation (Wilson, 70). It is not completely clear, according to Lefebvre-Teillard (1990), why there was a transition to single names and some scholars attribute the shift to a possible Christian refusal of elaborate Roman names. Wilson argues however, that it was only in the fourth century that Christian names began to appear more regularly (Wilson, 59). What ruled the institution of naming throughout these stages, however, was flexibility.

Lefebvre-Teillard sees the progression of surname homogenization and standardization as a process by which the name was transformed from a "social" institution into a "police" institution. In the Frankish period, and continuing until the medieval period, it was customary for individuals to change names to mark transitions in life: conversion to Christianity, the entry into religious orders, or being called to religion. Furthermore, a family member might be called upon to perform a duty not assigned to him by birth, in which case the name would change (Lefebvre-Teillard, 20).

The first name laws were those that took measures to restrain the liberty of changing them and affected the nobility and sea fishermen. These measures affected primarily the population that presented a particular interest to the rulers and whom the rulers wanted in some way to control. European nobles were exempt from taxes and were in charge of recruiting royal troops, so needed to be "individualized to prevent the uncontrolled extension of such fiscal privileges…Henri II forbid 'all changes of names except for those authorized by the ruler, under penalty of losing all degrees and privileges of nobility'" (Nautré 1977, 12). A Swedish measure from 1667 forbid sailors from changing names, and sea fishermen's names were fixed early on, because "their knowledge of the sea made them indispensable to the war and commerce fleet." Fixed family names gave privilege as well as duty, helped identify individuals and as they started to become hereditary, started to be markers of lineage.

The beginning of hereditary family name use is attributed to international fairs in ninth-century Venice, from where the use of patronyms spread to other countries, starting with France (Nautré 1977, 10). With the Norman invasions, the use of the patronym became more widespread in England's urban centers. And following this, the patronym spread to Denmark (at the end of the thirteenth century), and to Sweden and Norway (at the end of the fifteenth century).

Everywhere in the world, the imposition of fixed names by authorities has in some way conflicted with local, customary practices. With modernization, more and more remote parts of the population became subject to the control of the state. The practice of making fixed hereditary names mandatory for European Jews was first launched in 1787 by the Austrian Emperor, who was concerned with the disorder—in military, politics, and juridical life—resulting from an absence of family names among the Jews. This, she claims, must have set the precedent for other similar measures

taken in the Napoleonic empire, the German states, Russia, and Poland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Nautré, 14).

As a "system of knowledge spun in the webs of power" (Scott et al. 2002, 6), surnames and their imposition have been intrusive "knowledge-power systems" that can serve to marginalize, assimilate, segregate and imperil communities. With its segregationist series of name decrees of the late 1930s, the Nazi government in Germany tried to restrict the name of Jews to Old Testament given names claiming that "it was necessary for the stability of the country to insure that the name one bore gave evidence of his true racial (i.e., ethnic), national, sexual, and family identity" (Rennick 1970, 69). The laws first began in 1934, by limiting the ability of Jewish citizens to change their name, and in 1938, the Nazi government annulled any name changes that had been made before Jan 30, 1933 (Nautré, 26). This was one step along with others,[17] the Star of David on the clothing, the red "J" on German passports, "Jude" marked on ration books, to facilitate further acts (ibid., 73).

Slavization and Christianization of Turkish names by the Bulgarian government under Todor Zhivkov, and the killing of numerous protesters from the mid-1980s forced over 340,000 Muslim Turks to flee into Turkey after a government decision to expel them (Karpat 1995, 725). The Canadian government process of identifying the population in the Arctic in the 1940s, written about extensively by Valerie Alia who proposes a "political onomastics" (2008), involved assigning disk numbers to the Inuit, whose naming system was not easy to comprehend for the state representatives. In 1970–1972, Project Surname was launched to replace the disk numbers with surnames. By that time, some Inuit were attached to their numbers, and even preferred them to the surnames since the numbers did not interfere with their traditional naming system.[18] Maura Hametz explores Italianization of surnames imposed on ethnic Slovenes and Croats on Italy's Adriatic borderlands from 1927 to 1943 as part of the fascist regime's construction of Italian national community (Hametz 2010, 2012).

While in most European countries there has been a progression from patronymic names to fixed family names, Iceland is a unique example of a nation where the traditional patronymic system of surnames was maintained after intense national debate.[19] Surnames were seen as a foreign innovation that was incompatible with native Icelandic tradition. Today, there is a surname-bearing minority, but the patronymic system continues (Willson 2002).

Interpreting Names: Names as Historical and Ethnographic Sources

Much of the earlier scholarly work in onomastics, the study of names and naming practices, was etymological (Nicolaisen 1976, 149–150). Some of the motivation behind the etymological trend was probably also genealogical, since many of the volumes on names and surnames are written for diasporic audiences interested in ancestry (Kaganoff 1977; Levy 1960). Though my work is partly based on the field of onomastics, I do not claim to give comprehensive coverage to the field, but rather join those ethnographers and social scientists who find that names and naming provide a unique window into sociocultural worlds.

The capacity of names to embody social and political transformations is unique and they continue to be fertile ground for examining social change. Studies which utilize names as method are spread across a range of disciplines, fields, and historical periods (Spencer 1961; Bulliet 1978; Uspenskii 1979; Selishchev 1979; Gonon 1993; Plutzchow 1995; Cooper 1997; Goldberg 1997; Başgöz 1998a, b; Brunet et al. 2001). Furthermore, the many uses to which names are put, the audiences they have, and their elusive interactive purposes are often historically specific, as studies have found.

Harvey Goldberg underlines the importance of social context, and demonstrates how semantics alone cannot determine the reason why someone took, or was given a particular name, and attribution of ethnic affiliation is not straightforward. During his study in North Africa, he encountered Moroccan Jews bearing Berber names, which many of his colleagues had attributed to Berbers having converted to Judaism in the pre-Islamic period. Goldberg found, however, that many of the Jews of North Africa lived in rural settings or mountainous areas distant from governmental control and lived among tribes. Though they were not members of the tribe, they were considered to be guests, and lived under tribal protection. "Jewish traders or craftsmen who crossed tribal borders were identified by the name of the tribal leader under whose protection they operated" (Goldberg 1997, 58). When they moved, they kept these names, and thus came to carry Berber names.

Similarly, Ottoman historian Ilber Ortaylı comments on the elusive quality of names in Ottoman records from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Not only is it impossible to derive historical periodization from personal names, it can also be difficult to determine affiliation to ethnicity

or tribe. For example, Christians were found to take Arabic names as often as they took Turkish names, and along with these names, they would also use their baptismal names from the church, with some Christians even having names such as *Imam* or *Eminuddin* (Ortaylı 1984). The social context where the name had value is missing.

Acts of naming, though not always straightforward, tend to be practices of overt or more subtle, taxonomy. Claude Levi-Strauss reflected on how the act of naming is mutually defining. In his view, a naming act is as much about the naming subject as it is about the named.

> At one extreme, the name is an identifying mark, which by the application of a rule, establishes that the individual who is named is a member of a pre-ordained class (a social group in a system of groups, a status by birth in a system of statuses). At the other extreme, the name is a free creation on the part of the individual who gives the name and expresses a transitory and subjective state of his own by means of the person he names. But can one be said to be really naming in either case? The choice seems only to be between identifying someone else by assigning him to a class or, under cover of giving him a name, identifying oneself through him. One therefore never names: one classes someone else if the name is given to him in virtue of his characteristics and one classes oneself if, in the belief that one need not follow a rule, one names someone else "freely," that is, in virtue of characteristics of one's own. And most commonly one does both at once. (Levi-Strauss 1962(1966), 181)

An example that embodies this view can be found in a study about slave naming patterns in Jamaica, where Trevor Burnard analyzed lists of slave names in order to see to what degree African traditions had been kept as Africans moved to Jamaica (Burnard 2001, 325). Contrary to previous scholarship that argued that slaves named themselves, he found that slave names did not reflect the slaves' tastes or customs because they were all given by whites who considered the slaves as people completely different from themselves. Thus, the slave names "are more a guide to what whites thought of blacks than an entrée into slave consciousness" (ibid., 326). For example, Burnard found that white Jamaicans allowed themselves free imaginative rein in a way that they would not have with their own names. When slaves became free, instead of taking names that indicated their African roots, they took names that actually mimicked those of their English masters. Naming acts embody the stratified systems and categories in which historically situated subjects operate.

Surname Law in Recent Research

Since the research for this book was undertaken the Surname Law has received greater interest from scholars as an instrument of the state's administrative reach, and also as an extension of linguistic nationalism. Yasemin Doğaner provides an overview of the law, its discussions, and the ensuing debates in the press in the 1940s (2009). Soner Çağaptay's important work, though not on the Surname Law, per se, places the law in the broader perspective of constructing Turkish citizens, by looking at archives from the Prime Ministry and the Interior Ministry.

More recent work that touches on the Surname Law does so as part of Kemalist linguistic nationalism, and also the broader urge to name and own both populace and landscape. In his work on the renaming of geography and persons, Samim Akgönül argues that an emphasis on renaming is a product of exacerbated nationalist sentiments, a product of a time when a group or nation feels its existence is threatened, and anthroponomy and toponomy become tools to reassure and defend oneself (Akgönül 2006, 103). Emmanuel Szurek's work focuses on the Kemalist government's use of language in the ethno-racial construction of its citizenry and finds that the language reform and the surname law embody the Kemalist imaginary which has "the obsessive desire to sort and separate the pure and the impure, the healthy and the corrupted" (Szurek 2013).

Other works examine the current dynamics of changing surnames within the context of a Turkey with rising welfare, ethnic affiliation, and Turkey's reforms in the early 2000s for candidacy in the European Union. Massicard focuses on one type of name change: those that are made to surnames ending with the –oğlu ending. She describes this as a return to the patronymic that may have been discouraged in 1934, and also as a way to achieve distinction and ancestry through the surname (Massicard 2013). Though it is not clear that the law of 1934 discouraged patronymic endings, the wish to claim distinction and imagined or real ancestry is an impulse that comes with rising welfare in the Turkey of the 21st century.

Meanwhile, both Ceren Özgül and Senem Aslan focus on ethnic name changes as sites of contestation between citizens and the government, particularly in the aftermath of reforms the Turkish government made to meet the criteria for joining the European Union in the 2000s. Aslan finds that there was an increasing conflicts in courts over Kurdish names just as the Turkish government liberalized its hold on Kurdish language in the 2000s following reforms to meet European membership criteria. She

claims that there was an incoherent state response to Kurdish name registration, especially because local registrars were not in agreement with the higher courts' acquiescence to the reforms. Aslan further shows that the situation was further exacerbated as Kurdish activists insisted on revived Kurdish names or those with letters that were not in the Turkish alphabet. She describes how the tension over Kurdish names grew as activist Kurds would insist on registering Kurdish names with letters of the alphabet not found in Turkish, such as W, or Q, and found that state policies and minority activism mutually shaped each other (Aslan 2009, 2). Ceren Özgül focuses on issues arising from name-change applications made by the descendants of Islamicized Armenians after the Population Services law of 2006, which also permitted citizens to leave empty or alter the religion column on their identity cards. While the application of Islamicized Armenians to change their religion column met little obstruction, their wish to be acknowledged publicly as Armenian through a changed name was more problematic. "Even in those cases where name-change petitions are granted, the courts simply establish the legal subjectivity of the converts as Christians and fall short of establishing their status as Armenians" (Özgül 2014, 624).

There have also been other studies that are collections of surname stories. İbrahim Aksu's book provides an encyclopedic collection of surname stories he collected with his students in Çanakkale. Emine Gürsoy Askale's volume on *Cumhuriyet Soyadı Hikayeleri* is a collection of numerous stories which are then categorized. As immediate memories of the Atatürk years recede, stories about surnames are seen as an oddity. Meanwhile, Rita Ender's volume on the names of non-Muslim minorities documents the stories of individuals living daily life with the stigma of names that are marked as non-Muslim in Turkey (Ender 2016) and going through the daily non-recognition by members of the public.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

Chapter 2 traces the intellectual precursors and examines the cultural context for the Surname Law of 1934. The arguments for name changes in anthroponomy and toponymes drew their leverage from earlier discoveries in historical linguistics and archeology and the establishment of Turcology as a field of study. The version of Turkish that ended up forming the stock of names from 1931 onward was based on the work of intellectuals, statesmen, and educators. The Language Reform efforts of the 1930s purged

Arabic and Persian elements and produced the engineered language named *Öztürkçe*. Turkish names were perceived to have undergone a period of decline and corruption under the Islamic and Ottoman influence and would be reinstated to the Central Asian customs. According to this narrative, the influence of Arab and Persian elements under the Ottomans was a period of surrender and decline for Turkic culture as well as names. The act of renaming became a defensive reclaiming under the intense nationalism of the 1930s.

During the 1930s in Turkey, the state had consolidated firm control over the dissemination of culture and language and "both the press and the educational institutions were mobilized to spread the Kemalist message" (Zürcher, 189). Scholars distinguish the period from 1931 to the death of Atatürk in 1938 as "Kemalism par excellence" (Çağaptay, 43) and "hardening of the single party regime" (Makal, cited in Çağaptay, 43) as a time when the government was consolidating the ethno-secular boundaries of the Republic (Yıldız 2001).

Chapter 3 is based on parliamentary debates, and traces the precedents, formulation, and the dissemination process of the Surname Law and its accompanying laws. The Surname Law debates are marked by differing approaches to national membership. Members of parliament passed the Surname Law around the same time as laws that favored ethnic Turkish citizens in employment, and a settlement law that sought to resettle groups for maximum assimilation with Turkish national culture. Tribal groups, or Kurdish groups, were perceived as a demographic that needed to be disbanded as well as discouraged from using tribal names. Documents from the archives show that performative announcements of newly acquired surnames along with a formal signature were made by members of the government to the Republican People's Party (RPP) leadership.

One of the questions arising after the announcement of the Surname Law was how members of the population would be able to find unique Turkish names. A number of educated citizens, members of parliament included, published surname booklets to help citizens in the task of finding and creating a suitable surname. Chapter 4 illustrates how the methods of composite word creating in these books became the basis for surname choices in the civil registry. The second part of the chapter focuses on registry documents from 1934 to 1936 submitted by heads of families. These documents contain three types of written text: the *Soy Adı Kağıdı* (Surname Form), handwritten or typed lists of possible name choices, petitions to the local official or directorate asking for particular names, and correspondence between officials in different locations debating

the suitability of names. The markings on the forms indicate that there was a lot of negotiation until a particular name was chosen, with duplicate names often being a problem.

Chapter 5 is based on surname narratives related in face-to-face interviews with men and women who had clear memories of the Surname Law. While there are broad patterns between rural and urban experiences of the law, it is clear that the application of the law was not standard. I provide an overview of the context for the interviews, around the 75th anniversary of the Republic, and touch upon aspects of the interviews related to memories of Atatürk and region-specific events. Interviewees had differing experiences depending on education, family status, or whether they had recently migrated from or fled former Ottoman lands. While some respondents were proud of the names they had chosen, others sought meaning in surnames that had been assigned to them by officials. As some of the oral historical narratives will show, internalized structures of bestowal and nicknaming were often the frames through which people perceived their naming experience. These structures, in turn, inform some of the language of renaming stories of families by agents of the state or intermediaries.

Chapter 6 focuses on selected interviews with non-Muslim respondents, particularly Armenian and Jewish, to show how names were adapted by families to neutralize their ethnicity. Armenian name changes in Istanbul were more likely when the family had been displaced from Anatolia. These interviews speak to the insecurity experienced by non-Muslim citizens during the early years of the Republic.

Chapter 7 gives an overview of debates on surnames among literary and educational figures on the conservative right. Beginning in the 1940s, the Surname Law received a lot of criticism with claims that both purified Turkish and the abandoning of the traditional patronymic name order had departed from authentic Turkish culture. Based on texts published in various literature and folklore magazines, law guides, name booklets, and newspapers, this chapter shows that citizens applied for name changes soon after the law. Names and the identities they reveal or conceal continue to be a source of anxiety and ambition in Turkey, as individuals continue to apply for name changes in a politically charged atmosphere.

My Study and Methods

The research for this project took place between 1999 and 2000 primarily in Western Turkey and particularly in Istanbul.

My study was informed by narrative methodology and built around interviews in which respondents told me the story of their surnames. I conducted interviews with a selection of 60 men and women who agreed to share their memories of the 1934 Surname Law. In interview situations best described as "history-telling" (Portelli 1997, 24), elderly men and women shared their family's surname adoption stories as well as their memories of the 1930s. Interviews were set in private homes, in coffeehouses, and in nursing homes. Narrated experiences of adopting new surnames also depicted the different social or political spheres in which individuals could act on their worlds as the state took measures to act on them.

The respondents in the study represent a range of social, professional and ethnic groups but were primarily Muslims of various backgrounds and Armenian men and women in an elderly home. Among them, ten were first generation Muslim immigrants from Greece Romania, Bulgaria, Russian Crimea. Eight of the interviewees claimed to be from families who had been in Istanbul for several generations. Professionally, they ranged from engineers, writers, tradesmen, teachers, farmers, drivers, movie actors, and many of them had performed their professions in the service of the state. Several had been orphaned by events before the 1930s. Armenian respondents came from families that had been diminished after the deportations and massacres of 1915.

The sample does not claim to be statistically representative, but provides a range of patterns that existed in surname adoption. This book's publication comes more than a decade after the initial research was written up. And ideal expanded study would include interviews with a broader social base and ethnic identification. I have started the process of broadening the demographic to include tribal names, and more non-Muslim interviews, but have chosen to work separately on that data, particularly since my approach and position is so different from when the data for this project was collected. We are all wiser to our research in hindsight.

Conclusion

Beyond the goal of creating a legible populace, the Surname Law more importantly sought to eliminate markers of geographic, ethnic, and religious difference that were deemed threatening to the unity of the national community. The Surname Law was nurtured by the myths of cultural nationalism, and emboldened by the defensive political nationalism of the

1930s. It became individuated as it entered the lives of each family, in the form of a chosen name, a bestowed honorific, a mistranslated former title, or a replacement for an ethnically undesirable name. Surname narratives in all their variety, are also accounts of experience that "give meaning" to the Surname Law. Robert Cover's evocative notion that legal institutions and prescriptions do not exist isolated from the narratives that give them meaning (1983, 4) is well embodied in the parliamentary debates and justification of the Surname Law and in the numerous stories that ensue from its entry into individual life. "[P]rescription, even when embodied in a legal text, [cannot] escape its origin and its end in experience, in the narratives that are the trajectories plotted upon material reality by our imaginations" (ibid., 5).

In modern nations, which rely on standardized forms of particular languages, names are the "semiotic cornerstone[s] in the foundational effects of a nation" (Stevens 1999, 150). The regulation of family names and naming by governments occurs at the intersection of philological knowledge and expertise, and homogenizing technique (Gross 1996, 279). "Requirements concerning the use of recognized names are the homogenizing technique, while the various expert opinions cited in these cases, by philological advisers and others, serve as the accompanying scientific discipline" (ibid., 279).

The Surname Law became effective in January, 1935. In the two years that citizens were given to find and register surnames Turkish families with no recorded surname, along with those who wanted to change their old one, scanned newspapers for name lists, or consulted verbally astute friends and neighbors. Many families in the cities and towns were already recorded by family names and the law gave them the option, and often pressure, of adopting a new name. For some, it was an opportunity to claim a new surname signifying the heroes and virtues valued on the Central Asian steppes. Others chose, or were pressured, to divest their names of religious or ethnic markings. In cities and towns, where the Language Reform generated new Turkish words for the purified Turkish known as öztürkçe, names gained a veneer of reform. Members of the Jewish, Greek and Armenian minorities were not bound by law to change their names, yet many who were concerned about the stigma of being a non-Muslim minority changed their name by truncation, or translation. In remote parts, officials often assigned citizens names that the latter would forget, or later wish to change.

Notes

1. Republic of Turkey. *Soyadı Kanunu*, No. 2525, June 21, 1934.
2. Parts of this manuscript have previously appeared in print (Türköz 2007, 2011).
3. Republic of Turkey, Law No. 2587. 24.11.1934. *Kemal öz adlı Cumhur Reisimize verilen soy adı hakkında kanun* [Law on the Surname given to our President named Kemal], published in the Official Gazette on 27.11.1934.
4. Religious schools were abolished on March 3, 1924.
5. They are referred to as Atatürk Devrimleri, and the individual reforms are referred to as Şapka Devrimi (Hat Revolution), Harf Devrimi (Alphabet Law), and so on. For a discussion on whether these reforms constituted a revolution, see Yılmaz (2015, 5–6).
6. Republic of Turkey, Law No. 671. Nov 25, 1925. *Şapka Iktisasi Hakkinda Kanun* [Law on the Hat].
7. Ironically, the fez was instituted during the nineteenth-century reforms as a uniform headgear for Ottoman civil officials. As the non-Muslims in the empire started to wear the European fashions, it became associated with Muslims and even became an emblem of Muslim anti-colonial sentiment beyond the Ottoman Empire.
8. Republic of Turkey, Law No. 697. 26/12/1925. *Günün Yirmi Dört Saate Taksimine Dair Kanun* [Law on the Division of the Day into Twenty-four Hours] and Law No. 698, 26.12.1925, *Takvimde Tarih Mebdeinin Tebili Hakkinda Kanun* [Law on the Change of the Calendar].
9. Law No. 1353, Nov 3 1934. *Türk Harflerinin Kabulu ve Tatbiki Hakkında Kanun* [Law on the Approval and Application of Turkish Letters].
10. Republic of Turkey. Law No. 2590. 26.11.1934. *Efendi, bey, paşa, gibi lakab ve ünvanların kaldırıldığına dair kanun* [Law on the abolition of such appellations and titles as efendi, bey, and pasha], published in the Official Gazette on 29.11.1934.
11. *Resmi Gazete*, Dec 27, 1937, Decree No 2-1759, 4589-91.
12. For a comprehensive overview of the emergence of social history of modern Turkey, see Brockett (2011, 13–37).
13. This official version, as historians note, is marked by a particular periodization that distinguishes between the *İkinci Meşrutiyet* (Second Constitutional Period) (1908–1918); *Milli Mücadele* (National Struggle) (1919–1923); and *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) (after 1923) (Zürcher 1992, 239).
14. In 1534, the Ottoman sultan Suleiman I had several grandiose titles, including, TAC-BAHS-I RU-YI ZEMIN (Dispenser of crowns of the world) or ZILLU 'LLAHI FI' L-ARAZIN (Shadow of God on Earth) (Schaendlinger, I:i, cited in Bayerle 1997, 48). Christian sovereigns and dictators were also bestowed titles. Ferdinand I was known in 1534 as

IFTIHARU 'L-UMERA'I 'L-MILLETI 'L-MESIHIYE (Laudable pride of the commanders of the community of the Messiah) (ibid., I:1 in Bayerle, 48), and Ottoman dignitaries, such as grand vezirs, could be known by titles such as CELISU 'S-SALTANATI 'Z-ZAHIRE (Companion of the flourishing sultanate) (Arif 30, cited in Bayerle 1997, 50).

15. The Turkish spelling of Arabic derived words such as lakab are marked by changing bs to ps. In another example, the word for book, *kitab*, is spelled *kitap* in Turkish. This is a product of the Turkish Language Reform of the 1930s which sought to eliminate Arabic and Persian borrowings from Turkish. In this dissertation, the Turkish spelling will be used because that is the version used in the sources and in interviews.

16. One of my respondents told me that he had a student to whose family the community gave the *lakab*, Köpekboku, or "dog excrement" (Orhan Sorman October, 2000).

17. With the Second Decree for the Enforcement of the Name Law (RGB1 I P.1044), Jewish males became required to add "Israel" to their given name and females, to add "Sarah." by Jan 1, 1939 (76). Similar laws were also adopted by Austria, where Jews were told not to adopt non-Jewish names, and a list of 1605 Jewish names were published in the Rome newspaper *Tevere*, warning Italians to be cautious with people carrying those names, since they may be disloyal to fascism (86).

18. http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/project-surname/.

19. A name law passed in 1925, effective until 1991, forbade the adoption of new surnames. A new law in 1996 permits the adoption of middle names, *millinöfn*, which she argues may have opened a "back door for indeclinable gender-neutral family names" (Willson, 150).

Bibliography

Agha, Asif. 2003. The Social Life of Cultural Value. *Language and Communication* 23 (3–4): 231–273.

Akgönül, Samim. 2006. *De la nomination en turc actuel: Appartenances, perceptions, croyances.* Istanbul: Isis éditions.

Alia, Valerie. 2008. *Names and Nunavut: Culture and Identity in the Inuit Homeland*. Berghahn Books.

Altınay, Ayşegül, and Fethiye Çetin. 2014. *The Grandchildren: The Hidden Legacy of 'Lost' Armenians in Turkey.* New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Altınay, Ayşe Gül, and Yektan Türkyılmaz. 2011. Unraveling Layers of Silencing: Converted Armenian Survivors of the 1915 Catastrophe. In *Untold Histories of the Middle East: Recovering Voices from the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Amy Singer, Christoph Neumann, and Selcuk Aksin Somel, 25–53. London: Routledge.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso Books.

Aslan, Senem. 2009. Incoherent State: The Controversy over Kurdish Naming in Turkey. *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 10. https://ejts.revues.org/4142

Atabaki, Touraj, and Erik Zürcher, eds. 2003. *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization Under Atatürk and Reza Shah*. London: I.B. Taurus.

Başgöz, Ilhan. 1998a. The Meaning and Dimension of Change of Personal Names in Turkey. In *Turkish Folklore and Oral Literature: Selected Essays of Ilhan Başgöz*, Turkish Studies Series L: 19, ed. Kemal Silay, 201–215. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University.

———. 1998b. The Name and Society: A Case Study of Personal Names in Turkey. In *Turkish Folklore and Oral Literature: Selected Essays of Ilhan Başgöz*, Turkish Studies Series L: 19, ed. Kemal Silay, 216–230. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University.

Bayerle, Gustav. 1997. *Pashas, Begs and Effendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire*. Istanbul: ISIS Press.

Bouquet, Olivier. 2010. *Onomasticon Ottomanicum*: Identification administrative et désignation sociale dans l'État ottoman du xixᵉ siècle. *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* [En ligne], 127 | juillet 2010, mis en ligne le 15 juin 2013. http://remmm.revues.org/6743. consulté le 03 avril 2017.

Bouquet, Olivier. 2013. Onomasticon Ottomanicum II: Le voile de l'identité. In *Penser, agir et vivre dans l'Empire ottoman et en Turquie*, ed. Nathalie Clayer and Erdal Kaynar, 283–306. Louvain: Peeters.

Bozdoğan, Sibel ve Reşat Kasaba. 1997. *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Brockett, Gavin. 2011. *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk: Provincial Newspapers and the Negotiation of a Muslim Identity*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Brunet, Guy, and Alain Bideau. 2000. Surnames: History of the Family and History of Populations. *The History of the Family* 5 (2): 153–160.

Brunet, Guy, Pierre Darlu, and Gianna Zei. 2001. *Le Patronyme: Histoire, Anthropologie, Societé*. Paris: CNRS Editions.

Bulliet, Richard. 1978. First Names and Political Change in Modern Turkey. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9: 489–495.

Burke, Edmund I.I.I., ed. 1993. *Struggle and Survival in the Middle East*. Los Angeles/Berkeley: University of California Press.

Burnard, Trevor. 2001. Slave Naming Patterns: Onomastics and the Taxonomy of Race in Eighteenth Century Jamaica. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XXXI (3): 325–346.

Cooper, Samuel. 1997. Names as Cultural Documents. In *These Are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics*, ed. Aaron Demsky, Joseph A. Reif, and Joseph Tabory, 13–22. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press.

Cover, Robert M. 1983. The Supreme Court, 1982 Term—Foreword: Nomos and Narrative. Faculty Scholarship Series. Paper 2705. http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/fss_papers/2705

Deringil, Selim. 1993. The Ottoman Origins of Kemalist Nationalism: Namık Kemal to Mustafa Kemal. *European History Quarterly* 23: 165–199. London: Sage.

Doğaner, Yasemin. 2009. An Identity Construction in the Turkish Republic: The Law on Family Names. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 99: 113–125.

Duben, Alan, and Cem Behar. 1991. *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ender, Rita. 2016. *İsmiyle Yaşamak* [Living with One's Name]. Istanbul: Iletişim Yayınları.

Ertan, Temuçin Faik. 2000. Cumhuriyet Kimliği Tartışmalarının Bir Boyutu: Soyadı Kanunu. *Kebikeç* 10: 255–272.

Georgeon, François. 2000. Les prédécesseurs médiévaux d'Atatürk. Bilge kaghan et le sultan Alp Arslan. *Revue d'Etude de la Méditerranée et du Monde Musulman* 89–90: 217–243.

Göcek, Fatma Müge, and Şükrü Hanioğlu. 1995. Western Knowledge, Imperial Control and the use of Statistics in the Ottoman Empire. Center for Research on Social Organization Working Papers, Michigan.

Goldberg, Harvey. 1997. Names in Their Social Contexts: An Anthropological Perspective. In *These Are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics*, ed. Aaron Demsky, Joseph A. Reif, and Joseph Tabory. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 53–64.

Gonon, Anne. 1993. Noms et changements de noms: un aspect de la construction intitutionelle de l'identité japonaise. *Geneses* 13 (1): 54–75.

Gross, Aeyal M. 1996. Rights and Normalization: A Critical Study of European Human Rights Case Law on the Choice and Change of Names. *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 9: 269–284.

Hull, Matthew S. 2003. The File: Agency, Authority, and Autography in an Islamabad Bureaucracy. *Language & Communication* 23 (3–4): 287–314.

Kaganoff, Benzion C. 1977. *A Dictionary of Jewish Names and Their History.* New York: Schocken Books.

Kandiyoti, Deniz. 1997. Gendering the Modern: On Missing Dimensions in the Study of Turkish Modernity. In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 113–132.

Keyder, Çaglar. 1987. *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development.* London: Verso Press.

Levy, Paul. 1960. *Les noms des Israelites en France: histoire et dictionnaire.* 1st ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Lewis, Bernard. 1961. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey.* London: Oxford University Press.

Mardin, Şerif. 1997. Projects as Methodology: Some Thoughts on Modern Turkish Social Science. In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Massicard, Élise. 2013. Post-hérité. Un retour du patronyme en Turquie contemporaine ? *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 2 (60–2): 87–105.

Meeker, Michael. 2002. *A Nation of Empire: The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Migdal, Joel S. 2001. *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Nautré, Sylvie. 1977. *Le nom en droit comparé*. European University Papers. Series II: Law. Bd/Vol. 180. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Neyzi, Leyla. 2010. Oral History and Memory Studies in Turkey. In Kerslake, C., Öktem, K., and Robins, P. *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the 20th Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 443–459.

Nicolaisen, W.F.H. 1976. Words as Names. *Onoma* XX: 142–163.

Ortaylı, Ilber. 1984. Eski Osmanlı Adları [Old Ottoman Names]. *Tarih ve Toplum* 7: 4–5.

Plutzchow, Herbert E. 1995. *Japan's Name Culture: The Significance of Names in a Religious, Political, and Social Context*. Sandgate/Folkestone/Kent: Japan Library.

Portelli, Alessandro. 1997. *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Rennick, Robert M. 1970. The Nazi Name Decrees of the Nineteen Thirties. *Journal of the American Name Society* 16: 65–88.

Schimmel, Annemarie. 1989. *Islamic Names*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Schutz, Alfred, and Thomas Luckmann. 1973. *The Structures of the Life-World*. Chicago: Northwestern University Press.

Scott, James. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.

Scott, James, John Tehranian, and Jeremy Mathias. 2002. The Production of Legal Identities Proper to States: The Case of the Permanent Family Surname. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44 (1): 4–44.

Selishchev, A.M. 1979. Changes in Surnames and Given Names. *Soviet Anthropology and Archaeology* XVII (4): 46–60.

Shaw, Stanford. 1978. The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831–1914. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9: 325–338.

Spencer, Robert F. 1961. The Social Context of Modern Turkish Names. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 17 (3): 205–218.

Stevens, Jacqueline. 1999. *Reproducing the State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Uspenskii, B.A. 1979. Name Changes in Russia From a Historical and Semiotic Point of View. *Soviet Anthropology and Archaeology* XVII (4): 25–46.

Willson, Kendra. 2002. Political Inflections: Grammar and the Icelandic Surname Debate. In *Standardization: Studies from the Germanic Languages*, ed. A.N. Linn and N. McLelland, 135–152. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Wilson, Stephen. 1998. *The Means of Naming: A Social and Cultural History of Personal Naming in Western Europe*. London: University College London (UCL) Press.

Yıldız, Ahmet. 2001. *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene: Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etno-seküler Sınırları (1919–1938)* [So Happy is Who He Can Call Himself A Turk: The Ethno-Secular Boundaries of Turkish National Identity]. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Zürcher, Erik J. 1992. The Ottoman Legacy of the Turkish Republic: An Attempt at a New Periodization. *Die Welt des Islams* 32: 237–253.

Intellectual Precursors and Cultural Context: Turkology, Language Reform, and Surnames

Turkish had always been spoken in the Ottoman Empire, but went through a process of simplification in the late Ottoman period, and purification under Kemalism. The particular Turkish that nurtured the names that registry officials promoted and many families adopted was a product of the language reform process, a national language planning effort that involved lexicographers, linguists, historians, and members of the rural population.

By the time the Surname Law became enforced, the Turkish language had not only gained prestige status among the intellectual and bureaucratic elite, but a purged version of Turkish, öztürkçe, was permeating the print media. By 1935, the Republican People's Party (RPP) program was composed in öztürkçe, a purified language purged of all Persian and Arabic vocabulary. The process by which Turkish both gained this status and was transformed had a scholarly thread and a political thread. In the end, the Surname Law was supported by the ardent collection of vernacular and ancient Turkish words, and by the generation of novel words out of the principles of the language reform process of the 1930s.

This chapter traces the manner in which the Turkish language became recognized as a language carrying historical weight, particularly with archeological findings and the discovery of manuscripts that repositioned Turkish in a different category of languages in the West.

Discoveries by historical linguists, and the subsequent circulation of texts about these discoveries, widened the circle of knowledge about ancient Turkic languages. These findings dovetailed with the efforts by intellectuals to simplify the Ottoman language. The purist language reform of the 1930s not only utilized these sources, but also encouraged civil servants and members of the educated public to collect folk idioms and spoken vernaculars for a new list of equivalents to the Ottoman language. The scientifically unsound Sun Language Theory, which held that Turkish had grandfathered all languages, marked the peak of this process. The surname booklets of the time were a product of this progression of accumulated knowledge, and they replicated the methods of the language reform, putting into circulation a stock of words, syllables, and sounds that would eventually transform the texture of the onomastic repertoire of Turkish surnames. This new stock of names accrued value within a broader symbolic political economy in which cultural items became categorized.

Turks, Islam, and Osmanlica

The language of the Ottomans, *Osmanlıca*, was an administrative and literary language made up of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian (Tekin 1973, 489; Lewis 1999, 2). The Ottoman State was akin to other empires with a "central language of bureaucracy and ceremony based on the language of the founding ethnicity," so Ottoman Turkish became a different language than the vernacular Turkish and other languages without official status, spoken by its subjects (Hanioğlu 2008, 33). When the Turks converted to Islam in the eleventh century, they eventually absorbed both Persian and Arabic vocabulary and grammatical conventions. The Turkish elites and intellectuals came under the influence of Arabic as the language of the Koran and science, and Persian as the ornamental and respected literary language of the Islamic world. During the expansion of the empire in the mid-fifteenth century, the Arabo-Persian culture became very popular among the palace circle.

Like other empires encompassing multiple ethnic groups, the Ottoman state never imposed a particular language on its peoples and religions; there were various spoken and written languages and even alphabets. Spoken languages flourished with estimates numbering them at about a hundred languages and dialects. Written languages, aside from the imported Persian and French, and Osmanlıca, included Arabic, Greek, Armenian, Judeo-Espanol, and varieties of ecclesiastical forms of Slavic

languages such as Bulgarian, Serbian, and Russian (Strauss 1995, 222). "The first novels published in the Ottoman Empire in the mid-nineteenth century were by Armenians and Cappadocian Greeks; they wrote them in Turkish, using the Armenian and Greek alphabets" (Hanioğlu 2008, 36).

While Arabic and Persian were the most dominant influences on Ottoman Turkish, Hanioğlu points out how all the languages that the empire's boundaries touched could be woven into the texture of the language. Speakers of Ottoman were not even necessarily all Turks, since it was a language of government meetings, poetry recitals, and elevated company, and could be more comprehensible to non-Turkish intellectuals than to the Turks, who would be fluent in other local vernaculars (Hanioğlu, 35). The Ottoman language was a cosmopolitan ruling class jargon, full of vocabulary and grammatical constructions that were satirized in the traditional puppet theater known as *Karagöz* (Tekin 1973, 490).

In the late eighteenth century, the imperial language also started to be influenced by French,[1] and many words entered Ottoman vocabulary, such as *civil* (sivil) or *politique* (politik), as the administrators drew increasingly from French legal codes and fiscal regulations (Hanioğlu, 34). Ottoman intellectuals who had been educated in France and who had been influenced by the ideas of the French revolution were forerunners in the process of change. With the language came the political concepts central to politics, as political writers increasingly adopted concepts like republic (*cumhur, cumhuriyet*), liberty (*hürriyet*), independence (*serbessiyet*), equality (*müsavat*), and nation (*vatan, millet*) (Turnaoğlu 2017, 34). Late Ottoman intellectuals like Namık Kemal, the leading figure of the Young Ottomans who initiated a constitutionalist movement (1840–1888), were dissatisfied with the ornate style of Ottoman Turkish, which they claimed could be made more effective at conveying scientific and literary material, as well as in serving everyday needs (Levend 1949, 113; Öztürkmen 1993).[2]

The cultural and linguistic gap between the rulers and the masses shifted dramatically in the nineteenth century. Starting with the rule of Mahmut II (1808–1839) and culminating during the reign of Abdulhamid, the Ottoman state started to experience what Selim Deringil describes as a crisis period characteristic of the history of states, in which "the established relationship between monarch and people collapses" (Deringil 1998, 8). A process of standardization of all languages of the Empire began,[3] along with the rise of the press and changes in bureaucracy and

attempts to disseminate Ottoman to a wider audience (Hanioğlu). The *Tanzimat* reforms of the late nineteenth century involved the spread of education to larger numbers of Ottoman subjects.[4] The transmission of knowledge and the increased interchange of written documents in bureaucracy created a need for a more standardized form of communication and trained personnel to maintain it. The attempt to bridge the gap between ruler and ruled was politically motivated or, as Hanioğlu puts it, "an existential imperative," since a centrally ruled territory with disparate groups would be weak in the face of military powers of industrializing nation-states (40).

The search for simpler language also led intellectuals to the study of folklore (Öztürkmen 1993; Başgöz 1978). While there had been attempts to transform the language through simplification from the nineteenth century, these had not become a full-fledged movement, especially because the participants were divided by their views on how to proceed with the simplification (Lewis 1999; Levend 1949). From the beginning, the language reformers were divided between the *tasfiyeciler* (purists) and the *sade Türkçeciler* (simplified Turkish proponents). The *tasfiyeciler* were grouped around the *Türk Derneği* magazine and wanted purification of language with all foreign words removed (Tekin 1973, 490). Several years later, in 1911, a new group named the *Yeni Lisancı* (New Language [Group]) came together in Salonica, among them Ali Canip, Ömer Seyfettin, and Ziya Gökalp, and they took more systematic steps to simplify the language by modifying grammatical convention (ibid.).

The term *Osmanlıca* was coined for the Ottoman language by the *Tanzimat* leaders. It emerged from the conceptualization of Ottoman subjects as being part of an Ottoman nation. The leaders of the Tanzimat described the people of the Ottoman lands as *millet-i Osmaniye* (Ottoman nation) as a way to create political unity during the dissolution of the empire due to nationalist claims. "Grammar books written after the Tanzimat period were named *kavaid-i lisan-i Osmani* (Ottoman Grammar) and Turkish was described as a 'language that was made up of Turkish, Arabic and Persian'" (Levend 1949, 11).

Even as Ottomanism was in full swing as a policy to hold the empire together, Turkish was becoming increasingly important in official communication. The Constitution of 1876 made Turkish an official language, and made it mandatory for civil servants to know Turkish (Lewis 1999, 16). Ottoman Turkish became the medium of education in schools and "a

means of securing higher level postings, as one of the defining characteristics of the elite…Modernity in late Ottoman Empire, increasingly bore a Turkish stamp" (Eissenstat, 450). However, Eissenstat points out that this early emphasis on Turkish had a focus that was more pragmatic. Furthermore, as Sadoğlu points out, the push for Turkish never became contradictory with Ottomanism because it was not motivated by a political mission (2009).

The Young Turks, who came to power in 1908, restoring a constitution that had been suspended by Sultan Abdulhamid, continued to emphasize Turkish. Article 7 of the 1908 political program proposed by the Society for Union and Progress (CUP) kept Turkish as the language of the State (Tunaya 1952, 209, cited in Lewis 1999, 21). Even while the Sultan was still in power during the war of independence, schoolteachers were instructed to collect Turkish words in colloquial usage (Lewis 1999, 22). Yet, this was still different from the form that Turkish would take under the single party regime of the 1930s.

TURKOLOGY AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE TURKIC GOLDEN AGE

Production of knowledge about ancient Turks based on new archeological discoveries at the turn of the nineteenth century played a significant role in providing a cultural past for late Ottoman political ideals, with ancient Turkic inscriptions reinforcing the status of Turkish as a language to be held in high esteem.

The year 1832 saw the publication of A.L. David's *Grammar of the Turkish Language,* the first systematic study of the Turkish aspect of Ottoman Turkish, as distinct from the Persian and Arabic. In 1869, Mustafa Celaleddin Paşa, a Polish convert to Islam, published *Les Turcs anciens et modernes,* in which he praised the values of the ancient Turks, claiming they were "Touro-Aryan" rather than Mongol (Shaw 1977, 261). In making the Touro-Aryan argument, the writer of this treatise argued that the Turkish language was also inflectional, like Indo-European languages, rather than agglutinative, like Turkic languages. Dominant ethnological thinking, by Max Müller in particular, held that Turanians were not to be included among the Aryans of Europe because of their agglutinative language, a mark of nomadism, which made them less advanced than state societies (Aytürk 2004, 8). A copy of Celaleddin Paşa's book

with Atatürk's handwritten notes in the margins is said to be housed in the archive of the Anıtkabir (Atatürk's Mausoleum) collection,[5] indicating that his book had a captive audience among the top echelons.

An important catalyst for the interest in Turkic cultures and eventual growth of Turkology as a wider discipline were the discoveries[6] and subsequent translations in the last two decades of the nineteenth century of Turkic Runic Inscriptions. These were first discovered in archeological explorations on the upper course of the Yenisey River. A Finnish expedition was soon underway because it was assumed that the texts were Finno-Ugric (Johanson 2001, 6). In 1891, the Prussian Turkologist Wilhelm Radloff, of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, led an expedition to the site. The texts were first deciphered by the Danish comparative linguist Vilhelm Thomsen in 1893. Thomsen presented his work on December 15, 1893, at a conference in Copenhagen, and within a year his paper had been printed by the Ottoman palace printer.[7]

Competing with Thomsen to decipher the Inscriptions was the German born ethnologist Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff (1837–1918),[8] who is considered to be a pioneer of the comparative work that led to the foundations of modern Turkology. Radloff is associated with the discovery of the *Kutadgu Bilig*, considered the "oldest monument of Islamic Turkish literature[,] … a long didactic poem in the mirror-for-princes tradition….it consist[ed] mainly of dialogues set within a frame story" (Dankoff 1983, 1).

Necip Asım obtained a copy of Thomsen's paper from Athmet Mithat, to whom Thomsen had given the manuscript. The first Ottoman era article about Thomson's work[9] on the Runic inscriptions was by Necip Asım[10] in 1895[11] and 1899 in *İkdam* under the titles, "En eski Türk Yazısı" (The Oldest Turkish Writing) and "Pek Eski Türk Yazısı" (Very Old Turkish Writing). Şemsettin Sami, a lexicographer who is known for his master work, the Dictionary of the Turkish language, is said to have been inspired to write about the Orhon Inscriptions based upon these articles, after which Necib Asım visited the latter and presented him with a copy of Thomsen's book (Ata, 174).

While Necip Asım's first article on Thomsen's work was hesitant about conclusions, his later article made ambitious claims. He reiterated his argument that the Arabic script was inadequate for Turkish sounds. The

Turks, he claimed in the conclusion, are a civilized nation carrying their superior culture wherever they go and it is time to introduce this culture to the rest of the world (Ercilasun 1999, 76).

In 1921, Jean Deny published *Grammaire de la langue turque* (*dialecte Osmanli*), the first grammar of Turkish that Menges claims approached it according to its own categories rather than "pressing the language into the schemes of the Arabic grammar" (Menges, 2). It was during the period ending in the First World War that the study of Turkish, which had so far been linked by academic tradition to the study of Persian and Arabic, became a separate field, and in 1927, the Turkology department at Berlin University was endowed with a chair (Menges 6).[12]

Apart from these, among the recovered texts most significant for the practice of naming, was the epic, *Dede Korkut*,[13] a group of 12 inter-related action stories set in Central Asia in the period of the Oghuz, considered to be the ancestors of the Seljuks and Ottomans. The first complete transcription of the epic was made in 1916 by *Kilisli Rıfat, Kitab-i Dede Korkut Ala Lisani Ta'ife Oghuzan* (Sümer et al.) and in 1938, Orhan Shaik Gökyay published a version in the Latin Alphabet, adopted a decade earlier (ibid.). In *Dede Korkut*, Oguz customs and ways of life are described and praised by the narration of Dede Korkut, who as a soothsayer, high priest, and *ozan* (bard), held authority for giving names. Anatolian saints and spiritual leaders are often referred to as *dede* (elder, or grandfather) and Dede Korkut's roles within the narrative are said to be reminiscent of the Central Asian shaman. In the epic, Dede Korkut is called upon to resolve dilemmas that are overwhelming (Sümer et al. 1972, xviii).

A relevant example of this for naming customs is when Dede Korkut provides names for boys after rites of passage into manhood. A young boy comes to be named *Boğaç* by Dede Korkut after having single-handedly killed a raging bull (*boğa*) (Sümer et al. 1972, xiii). The scene is frequently invoked by writers of this time to demonstrate the importance of names for the ancient Turks and to show the existence of native naming traditions before the Ottoman centuries.

The discovery of ancient texts and their decipherment provided support for the yearnings of cultural nationalists such as Ziya Gökalp—remembered today as the major ideologue of Turkish nationalism[14]—to

argue that a culture submerged by the influence of Persian and Arabic, needed to be uncovered and reclaimed. These cultural nationalists imagined that the distant Turkic roots on the steppes of Central Asia were an antidote to an Ottoman era, which they associated with political, moral, and cultural torpidity. In fact, Gökalp was a forerunner in the name change process, taking the name Gökalp soon after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 on the suggestion of Ali Canip. Gökalp started out with the name Mehmed Ziya, the first of these names being his *göbek adı*, or umbilical name. In the manner of other intellectuals of the time, Gökalp had taken a number of pseudonyms for his writing, but Gökalp, the name he assumed while he lived in Salonica, stayed with him, and became his formal family name.

Gökalp was trained[15] in both religious and secular schools, and studied with Abdullah Cevdet,[16] who introduced him to the sociology of Emile Durkheim[17] and August Compte. After the Young Turk revolution of 1908, he became a representative for the city of Diyarbekir in the CUP congress in Salonica, where he stayed on to become the empire's first sociology teacher. Gökalp shared with other intellectuals of the time a wariness of, as well as admiration for, Western culture and technology. He argued that the Turks had "borrowed the institutions of foreign peoples and produced an artificial civilization, instead of creating their own by developing their own institutions" (Gökalp 1959, 89). In the German romantic nationalist tradition, he believed that a successful nation would be rooted in its folk traditions. Western culture and technology, on the other hand, could be borrowed for the sake of progress, a dichotomous thinking held by many Middle East cultural nationalists.

> Culture is national, civilization is international. Culture is composed of the integrated system of religious, moral, legal, intellectual, aesthetic, linguistic, economic, and technological spheres of life in a certain nation. Civilization, on the other hand, is the sum total of social institutions shared in common by several nations that have attained the same level of development. (Gökalp 1959, 104)

In Gökalp's model, while civilization was rational, intentional and conscious, culture was in contrast, unconscious, natural, and authentic. Like Johann Gottfried Herder, Gökalp believed that fostering one's own

culture was a way to participate in "the development of humanity at large" (Ergang 1931, 252). Though Gökalp has been the most prominent ideologue of Turkish nationalism, he was by no means the only one.[18]

Ziya Gökalp, Turkish Families, and Names as Solidarity Tools

One of Gökalp's late essays addresses the problem of disorganization in family names, the rectification of which would be possible with a family name law, as a method to bring Turkey into conformity with "civilized nations," and to retrieve and manifest the golden age of the Oghuz. In his essay on "Family Names" (*Aile Adları*), appearing in *Cumhuriyet* in 1924, his narrator conducts a dialogue with an Anonymous Philosopher (*Meçhul Filosof*),[19] about methods to strengthen the family. The philosopher replies that family name legislation is needed.

In Gökalp's view, strengthening the family meant creating social solidarity *içtimai tesanüd*, Gökalp and his disciple, Fahri Fındıkoğlu, perceived the Ottoman family to be in disarray resulting from surviving Islamic marital practices, such as easy divorce by males and polygamy, weakening the social fabric.[20] Gökalp held that the family had become a *gevşek yuva* (loose nest) after the reforms of the Tanzimat, a liminal stage between the *ümmet*[21] stage and another, indeterminate stage. He was also against the Tanzimat's idea of citizenship, which he described as "mere political citizenship" solidarity, making it easy for an undesirable individualist movement to take hold (130). The Tanzimat reforms, he argued, wanted to replace the old *ümmet* nation with a nation in the form of *halk* (people), devoid of a common religion or culture (ibid.). The family, as the microcosm of society needed to embody solidarity (131). The family name in Gökalp's essay is both an administrative ideal based on European example and also an extension of his search for an overarching cultural ideal from a distant past.

> Yesterday I asked the unknown philosopher, "what must be done to strengthen the family?"
>
> [Unknown Philosopher]—In my opinion [we must begin] with family names. In every civilized nation there is a title for each family that usually comes after the personal name. In the compound names such as Frederik List, Viktor Hugo the first word is the personal name, and the second is the

family name. In our nation on the other hand, there is no uniform family name. It is not evident that two cousins are related from their names, let alone two brothers. In other nations, because the family name is orderly, it is easy to tell who is kin. This name participation strengthens solidarity and familiarity between kin.

In his essay, *Türk Ahlakı* (Turkish Morality), Gökalp draws a distinction between *sosyal birleşim* social unity (solidarity) and *toplanma* "gathering." "Gathering" encouraged its members to *vanité*, while social unity made people forget their selfhood (Gökalp 1989). The family name is one more administrative item that needs to be reorganized like the west, and restored to a pre-Ottoman form.

In each era, Turks took different names, Gökalp points out: (1) The *boy* era, or era of the clan; (2) the era of the *soy*, or family; (3) the Ottoman era; (4) *muhles* (additional proper name) era; (5) the *yanlış taklit devri* (mistaken imitation) era, (6) the European era. In the clan or tribal era, Oguz Turks used the clan name as the family name. He draws on the book of Dede Korkut, where a man would have to earn his name with bravery.

After the institution of the Turkish clan was lost, the family or lineage became important and the Turks began to use the patronymic suffix, *-oğlu*. Following this *soy* era, came the Ottoman era, in which *-oğlu* was replaced by *-zade*, a Persian borrowing. The next era, the *muhles* era was marked by "a neglect of family names and a doubling of proper names," (Gökalp [1924a]1966, 45) and thus the proliferation of double names[22] such as *Tevfik Fikret*, or *Tahsin Nahit*. In the false imitation era meanwhile, attempts were made to copy the Europeans by using the father's name as a family name, "However, because the father was different in each generation, it was necessary to change the family's name also" (45).

You say that we hardly have family names. In that case, which power can materialize these?

[Unknown Philosopher]—A population law can accomplish this. The following phrase can be added to our population law: when registering at the population office, each family should be asked to take a family name. Those who cannot come up with a family name can be given a suitable family name by the [Kommon Meclis]. And after this, each individual will be registered with his family name on his family's page. And after that, it will be made obligatory in all official matters to utter and write the family name with the personal name. And in this way, family names will be united [in our nation] too.

He foresees that in the European era, each family will take the personal name of one of the grandfathers, or the name of his trade, and place it after the personal name, just like in Europe. "This way, the family name will not only continue for many generations, but will also correspond to the first era, the era of the clan. And will be free of such expressions as *ogulu* and *zade*" (Gökalp [1924]1966, 45). Harkening to the Oghuz past, and stretching into a Western future, Gökalp applied ideas about family names that were pragmatic in their method, yet romantic in their reach.

A source that makes direct reference to Gökalp's ideas, published in 1936, is Fındıkoğlu's study of family name law, with a section on family names, *Le problème des noms de famille*. This was a complementary thesis he completed at the University of Strasbourg, in addition to a thesis on the sociology of Ziya Gökalp.

In the countryside and in small towns, each family is known by a patronymic name with an *oglou* ending, he writes. However, these names became scarce when families and individuals moved to cities. He adds that urbanites developed a dislike of family evoking peasant lifestyle and customs, and therefore adopted new naming practices.

> Since my father was a judge, and consequently an urbanite, he abandoned his patronymic name and chose to carry his umbilical name and his given name. But the family to which I belong comes from Erzurum (Tortum), where everyone carries their family name. I thus carry my true patronymic name, but the given name of my father, *Fahri*, accompanied by my umbilical name, Ahmed, and my given name, *Ziyaeddin*. After the enactment of the law on family names, I must choose a patronymic name. I can choose any Turkish name (existing or imagined), or [I can choose] my real family name, of peasant origin, but abandoned by my father. There is no reason why my preference should not be for the second, that is, for the family name of Fındıkoğlu. In that regard, I recall an event of six years ago, when I had just arrived in Strasbourg. The police asked for my family name and for my mother's name before marriage, something that really surprised me. And the Strasbourgian police, in turn, was also surprised to see, in my passport, my father's given name as my family name! (Fındıkoğlu 1936, 82)

Language Reform, Pre- and Post-1930

Turkish language reform efforts in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic can be divided into two broad stages: a pragmatic, simplification stage beginning with the Tanzimat reforms, and a purist, secular stage

initiated around 1908 and culminating in the more radical purist choices of the 1930s.[23] The first stages of language simplification were made after the Tanzimat, when formerly complicated scripts used for financial documents and literary text were converted and standardized to adapt to printing presses (Sadoğlu and Toprak 2009, 5). This was a stage when the reform in Turkish has a more pragmatic tone,[24] and Turkish was attributed an official, unifying function (ibid.). These early simplification efforts were also motivated by Ottoman encounters with Western cities, where literacy was high, while Muslim Turks, unable to read an ornate and complex script, were illiterate (Strauss 2008), so the foremost task was to bring the written language closer to the daily vernacular.

Tunalı Hilmi proposed Turkification of technical and educational language to the Grand National Assembly (GNA) as early as 1923, but the GNA was not ready for such a move (Lewis 1999, 41).[25] There are other indications of proposals to the GNA to Turkify toponyms and anthroponyms, but they were not met with great support.

The reform efforts under Atatürk were more radical compared to the previous efforts (Tekin 1973, 491). They gained state backing under the Republican People's Party, first in 1928 with the alphabet reform,[26] and then in the 1930s with the language reform which launched the campaign to eliminate (*tasfiye*) the Arabic and Persian elements in the language. In 1931, the government established the Association To Investigate The Turkish Language (*Türk Dilini Tetkik Cemiyeti*), which in July 1932, took the name *Türk Dil Kurumu*, or Turkish Language Association. (Ölmez 2000, 107; TDK). The goal of the TDK's first of three congresses was twofold: (1) To uncover the beauty and wealth of the Turkish language; (2) To place Turkish among world languages in a manner befitting its [great] value (TDK, 7).

The *Birinci Turk Dili Kurultayı* (First Turkish Language Congress) was held on Sept 26–Oct 5, 1932, at the Dolmabahçe Palace[27] in Istanbul. Three methods would be used to achieve this goal: (1) to collect and uncover treasures of the Turkish from old books and vernacular speech; (2) to uncover methods of creating words in Turkish and use these methods to create assorted words from Turkish root words; and (3) to uncover and disseminate *öz türkçe* words that can replace foreign root words, particularly in written Turkish (TDK, 8). The execution of the first item was divided into a Dictionary and Philology Branch and a Collection Branch.

A report in the *British Documents for Foreign Affairs* described with some awe and amusement the atmosphere of the first language congress:

> The opening session in the great hall of the palace was attended by a large number of people, including members of the Government, Deputies, officials of all categories, university professors, schoolteachers and members of the general public. …Parties of peasants brought from remote districts of Turkey, and thereby considered to be repositories of primitive Turkish, pure and undefiled, were exhibited and "lionized," and wide publicity given to their contributions to knowledge, composed in the main of praise of the *Gazi*,[28] an Arabic title for which they had no Turkish equivalent. (BDFA Doc.285 [E 5494/3822/44] Oct 13, 1932)

The decisions taken in these congresses and the language substitution efforts that ensued produced several significant texts. They called this newly purified language *öz türkçe*—"authentic Turkish," or "our own Turkish"—as opposed to *Osmanlıca* (Ottoman Turkish).

The first congress issued the Word Mobilization Bylaw (*Söz Derleme Talimatnamesi*, November 12, 1932), signed by Gazi M. Kemal (Atatürk) and his cabinet. The bylaw instructed each governor to form a delegation under the Turkish Language Investigation Association (*Türk Dilini Tetkik Cemiyeti*) and district governorship in smaller towns, to collect words from local vernaculars.

> To achieve [the Language Revolution] the first step is to collect Turkish language materials and create a dictionary. Each citizen should carry a brick for this blessed edifice. But the dictionary cannot be achieved without resorting to the memory of the nation. The officer who is training his soldiers, the doctor healing his patients, the gendarme sergeant guarding his prisoners, the engineer supervising workers, the cadaster technician protecting forests, all those who interact with, and love the people are as beholden to this [project] as the school teacher. (TDK, 17)

The officials carrying out the *söz derleme seferberliği* (the word-collection mobilization) received booklets with guidelines on how to proceed with the collection of words; they were instructed to send to the central office the words on elaborate forms for processing (Lewis 1999, 49). The first phase of word collection spanned categories including geography, climate, calendars, plants, animals, anatomy, material culture,

hunting, fishery, animal husbandry, gardening, agriculture, cooking, costume and clothing, musical instruments, toys, and occupational culture (TDK, 20–26). The second phase included the collection of folklore, including folk belief.

The state-backed folklore studies of the 1930s had precedents in the Turkism movement in the nineteenth century, when Ottoman intellectuals sought a language that could be understood by the populace. Folklore studies "evolved within the institutions and among the intellectuals of the late Ottoman era at the end of the nineteenth century and became consolidated during the Republican period in the first half of the twentieth century" (Öztürkmen 1993, 67). The need for the collection of Turkish folklore materials started during the Tanzimat era, when writers and intellectuals were feeling the "need to forge a national language in order to mediate the political and social ideas that were being formulated" (ibid.). This process drew on the romantic nationalist ideas of other nation-state processes.

The lists of words collected by civil servants and the lists produced by scholars who gleaned old Turkish texts were published in a glossary named *Tarama Dergisi* (1934), "a wonderful ragbag," as one scholar put it (Lewis 1999, 21). Each Ottoman word came to have several equivalents, and as a result of the profusion of word equivalents that were submitted, each Ottoman Turkish word in this glossary ended up having several, if not a dozen, definitions. Free use of the words in the definitions meant that much written Turkish became interspersed with parenthetical definitions or accompanied by glossaries. This was also the case with surname booklets, in which educated citizens emulated others in displaying their usage of the purified language (Karauğuz 1935). A decree issued by the Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of the Press) stipulated that newspapers publish front-page editorials in *öz türkçe* (Çolak 2004, 81). Daily newspapers, as instruments of dissemination of the new Turkish, became comprehensible only with dictionaries as observers noted.

> [D]uring 1935, the metropolitan press passed through a period of trying to use nothing but pure Turkish words. Even the best educated had to look up several words per paragraph in their glossaries. …Publishers were relieved when reformers admitted the pace had been too fast, and agreed to let the reform be accomplished less precipitately. (Webster 1939, 255, cited in Çolak, 90)

This process of substitution was so thorough that in one case in 1934, it was apparently difficult for speeches made in the new language to be

understood. When Atatürk used *öz türkçe* to make a speech in the presence of the Swedish Crown Prince Gustav Adolf, he is said to have read his speech haltingly, like a schoolchild.

When it became clear that finding equivalents for every borrowed word would be impossible, a paper on Turkish languages enabled Atatürk and the language commission to prove that those borrowed words actually had stems that were actually Turkish. The Sun-Language Theory was based on a paper written by a Dr. Hermann F. Kverić from Vienna called "La Psychologie de quelques éléments des langues turques," in which the author argued that human beings first realized their identity when they "conceived of the idea of establishing what the external objects surrounding him were" (Lewis 1999, 57). The first linguistic utterances, which were gestures, developed into pronouns that could be found in Turkish, which could well have been "the first human language to take shape" (ibid.). A cult ritual among ancient Turks would have been the place where this arch-language would have begun (Aytürk 2004, 18). On this theory, which even in its time was dismissed, could be built the idea that foreign borrowings in Turkish already originated in Turkish and therefore replacing every borrowing ceased to be a necessity. The Sun-Language Theory was made public in the Third Turkish Language Congress of 1936 and its methods were based on a "'revolutionary' etymological method," by which the smallest meaningful bit of a word was not a root but a sound, considered a psychoanalytic unit (Aytürk 2004, 17). Further studies in history and anthropology were also mobilized to support the thesis that the Turks were of dominant and superior racial background, primarily through the Turkish History Thesis, which held that the Turks are a brachycephalic people originating in Central Asia, where they had created a civilization around an inner sea. When the sea dried up, they dispersed in various directions to "civilize the world" (Çağaptay, 51). Atatürk's adoptive daughter, Afet Inan,[29] studied physical anthropology in Switzerland and published a thesis that would scientific support for this hegemonic idea (Maksudyan 2005).

In sum, early simplification measures for Ottoman sought to broaden the reach of the court language to the masses but did not necessarily involve purification. With the discovery of Turkic sources and evidence that Turkish could be on equal footing with Indo-European languages, linguists and bureaucrats injected Ottoman with doses of Turkish. Through the Linguistic Congresses emerged a language that became gradually shorn of Arabic and Persian constructions and vocabulary.

Much of the media and popular press were mobilized from 1928 onwards to publish in the new alphabet and from the 1930s in öztürkçe. On the anniversary of the language reform in 1934, *Akbaba*'s editor Yusuf Ziya (Ortaç) marked the day by commenting, "As a nation's moral costume, language ought to resemble its material costume. Is it possible for a head with a hat to speak in a turbaned language?"[30] (Yusuf Ziya (Ortaç) *Akbaba*, Sept 27, 1934, 3). A caricature on the same day depicts two Islamic *âlims* (scholars) (Image 2.1). They sit across from one another, one of them leaning on a desk. The *âlim* seated on the chair wears a tur-
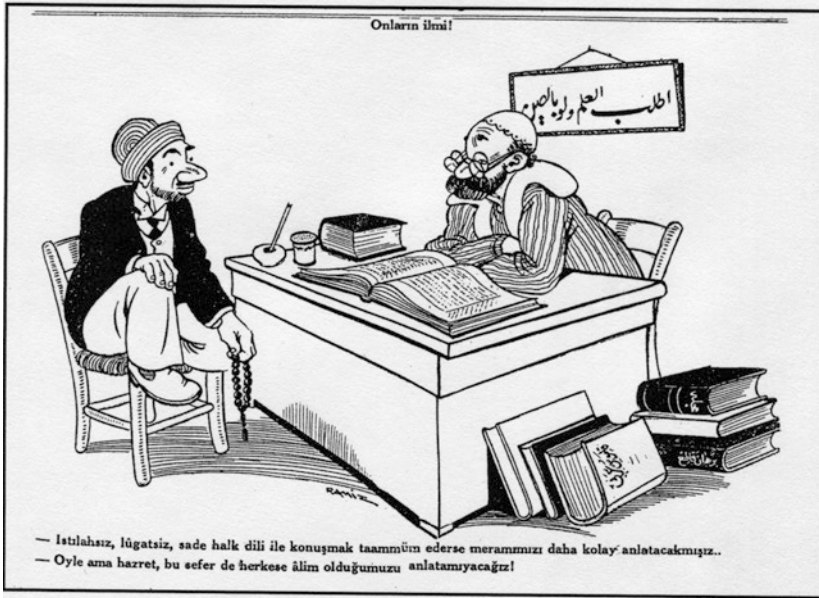
Image 2.1 Two *âlims* (scholars of religious sciences) seated across from each other discuss the prospect of having to communicate their knowledge in simple language. "[First âlim]: Apparently we will be able to make ourselves understood more easily with the simple language of the masses. [Second âlim]: That may be true, *hazret*, but now we will not be able to explain that we are âlims! The framed inscription hanging on the wall, (attributed to the Prophet Muhammad), reads, "seek knowledge, even if it's in China." (Source: *Akbaba*, Vol 49, 1934)

ban and a suit; he perches on the chair, indicating he is not accustomed to sitting on modern furniture. In his left hand he holds a *tespih*, prayer beads. His older counterpart seated behind the desk wears a cloak and Islamic skullcap. Before him on the desk is an inkwell and an open manuscript with Arabic script; several manuscripts are piled on the floor beside him. The image, entitled "*Their* science!," is accompanied by the following dialogue:

> – Apparently, we will be able to express ourselves easier with the simple language of the masses, without technical language or words.
>   – But *hazret* [without the technical language] then we will not be able to express to people that we are *âlims*!

Without the marker of ornate and technical language, the *alims* will be unable to display their learned status. In another cartoon, published on the occasion of a circular stipulating that all government officials must use öztürkçe, the cover of *Akbaba* foregrounds a man with bony hands, balding head, and aging neck, barely able to see the page where he looks for an item related to the population standing before him (Image 2.2).

The depicted civil servant faces a group of citizens waiting for their business. This is one example out of many in which depictions of age and the use of the term "old" indexes a morally defunct and polluted past. The civil servant's forehead and neck are wrinkled, as is his sleeve, as he bends over to look for the word. The populace depicted includes some social variation. While the large man in a three piece suit stands in a more entitled manner bearing a piece of paper, the man on his right carries his hat and appears more demure.

As a result of the language reform efforts, certain sounds, suffixes, and prefixes made their way into the new Turkish, peppering the language, including names, with a new sound texture. A few of these syllables are easy to identify in many of the names that were being used, or appearing at the time. One of these was the *-men* and *-man* suffixes. The suffixes *-men* and *-man* infiltrated the Turkish vocabulary during the language reform when they were looking for a proper word to replace *mütehassıs*, an Arabic borrowing meaning "expert." Fuad Köprülü, historian and pioneer in the study of Turkology, came up with the word *uzman* to replace it; the first syllable, *uz* denoted skilled craftsman, and the second syllable was

Image 2.2   A public official asks members of the public to wait while he looks for the öztürkçe equivalent to an Ottoman word. "Civil servants will use *öztürkçe* words: Old head: (using ornate speech) Please have mercy, do not hurry me, for I am looking for the *öztürkçe* [translation] of *olbapta* (an archaic word meaning "therefore"). (*Akbaba*, Vol 48, 1934)

adopted from *vatman*, the person who ran a streetcar, which was adopted from the French usage, *wattman*, which was the combination of *watt* and the English word, *man* (Lewis). Since this was such a success, the reformers continued to add the suffix to many other words such as *öğretmen* (the root verb *öğret*, means teach, making the word, "teacher"), *seçmen* (voter), or *okutman* (teacher). The Secretary-General of the Language Society Ibrahim Necmi, for example, took the surname "Dilmen" compounded of the Turkish *dil* (language) and non-Turkish -*man*.

The language revolution of the 1930s was thus a linguistic adventure led by Atatürk himself, and pursued by professionals and amateurs alike. The zeal of the initial phases died down, and the Sun Language Theory, after a brief appearance on the language reform stage, was discredited. In the end, Turkish became laden with the dualities of stubborn Ottomanisms and persistent *öz türkçe*. Although many of the words identified, collected, and generated in the 1930s did not make it into language use, they persist in surnames assigned or taken at the time (Sevinçli 2011). The changing political climate and the relative ease with which families can currently change names can also mean that these names, too, get set aside (Massicard 2013).

The Elusive Modern: Form and Content in Portrayals of Social Change in the 1930s

In the cities, surname adoption was taking place within a larger symbolic economy in which new lifestyles were reinforced and "old" ones denigrated. As other scholars have noted and documented, the Kemalist project focused heavily on outward forms such as clothing, alphabet, and architecture, and the representation of these forms and their undesirable opposites came to be shorthand axes around which writers and caricature artists based their observations. As Emmanuel Szurek points out in his discussion of language and patronyms, the Kemalist nationalist imaginary had an "obsessive desire to sort and separate the pure and the impure, the healthy and the corrupted" (Szurek 2013, XVI). Indeed, this preoccupation with external form is very apparent in the pro-government satirical magazine, *Akbaba* (vulture), which was a purveyor of the Kemalist ideology and also published visual and print commentary on daily life.

The transformations of the Kemalist reforms were most pronounced in the cities, where physical attire, architecture, alphabet, and other cultural trappings of Kemalism were effectively disseminated and documented. Public space in the city was a heavily monitored locale, where the ideals of

Image 2.3 "Inside face—outside face Insides—Outsides. A caricature depicting the discrepancy between the outward form of Western culture and learning and the inward tradition, backwardness or Easternness. (Source: *Akbaba*, Vol 46, 1934)

this vision were performed, interpreted, critiqued, and monitored. This perception of rapid change was represented specifically through prolific cartooning with a range of images and metaphors, some with precedents in late Ottoman reactions to Westernization, others based on circulating global cultural forms (Image 2.3).

For the Kemalists, who were heirs to a process of Westernization launched under late Ottoman reforms, modernization through Westernization was the ultimate goal, and nationalism and secularism were the way of obtaining it (Karpat 1959, 444, in Akman, 85). Reşat Kasaba compares the late Ottoman and early Republican preoccupations with spreading transformations to all aspects of life to the ones of the Jacobins, who wanted the French revolution to affect every aspect of life. "In the minds of many Ottoman, Young Turk, and Kemalist leaders, too, formal elements of change such as the outward appearance of people, the cleanliness of streets, and the type and nature of institutions, became synonymous with modernization and consumed an inordinate amount of their time and energy" (Kasaba, 24). Likewise, Sibel Bozdoğan notes the "priority of exterior form" prevalent in this period (Bozdoğan 1997, 137). Visibility was a major aspect of the reforms, which were produced by the elite for a population whose practices they simplified through binary axes into old and new, backwards and modern. Both ideological communication and cultural critique was done through these forms. The urban press, the clear arena of this elite, was a site where visions of the Kemalists could be represented in cartoons, either openly as political opposition, or as a critique of lifestyle. Because these reforms were most pronounced in the cities, more pronounced was the contrast with those who had not caught up. These representations, of course, were part of a range of other images. Many cartoons were based on the most recent urban news, such as asking newspaper boys to reduce noise, and reflected the major events of the week, such as a major earthquake in 1934.

Caricature in Turkey and the Middle East

As Ayhan Akman points out in his study of modernity in Turkish caricature, caricature gained a new popularity in the wake of the alphabet reform of 1928 and by the 1930s had become a popular genre. Newspapers were asked to begin using the new alphabet very quickly and many lost their readership during this process. Caricatures gained a new significance as vehicles of social and political observation, as the challenge of the new

alphabet led to a declined readership. It was after 1930 that caricaturists came to be recognized as professionals in their own right (Akman 1998, 88). Commenting on the use of caricatures to analyze a particular period, Laurent Mallet points out that in order for caricatures to become meaningful they must convey a shared set of idioms, that there must be a complicity between the reader and the caricaturist (1996, 26). Indeed, there is an economy with which the images of caricatures convey their messages and there is also room for enough ambiguity to escape censorship. Mallet points out that the caricaturists of the 1930s were inheritors of the legacy of the traditional satirical puppet theater, *Karagöz*, and a strong satirical tradition in the Ottoman Empire (1996, 26).

Akbaba was one of two prominent caricature magazines of the period, along with *Karikatür*. Launched in 1922, it had become the longest running satire magazine by the time it was shut down in 1977 (Akman 1998, 127). It was owned by Ziya Ortaç and Orhan Seyfi, both of them members of the Turkist elite. Ortaç in particular was known for being a firm supporter of the government, and the commentaries and caricatures reflect this bent. Ortaç was also known for his pro-German position along with beliefs in Jewish and Masonic conspiracy and anti-communism (Mallet 1996, 26).

Caricature is said to have appeared in the Middle East during the rise of Western influence in the mid-nineteenth century, the first Ottoman caricature appearing in a journal named *Istanbul* in 1867 (Çeviker 1986, 17 in Göcek, 6). Göcek describes the cartoon as a Western genre that appeared in the Middle East, emphasizing its unique role in articulating resistance, and acknowledging that the absorption of this genre into the local culture was interactive. Interestingly, caricature's role of resistance and satire dovetailed initially with the traditional puppet characters Hacivat and Karagöz, who were mouthpieces for satirizing the language and manners of the Ottoman ruling class. According to Çeviker, Karagöz and Hacivat made their way into caricatures in the Tanzimat period, by way of Teodor Kasap (1835–1905). Kasap argued that traditional performance genres such as the Karagöz puppet theater needed to be blended with the Western theater forms that were being adopted. His satirical gazette, *Hayal* became a site where he explored the incorporation of Hacivat and Karagöz as social commentators into caricature. *Akbaba* was a magazine in the genre of the "satirical gazette … [which] … had nineteenth century Turkish-language antecedents like *Hayal* (fantasy) and *Çıngıraklı Tatar* (The Tatar with Bells) (both of which began publication in 1873)" (Brummett 1995, 436).

The version of rupture and modernization espoused by Mustafa Kemal's Republican People's Party and the elites who were its disseminators did not accommodate transitional forms. They advocated "revolution, not evolution," winning over, or silencing those in the party or outside of it who advocated a more "evolutionary" transition of the role assigned to religion, or language. This lack of negotiation in the view to modernity was reflected most starkly through allegorical, symbolic representations of the shifts away from aristocracy, the Arabic alphabet, Islamic authority, and traditional lifestyles. Many caricatures from *Akbaba* reinforce the contrast between cultural practices considered archaic or new.

As Keyder points out, modernization from above turns the indigenous culture either into a sacred practice, or into residual discourse (Keyder in Bozdoğan, 45). The cartoons and discussions in the popular press continually reinforced these residual, undesirable categories. From the visual media such as cartoons and from columns, anecdotes, and plays in children's magazines, a cast of stock characters emerged, stereotyped and uniform, like those of the puppet theater as well as stock items of clothing, furniture, and spatial style. This cast of stock characters was made to carry the burden of an undesirable past that must be left behind in the race toward universal progress.

In what I shall call "ideological cartoons," physical youth versus age and Western dress versus religious or traditional attire conveyed the positions of secular Kemalism and the then defunct Ottoman religious and military authority. The Ottoman bureaucratic, military, or religious official was invariably represented, at least by the caricaturist Ramiz, as old and decrepit and physically stooping to the youthful and confident Kemalist figure.

This stark division of the old and new was also reproduced in other publications, particularly in *Çocuk Sesi* (children's voice), a magazine published by the Ministry of Education. Magazines in this period were sites of the construction of the citizens and thus contain a lot of didactic writings in the form of plays, as well as recreations of Turkic legends. In *Çocuk Sesi*, young readers were often presented with didactic plays, or musical school plays, to recreate at school. One of these plays, "Winter Sports at Uludağ,[31]" is an excellent example of the enactment of the "new" overcoming the "old." In another study, I explore the ideological didacticism and stark binaries of pure/impure binaries in these school plays. The following play's ideological momentum is produced through the contrast of action and stagnation.

In the introductory passage describing the setting, each architectural item, furniture, and accessory is meant to convey the old-ness of the environment. Lattices named *kafes* were employed in the Ottoman times to prevent women from being seen from the street. The wrapping around the older women's head and the scarf around the younger girl's head were both items of clothing that were disdained. Similarly, the brazier with a coffee pot is employed here in a similar fashion to the caricatures of the Ottoman *paşa* above.

The play opens with a winter room in the style of the old times: There are lattices (*kafes*) on the windows. There are pillows in the corner (*erkan minderleri*) and there is a tile stove burning. An old woman with a head ornament (*hotoz*) on her head, wearing glasses, sits on a square pillow on the ground and cooks her coffee in a brazier (*mangal*). Other than this, a young girl, with a cotton kerchief, or *yemeni*, tied around her head, sits on a pillow, knitting wool.

As the music begins, the young girl, called *Eski kız* (Old Girl) starts to sing a *türkü* (folk song) commenting on the cold weather and how cozy it is to sit inside near the hot coals of the brazier.

> I would never exchange
> My house for the snowy streets
> The flame of our stove
> Entertains my soul
>
> Only cats will be wild
> On a winter day
> If Allah wrote it let him erase it
> I will not go outside from this house

As the song continues, the grandmother exclaims how beautiful the girl's (*Eski Kız*) voice is, and how it reminds her of her childhood winters.

When the snows came down like this, my deceased grandmother would gather us around the *tandır* (clay lined pit oven), and would sing songs, tell stories, and pop corn. Hey those were the days! …As the corn popped like guns we would have a good time. And we all loved the chestnuts she boiled in the brazier. We would hardly go out the whole winter, not even into the hallway, and we would recite poetry and plan all sorts of games.

The girl then tells her grandmother how wonderful that sounds and how she does not want to go out into the cold at all. The *Eski Kız* and the grandmother look outside to the children playing in the snow. The grandmother is horrified to see the children in the snow and even more so to hear that they will have a "snowball battle." The young girl reassures her that this is not a battle in the sense of war, but that it is a children's game. The young girl is tempted by the snow games, especially when she sees that the neighbor's daughter is also outside. The grandmother pulls the girl back from the window, saying, "Sit down…Don't be tempted. If they throw themselves into the sea, would you do that, too? You are a house girl, and passing the time by the brazier is the best of all!" A moment later, there is someone at the door and the children who have been playing outside, fill the room: "They all have wool caps and wear wool sweaters. These girls, who are the symbol of progress, wear golf pants." The girls who come in from outside are engaged in new, mobile forms of recreation, like snowball fighting, golf and winter sports, in contrast to the apparent stagnance of sitting by the brazier to sing, or knit.

The neighbor's daughter insists that the young, "Old Girl" come with them. "Come on get up…We sportive girls are going to Uludağ (a popular ski center near Bursa) today. We will do winter sports there. Skis on our feet, we will cross valleys, slopes and steep ridges." The old girl, or the housebound girl, resists, insisting that she neither wants to be food for wolves or catch rheumatism. The neighbor's lively daughter replies, saying that the group has hunters with them in case of wild animals and teases the "old girl":

> Ah, unfortunately you have become
> Old in your young age
> Those who do sports in the snow
> Feel that they are youthful
>
> It does not suit the Turkish
> Girl to sit like a cat.
> Do sports, go forth and walk
> Come and move a little!

Finally, the girl's resistance is broken down by the group of energetic children, and "… all the sportive girls take the girl with the old mind by the arms and drag her outside, shouting, Girls—Sports—Long live sports!" and the play comes to an end.

Like other regimes in the 1930s, the culture of youth in the Kemalist message was very prominent, and sports like skiing and tennis were encouraged as modern ways to display and use the body. The rationalism of the sports loving child is here contrasted with the domestic girl whose life is bound by tradition and outdated beliefs.

The induction of youth into the language and thought of the republic led to new generation gaps, as the example above, and the following satirical piece, demonstrate. Disparities between generations could become a source of humor as the younger generation became more adept at the new Turkish and the reform environment of the city. In an anecdote from *Akbaba,* the writer relies for humor on the homophony between *ad* (name) and *at* (horse). These words were used interchangeably in the 1930s too; the *Tarama Dergisi* defines both *ad* and *at* as "name." The anecdote starts out with an urbanized man, Yusuf, writing to his uncle in a village in the central Anatolian Kayseri province:

> Dear Uncle,
>   There's a new law being passed. From now on there shall be no one without a *soy ad* (surname). I have found a beautiful *at* (name) for you. We will use it from now on. I am taking care of the registration into the records. I kiss your hands.[32] Greetings. Your son, Yusuf. (*Akbaba* July 5, 1934, No. 27, p. 10)

The uncle, who interprets the note to be about an *at* (horse), is suspicious of his nephew's sudden generosity, but the rest of the family persuade him to dispel it. The uncle and the members of the family begin to wonder what kind of *at* (horse) their nephew has purchased. Is it a pedigree Arabian horse that they can breed? It must be a race horse that has won competitions in Ankara, and so forth. Bearing presents from the hometown, the uncle sets out for the big city to pick up the *at* (horse). When he is greeted by his surprised nephew, the uncle says, "I have come for the *at*…You know, the beautiful *at* you wrote of in the letter," to which the nephew replies "Is an *ad* (name) worth so much expense and trouble?" and fishes into his pocket for a piece of paper and produces the name he has found. "Is this the *at* you found?" asks the uncle. "Yeah. *Demirbaş oğlu*. This is our ancestry. I found it in history [books]." As the exasperated uncle turns around and walks away, the nephew asks, "Where are you going, uncle?" and the uncle replies:

Where would I go but to the village!…Foolishly, I came here because I thought you had bought a pure breed horse. I should have known. If you had a horse, you would ride it and would not show me its tail. This is my punishment for having made you educated!

As the examples show, modernization intensified or gave a new shape to social and generational division. The rural uncle is mocked for being "deficit of [the] civilization" that the nephew has acquired as an urbanite (Kandiyoti 1997, 122). While the external forms of Kemalism took root in the cities and intensified categories of progress and backwardness, peasants were concerned with horses rather than names, which you cannot ride to market or to the doctor.

In the 1930s, caricature in *Akbaba* continued to depict the encounter between the envisioned ideal of modernity and the realities of everyday life, sometimes in a didactic, judgemental mode, and at others, in an anxious manner, emphasizing the tension between the ground realities and the goal of achieving modernity, and its trappings.

Notes

1. For further reading on the publishing of French books in the Ottoman Empire, see Strauss, J. 1999. Le livre français d'Istanbul (1730–1908). *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditeranée*, (Livres et lecture dans le monde ottoman). 87–88: 277–301.
2. Other Tanzimat writers who were followers of Namık Kemal in this regard include Ali Suavi, Ziya Paşa, Ahmed Mithat, and Şemseddin Sami (Levend 1949, 113).
3. In the Reform period, the languages listed above gained semi-official status. They were used for administrative purposes in official multilingual gazettes and statistical annuals (*sâlnâme*), and used as a medium of instruction in schools (Strauss 1995, 223). For further reading on the process of reformation and restoration of the multiple languages of the Ottoman Empire, see Strauss (1995).
4. There were 11,008 secular elementary schools in the Ottoman territories in 1867; by 1895, this number more than doubled, at 28,615 (Shaw 1977, 112).
5. Kołodziejczyk, Dariusz. 2011. Whose Nation? Mustafa Djelaleddin Between Ottomanism and Turkism, in Jerzy Borejsza, ed, *The Crimean War 1853–1856: Colonial Skirmish or Rehearsal for World War? Empires, Nations, and Individuals* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton- Institut Historii.

6. Prior to these discoveries, Turkology was a university subject in five universities. Of these five, two were in Russia at Qazan University and St. Petersburg University. Two others were in Austro-Hungary, in Budapest at the Budapest University and in Vienna at Orientalische Akademie, while the final was in Paris at École Spéciale des langues orientales (Mengen, 6).

7. Ercilasun, Bilge. 1999. The Beginning of Runic Studies in Turkey. *Studia Orientalia* 87: 71–77.

8. Friedrich Wilhelm Radloff (1837–1918) was the German-born Russian founder of Turkology. He studied under the pioneers of comparative Altaic studies at the University of Berlin. Radloff went to Russia in 1858, after having received his doctorate from the University of Jena and started to study Altaic languages. By the 1870s, Radloff's reputation as a scholar was well established and he even became the Chief Inspector of the Turkic schools of the region. In 1894, he became Director of the Museum of anthropology and ethnography of the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

9. Wolfgang. E. Scharlipp. 2004. The Decipherment of the Turkish Runic Inscriptions and its Effects on Turkology in East and West. *Journal of Turkish Civilization Studies*, No.1: 303–318.

10. Necib Asım taught the Orhon inscriptions, Uygur, and Çağatay languages at the Darülfünun-ı Istanbul (est. 1900), the Ottoman predecessor to Istanbul University, (est. 1933) (İhsanoğlu 2010, II, 563, cited in Ata 2012, 172) from 1908 until 1927. Until Necip Asım's courses, there were no courses based on Turkish languages at the Darülfünun, where Ottoman Literature, Arabic and Persian literature courses and French literature classes were prevalent (Ata 2012, 172).

11. This first publication of the article, based on the deciphering of the runic script by the Danish scholar Vilhem Thompson, was published a year before Thomson's book, probably because of the Tenth Congress of Orientalists in Geneva in September, 1894. Thomsen is said to have given a copy of his book to Ahmet Mithat Efendi at the Congress.

12. For more a comprehensive overview of the status of studies in linguistic Turkology in the last two decades, increasingly focused on typology and contact phenomena, see Johanson (2001).

13. The text of the Dede Korkut stories, said to date from the tenth century, was recovered in the Dresden Library in the early nineteenth century, but the first complete transcription was not made until 1916, by Kilisli Rifat, who published Kitab-i Dede Korkut Ala Lisan-i Tai'fe Oghuzhan. In 1938 Orhan Shaik Gokyay transliterated the text from Arabic script to the Roman alphabet (Sümer et al. 1972, xxii).

14. Taha Parla maintains that major ideological positions in Turkey have been based on Gökalp's corporatist model (Parla 1985, 7).

15. Gökalp's early development is considered similar to Muhammad 'Abduh, Egyptian Muslim modernist, of a generation earlier (Heyd 1950, 26).

16. Gökalp began to study French on the advice of Abdullah Cevdet, so that he could read the work of French scholars (Deny 1925, 5).

17. For further reading on how Gökalp adapted Émile Durkheim's sociology, see Nefes (2013).

18. See Georgeon (1980) and Turnaoğlu (2017).

19. The collection of 19 short articles in the form of dialogues with the unknown philosopher and five other dialogues written for children were to be his final articles.

20. The titles of two articles on the modernization of the family that appeared in 1917 attest to the importance the family had for intellectuals: one of these was published in *Yeni Mecmua* and entitled *Aile ahlakı: Konak'tan Yuva'ya* (Family Morality: from the Konak to the Yuva) 17 (1917) 321–324, referring to a transition to a nuclear family, and the other, called *Medeni Aile, Milli Aile* (The Modern Family, the National Family), *Tanin* 29 October, 1917.

21. Conventional meaning of this term is the religious community united by Islamic faith, though Gökalp seems to have also considered this term to encompass Christianity, Judaism, and Buddhism. See Turnaoğlu (2017, 177–178).

22. See Bouquet (2013, 289) for the way these double names evolved in the late Ottoman period to individuating their bearers in contrast to the sixteenth century when they would have conferred distinction.

23. These two phases in the language reform process are noted by Szurek (2013), and Sadoğlu and Toprak (2009). Indeed, Strauss argues that the language reform process can be seen as a de-Islamization process (2008).

24. Also noted by Eissenstadt (2014).

25. "Tunalı Hilmi published his proposal in the *Hakimiyet-i milliye* newspaper on August 27, 1923. According to this proposal, a Turkish commission would be established in the Education Ministry, terms would be Turkified, school books would be prepared according to the rules of öztürkçe, newspapers would be given [imtiyaz/permission] only if they used these rules, official communication would be done in [öztürkçe] and laws in the Grand National Assembly would be written this way. Because there was no foundation for it, the proposal did not go beyond being a personal wish" (Levend 1949, 391).

26. For a comprehensive account of the alphabet reform, and how it was received and in turn shaped by various actors, see Hale Yılmaz (2013, 139–178).

27. This became the official Ottoman residence and was intended to be more modern. Built under Sultan Mahmut II (1808–1839), it was furnished

with western style furniture and the Sultan himself emulated Western monarchs "shortening his beard and wearing his own version of contemporary Western hats, frock coats and trousers" (Shaw 1977, 49).

28. This is a title that means "one who distinguished himself in a gaza …a war against unbelievers…Muslim raider of the frontiers who made his living chiefly from booty" (Bayerle 1997, 68). It was a title that belonged to a particular frontier lifestyle, but survived in Turkish lore (ibid.).

29. For further reading on the racialist science behind a strain of Turkish nationalism, see Maksudyan (2005), and Ergin (2008).

30. Bir milletin manevi kıyafeti olan lisanı, maddi kıyafetine benzemelidir. Şapka taşıyan bir başın sarıklı bir dille konuşmasına imkan var mı?

31. The name of a mountain popular for skiing near the city of Bursa.

32. Kissing the top of the hand is a sign of respect to elders.

Bibliography

Akman, Ayhan. 1998. From Cultural Schizophrenia to Modernist Binarism: Cartoons and Identities in Turkey (1930–1975). In *Political Cartoons in the Middle East*, ed. Fatma Müge Göcek, 83–132. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.

Ata, Aysu. 2012. Günümüzde Türkoloji Öğretiminin İçinde Bulunduğu Sorunlar [Problems in the Current Teaching of Turcology]. *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Türkoloji Dergisi* 19 (1): 169–180.

Aytürk, İlker. 2004. Turkish Linguists Against the West: The Origins of Linguistic Nationalism in Atatürk's Turkey. *Middle Eastern Studies* 40 (6): 1–25.

Başgöz, Ilhan. 1978. Folklore Studies and Nationalism in Turkey. In *Folklore Nationalism and Politics*, ed. Felix J. Oinas. Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers.

Bayerle, Gustav. 1997. *Pashas, Begs and Effendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire*. Istanbul: ISIS Press.

Bouquet, Olivier. 2013. Onomasticon Ottomanicum II: Le voile de l'identité. In *Penser, agir et vivre dans l'Empire ottoman et en Turquie*, ed. Nathalie Clayer and Erdal Kaynar, 283–306. Peeters: Louvain.

Bozdoğan, Sibel. 1997. The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architechtural Culture. In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, 133–156. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Brummett, Palmira. 1995. Dogs, Women, Cholera, and Other Menaces in the Streets: Cartoon Satire in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27: 433–460.

Çeviker, Turgut. 1986. *Gelişim Sürecinde Türk Karikatürü: Tanzimat Dönemi, 1867–78 ve İstibdat Dönemi, 1878–1908* [The Evolution of Turkish Caricature; The Reform (1867–78) and Autocracy (1878–1908) Periods]. İstanbul: Adam.

Çolak, Yılmaz. 2004. Language Policy and Official Ideology in Early Republican Turkey. *Middle Eastern Studies* 40 (6): 67–91.

Cooper, R. 1989. *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dankoff, Robert, Trans. 1983. *Wisdom of Royal Glory: A Turko-Islamic mirror for princes*. 'Kutad'gu bilig, Yusuf Kh'ass Hajib. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Deny, Jean. 1925. Ziya Gök Alp. *Revue du monde musulman* 61: 1–41.

Deringil, Selim. 1998. *The Well Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909*. I.B. Taurus: London/New York.

Ercilasun, Bilge. 1999. The Beginning of Runic Studies in Turkey. *Writing in the Altaic World, Helsinki: Studia Orientalia* 87: 71–77.

Ergang, Robert. 1931. Herder and the Foundations of Romantic Nationalism.

Ergin, Murat. 2008. "Is the Turk a White Man?" Towards a Theoretical Framework for Race in the Making of Turkishness. *Middle Eastern Studies* 44 (6): 827–850.

Fındıkoğlu, Ziyaeddin Fahri. 1936. *Essai sur la Transformation du Code Familial en Turquie: étude de Sociologie Juridique Appliquée*. Paris: Editions Berger-Levrault.

Georgeon, François. 1980. *Aux origines du nationalisme turc: Yusuf Akçura (1876–1935)*, Paris. Recherche sur les grandes civilisations.

Gökalp, Ziya. 1959. *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization*. London: George Allen & Unwin.

Hanioğlu, Şükrü. 2008. *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Heyd, Uriel. 1950. *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp*. London: Luzac & Company and the Harvill Press, Ltd.

Johanson, Lars. 2001. Discoveries on the Turkic Linguistic Map. Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul Publications 5. Stockholm. http://www.turkiclanguages.com/www/Johanson_Discoveries-1.pdf

Karauğuz, Akın Tahir. 1935. *Öz Türk Adları Kılavuzu*. Zonguldak: Karaelmas Basımevi.

Levend, Agah Sırrı. 1949. *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Safhaları* [Phases in the Development and Simplification in the Turkish Language]. Ankara: Türk.

Lewis, Geoffrey. 1999. *The Turkish Language Reform*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Maksudyan, Nazan. 2005. The Turkish Review of Anthropology and the Racist Face of Turkish Nationalism. *Cultural Dynamics* 17 (3): 291–322.

Mallet, Laurent. 1996. *Karikatür* Dergisinde Yahudilerle Ilgili Karikatürler (1936–1948) [Caricatures About Jews in the Magazine *Karikatür* 1936–1948]. *Toplumsal Tarih* 34: 26–36.

Massicard, Élise. 2013. Post-hérité. Un retour du patronyme en Turquie contemporaine ? *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 2 (60–2): 87–105.

Nefes, Türkay Salim. 2013. Ziya Gökalp's Adaptation of Emile Durkheim's Sociology in His Formulation of the Modern Turkish Nation. *International Sociology* 28 (3): 335–350.

Ölmez, Mehmet. 2000. Dil Devrimi Sonrası Ad ve Soyadlarımız [Our Names and Surnames After the Language Reform]. *Journal of Turkish Studies* [Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları] 24/II: 107–117.

Öztürkmen, Arzu. 1993. *Folklore and Nationalism in Turkey*. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Parla, Taha. 1985. *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp, 1876–1924*. Leiden: Brill.

Sadoğlu, Hüseyin, and Zafer Toprak. 2009. Nationalism and Language Policy in Turkey. Text of Talk Delivered at the Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Center, Apr 18, 2009, 1–20. http://www.obarsiv.com/pdf/huseyinsadoglu_nb.pdf

Sevinçli, Efdal. 2011. Adlarımızda Soyadlarımızda Yaşayan Dil Devrimi [The Language Revolution that Lives in our Names and Surnames]. *Journal of Yaşar University* 1 (2): 277–292.

Shaw, Stanford. 1977. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1805–1975*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, Johann. 1995. Diglossie dans le domaine ottoman. Évolution et péripéties d'une situation linguistique. *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 75–76: 221–255.

———. 2008. Modernisation, nationalization, désislamisation: La transformation du turc aux XIXe-XXE siècles [Modernization, Nationalization and de-Islamization: The Transformation of Turkish During the 19th–20th Centuries]. *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 124: 135–159.

Sümer, Faruk, Ahmet E. Uysal, and Warren Walker, Trans. and eds. 1972. *The Book of Dede Korkut: A Turkish Epic*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Tekin, Talat. 1973. Atatürk'ün Dil Reformu, Istanbul Universitesi Atatürk Devrimleri Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları. *Atatürk Devrimleri I. Milletlerarası Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (10–14 Aralık, 1973). Istanbul: Sermet Matbaası, 488–499.

Tunaya, Tarik Zafer. 1952. *Turkiye'de Siyasi Partiler* [Turkish Political Parties]. Istanbul: Doğan Kardeş.

Turnaoğlu, Banu. 2017. *The Formation of Turkish Republicanism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Yılmaz, Hale. 2013. *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reforms and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey (1923–1945)*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Making, Disseminating, and Enforcing the Law

The Surname Law had multiple audiences and was a product of the defensive nationalist political climate of the 1930s. It enforced the adoption of surnames in Turkish, and forbade "names which referred to rank and civil official status, tribes, foreign races or nationalities as well as names that are not suited to common morals and names which are disgusting and ridiculous" (Republic of Turkey. *Soyadı Kanunu*, No. 2525, June 21, 1934, Articles 1–3). It assigned the husband, as the chief of the marital union, the "duty and right" to choose the surname. Those who were of legal age were free to choose their own surname (ibid., Articles 4–5). The law became effective in January 1935 and gave citizens two years to choose and register surnames. By January 1935, two other important laws on names were to be enforced: the Law on Appellations and Titles[1] and the law bestowing the surname Atatürk[2] to Mustafa Kemal.

This chapter provides an overview of the process by which the Surname Law became drafted and finalized in parliament, and then disseminated through a bureaucratic network. Parliament debates on the law reflect the fluctuation between nationalism "temperatures." Members of parliament passed the Surname Law in the wake of, and at the same time as laws that both favored ethnic Turkish elements, but also excluded non-Muslim groups. Archival documents from the Prime Ministry Archive illustrate the way that the top echelons of the Republican People's Party (RPP) began to adopt and announce their names and new signatures.

Parliament discussions reveal the strains of nationalism that were at play during the reforms. Although the Surname Law and its accompanying law abolishing titles intended to create a homogenous community without distinction, the process of bestowing and receiving surnames at the top were done in an idiom of honorific titles.

NAMES IN THE CIVIL CODE

The Surname Law was not the first time that family names were mentioned in Turkish legislation. The Turkish Civil Code (Republic of Turkey *Türk Kanunu Medenisi* [Turkish Civil Code] Law No. 743, February 17, 1926), adopted from the Civil Procedure Code of the Swiss Canton, Neuchatel, in 1926,[3] included clauses on family names under the section "The right to citizenship and a name." The clauses on names also referred to the protection of names from exploitation or misuse, to the right to apply for a change in names, to the conditions under which a child could carry his father's name[4] and a clause indicating that the woman carry her husband's family name.[5] These were articles that were adapted into the Turkish Civil Code from the Swiss, and thus did not stem from an indigenous legal system. No law yet existed that made it mandatory to adopt and bear a fixed, hereditary family name.

EARLY CIRCULARS AND DRAFT LAWS AND THE ROLE OF ISLAM IN NAMING

While he was Minister of Public Education, Riza Nour sent a circular to schools with a list of Turkish names, as a result of which Turkish names became prevalent among both teachers and students (Nour 1935, 65, cited in Szurek 2013, 23). Yet Nour's circular, as Szurek points out, may not have generated broader support in parliament given the need to mobilize Islamic sensibilities against the Greeks. After the removal of Islam as state religion from the constitution in 1928, Turkism would shed the Islamist tone of the war of Independence and would gain the markings of the Kemalist secularism of the 1930s (ibid.) and secularism would become one of the six arrows symbolizing the RPP.

The pre-1930s name change proposals for toponymy[6] were also more Islamic. In May 1921, Besim Atalay addressed his fellow MPs and proposed a draft law to change non-national place names. Although his

cohorts were not convinced of this need, Atalay was adamant that allow-
ing the "non-national" names to stand could bring trouble ahead: "As
long as the names Konya, the name Likoinia remain, and if we don't
remove these names, they (non-Muslims) will make legal claims. If we
want to call this a Turkish and Islamic land, it is not expedient for us to
[keep using] the names they have used for thousands of years" (TBMM
May 9, 1337/1921, 271).

> Sirs, even though our dominion over these lands has reached a thousand
> years, we have left no names to promote ourselves. The word Anatolia is still
> not in our language. It is not a national word. As soon as the Russians enter
> Crimea, or Bahçesaray, they immediately change its name. The whole civi-
> lized world—the humanistic world—does this. We who live on this land—as
> the heirs of the Hittites, who are of us from three thousand years ago—are
> under obligation to change the name of this land to Turkish and Islamic
> [language]. The Government thought of this at the start of the mobilization
> [for the war] and sent instructions, and name lists were prepared in the pro-
> vincial centers, the district centers and the township centers. Those [lists]
> should be here in the Interior Commission, or somewhere? These [lists]
> should be brought here and [foreign place names] given a national name.[7]
> (TBMM May 9, 1337/1921, 269)

To support Atalay's motion for a law, Mustafa Taki Efendi, of Sivas, refers
to the "era of the Prophets" as precedent, and Besim Atalay replies by giv-
ing the example of the renaming of Yasrib as Medina (270).

By 1933, we see that Islamic names have become undesirable enough
to change. An April 1933 article with a banner headline *Yeni Türk Adları*
(New Turkish Names) and the sub-heading, *40 Talebenin ismi Türkçeye
çevrildi: Vekalet teşekkür etti* (40 students' names translated to Turkish:
[Education] Ministry grateful) published in the Education Ministry's
Çocuk Sesi (Children's Voice) celebrated name changes of 40 students,
including Jewish children, in the Galata Primary School.[8] All the children,
including Muslim children, the writer noted, "translated" their names:

Haydar—Damar
Sabahat-tin—Cengiz
Niyazi—Yavuz
Mustafa—Çetin
Fahrettin—Yıldırım
Donna—Gündüz

İsak—Orhan
Selime—Birsem
Zeki—Ege
Nuri—Aydın
Eliz—Tekin
Sare—Ece
Şemoil—Ateş
Kemal—Turan
Sultana—Ayten
Estrea—Yıldız
Sabatay—Sümer
Mahmut—Atilla
Mişon—Selçuk
Halil—Turgut
Şerafettin—Özdemir
Hayim—Kaya
Avram—Ertuğrul
İnonka—Ülker
Muzaffer—Alp
Roza—Gül
Halit—Aslan
Şemsettin—Güneş
İsmail—Çelik
Osman—Uğur
Adnan—Deniz
Viktorya—Bilge
Sara—Gülümser
Havva—Bülbül
Rübabie—Çiçek
Neriman—Papatya
Fethiye—Güler
Müyesser—Gülten
Adnan—Mete
Sait—Göktürk
İhsan—Yılmaz

According to the article, only one pupil's name, *Pamuk* (cotton), remained unchanged. The students, the author noted, would soon register the names with which they were very pleased. These indicated a change

from more Arabo-Islamic names like *Mustafa*, *Fahrettin*, or *Haydar* to Turkic names such as *Çetin*, *Yıldırım* and *Damar*. Among the Jewish children, Isak became *Orhan*, Mishon became *Selçuk*, and Avram became *Ertuğrul*, while Sabatay became *Sümer* (*Çocuk Sesi* 171 April 10, 1933, 14–15). The article also proudly included a response from Reşit Galip, then Minister of Education, who praised the children, noting with pleasure the participation of Jewish children.

> The correspondence presented by your third grade pupil to his Majesty the President has been transferred to our Ministry. We would like to present our gratitude and appreciation to the pupils of this class—among whom there are our Jewish citizens—for the sincere interest they have shown in the national cause by translating their names to Turkish.

Note the use of the title "Majesty" or *Hazretleri*, to refer to Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), an honorific that would cease after the abolition of titles in November 1934. This shift in the ideology of language can also be seen in the naming of the law. While pre-1930s references to a surname law use the term *aile isimleri*, by 1934, the term for a surname became *soy ad*, of Turkic origin.

For example, a decree issued by the Republic of Turkey's Prime Ministry Transactions Directorate, signed by President Gazi M. Kemal and the cabinet of ministers, on March 3, 1929, refers to a commission that has completed its duty to "prepare the draft law on the family names" (*aile ismi*) and authorizes payment to the members of the commission.

The work of this commission, and the inclusion of a Belgian expert, was clearly public, since an issue of the Scotsman made note of it. Why the government waited six more years to enforce such a law is not made adequately clear.

> The Government has decided to compel all Turkish citizens to adopt a family name in addition to the surnames they at present bear. A special commission has been appointed to draft a Bill on this subject, and the services of a Belgian specialist have been requisitioned to help with in the task. (*The Scotsman*, Dec. 12, 1928, p.15, http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/)

One of the reasons for the delay in enforcing a law on surnames may have been the challenges of the alphabet reform of 1928, after which registry

officials in remote districts would have had to learn to write in the new alphabet.

A doctoral thesis obtained from the Geneva Faculty of Law published in 1934 by a Rechad Osman (Atabek), *Le Nom des Personnes dans les Codes civils suisee et turc,* comparing names in Turkish and Swiss law, refers to an earlier draft of the Surname Law. The interlude between the draft law of 1928, and the finalized law of 1934 remains to be documented perhaps with material from the Interior Ministry Archives.

Around the same time as the Surname Law was passed in parliament, the government also published the Law on the Registration of Hidden Population (Gizli Nüfusların Yazımı Hakkında Kanun).[9] This law gave municipal governments and aldermen six weeks to register any unregistered individuals and also update the civil status of those who may have died, married, divorced, or been lost (Image 3.1).
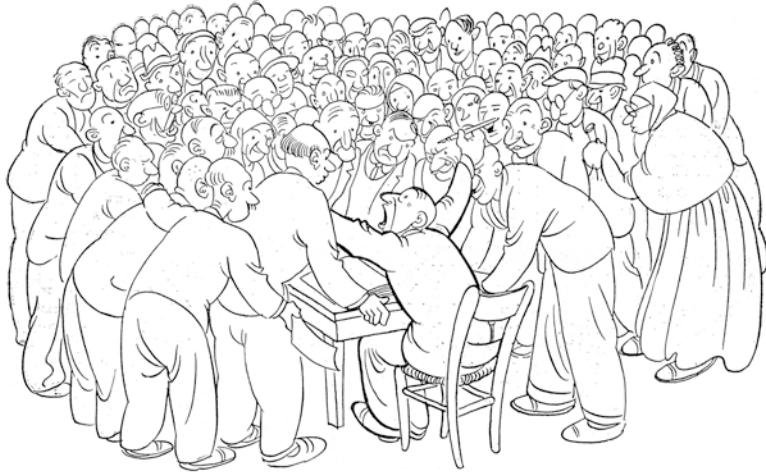
Nüfus memuru — Yahu insaf edin.. Gizli nüfusları meydana çıkarayım derken aranızda ben kaybolacağım!

Image 3.1   On the occasion of the Law on the Registration of Hidden Population (*Gizli Nüfusların Yazımı Hakkındaki Kanun*, No 2752). A population official is overwhelmed by a group crowding around him to register unregistered citizens: "Have mercy, man! I'll be lost among you trying to register the hidden populace. (*Akbaba,* Vol 13, September 1934)

Making the Law

Rationales: Catching Up, Restoring, and Cries of the Children

In the opening proposal to parliament, Nuri Bey, MP of Muğla province, leverages the proposed law on several arguments: (a) catching up with the civilized world: the whole world has accepted the need for [permanent registered] surnames; (b) the symbolic "labor" of surnames has changed: the surname is no longer the bearer of religious or racial nationalism, but of "nationalism," citing the example of the Turks in Russia; (c) rising social demand and weak law. Current names, he maintains, are religion-influenced, and there are daily objections (tezahür) to these names. "Sublime objections [have been] crushed in the face of weak law" (TBMM Zabit Ceridesi Sıra No.203). This marks a distance from the discussions of 1921, when Turkish had an Islamic tone.

> Our children are growing up with national sentiment and are crying out for this but [their cries] are for nothing. Our laws are in such need of repair that it would be necessary for the sake of our national distinction to issue brand new identity cards for those who wish to … [change names]. (Republic of Turkey. 1933. *TBMM Zabit Ceridesi* Devre IV C, 23–24, 1)

The law here is portrayed as "weak," "in need of repair" in the face of perceived rising popular sentiment (*TBMM Zabit Ceridesi* [Debate Registers of the Turkish Grand National Assembly] Sıra 203, 3.12.1935, 1).

Naming the Surname

But what precisely was a *soy ad* (surname) and how did it correspond to the other existing identifiers of families such as the *aile adı* (family name) or *lakab* or *şöhret*? The word *soy ad* corresponded to the *aile ismi* in the civil code, the members of parliament agreed, but whether the Turkish population bore such names was a source of lengthy discussion. The uncertain conceptual ground generated by the word *soy ad* generated debates on the relationship of the surname to other forms of local identification, such as the nickname (*lakab*) or other customary appellations.[10]

The Surname Law introduced new words for both "family" and "name." The words *soy* and *ad* are both Turkish, with *soy* denoting "lineage," "family," and "common ancestry." Meanwhile *ad* (which in

this period was also spelled also as *at*) is a Turkish form of *isim*, of Arabic derivation. In the clauses[11] about names in the civil code, adopted from the Swiss in 1924, family names were referred to as *aile ismi*, both borrowings from Arabic. The Turkic word *soy* was introduced into Turkish vocabulary by the influence of Turcology. Ziya Gökalp utilizes it in his discussion of the need for family names in 1924. *Soy* indicates a connection of biological reproduction, and racial identity, unlike *aile*. *Aile* is a biological unit and in findings by Özertuğ in a central Anatolian village, there are three folk definitions of this term: (1) wife; (2) married couple with or without offspring, or widow or widower with or without offspring; and (3) an ego-centered kin group (Özertuğ 1973, 37, cited in Duben 1985, 77).

The term *soy* entered the language of parliament with the *İskan Kanunu*, or Settlement Law,[12] which aimed to move and resettle populations for maximum assimilation and homogenization. The racial meaning of the word was not lost on Hasan Reşit of Muş, who was not against the idea of racial identification, but noted that it may be the wrong term for those who had not learned Turkish yet.

> Esteemed gentlemen, the word "soy" has been repeated several times in this most perfect law. In my understanding "soy" is intended to mean "race." If that is the case I would request that this word not be used, because "race" now [numbers] 5, or maybe 6. Science has circumscribed this.
>
> People who come to Turkey from beyond Turkey's borders and who are not under the influence of Turkish culture are racially Turkish. But they do not speak Turkish because they are not influenced by Turkish culture. In essence, since they are our native citizens, they are our native brothers. I implore you, to put turkish language and culture instead of the word, soy. (TBMM: I:68, 14.6.1934 C:1, 144)

There follows some discussion of the term, soy, which, according to another member of parliament, denotes family or lineage, rather than race. Upon this, the Interior Minister Şükrü Kaya insists that, indeed, "race" would be the appropriately used in the text of the Settlement Law. This racial strain of nationalism[13] drew support from other racial ideas in anthropology at the time and informed much of the intellectual foundations of Kemalist Turkey, including the Turkish History Thesis (2005).

As they commented on the necessity of surnames, the members of parliament also revealed aspects of current practices of name changing, which

seemed to be often linked directly with geographical mobility. One MP pointed out that since family names from Anatolia had been the object of derision in cities, the bearers had dropped them, only to take names that concealed their origins. One prevalent view of family names was that people adopted the dual personal name (such as *Mustafa Kemal*, or *Mehmet Kemal*) or taken the name of their current profession.

Refet bey gave a plausible explanation for family name practices, but also held that it was important to keep in mind that families already had registered names, which should not be ignored: "It is possible that in the large cities, for example, like Istanbul, Izmir or Bursa, there are many families without registered family names. This is because there has been much pseudonym (*mahlas*) use recently; I mean people have used pseudonyms which are not customarily used as names." Furthermore, he explained, many in the big cities are known to others by the name of their trade, so that even if there were several *Mehmets*, they could be distinguished by their professional titles. In officialdom, family names are not routinely used either, he claimed, and pointed out that 95 percent of the people in Turkey had family names and that 80 percent of these were registered, and, therefore, he argued, the Surname Law should address the registration of those remaining 20 percent.

Şükrü Kaya, the Interior Minister, disagrees, and argues that families bear names that were either obsolete or "too encompassing," (*kapsayıcı*) a term that signals Kaya's concerns that these encompassing names would be tribes that posed security problems. Kaya further argues that many Turks have forgotten their (allegedly native Turkish) family name because they used certain titles such as *Müftü*, or names issued to them by the palace.

Next, the members of parliament agreed that names chosen should be from the Turkish language. Ziya Gevher Bey of Çanakkale made a motion that "the name cannot be from any foreign language." When a fellow MP challenged him on this, arguing that name bearers cannot know for certain if their names are foreign or not, Ziya Gevher bey responded with revolutionary zeal. "My friends, the motion I have given will cause the fire that is present in our spirit, mind and blood to also externalize in form…Since there is a movement [for Turkish] let's encourage our nation towards it" (224).

While the linguistic emphasis of the first article was shaped by nationalism, the name order of the second article was a Westernizing move. The second article of the law specified the order in which the proper name and family name would appear: That the surname must come after the personal

name was a departure from the Turkish usage[14] and was a move intended to conform to international standards. In Turkish usage, patronymics, nicknames, and other identifying words appear or are spoken before the proper name. For example, "Mehmet the son of Ihsan" would be called *Ihsan oğlu Mehmet*, the *-oğlu* denoting "son of." Or, "Mehmet the lame" would be called *Topal Mehmet*. This departure, according to the interior ministry's official report, was a standardizing move, because this was the order in "nearly all countries" (*Dahiliye encumeni mazbatası* 11 Dec. 1933, 6).

DID THE TURKS HAVE SURNAMES BEFORE 1934?

The initial discussion point beyond the necessity of a surname law is the matter of whether the family names of Turks can be considered surnames or not. Clearly, families are known by names, and citizens have long been known to the state through population registries.

In legal scholar Atabek's explanation, the conversion of the Turks to Islam led to the loss of the use of names, and the use of the patronymic was left up to the individual. While the use of family names among peasants was widespread, this usage shrank in the cities. The required individuation was achieved by naming practices that unnecessarily duplicated ancestral names, leading to what he calls incomplete and "defective individuation" (185).

In Atabek's view, the slow adoption of family names also was a result of two other factors: (1) Though individuals were aware of the lack of individuation, "confusions were becoming dangerous once one became well-known" (ibid.). Once one had public recognition, one did not have the courage to change the name again because of the risk of losing acquired notoriety. (2) The free choice of name would have been perceived as a gesture of vanity ridiculed by one's enemies. "The Turkish legislator wants to endow the country with the institution of the patronymic name. Already in 1926, with the adoption of the Swiss Civil Code, they conserved the articles pertaining to names" (185).

In a column entitled "The disadvantages of not having a surname" (Vakit, 11 November 1934), lawyer Galip Bingöl outlined the law and touched upon the issue of precedent.

Before the law, it was not like there were no surnames among Western Turks. Only those who were born in villages, and those who were in trade

and businesses in cities and in large communities, and also the minorities among us would use them. And the [surnames] used by those who were Muslim were not in accordance with the current law. For example: they would be used before the personal name.

So and so oğlu so and so
So and so zade so and so. (*Vakit*, 11 Nov 1934)

In parliament discussions, meanwhile, while Nuri Bey's argument concerning the need for the Surname Law focused on a law deficit in the face of rising social demand for Turkified names, Refet Bey warned of the confusion that would arise in implementing the law, since much of the Turkish population and the Armenian and Greek minority already had registered surnames. The existence of family names, and their institutionalized registration, actually existed, in his argument. "When this law is passed there will be many such applications [to get a new name] because people will be under the impression that this is a new thing, and there will be all sorts of odd names" (ibid.). Refet bey claimed that Turks had had family names based on profession, physical description, or place name, or object, corresponding to what is considered a family name in Europe, but that these names were abandoned with mobility to cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, and Bursa. "To ignore these [family names] and find new family names is equal to anarchy and means not taking a lesson from history" (192).

The "lesson from history" was an incident soon after the French Revolution, a well-known watershed in the history of name law in France that culminated first in the *décret du 24 brumaire an II* of November 14, 1793, and very soon thereafter, the *décret du 6 fructidor an II*. The first of these decrees promoted the taking of non-traditional revolutionary names[15] and the second limited citizens' choices to the names that were inscribed in their birth certificates.

By the next August, in 1794, the *décret du 6 fructidor an II*, put an end to the free adoption of names in France, and declared, "No citizen may carry a surname or a proper name other than those which are written in his birth certificate. Those who have abandoned [those names] will be made to take them back" (*Moniteur universel* t.21, 573, cited in Lefebvre-Teillard, 122). Refet bey expressed concern that haste in passing the law without analyzing its basis in the Swiss culture (since family law was adopted from the Swiss Civil Code) would cause something similar to happen in Turkey. He tried to show that the traditional naming patterns that existed, in particular nicknaming practices, corresponded to the concept of

"family name" that existed in Europe by pointing out the etymological similarities between Turkish and French names, whether they are professional names, descriptive names, or otherwise. Furthermore, he pointed out, individuals were registered by family names in population records, which were kept 50 years prior to 1934 by the late Ottoman administration. He argued that the notion of the *soy ad* corresponded to the terms *şöhret* or *familya*,[16] two terms used in the 1898 registries (TBMM Zabit Ceridesi I:70 18.6.1934, C:2225).

Restrictions and Un-Naming

Article 3 emphasized both a break with Ottoman military and bureaucratic hierarchy and identified the ethnic and moral outsiders of the community Turkish names would help construct. Names "related to military rank and civil officialdom, to tribes and foreign races and ethnicities, as well as surnames which are not suited to general customs or which are disgusting or ridiculous." The restrictions against military rank and civil official status names were intended to "avoid confusion with current civil official and officer titles, and also to avert the possibility of these titles being exploited" (TBMM Zabit Ceridesi, Devre IV C, 23–24 dahiliye encumeni mazbatası, 6). The names of tribes and "foreign nationalities," according to the report of the Interior Ministry, would "offend the ideal of national unity" (Dahiliye encumeni mazbatası 11 Dec. 1933, 6).

The ban on tribal names in the Surname Law can be said to be in conjunction with the Settlement Law (T.C. Law No 2510 İskan Kanunu[17] 14.6.1934), almost simultaneous with the Surname Law. Article 10 in Section II of the Settlement Law declares tribal entities are no longer to be recognized: "The law does not recognize tribes as legal entities. Even if it is based on documents, judgments or verdicts, all recognized rights [previously given] are annulled." As the following quote from the discussions on the Settlement Law illustrate, tribes were considered to be the source of all divisive action against the formation of a unified nation. They were banished to a history that was contaminated.

> Our measures against those who want to cultivate class and difference on this patrie have been very harsh. Armed rebellions, religious reactionism, mountain top robberies and assaults (mütecavizler) have been nourished in the soul of the tribe. (ZC I:65 7.7.1934 C:1)

At the end of the First World War, the republican elite had won a difficult victory over Greeks, Armenians, French, and Italians and had started to rule over a geography with a majority of non-Arab Muslims. A potential Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood was diminished with the naming of the new republic Turkey, and secularization processes eliminated bases of unity with the Kurds (von Bruinessen, 8). "The Kemalists attempted to replace Islam as the unifying factor by a Turkey-based nationalism. In so doing, they provoked the Kurdish nationalist response that they feared" (8). Rebellions by Kurdish tribes starting with the Shaikh Said Rebellion in 1925, and the next ones, in 1928–1930 near Mt. Ararat, were rebellions in which tribes as well as shaikhs played an important part. Von Bruinessen points out that there is thus an "emphasis, in Turkish public discourse, on the need to abolish 'feudalism,' tribalism and religious reaction" (9). By the 1930s, Turkey's eastern region had become rife with conflicts of interest with the Kurdish tribes. After much of Anatolia became depopulated by the massacre and deportation of Armenians, the Kurdish tribes remained in the region. Many of these tribes had religious leaders, and the late Ottoman state had their allegiance because of the Caliphate; the abolition of the Caliphate removed this source of loyalty (von Bruinessen 1998).

For the RPP, tribal names represented social units that needed to be divided and neutralized. One important method of doing this was physical resettlement, or what Uğur Ungor calls "internal penal transportation" (107) of whole tribes to other regions of Turkey in 1916,[18] 1925, and 1934 through the *İskân Kanunu* (Resettlement Law) No 2510. In Ungor's comprehensive study, we learn how Kurdish populations were subjected to three waves of forced resettlement under the Young Turks and the RPP.

Tribes threatened national unity and their undesirability, described as "old," threatened the progress toward a united national community. For the statesmen and intellectuals of this period, "old" had become equivalent to moral failure, though ancientness from to the pre-Islamic Turkic past had superior value. Şükrü Kaya continued:

> Tribal life is a social style that belongs to the middle ages and indicates division. In the middle ages, nations were like a pile of sand. They separate, like each grain of sand from the other. This is a mass that comes apart when it receives a blow. The nations of the recent eras, however, are [made of fine grounds] like a layer of clay, and constitute together a layer of clay, and the influence of power is out of the question. We must erase memories of tribes

from places that still experience these memories. If we accept membership in a tribe—the list is not with me … in the East there are over 200 tribes, like Haydaranli, Halikanli, or Yusufanli. Each of these [tribes] consists of thousands of people. If we don't erase these [tribes] some time later many people named Haydaranli, Yusufanli will appear. (TBMM Zabit Ceridesi I:71 21.6.1934 CI, 246)

As some members of parliament pointed out, there were names which were indeed tribe names, but which no longer referenced an actual tribe but a place. Or, there were tribal names that no longer referred to a tribe but to a business affiliation. On the final day of debate, Hakki Tarik Bey of Giresun province tried to resolve this issue by pointing out that the differentiation could be made. "There are such tribes that have come and gone in history, but their names are still living today. If the tribe is living [the name] shall not be used" (TBMM Zabit Ceridesi I: 71 21.6.1934, C.1, 250). In addition to tribal names, the names of other Muslim but non-Turkish groups were out of favor. Although the absorption of non-Turkish Muslim groups into the national culture was easier because of Islam, they nevertheless posed a degree of threat to the government.

There are people who are natives of our country, but who have come from abroad, who carry the names of other communities (camia). There are thousands of names like *Arap* (Arab), *Çerkes* (Circassian), or *Çeçen* (Chechen). … Those who carry names such as *Ibrahim the Chechen*, *Memet the Laz* must absolutely find themselves new names. Thus, it is our goal to get rid of the division that doesn't exist in actual fact, *but which lives in the imagination* (my emphasis). Foreign [powers] have taken advantage of this division even in the recent past. Thus this division must be done away with. (21.6.1934, 246)

While the discussions of tribal names and foreign names for the most part have an assimilationist overtone, Refet bey suggests that a segregationist approach may also be of use.

We are going to abolish names of foreign races and nationalities. I don't find this to be right. I am tired of men who claim to be of [my nationality?] when their essence is not. If they carry the names of foreign ethnicities and if their essence is not of [us] and if he wants to carry the name of his own ethnicity, then I prefer to know him with the stamp on his forehead and as he is. (21.6.1934, 249)

In his statement in which he defends the assimilationist aspect of this article against Refet bey's segregationist views, the Interior Minister Şükrü Kaya elaborates further on what he hopes changing foreign names will accomplish:

> A country's foremost duty is to incorporate all the people living within its boundaries into its community (camia) and represent them. We have seen the opposite in our case, and the country has been pulled to pieces. If the Ottomans had converted the inhabitants of the places they went to their own religion and language, Turkey's boundaries would still begin at the Danube…It is our debt to the people who live here among our community to admit them into the civilization of the Turkish community and to make them benefit from the prosperity of this civilization. (TBMM Z.C. 21.6.1934 C:2, 249)

Şükrü Kaya then elaborates on how this vision of unity can be accomplished:

> Why should we say *Memet the Kurd*, *Hasan the Circassian*, or *Ali the Laz*. This shows the weakness of the dominant [culture]. It is not right to leave these divisions be. If there is the tiniest bit of feeling of difference let's erase this in the schools and society. Then that man will be as Turkish as I am and serve the country. There are many men of foreign ethnicities who have served the country in this way. Why should we separate these [people] from ourselves? And include them [among us] with the dark stamp of foreigner, foreigner, on their forehead? We should also eliminate these divisions. This is our duty. (TBMM Z.C. 21.6.1934 C:2, 249)

Şükrü Kaya echoes another member of parliament whose handwritten manuscript from 1926 considered names as concrete extensions of treason. "It should be considered a major crime for people like this to be known by the names of their former nations. It is an abomination, a stain, even a murder for Turkishness that these people and masses who have been mixing with Turkishness to be called Laz, Çerkes, Acem, Arnavut, Arab, Bosnian, Tatar, and Kurdish. Unfortunately, in their frightful negligence, our nation, government, police and even our courts are committing this murder and injecting foreignness into the Turks they encounter."[19]

Tribal Entities and the Resettlement Law

The Resettlement Law's Article 2, as translated and presented in the British Documents Doc 135, Inclosure in Doc. 134, divided Turkey into three zones:

1. Zone 1, which it is wished to reserve for the habitation, in a compact form of persons of Turkish culture.
2. Zone 2, to which those elements of the population are to be moved whom it is wished to assimilate to Turkish culture.
3. Zone 3, which are to be evacuated and from which new settlers are to be excluded because of their geographical situation or for reasons of a hygienic, economic, cultural, political, or military nature (149).

In his article about the Settlement Law as a strategy of geographical homogenization of the Turkish government in the 1930s, Erol Ülker points out that this was a very security-driven type of settlement that held ethnic Turks as the benchmark against which other groups were measured. The edges of railways and highways were to be off-limits to those deemed too distant from Turkish culture, for example, and certain zones were off limits, forbidden for settlement (Ülker 2008)

The Matter of Ugly or Grandiose Names

Another category of names the Surname Law sought to monitor was ugly or grandiose names. Citizens were also to avoid unnecessarily debasing or aggrandizing themselves. Debasing and disgusting names as well as falsely lofty and noble names were not to be adopted. But what constitutes a disgusting name? Clearly, what makes a name disgusting is often relative; what is semantically disgusting, or connotatively so, may not be so for the bearers, as one parliament member from Giresun pointed out. What may be considered disgusting from the outside may be his connection to his ancestors, he maintained. This was one of the few expressions of concern about the rupture that the adoption of new surnames would bring. But this argument for the right to maintain a name was not extended to those who were perceived to be threatening to the national interest.

> For example, Yılancıoğlu ("son of the snakemaster") can be considered disgusting. A double head is ridiculous from one perspective. But this man may

be known in his province by that name…Thus, everyone may want to maintain their connection to their past and it is necessary. To start a new life with a new name may be suitable for the protection of national interests. I agree with [Şükrü Kaya] in this regard. We should ensure the continuity of those families and surnames in situations where we are not trying to get rid of this obstacle. (21.6.1934, 246)

Usurpation of historical names, unless accompanied by proof such as a genealogy chart, was not permitted. Interior minister Şükrü Kaya pointed out: "Some people link themselves on their father's side to the Prophet, and on their mother's side to Oghuz or Cengiz. We will not allow this. There are people like this who want to be our leaders" (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi 21.6.1934, 247).

The outcome of these discussions was the text of the Surname Law, and its elaboration in the Nizamname, or Regulation, which was explicit in its enforcement of Turkish names. In sum, surnames were a nationalist question in 1934. The discussions in parliament reflect the concerns of the ruling political elite, who were proponents of a defensive nationalism.

Shedding of Titles and the Revelation of Authenticity (Images 3.2 and 3.3)

The Law on Apellations

On November 27, 1934, the Law on the abolition of such appellations and titles as *efendi*, *bey*, and *pasha*[20] abolished all titles. While the Surname Law had linguistic uniformity in mind, the Titles Law aimed to eliminate titles as markers of authority. It prohibited the use of titles and nicknames such as *Ağa* (indicating a tribal leader), *Hacı*, *Hafız*, *Hoca*, *Molla* (indicating religious/Islamic association), *Efendi* (Master), *Bey* (sir), *Beyefendi* (lord, mister), *Paşa* (pasha), *Hanım* (lady), *Hanımefendi* (ladyship), and *Hazretleri* (excellency). Male and female citizens would henceforth be called in the law and in official documents only by their names. Article 2 of this law lifted civil rank and official decorations and medals, except war medals, and prohibited Turks from carrying medals of foreign states. This law also regulated the use of military rank names. Interestingly, the Law on Appellations and the Surname Law are collapsed in public memory and many of the people I interviewed in 1999–2000 described the Surname

Image 3.2 An aged pasha crouches in an armchair across from a man with Western dress and expresses bewilderment at having his title abolished. "Amazing, they took away the paşa title with one word…Why are you surprised, [since] you took the paşa title with one word!" (*Akbaba*, November 1934)

Image 3.3 A common notice in newspapers, inform-
ing readers that the deadline for taking a surname is
coming to an end. On the second of July, the legal
duration for this matter will end. Those who have not
chosen a surname and registered it with the civil regis-
tries must hurry! (*Servet-i fünun* (46) 80/16, June
11, 1936)

SOYADI ALMAK

Müddetinin Sonu
Geliyor !

Temmuzun ikisinde,
bu hususta kanunla
konulan müddet, so-
nunu buluyor. Henüz
soyadı seçip, nüfus
memurluklarında tes-
cil ettirmiyenler acele
etmelidirler !
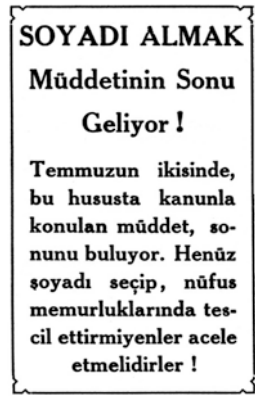
Law as a law that also eliminated titles. This is possibly because they
became effective within a very short time of one another.

In targeting the elaborate system of titles that existed under Ottoman
rule, the law on titles emulated similar laws in revolutionary France, and
more recently Iran, where reform and revolution had resulted in changes
of appellation. Noble titles were abolished in France with the law of June
19–23, 1790, and what is considered its complement, the law of September
26–October 16, 1791. These laws were directed against the nobility and
intended to abolish the use of titles, as well as "*nom de terre.*" Iran had
very recently banned Qajar dynasty[21] titles and also instituted the use of
hereditary family names.

The preamble to the law, read out by Şükrü Kaya in parliament,
described democracy as being the foremost quality of the Turkish revolu-
tion, and that the basis of democracy entailed there being no difference
among its members in law, ceremony, or transactions.

> The Turkish Revolution's most distinct characteristic is that it is democratic.
> The basis of democracy is that there is no difference in law, protocol, or
> treatment among national members. In the first eras of Turkish history there
> was no difference between the nation's individuals. …In that era the nation's
> men were known solely by their names, and would not place any title or
> rank. The only title carried proudly was that of being of the Turkish nation.
> (TBMM ZC Devre: IV, Cilt 25, İçtima:4, 42)

Kaya continued by explaining that when regimes changed in the Middle
Ages, this early populist naiveté and purity was lost. Ambitions based on

religion, superstition, aggression, and tyranny resulted in the formation of a privileged class, resulting in the attachment of sacred, imaginary titles, and honorifics to themselves and their families. "During their contact with communities of the middle ages (*kurun-u vusta*) Turks could not but be influenced [by these]. …Today, no one has superior rights based on their title or their rank. Even if they do not [have these rights] the use of these archaic titles and expressions awakens the memory of class and superiority among the national members and hurts the noble spirit of democracy."[22]

The draft of Article 1 of the law was read out by the chair of the parliament Kazım Özalp: "Nicknames and titles such as *Efendi, bey, beyefendi, paşa hanım*, *hanımefendi,* and *hazretleri* have been abolished." Various members of parliament jumped in immediately to suggest other titles that they perceived to be embodying class superiority. The titles *ağa, hacı,* and *molla* were also added to the article after some discussion. Hasan Reşit of Muş province suggested the title *mir* in use in eastern Turkey but it was not a title that his fellow MPs thought deserved attention. When some MPs suggested that *hatip* and *muezzin* be on the list of banned titles, Interior Minister Şükrü Kaya told the parliament that both titles indicated salaried positions in the government. The final version of the Article, thus came to include *Ağa, hacı, hafız, hoca, molla, effendi, bey, beyefendi, paşa, hanım, hanımefendi,* and *hazretleri,* and also stated that men and women would be known solely by their names in official documents and in front of the law. Hasan Reşit then proposed that the phrase "titles indicating social cache and superiority" to Article 1, but Şükrü Kaya maintained this would disturb citizens in the future since the law was not abolishing the titles from the language completely.

> They will not be used as official titles, in front of the law. Otherwise, I can call my older sibling *ağabey* (older brother) in private. These can be used in private life. We are not abolishing them from our language. These types of words will no longer be used in official verdicts or laws. (Ibid., 47)

Olivier Bouquet's study of Pashas gives us new insight into the title and person of the Pasha in the late Ottoman Empire, indicating that though the term *pasha* was used by high ranking military officers long before, it was with the 1830 reforms that it became the only title for Ottoman senior military and civilian dignitaries.

A commentary published in *The Times* (London), which reported news of the abolition of appellations in Turkey, expressed some regret at the loss

of these titles, perhaps a reflection of the image in the European imagination.

> They will be missed, and by Occidental lovers of the picturesque as much as by the Turks who hold them. The writers of thrillers for popular monthly magazines will find some difficulty in accommodating themselves to the change when such time-honoured clichés as "the Pasha meditatively stroked his beard," or "the Bey slowly sipped the fragrant Mocha," have to be brought into line with the Ghazi's reforms. (*The Times* 30 November, 1934, in *Cuttings from the Times*, V.1. 1930–1939)

The term *efendi* is a title that came into Ottoman Turkish from the Greek. It also denotes "master," but it was reserved for educated people, in particular scribes. In contrast with *beg*, or *bey*, which was used for people with military education, *efendi* was used for people with *medrese* education. In the nineteenth century, it came to refer to princes of the Ottoman dynasty. *Beg* and *efendi* have also been joined as *beyefendi*, to denote the equivalent of "Sir" (EI, ii:687, cited in Bayerle 1997, 44). Before the Surname Law, men and women were called by their name, plus *bey*, or *hanım*. In current usage, *bey* and *hanım* are used on an everyday basis in workplaces or any place where some distance needs to be placed between individuals. They are not considered a sign of nobility. Thus, a woman named Leyla would be known in her workplace, or by her neighbors, as Leyla hanım, and her husband Mehmet, would be known as Mehmet bey.

Although the *lakab* was an Islamic nicknaming practice, in the Ottoman court it evolved into an elaborate title system for officials and rulers.[23] Protocol manuals indicated titles which were "suitable for officials of the state … [and] in 1863 these honorary titles were reorganized and were made official by law" (Bayerle 1997, 46). It was these titles that were abolished in 1934.

The Law on the Abolition of Titles is one of the laws protected under Article 174 of the constitution under the "Preservation of Reform Laws" (https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/anayasaeng.maddeler?p3=174):

> No provision of the Constitution shall be construed or interpreted as rendering unconstitutional the Reform Laws indicated below, which aim to raise Turkish society above the level of contemporary civilization and to safeguard the secular character of the Republic, and whose provisions

were in force on the date of the adoption of the Constitution by referendum:

1. Act No. 430 of March 3, 1340 (1924), on the Unification of the Educational System,
2. Act No. 671 of November 25, 1341 (1925), on the Wearing of Hats,
3. Act No. 677 of November 30, 1341 (1925), on the Closure of Dervish Monasteries and Tombs, the Abolition of the Office of Keeper of Tombs, and the Abolition and Prohibition of Certain Titles,
4. The principle of civil marriage according to which the marriage act shall be concluded in the presence of the competent official, adopted with the Turkish Civil Code No. 743 of February 17, 1926, and Article 110 of the Code,
5. Act No. 1288 of May 20, 1928, on the Adoption of International Numerals,
6. Act No. 1353 of November 1, 1928, on the Adoption and Application of the Turkish Alphabet, 93,
7. Act No. 2590 of November 26, 1934, on the Abolition of Titles and Appellations such as Efendi, Bey, or Pasha,
8. Act No. 2596 of December 3, 1934, on the Prohibition of the Wearing of Certain Garments.

The Law bestowing Mustafa Kemal the surname Atatürk

Later in the month, on November 24, 1934, the Grand National Assembly bestowed on Mustafa Kemal the surname *Ata Türk* with law number 2587, which officially declared, "Our President named Kemal has been given the surname Atatürk." Atatürk meant father of the Turks, and it was not only a surname, but akin to an honorific title. Like the sacred names of emperors, it was made to be unapproachable; according to the law, no one else but him and his offspring was permitted to carry that name. This was not the only name bestowed on the leader. In school, his teacher had named him Kemal, and after the Turkish war of independence, he had been given the title *gazi*, which meant warrior of the faith.

> In turn, Atatürk himself became a namer of others: So in terms of this naming—sur-naming—the hero of our legend of the War of Independence, Atatürk … cannot but remind us of the heroic Oghuz wiseman Dedem Korkut. Both of them carry the title of *ata*. (*Atatürk—Ata—Türk; Korkut Ata*) (Ersoylu 1981, 186)

The name Atatürk was finalized after some deliberation. The inspiration for the title and name reportedly came from a speech by Saffet

Arığkan, the chairman of the Turkish Language Investigation Association (Türk Dilini Tetkik Cemiyeti), in which the MP addressed the leader as "Our Supreme Leader Ata Türk Mustafa Kemal." Arığkan consulted with Mustafa Kemal about the contents of the speech and received a favorable response, particularly on the new title, which Mustafa Kemal liked, but found to be ambitious (or ostentatious). According to the 2011 article in *Toplumsal Tarih*, alternative names included the following:

- Kemal Etel-Etil (apparently the original pronunciation of Attila, meaning large river or stream)
  - Kemal Etelalp (great hero, in the Altai language).
  - Kemal Korkut (fearless, majestic, resolute)
  - Kemal Arız (a suggestion inspired by the Turkish hero Alp Arız).
  - Kemal Ulaş (the name of Salur Kazan, son of Ulaş)
  - Kemal Yazır (the name of Turkish hero Yazır, son of Yağlıkçı)
- Kemal Emen (the name of Turkish hero Emen beg, son of Ucen)
  - Kemal Çoğaş (denoted sun, or light)
  - Kemal Salır (the name of a Turkish hero)
  - Kemal Begit (strong)
  - Kemal Ergin (wise)
  - Kemal Tokuş (a Turkish hero: Ertokuş-Cengaver)
  - Kemal Beşe (distinguished)

The bestowal of the surname Atatürk was celebrated in the print media. Falih Rıfkı wrote, "He is the greatest Turk. Atatürk is not [just] his surname. He is Atatürk in the flesh" (Yedigün, December 5, 1934).

In turn, Atatürk himself became a name-giver to many people. An article describing Atatürk as name-giver begins with his performative act of naming of the new regime as *Cumhuriyet* (Republic). He then gives the surname İnönü, to İsmet Paşa, for his bravery in the İnonü Battlefield in the War of Independence. Agop Martanyan, a linguist and philologist who was appointed as the chief expert in the Turkish Language Association (Türk Dil Kurumu) after the first Turkish Language Congress in 1932, received the surname of Agop Dilaçar (tongue opener). In these acts of naming, the author Halil Ersoylu compares Atatürk to the legendary figure of Dede Korkut, the soothsayer, high priest, and bard of the Oghuz tribe, and his naming of young men after they have performed an act of strength or bravery. These acts of naming are akin to the bestowal of honorifics, or titles, paradoxically unlike the intention of the national goal to eliminate distinction. Instead, the Atatürk-names created new forms of distinction.

Turkist poet and publisher Yusuf Ziya Ortaç celebrated the ceremony of these names in his poem, "Surname Legend." The excerpt below is followed by a series of stanzas that describe the new names of bank managers, poets, writers, and fellow journalists, ending by describing how he let go of his former double name, Yusuf Ziya, and became Ziya Ortaç:

> Everyone is donning a surname
> The old, the young, the wife
> No more hanım, no ağa, no bey, no paşa,
> No distinction, no separation
>
> Just as the Turk was about to sink
> He rose to the seven stories in the sky
> And who is the one who revived that dying patient?
> He who was (Gazi Kemal), but today is (Atatürk)!
>
> The old blood rises again in the veins
> And those who take Turkish names have multiplied
> Our prime minister chose a flower bud from the garden of victory
> By taking the name of İnönü
>
> The Minister of Economics Mr Celal (Bayar)
> And the Finance Minister must be (Sayar). (*Akbaba* 01.06.1934, 5)

Two weeks before the law went into effect, decree numbered 2/1720, dated December 15, 1934, approved the enforcement of the Surname Regulation (*Soy Adı Nizamnamesi*). It was signed with the iconic signature, K. Atatürk, designed by the Armenian schoolteacher Hagop Vahram Çerçiyan who had studied the Palmer method of handwriting in the United States.[24] The regulation elaborated on the nature of the Soy Ad method by which local officials would enforce the law. Article 5 of the Surname Regulation states that "New surnames must be chosen from the Turkish language," while Article 6 states that a surname can be used alone or with the patronymic suffix *-oğlu*. The use of the patronymic ending is mandatory with historically recognized persons and with titles issued by law. Article 7, meanwhile, gives a list of undesirable suffixes: *yan, of, ef, viç, iç, iş, Dis, Pulos, Aki, Zade, Mahdumu, Veled,* and *Bin,* and any existing name with these suffixes needs to be replaced with the suffix *-oğlu*. Article 8 stated that names referencing other ethnicities such as Arnavud Oğlu, Kürd Oğlu or Çerkes Hasan Oğlu, or Boşnak İbrahim Oğlu may not be used or taken anew.

A Deep and Forward Revolutionary Matter: Enforcing the Surname Law

Using the network of the religious directorate was important in reaching out to the local populations. A month and a half earlier, the Prime Ministry issued a circular to the Religious Affairs Directorate stating that the Surname Law would take effect on December 28, 1934, and that the duration for compliance was a year and a half.

"Since our people tend to leave to the last minute these types of long term matters, it is most necessary that the enlightened class, and in particular the civil servants should be pioneers and set examples by choosing their names by the end of January 1935 and registering them with the population registry" (BCA 051-V42-12-101-10). A note at the bottom of the circular, signed by the director of religious affairs Rifat (Börekçi) Bey, asks that the local offices of the *müftü* be notified of the circular and asks for their help.

In January 1936, the General Secretary of the RPP, Recep Peker sent out a notice to all the provincial party chairs.

Twenty months ago, the state made a surname law. This is no mere ornament.

> From the point of view of the Turkish society's civilizational and social superiority, the surname is a deep and forward revolutionary matter that gives a family its respect in all its existence with the power of the party and regime. Despite the approach of the legal deadline, it is apparent that there are many citizens who have not completed this. Our party—which is a pioneer in all matters that are good and forward—must pioneer this exalted national matter with all its organs. Aside from party organs, the People's Houses must resort to forceful persuasion to speed up this business.

He indicates that he is sending numerous copies of the law to be distributed and to be read out to local citizens who should be invited to become curious and ask questions. In his third point:

> During the teaching and encouragement, the points I have emphasized in the first point should be elaborated upon. To take opportunity of crowds, this explaining and guidance can be done to schoolchildren in People's Houses with the help of teachers, groups of workers can be addressed in people's meeting rooms, and even in tea and coffeehouses, and in factories and workshops.

Peker notes that the Anatolian people's local naming customs of using nicknames, or *lakab*, can be reconfigured to become surnames: "The title/nickname *Kütükçü zade Neriman* can be replaced with *Neriman Kütükçü*, without the search for a new surname" (BCA 490.01.3.12.18).

Compliance with the law's stipulation to use surnames in official correspondence was clearly not uniform. In 1937, the Interior Minister issued a statement to the Prime Ministry. "Even though every Turk was bound by the first and second articles of [the Surname Law] to bear a surname, and to comply with its use in speech, writing and signature, it has been observed that many do not use the surname in correspondence and in many texts" (BCA 030.10 April 5, 1937). A few days later, the Prime Ministry issued a directive to all ministries and other *offices* that the law be enforced with more accuracy, threatening penalties.

The Ceremony of Name-Taking Among RPP Elite

Documents in the RPP Catalogue in the Prime Minister's Archives of the Republic indicate it was with some ceremony that officials of the RPP provided petitions that announced to the party leadership the names they would henceforth use as family names. These documents, written in various elevated florid styles, also served as memoranda to officially confirm new signatures complying with the law's rule that surnames follow proper names. The petitions were probably in response to the party leadership's request to receive each member's name and signature in writing.

In his petition, the Economics Minister Celal (Bayar) wrote:

> In accordance with the Surname Law I hereby respectfully notify that I shall use my name and signature in the following manner, Efendim.[25]

Esat Bey addressed the C.H.P. General Clerks Office, and notified them of his choice of surname, *Sagay*: "Dear Bay, From 4/12/1934 I declare with deep respects to your supreme office that I have taken the name Sagay as my family name."[26]

Ragıp Raif, the Turkish Ambassador to Stockholm sent a note addressed to Recep Peker, the Chairman of the RPP that he would henceforth sign his name as R. Kösearif. "In accordance with the provisions of the surname selection law I respectfully submit that I shall sign my name as follows, beginning on July 1, 1936" (BCA 490.01.41.A3.5, 28). The document shows the Ambassador's signatures, old and new.

The Chair of the Izmit People Houses, Rıfat Bey indicates in his note that his new surname *Yüce* (exalted) is one that he had already been bestowed by the people, indicating that he draws his authority to name himself from the will of the populace. In addition to identifying him to the state like other citizens, it is also a surname in the register of an honorific title: "To the General Secretary, Since I have decided now to take as a surname *Yüce*, the very name that the people have given me for seven years. I hereby announce my signature below. Izmit People's Houses Director. This is my new signature: *R. Yüce*" (BCA 490.01.41.173.5, 24).

In his 1934 thesis on the law on names in Swiss and Turkish civil codes, Reşad Osman (Atabek)[27] observed that many people were reaching for the names of distant Central Asian and Tibetan people. Osman's comments also point out to the way that the *aurality/orality* of the new language and names stood out against accustomed sounds in the spoken language.

> [Turkey] seeks to detach itself from these Arab and Persian models and to affirm itself and to find affiliation with other Turks still living in central Asia and the plateaus of Tibet. She wants to have a common history with them, and we see the appearance of proper names of the inhabitants of these distant steppes. The passions sometimes go so far that often the pronunciation of these names is in disaccord with the language of the nation. (Atabek 1934, 48)

Nation-states have controlled the language of surnames in a variety of ways depending on the ideological shifts. Teresa Scassa points out "segregation, assimilation and nation-building" as three ways that states have controlled names. These trends, she maintains, are not static and "shift with the attitudes of a nation to foreigners in its midst" and the shifting "definitions of outsiders and insiders" (1996, 170). The shift to a particular, purified form of Turkish that was disseminated into the population through many channels would also ossify aspects of the language in names.

Notes

1. Republic of Turkey. Law No. 2590. *Efendi, bey, paşa, gibi lakab ve ünvanların kaldırıldığına dair kanun* Law title translation from Lewis (1999, 113).
2. Republic of Turkey, Law 2587, 24.11.1934 *Kemal öz adlı Türkiye Cumhur reisinine verilen "Atatürk" adının veya bunun başına veya sonuna söz*

konarak yapılan adların hiç bir kimse tarafından alınamıyacağını buyuran kanun.

3. "The Swiss Code was framed in 1912, and stemmed from Germanic civil law. The latter had been codified in 1874–1896 contemporaneously with the codification of the Mecelle, and served as the basis for the framing of the Japanese Civil Code antedating that in Turkey, and the Chinese Code postdating the Turkish one" (Berkes, 471). For further reading on the translation and reception of the Swiss Civil Code, see Özsu (2010) and Örücü (2013).

4. Madde 259—*Nesebi sahih olan çocuk, babasının ismini taşır ve onun vatandaşlık haklarına malik olur.* (Article 259: The legal child carries the father's name and is entitled to his citizenship rights.)

5. This clause has since been changed and women may carry their own surnames when they are married. In 1997, women gained the right to keep their prenuptial surnames along with their husband's surnames if they so choose. According to a Sept 30, 2015 ruling by the Supreme Court of Appeals, a woman may use her own maiden name as her surname, but still needs to file a lawsuit to use this right. This is because the Civil Registration Office is not bound by precedent cases and women must wait until Article 187 of the Civil Code, which stipulates that women use their husband's surname, be changed. http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/ruling-allows-turkish-women-to-keep-maiden-name-after-marrying.aspx?pageID=238&nID=95698&NewsCatID=341

6. For more on the changing of place names in Republican Turkey, see Öktem (2008).

7. Translation by author.

8. The school as an institution where the child assumes or is given a new name for his skills is not unusual. Note that the young Mustafa was given the name Kemal by his teacher. Name-giving by teachers was very prevalent at the beginning of mass immigration after the foundation of Israel. "Often the names were given by teachers when registering the pupils on the first day of school. Rivka Guber, one of the most famous of the teachers at the time of the mass immigration after the foundation of Israel relates how she changed Persian *Fairuz* into Hebrew *Yitskhaq*" (Stahl 1994, 280).

9. Law No 2576, Accepted 5.7.1934, published in the official gazette, 15.7.1934.

10. In a different, but parallel case, when the "nom de baptême" was switched to "prenom" in France during the secularization of the population registries, it took population officials or municipal officers a long time to adjust to this change (Lefebvre-Teillard 1990, 57).

11. 1—İsmin himayesi.

12. For further reading on the details of the resettlement of Kurdish populations in the 1920s and 1930s, see Chap. 5 in Çagaptay (2006) and Chap. 3 in Üngör (2011).

13. For further reading on the anthropological studies that supported this racial thinking, see Maksudyan (2005). For reading on one of the ideologogues of racism, Nihal Atsız, see Aytürk (2011). Also, Çağaptay, Chaps. 4 and 5 (2006).

14. In subsequent years, this would be made into an issue by intellectuals on the right, such as Ziyaeddin Fındıkoğlu (1939), as I will cover in Chap. 5.

15. For further reading on revolutionary names in France, see Billy (2000).

16. Duben and Behar note that the use of *familya*, of Italian origin (famiglia), became commonplace for Muslims in the late nineteenth century (Duben and Behar 1991, 211).

17. For further reading on the way the Turkish state intervened to control the influence of tribes through waves of resettlement, see Ungor (2011) Chap. 3, and İlyas (2014).

18. Among the reasons for the "large scale deportations of Kurds."

19. "Bu gibilerin eski halklarını hatırlatacak isimlerle anılması, büyük bir suç sayılmalıdır.Yüzyıllardan beri Türklüğe karışan insanlara ve hattâ kitlelere; Laz, Çerkes, Acem, Arnavut, Arap, Boşnak, Tatar ve Kürt diye seslenilmesi, Türklük için fenâ, leke ve müthiş bir cinâyettir. Ne yazık ki, milletimiz, hükûmetimiz, polisimiz ve hattâ mahkemelerimiz, hâlâ korkunç bir kayıtsızlıkla, bu cinâyeti işlemekte ve karşılarına çıkan Türklere yabancılık aşılamaktadır.

20. Republic of Turkey. Law No. 2590, 26.11.1934. *Efendi, bey, paşa, gibi lakab ve ünvanların kaldırıldığına dair kanun* Law title translation from Lewis (1999, 113).

21. See Chehabi, H.E.'s study on "The Reform of Iranian Nomenclature and Titulature in the Fifth Majles," in Wali Ahmadi, ed. Converging Zones: Persian Literary Tradition and the Writing of History. Studies in Honor of Amin Banami. 84–116. (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2012).

22. "Orta çağda Devlet rejimleri değişti, bununla beraber halkçılık mefhumu da eski saflığını ve temizliğini kaybetti. İnsanlar arasında esasını kâh dinden, kâh tegallüp, tasallut hırslarından alan hâsıl oldu. Bu suretler mümtaz sınıflar meydana çıktı. Her bir sınıf kendine ve nesline hâyali sıfatlar ve lâkaplar izafesine başladı. Türkler kurunu vustaî cemiyetlerle temasları sırasında bu tesirlerden kurtulamadı…Bu gün hiç bir ferdin lâkabına güvenerek payesine güvenerek ve sığınarak hiç kimseden fazla ve üstün hakkı yoktur. Yoksa da eski devirlerin arta kalan bu lâkaplar ve tabirler kullanılmakla ulusal üyeler arasında eski sınıf ve tefevvuk hatıralarını uyandırmakta, milletin asil ruhunu incitmektedir" (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi Devre 4, Içtima: 4, 26.10.1934, 42).

23. For example, the title used for Suleiman I in 1562, at the peak of Ottoman expansion was as follows: "The Padishah and Sultan of the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea, of Ka'aba the Esteemed, and Medina the Illuminated, of Jerusalem the Sacred, of the Throne of Egypt the most precious jewel of our era, of the provinces of Yemen and Aden and San'a, of Baghdad the Abode of Peace, and Basra, and Lahsa, of the cities of Anushirwan (i.e., the Sasanid Ctesiphon in Iraq), of the lands of Algiers and Azerbaijan, of the land of the Golden Horde and the land of Tartary, of Diyarbekir and Kurdistan and Luristan, and all of Rumelia and Anatolia and Karamania and Wallachia and Moldavia and Hungary, and apart from these, other great and esteemed countries and lands" (Schaendlinger, I: xxv, cited in Bayerle 1997, 47).

24. See article by Vercihan Ziflioğlu, http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=ataturks-signature-modelled-by-an-armenian-in-one-night-2010-10-27.

25. "Soy adı kanununa uyarak bundan sonra ad ve imzamı aşağıdaki gibi kullanacağımı bildirir ve saygılarımı sunarım, Efendim" (Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi 490.01.41.173.5).

26. Sayın Bay. 4.12.1934 gününden beri Sagay adını soyadı olarak aldığımı yüksek katınıza derin saygılarımla sunarım sayın Bay. Bursa Mebusu Esat Sagay.

27. Reşad (Atabek) (b.1911 in Salonica) graduated from Istanbul Law School and received a doctorate from the Geneva Law School in 1934. Other than his thesis comparing names in Swiss and Turkish laws, he also published on insurance law, insurance credits, and translated law books into Turkish.

Bibliography

Atabek, Reşat Osman (Rechat Osman). 1934. *Le Nom des Personnes dans les Codes civils Suisse et Turc*. These presenté a la Faculté de droit de l'Universite de Geneve pur obtenir le grade de docteur en droit. Imprimerie Georges Thone, Liege.

Aytürk, İlker. 2011. The Racist Critics of Atatürk and Kemalism from the 1930s to the 1960s. *Journal of Contemporary History* 46 (2): 308–335.

Bayerle, Gustav. 1997. *Pashas, Begs and Effendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire*. Istanbul: ISIS Press.

Billy, Pierre-Henri. 2000. Dés prénoms révolutionnaires en France. *Annales historique de la Révolution Française* 322 (1): 39–60.

von Bruinessen, Martin. 1998. *Agha, Shaikh and State: Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan*. London/Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Books.

Çagaptay, Soner. 2006. *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who is a Turk?* London: Routledge Press.

Duben, Alan. 1985. Turkish Families and Households in Historical Perspective. *Journal of Family History* 10 (1): 75–97.

Duben, Alan, and Cem Behar. 1991. *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Erol Ülker. Assimilation, Security and Geographical Nationalization in Interwar Turkey: The SettlementLaw of 1934. *European Journal of Turkish Studies* [Online], 7 | 2008, Online since 11 December 2008, Connection on 13 September 2017. http://ejts.revues.org/2123

Ersoylu, Halil. 1981. Atatürk'ün verdiği – koyduğu bazı adlar – soyadlar [Some Names – Surnames Given – Bestowed by Atatürk]. *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 13: 179–186.

İlyas, Ahmet. 2014. Tek Parti Döneminde Aşiretleri Kotnrol Altına Almak için Çıkarılan Kanun ve Hazırlanan Raporlar. *International Journal of Social Science.* Autumn II Number: 28: 329–348.

Lefebvre-Teillard, Anne. 1990. *Le Nom: Droit et Histoire.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Lewis, Geoffrey. 1999. *The Turkish Language Reform.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Maksudyan, Nazan. 2005. The Turkish Review of Anthropology and the Racist Face of Turkish Nationalism. *Cultural Dynamics* 17 (3): 291–322.

Nour, Riza. 1935. Nom propres Turcs. *Turkbilik Revüsü/Revue de Turcologie* No. 5, Tome II (Livre 1): 65/782–73/792.

Öktem, Kerem. 2008. The Nation's Imprint: Demographic Engineering and the Change of Toponymes in Republican Turkey. *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, Thematic Issue No. 7, Demographic Engineering—Part I. http://www.ejts.org/document2243.html

Örücü, Esin. 2013. A Legal System Based on Translation: The Turkish Experience. *Journal of Civil Law Studies* 6 (2): 445–473.

Özertuğ, Banu Hatice. 1973. Household Composition in a Turkish Village. PhD dissertation, Stanford University.

Özsu, Umut. 2010. Receiving the Swiss Civil Code: Translating Authority in Early Republican Turkey. *International Journal of Law in Context* 1: 63–89.

Stahl, Abraham. 1994. The Imposition of Hebrew Names on New Immigrants to Israel: Past and Present. *Names* 42 (4): 279–288.

Szurek, Emmanuel. 2013. Appeler les Turcs par leur nom. Le nationalism patronymique dans la Turquie des années 1930. Revue D'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine No 60-2.

Ungor, Uğur. 2011. *The Making of Modern Turkey: Nation and State in Eastern Anatolia, 1913–1950.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Generating Surnames in Theory and Practice: Surnames Booklets and Registry Documents

PROLIFERATION OF ONOMASTIC STOCK: SURNAME BOOKLETS

A perceived problem during the reception of the law was how a limited number of Turkish names and new words would be used to issue individuating, unique surnames to the relatively large population of Turkey. The solution: surname generator booklets and their interpreters. A number of surname booklets were published by a variety of government and non-government presses after the announcement of the Surname Law. These claimed to present names and words in the new öztürkçe, and were authored by schoolteachers, education officials, and other citizens who expressed avid devotion to the Kemalist reforms. In their spirit of service to the national cause, many included a reprint of the law and provided a brief history of the Turks since the tenth century, with a couple of them drawing on texts of Turkish legends to describe the naming customs of the ancient Turks. Remarking on the 15 million citizens who would need surnames, the booklets also included suggestions about how to create new names by adding on öztürkçe-sounding suffixes and prefixes (Image 4.1).

In this creation, the three methods of the Language Reform served as a solution: (a) borrowings from ancient Turkic texts, (b) borrowings from spoken vernaculars, or (c) if no equivalent could be found, invention. A similar principle was applied to name making, both in these booklets and
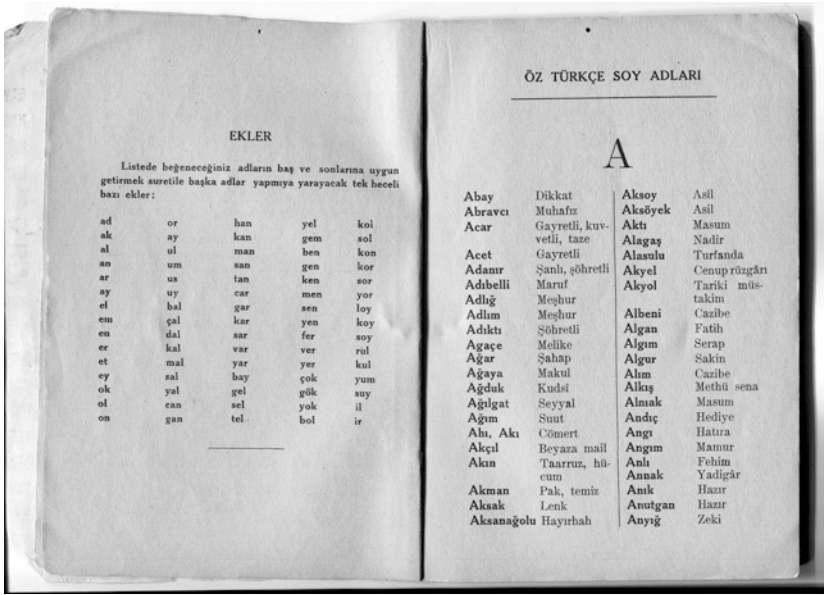
Image 4.1 Page of a surname booklet with alphabetical lists of names in öztürkçe and their meanings. Prefixes and suffixes (left) were to be added to create new names. On the left hand page there is a list of "appendages" or suffixes and prefixes. "A few monosyllabic appendixes to place at the beginning or end of a name that you will choose from the list [of surnames]." On the right hand page is the beginning of the list of surnames. (Orbay, K.Ş., 1935)

in the regulation of the law. The writer of the booklet in Image 4.1 proposes that the surname taker be guided by his phonological tastes.

> Our book has more than three thousand names. Don't underestimate this. From these three thousand words, if you want, and with the methods we show you, you can create three hundred thousand, or more names. And, with no resemblance to one another. As we said above, you must first of all check your taste, your desire. For example, you should know whether you want two syllable names such as *Ertan*, *Güner* or *Oran*, or three syllable names like *Ertengü* or *Kubilay*, or one syllable like in *Er*, *Tan*, or *Can*. Once you have determined this, the second issue arises. You must determine with what letter your surname should begin, and which vowels

and consonants it should contain, and with which letter it should end. (Orbay 1935, 4)

Another booklet writer compared the number of öztürkçe words (30,000) with the number of Turkish citizens (18 million) and offered methods of surname generation that would guarantee the production of unique Turkish names. The writer, known by the initials, D.K.O, tells his reader that they are providing several hundred Turkish words of one or two syllables consisting of suffixes and prefixes (*ekler*), composite words (*mürekkep kelimeler*), and distinct words (*müstakil kelimeler*) (D.K.O. 1935, 5).

The writer then demonstrates through various examples, using the short prefix and suffix -*alp* (fierce), producing names such as *Alpat* (auspicious soldier), *Adalp* (glorious fighter), *Alpay* (clever fighter), or *Aralp* (pure soldier) or *Manalp* (Human soldier) (D.K.O. 1935, 6). The reader is told that they can also choose one unique distinct name "however one should prefer to apply the previous two methods to find euphonious and highly meaningful words. In this way you will assume a unique surname" (ibid., 8).

Some surname booklet writers made a special effort to make use of the vocabulary of the purified Turkish, but also needed to provide a glossary to help readers understand their work. M. Vural, a Turkish teacher who was also the former Zonguldak Education Director and the İnegöl Middle School Principal, published his own booklet as a "gift to the Öz Türkçe language turn" (Vural 1935).

Like other writers of similar works, Vural opens his book with a statement on how proud he is to contribute to the "language change revolution" (1). Emboldened by the support he has received from the RPP party chairman Recep Peker, and by the sales figures of his book, he has added more words to his list, bringing it up to 1500. Furthermore, he points out, the names he has selected are drawn from the beautiful names chosen by the most bright and enlightened of the nation. "Among these names can be found the names and surnames of Ministers, Generals, Members of Parliament, General Directors and many other high level civil servants and tradesmen" (Vural 1935, 2). The introduction concludes with a comment on the great wealth of the Turkish language and gratitude to "the apple of our eye Atatürk, who has "discovered this treasure with his sharp discernment, and to his helpers" (3). Vural also includes the parliament discussion

on, and text of the law bestowing the surname Atatürk on Mustafa Kemal. Interestingly, this may be the only booklet from 1935 I have seen which has surnames composed with the word *Turk*, and include the following: *Türkan*, *Türkkan*, *Türkkal*, *Türkkol*, *Türken*, *Türker*, *Türkeş*, *Türkekul*, *Türkmen*, *Türkoğlu*, *Türköz*, *Türküsev*, *Türkyılmaz* (Vural 1935, 33).

Of these booklets, *Turk Büyükleri veya Türk Adları* (Turkish Heroes/Ancestors or Turkish Names) by Besim Atalay,[1] Kütahya MP, stands out. It was published long before the others in 1923, and clearly served as a sort of model for similar books.

Atalay's book, adapted with the addition of öztürkçe words in 1935, can be considered the most carefully researched of the booklets. The bibliography for his book includes Semsettin Sami's[2] Ottoman dictionary, genealogies, accounts of Ibn Battuta's travels, Siberian and Tatar history, Turcology texts about Orhon and Yenisey runic inscriptions and Uygur history, W. Radloff, ethnological work on Mongolians and Kazans by Russian scholars, the legend of Dede Korkut, Woolley's Sumerian history, and histories of the Ottomans and the Turks. In the preface to the 1935 edition of his book, he dismisses other booklets published in the same period as "haphazard things on which little effort has been spent," and explains that he had published the first edition of the book "through the Library of the Grand National Assembly upon a request from America" (Atalay 1935, 9). His other publications include several legends, a book on the rules of the Turkish language, and a book on word replication in Turkish.[3]

The 1935 edition of his book is divided into three parts. The first part contains the names of historical figures; the second contains words that could become names, which had been created by the Turkish Language Research Association and which had been published in the *Tarama Dergisi*, the primary resource for the new Turkish words. The third section draws from a list of village names published by the Interior Ministry.

Atalay's book contains several elements that are replicated in other booklets, among them the invocation of the grand narrative of the submerged Turkish culture of the tenth century that was recently discovered. In one way or another, whether from the weakness of the elite who had submitted to the dictates of fashion, or because of oppressive Arab and Persian influence, Turkish names followed the rest of ancient Turkish culture, and were forgotten. An Arabo-Islamic presence infiltrated Turkish and Persian areas. After the Turks adopted Sunni Islam, the religious authorities, followed by the local rulers, and then the populace, took Arab names. This corroborates observations by Deringil and Ortaylı about the

Arabization of Turkish names as the Ottoman Empire's status as Caliphate increased Arab cultural influence.

Atalay personifies Turkish names as victims fleeing from the onslaught of Arab names: "Turkish names were trying to survive like people who retreated and fled from a plundering army, in steep inaccessible places, in plains, in distant pastures, in isolated villages. Indeed, there are many Turkish names alive in villages and nomadic settlements" (Atalay 1935, 7). Similarly, Enver Behnan (Şapolyo[4]), the author of *Türk Soyadı* (The Turkish Surname) explained, "The Turks lost their own language and names from the tenth century to the twentieth (until Kemal Atatürk). In the name of fashion, they had taken words from other Muslims such as the Arabs and Persians and other Semitic peoples" (Behnan (Sapolyo) 1935, 3). In another instance, K.S. Orbay, in his book, *Öz Türkçe Adlar ve Sözler* (Names and Words in Öztürkçe) maintained, "Until now, even though everyone was of pure and clean Turkish lineage, they carried foreign names for their lineages. Furthermore many did not even know what a surname was" (Orbay 1935, 4).

One of the rationales for the Surname Law at the time was that people who were kin would be known as an entity, or that the existence of a surname would strengthen kinship bonds. This idea of intergenerational continuity finds its way into the preface of Atalay and other authors. In the account by Rauf Orbay, the problem was not only that Turks did not carry their own names, but also that, unlike the rest of the world, they had no fixed surnames. Orbay was the only one of the writers in these six texts who faulted state institutions for not having fixed surnames by law. The usage of the *lakab*, or nickname enabled the identification of families in rural areas, but, like surnames before fixation by law, this could shift from generation to generation.

> In the villages, towns and such places of our country the people have felt the need for the surname and have distinguished similar sounding names with the help of nicknames that are different from one another…. But this spontaneous need was not tied down, or made permanent, and these nicknames remained nicknames/lakab and in many cases were carried by a single person. The children of Mehmed son of Karakahya [for example] take different names according to their trades. A surname doesn't mean one person's nickname; it means the name of his whole lineage. (Orbay, Kemalettin Şükrü 1935)

Clearly, surnames were a site of national-boundary making, as a pair of writers from Yozgat province, Ruhi Turfan and Celal Bayar, explicitly articulated: "For nations who want to distinguish their boundaries from strangers, the surname is a primary exalted matter" (Turfan and Bayar 1935, 7).

According to Mehmet Ölmez, the Name Booklets made use of "texts belonging to the early stages of Turcology. These were Radloff's Orhon Yazitlar, the Kutadgu Bilig translation, various publications on Kipcak vocabulary, and Uygur texts published at the time" (Ölmez, 108). Therefore, what writers of the name booklets took to be pure Turkish names, Ölmez asserted, later studies in Turcology have revealed, were actually Mongolian, or even Chinese. Many names from the Secret History of the Mongolians were taken to be Turkish words. As an example of the Chinese words, he gave the name *Tayfun*, a name which is widely used as a Turkish name, which is actually a Cantonese word which made its way into English and French as "typhoon."

While oral recollection, based on first-hand experience, offered socially networked stories, these documents, with handwritten lists on torn paper, with hurried comments by officials who did not approve of names, or petitions carefully worded on thin paper, had an immediacy that recollection could not have. Listening to the stories of my interviewees required an act of imagination involving recreating the images, places, and objects. However, the physicality of the paper, printed by the Turkish Aviation Association, the loops of careful handwriting listing name choices, the slashes across names, and commands by population officials made the haste and hurry of the population office unfold in a way that stories could not.

I was able to gain access to these documents in two Istanbul population offices,[5] one of which was located in a more central, more diverse neighborhood on the European side of the city, and the other in a location inhabited primarily by non-Muslims.

The main difference between the documents in the two offices was that in the district with more of a non-Muslim concentration, the records were organized, and there were no changes in originally assigned names. At the central office[6] in Istanbul, however, surname changes among non-Muslims were more frequent.

Here, in the public space of the population office, in the comings and goings of citizens with name lists, in the objections and suggestions of the population officials, it was possible to see part of the texture of the state-society boundary. In the hurried moments of registering newly chosen, invented names, citizens and officials negotiated the meaning of words and used prefixes and suffixes to create new names. Population officials wrote one another to dispute names, or another official wrote from Anatolia to say Armenian records had been destroyed in a fire. These

records as well as the interviews I conducted show that the procedure for applying the law was not standardized, and often proliferated into contradiction. Interpretation of the law would vary between officials, who consulted name books and negotiated with each other to complete name registrations.

Much of the correspondence, notes, and scribbles were related to: (a) the avoidance of identical names; (b) negotiations over the language of names; (c) prevention of the usurpation of historical names, and the (d) prevention of taking of place names. Many documents had been printed on the back of other documents with the older alphabet, and often the writing was not legible. Some files were accompanied by a *dilekçe*,[7] a letter petitioning the official for a particular name.

In this section, I draw on Matthew Hull's work on the file, the "central technology of bureaucracy" (Weber, cited in Hull 2003), to conceptualize the documents in the registry as "graphic artifacts" (Hull 2003, 291). The groups of documents I was able to see in the registries were assembled around the *Soy Adı Kağıdı*, the primary document citizens needed to fill out in 1934 (Image 4.1).

I gained access to files containing Soy Adı Kağıdı (Surname registration documents) when I visited a population office. These documents, described as *dayanak belgesi*, or baseline documents, would normally not be publicly available and represent the verifiable, initial "baptismal event" conferring a particular surname on individuals. Though I was told they are used to support various petitions or claims, it was also clear that they had not been systematically archived or preserved. In 2002, the Directorate of Population and Citizenship launched the *Merkezi Nüfus Idare Sistemi* (Centralized Population Administration System) or MERNIS, digitizing records and issuing citizenship numbers, and according to a population officer I spoke with, all paper documents have been sent to Ankara for archiving.

The *Soy Adı Kağıdı* document was to be filled out by the head of the household (the husband, according to the law) and includes a list of immediate family members who would also be taking the same surname. In itself, it was a petition, insofar as it positioned the citizen in an appeal to the state authority to register a family name. In the two years following the Law, heads of households submitted these to their local population office. After filling out their family information, they signed their name under the following petition printed on the form (Image 4.2).

Image 4.2   A surname document stamped June 24, 1936, showing a previously selected name, *Paksoy* (clean lineage), crossed out and replaced with *Kankılıç* (blood sword)

Because the Law number 2525 has given me the duty of adopting and registering a surname, the persons who are my dependents have been registered above. I request that this [information] be registered in our population registry and in our birth certificates.

The Population Office and Population Officials in Documents

A very common feature of the surname documents, particularly in the central office, were adjustments made to duplicate names. Population officers had to make sure that no two unrelated families in the same district took the same name. Article 15 of the *Nizamname* (Law Regulation) stipulated:

If those who are not of the same lineage have chosen the same name in a village, a town or city, the ones who have applied first will keep the name and the others must change. If they insist on not changing, the [name] can be distinguished by adding adjective, or any other addition such as big or small, and in this way can be registered in the ledgers and the birth records.

In accordance with this rule, documents I saw were frequently marked by scratches through chosen names, a replacement name created with the addition of a prefix or suffix. For example in one record, a family asked for the name *Atak*, and upon finding out that someone else had claimed that name, they created the name *Ataklan*. In one record, the initial choice of *Uysal* (docile) was crossed out, to be replaced by *Aldanmaz* (astute). In one record, 13 name choices had been crossed out, leaving one behind, *Köyün* (seemingly a noun in a possessive form, meaning "your village," or "the village's"). Many of the names in the folder with the letter E had been formed with the addition of *Er-*, meaning "brave, capable man, or soldier" a very typical addition to altered names. Another common form of changing names was with the addition of *Büyük* (big) or *Küçük* (small). In fact, the population official made that suggestion in writing to some duplicate name bearers.

To avoid having to come up with another name, many people brought lists of alternative names and asked the population official to go down the list until he found one that had not been taken. Thus, lists of name choices were attached to many records (Image 4.3).

For example, a family adopted the name *Korkman* after submitting two lists. The second of the lists had the following choices of names and a note
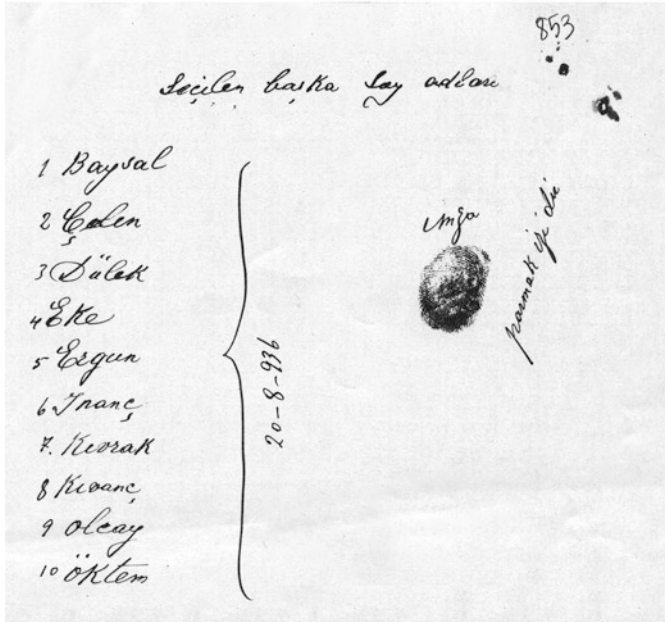
Image 4.3   A list of surname alternatives, dated September 8, 1936, and finger-printed, attached to a surname document

dated September 1, 1936 attached that read, "I request that whichever of these surnames has not been taken to be recorded in my registry."[8]

1. Korman
2. Korkma
3. Al bayrak
4. Öz yürek
5. Kan maz
6. Baydur
7. Çelik kol
8. Pak alın
9. Pak yürekli
10. Dirik
11. Özcan
12. Er kal
13. Öz yuren (sic)

14. Caner
15. Bir er
16. Tek er
17. Ekim
18. Çaluk
19. Çalışkan
20. Özkök
21. Pınar
22. Irmak

Notes on the documents and attached correspondence between population offices and between citizens and officials indicated the specific reasons why names were not approved. Although place names were not among the explicitly restricted names in the law, many of my respondents told me that they had been told they could not take place names. Some examples in the records confirm this. In a record dated June 27, 1936, a Muslim family succeeded in registering the name *Katrenli*, but not without some dispute from an office in Ankara. A note from Ankara indicated that his name must be considered by someone in higher office. "*Katerin* is not only the name of a town but because it is also a Slav name, there has been some hesitation in registration." A note on July 22, 1936, reads, "There is nothing wrong with registering [the name]."[9] Although the decision-making process is not explicit in this document, there was clearly a process of negotiation.

A petition from June 22, 1936 indicated that the family's first choice of name had been met with disagreement in the family and requested a new name be registered.

My Wish: Even though we have registered the name *Tekyıldız* with the Beşiktaş population office, after a disagreement with our wider family we have claimed the name *Alas* and we request with deep respects that it be registered.

A record dated January 12, 1935 is signed by Rifet, one of the guards of the national palaces.

To the Beşiktaş Township District Governorship,[10]
I petition and request that my much worn-out identity card which is in the old alphabet be changed and since I have taken the surname (TABU) may the matter of its registration and inscription be conveyed to the necessary people.

> Of the National Palaces Guards
> Rıfat. (a signature stamp dated 1928)

The language of the palace guard is heavily ornate calling attention to its writer's claimed status. The language may be a more effective source of authority in the bureaucracy at that particular time.

A petitioner in a note dated December 12, 1934 strengthens his claim to the name *Türkoğlu*, which would have been popular at the time, by indicating his usage of it as a writer in a newspaper during the "war years":

> To the Beşiktaş Population Official,
> Sir,
> Since I have [now] decided to use the pseudonym (TÜRKOĞLU) which I used during the national war years in "Güleryüz" newspaper, as a surname along with my children, I beg that the population registry do what is necessary.
> Mr. Hamdi oğlu Fikri
> Of Beşiktaş Şenlikdede neighborhood
> Registered at No. 3, Haseki street

A man named Mümtaz took the surname of *Okkay* but pleads with the local governorship and the municipality that the honor of the historical family name adopted by the rest of his family also be granted to him. From the file, we do not know if he was granted his wish.

Variations on these formal petitions could also be published in daily newspapers, which published lists of surnames taken by various civil servants and administrators. The newspaper announcements were performative statements, annoucements of completed bureaucratic procedures, and national and local newspapers published daily columns of these. The daily *Milliyet*, published lists of surnames taken in each province, and on November 26, 1935, printed the names of surnames taken in Gümüşane.

Correspondence between two officials, in Beyoğlu and Besni district (Adıyaman) shows some contestation about the name *Beğ*. The official in Besni writes the official in Beyoğlu a note requesting a copy of the family's record. The Beyoğlu office scrutinizes the document and writes back on September 27, 1936, to say, "*Beğ* cannot be a surname." The official from Besni responds on September 15, 1936, "The surname *Beğ* is accepted as Turkish, and is written down in the B section of the Turkish Names book. I request that this surname be registered and this matter concluded." A note on the record from a member of the family indicated that they initially chose the name *Beğkont*, which would be the equivalent of, Sir

Count, but insist on the preservation of the name *Beğ*. We do not know from the file whether this petition was granted.

PRIVILEGE AND VARIETIES OF CHOICE

Agency and genealogical awareness was the privilege and domain of male family members and was very prevalent among urban elites, many of whom carefully chose, designed, or tailored names for themselves.

Names in cities could be scarce or coveted, and particularly attractive ones needed to be taken quickly, as the following letter from the director of forensic medicine, Halit T:

> To the Beşiktaş District Governorship,
> I have chosen T—as my surname. However it is also my hope that this name is so easy to pronounce and is so beautiful to the ear, that many people will also choose it. However, I gave this name nineteen years ago when my first child was born, as a surname to my child. Her name is Gül—. My child born after that is named Ay—. Their population records indicate this. And as for myself, I have been using this name in my official and unofficial inter-actions. And I am known by this name. For this reason, I request that this name not be given to anyone else. (Transcribed Notes from Population Office Records: 10.12.1934)

Beyond the convenience of continuing his name, clearly this is a person who felt entitled to that particular name. Another letter from a record shows that for some urbanites with status, the act of taking a name was one of reiterating their place in a political and social sphere:

> To the District Governorship:
> I the below-signed Hasan—and my wife Aliyye—who live at No. 26 Vali Konağı Caddesi in Teşvikiye district in Nişantası do declare that we have reserved the following surname—not only for ourselves but also for our sons Aziz—, the Republican Central Bank secretary in Samsun, and his wife Refika, Izzet—secretary for the Foreign Ministry in Ankara, for my brother Ali Rıza who works at the Ottoman Bank in Beyoğlu and his wife Fatime, and his daughters Müheyya; and my uncle Mustafa Fadıl who lives in Teşvikiye at number 2 Inayet apartment in Teşvikiye, Maçka district; I therefore request with respects that this name be registered. (23 Birinci Kanun 1934)

Most of these petitions by literate elite with some status use active verbs like "taken" (aldım) or "chosen" (seçtim) in contrast to the usage from those of rural or less educated background, who often use the verb

"yazdırmak," which means, "to have written down, or inscribed," which is in some ways an enactment of illiteracy. For the bureaucrat and elite class, carrying, or adopting a family name was done through a system of distinction (Caplan and Torpey 2001, 55). Yiğit Akın's work on petitions to the leadership of the RPP were particular genres of writing in which composers of these forms involved a "crafting of their social and political personae" (Akın 2007, 444).

For many inhabiting urban spaces, new surnames seem akin to another form of modernity to be entitled to, and to don. This "putting on of names" was almost similar to the wearing of a new outfit. This is apparent in archive materials, in interviews as well as in the popular press of the time.

For example, language use in a poem depicting the adoption of surnames and the shedding of titles is worth noting here. In a poem called "The Surname Legend," Ziya Ortaç, the editor of Akbaba and also a Turkist, writer uses the verb "*takinmak,*" more often used for the wearing of an accessory, or attitude. Indeed, the taking of surnames as he indicates is a populist act meant to erase distinction. While new surnames erase old forms of distinction, they also create new channels of creating or perpetuating other forms of hierarchy.

Greek, Armenian, and Jewish Names in Registries

In the central Istanbul office, Surname Papers from 1934 indicate that Armenian names were changed as often as they were maintained. On the other hand, the registers on the Prince's Islands showed that names were maintained, probably because it was a non-Muslim majority area.

In his book on the comparison of names in Swiss and Turkish law, Rechad Osman makes a telling note about the names of non-Muslim minorities.

> What will happen to the names of non-Muslim minorities living in Turkey? Those who don't have a family name will have to choose one and only be limited to those from the Turkish language. Those who already have patronymic names should keep them, if we are to interpret the project literally. The question of minorities in Turkey today is of a secondary importance, given the very limited number of their members; in a few dozen years they will be completely assimilated and will be lost in the masses; it will be in their interest to abandon their earlier names and to choose names from the Turkish language. Another question concerns whether this right will be granted to them? (189)

A piece of correspondence between two officials in Istanbul points to the lack of standard communication among the population offices concerning procedures for minorities. Although there was clearly a written document that instructed population officials what to do about minority names, it is not clear why officials insisted that minority names needed to be changed.

> This document has been turned back after having gone over the Interior Ministry's circular on the surnames of Christians dated 16/4/935 and numbered 4892 that was distributed to all the districts. In this circular it says: These [people] already have surnames and because of this it is not mandatory for them to have a Turkish name or for them to remove additions to their names such as yan, diz or aki. Actually every Christian family carries a registered or unregistered surname…. We are registering the surnames of non-Muslims in their own language without hesitation based on the judgement of this order. A comrade who wishes to achieve the ideal of performing duties for the people in a mentality of populism should be able to respond to the legal requests of every citizen worth respect without being affected by any sentiment. We insist that this surname can be registered. If you are insisting on objecting then you may appeal to the higher authorities. I wish that the people's business not be slowed down by personal opinions and that our writing not be interpreted as orders but to be seen as the new writing style of the language reform.

While the Surname Law is widely available in printed form, the Interior Ministry Circular, which is clearly an addendum to the law, is not at all well known. The Surname Law stipulates that foreign names or names indicating affiliation with another ethnic group not be allowed. The regulations section of the law makes it explicit that surnames must be in Turkish. Yet there are Jewish and Armenian families who have both kept their ethnic names, have Turkified names, or have unmarked their names by dropping the linguistic patronymic ending such as -ian. Although this circular may have been sent to all the districts, it is possible that local officials made their own decisions about names, in particular about those whose newcomer status made them less informed about their rights.

Turkishness in names was an issue of dispute, or emphasis, due to the regulation stipulation that the new names had to be from the Turkish language. An Armenian family, with the original name Aramyan, submitted a list to the registry with the following names (Image 4.5):

Image 4.4 A surname document from Büyükada registry. The applicant wants the name *Tezel* (hurried hand) but says he can take *Şener* (merry soldier) if the former is already taken. He is instead given the surname, *Tam* (whole)
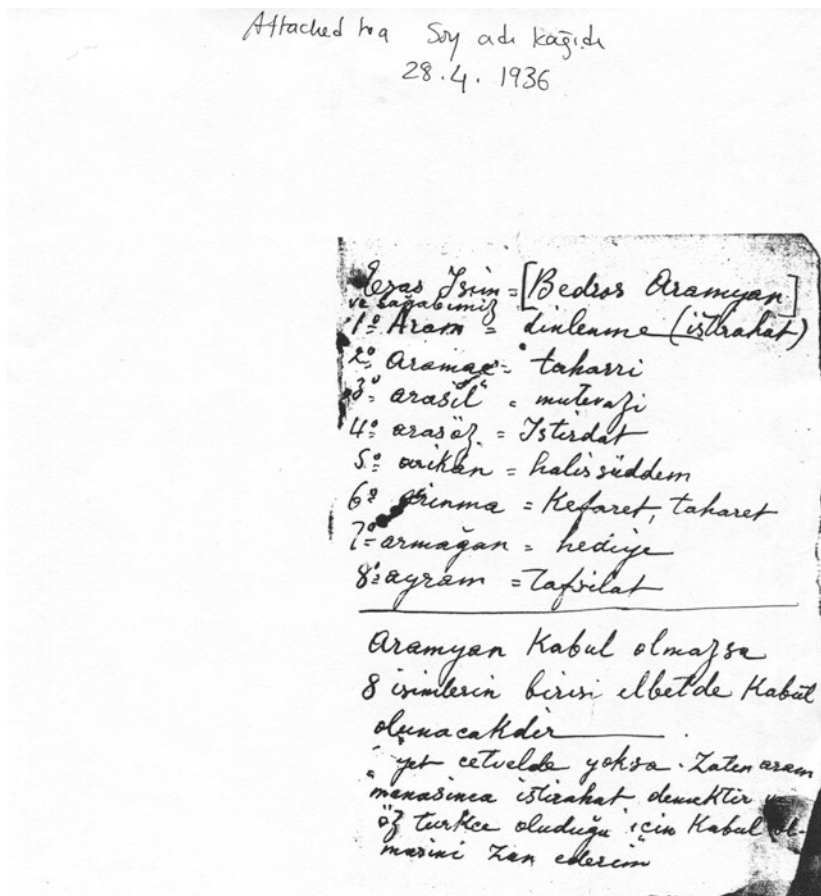
Image 4.5 A list of eight surname alternatives with their definitions, attached to a surname document (not available here) dated April 28, 1936. The surname applicant writes, "If the name *Aramyan* is not accepted, one of the eight names should most likely be accepted. Though it may not be on the list, Aram by definition means 'at rest'. Since it is öz türkçe, I request that it be accepted."

1. Aram = dinlenme (rest)
2. Aramaç = taharri
3. Arasil = mutevazi (modest)
4. arasöz = istirdat (to take back)
5. arikan = halis sudden (of pure milk)
6. arinma = kefaret, taharet (purification)

7. armağan = hediye (gift)
8. ayram = tafsilat (detailed explanation)

If Aramyan is not accepted one of the eight names will surely be accepted. If the [name] is not in the list (cetvel) aram means "rest" and because it is *öztürkçe*, I request that it be accepted.[11]

Obviously, this applicant based his assertion on some form of publication such as the *Tarama Dergisi*, the glossary of Ottoman to Turkish words. Another record of an Armenian family showed an Armenian family taking the name *Köleoğlu* (son of a slave), while the name of the Boyacıyan family on another record is crossed out with a mark and replaced with *Küçük Yakacı*. A record of a seemingly illiterate Armenian family with family members named Nazaret, Antran, and Nişan has the name *Kavalses* (sound of shepherd's pipe) assigned. Two other names, *Kuzulu* (Lambish) and *Koyunlu* (Sheep-ish) have been crossed out. A Kirkor and his wife Veronik and her sister Zabel are given the name *Beyaz Karanfil* (white carnation), but the original name is not legible.

Negotiation was not uncommon in the Istanbul offices. In a record[12] seen from May 1936, a Greek family of four with the name *Kaludereizis* managed to keep their name after some dispute with the officials. Notes on the back of this record indicated a disagreement between the Beşiktaş and Beyoğlu registries. At the bottom of the record a handwritten note by an officer named Adnan reads, Türkçe değildir (It is not Turkish), and another note from the B office said, "This name cannot be Turkish," and proposed alternatives which had a more Turkish sound, "Kalderiz." Finally, a note from a larger central office in Beyoğlu: "Kaludereiz (sic) is written in the identity paper given by our clerk. And he has stated that this is an old surname written in the etabli documents."[13] During the population exchange agreement signed between Greece and Turkey before the Treaty of Lausanne on January 30, 1923, the Greeks of Istanbul had been excluded from the population exchange and had been granted *établis* status, which meant that they could live and work in Istanbul without becoming Turkish citizens (Lausanne Peace Conference Minutes, cited in Aktar 1996, 14).

In other instances, negotiations, or population official influence resulted in Turkifications to Greek names, with the addition of a Turkish suffix or prefix, such as when the name Nikolaidis became *Kucuk Nikolaidis*, with

the *küçük* meaning small, or younger. There are also instances of Greek families taking Turkish names: A family of eight took the name of *Kaymakçıoğlu* (son of the dairy cream producer). In another case, it was the other way around: a Greek couple first registered with the Turkish surname, *Kokulu*, meaning "aromatic," but this was later changed to the name (Leço) or *Laço*, clearly not a Turkish name.

Greek minority families not only negotiated but also resisted the imposition of names by the officials. A record of registration by a Greek family with the name *Kara yorgi* was accompanied by a petition of complaint in ornate hand cursive stating that the family had initially submitted their Greek name to be registered, but that the official had taken the liberty of assigning them the name *Abaktug*. This name, the writer of the petition explained, was not approved by his whole family. In the petition, the writer and chief of household requested that another, Turkish sounding name, *Uzul*, be registered in their name. The document, however, indicates that the family kept their Greek name, but there was no correspondence explaining how or why. From the selection of surname petitions I was able to see, it appears that those minority members who were already residents of Istanbul might have had more power to negotiate than those who had come, for example, from parts of Anatolia.

Armenian families often kept their names, but also took Turkic sounding names such as *Ak börk*, *Akdilli*, or a name meaning nightingale, *Bülbül*. There were shifts between names taken, but it was not clear why: for instance, a Greek family took the name *İzmiroğlu*, but this name was crossed out with typewritten xs and replaced with the name *Ak İzmir.* Surname booklets published by members of parliament and then emulated by teachers and educated citizens were an important resource for citizens as they selected the surname their family would henceforth carry. These booklets not only listed words and names that could become family names, but also guided their readers with lists of prefix or suffixes that could be used to make composite names that were unique. The surname booklets were one of numerous media offering name lists. Daily and weekly newspapers also offered lists and announcements of available or taken surnames. Petitions to the population registry by different citizens show that there was a great deal of negotiation over names, and also that people took their names in different registers. While some citizens would be resigned to a name that an official would choose from a list for them, others wrote elaborate forceful petitions that claimed surnames in the register of a title or honorific.

Notes

1. Besim Atalay (b. 1882) attended *medrese* (religious school) as a child and worked as a teacher of ethics, morality, religion, and as education director. He became a member of the First Grand National Assembly in 1920 and served until 1946. He was active in the Language Commission and taught Persian at the Dil Tarih ve Cografya Fakultesi (Language, History, and Geography Faculty). He published extensively on language, with books on suffixes and word formation in Turkish.

2. Şemsettin Sami (1850–1904), also known as Sami Frashëri in Albania, was a Tanzimat writer and lexicographer. He is remembered today for his great works, *Kamus-i Turki* (The Turkish Dictionary) and *Kamus al-A'lam* (Dictionary of Proper Names).

3. Atalay, Besim. 1946. *Türkçe'de kelime yapma yolları*. Istanbul. Türk Dil Kurumu.

4. This surname is given in parentheses because it was adopted after the publication of the book; the author's name on the book is Enver Behnan.

5. For confidentiality reasons, I am not able to disclose the exact locations of these offices.

6. I did visit a third office on Istanbul's European side, but was brought the remains of a moldy *Soy Adı Defteri* in a sack. The officials did not know where they could find the *Soy Adi Kağitları* and preserving them did not seem a priority.

7. For an insightful study of the language and rhetoric in citizen petitions to the RPP secretariat, see Yiğit Akın (2007). See also, Hale Yılmaz's article (2011), where she argues that petitions were "a channel of communication for citizens to express their opinions, demands and complaints to the state in the absence of democratic institutions of participation" (82).

8. Bu soyadlarının hangisi alınmamış ise kütüğüme yazılmasını dilerim.

9. Tescilinde mahzur yoktur.

10. _____Kazası Kaymakamlığına, Pek fersude ve eski yazı ile bulunan nüfus cüzdanımın tebdilini ve soy adı olarak (TABU) ismini aldığımdan nüfus kaydime olvechile tescil ve işaret olunması hususunun lazımgelenlere emrü havale buyurulmasını istida ve rica ederim. Millî saraylar bekçilerinden Rifet/Rıfat.

11. Aramyan kabul olmazsa 8 isimlerin birisi elbette kabul olunacakdir__ Sayet cetvelde yoksa zaten aram manasinca istirahat demektir ve oz turkce oldugu icin kabul olmasini zen/zan ederim.

12. Transcribed into notebook.

13. Işyarlığımızdan verilmiş cüzdanda Kaluderiz yazılıdır. Ve bunun eski soyadı olduğunu etabli kağıtlarında yazılı bulunduğunu söylemiştir.

Bibliography

Akın, Yiğit. 2007. Reconsidering State, Party and Society in Early Republican Turkey: Politics of Petitioning. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39: 435–457.

Aktar, Ayhan. 1996. Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Uygulanan "Türkleştirme" Politikaları [Turkification Policies Applied in the First Years of the Republic]. *Tarih ve Toplum* 156: 324–338.

Atalay, Besim. 1935. *Türk Büyükleri veya Türk Adları* [Turkish Heroes, or Turkish Names]. Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi.

Behnan, (Şapolyo) Enver. 1935. *Türk Soyadı: 3396 Turk adı* [The Turkish Surname: 3396 Turkish Names] Maarif Kitab evi sahibi Tarık. Ankara: Köyhocası Matbaası.

D.K.O. 1935. *Öztürkçe Seçme Soy Adları: Karşılıkları ve Manaları*. Tefeyyüz Kitaphanesi.

Orbay, K.Ş. 1935. *Öz Türkçe Adlar ve Sözler: Yeni soy adları* [Names and Words in Öztürkçe: The New Surnames]. Istanbul: Hilmi Kitap Evi.

Shaw, Stanford. 1977. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1805–1975.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Turfan, Ruhi, and Celal Bayar. 1935. *Öz Türkçe Soy Adları* [Surnames in Öztürkçe]. Yozgat: Vilayet Basımevi.

Vural, M. 1935. *Öz Türkçe Kadın ve Erkek Adları ve Soy Adları: Öz Türkçe Dil Değişimine Armağan* [Women's and Men's Proper Names and Surnames in Öztürkçe: A Gift to the Öz Türkçe Language Turn] (3. Basılışı) Bursa Bizim Matbaa.

Yılmaz, Hale. 2011. Petitions as a Source in Womens History of the Republican Period. In *Women's Memory: The Problem of Sources*, ed. Fatma Türe and Birsen Talay Keşoğlu, 81–93. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

The Social Life of the State's Fantasy

SEEKING OUT THE NATIONAL PAST AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

From January 1935 onward, citizens of Turkey began to line up outside population offices to register surnames. Surname adoption stories based on a selected number of interviews reveal a broad variety of "surnaming" experiences, showing us the manner in which the law entered into families' lives, the various intermediaries through whom the law became known, the available verbal repertoire, and the amount of leverage individuals perceived to have at the time.

This chapter's material is based on interviews with Muslim citizens from a variety of regional backgrounds held between 1998 and 2000 in coffeehouses, private homes, and nursing homes. Surname adoption narratives were the first source that drew me to the process of constructing Turkish national subjects. Each of these narratives provides an account of the social ties through which a surname became associated with a family, opening a window onto the political economy in which names and words circulated revealing the contact, tension, or hybridity between different "naming regimes" (Caplan and Torpey 2001, 55). While there are broad patterns within the narratives, surname stories can also be said to come in a series of sets. For each narrative or example that seems to meet the law's stipulation on a name, there is often another that does not. For each homonymic surname taken for one reason, there is another taken

with a very different idea. Stories about surnames replicate in schematic scenarios where names and their meanings grow or recede or multiply or divide.

Since they are responses to the question, "How did you get your surname?" narratives about surname adoption describe what Asif Agha calls "baptismal events," performative speech events where agents of power "create discursive regularity" (2003, 246). Once a name and an individual come together, the pairing must circulate in "speech chain networks" (ibid. 248) so that the name and referent eventually merge. This is akin to what Benedict Anderson refers to as "traffic-habits," when arbitrary categories imposed by colonial administrators in Malaya gained social life, as the "flow of subject populations through the mesh of differential schools, courts, clinics, police stations and immigration offices" created traffic-habits that gave social life to a state's earlier fantasy (Anderson 1991, 169). It is through the "synchronic context" (Goldberg 1997, 61) of individual surname narratives that the social life of the state's fantasy unfolds.

Alessandro Portelli's term *history-telling* aptly matches the nature of the interview situations for this project. History-telling is distinguished in three ways: the interviewer and the speaker are not in one another's immediate circle; it is more multi-authored and multi-vocal than a traditional story-telling situation and most importantly, history-telling aims at the production of an artifact, a text (1997, 25). Furthermore, history-telling is also marked by a series of narratives, with segués and frequent movement in the narrative from the past to the present.

Interview Contexts

October 29, 1998, marked the 75th year of the Republic of Turkey. Celebrations, exhibits, and conferences (Baydar 1999) were held to mark the 75 years and a broad social base was engaged in salvaging and recording first-hand accounts of the Atatürk years. Young people were encouraged to seek out elders to listen to their stories of the early years of the Republic. Depending on their background, my interviewees displayed varying levels of identification as historical subjects.

As Esra Özyürek documented in her book, *Nostalgia for the Modern*, identification, interviewing, and public representation of elders as relics of the sacred early years of the Republic was popular at this time. Since I

asked my respondents to recollect memories of the early to mid-1930s, interviews became occasions to recount their particular connection to major events of the time, and to the figure of Atatürk. This would be more prevalent from individuals who were closer to the bureaucratic and urban centers by working for the government or education ministry. Self-identification as an *Atatürk çocuğu* (Atatürk child) or *Cumhuriyet çocuğu* (the Republic's child) was most marked among retired teachers. Having been assigned the duty to disseminate Atatürk's teachings, a group of retired teachers at Bağlarbaşı Teacher's Home depicted themselves with phrases like *Bizim nesil Atatürk görmüş. Sınıftan çıkarken Atatürk marşıyla çıkardık* (Our generation has seen Atatürk. We would walk out of class to the Atatürk march) or *Göremedim ama aşığıyım* (I was not able to see him, but I am a "lover" using the language of spiritual or romantic love). The mere witnessing of Atatürk, a rarity, was held as sacred capital. In a group interview held at Etiler retirement home, a male respondent pointed to the top of his head and told everyone, Atatürk had once touched him, perhaps to pat him on the head. In a narrative environment that sought out recollections of the Atatürk years, he presented his memory as a gem, telling us to touch Atatürk by touching his head. Another interviewee, Adnan Göksutüven, described the time of Atatürk as a time of great harmony, and compared it to the early years of Islam. "They call the era of the establishment of Islam, when Prophet Muhammad was in good health, *devr-ı saadet*.[1] The times of the Prophet Muhammed, are the best. Atatürk's era was Turkey's devr-ı saadet, ma'am" (Göksutüven, Oct 2000). He described how Atatürk was "our velinimet (benefactor)," and contrasted the current holders of government or economics as corrupt. The recollection of the Atatürk past through the Surname Law lent itself to comparisons between the present and past, and expressions of regret that Atatürk principles were in decline akin to the "nostalgia of the modern" coined by Esra Özyürek (2006).

Migrants from Ottoman Greek lands claimed Atatürk not only as a sacred leader but also their *hemşehri*, fellow townsman. In fact, one resident of Yeni Foça, when asked, "Do you know who gave you this surname?" immediately replied, "Atatürk did." When the others who were listening widened their eyes, he rephrased his statement, "well … it was in the time of Atatürk!"

Narrations about the past lent themselves to identifiable shared frames or tropes emerging from relative differences in age and gender.

Name stories were elicited, yet they were stories in which the narrators made cultural choices about delivery, given their sense of who they were at that moment, whom they perceived me to be, and whether other family members or fellow nursing home friends were present during the interview. In the Bağlarbaşı Teacher's Nursing home, for example, I ended up conducting a group interview with several retired teachers, and the personal recollections were combined with anecdotes they remembered about nicknames and naming. Some interviews, held with solitary individuals who were unhappy in a nursing home, had a more somber tone. At the Soeurs de Pauvres, where I gained access to Armenian interviewees through an acquaintance, I was a friendly listener, but also a Turk.

Compared to other events the elderly men and women remembered, the taking of the surname was a minor event from their childhood. An Armenian woman who had lost the men in her family to the genocide chastised me for taking her back to the 1930s, difficult years, since she had organized her life story around subsequent years, when she met her husband and her "life started." Since the taking of a surname, many other events had shaped their lives. They had gone to schools, graduated, got married, had children and had seen the deaths of their friends and family members. Thus, the interviews were searches for its place in my speakers' lives. It is also likely that the interview resulted in a temporary "relocation" (Mills 2004) of surname adoption in their memory.

Reported Rationales for the Law

Respondents remembered hearing about the rationale of the law in a number of ways, a trickle-down from official written sources. "[The teacher] said the family unit would be very distinct. This way, we know who belongs to whom, and of course our relatives took the same surname, and this created the opportunity to find one another more rapidly and easily," said a woman named Mirat Erbil. Nizamettin Tüfekçioğlu's teachers explained the rationale for the law as forging family ties: "So that the lineage would be known, so that one can be found easily; if the family, the lineage, carries the same name this creates closer bonds between kin" (Tüfekçioğlu). Just as the law was meant to create closer bonds among kin, it would also help distinguish many with the same name. The problem of homonymy—several Mehmets, Alis, and Ahmets—was also a problem

that the law was meant to resolve. In Osman Berber's narration, for example:

> And why this law—now—so that people's quantity and particularities would be evident. And so that they would be easy to call upon—with short names—so that they can be called upon by short names. So that there wouldn't be Kadiroğlu Kadir, or Hasanoğlu Hasan. (Berber)

Nuriye Önal, a retired female schoolteacher, echoed this official line in her description of the law to me.

> So that people will be distinguished from each other. For example my father's name could be Ali, and yours could be Ali too. Father's names were used like surnames. Then everyone's would be Ali, and how many Ali there would be. The surname wouldn't be so individual. That lineage (soy) must be separated. (Nuriye Önel, Jan 2000)

From men and women who had been schoolteachers, I received responses to my questions about the Surname Law in the form of statements of "knowledge," perhaps like a history lecture rather than experience. I was asking about a period that they had had to recite many times to their students, and when I did ask them, they were comfortable narrating in this role. Osman Berber was probably more comfortable telling me about the reason for and function of the law.

> The Surname Law is among Atatürk's revolutions. Just as there were laws for measurements … and there were various reforms, this Surname Law also made a change. Before, in the Ottoman times, as you know, individuals and soldiers were called by their father's name … Huseyin, Ali oğlu *(Hüseyin son of Ali),* for example. That's how they would be searched, and that's how their [official] transactions would be made. But the Surname Law, as the revolutions were continuing, in the time of Atatürk, the surname law was passed in 1934. It was proposed to the Turkish Grand National Assembly, a draft law was proposed, and the draft came out of the parliament on the other end as the Surname Law. And why this law—now—so that people's quantity and particularities would be evident. And so that they would be easy to call upon—with short names—so that they can be called upon by short names. So that there wouldn't be Kadiroğlu Kadir, or Hasanoğlu Hasan…Everyone took the name they liked. It wasn't by force. It wasn't a name given by anybody in particular…

And as you know, when a child is born that child gets his father's surname. Other than his name he gets his father's surname. And in this way, the surname is always written in the population records, and his father's surname is also written, and the family is known by their surname. And they are called to the military by their surname, and taxed, and various transactions, and through official transactions. In this way, they ensure their place within the society. Berber, O. (2000, Oct 10). Personal interview.

Another respondent, a lottery-ticket seller in Yeni Foça, Turkey, responded by repeating a version of the Turkish History Thesis[2] he had heard from his schoolteacher parents. His delivery was not in the mode of "knowledge," but of legend or myth.

This is how it is. My father and mother are teachers. From what I heard from them our roots are in Central Asia, the Turks. When the Hazar sea and the lake in Central Asia dried up, Turkish tribes—and at that time there were Greeks, gypsies in Turkey—came into Turkey. They start capturing little places. And they settle in Turkey. In the Ottoman era they spoke Arabic. Arabic. Everybody's name was Ahmet son of Mehmet. That was the surname. When the Republican period began they added these surnames. They said, "Hey friends. Everybody find a name, a surname." Everybody found a surname. Some said Ahmet son of Mehmet, others said *Gül* and others *Taş* or *Aslan*. There are many different varieties of surnames. And ours became *Işcen*. İşcen, E. (1998, July). Personal interview.

Fahriye Yen, the widow of Ali Sami Yen, the founder of Galatasaray, was more critical of the reform process as she recalled the Surname Law. She said her family was not able to adjust because they had been used to nobility. Her father was the nephew of Şeyh Talat, of the Köprülüzade family.

I remember. Atatürk invented the surnames. They didn't accept the ones that were too noble, like the -zade. They imposed simple names…That was the atmosphere at the time in the country…Atatürk did not care for aristocracy. Everyone is the people, the same, he used to say. This really influenced the moral refinement. Yen, F. (2000, April). Personal interview.

She said the same thing happened in France, where everyone became bourgeois, and showed me a casual way of sitting that she perceived to be impolite.

School was a place where children became accustomed to their new surnames and some had less trouble than others. Nizamettin Tüfekçioğlu's surname means "son of the gun master." His grandfather—he explained to me as we sat in the hallway of the home for the Etiler home for the elderly—had been a gun craftsman for the Ottoman military and was known in the town of Gebze by the name Tüfekcizade, the *-zade* ending indicating, Nizamettin bey says, that they were a well-known family. The family was able to keep the root word, Tüfekçi, only dropping the -zade, to make the new surname. Mr. Tüfekçioğlu recalled that unlike some other children in school, he did not have much trouble remembering his new surname. He recalled that people forgot their official surname after they registered and needed assistance from the population registry for school registration or marriage. Tüfekçioğlu, N. (2000, April 18). Personal interview.

Choosing a Name from the Books

For the educated in urban areas where reforms were well disseminated, adoption of the new surname was a matter of choice and involved consulting written sources. In the following passage from his memoir, the journalist Ahmet Emin Yalman describes this process.

> A law passed in 1935 made it compulsory for every Turk to adopt and register a family name. Mustafa Kemal was given the name of Atatürk by the Grand National Assembly. Atatürk gave General İsmet the surname "İnönü" in honor of his victory in the battles of İnönü. Everyone used his imagination and wits in selecting his own name. I spent hours searching in a dictionary for a euphonious name without a poor meaning. "Yalman," meaning the "highest summit of a mountain," seemed to be all right. It sounded pretentious, but most people were taking pretentious names. As long as they could choose, they took the best. (Yalman 1956, 177)

Yalman recounts how people around him used not only imagination, but also wit, and that pretentiousness was part of the choosing of the best. Choosing a name involved an awareness of oneself and others and whether one was entitled to the name or not. That he spent time looking in a dictionary indicates he had access to the published material from the Language Reform.

Children's cultural items, such as journals, were also becoming sources for adults in the naming process. Orhan Asena's father was inspired by the story of Gültekin in the children's journal *Çocuk Sesi*.

> In 1934–1935 when the Surname Law was passed—and since I am born in 1922—I was 12–13 years old. Abdullah Kozanoğlu's children's novel was being published [in serial form] in a magazine called Çocuk Sesi (Children's Voice). I subscribed—something like subscribed—to this magazine. We saw the name Asena in that novel. I am not sure if my father got caught up in the harmony of the name—or—he was interested in history anyway. He told the leader of our great—as great as Asena—family's elder Cemil Asena, my great-uncle, about this. And they adopted it as our surname…Asena is the name of the she-wolf who rescued the Turks from Ergenekon. Asena, O. (1999, Sept 15). Personal interview.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Nazife Cemgil, who was a (rare) female university student studying philosophy at the time, was the person who chose the family's name. She told me that her father said, "You are the ones who will carry this name, so you should choose it." She examined a map of Central Asia and found the name *Müren*, the name of a river, her maiden name.

An Elazığ-born man by the name of Hüseyin Pala (b. 1918) told me that he was in high school when the law was announced:

> I was a student in high school. My father wrote me a letter. Hüseyin, he said, we need to take a surname, what do you think, and so forth. I had a grandfather, and they called him Pala Ali, and when you said Pala Ali, there was no one in Kesirik who would not know him. And we were known as Pala Ali's sons and grandchildren. So when the surname came up I told my father, 'we already have a surname: Pala.' And the Pala name became recognized. Pala, H. (2000, May 1). Personal interview.

He said that the grandfather, Pala Ali was a tall man known for his power and strength. The word *pala* means scimitar, or machete, but Hüseyin bey thought that it actually described his grandfather's mustache since *palabıyık* means handlebar mustache. Other people's surnames he recalled from among his friends:

"One of them took the surname Erol. They had nothing to do with Erol, but they liked it and took it. Salim Hazardağlı (Hazar mountain) … there is a mountain named Hazar in Elazığ but they have no relationship to that mountain, but they liked [the name] and they took it. Ülkü, Fethi Ülkü, he liked the word *ülkü* (cause, ideal) and took it" (Pala).

When I asked Adnan Göksutüven (b. 1915), a former General Inspector at *Kızılay* (Turkish Red Crescent) about his name, he launched into the story of how he forged his name from the name of a poem his French teacher, Nurullah Ataç, brought to class. He told me he came from a long line of military officers. Unlike other interviewees who had been primary school age children at the time of the law, Adnan Bey was already 18, about to finish high school.

> I was eighteen years old when the Surname Law was passed, in the last year of high school. Our French teacher was Nurullah Ataç. The critic. Do you remember him? He was a man who knew French history better than the French. He was our French teacher, but we did everything with him but French…He was a very cultured man, may Allah rest his soul. One day, he told us, 'Children, I have brought you a beautiful poem…' The name of the poem was Sutüven,[3] which is the name of a waterfall, an historical waterfall, at the southern skirts of Mount Ida…And I was 18 years old. I said, 'This should be mine, this word, as my surname.' I added Gök to the beginning, and its meaning became *blue waterfall*. This is the story of our surname. Göksutüven, A. (2000, Oct 19). Personal interview.

Adnan bey convinced his father and mother that this should be their family name. With the awareness that he had landed a scarce resource, an original name that he individuated further, the young Adnan bey told his classmates, "Hey kids, I've taken this surname, don't anybody drool over it (get too envious)." He recalled that the four-syllable name posed a problem at the registry and at banks: "It's really long. It really is. They can hardly wait for me to finish signing at the bank." Because they didn't have children, their beloved name would also disappear with them, Adnan bey and his wife Nihal pointed out.

Historicity and Its Aural Burdens

The Surname Regulation specified that citizens could not register surnames belonging to historically known figures unless they supplied the necessary official documents (Article 11). When I asked Halil Dravacıoğlu, of Yeni Foça, about the source of his name, he launched into telling me about how he has tried so hard to change the name, which has become a burden because of all the misspellings it undergoes, but was repeatedly told by the registry that this was a historical name that ought to be kept.

> I wanted to change it, but the population registry objected. This is a 253-year-old surname, he said. You cannot change it, he said. When our

father died 15–20 years ago, we had several court cases [for the inheritance]. Some spelled it Duvarcı, and others as Dramalı, so we then petitioned to have these corrected. I said [then] we should change this surname. But the registry said, 'this surname comes from 250–300 years ago.' …He didn't change it…. He didn't object [to a change] but told us that the case would take a long time. They are going to ask me, he said…. So in other words, the [registry] director convinced us. Our court cases ended, the inheritance cases ended. And our voices grew silent. We continue as Dravacıoğlu, a souvenir from our ancestors. Dravacıoğlu, H. (1998, July 1). Personal interview.

It is possible that the official did not think he could convince the court that there was reasonable enough reason to change the name, since Halil Bey remembers the official saying "they are going to ask me."

Another historical-sounding name bearer in Yeni Foça was Metin Yakuphanoğullarından, who in 1997 was a local real estate agent. His father or elders were not able to take the original name of Yakup Han, because it contained the name Han, which means king. Their multi-syllabic name means "of the sons of Yakup Han."

The name of our grandfathers is Yakup Han. At the same time, during the Surname Law there were some restrictions. For example, the name Han is forbidden. There were restrictions on [names] related to *padişahlık* (sultanate) and on religion. We wanted to take our grandfather's name but were only able to do so in the form of Yakuphanoğullarından. Yakuphanoğullarından, M. (July 1, 1998). Personal interview.

Unaccompanied Minors

Unaccompanied minors experienced the assignation of surnames by an official, as the following two examples show, and the registration of a new surname went hand in hand with getting identification papers in the new alphabet. Mrs. Nevres Sorman, née Gülten, orphaned as a child, was sent to the population office when she began school to have her Ottoman script birth certificate traded in for one with the new Latin alphabet. She remembered it as the first time she and a friend entered a government office unaccompanied by parents or a male relative. A registry official looked at her, and decided to give her the name *Gülten* (skin like rose).

At that time women did not go out much. [The vendors] would come to the house. Well, we went two friends [to the population office]. My dad's side is called *Odabaşılar*, according to the old nickname. I don't know if they spoke

of these things in those days. I never heard these before. If I had known, I could have taken it then. Sorman, N. (2000, Oct 10). Personal interview.

In the town of Yeni Foça, I met Halil Nihat Öksüz,[4] who immediately launched into the story of his name. His story encapsulates the name-giving stories of the disenfranchised. What stands out is his perceived lack of competence in the rules of behavior in a government office. Even when he says that he was young, he precedes the word, young with excuse me, as if it were something to euphemize.

> Why Öksüz? It's like this, I was two when my father died, and seven when my mother died…So there was this man I called uncle who was my step-uncle. They told me they would register me at school. But I had no registry. [They gave me a piece of paper.] I went to the registry office. The registry official looked at the paper and said, 'Oh, there is a name here, but when your father died, there was no surname.' My father, he came from Bosnia, Sarajevo. Surnames had not been taken then, yet. So [the official] said, you're going to go to court, [petition] the court, and the court will give you a surname. And we will register it here. So I was, excuse me, so small, so I walked right into the court, and the judge was chatting to the prosecutors. Since I didn't know better I pushed the door and entered. 'What is it?' he said. I told him 'You are supposed to give me a surname.' The prosecutor and the judge looked at each other and laughed. So they began to ask [me questions]. 'No father, no close relations. You are an orphan. You have no father or mother.' So the prosecutor took a piece of paper. 'We have decided.' There was no court [hearing]. So then I took the [paper] to the registry. The registry [officer] took a look at it. 'Hey, how did this happen' he said. 'It happened,' I said. I looked, and it said Öksüz, Möksüz…That is how my surname came about. Öksüz, H.N. (1998, July 1). Personal interview.

Another resident of Yeni Foça, Abidin Tabas, carried a name to which he clearly felt no particular attachment.

> Here is my surname. In primary school there was no surname. This journalist's dad was my uncle. Anyway, I grew up an orphan…Then there was this one Galip Bey, a population official. It was around 1936, possibly, '37 or '38. I was going to register in middle school. They told me to change my birth certificate … because it was in old Turkish. We went there. There was no transportation. I won't go into that. Finally he told me, 'Come Thursday.' I went and opened [the file] to see my name. Tabas. 'Sir, this is not my lineage,' [I said]. We looked. 'Oh come on, let that be my souvenir to you.' Tabas, A. (1998, July 1). Personal interview.

He carried that souvenir of a name and when he was in the military on the Syrian border, tried to find its meaning by asking Arabic speakers. He asked people who knew Arabic the meaning of a sword and was told it was "Tebar." But as he told me at the end of our conversation, their family name in Crete was *Karasüleymanoğulları* (Tabas).

Immediate Circumstance as Baptismal Event

Local *muhtar*, or alderman or officials, having been authorized by the law in the case of noncompliance, were often the agents of spontaneous name-giving. Tarık Dakal's case study of the town of Devrek, in Zonguldak, yields this type of data. In the Budaklar neighborhood of the village of Gürbüzler, villagers gather around a *muhtar* (alderman) for strategies on how to adopt a surname.

> The muhtar explains how with an example. "Aha this man is an ironsmith, right, so, let this man's name be *Demirci* (Ironsmith)," he says. And that man takes the surname of Demirci. Then, he points to a villager nicknamed *Islak Ali* (Ali the wet) who just spilled tea on himself. "His people have been Islak (wet) since eternity, so let his surname be Islak," he says. And with this second example he has demonstrated how to take a surname. Even if the surname giving was not suited to the revolution, it was also not against it. (Dakal 2008, 65)

Orhan Sorman, a retired teacher, told a similar surname story during a group interview with his wife and fellow retirees at the Bağlarbaşı Retired Teachers Home. His father worked for the railroads directorate, which had recently come under the Turkish authority, and was told that he needed to adopt a surname by a certain date, or he would not be paid. He was addressing a participant in the group interview, whose surname, Berber (barber) came from his family's profession.

> Now your surname … comes from a tradition, a profession, but mine is an obligation. It could have been a name related to the railroad. Like I said, I was around 12 years old. [My father] asked us three siblings and prepared a list and he also asked my mother. At that time it was not possible to have the same name [as someone else] in the same district. So with this list he stood in line, and they had told him at the factory, his workplace, if you don't take a surname by this date we will not pay you…Now the line was so long, and finally after waiting, it was his turn. They looked at the list, [and said] "this is taken." At the time you can't have the same name as someone else, and no one can take the surname Atatürk, no one. … "Sir, it is very difficult for me to come here again. They are

not going to pay me, so what can I do?" And then, somebody said, "Since you are asking, let your name be Sorman," meaning the man who asks … but it turned out to be related to my profession. At that time when I was 12 no one knew that I would become a teacher. And now that I'm a teacher, teachers ask questions, right? Sorman, O. (2000, Oct 12). Personal interview.

One of the motifs in the surname-giving stories by officials is the drunk registry official. In my short interview with Rabia Albeni (b. 1932), I learned that her family had been assigned the name *Albeni* (take me) by a drunk official. Her family came from Razgirat, Bulgaria and had been originally settled there by the Ottomans.

> We arrived as migrants, on our own volition in 1937. My father fought in the Balkan War. [He said] "I have two sons, I won't let them be soldiers here." And he sold all his property to go to Turkey. But by then the borders were closed. For two years he lived on the money. When the boat passed into the straits, he had only one single lira. We came as impoverished migrants. But in their land they were as rich as Sakıp Sabancı. …We came, migrants. The state gave us land per head…. My father did not accept other offers of assistance…So now, the surname was to be given. The officer was drunk. "What's your name," he asked my father. My father, may he rest in peace, was named Ali. "And let your surname be Albeni." The man was drunk. In Torbalı, Izmir. "Well, all right," said my father, who was ignorant. Albeni, R. (2000, Oct 17). Personal interview.

Similarly, in an interview with Gülsüm Geniş (b. 1915) of Yeni Foça, a *mübadil* from Midilli, her daughter told the story of the family's surname *Geniş* (wide, carefree).

> They told him to come, since everyone was taking surnames, and so that he would, too. They waited and he didn't come. He's in the fields, they were told. So then they said, "This man is very *geniş* (carefree). Let his surname be Geniş," said our relatives. In fact, my uncles have the surname *Parlak* (Shiny), but father became Geniş. He didn't have any sons, so it will disappear after her. Geniş, G. (1998, July 2). Personal interview.

One interviewee had actually purchased his name. In 1936, Orhan Çimrenli was employed as a driver and as he sat in his habitual coffee house he learned from another man that the deadline to take a surname was imminent.

> Çimrenli has no meaning. We were sitting in the coffeehouse. It was the years 37, 38, 36. In those years a man came into the coffeehouse. He entered

and said, "the surname is here. If anyone wants to take one, I can give you a surname." How was this possible? So he sat down, this man, he took some letters like D, or B and joins two vowels and two consonants. Whatever comes out, it's your luck. If you don't like it, he makes another one. … There were many surnames, mixed up ones. There were some beautiful surnames, too. My surname, the original, was not Çimrenli, but Çimenli. This [insertion of r] occurred later with an official from the Elaziz population directorate. The man [in the coffeehouse] was a knowledgeable man, educated. He had chosen this path to make some money. (Çimrenli)

Orhan Bey's surname is the product of an inadvertent collaboration between the coffeehouse stranger mediating the Language Reform rules, and the local official who misspelled his name. His family members from his hometown took another name, he told me.

Surnames as Cultural Texts: The Matter of Hazelnuts

Names are cultural texts (Toury) that do not always point to straightforward narratives. While a name with Fındık (hazelnut) would invariably involve some connection to the cultivation and sale of hazelnuts, it was not always the case. Hasan Fındıkoğlu (b. 1923), of Circassian descent, told me that his grandfather maintained the old family nickname because it was the name they had carried from their original homeland. He said he asked his grandfather why they did not take a new surname when the law was passed, and got this reply.

This is our lakab, he said. My great great grandfather, in the Caucasus, was very small, with short arms, and his mother would love him with the name fındık…He was a small man, with short arms, so his mother would call him *my fındık*. Fındıkoğlu, H. (2000, Oct 17). Personal interview.

Another family name with a similar root, on the other hand, became a source of moral contamination. Necibe Ersan, whom I met in the Maltepe Nursing Home, told me that her mother objected to the adoption of her husband's family's traditional name of Fındıkçılar (The Hazelnut Growers) as a surname to protect her daughters' honor. In the 1930s, the term *fındıkçı* was used to describe amoral women and would dishonor her daughters. "I will not let my daughters be called Fındıkçı," her mother said, and took it upon herself to find a suitable name (Image 5.1).

Image 5.1 Caricature depicting a mother and daughter in the foreground and behind them people crowding into movie theaters. The movie posters are images of women in romantic poses with titles (front to back) such as "The Fındık Girl"; "Am I a Prostitute"; "Girl or Boy"; "Pleasure Island." The mother says to her daughter: "Walk quickly, my daughter, I think we are in some naughty neighborhoods." Source: *Akbaba*

> Our grandfather [was] one of Erzincan's great hoca. He was educated in Egypt
> and all that. In Erzincan they called our family Fındıkçılar. But my mother
> didn't want that. I will not allow my daughters to be called Fındıkçı, she said.
> So, for that reason, they didn't take [my father's family name]. They looked in
> the histories and found one of the old Erzincan names: Ersan. And they took
> it as a surname…. My mother looked and looked in the books written by the
> famous hocas from over there. Ersan, N. (2000, Oct 19). Personal interview.

SUBSTITUTING "SURNAMES FOR SURNAMES"

The Language Reform involved finding öztürkçe equivalents to all "for-
eign" words, and this same principle was applied to names, particularly
names which were Arabo-Islamic. One of the articles drafts of the Surname
Law which never made it into the final draft concerned proper names and
suggested that citizens should "find the Turkish equivalent" of their name
and register it.

And, indeed, there were cases when surname adoption took this form
of "substitution" or translation. Sabri Baydar's family was told that their
former family name *Haydaroğulları* (sons of Haydar) was not appropriate
because it was "not Turkish." According to what appears to be a "folk
etymology" by Mr. Baydar, the family was given a Turkish name that was
supposed to be the semantic equivalent.

> Our *lakab* is Haydarogulları but in the wake of the law in 1934 that stipu-
> lated that nicknames such as *bey, effendi, paşa and ağa* be banned, the [offi-
> cials] focused on Haydar being a foreign word, an Arabic word. And that
> law was aimed towards Turkification, meaning that all words, titles, [terms
> of address] all of them be Turkish, in *Öztürkçe*. Mandatory surnames origi-
> nated on that date. This nickname of ours, *Haydar oğlu*, was not welcomed
> by the population administration giving surnames. They said it was for-
> eign…When *Haydar* was not deemed acceptable, they [my family] took its
> equivalent, the word *Baydar*. From what I remember, the old Haydar oğlu
> was crossed out on the old identity card and next to it, it was written Baydar,
> as a surname. That is what happened…When Haydar was not acceptable,
> they took its corresponding, its equivalent word, Baydar. As far as I recall,
> [the name] Haydar oğlu was crossed out, and replaced with Baydar, as a
> surname. Baydar, S. (2000, Feb 14). Personal interview.

In response to a question as to how the two names corresponded to
each other, Mr. Baydar also looked for answers. He told me that he had
recently consulted a man of ilim (Islamic science) who knew Arabic, and

learned that "Haydar" and "Baydar" indeed corresponded to one another. The learned man told Mr. Baydar that there was grammatical equivalence between the two names and in the end, Haydar, could indeed be Baydar. "And that was my father's thing. [The name] Haydar meant lion, and Baydar, too means lion. So they told us at that time" (Baydar). And furthermore, Sabri bey added, his father had been told in the days of the Surname Law that Haydar and Baydar[5] both meant lion. The family, he continued, became divided, half staying in Trabzon and the other half migrating to Istanbul. The Trabzon family switched from Haydar oğulları to another name, which they kept for about 40–50 years, after which they went to court to reclaim the old name, 20 years prior to this interview. Mr. Baydar explained that their genealogy goes back 300 years and that many of their properties would have been under the old name.

> No one [calls us] Baydar. Always Haydar oğlu, Haydar oğlu. The other day one of my relatives died. [The name] Baydar was forgotten. So, the surname created this duality. This [leads to] division, dispersion—it actually contradicts solidarity among family members. In other words, why did they do this? On the other hand when the law was first passed, the word Turk was off limits. The word Turk could not be taken as a surname. But the surname of our Justice Minister is Sami Turk. How is that? (Baydar)

The perception of division of family members is not unique to Mr. Baydar, for indeed, one of the law's goals was to disperse tribal belonging, or large families that could threaten the authority of the state, and the names that indexed this membership.

On the other hand, other families who have chosen Baydar as a surname indicate a Crimean origin to the name. A family website of a Baydar surname explains the origin of their name as follows.

> A topic of great curiosity is the meaning of our surname and its origin. Before the surname law each family was known by the name of an ancestor. And we took the name, "Dursun Ağa's Family." Under the surname law, we came to be known as the Baydar Family. When the surname law was passed in 1934, the portion of the family that lived in Doğubeyazıt chose the name Dursun. However in Ankara, the name was changed to Baydar by Dursun Ağa's son, former MP Şefik Bey [(1923–1931)]. The relatives in Doğubeyazıt accepted this change. [However] Ali Efendi, who in those years lived in Çorum, remained as Dursun. And Ağmet Ağa's son, Piri Efendi in Eleşkirt took the name of Erdur. When he came to visit Beyazıt, they asked Mehmet

Şefik Bey the meaning of Baydar and he said that he had chosen the surname Baydar because our ancestors came from the Crimean Baydar Valley.[6]

In his article on the Hebraization of Jewish surnames, Gideon Toury describes individual surnames as "cultural texts," and distinguishes two semiotic aspects of a surname: (a) the functions that a surname fulfills and (b) the surface representations of these functions in substance, which is linguistic in essence (Toury 1988, 1143). In semiotic signification, he writes, the former aspect has priority. The same function can be fulfilled by different languages or alphabets. It is this that makes it possible, he claims, to "substitute surnames for surnames" (ibid.).

My father's classmate Mahmut Tüzün, meanwhile, told me a story of substitution and loss. Mahmut Bey's father, who bore the centuries old family name Hasırcızade, worked under the governor, who told him to change his name to Tüzün, which he said meant "noble."

When the Surname Law was passed my father was a Chief Clerk at the local special government. This zade, … our surname was Hasırcızade. We have a 450 year old past in Antep. There should be no -zade—at that time there was the governor, Akif İyidoğan—who insisted to my father—and since he was a civil servant in the special administration, under the governor—we are going to change this surname. My father told him, 'but this surname of ours is 450 years old, how can we change it? All of the people, all the natives [of Antep] know us as Hasırzade.' [The governor said] 'That's fine, but this -zade has to go.' And then this governor himself gave the name Tüzün, and insisted on the change and made it so in the registry…Because [my father] was a civil servant, in the special administration, in the province, under the governor, he cannot object. Tüzün, M. (1998, July 23). Personal interview.

Though the family may have considered changing the name, the accretion around the name as it circulated in schools is a discouragement.

Years passed. I was in school, my older brother, in school, our younger sibling in school. Everyone knew [us] as Tüzün. If we change our surname, many people will not know who this Hasırcızade is. Our classmates, all of those people with whom we went to school together, won't know. So we left it, and it stayed.

The name Tüzün has already been replicated in multiple "speech chain networks" (Agha). The change back to the original name would have

meant another new process. Members of speech chain networks, class-mates, for instance, do not need to know each other directly, and have verifiable evidence of a naming event (Agha 2003, 248). The name Tüzün has taken hold through the speech chain networks of all three siblings in school.

Translation was an important way in which existing Muslim family names or nicknames were translated or modified to names derived from *Devrim Sözcükleri*,[7] or reform words (Sevinçli 2011, 279). One clear example of this pattern can be found in a short study on surname adoption in urban and rural Urfa province, by Müslüm Akalın, a lawyer from Urfa province.

In a list drawn from registries in central Urfa, Akalın documented how a registry official created "reform equivalents" of local nicknames by translating them to öztürkçe equivalents that would have been available in the Tarama Dergisi or lists distributed to the local governments. On this list, nicknames that contain titles banned by the government, or names that are Arab in origin, are changed to reform names with similar semantic equivalents.

For example, the official derived the surname Yazgan, a recognizably öztürkçe word, meaning secretary or scribe, from the nickname Arabi**katib**i Rıfat (Arabic scribe Rıfat), or the name Emniyetoğlu (Son of Security) was derived from Jandarma Müslüm (Müslüm the Gendarme). Bakangöz (The looking eye) became the surname of a man whose nickname was Kör Hasan (Blind Hasan). Döner (revolving) became the surname of the man nicknamed Mevlevi Şeyhi Hacı Ahmet (Hacı Ahmet the Sufi Sheikh), and İriadam was derived from İri Sülo (Akalın 2007).

Bestowal as Baptismal Event

Surnames were generated, bestowed, and acquired within local regimes of value. When I asked Ayşe Aliman about her maiden name of Levent, she explained to me that her family's *lakab* had been *Uzunlar* (tall ones) but the town's district governor and judge suggested that her father be called *Levent*, which they said meant "generous."

> The surname Levent. My father was the owner of a farm, and my [younger] brother is an animal doctor…. when the guests would come [my brother] he was also the village alderman, he would take them food. 'How generous,' they said. 'Come on,' they said, 'leave the Uzunlar surname and let us give you the surname Levent.' And that is how it happened.

> M: So the name was given by others, it was seen as suited?
> The Beykoz district governor, judge, they all came, and whenever they came, my brother, a veterinarian, would always bring them food. They said this Uzunlar (tall ones) does not suit you, you are generous. Generous people are called Levent. Aliman, A. (2000, Oct 19). Personal interview.

In this story, the narrator's brother, who was given the new name Levent, does not have a voice, but it is assumed that the naming act is one that improves, if not reinforces, his stature in the community. Coming from the district governor and the judge, its bestowal is an honor.

Another bestowal acquisition story came from Hüseyin Altınışık (golden light). The family is from the central Anatolian province of Sivas, and Hüseyin bey retired from a restaurant business, but told me that he comes from a long line of men of religion. His father was the *hoja* of the mosque, as were his paternal and maternal grandfathers. The bestowal was an act of recognition of the family's acts and lineage.

> I don't know our old surname, but when they were changing the surnames, they evaluated our family this way: All of them, the whole family, their whole lineage, are pure people [they said]—…in those days, they had *müftü*. When the judge couldn't do something [the *müftü*] would take care of it. So [the müftü] said, 'I have found their name, because they are people like gold.' Altınışık, H. (2000, Oct 16). Personal interview.

Huseyin bey explained to me that the *müftü* named his father according to the wishes of the *mahalle*, or neighborhood community. As the hoca of the mosque, Huseyin bey's father wielded both authority and respect. The "surface representation" (Toury) of the surname was changed to correspond to the reform language, and the additional gesture of assigning the name as a special title increased its value.

Nicknames, Surnames and Breaking the Speech Chain

Bestowals in small communities come in different forms. While positive bestowal can, or must, occur face to face, the inverse, negative nicknaming is behind the bearer's back. According to Turkish folklorist Ömer Gözükızıl, who examined nicknaming practices in Burdur province, families do not get nicknamed overnight. "This custom first begins secretly, within a narrow circle. Its dispersion is dependent on the community's

acceptance of it" (Gözükızıl 1992, 52). Nicknames, unlike honorific titles, or proper names, are usually given not by elders, but by the members of the community, and there is often one person who is particularly adept at creating them, he explains. Unlike the names given by elders for reasons of some courageous or generous act, nicknames given by the community can be unpleasant.

Most respondents usually spoke of a nickname (*lakab*) or lineage name (*sülale ismi*) by which they were known in the community. The term, *lakab*, seemed to encompass a wide range of names and naming practices, from age-old family names to bestowals, to professional names, to those of physical characteristics as well as those with unpleasant reference. Although most interviewees could tell me a *lakab* by which they were formerly known, not many of my interviewees had continued to use these as surnames. Today, many families will present themselves by saying, our surname is X but we are known in the village of Y as sons of Z and many village websites publish lists of lineages and their corresponding surnames.[8] James Scott calls this "name pluralism," where families will invoke "state-devised identities" and "local vernacular identities," according to the situation (Scott et al. 2002, 31).

How to Forget a Nickname

Name stories produce other naming stories. In nursing home settings, interviews often became group events, leading to the sharing of local customs and anecdotes. It was in one of these group interviews that the importance of witnessing in nicknaming became a topic of discussion.

Orhan Sorman, one of my respondents from the retired schoolteacher's nursing home told me that he had a student with the surname Aksoy (pure lineage), but whose family had been nicknamed *Köpekbokları* (those of the dog excrement) in their hometown (October 2000). While this was not a name that was registered in the records, it was the name by which the family was known in the community before the Surname Law. Since it was not easy for the women in the town to speak of this family with this nickname, they had euphemized the name to *Adıgüzeller* (the ones with a beautiful name). In response to the account of this storied name, I wondered out loud, about how it would be possible for a community to forget such a nickname. Orhan bey had the answer. "I'll tell you how!"

To send this unpleasant nickname into oblivion, continued Orhan bey, "the family would slaughter a camel, and after that their name would become *Devekesen* (camel slaughterers)." Slaughtering a camel is a spectacular event that would not go unnoticed. As Mr. Sorman's student's new surname indicates, the family used the Surname Law as an opportunity to take a name that wiped the lineage clean: *Aksoy* means "pure, or white lineage."

Sometimes a family could be known by the character of one of its members, even a woman. Mr. Sorman told me he knew a family who was known by the name *Keçi Bedriyeler*, or Goat Bedriye['s family]), named so because of the overbearing and stubborn character of the woman of the house. A nickname could also emerge, and stick, after an amusing event. Orhan Bey's wife, Nevres Sorman told us that some of her relatives in Bandırma are known in the community by the name of *Mantıpırlar*. At first, this sounds mysterious even to Turkish ears. *Mantı* is the name of a meat-filled dumpling meal, akin to ravioli, and the ending *-pır* does not have an immediately accessible meaning. In the story, as the women of the household were preparing this dish, the grandfather went to sit in the coffeehouse until it was ready. At dinnertime, his grandson, whose Turkish was still child-like, was sent to fetch him:

> The grandfather is in the café. And [the grandson] goes to call the grandfather. My mother cooked mantı, we are waiting [for you]…But, grandfather, [the boy] says, 'manti pırr! We ate the manti! There is no more! Manti pırr.' From then on, his friends there called that grandfather *Manti pırr*, and it stuck. Sorman, N. (2000, Oct 12). Personal interview.

The used the onomatopoeic sound *pırr*, to indicate something gone, akin to whoosh, to indicate that the *mantı* had been consumed.

Division of Names and Families

There is no doubt that the onomastic stock grew exponentially as officials tried to make sure that identical surnames would not be assigned, and separated families were not able to communicate in time to agree on a surname. Yet, even in the same town, brothers could disagree and part ways in their name.

> My name is Yalçın, my surname is Kurtpınar. I will try to tell you about the explanation of where it came from as I heard it from my grandfather. We

come from the village of Kurtpınar, in the Deliorman area of Romania. When we came here in 1935, the population officers were in front of us, and [my grandfather] who had been known as Hüseyin oğlu Mehmet took the name of Kurtpınar here. But one of the brothers said, let it be a name about the light of day. But another brother said, "Let's take Kurtpınar. It is the name of our village." So he takes the name of Kurtpınar. My youngest uncle Ahmet [standing in line] puts another person between him [and the family]. Kurtpınar, Y. (1998, July 1, 1998). Personal interview.

The youngest uncle ends up taking a name of light of day, of hope for the new homeland, while his brother takes the name of the homeland left behind. The fragmentation of families in this way was partly intentional, so it's possible that the officials did not intervene.

Tribes

Nüsret Köymen whose surname means, "village man," had a clear revolutionary composite surname,[9] and was named after the First World War Ottoman Minelayer Nüsret, which played a significant role in Gallipoli. He told me in a short interview that his oldest ancestor, Ladifoğlu Paşa was originally from Van but had been exiled to Rize's İkizdere district. This Pasha's sons formed two other lineages, Süleymanoğulları and Tufanoğulları, and Nüsret Bey came from the former lineage. With the Surname Law, the Süleymanoğulları clan was split into several surnames. Some took the name of Latifoğlu, others Bayraktar (flag holder), another took Salman. "This kinship continues. Everyone will say they are related, because of the Süleymanoğulları thing." Anyway, Nüsret bey told me, "The reason for the Surname Law was to dissassemble the tribes. And this is Atatürk's genius." For Nüsret Bey, this segmenting of families was one of Atatürk's great feats of social engineering, and says his sons do not know the other relatives. It is likely, however, that funerals, or other family affairs like property, will still bring family members together.

Another story of segmentation came from Aziz Yılmaz, a retired electrician at the Maltepe Nursing home. He told me that his father was an alderman, and that they had chosen the name Yılmaz in accordance with the Surname Law. Their family name was the lakab, Halçavuşlar.

They took a surname to save themselves from the lakab. My father named everybody in the Karacaören village. Around 70–75 households. The lakab encompasses around 100–150 people, so that lineage becomes like a tribe. Yılmaz, A. (2000, Oct 16). Personal interview.

Further interviews with members of tribes or large lineages, especially those Kurdish tribes who were sent into exile to different parts of the country, can help us understand how those families perceived the partition of their names and families.

Like the blind men touching the elephant, each family perceived a different aspect of the Surname Law that touched their particular identity. The change of a name for a settled family meant something different than a change of name for a recently migrated family. Some people tried to appropriate their hastily given names by making connections between the semantic meaning of the word and their eventual profession, like in the case of Orhan Sorman, who claimed his name, The Questioner, as appropriate since he became a teacher. In the name Göksutüven, we see the name taken with pride, kept away from high school friends like a new possession, carried as a token of an age of Kemalist glory.

NOTES

1. Also known as *Asr-ı Saadet* (Age of Felicity).
2. For further reading on the formation of the official history thesis, see Ersanlı (1996) and Copeax (1997).
3. The author was Mustafa Seyit Sutüven.
4. In April 2017, this surname became a source of stigma, as it became associated with the alleged leader of the July 15 attempted coup, to the extent that his family members applied to the courts to have their name changed to Berrak (clear, bright).
5. One of the denoted meanings of Haydar is lion, in addition to being another name for the Prophet Ali. Baytar means veterinarian, but I was not able to locate a dictionary that indicated that Baydar means lion. There is more indication that it is a composite name. The root dar, from Persian, denotes location or place, and the prefix bay, means a lord, or bey.
6. http://www.baydarailesi.com/default.asp?id=37, consulted Feb 12, 2017.
7. Sevinçli observes in this article that the many words from the Language Reform that never made it into the standard language survived by becoming attached as surnames to families under the Surname Law.
8. Several examples include: http://www.sivrihisardinekkoyu.com/sulale-lakap-ve-soyadlari.html; http://www.yesilalan.net/makale_detay.php?article_id=527.
9. See Geoffrey Lewis's chapter, "Ingredients" for the way that particular suffixes made their way into the pure Turkish language, -man being one of these. It entered Turkish via the word for vatman, tram driver. The -man ending was first used with the equivalent for *mütehassıs* (expert), which in pure Turkish became uzman.

Bibliography

Agha, Asif. 2003. The Social Life of Cultural Value. *Language and Communication* 23 (3–4): 231–273.

Akalın, Müslüm. 2007. Lakap'tan Soyadına [From Nickname to Surname]. *Şanlıurfa Barosu Dergisi*, Aralık.

Caplan, Jane, and John Torpey. 2001. *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World*. Princeton, NJ/Chichester: Princeton University Press.

Dakal, Tarık. 2008. Ulusal Kimlik İnşasında Soyadı Kanunu: Devrek Örneği [The Surname Law in the Construction of National Identity: The Example of Devrek]. *Toplumsal Tarih* 177: 62–67.

Ersanlı Behar, Büşra. 1996. İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de Resmi Tarih Tezinin Oluşumu, (1929–1937). [Power and History: The Evolution of the Official History Thesis in Turkey]. Istanbul: Afa Yayınları.

Goldberg, Harvey. 1997. Names in Their Social Contexts: An Anthropological Perspective. In *These Are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics*, ed. Aaron Demsky, Joseph A. Reif, and Joseph Tabory. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press.

Gözükızıl, Ömer. 1992. Burdur Ili'nden Derlenen Lakaplar [Nicknames Collected in Burdur Province]. *Türk Halk Kültüründen Derlemeler. Kültür Bakanlığı Halk Kültürlerini Araştırma ve Geliştirme Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları* 170: 49–68.

Özyürek, Esra. 2006. *Nostalgia for the Modern: State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Portelli, Alessandro. 1997. *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Scott, James, John Tehranian, and Jeremy Mathias. 2002. The Production of Legal Identities Proper to States: The Case of the Permanent Family Surname. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44 (1): 4–44.

Sevinçli, Efdal. 2011. Adlarımızda Soyadlarımızda Yaşayan Dil Devrimi [The Language Revolution that Lives in our Names and Surnames]. *Journal of Yaşar University* 1 (2): 277–292.

Toury, Gideon. 1988. Surnames and Their Substitutes. *Semiotic Theory and Practice Vol II*, eds. Michael Herzfeld and Lucio Melazzo. Proceedings of the Third International Congress of the IASS Palermo, 1984, 1143–1152.

The Burden of Minority Names

The small but significant selection of documents from the population offices in Istanbul reveal processes of negotiation between officials and members of the Greek and Armenian communities, as well as varying attitudes toward the minorities, ultimately pointing toward a lack of standardization that was widespread, but also to an uncertain relationship of the Turkish state to its non-Muslim minorities. This chapter does not claim to be a comprehensive overview of surname adoption among the non-Muslim minorities of Turkey. However, the selected interviews and documents provide a glimpse into the particular semiotic burden that a family name would carry.

The relationship of Turkey's recognized Jewish, Armenian, and Greek minorities—who were granted special rights under the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923—to the Ottoman and Turkish state is complex, having a precedent of centuries of coexistence, but also pockets of silence in official historiography regarding the end of the Ottoman Empire when migration, deportations, massacres, and population exchange dramatically shifted the demography of the Anatolian peninsula to a Muslim majority. Each group has different trajectories shaped by their particular connection to the Ottoman state, to great powers from the late eighteenth century and into the twentieth century and to the rising claims of nationalism that eventually led to the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.

The end of the Ottoman Empire saw the mass movement and demise of populations as the spread of nationalism forged new political communities

leading to the displacement or marginalization of newly constructed "others." In the process, the demographic composition of the empire underwent enormous transformation. The Armenian, Jewish, and Greek populations who had lived in Istanbul and Anatolia for centuries were reduced dramatically after the First World War and the treaties following the Turkish war of independence. "A decade after the start of the [First World War] the Christian minorities had been eliminated from what remained as the territory of the new Turkey. About 2.5 million Greeks and Armenians had perished, departed or been expelled, a number which probably contained 90 percent of the pre-war bourgeoisie" (Keyder 1987, 69). Before the First World War, one out of five people on what is considered Turkish territory today was non-Muslim (20 percent); after the war, this ratio fell to one out of 40 (2.5 percent) (ibid., 67 in Aktar 1996, 5). With the spread of nationalism in the former territories of the empire, the Muslim populations had fled into the Anatolian peninsula from the Balkans, Greece, and the Caucasus, thus swelling the Muslim population.

Non-Muslims as Dhimma and Millet Members

The relationship of early Ottoman rulers to their non-Muslim subjects was governed by the medieval Muslim institution of the *dhimmi* (people of the book, protected people), a practice originating in the first period of the Islamic conquest of Christian lands. These communities were organized in communities named *millets*. The early *millets* established under the Ottomans were religion-based umbrella organizations for a wide range of ethnic and linguistic groups. The Orthodox *millet* was established in 1454 soon after the Ottomans conquered Istanbul in 1453 and brought together all the Orthodox Christians for the first time since the Byzantine Empire. The Armenian *millet* was established in 1461 (Karpat 1982, 145). Because of this larger umbrella, the members of the *millets* were known by their religion rather than their particular ethnicity.[1]

Until the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman rulers were a minority ruling over a non-Muslim majority and imposed two Ottoman institutions that affected these groups: the *sürgün* and the *devşirme*. The *sürgün* involved forced migration and was intended to "repopulate devastated areas" after the long battles between the Ottomans and the

Byzantines. Though the *sürgün* did not specifically target the non-Muslims, the fact that non-Muslims were a majority meant that they were painfully affected. The *devşirme* involved taking children from Christian families to be raised as soldiers or bureaucrats; the young boys would be made to "convert to Islam and made Turks" (Braude and Lewis, 12). The practice is said to have declined once the Ottoman Empire incorporated more Muslim subjects with the conquest of Egypt and Syria in 1517.

Great Power Protection and Nationalism

Ottoman decline, loss of territory, and greater Western power resulted in a transformation of the relationships of the *millets* to the Ottoman state. With the decline of the empire, the *millets* became adopted as clients by the Great Powers to further their own interests. For example, the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca of 1774 "became the pretext for Russia to establish a protectorate over the Greek *millet*. France claimed a similar right to protect the Catholic subjects of the sultan. By the end of the nineteenth century all the non-Muslim *millets*, save the Jews, had found a *de facto* protector" (Ahmad 1982, 404). Non-Muslim subjects of the empire thus began to have extra-territorial privileges that they could not get in the empire.

Tanzimat and the Minorities

As the non-Muslim population began to absorb more of the ideas of the West like liberty and equality, they began to demand them. While there were some moves to reform the Ottoman system to make it more equal under Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839), it would be under the Tanzimat reforms that this would take place. The reforms enabled by the Reform decree (*Islahat fermanı*) of 1856, which had measures that were addressed to "all … imperial subjects of every religion and sect," enabled non-Muslim communities to write their own regulations and form representative bodies (Findley 2008, 19). This decree was elaborate in its formulation of equality between all subjects of the empire. It promised equality in educational opportunity, military service, and forbade "every distinction or designation tending to make any class whatever of the subjects of my empire inferior to another class, on account of their religion, language or

race" (Davison 1990, 114). In 1869, the Ottoman State published the Ottoman Citizenship Decree (*Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesi*), which lifted the *dhimmi* status from minorities, granting all subjects of the Empire Ottoman citizenship.

The First World War and the Turkish War of Independence

Turkey's Armenian community carries the tragic memory of the Armenian massacres and deportations, which many scholars are calling genocide (Akçam 2012, Ungor 2011, Zürcher 1994). Growing Ottoman-Muslim nationalism beginning under Sultan Abdulhamit II was further mobilized by the Young Turks between 1912 and 1922 (Zürcher 2010, 196). We now know that this was done by a faction of the Young Turk regime during the First World War. The government of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) was afraid that Russia was going to use its influence over the Armenians in the region to establish an independent Armenia and decided to solve the problem by relocating the whole Armenian population in eastern Anatolia. Controversy over this period has focused on three issues: (a) whether such an operation was necessary or not; (b) the numbers of Armenians who perished is exaggerated by both sides; and (c) whether this constituted genocide (Zürcher 1994, 120). Some historians, like Stanford Shaw, argue that the Armenian issue must be seen in the context of the other massacres and movements of population that came with the end of empire (Shaw 1977, 316). Increasingly, historians are starting to argue the significant role of "an inner circle within the Committee of Union and Progress [which] wanted to 'solve' the Eastern Question by the extermination of the Armenians and that it used the relocation as a cloak for this policy" (Zürcher 1994, 121).[2]

The Greeks and Armenians constituted a local bourgeoisie who had been intermediaries and merchants working with Western merchants, particularly on the coastal areas. With the departure or deaths of these socially and economically modern citizens, Muslims took over, but unlike their predecessors, who had the protection of capitulations and some independence from the state, they were more beholden to the state (Keyder 1987).

The Treaty of Lausanne on July 24, 1923, recognized the territorial integrity of the Republic of Turkey and abolished foreign and mixed courts, making foreign subjects accept the jurisdiction of Turkish courts. It also allowed the non-Muslims to "establish and operate whatever charitable, religious, social and educational institutions they wished" (Shaw 1977, 367). The articles concerning minorities not only stipulated that minorities may have freedom to worship, travel, migrate, and to use their own language, but also to establish associations for education and social welfare (Levi 1992). Nevertheless, the population exchange further depopulated the Anatolian peninsula of non-Muslims, bolstering later arguments for homogeneity. "In 1913, one out of five persons in the geographical area that is now Turkey was a Christian; by the end of 1923, the proportion had declined to one in forty" (Keyder, 43).

The 1924 Constitution declared that those who are bound to the Turkish community by citizenship are considered Turkish, regardless of religious or ethnic difference. By the 1930s, however, this pluralistic discourse had given way to a more ethno-secular approach (Yıldız 2016).

Prof Fritz Neumark, a German economics professor of Public Finance in the Economics Department of Istanbul University, published the Turkish translation of a speech he made concerning Atatürk's reforms in which he praised the leader and justified his authoritarian style, which he deemed necessary. Praising Atatürk's "will of steel," he described the one party regime as an educational dictatorship, *terbiyevi diktatörlük,* or *dictature educatrice.*

He noted that the Surname Law, which enforced surnames for all Turks, would also be taken by the Rum, Armenian, and Jewish Turkish citizens, and in this way, the "previously existing differences in foreign nation and races will be eliminated," and "it will help establish article 88 of the [1924 constitution] which says that all the peoples of Turkey are Turkish, regardless of religion or race" (Neumark 1935).

The legal scholar Reshad Osman (Atabek) had another perspective. In the conclusion to his doctoral thesis on the comparison of the Swiss and Turkish civil codes concerning names, he raised the question of what would happen to non-Muslim minority names.

> What will happen to the names of non-Muslim minorities living in Turkey? Those who don't have family names will be obliged to choose one and will be able to choose only from the Turkish language. Those who already have patronymic names will have to keep them, if we are to interpret the project literally. The question of minorities in Turkey today is of secondary

importance, since their number is so limited; in a few dozen years, their members will be completely assimilated and will be lost in the masses. It would be in their interest to abandon their previous names and choose names in the Turkish language. Another question would concern whether this right would be granted to them? According to Article 2, individuals who already have a family name should keep it, but we personally think that the Turkish government will not think it inconvenient that these non-Muslim minorities choose Turkish language names. In any case, those who are interested can request a name change in accordance with the Civil Code. (Rechat Osman (Atabek) 1934, 189–190)

Atabek's perspective also shows the wavering between an assimilationist and segregationist viewpoint. Although members of the non-Muslim minorities already had registered surnames, they were expected eventually to give them up. Yet, if they did give them up, they were also viewed with suspicion on masking their identities. Atabek wavers between insisting that minorities take a Turkish name and wondering if that Turkish name is an object of entitlement that they may be deemed deserving.

MINORITIES AND THE SURNAME LAW

The surname law makes no direct reference to the recognized minority population. Article three of the surname law concerns restrictions on foreign names, and the regulation elaborates on this article by stipulating that the new surnames must be in Turkish. Article 7 of the law regulation, included in the types of discouraged foreign suffixes, the Armenian patronymic *-ian* and the Greek *-pulos*, yet the law was not meant to encompass the minorities.

> Article 7: It is forbidden to add endings or words such as *yan, of, ef, viç, iç, is, dis, pulos, aki, zade, mahdumu, veled* and *bin* referring to other ethnicities, or taken from another language. Those endings which have been added may not be used and must be replaced with -oğlu.

In the early discussions of the Surname Law, when the members of parliament were arguing about whether Turks had surnames or not, Refet Bey of Bursa province stated, "In Turkey, whether Turks or the groups such as the Armenians and Greeks already have registered surnames" (TBMM Zabit Cerides I:69, 16.6.1934, C:1, 191). In the discussions in parliament about Article 3 of the law, the concern was with the names of

tribes or Kurdish names and foreign names seemed to refer to the names of other Muslim immigrants to Anatolia.

> We also want to abolish the names of foreign nationality. There are those who have come from abroad who are now natives of our country who carry the names of other communities. For example, *Arap*, *Cerkes*, or *Cecen*. We should abolish these too. Those who use names like Cecen Ibrahim or Laz Memet must find other names for themselves. (*TBMM Zabit Ceridesi* I:71, 21.6.1934, C:1, 246)

Although it was not stipulated directly by the law, those from the ethnic minority groups also changed names, most probably because they felt pressured to neutralize markers of their ethnicity. It is likely that it was more common in larger cities where interaction with the Muslim majority was more frequent and where the prospect of integration of children in schools and youth in military necessitated a surname that did not attract undue attention. Moreover, it was also more likely among families who had been displaced.

It is important to recognize the other laws that were affecting the non-Muslim minorities as well as refugee and ethnic groups of the time. For the non-Muslim minority populations, the new Turkish Republic of the 1930s was not welcoming. Perhaps influenced by the other regimes of the period, the ethnic racial strand of Turkish nationalism found articulation in the press and in daily life. The Turkish Muslim community, as Rifat Bali points out in his book on the Jewish community during these years, which had fought in the war of independence, felt disenfranchised, and did not feel that the Jewish population had fully been part of the creation of the nation. Indeed, the Muslim population was the most disenfranchised economically by the developments in the late Ottoman period and the early republic.

Interview materials speak to the loss of security that many experienced in a political atmosphere that privileged the growth of Muslim population. My Armenian and Jewish respondents invariably referred to the law designating professions to the Turkish population.[3] The law had been passed in 1932 and had given non-Turkish citizens up to a year to leave jobs that would henceforth be given to Turkish citizens. According to Ayhan Aktar, this law is said to have targeted the Greek population of Istanbul as well as groups with refugee status, such as the White Russians who had fled the Bolshevik Revolution. Many Istanbul Greeks migrated to Greece as a

result of this law. According to a 1927 census, the Istanbul Greeks numbered 26,431; this number went down by about 9000–17,642 (Aktar 1996, 13–14). The adoption of surnames starting in 1935 coincided with the months in which the law limiting professions to Turkish citizens was effective. Thus, professional truncation or the awareness of limited means of making a living figured prominently in narrations by Armenian and Jewish interviewees.

One of my interviewees, a German Russian whose father had come to work as a tile master for Sultan Abdulhamit (1876–1909) told me that he had lost his job at a factory because of this law (Landau). Sami Altindağ told me that his name, which is the literal Turkish translation of Goldenberg, was taken by his father at the same time as the profession law was passed. As a musician in the service of Atatürk, his father had been told to take Turkish citizenship and take a Turkish name on paper, so that he could continue to work as a musician.

We Could Have Been a Village: Armenian Memories

Narration by Armenians of the 1930s and documents in the population registry were marked by evidence of a silenced tragedy and the erasure of Armenian presence from Anatolian cities and towns.

Interviews about names sometimes opened up into broader issues about the group the respondent belonged to. The story of Astgik Divan, an 86-year-old Armenian woman about her family's decision to drop the *-ian* ending from their name led to the narration of her family's change of fate after the First World War.

The Lightness of Divan, the Heaviness of the -Yan

"We did it in Merzifon at the population office," she said of dropping of the *-yan* suffix from their name. "Atatürk put out a law. Everyone must take family names. Whoever wants can change their name. For us Armenians, the ending is *-yan*. We left of the *-yan* and Divan, and this way, [she jokes here] I came to be the owner of the Hotel Divan.[4] They changed it at the registry" (March 2000, Soeurs de Pauvres). I asked her, "is it more modern when it's Divan?" and she replied, "Yes, and it was clear that you were Armenian. It was better, then, to not have it." Aside from the surname, Armenian names clearly affected decisions that would alter the family's life: "My little brother used to be in middle school. The principal wanted to

help him with his education. Then, [the principal] said, 'Oh, his mother is Maryam, his father Migirdic, and he is Divanyan. They will not let him advance (at work). Let's not do such a thing. Then that brother of mine went to Egypt and became a jeweler'" (March, 2000).[5] Ms. Divan told me that many children who had been lost in the war had been assigned Muslim names. "Most people changed and took new names. One of these is Hani Sakingül, one of the children lost in the Great War. She doesn't know what her name is. They gave her the surname Sakingül. She was Assyrian. She lost her mother and father." Divan, A. (2000, March 1). Personal interview.[6]

Anatolia and Armenian Absence

Ms. Divan's family was from Merzifon, an inner Anatolian town near the Black Sea, where her grandfather owned a "seven-stone" flour mill next to the Tersakan Stream. It was burned down once during the Balkan Wars, and then rebuilt again. During the First World War, all the men in the family "disappeared" and the women were left to fend for themselves. For a while things were quiet after the establishment of the Republic in 1923, but as a result of a government law, the factory and other properties were sold without their consent by a "powerful person," who she claims was Atatürk's friend. "We were there. We were the owners, but they did it. We lost everything. We became impoverished, in the street." Indeed Ms. Divan's story illustrates the gradual change in the residence pattern of their neighborhood. From the time of the Balkan Wars, the Anatolian peninsula had become a refuge for Muslims fleeing nationalizing states. These groups were often resettled by the government in various parts of the country. Ms. Divan told me about the way the town of Merzifon was transformed into a town of neighborhoods and immigrant groups. She described a Georgian neighborhood, and the Tatars, who the government settled there, and immigrants from Kavala in Greece.

> Look, by the time I started to understand, the Great war, the chaotic things had happened. They had destroyed many houses. It was chaotic. So much so, that—I don't know—but, our neighborhood was all Armenian but there were immigrants who had fled wars in Erzincan, Erzurum. They were Turkish. They were our neighbors. There was a *kup* (metal drinking cup) at our house, and running water. Our door was open until nighttime. Those poor ones would come, and take water. They would have a cloth tied around their heads … they would ask us for pots and pans. They were in a bad way.

I remember that. After our house burned down, we were in a small place and that woman came and she said to my mother, "See, see, you couldn't fit into all the skies, and now they made you fit into a pan.[7] We never forgot those words." Divan (2000, March 1). Personal interview.

Although their three-story house was burned in 1922, she and her family lived in Merzifon until 1938, when they moved to Istanbul. Gradually, the jobs, schools, and churches that kept the Armenians in Merzifon closed down and many others departed for other lands. She, her mother, and aunt wanted to leave for Egypt in 1939, but were prevented by the onset of the Second World War. Ms. Divan's sad memories of these great losses are also combined with an attachment to Turkey as her country. Several times she compared the lives of those who left and those, like herself, who stayed behind. She was reunited with her brother who had fled to France in 1922, 70 years later, and visited him in France. It was her first trip abroad.

He said, "Do you want to stay?" "I won't stay here," I said. Then when I was coming back on the plane, I noticed people speaking Turkish. It made me so happy. My first trip lasted a month and a half, but a person loves his country, his homeland, I didn't know that. It's like, how you take air for granted; when you are without it you notice. When I went abroad I found I missed Turkey. I was so happy to land at the airport. (ibid).

Although it has clearly been difficult for her, the passage of time has perhaps altered her perspective on the country in which she remained.

It's not a nice thing to go from country to country. It's not great at all, but if you have to…And now I am surprised at these Turks. My friend's daughter went to Canada. "Oh, I can't stand it, my dear Astgik, I can't," [she said to me]. I told her, "You know, we lived this life, but we *had* to do it, to leave." Every body left with the hope that there would be something abroad. …But wherever you go, you are a foreigner. Especially in France. Apparently they used to say, "Salle étranger," in the old days. (ibid).

Ms. Divan's brother and sister left Turkey after 1923; the Americans were assisting in relocating Armenians and helped her sister go to Egypt, and her brother, to France. They left without passports, and were declared to have left their nationality, *terk-i tebaa*, and could not return. Years later, when Ms. Divan wanted to have a new birth certificate and have name

based in the registry in Istanbul, she went to Merzifon. The street names had changed and they could not find her birth records. She says she later sent "a man" to help her find the records.

From all this talk about birthplace and family, she pointed out that "now they are making family trees. My niece wants one. They all died, I told her. A few brothers and sisters got married and it became a big family." Ms. Divan never got married because she had to work and did not have enough money to have a dowry.

> If those events had not happened, we would not have been like this. We were a big family. Uncles, aunts and all. If they had all got married, sometimes I think to myself, we could have been a village. It's a pity. What are you going to do. It's God's will. Divan, A. (2000, March 1). Personal interview.

Some of Ms. Divan's story is corroborated by correspondence in the population registry concerning records of Armenians in Anatolia. A record from an Istanbul population registry contained the correspondence concerning the registration of an Armenian family in Istanbul. Apparently, the Istanbul official wrote to the Sivas office to ask for the original records for this family and received the following reply dated July 14, 1936:

> From the Susehri District
>   Population Office
>   Because the old registries have burned in a fire there is no other registration belonging to Armenians. The Armenians in our district migrated to the inner provinces during the general war and few have returned. Investigations in the Yukarı Ezbinder village has revealed that this Armenian has not been registered. Since his family has settled there, may I request that he be registered there.

It is not clear whether the burned records included those of the Muslims as well. An interview with Hüseyin Pala from Elazığ province revealed the awareness in the local population of the absence of Armenians. He explained to me that there were many Armenians in Elazığ and around it "in the old days" and that some remained when he was a child. His narration also reveals the competing knowledge about the Armenian deportations.

> In my time, there were still [Armenians] but in a way. When the Armenians were collected together and deported, they were made to leave the borders …

or killed. Oh they were not killed, they were deported. A majority of them went to Aleppo. And many of the ones who were deported went to America. And I don't know what else. However the governor of Elazig did not allow the deportation of several families who were skilled tradesmen. For example a shoemaker, a tailor, housepainters, copper worker, or other trades. He let them stay. Because all the industry, tailoring or shoemaking for example, had been in their hands. There was not one Turkish shoemaker. There was no Turkish tailor, then Pala, H. (2000, May 1). Personal interview.

The Armenians, he explained, unlike the Turks, had stayed put during the Ottoman battles and had the chance to develop their craft. The Turks meanwhile, would go to battle and come back with their rewards and be occupied with tilling their land. This represents a common view by Turks about the Armenian population, that the Turkish population did not have the resources and the skills of the Armenians.

GOLDBERG/ALTINDAĞ: TURKEY'S JEWS AND TRANSLATED IDENTITY

At the time of the passing of the law, Sami Altindag's grandfather (a Goldberg) was in the service of Atatürk, as a drummer in the orchestra. The Law Designating Trades and Services to Turkish Citizens (Republic of Turkey. November 6, 1932, law number 2007) had limited professions and trades such as musicianship, photography, barbershops, hat and shoe making, tailoring, interpreting, construction work, driving, security personnel, restaurant service, waitressing, and stage performing to Turkish citizens. According to my respondent, Atatürk asked his musicians to take Turkish citizenship, and along with that, just for formality purposes, to hold a Turkish name, but that they could use their own names within their own social circles.

The narration by Sami Altindağ, a Jewish man in his 50s was particularly interesting because of the self-reflection he brought to his family's name narrative and to his family's Turkified name. According to the narrative, Sami heard from his father, his father had been a drummer in an orchestra that played at all of Atatürk's balls. The musicians were all foreign citizens who had escaped to Turkey during the First World War. After a law banning foreign nationals from being employed in a range of professions was passed, Atatürk took his musicians aside and told them, "I like you a lot. I can help you. If you say it's all right, I can make you Turkish citizens." Atatürk then added, "Since you are becoming Turkish citizens, and your

names are foreign names—if you'd like, you can have Turkish names. It will only be so officially. You can use them or not use them. And if you'd like, it can even say 'Islam' [in the religion section] on your identity cards." According to Sami, the musicians admired Atatürk very much and accepted the new names. Altındağ, S. (1999, Oct). Personal interview.

"My father always experienced this story with pride. And until a late age, I also felt like that too." Indeed, the direct connection of a name to the founder of Turkey would have been a source of social capital. When he was in his 40s, Sami says his attitude toward his Turkified name went through a change. "I said to myself, 'In that story my father told me there is a transition to Turkish citizenship. Why should the surname change? This is a type of lie. I am not *Altındağ*. I didn't find it right. People should remain as they are. It was something that accelerated assimilation. However, there is this [other factor]—one has the freedom to go and change his name and surname at any point with two witnesses.'" Sami says Atatürk also gave his father the nickname "Şen," meaning "merry or cheerful" to precede the Turkish, *Altındağ*, but that he never likes that addition because it was for his father and not for him.

Sami's feelings about his name underwent another shift. He told me he remembers talking to an elderly cousin of his 5–10 years before, about what their family name had been. The family, which is half Sephardic, half Ashkenazi, carried the name *Zlatagorsky* in Romania, his cousin told him. Finding out that the family had borne another name in another country made Sami reflect about the fact that the family's name had always changed, perhaps 20–30 times in the last 2000 years. And he concluded, "So none of [the names] are authentic. As they change they always become something else. The original is probably is the one in Palestine 2000 years ago. It always changed, in Romania, in Russia, always to adjust to that society. So I concluded that *Altindag* is as valid a surname as those other surnames [we have carried]". Altındağ, S. (1999, Oct.). Personal interview.

The transitions in Sami's view of his father's surname story reflect a process of individuation, and then re-integration of himself into the collective Jewish experience. It is by engaging in this collective consciousness that he comes to accept the name as it is. Sami insisted that this process of thinking about his name was not triggered by outside events, but that it had been an internal dialogue. He did mention, however, that among urban bohemians, for example, a minority name came to have a sort of capital, because people thought it was "more poetic."

Turkey's Jews and Their Relationship to the State

According to Rifat[8] Bali, an independent scholar, out of the different ethnic groups, it was mostly the Jews who changed their personal names and surnames: "Those who wanted to "completely disappear," he said. For many Jews, personal name changes were made by switching to a Muslim version of the Jewish name. For example, Moris became Metin or Murat, Joseph becomes Yusuf, or Salamon becomes Suleyman (personal communication, June 13, 2000).

The Jewish community was divided over the transition to Turkish identity, but a substantial group made conscious efforts to assimilate into the new Turkish identity. In fact, one of the major figures of Turkish cultural nationalism was Munis Tekinalp (1883–1961)[9] (Moiz Cohen), a lesser-known contemporary of Gökalp who first as a pan-Turk, then as a Kemalist nationalist, "contributed to the evolution of Ottoman and Turkish nationalism" (Landau 1984; Uzer 2016). Tekin Alp had been born to an Orthodox Jewish family in Serres, and went to Salonica to study in a school run by the Alliance Israelite Universelle, and thus he came to be at the center of a number of ideological currents of the time. After training as a rabbi, he studied law, and began writing about social issues in newspapers of the time. He founded the *Tamim-i Lisan-i Osmani Cemiyeti* (The Society for the Universal Adoption of the Ottoman Language).

Tekinalp's significant publication at this time was *Türkleşme* (Turkification), which he published in 1928. This was a treatise on the nature of nationalism, in many ways directed at the Jewish minority in Turkey. Invoking the authority of the Old Testament, it included the Ten Commandments of how to become Turkish (Tekinalp, cited in Karaomerlioglu 1995). According to Avner Levi, however the timing and audience of Tekinalp's pamphlet was significant. Levi maintains that the publication of Tekinalp's pamphlet came in response to the "Elza Niego event," when a young Jewish woman was murdered by a Turkish man who was in love with her and grew jealous of her engagement to someone else. Elza Niego's murder brought both Muslims and Jews together in sympathy, but tension was rife in the funeral procession and subsequent polemical reporting on it by the Turkish press led to a series of acts against the Jews. Many of the Jewish community representatives, Tekinalp among them, wanted to reassure the Turkish government that the Jews bore no resentment against the state and urged their community members to make efforts to integrate with the Turks. For this reason, the audience for the

pamphlet were actually the Turkish authorities rather than the Jewish community (Levi 1992, 89). The Ten Commandments he proposed were meant to show the Turkish majority that the Jewish community wanted to be a peaceful part of the Turkish nation.

The Ten Commandments:

1. Turkify your names
2. Speak Turkish
3. In prayers at the Synagogue, pray, at least partly, in Turkish.
4. Turkify your schools
5. Send your children to the public schools.
6. Become involved in public affairs
7. Live with the Turks and establish close relations with them
8. Uproot the spirit of the religious community.
9. Perform your specific task in the area of national economy
10. Know your rights (Landau 1984).

In addition, Tekinalp was very supportive of the Kemalist reforms and particularly of the Surname Law, which he, like other nationalists, felt would restore the Turks to their pre-Islamic glory.

> We are now in 1935. In a period of twelve years, the new Turk created for himself a new spirit, morals, new history, and—also because he now refers to Allah as *Tanri*[10]—even a new God. Now the Turk's head is different, his headgear is different, and his alphabet is different. He now has a different state, a different economy and also a different language. But there was another thing, which seemed unimportant, yet did not suit these other changes. The new Turk was still carrying the eastern and backward-looking name remaining from the time when he was still theocratic. This name was the same as the ones as his Arab and Persian brothers in religion carried. His new head, new culture, new spirit was going back thousands of years towards national history to join his racial and blood brothers, whereas his name was confusing/mixing him with the Muslim family of nations, from whom he had departed to reach western civilization and his millennia of national history. This was a shadow from the past and its psychological effect was certain. (Tekinalp, 176)

Like Gökalp, by whom he was greatly influenced, Tekinalp believed in the democratic pre-Islamic Central Asian culture. He reiterated Gökalp's

ideas about the ancient Turks as possessors of cultural practices that were needed in the Kemalist era. These older Turkish rulers he wrote, were strongly organized under a main leader into tribes which were called *oymak*, or *bay*.

> The members of a *bay* would all carry the same name and would behave in the same way for the joint interests of the *oymak*. In the civilization period in which we live today, the primitive *oymak* has been replaced with the family. However the solidarity between the members of a family should not be less strong, or effective than the solidarity between the members of the ancestors' *oymak*. In the old periods, the name of the group leader was the unifying factor for all the members of the same oymak. In the modern period too, each individual in the same family ought to join in the same title. (176)

Like Gökalp, Tekinalp emphasized solidarity, but unlike Gökalp, he placed more emphasis on religion as the enemy of a desired solidarity. He argued that the centuries-long religious regime which destroyed national ties had also dismantled family ties, leaving only the religious ties, which served to unify people only for the other world.

Levi maintains that when it came down to any acts of violence against the Jewish population, the government would take immediate steps; however, the government did not take similar steps about the negative depiction of the Jewish population or to any harassment that they might undergo. Jewish people were often represented in caricatures and writings in the 1930s in a negative way with images of stereotypical businessmen counting money. The defensive nationalist resentment toward the Jews, whom the Turks perceived as not having sacrificed their lives in the war of independence, took on a more anti-Semitic expression among a small ethnic nationalist minority who invoked the Nazi ideology and imagery in their publications.

However, Turkification was a problematic issue for the narrow view of the ethnic nationalists, who felt that the integration of non-Muslims like the Jews was impossible anyway. According to Levi, the discussions on Article 88 of the Turkish Constitution were divided between these two camps. Influenced by anti-Jewish sentiment in Europe, magazines published caricatures of stereotypical depictions of Jews as profit-hungry busi-

nessmen, in magazines like *Akbaba*. The views of a small minority of ethnic nationalists (as opposed to cultural nationalists) intersected with, and found support from, the Nazi regime, resulting in explicitly anti-Semitic publications, such as *Milli Inkilap* and *Orhun*.

Known for its racialized strain of Turkish nationalism, a writer for the magazine even called for Jewish people to stop taking Turkish names.

> As if it is not enough that they are creating commercial and economic damage, now they have reached to the most sacred places. They are stealing the blessed names of the heroic Turkish race. How can *Oğuzhan, Kayihan, Tekinalp, Cengiz, Bozkurt* be the name of a thankless Spanish Jew? Their dirty hands should not reach there and the Jews should know that historical Turkish names are not a commodity from the flea market. (*Milli İnkilap* July, 1934 No. 5, p. 6)

Laurent Mallet points out in his article about the depiction of Jews in early Republican Turkish caricature that the Jews were seen as the anti-nationals. "Turkish Jews were not only devoid of any patriotism, they would also use the patriotism of the Turks to their own benefit" (Mallet 1996, 29). An example of this is clearly shown in a cartoon from 1934: "Hey Salomon, did you hear it's the 1 anniversary of the [Turkish] Republic," to which Salomon would reply something like, "Oh yes, I know. I sold many lightbulbs [for the celebrations]" (Image 6.1). For ethnic nationalists, any effort by the Jews to integrate into the Turkish culture was perceived as insincere. While the speaking of Turkish was discouraged, the speaking well of Turkish by a member of a minority could also be considered a sign of duplicity.

The non-Muslim minorities had been granted official minority status by the treaty of Lausanne in 1923 and were guaranteed the right to have their schools, associations, and to speak their language, yet, in the context of the defensive nationalism that was prevalent at the time, an ethnic racial strand of nationalism created exclusionary practices in daily life and in institutions. The *Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş* (Citizen Speak Turkish[11]) campaign led to public harassment of many citizens, including Jews, who were not accustomed to using Turkish in their daily life. However, the idea of the Turkish majority against which the minorities might have been measured was also not monolithic or secure.

En yaman milletin en yaman silâhı:

Salamon — Bütün milletler silâhlarını azaltmalı diyorlar, acaba benim paralari da azaltacaklar mi?

Image 6.1   Anti-semitic caricature of Jewish merchant: "Salamon—They say that all nations should reduce their arms. Will they also reduce my money?"

Notes

1. Karpat cites the Armenian patriarch Istanbul from 1896 to 1908 in his article. "All the orthodox dyophysites, viz., Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Albanians, Wallachians, Moldavians, Ruthenians, Croatians, Caramanians, Syrians, Melkites, and Arabs became associated, *under their respective chiefs*, with the jurisdiction of the Greek patriarch; while the orthodox monophysites, comprising the Armenians, Syrians, Chaldaens, Copts, Georgians, and Abyssinians, became subject, *under their respective chiefs*, to the jurisdiction of the Armenian patriarch" (italics added [by Karpat] (Ormanian, Malachia. 1955. *The Church of Armenia*, p61, cited in Karpat 1982, 146).

2. For further reading, see Taner Akçam 2004. *From empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide*. Zed Books; Taner Akçam. 2012. *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*. Princeton University Press; and Uğur Ümit Ungor. 2011. *The Making of Modern Turkey*. Oxford University Press.

3. Republic of Turkey. Law No 2007.

4. The Hotel Divan is considered a posh hotel.

5. Another of her brothers had fled to Paris; she said she had recently seen him, after 70 years of being apart.

6. For further reading on orphans, see Lerna Ekmekçioğlu 2013. A Climate for Abduction, A Climate for Redemption: The Politics of Inclusion during and after the Armenian Genocide. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2013; 55 (3):522–553.

7. This is a rhyming sentence in Turkish. "*Gelin, gelin, sığmazdın havalara, sığdırdılar tavalara*" (Divan 2000).

8. *Rifat* is a Turkification of Raphael. Rifat Bali is the author of numerous works on the Jewish experience in Turkey.

9. For further reading on the intellectual genealogy of Turkish nationalism, see Umut Uzer. 2016. *An Intellectual History of Turkish Nationalism: Between Turkish Ethnicity and Islamic Identity*. University of Utah Press. For readings on the various strands of nationalism, see Ayşe Kadıoğlu and Fuat Keyman, eds. 2011. *Symbiotic Antagonisms: Competing Nationalisms in Turkey.*

10. A Turkic word for God.

11. For further reading on how this unfolded, see Aslan, Senem. 2007. "Citizen, Speak Turkish!": A Nation in the Making. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 13:2, 245–272.

Bibliography

Ahmad, Feroz. 1982. Unionist Relations with the Greek, Armenian and Jewish Communities of the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1914. In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, vol. I, 401–434. New York/London: Holmes & Meier.

Akçam, Taner. 2012. *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Aktar, Ayhan. 1996. Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Uygulanan "Türkleştirme" Politikaları [Turkification Policies Applied in the First Years of the Republic]. *Tarih ve Toplum* 156: 324–338.

Çagaptay, Soner. 2006. *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who is a Turk?* London: Routledge Press.

Davison, Roderic. 1990. *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History, 1774–1923: The Impact of the West*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Karaömerlioğlu, Asım M. 1995. Some Notes on Tekinalp and Turkish Nationalism During the 1920s. *Journal of the Association of Graduates in Near Eastern Studies AGNES* 5 (2): 65–69.

Karpat, Kemal. 1982. Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era. In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, vol. I, 141–169. New York/London: Holmes & Meier.

Landau, Jacob. 1984. *Tekinalp, Turkish Patriot 1883–1961*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Institut.

Makal, Ahmet. 1999. *Türkiye'de tek partili dönemde çalışma ilişkileri: 1920–1946* [Labor Relations in Turkey During the Single Party Era]. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları.

Mallet, Laurent. 1996. *Karikatür* Dergisinde Yahudilerle Ilgili Karikatürler (1936–1948) [Caricatures About Jews in the Magazine *Karikatür* 1936–1948]. *Toplumsal Tarih* 34: 26–36.

Neumark, Fritz. 1935. Yeni Türkiye'nin Siyasal, Kültürel ve Ekonomsal Tekamülü [The Political, Cultural and Economical Evolution of New Turkey]. *İstanbul Universitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası [Istanbul Univeristy Law Faculty Journal]* 1 (2): 213–231.

Shaw, Stanford. 1977. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1805–1975*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ungor, Uğur. 2011. *The Making of Modern Turkey: Nation and State in Eastern Anatolia, 1913–1950*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Uzer, Umut. 2016. *An Intellectual History of Turkish Nationalism: Between Turkish Ethnicity and Islamic Identity*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Zürcher, Erik. 2010. *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey*. London: I.B. Taurus.

Turkish Surnames and Their Critics Since 1934

CRITICS FROM THE CONSERVATIVE RIGHT

From the late 1940s onwards, critics of the Surname Law and corresponding language reforms articulated their views in congresses organized by the *İstanbul Mualllimler Birliği*[1] (Istanbul Teacher's Union) and *Hür Fikirleri Yayma Cemiyeti*[2] (The Society for the Dissemination of Free Ideas) (Sadoğlu and Toprak 2009, 15). For these "Romantic Turkists,"[3] culture was "not an arena of construction, but an organic whole, created by the populace," while for the Kemalists, culture was something to "build, process, detail and construct" (ibid.).

A particularly vocal intellectual embodying Romantic Turkist views on matters of naming and language was Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu (1901–1974), a sociologist, folklorist, and legal scholar. Fındıkoğlu studied philosophy at Strasbourg University, where he completed a dissertation, *Ziya Gökalp, sa vie et sa sociologie.* As an academic at Istanbul University, he collaborated with the German sociologist Gerhard Kessler, who had fled Nazi Germany. The topics of his multiple articles range from law, folklore, onomastics, civil law, to language.

He was dismayed that the law created an onomastic stock unrelated to popular usage. Not only should Turkish surnames possess the *-oğlu* suffix but also the order[4] in which surname and personal name appear should match rules of Turkish syntax. In an article published in memory of Ziya Gökalp, Fındıkoğlu argues for four steps to be taken to change the way that the Surname Law has damaged onomastic landscape. First, people

should place their patronymic surname (ending with –oğlu) before the given name, in accordance with traditional usage, so that Ahmet, the son of Hasan, will be Hasanoğlu Ahmet, for example. Second, he urges those who have selected a name unrelated to their family, to seek out their family name from the registries and use that instead. Third, those who cannot find a distinct family name can use a Turkish word and place the patronym –oğlu at the end. Fourth, he encourages everyone to be in solidarity and consciously make use of the traditional usage in their unofficial transactions as much as possible—and finally, to put pressure on lawmakers to change the law to suit these customs. (1942, 11).

The inner Black Sea city of Kastamonu was, for Fındıkoğlu, an example of uncorrupted Turkish customs. In his estimation, the city was a cultural center that had not experienced occupation, destruction of documents, enemy invasion, or refugee influx. The evidence for Kastamonu as an enclave of authenticity was to be found in the uniformity between the registries and social memory.

> Kastamonu, which is the city that is the most Turkish (*en koyu Türk olan*) and which maintains memories of Turkishness, is also a center where there are deep-rooted surnames. Here, you find family names older and more rooted (*daha köklü*) names than the Europeans; and these names are not only in the social memory, but also in the official documents registries. (Fındıkoğlu 1961, 12)

Fındıkoğlu was well traveled and educated, even attending the world congresses in onomastics in 1961. However, his interest in this new field was shaped by his conviction that it should be used for Turkification. In the text of a speech he made on the occasion of the Fifth International Anthroponymy and Toponymy Conference, Fındıkoğlu introduced the field of onomastics and argued that it was time for the institutionalization of Turkish Onomastics.

Although Gökalp's "directives" involved creating surnames resembling those in the West, in the same order of names, Fındıkoğlu held that both the order of the surname and the name given to the surname was misguided.

> 1—The term *soyadı* is wrong. First of all, this mistake should be rectified. 2—There was an assumption that Turks did not already have surnames or this impression was [deliberately] created. 3—The law changed the order of

naming and, the *isim* has been put into the front just as among the Jews, Armenians and Greeks of our countries, or among the civilized nations of the world—and this need has been imposed upon our citizens, just as a member of the Judiciary Commission said during the debate of the 1934 law. Yet, this [way of ordering names] is not only un-national, but also un-scientific…And even if this was the case, civilization should not necessitate the jumbling of a linguistic structure. In some official correspondence, *san* has replaced it. And on the other hand, this expression is alien to our Civil Code. The [Civil Code] uses the term *aile ismi*, which I think is correct. And in fact, these family names are registered in the state registers since 1881. (Fındıkoğlu 1942, cited in Önder 1968, 309)

Fındıkoğlu insisted that Turkish onomastics must focus on place,[5] person, and family names with the methods of science, and that this was the only path to Westernization in this field. His understanding of Westernization meant that each country should use rational science to claim their roots.

The place names of the natural [place] called Turkey are in a [sorry] state; it is necessary for onomasticians to go over these [names] and not leave them to any old administrator. Historians and sociologists ought to work on the origins and abnormal aspects and the change of these [names]. (Fındıkoğlu 1961, 2)

Fındıkoğlu identified four types of surnames that had emerged since the application of the 1934 law: (a) a minority of family names that existed before 1934, and which were continued; (b) names which had been created by getting rid of suffixes like *-oğlu* and *-giller*; (c) names referring to the geographic, historical characteristics of a place where the bearer lived or thought about, most of them taken from the surname books that appeared in 1934 or were given en masse to citizens by the population administration; and (d) the most disappointing category, fabricated names, which included the majority of names.

[These] have to do with word fabrication, and comprise 75 percent of our research…This category, which has to do with a linguistic phenomenon that we can call word manufacturing/fabrication, is also interesting in terms of language sociology. Furthermore we are also faced with very useful samples for social psychoanalysis. For example, [the additions] *Er* and *Man* have been really useful. (1952, 610)

Fındıkoglu maintained that syllables such as *-er* and *-man* "give off a completely anti-folkloric, anti-national, and … anti-scientific image" (ibid.), and that they provide a pitiable sight for observers of Turkey.

> The orientalists (*müsteşrik*) who know about these events and who follow them, pity us in the name of science. Because all the family names among the peoples of Europe and America are woven with national or familial folklore, with their customs and faith, with their legends and memories. But there is no folkloric or historical air to the Turk whose surname is *Denker* or *Dişmen*. (Fındıkoğlu 1952, 610)

New Turkish surnames were also criticized for being *alafranga*,[6] in contrast to names identified as authentic in texts such as Dede Korkut. *Alafranga*, which entered Ottoman usage from Italian, derives from *a la franca* (in contrast to *a la turca*).

The sequencing of names became an object of criticism by the literary scholar and teacher Nihat Sami Banarlı, who in an article in *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*, proclaimed, "Great is the mistake of those who try to adorn their names with *alafranga* surnames" (Banarlı 1950, 97). Like Fındıkoğlu, Banarlı felt dismay over what he perceived were imitative surnames and invoked the episode in the *Dede Korkut* Epic as a compass of authenticity. In this episode, the Turkish *bey* Dirse Han's 15-year-old son earns his name by fighting off a raging bull. As the young boy defeats the bull, Dede Korkut declares, "This boy has fought in Bayındır Han's [battle] fields. He has killed a Bull. Let your son's name be *Boğac*. I have given him his name, let Allah give him his age" (cited in Banarlı, from Orhan Şaik Nesri *Dede Korkut* 1938, 6).

Both Banarlı and Fındıkoğlu attribute the deterioration of the name system to the exposure to Western cosmopolitanism, which corresponds to a parallel, Islamic cosmopolitanism. Banarlı holds that Islamic civilization brought a fashion of arabization [*araplaşma*] and persianization [*acemleşme*] among elites reminiscent of the Westernization [*alafrangalık*] today (Banarlı 1950, 98). The culprits in this deterioration both then and now, he argues, were not the masses, but intellectuals. The proof that the Turkish masses have sustained an undisturbed, older culture can be found in their father and lineage names, which are alive in epic poets such as Köroğlu, Demircioğlu, Dadaloğlu, and Gündeşlioğlu.

Ali Rıza Önder[7] was a jurist and folklorist. He rose in the ranks of the legal system, becoming prosecutor, then judge, and a member of the

supreme court of appeals by 1970. He was a member of the Turkish Language Association (TDK), and the Turkish Folklore, Ethnography and Tourism Association.

Name Changes Post 1930s

A legal booklet published by a prosecutor in 1949 to assist lawyers in Population and Civil Code matters indicates that numerous citizens applied to courts with petitions of surname changes. "It would not be an exaggeration to say that every family has a court case because of the recent Surname Law" (Tezmen 1949, 2). According to this author, most civil registry-related court cases involve age changes for marriage, necronym practices, or giving a newborn the name and identity of a deceased child, which has not been erased from the registers, and raising or lowering of age for marriage, expedite or delay military or education.

Another article concerning name change petitions in Kocaeli province expresses dissatisfaction with the state of Turkish surnames as lacking solidity and historical depth. Turgut Arcasoy writes in honor of Professor Gerhard Kessler, who he cites as arguing that "solid and historical family names are evidence of a nation's solid character" (Arcasoy 1949, 48). Arcasoy insists that Turkish surnames be saved from their rotten basis and be reinstalled on more solid and historical foundation. He footnotes this statement and adds that "even though my own surname has not achieved this solidity, I will soon take care of it through legal means" (ibid.). In the rest of the short article, Arcasoy provides examples of some of the name changes approved by the court in Kocaeli since 1940:

A man named *Fethi Kökçü* applied to the courts in 1940 to have the surname *Üğdül* removed from his records and replaced with *Kökçü*. He stated that the surname *Üğdül* had been issued to him in his absence, by a population official. In 1942, a man named *Şinasi Cenko* made a name change petition to the courts, claiming that he had been named *Cenko* by mistake and that he would like to take the surname *Menemencioğlu*. Another petition from the same year appears to be made by a Greek citizen, who was first named *Vardar* "by mistake," but wanted to take back his old family name of *Evrenos* (Arcasoy 1949, 49).

Surname change applications also continued in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Folklorist Saim Sakaoğlu published findings in *Turk Dili* on name changes based on a selection of newspaper announcements. Sakaoğlu provides examples of unattractive or shameful names, as well as names that are

corrected because of misspellings. Name changes from Sakaoğlu's first group, made between 1979 and 1984 in Istanbul, Erzurum, Konya, Gümüşhane, and Tokat, included the following:

Bayan (Mrs, or Ma'am) to *Abdullahoğlu* (son of Abdullah)
Burunsuz (without a nose) to *Şimşek* (lightning)
Büyükçakaloğlu (son of the big jackal) to *Turhan* (a Central Asian king)
Çırak (apprentice) to *Pakdil* (clean tongue, clean spoken)
Çöpçü (garbage man) to *Aydın* (brightness, daylight)
Dana (cow) to Demirkan (iron blood),
Deli (crazy, insane) to *Çalışkan* (hardworking)
Hıyarcı (cucumber seller) to *Hekimoğlu* (son of the doctor)
Horoz (rooster) to *Özkan* (pure blood)
Kurukafa (skull, or stupid person) to *Ulubay* (great man) (Sakaoğlu 1984, 245).

In other examples that Sakaoğlu cited, numerous applicants reclaimed local patronymic nicknames by which they were known, correcting the spelling of their name.

In 2002, according to a newspaper report citing court authorities in Şanlıurfa province's Siverek district, approximately 300 people petitioned the courts to have their surnames changed in one year. Among the names that were a source of "shame" were, *Eşşekçalan* (donkey stealer), *Delidolu* (crazy, full of craziness), *Devebakan* (camel watcher), *Boynukara* (dark neck), *Devci* (giant maker/seller), *Aç* (hungry), *Yavru* (baby), *Sinek* (fly), *Ot* (weed), *Kazma* (shovel), *Fincan* (coffee cup), *Keçi* (goat), *Yanmış* (burnt). A lawyer from the courts was quoted as saying, "Among those who are changing surnames, there are also elderly [people]. These people have carried the same names since the passing of the Surname Law. However with GAP their social status has changed, so it started to bother them more that they became a target of teasing" (http://www.hurriye-tim.com.tr/haber June 2, 2002). Güney Doğu Anadolu Projesi (GAP) or the Southeastern Anatolia Development Project was a major investment project that constructed dams in Şanlıurfa and irrigated normally dry lands to invigorate the economy of the region. The article did not specify the names that applicants had chosen to replace the old surnames.

In my visits to the population offices in Istanbul, I was able to view name change petitions made to that office in the late 1990s. Similar to the name changes listed above, these involved the changing of names which

were a source of shame to something more dignified, or the reclaiming of a minority name by a family who had been given an unattractive name in the 1930s. There were also name change petitions made by converts to Islam, and petitions made for reasons of sex-change operations and one religious conversion name change.

Names as Sites of Contestation in Turkey Today

Today, the names that citizens can be called continue to be a site where Turkish citizens make claims about their history and ethnicity and where the state articulates the limits of its tolerance. The Surname Law's stipulation of Turkish language names does not encompass proper names, but population officials have often denied requests for names in Kurdish based on Article 16 of the Population Law: "The mother and father names a child; however they may not use names that go against our national culture, our moral rules, customs and habits or which are injurious to the public" (Republic of Turkey. Law No. 1587. *Nüfus Kanunu*).

In the early 2000s, there were frequent reports in a pro-Kurdish newspaper, *Özgür Politika*, of frequent contestations of the registration of Kurdish names in provinces with high Kurdish populations.

> There is a law in Turkey that is an example of assimilation. This is a law that severs the ties to the past and aims to make you forget where you came from in a few generations. If you are Turkish, there is no problem. But if you are not…Have you ever tried to change your surname to your mother tongue? (http://www.ozgurpolitika.org/2001/09/10/hab01b.html)

The author of this article pointed out that the Surname Law and the law banning appellations, were passed on as "democratizing," that they would create a classless society, but had concealed a deeper assimilationist intention. Citizens in Turkey have a right to change their surnames, but this right does not extend to certain ethnic groups, he pointed out.

> If your surname is something like "*Tembel*, *Inek*, *Korkak*" (Lazy, Cow, or Coward) according to etiquette rules you can change this [in Turkish] to *Çalışkan*, *Aslan*, *Cesur* (Hardworking, Lion, Brave). However if you want to change your socially unacceptable surname to Kurdish, Laz, Pomak, Circassian, Georgian etc, it is not possible. (ibid.)

There is, however, an exception to the rule, continues the author. Mehdi Zana, the former mayor of Amed (Diyarbakır), applied to the courts to have his surname changed and managed to change his [Turkish] surname *Bilici* to Kurdish. This was enabled, according to the writer, by "Judge Atalay," who was Zana's friend. Aside from the above exception and a few others, including the writer's surname (Yumli), the majority of names are ones such as "*Özturk*, *Yılmaz*, *Yıldırım*, *Pişkinsüt*, or *Güzel*," or have additions on them to make them sound more Turkish (ibid.). A woman who assisted me in the Maltepe Elderly home when I was interviewing there bore an obviously Kurdish name *Rojda*. She did not seem to have trouble with it from the administration of the elderly home, but sometimes her colleagues teased her, saying, "better watch out with that name."

In 2002, the same newspaper published articles which claimed that the then Interior Minister Ruştü Kazım Yücelen had sent a classified circular to all governorships asking that they report anybody who insisted on registering Kurdish names for their children. According to the article, upon this circular, many families who wanted to register their children's Kurdish names were turned back in Amed district (Diyarbakır) (http://www.ozgurpolitka.org/2002/02/18/hab01b.html).

The release of this circular, according to the newspaper, resulted in a closer scrutiny of names that had entered the civil registry from 1985 to 2001. The gendarmerie's examination revealed that seven families had named 23 children up to age 15 with names that were *sakıncalı* (undesirable): *Beriven*, *Zilan*, *Rojda*, *Baver*, *Velat*, *Serhat*, *Kendal*, *Zinar*, *Hebun*, *Baran*, *Rojhat*, *Agit*, *Zelal*, and *Zozan*. The Dicle court of first instance then charged these seven families with giving their children names that were used as code names by the guerillas of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK). (http://www.ozgurpolitka.org/2002/03/18/hab01b.html). In 2002, a Kurdish family resorted to the European Human Rights Court, after their appeals to name their child with a Kurdish name was denied by population offices and courts. Senem Aslan's study focuses precisely on the contradictions inherent in the attitude towards Kurdish names. Just as the Turkish government liberalized its hold on Kurdish language in the 2000s following reforms to meet European membership criteria, there an incoherent state response to Kurdish name registration, especially because local registrars were not in agreement with the higher courts. The situation was further complicated as Kurdish activists insisted on revived Kurdish names or those with letters that were not in the Turkish alphabet

and found that state policies and minority activism mutually shaped each other (Aslan 2009, 2).

For Islamists, the Surname Law and the Law Abolishing Titles were, along with other Kemalist reforms, viewed as having targeted eliminating Islam and Islamic authority. In the post 1980s, critiques of the "Kemalist project" became more vocal from the ethnic and religious elements that the project had alienated. In a manner unprecedented from other types of publications on Turkey's republican history, the *Yakın Tarih Ansiklopedisi* (Encyclopedia of Recent History), published by the Islamist daily *Yeni Nesil*[8] newspaper, addressed the Kemalists from an Islamic perspective.

The encyclopedia, whose mission was to "'shed light' upon basic matters that are still considered taboo at the end of the 20th century" (Yakın Tarih Ansiklopedisi 1988, 1), included entries on the Turkish Language Reform and the Law on Appellations. The writers of this encyclopedia claimed that both of these legal measures were actually designed eliminate Islamic elements, in titles as well as in language, and underscored the contradictions inherent in the reforms. The section on the Law on Appellations began with a heading and cartoon: "Saying *paşa* is forbidden my *paşa*." Commentary under the cartoon called attention to public ignorance of the law.

> The prohibition on the words "*ağa*, *bey*, *paşa*," which we have been using for centuries. We are committing a crime every day according to the 1982 constitution. The masses did not adopt the enforced revolutions. Despite the law the people are frequently using the words, "*ağa*, *bey*, *paşa*." This law which has no validity is a mockery. (YNA 1988, 254)

The Yeni Nesil writers claimed that the Language Reform and the Law on Appellations were measures to target Islamic language and practices, but that they were ineffective in eradicating the everyday language of the masses.

While Turkist writers like Fındıkoğlu and Banarlı criticized the Language Reform and the Surname Law's incompatibility with popular customs through claims of authenticity of local culture, the Islamist writers, positioned in a post-1980 military coup political atmosphere, focused on Islamic culture as a target of language and titles reforms. In a column that blasted the enforcement of the alphabet reform by Atatürk's successor İsmet İnönü, Burhan Bozgeyik described how İnönü had spied on MPs in parliament after the alphabet reform, checking their pocket notebooks to

make sure they were not secretly writing in the Arabic alphabet. "Not only ordinary citizens but scholars and statesmen became illiterate, ignorant people. Reading and writing in Islamic letters was forbidden everywhere. Civil servants had to take exams on the new alphabet and many of them were fired for not being 'successful'" (YNA, 245).

Notes

1. For a scathing, smart and amusing description of this union's 1948 conference, see Bedia Akarsu 1948 Muallimler Birliği Dil Kongresi, *Sosyoloji Dergisi*. Cilt 2(4–5): 280–288.

2. For further reading on this Society, see Hilmi Ozan Özavcı. 2015. Opposition to Authoritarianism: The Society for the Dissemination of Free Ideas and the Road to Democracy in Turkey. *Turkish Studies* 16(2): 161–177.

3. Burhan Aydın, a member of the Hür Fikirleri Yayma Cemiyeti (HFYC), made a speech in 1948 defending the use of *Osmanlıca*, protesting the Turkish Language Association and the process of simplifying the language, which needs to be done not by arbitrary people but by poets and scholars (Akarsu 1948, 282).

4. A similar debate was held, with more success, in Iceland, where a "heated discussion" unfolded at the beginning of the twentieth century about whether Iceland should keep a patronymic system or adopt fixed surnames. Fixed surnames were not seen to be suited to the Icelandic linguistic system. See Kendra Willson. 2002. "Political Inflections: Grammar and the Icelandic Surname Debate."

5. For a mapping study on changes to village names, see Harun Tunçel 2000 (in Turkish), and for a detailed study of "toponymical engineering" conducted in four waves from 1915 to the 1990s, including the work of the *Ad Değiştirme İhtisas Kurulu* (Expert Commission for name change) appointed in the late 1950s by the General Directorate for Provincial Administration to suggest Turkish alternatives to various place names, ultimately changing 30 percent of the 45,000 village names in Turkey, see Öktem (2008).

6. and which is contrasted in contemporary usage with *alaturka*.

7. http://www.hukukihaber.net/ali-riza-onder-biyografi,14.html.

8. The *Yeni Nesil* daily was published by the Nur Movement. For further reading on Islamist groups in Turkey, see Ahmet Yükleyen. 2008. "Sufism and Islamic Groups in Contemporary Turkey," in Reşat Kasaba, ed. *Cambridge History of Turkey*, Vol. 4. 381–388.

Bibliography

Akarsu, Bedia. 1948. Muallimler Birliği Dil Kongresi [Language Congress of the Teacher's Association]. *Sosyoloji Dergisi* 2 (4–5): 280–288.

Arcasoy, Turgut. 1949. Sosyolojik Araştırmalar: Aile Ismi Tashihi Hareketleri [Sociological Research: Family Name Change Movements]. İŞ, Sayı 89, Cilt XV, 48–51.

Banarlı, Nihad Sami. 1950. Türklerde Soyadı [Surnames among the Turks]. Türk Folklor Araştırmaları. Sayı 7: 97–98.

Fındıkoğlu Z. Fahri. 1942. Ziya Gökalp ve Aile Adlarımız [Ziya Gökalp and our Family Names] Türk Yurdu ayrı basım, 3–13. Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası.

———. 1952. Türk Folklorunda İsim Meselesi [The matter of names in Turkish folkore]. Türk Folklor Araştırmaları II/39.

———. 1961. Milletlerarası Onomastic Kongresi [The International Congress of Onomastics]. İş ve Düşünce. XXVII/233.

Öktem, Kerem. 2008. The Nation's Imprint: Demographic Engineering and the Change of Toponymes in Republican Turkey. *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, Thematic Issue No. 7, Demographic Engineering—Part I. http://www.ejts.org/document2243.html

Önder, Ali Rıza. 1968. Soyadlarımız Üzerine [On our surnames]. Türk Dili. [Turkish Language], Sayı 201: 307–317.

Sadoğlu, Hüseyin, and Zafer Toprak. 2009. Nationalism and Language Policy in Turkey. Text of Talk Delivered at the Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Center, Apr 18, 2009, 1–20. http://www.obarsiv.com/pdf/huseyinsadoglu_nb.pdf

Sakaoğlu, Saim. 1984. Soyadlarımız Üzerine [On Our Surnames]. *Türk Dili* XLVIII (385–396): 243–249.

Tezmen, Naim. 1949. Öz Ad Soyadı ve Yaş Düzeltme Davaları [Court Cases to Change Names, Surnames and Age]. Istanbul: Şaka Matbaası.

Yakın Tarih Ansiklopedisi [The Encyclopedia of Recent History]. 1988. *Yeni Nesil Gazetesi*. Cağaloğlu: Acar Matbaacılık.

The Legacy of the Surname Law and Defensive Nationalism in the Twenty-First Century

Coinciding with the Language Reform's search for a purified language, the Law left behind it a plethora of words collected during a time of zealous language planning. Many words collected during the language reform never made it into daily spoken or written usage, but their traces remain in the surnames people chose, or those that officials assigned. Efdal Sevinçli describes these surnames as "Revolution Words," and maintains that these are "words whose meaning is forgotten even by the bearers, but which define our identities" (Sevinçli 2011, 2). Since the enforcement of the law in the 1930s, many families have taken their cases to court to reclaim old family names, or to claim a more flattering name.

Names are clearly "objects of exchange" in a political economy of language (Irvine 1989, 250). In a moral economy, their bestowal or their stripping can diminish or confer pride.

As intangible objects with moral value, surnames also move between statuses of candidacy, value, and disuse akin to Igor Kopytoff's formulation of the way commodities have their stages of being (1986, 13). As language items collected from the folk or culled from manuscripts, pieces of language become candidates for being used as emblems of the self. The conferral of the language item as a name, in a baptismal event, creates a discursive regularity (Agha 2003)—a pairing of surname and referent within a particular relationship of exchange. Speech chain networks do a number of things to surnames. In my interviewee, Mahmut Tüzün's example, the speech chain formed in schools, and other bureaucracies binds the family further to a name that replaced a 500-year-old name.

Unlike material objects, a surname cannot be easily abandoned without consequences in bureaucracy. For an upwardly mobile family in Şanlıurfa, the increasing circulation of an unattractive name in speech chain networks created a motivation to divest from the ugly name and adopt a name that fit their new socioeconomic status. The unattractive family name was perceived to be stigmatizing during the process of social mobility.

In his monograph on the ethno-secular boundaries of Turkish nationalism, Ahmet Yıldız argues that Kemalist nationalism discriminated against those who would insist on being openly different from the constructed majority (2001, 18). This defensive nationalism is also well noted by others whose work is focused on the Kemalist policies and their consequences (Çağaptay 2006; Makal 1999). The period between 1929 and 1938 stands out with a defensive nationalist perspective that emphasizes membership in the Republic through racial lineage (Yıldız 2001, 17). As other scholars of the late Ottoman era and early Republic period have observed, (1924–1929) is marked by a radical rupture with religion and the abandonment of pluralist discourse that is militant, secular, relegating religion to "consciences and temples" (ibid., 17). We see this ethno-secular shift occurring in the changing approaches to names and the terminology of names as it evolves, from the 1920s into the 1930s.

As Chapter 2 showed, the repertoire of acceptable Turkish names drew from the scholarship of Turcologists, Sinologists, linguists, archeologists, historians, and onomastic science, just as the organization and registration of the populace originally drew from French experts. The ethno-secular strain can be seen in the language reform as well. While earlier simplification of Turkish was more pragmatic, the reform phase in the 1930s is marked by what Sadoğlu calls a more serious defensive nationalist political mission which seeks complete rupture.

As excerpts from parliament debates quoted in Chapter 3 demonstrate, a nationalism bound up with Islam informs a proposal by Besim (Atalay) to change place names of Anatolia to national names. By the early 1930s, when children in a Galata school change names, the Turkish boys with Islamic names get new names along with the non-Muslim students. Members of parliament uphold diverging criteria for membership in the national community, with some, like Interior Minister Şükrü Kaya advocating an assimilationist membership, and others arguing for a more civic cultural nationalism.

Once the law was published and set in motion, it fell to the local officials to make sure that citizens both came to the population offices and also registered appropriate surnames.

Chapter 4 opens up the social life of the law, starting with the intermediaries, the language brokers, experts, and enthusiasts of language who published booklets with lists of names and surname generator methods. In the petitions and documents from the population office, meanwhile, we see how registry officials applied some of the surname generation principles in order to make sure that there were no duplicate names. These selected documents convey some of the interactions between officials and citizens and we also see that citizens returned multiple times.

Law, as Cover says, begins and ends in narrative (1983). As Chapter 5 shows, the surnames adopted by each family became part of the story of their positioning. Surnames were ignored, appropriated, constructed, and translated. They became shields or camouflage, or fierce names to brandish. Through the traffic-habits of schools and their communities, they became attached to fathers and their children.

Chapter 6 is based on interviews conducted with a selection of Armenian and Jewish informants. Non-Muslim minorities already had registered surnames within their communities and the law did not have any explicit stipulations regarding their status. However, the political and cultural atmosphere was heavy with a defensive national affect that perceived openly different individuals as suspicious. The defensive nationalist thread, which finds expression in the Surname Law's third article and its elaboration, was nurtured by crisis and threat. Sami Altındağ's surname was a name given by Atatürk to Sami's grandfather, who used to play in the leader's orchestra. The name, a translation of Goldberg, was given along with Turkish citizenship, so that Sami's grandfather would not lose his job under a law that limited many jobs to Turks. In the case of Armenians, name changes were more frequently made among those who were displaced from Anatolia.

While there were some debates about the Surname Law in the 1930s, it was after the 1940s that conservative nationalist critics launched their full wrath on what they perceived were destructive effects. Chapter 7 focuses on arguments among conservative nationalist critics who argued that the Surname Law was hoisted upon a populace whose customs were ignored. This chapter also goes on to describe how names continue to be a point of contention between the state and citizens in Turkey, particularly with Kurdish names being politicized. Names are also sources of conspiracy theories among particular groups, who suspect that crypto-Jewish, Armenian, or Anatolian Greek, or Alevi ethnicity lurks under names. While conspiracy theories may fuel some of these collective feelings, there is also

gradual historical evidence that people have ancestry that is different from what they had assumed. When I was doing my research on surnames in the late 1990s, I met a Turcology expert from Korea who told me that he knew about a conservative nationalist member of parliament who decided to look into his lineage, only to discover that one generation back, his ancestors had been Armenian. At the moment of publication there are studies of Islamicized Armenians, and more in-depth studies of members of non-Muslim groups (Altınay and Türkyılmaz 2011; Altınay and Çetin 2014).

The introduction to a volume named Encyclopedia of Nicknames and Lineages (*Lakap-Sülale Ansiklopedisi*) has an interesting note that illustrates an underlying anxiety about the possibilty of discovering surprises in one's lineage. The author, an independent researcher, has compiled a volume on the names and biographies of a broad range of lineages. "Some individuals have abstained from providing their lineages because of the fact, or assumption of a Greek-Armenian-Christian lineage. Because of this, even though I located more than 100 nickname and lineage names, I did not include over 25 thousand in this piece" (Üçüncüoğlu 2005, 9).

He began the work for the volume with an interest in his own lineage and then continued on the research for the book. His volume is based on the Ottoman Archives, Cadastral, and Census (Tapu, Tahrir) Registers of Important Affairs (Mühimme Defterleri), Kuyud-i Kadime Registers, Internet sites, and individual interviews with a range of individuals in 70 provinces and 500 districts (10).

> Even though I located over 50 thousand lineages and nicknames in my research and face to face interviews, I did not include all of them here. A person has to put aside their fear of other religions, beliefs and see all of the cultures that he inhabits. How do you see another person? You should know that others see you with the same eyes. It is not important that one's past has religions and peoples like Rum, Christian, Armenian, Hungarian, German, Religious, nonreligious. What is important are the values one carries within. (10)

He writes that he found that in the Black Sea, there are families named Hacıoğlu (son of the pilgrim) used by Muslim and Greek families. He indicates that when he wrote about this finding in his book on Trabzon-Gümüşhane, he received a lot of criticism. He describes how the term *hacı* would be used for pilgrims to Izmir's Selçuk (probably Mary's house) and to Trabzon's Sümela Monastery.

> There are many families who have taken Greek surnames and later changed these not only in the Black Sea but all over Turkey. It doesn't make sense to say, "Is our lineage Rum?" and become excited and aggressive when one discovers a Rum and Muslim in one's surname. One of our citizens in Sürmene called me on the telephone and told me he would take me to court on the grounds that his family name Hacısalihoğulları is Turkish and Muslim, saying, how dare you allege that our lineage is of Rum origin. His attitude comes from the fact that he has not researched his own lineage.

The writer then goes on to describe how that family is actually originally from the Kuman Turks, and was a Greek who was a crypto, indicating the family's original ethnicity is Turkic. Identities in Turkey are lodged within each other like *matrushka*,[1] and part of Turkishness is informed by an anxiety over origins.

A recent change of name case which went to the Constitutional Court to argue for the cancellation of the phrase "foreign races and nations" in Article 3 of the Surname Law was eventually denied on the grounds that the contested phrase functioned to create national unity. A Syrian Christian named Favlus Ay applied to the Midyat Civil Court of First Instance to change his name to Paulus Bartuma. His lawyer claimed that Article 10 of the Turkish Constitution granted equality to all individuals and held that state organs and administrative authorities should act in compliance with the principle of equality before the law. He claimed that the Surname Law's Article 3 forbidding the taking of the names of foreign races and nations was in contradiction with Article 10 of the Constitution granting equality before the law. The plaintiff's lawyer proposed the cancellation of the phrase "foreign race and nations" from the law since it was incompatible with other articles on citizenship. Of the 17 members who attended the final vote, 8 members voted to eliminate the phrase, and 9 voted to keep it. The court used "teleological interpretation" to conclude that the contested article contributed to "create national unity and wholeness among citizens" (Turinay). As Turinay points out, the higher court interpreted Article 10's principle of equality to mean "legal equality." According to that court, Article 10 prohibits the violation of the principle of equality of persons and communities who are equal before the law, and states: "Equality before the law does not mean that everyone will be subject to the same rules. Some special situations among individuals and communities may require different rules and practices. If the same legal rules are applied to the same situations, and different rules applied to differing situ-

ations, then the principle of equality in the Constitution will not be damaged" (cited in Turinay). The higher court, legally limited the meaning of Article 10 to juridical equality, and ruled that it is legal that "depending on their situations" some persons and communities can be subject to different rules (Turinay 2014, 41).

In February, 2004, the late journalist Hrant Dink wrote a column that became a source of national controversy. In a column supported by interviews and documents, he claimed that Sabiha Gökçen, Turkey's first female pilot, adopted and raised by Atatürk, was actually an Armenian orphan named Hatun Sebilciyan. What unfolded in the following three years, warnings by authorities, and threats to his life, led to his assassination in broad daylight on January 19, 2007. For many years, Sabiha Gökçen was proudly promoted as the modern woman pilot whose surname was given by Atatürk. A figure in the Armenian community who tried to bridge the diaspora Armenians, Turkish Armenians, and the Turkish government, Dink's biggest provocation was to discover evidence that Turkey's first female pilot, Sabiha Gökçen, was originally an Armenian orphan adopted by the nation's founder. In Turkey, names continue to be a performer and concealer of identity, both masks and pathways to its multi-ethnic legacy.

In his seminal article, "Nomos and Narrative," Robert Cover introduces the concepts of jurisgenesis and jurispathic—two notions that help us to open the process of making the Surname Law in the context of the Republic reforms. In Cover's view, the world is rife with law, from the nomos (or norms) of groups within societies, something he calls jurisgenesis. Law making, or making a judgment, therefore, is not a process of construction, but of elimination, or what he calls a jurispathic act. We could loosely extend this idea to the creation of the national community, a process by which certain norms, cultural forms, and ethnicities are chosen over others and codified and enforced.

This study demonstrated through selected publications and interviews the pathways through which the Surname Law of 1934 entered individual lives and families. By enforcing the usage of Turkish language names, the law contributed to the ideal of the homogenized Turkish nation. According to Emmanuel Szurek, "the anthroponymic norm represented a more effective vehicle for the introduction of the national than the incantation of any kind of discursive political propaganda, or indeed of any social labeling via the transformation of collective nouns" (Szurek 2013). Introduced as a nationalizing reform, the law entered into lives and was appropriated as bestowal, opportunity, concealment, insult,

honor, or modernity. Although names and surnames are standardized and fixed by laws, recent changes in Turkish laws have made it easier for citizens to alter names by applying directly to the population registry. As part of a domestic security package, the ruling Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi) introduced a bill in 2014 that allows citizens to directly petition the population registry office to change their family name rather than apply to a court with a lawsuit. Like "anything intended for exchange" (Appadurai), names accumulate and maintain value, stigma, especially in heightened political crisis. The political atmosphere in Turkey during the completion of this book saw many people applying to registries to change given names or surnames that may implicate them with groups or personalities deemed politically undesirable. As Turkey and the region goes through historical changes, the legacy of the Kemalist reforms and the Surname Law's allowances and restrictions continue to be relevant.

Notes

1. A set of hollow brightly painted wooden dolls of different sizes nestled in one another.

Bibliography

Agha, Asif. 2003. The Social Life of Cultural Value. *Language and Communication* 23 (3–4): 231–273.

Çagaptay, Soner. 2006. *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who is a Turk?* London: Routledge Press.

Cover, Robert M. 1983. The Supreme Court, 1982 Term—Foreword: Nomos and Narrative. Faculty Scholarship Series. Paper 2705. http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/fss_papers/2705

Irvine, Judith. 1989. When Talk isn't Cheap: Language and Political Economy. *American Ethnologist* 16 (2): 248–267.

Makal, Ahmet. 1999. *Türkiye'de tek partili dönemde çalışma ilişkileri: 1920–1946* [Labor Relations in Turkey During the Single Party Era]. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları.

Sevinçli, Efdal. 2011. Adlarımızda Soyadlarımızda Yaşayan Dil Devrimi [The Language Revolution that Lives in our Names and Surnames]. *Journal of Yaşar University* 1 (2): 277–292.

Turinay, Faruk. 2014. Yabancı Irk ve Millet İsimlerinin Soyadı Olarak Kullanılması Yasağı ve Bir Anayasa Mahkemesi Kararının İncelenmesi [The Ban of the use of

Foreign Race and Nation Surnames and the Examination of a Court Decision of the Constitutional Court].

Üçüncüoğlu, Güngör A. 2005. Tarihsel Süreçten Soyadı Kanununa Lakap-Sülale Ansiklopedisi [Lakap-Lineage Encyclopedia, from Historical Process to the Surname Law]. Koza Davetiye Matbaası.

Yıldız, Ahmet. 2001. *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene: Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etno-seküler Sınırları (1919–1938)* [So Happy is Who He Can Call Himself A Turk: The Ethno-Secular Boundaries of Turkish National Identity]. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Appendix A: Soy Adı Kanunu
(The Surname Law)

Republic of Turkey, Law 2525, 6.21.1934

I. Every Turk must carry his surname in addition to his proper name.

II. The personal name comes first and the surname comes second in speaking, writing, and signing.

III. It is forbidden to use surnames that are related to military rank and civil officialdom, to tribes and foreign races and ethnicities, as well as surnames which are not suited to general customs or which are disgusting or ridiculous.

IV. The husband, who is the leader of the marital union, has the duty and right to choose the surname. In the case of the annulment of marriage or in cases of divorce, even if a child is under his mother's custody, the child shall take the name that his father has chosen or will choose. This right and duty is the wife's if the husband is dead and his wife is not married to somebody else, or if the husband is under protection because of mental illness or weakness, and the marriage is still continuing. If the wife has married after the husband's death, or if the husband has been taken into protection because of the reasons in the previous article, and the marriage has also declined, this right and duty belongs to the closest male blood relation on the father's side, and the oldest of these, and in their absence, to the guardian.

V. Those who are of age are free to choose their surname. In the case where a person of age has been taken into custody for reasons of mental illness or mental weakness, his name shall be chosen by his father, in his absence, his mother, and in her absence, his guardian.

VI. On the recommendation of the highest civil official, the Republican public prosecutor may request those whose names go against the prohibitions in Article III to change these, or those who use the names of prominent historical figures to change these, and can ask the court to prohibit the use of those names. Those titles which have been given by law are exceptions to this article.

VII. From the publication of this law, those who either do not have surnames or those who wish to change their surnames, must declare their names for registration and population registries in the manner designated by the government within two years of the publication of this law. Every document that is given for this matter will be excluded from stamp fee.

VIII. The authority to resolve disputes arising in surname choice processes and to give names to those who have not chosen one of their own accord and to orphans and to decide whether a name is suited to the form demanded by the law belongs to the highest civil official where the main registry is located.

IX. Governors and district governors are authorized to employ suitable civil servants in other state offices to assist in population offices until the work is finished.

X. Those who wish to change their surnames after the time period designated by this law are subject to the articles concerning this in the civil code.

XI. District governors and governors may penalize those officials who have been neglectful in registering surnames into population registries and birth certificates by cutting their salaries. District governors can cut one week of salaries while governors can cut up to fifteen days. These decisions are final and cuts will be made from the first salary that's to be paid.

XII. Those who don't notify officials of their surnames in the time period designated by the law will be charged a light monetary penalty of five to fifteen lira. Aldermen and members of elders committee who have been neglectful in the duty to be given

them by the government will receive a penalty from ten lira to fifty lira. These penalties are given by the local administrative delegations and are confirmed by governors or district governors.

XIII. A regulation showing the application of this law shall be created.

XIV. This law will go into force six months after its publication.

XV. The interior ministry is entrusted with the task of enforcing this law.

Appendix B: Soy adi nizamnamesi (The Surname Regulation)[1]

Section I: Special Judgments

Article 1: Every Turk must carry a surname separate from his proper name (*öz ad*). Those without surnames must choose a surname and register these in population registers and birth certificates by 2/7/1936.

Article 2: In speaking, writing, and signature, the proper name comes first, and the surname last. Just as it is acceptable to spell out all the letters of the proper name and surname, in speaking, writing or signing, it is also permissible to use solely the surname without the proper name, and in a signature the first letter of the proper name, and if there are two proper names, the first letters of each name, or only the initial of one name and the other spelled, and the surname written in full.

Article 3: According to Article 30, governors or district governors will choose the surnames of those who fail to choose and register a surname in the population records by 2/7/1936. From this day on if surnames are not written in the population registry they may not be used. Changes made in surnames will not be counted until they are written in the population register.

Article 4: According to the stipulations of the Kanuni Medeni (Civil Code), surnames can be changed with a court decision. Those who have registered or unregistered surnames from before the publication of the law, can change and take a new surname by 2/7/1936; however those who have changed their old surname or those who took new surnames may not change these without a court decision.

Section II: The Surname

Article 5: The new surnames must be taken from the Turkish language.

Article 6: The surname can be used either alone or with the *-oğlu* (son of) ending. It is mandatory to use the *-oğlu* ending in names referring to historically prominent people and legally given titles.

Article 7: It is forbidden to add endings or words such as *yan, of, ef, viç, iç, is, dis, pulos, aki, zade, mahdumu, veled*, and *bin* referring to other ethnicities, or taken from another language. Those endings which have been added may not be used and must be replaced with *-oğlu*.

Article 8: [Names such as] *Arnavutoglu*, *Kürtoğlu*, which in a general manner refer to another ethnic group/nation or those like *Çerkes Hasan oğlu* and *Boşnak Ibrahim oğlu* that indicate other nationalities, or those like *Zoti and Grandi* that are taken from another language may not be used or re-used.

Article 9: Names referring to tribes or clans may not be used or re-used.

Article 10: Names indicating rank and civil officialdom in the old or new state cadres may not be used or re-used.

Article 11: Names which are not suited to public morals, those which are ridiculous or insulting may not be used or re-used.

Article 12: Surnames referring to elders who have attained recognition/fame in history may not be taken unless they are supported by official regulations and documents. These [names] may not be used or re-used.

Article 13: Surnames which go against Articles 7–12 shall not be registered in registries or birth certificates. Those which are entered will be scratched out and replaced with [another name] and an explanation attached.

Article 14: Families who come from the same lineage may, if they don't have a surname or if they want to change, choose a common surname and register it in the population registers and birth certificates.

Article 15: If people who are not of the same lineage in a village, town, or city choose the same surname, the [surname of the family] who applies first will be accepted and the other one is changed. If [the second family] insists on not changing, [their name] can be distinguished by the addition of an adjective or addition such as (*buyuk* (big), *kucuk* (small)) and be transcribed in population registries and birth certificates.

In the application of this law, each population office in the cities will be considered a town.

Exceptions to this article may occur in cases where family members in one location take the same surname as their relations in another location.

SECTION III: THE RIGHT AND DUTY TO CHOOSE THE SURNAME

Article 16: Children whose ancestry is known will carry the name of their father. Children whose ancestry is not known take the surname of their mother. Only if the father recognizes them, or if there is a decision by a judge can these children take their father's name.

Article 17: The adopted child shall take the surname of the one who adopted [him/her]. If the adoption agreement is annulled, the adopted child shall take his own father's surname.

Article 18: When women marry, they leave their father's surname and take their husband's.

Article 19: The woman who remarries shall take her new husband's surname from the day she marries him, and cannot ever return to her old husband's surname again.

Article 20: The woman whose marriage has deteriorated, or who is divorced cannot use her husband's name after the [deterioration] or the divorce.

Article 21: The father who has children who are minors, whether they reside with him or not, must choose surnames and register them in population registers and birth certificates.

These children are obligated to use this name.

The child who has come of age is free to choose his own surname.

Married women's husbands shall choose their surnames and transcribe them into the population registers.

Article 22: In the case of the annulment of marriage or of divorce, even if the child stays with the mother, the right and duty of selecting a surname for the children belongs to the father.

Article 23: If the father has died and his wife has not remarried, or if the father is under supervision because of mental illness or weakness and the marriage is still continuing, the right and duty to give surnames to the children and have these transcribed into the population register shall belong to the mother. However if the father has a name that is already registered, the mother cannot change it.

Article 24: If the mother has remarried on the death of the father or if the father has been taken under custody because of mental illness or weakness and the marriage has declined, the duty and right to choose a surname and transcribe it into the population registry shall go to the nearest male relative of the father and of these, the oldest, and if there is no adult male blood-relation, then [this right belongs to] the guardian.

Article 25: If an adult child is under custody because of mental illness or weakness, his father shall choose his surname and have it transcribed in the population registry; if he has no father, his mother, and if no mother, then his guardian shall do this.

Article 26: The family chief is responsible for transcribing into the population registry the surname chosen by those blood, step, or in-law relations (mother, father, grandfather, and siblings) and other blood or proximate relations living in a house.

Of these relatives, those not of the same lineage may not be given the same surname.

If there is nobody else carrying the responsibility of assigning a surname to those relatives who are not of legal age, or who are mentally ill or weak, the family chief shall have the population officials on duty select a name and have it inscribed in the population register. However, those who are not of legal age and who are ill, may change their surnames when they become of legal age, or when they regain their health with a court decision.

Article 27: Children who have no mother, father, or other male blood relations, or those whose blood relations exist but are under custody because of mental illness or weakness, shall be assigned a surname by their guardian, who will transcribe this into the population register.

The surnames of adults who are under custody because of mental illness or weakness shall also be chosen by their guardians and transcribed into the population register.

Article 28: Surnames for those children who have neither male blood relations from their father's or mother's side nor a guardian, or those children whose mother and father are not known shall be selected by aldermen and members of the delegation of village elders; municipal representatives shall assign surnames with the approval of the district governor in neighborhoods, and with the approval of the governors in provincial centers and transcribe these into the population registers.

Article 29: The children in Articles 27 and 28 may change the names that have been given to them when they come of legal age by applying to the court.

Article 30: Governors, district governors, or those delegated by these officials shall choose the surnames of those who have not selected a surname by 2/7/1936 and transcribe these into the registers. These people are obligated to carry the surnames that have thus been selected.

Article 31: Conflicts that may arise between those who would see themselves as the rightful person to select surnames for others, according to the Surname Law and this regulation, will be categorically resolved by district governors in provincial subdivisions and by governors or those who they would delegate in provincial centers and in the villages attached to these centers.

Republic of Turkey, Law No. 2590

Law on the abolition of such appellations and titles as efendi, bey, and pasha

Article 1: Appelations and titles such as *Ağa, Hacı, Hafız, Hoca, Molla, Efendi, Bey Beyefendi, Paşa, Hanım, Hanımefendi*, and *Hazretleri* are abolished. Male and female citizens shall be known to the law and in official documents only with their names.

Article 2: Civil ranks and official decorations and medals are abolished and the use of these ranks, decorations, and medals is abolished. Medals of war are an exception. Turks may also not carry the decorations of foreign states.

Article 3: [This article provides details of military titles in the army and navy]

Notes

1. Resmi Gazete, 20 Kanunuevvel, 1934, (Official Gazette, Dec 20, 1934).

Bibliography

Adler, Curtis. 1954. Name Changes in Israel. *Names: Journal of the American Name Society* II (1): 38–39.

Adler, Max K. 1978. *Naming and Addressing: A Sociolinguistic Study*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.

Agha, Asif. 2003. The Social Life of Cultural Value. *Language and Communication* 23 (3–4): 231–273.

Ahmad, Feroz. 1982. Unionist Relations with the Greek, Armenian and Jewish Communities of the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1914. In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, vol. I, 401–434. New York/London: Holmes & Meier.

———. 2003. *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. Oneworld: Oxford.

Akalın, Müslüm. 2007. Lakap'tan Soyadına [From Nickname to Surname]. *Şanlıurfa Barosu Dergisi*, Aralık.

Akar, Rıdvan. 1998. Bir Bürokratın Kehaneti ya da 'Bir resmi metin'den Planlı Türkleştirme Dönemi [A Bureaucrat's Prophecy, or the Planned Turkification Era Based on "An Official Document"]. *Birikim* 110: 68–75.

Akarsu, Bedia. 1948. Muallimler Birliği Dil Kongresi [Language Congress of the Teacher's Association]. *Sosyoloji Dergisi* 2 (4–5): 280–288.

Akçam, Taner. 2012. *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Akgönül, Samim. 2004. Les Grecs d'Istanbul dans les années 1930s. *Deltio* 14: 203–278.

———. 2006. *De la nomination en turc actuel: Appartenances, perceptions, croyances*. Istanbul: Isis éditions.

Akın, Yiğit. 2007. Reconsidering State, Party and Society in Early Republican Turkey: Politics of Petitioning. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39: 435–457.

Akman, Ayhan. 1998. From Cultural Schizophrenia to Modernist Binarism: Cartoons and Identities in Turkey (1930–1975). In *Political Cartoons in the Middle East*, ed. Fatma Müge Göcek, 83–132. Markus Wiener Publishers.

Aksan, Virginia. 2005–6. Ottoman to Turk: Continuity and Change. *International Journal* 61 (1): 19–38.

Aksu, Ibrahim. 2006. *The Story of Turkish Surnames: An Onomastic Study of Turkish Family Names, Their Origins, and Related Matters*. Vol. 1. Çanakkale: Olay Gazete Press.

Aktar, Ayhan. 1996. Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Uygulanan "Türkleştirme" Politikaları [Turkification Policies Applied in the First Years of the Republic]. *Tarih ve Toplum* 156: 324–338.

Alford, D. Richard. 1988. *Naming and Identity: A Cross Cultural Study of Personal Naming Practices*. New Haven: HRAF Press.

Alia, Valerie. 1994. *Names, Numbers, and Northern Policy: Inuit, Project Surname, and the Politics of Identity*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

———. 2006. Introduction: Towards a Theory of Political Onomastic – A Personal Reflection. In *Names and the Nunavut: Culture and Identity in the Inuit Homeland*, ed. V. Alia, 1–16. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Altınay, Ayşegül, and Fethiye Çetin. 2014. *The Grandchildren: The Hidden Legacy of 'Lost' Armenians in Turkey*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Altınay, Ayşe Gül, and Yektan Türkyılmaz. 2011. Unraveling Layers of Silencing: Converted Armenian Survivors of the 1915 Catastrophe. In *Untold Histories of the Middle East: Recovering Voices from the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Amy Singer, Christoph Neumann, and Selcuk Aksin Somel, 25–53. London: Routledge.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991 (Revised reprint). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed. London/New York: Verso.

Antoun, Richard T. 1968. On the Significance of Names in an Arab Village. *Ethnology* 7 (2): 158–170.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1988. Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. A. Appadurai, 3–63. Cambridge University Press.

Artan, Gündüz. 1994. *Tanzimattan Günümüze Takma Ad, Soyadi, Rumuz Dizinleri* [Directories of Pseudonyms, Surnames and Nicknames from the Tanzimat to Our Day], Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği İçel Şubesi Yayınları: 1. İçel.

Aslan, Senem. 2007. "Citizen, Speak Turkish!": A Nation in the Making. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 13 (2): 245–272.

———. 2009. Incoherent State: The Controversy over Kurdish Naming in Turkey. *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 10. https://ejts.revues.org/4142

Ata, Aysu. 2012. Günümüzde Türkoloji Öğretiminin İçinde Bulunduğu Sorunlar [Problems in the Current Teaching of Turcology]. *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Türkoloji Dergisi* 19 (1): 169–180.

Atabaki, Touraj, and Erik Zürcher, eds. 2003. *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization Under Atatürk and Reza Shah.* London: I.B. Taurus.

Atabek, Reşat Osman (Rechat Osman). 1934. *Le Nom des Personnes dans les Codes civils Suisse et Turc.* These presenté a la Faculté de droit de l'Universite de Geneve pur obtenir le grade de docteur en droit. Imprimerie Georges Thone, Liege.

Atalay, Besim. 1935. *Türk Büyükleri veya Türk Adları* [Turkish Heroes, or Turkish Names]. Istanbul: Devlet Basımevi.

Atsız, Bedriye. 1984. Lakaplar [Nicknames]. *Tarih ve Toplum* 11: 26–28.

Aurore, Sylvain. 1984. *La linguistique fantastique.* Paris: Denoel.

Aytürk, İlker. 2004. Turkish Linguists Against the West: The Origins of Linguistic Nationalism in Atatürk's Turkey. *Middle Eastern Studies* 40 (6): 1–25.

———. 2008. The First Episode of Language Reform in Republican Turkey: The Language Council from 1926 to 1931. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Series 3* 18 (3): 275–293.

———. 2011. The Racist Critics of Atatürk and Kemalism from the 1930s to the 1960s. *Journal of Contemporary History* 46 (2): 308–335.

Baer, Mark David. 2010. *The Dönme: Jewish Converts, Muslim Revolutionaries, and Secular Turks.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bali, Rıfat. 1999. *Cumhuriyet Yıllarında Turkiye Yahudileri: Bir Türkleştirme Serüveni, 1923–1945* [Turkey's Jews During the Republican Years: A Turkification Adventure]. Istanbul: Iletişim Yayınları, Tarih Dizisi 3.

Başgöz, Ilhan. 1976. Epiteth in Prose Epic: The Book of My Grandfather Korkut. In *Folklore Today: A festschrift for Richard Dorson*, ed. Linda Degh, Henry Glassie, and Felix Oinas. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———. 1978. Folklore Studies and Nationalism in Turkey. In *Folklore Nationalism and Politics*, ed. Felix J. Oinas. Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers.

———. 1998a. The Meaning and Dimension of Change of Personal Names in Turkey. In *Turkish Folklore and Oral Literature: Selected Essays of Ilhan Başgöz*, Turkish Studies Series L: 19, ed. Kemal Silay, 201–215. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University.

———. 1998b. The Name and Society: A Case Study of Personal Names in Turkey. In *Turkish Folklore and Oral Literature: Selected Essays of Ilhan Başgöz*, Turkish Studies Series L: 19, ed. Kemal Silay, 216–230. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University.

Bayar, K.Ş. 1935. *Öz Türkçe Adlar ve Sözler (Yeni Soy adları)* [Names and Words in Öz Türkçe (New Surnames)]. Istanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi.

Bayar, Yeşim. 2014. *Formation of the Turkish Nation-State, 1920–1938.* NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bayerle, Gustav. 1997. *Pashas, Begs and Effendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire*. Istanbul: ISIS Press.

Behnan, Enver. 1935a. *Türk Soyadı: 3396 Türk Adı* [The Turkish Surname: 3396 Turkish Names]. Köyhocası Matbaası: Maarif Kitabevi.

Behnan, (Şapolyo) Enver. 1935b. *Türk Soyadı: 3396 Turk adı* [The Turkish Surname: 3396 Turkish Names] Maarif Kitab evi sahibi Tarık. Ankara: Köyhocası Matbaası.

Beider, Alexander. 1996. *A Dictionary of Jewish Surnames from the Kingdom of Poland*. Teaneck, NJ: Avotaynu.

Berkes, Niyazi, Trans. & ed. 1959. *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*. Introduction by Niyazi Berkes. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

———. (1964)1998. *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*. (Montreal: McGill University Press; reprint, with a new introduction by Feroz Ahmad, London: Hurst and Company).

Billy, Pierre-Henri. 2000. Dés prénoms révolutionnaires en France. *Annales historique de la Révolution Française* 322 (1): 39–60.

Bilmez, Bülent. 2011. A Nationalist Discourse of Heroism and Treason: The Construction of an Official Image of Çerkes Ethem (1886–1948). In *Untold Histories of the Middle East: Recovering Voices from the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Amy Singer, Selçuk Akşin Somel, and Christoph K. Neumann, 106–123. London: Routledge.

Bloch, Marc. 1932. Noms de personne et histoire social, in *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*. IV [compte rendu de l'ouvrage de K. Michaelsson, *Etude sur les noms de personnes francais d'apres les roles de taille parisiens* (roles de 1292, 1296–1300, 1313), Uppsala, 1927 et 1936], p 67–69.

Bouquet, Olivier. 2007. *Les Pachas du sultan: Essai sur les agents supérieurs de l'État ottoman (1839–1909)*. Vol. XII. Leuven: Peeters, Collection Turcica.

———. 2010. *Onomasticon Ottomanicum*: Identification administrative et désignation sociale dans l'État ottoman du xixᵉ siècle. *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* [En ligne], 127 | juillet 2010, mis en ligne le 15 juin 2013. http://remmm.revues.org/6743. consulté le 03 avril 2017.

———. 2013. Onomasticon Ottomanicum II: Le voile de l'identité. In *Penser, agir et vivre dans l'Empire ottoman et en Turquie*, ed. Nathalie Clayer and Erdal Kaynar, 283–306. Louvain: Peeters.

Bozdoğan, Sibel ve Reşat Kasaba. 1997. *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Bozyiğit, Esat A. 1995. *Türk Adbilimi Bibliyografyası* [Bibliography of Turkish Onomastics]. Ankara: Ayyıldız Yayınları.

Braude, Benjamin, and Bernard Lewis, eds. 1982. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*. Vol. I. New York/London: Holmes & Meier.

Brayer, Marie-Ange. 1994. Du sujet aux identités nominales. Enquete sur le propre de noms. *Exposé*. No. 1, printemps/ete.

Brink-Danan, Marcy. 2010. Names that Show Time: Turkish Jews as "Strangers" and the Semiotics of Reclassification. *American Anthropologist* 112 (3): 384–396.

Brockett, Gavin. 2006. Revisiting the Turkish Revolution, 1923–1938: Secular Reform and Religious Reaction. *History Compass* 3: 1060–1072.

von Bruinessen, Martin. 1998. *Agha, Shaikh and State: Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan*. London/Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Books.

Brummett, Palmira. 1995. Dogs, Women, Cholera, and Other Menaces in the Streets: Cartoon Satire in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27: 433–460.

———. 2000. *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911*. Albany: State University of New York Press. SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East.

Brunet, Guy, Pierre Darlu, and Gianna Zei. 2001. *Le Patronyme: Histoire, Anthropologie, Societé*. Paris: CNRS Editions.

Bulliet, Richard. 1978. First Names and Political Change in Modern Turkey. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9: 489–495.

Burke, Edmund, III. 1993. Middle Eastern Societies and Ordinary People's Lives. In *Struggle and Survival in the Modern Middle East*, ed. Edmund Burke, 1–27. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. ed. 1993. *Struggle and Survival in the Middle East*. Los Angeles/Berkeley: University of California Press.

Burnard, Trevor. 2001. Slave Naming Patterns: Onomastics and the Taxonomy of Race in Eighteenth Century Jamaica. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XXXI (3): 325–346.

Çagaptay, Soner. 2006. *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who is a Turk?* London: Routledge Press.

Çalık, Kemal M. 1989. *Turk Ad ve Soyadı Sözlüğü* [A Dictionary of Turkish Names and Surnames]. Istanbul: Kastas A.S. Yayınları.

Caplan, Jane, and John Torpey. 2001. *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World*. Princeton, NJ/Chichester: Princeton University Press.

Cengiz, Bilal. 2011. *Türk Hukukunda Ad ve Adın Değiştirilmesi* [Names and Change of Names in Turkish Law]. Ankara: Adalet Yayınevi.

Çeviker, Turgut. 1986. *Gelişim Sürecinde Türk Karikatürü: Tanzimat Dönemi, 1867–1878 ve İstibdat Dönemi, 1878–1908*. (The Evolution of Turkish Caricature; The Reform (1867–1878) and Autocracy (1878–1908) Periods). İstanbul: Adam.

———. 1991. *Gelişim Sürecinde Türk Karikatürü III: Kurtuluş Savaşı Dönemi, 1918–1923* [The Development of Turkish Caricature III: The War of Independence Period, 1918–1923]. Maslak, İstanbul: Adam Yayinlari

Chazon, Robert. 1982. Names: Medieval Period and Establishment. of Surnames. *Encyclopedia Judaica* 12: 809–813. Jerusalem/Philadelphia: Keter Publishers and Canonet Books.

Chehabi, Houchang. 2012. The Reform of Iranian Nomenclature and Titulature in the Fifth Majles. In *Converging Zones: Persian Literary Tradition and the Writing of History: Studies in Honor of Amin Banami*, ed. Wali Ahmadi. Mazda: Costa Mesa.

Çolak, Yılmaz. 2004. Language Policy and Official Ideology in Early Republican Turkey. *Middle Eastern Studies* 40 (6): 67–91.

Cooper, R. 1989. *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cooper, Samuel. 1997. Names as Cultural Documents. In *These Are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics*, ed. Aaron Demsky, Joseph A. Reif, and Joseph Tabory, 13–22. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press.

Copeaux, Etienne. 1997. *Espaces et temps de la nation turque: analyse d'une historiographie nationaliste (1931–1993)*. Paris: CNRS Éditions.

———. 2000. Les predecesseurs medievaux d'Atatürk: Bilge kaghan et le sultan Alp Arslan. *Revue des mondes musulmanes et de la Méditeranée* 89–90: 217–243.

Cover, Robert M. 1983. The Supreme Court, 1982 Term—Foreword: Nomos and Narrative. Faculty Scholarship Series. Paper 2705. http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/fss_papers/2705

D.K.O. 1935. *Öztürkçe Seçme Soy Adları: Karşılıkları ve Manaları*. Tefeyyüz Kitaphanesi.

Dakal, Tarık. 2008. Ulusal Kimlik İnşasında Soyadı Kanunu: Devrek Örneği [The Surname Law in the Construction of National Identity: The Example of Devrek]. *Toplumsal Tarih* 177: 62–67.

Dankoff, Robert, Trans. 1983. *Wisdom of Royal Glory: A Turko-Islamic mirror for princes*. 'Kutad'gu bilig, Yusuf Kh'ass Hajib. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dauzat, Albert. 1927. La francisation des noms de famille étrangers. *Revue politique et parliamentaire*. No. 387, T. CXXX. 10 Fevrier.

Davison, Roderic. 1990. *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History, 1774–1923: The Impact of the West*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Degh, Linda. 1985a. "When I was Six We Moved West": The Theory of Personal Experience Narrative. *New York Folklore* XI/1–4: 99–108.

———. 1985b. The Theory of Personal Experience Narrative. Kvideland, Reiumund and Torunn Sellberg, (eds). 1985: *Papers III. The 8th Congress for the International Society for Folk Narrative Research*. Bergen. 233–242.

Degn, Ole. 1999. The Fixation of the Danish Patronymics in the 19th Century and the Law. *Onoma* 34: 59–76.

Delaney, Carol. 1995. Father State, Motherland, and the Birth of Modern Turkey. In *Naturalizing Power: Essays in Feminist Cultural Analysis*, ed. Sylvia Yanagisako and Carol Delaney. New York: Routledge.

Demsky, Aaron, Joseph A. Reif, and Joseph Tabory, eds. 1997. *These Are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics*. Raman Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press.

Deny, Jean. 1925. Ziya Gök Alp. *Revue du monde musulman* 61: 1–41.

Deringil, Selim. 1993. The Ottoman Origins of Kemalist Nationalism: Namık Kemal to Mustafa Kemal. *European History Quarterly* 23: 165–199. London: Sage.

———. 1998. *The Well Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909*. I.B. Taurus: London/New York.

Devai, Klara. 2006. "En Büyük Hediye," Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi. Muğla Sıtkı Koçman Üniversitesi. 115. http://sobbiad.mu.edu.tr/index.php/asd/article/viewFile/416/384. Accessed 15 December 2016. (atatürk name)

Doğaner, Yasemin. 2009. An Identity Construction in the Turkish Republic: The Law on Family Names. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 99: 113–125.

Dost-Niyego, Pınar. 2014. *Le Bon Dictateur: L'image de Mustafa Kemal Atatürk en France (1923–1938)*. Istanbul: Libra Yayınevi.

Duben, Alan. 1985. Turkish Families and Households in Historical Perspective. *Journal of Family History* 10 (1): 75–97.

Duben, Alan, and Cem Behar. 1991. *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880–1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dündar, Fuat. (1999) 2000. *Türkiye Nüfus Sayımlarında Azınlıklar* [Minorities in the Turkish Census]. 2nd ed. Çiviyazıları, Berdan Matbaası.

———. 2001. *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskan Politikası (1913–1918)*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

———. 2008. *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi: İttihat ve Terakki'nin Etnisite Mühendisliği (1913–1918)*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Eissenstat, Howard. 2014. Modernization, Imperial Nationalism, and the Ethnicization of Confessional Identity in the Late Ottoman Empire. In *Nationalizing Empires*, ed. Alexei Miller and Stefan Berger, 429–459. Budapest: Central European University Press.

Emmanuel Szurek. Appeler les Turcs par leur nom. Le nationalisme patronymique dans la Turquie des années 1930, Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, 2013/2 No 60–62, p. 18–37.

Encyclopedia of Islam. 1978a. s.v. "Ism".

———. 1978b. s.v. "Lakab".

Ender, Rita. 2016. *İsmiyle Yaşamak* [Living with One's Name]. Istanbul: Iletişim Yayınları.

Ercilasun, Bilge. 1999. The Beginning of Runic Studies in Turkey. *Writing in the Altaic World, Helsinki: Studia Orientalia* 87: 71–77.

Ergang, Robert. 1931. Herder and the Foundations of Romantic Nationalism.

Ergin, Murat. 2008. "Is the Turk a White Man?" Towards a Theoretical Framework for Race in the Making of Turkishness. *Middle Eastern Studies* 44 (6): 827–850.

Ersanlı, Büşra. 1992. *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de "Resmi Tarih" tezinin oluşumu* [Power and History: The Formation of "Official History" in Turkey (1929–1937)]. İstanbul: Afa Yayınları.

Ersoylu, Halil. 1981. Atatürk'ün verdiği – koyduğu bazı adlar – soyadlar [Some Names – Surnames Given – Bestowed by Atatürk]. *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 13: 179–186.

Ertan, Temuçin Faik. 2000. Cumhuriyet Kimliği Tartışmalarının Bir Boyutu: Soyadı Kanunu. *Kebikeç* 10: 255–272.

Esposito, John L. 1995. *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*. New York: Oxford University Press. s.v. "Names and Naming."

Fındıkoğlu, Ziyaeddin Fahri. 1936. *Essai sur la Transformation du Code Familial en Turquie: étude de Sociologie Juridique Appliquée*. Paris: Editions Berger-Levrault.

Fliche, Benoit, and Massicard, Elise. 2006. 'L'oncle et le député: circuits de ressources et usages de la parenté dans un lignage sacré en Turquie', *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, Thematic Issue N°4, The Social Practices of Kinship. A Comparative Perspective. http://www.ejts.org/document627.html (4).

Gellner, Ernest. 1997. *Nationalism*. Washington Square, NY: New York University Press.

Georgeon, François. 1980. *Aux origines du nationalisme turc: Yusuf Akçura (1876–1935)*, Paris. Recherche sur les grandes civilisations.

———. 2000. Les prédécesseurs médiévaux d'Atatürk. Bilge kaghan et le sultan Alp Arslan. *Revue d'Etude de la Méditerranée et du Monde Musulman* 89–90: 217–243.

Gladney, Dru. 1998. *Making Majorities: Constituting the Nation in Japan, Korea, China, Malaysia, Fiji, Turkey, and the United States*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gluck, Sherna Berger, and Daphne Patai, eds. 1991. *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*. NY: Routledge.

Göcek, Fatma Müge, ed. 1998. *Political Cartoons in the Middle East*. Markus Wiener Publishers.

Goeitein, S.D. 1970. Nicknames as Family Names. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90: 517–524.

Gökalp, Ziya. [1924a]1966. Aile Adları. *Çınaraltı Konuşmaları*. Diyarbakırı Tanıtma ve Turizm Derneği Yayınları: 14. Ankara: Yargıçoğlu Matbaası. [İlk basım *Cumhuriyet*, 18 Mayıs 1924].

———. [1924b]1966. Turk Ailesi Nasıldı, Nasıl Olacak? *Çınaraltı Konuşmaları* Diyarbakırı Tanıtma ve Turizm Derneği Yayınları: 14. Ankara: Yargıçoğlu Matbaası.[ilk basım, *Cumhuriyet*, 27 Mayıs, 1924].

———. 1981. *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*. Trans. and ed. Niyazi Berkes. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959; reprint, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Gökyay, Orhan Şaik. 1973. *Dedem Korkut'un Kitabı*.

Goldberg, Harvey. 1997. Names in Their Social Contexts: An Anthropological Perspective. In *These Are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics*, ed. Aaron Demsky, Joseph A. Reif, and Joseph Tabory. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press.

Gözükızıl, Ömer. 1992. Burdur Ili'nden Derlenen Lakaplar [Nicknames Collected in Burdur Province]. *Türk Halk Kültüründen Derlemeler. Kültür Bakanlığı Halk Kültürlerini Araştırma ve Geliştirme Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları* 170: 49–68.

Gross, Aeyal M. 1996. Rights and Normalization: A Critical Study of European Human Rights Case Law on the Choice and Change of Names. *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 9: 269–284.

Gupta, Akhil. 1995. Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption, the Culture of Politics, and the Imagined State. *American Ethnologist* 22 (2): 375–402.

Gürbüzsel. 1935. *Soy Adları*. Istanbul: Numune Matbaası.

Hametz, Maura E. 2002. "To Have What Was Mine": Reclaiming Surnames in Trieste. *Names* 50 (1): 3–22. doi:10.1179/nam.2002.50.1.3.

Hametz, Maura. 2010. Naming Italians in the Borderland, 1926–1943. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 15 (3): 410–430.

———. 2012. *In the Name of Italy: Nation, Family, Patriotism in a Fascist Court*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Hanioğlu, Şükrü. 2008. *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Heyd, Uriel. 1950. *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp*. London: Luzac & Company and the Harvill Press, Ltd.

———. 1954. *Language Reform in Modern Turkey*. Jerusalem: Israel Oriental Society.

Hobsbawm, Eric J. 1992. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1790: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge, UK/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hornblower, Simon, and Elaine Matthews. 2000. *Greek Personal Names: Their Value as Evidence*. Proceedings of the British Academy 104. Oxford University Press.

Hourani, Albert. 1991. How Should We Write the History of the Middle East? *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23: 125–136.

Hull, Matthew. 2003. The file: agency, authority, and autography in an Islamabad bureaucracy. *Language and Communication* 23: 287–314.

———. 2012. Documents and Bureaucracy. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41: 25–67.

Ihrig, Stefan. 2014. *Atatürk in the Nazi Imagination*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

İlyas, Ahmet. 2014. Tek Parti Döneminde Aşiretleri Kotnrol Altına Almak için Çıkarılan Kanun ve Hazırlanan Raporlar. *International Journal of Social Science*. Autumn II Number: 28: 329–348.

Irvine, Judith. 1989. When Talk isn't Cheap: Language and Political Economy. *American Ethnologist* 16 (2): 248–267.

Jacob, James E., and Pierre L. Horn. 1998. Comment vous appelez-vous? Why the French Change their Names. *Names* 46 (1): 3–28.

Johanson, Lars. 2001. Discoveries on the Turkic Linguistic Map. Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul Publications 5. Stockholm. http://www.turkiclanguages. com/www/Johanson_Discoveries-1.pdf

Kadıoğlu, Ayşe, and Fuat Keyman, eds. 2011. *Symbiotic Antagonisms: Competing Nationalisms in Turkey*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Kaganoff, Benzion C. 1977. *A Dictionary of Jewish Names and Their History*. New York: Schocken Books.

Kandiyoti, Deniz. 1997. Gendering the Modern: On Missing Dimensions in the Study of Turkish Modernity. In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba. 113-133.Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Karaömerlioğlu, Asım M. 1995. Some Notes on Tekinalp and Turkish Nationalism During the 1920s. *Journal of the Association of Graduates in Near Eastern Studies AGNES* 5 (2): 65–69.

Karauğuz, Akın Tahir. 1935. *Öz Türk Adları Kılavuzu*. Zonguldak: Karaelmas Basımevi.

Karpat, Kemal. 1972. The Transformation of the Ottoman State. 1789–1908. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3: 243–281.

———. 1978. Ottoman Population Records and the Census of 1881/2–1893. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9: 237–274.

———. 1982. Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era. In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, vol. I, 141–169. New York/London: Holmes & Meier.

———, ed. 2004. Osmanlı Geçmişi ve Bugünün Türkiye'si [Çev. Sönmez Taner]. Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları 63.

Kerslake, C., K. Öktem, and P. Robins. 2010. *Turkey's Engagement With Modernity: Conflict and Change in the 20th Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Keyder, Çaglar. 1987. *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development*. London: Verso Press.

Keyder, Çağlar. 2008. The Consequences of the Exchange of Populations for Turkey. In *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange Between Greece and Turkey*, ed. Renée Hirchon, 39–52. New York: Berghahn Books.

Koçak, Cemil. 2005. Parliament Membership During the Single-Party System in Turkey (1925–1945). *European Journal of Turkish Studies* [En ligne], 3. mis en ligne le 04 mars 2015. http://ejts.revues.org/497. Consulté le 05 juin 2016.

Köprülü, Fuad. 1950. Türk Onomastique'i Hakkında. *Istanbul Üniversitesi Tarih Dergisi*, 221–236.

Kurt, Yılmaz. 1980. Adana Sancağında Kişi Adları. *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 26 (15): 169–252.

Kurultay. 1933. *Birinci Turk Dil Kurultayı: Tezler, Müzakere Zabıtları [1932]*. Istanbul: Türk Dil Kurumu.

Kushner, David. 1977. *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876–1908*. London/ Totowa, NJ: Cass.

Landau, Jacob. 1984. *Tekinalp, Turkish Patriot 1883–1961*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut.

Lapierre, Nicole. 1995. *Changer de nom*. Paris: Éditions Stock.

Lefebvre-Teillard, Anne. 1990. *Le Nom: Droit et Histoire*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Leon, M. 1976. Of Names and First Names in a Small French Rural Community: Linguistic and Sociological Approaches. *Semiotica* 17: 230.

Lerner, Daniel. 1958. *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Leslie, Paul L., and James K. Skipper Jr. 1990. Toward a Theory of Nicknames: A Case for Socio-Onomastics. *Names* 38 (4): 273–282.

Levend, Agah Sırrı. 1949. *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Safhaları* [Phases in the Development and Simplification in the Turkish Language]. Ankara: Türk.

Levi, Avner. 1998 (1996). 2. Baskı. Translated into Turkish by Rifat Bali. *Turkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Yahudiler: Hukuki ve Siyasi Durumları* [Jews in the Turkish Republic: Their Legal and Political Situation] [Toldot Hayehudim be Republica ha Turkit-Maamadam Hapoliti Yehamispati]. Istanbul: Iletşim Yayınları.

Levy, Paul. 1960. *Les noms des Israelites en France: histoire et dictionnaire*. 1st ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Lewis, Bernard. 1961. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. London: Oxford University Press.

Lewis, Geoffrey. 1999. *The Turkish Language Reform*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Makal, Ahmet. 1999. *Türkiye'de tek partili dönemde çalışma ilişkileri: 1920–1946* [Labor Relations in Turkey During the Single Party Era]. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları.

Maksudyan, Nazan. 2005. The Turkish Review of Anthropology and the Racist Face of Turkish Nationalism. *Cultural Dynamics* 17 (3): 291–322.

Mallet, Laurent. 1996. *Karikatür* Dergisinde Yahudilerle Ilgili Karikatürler (1936–1948) [Caricatures About Jews in the Magazine *Karikatür* 1936–1948]. *Toplumsal Tarih* 34: 26–36.

Mardin, Şerif. 1997. Projects as Methodology: Some Thoughts on Modern Turkish Social Science. In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in*

Turkey, ed. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Massicard, Élise. 2013. Post-hérité. Un retour du patronyme en Turquie contemporaine ? *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 2 (60–2): 87–105.

Matthews, Elaine, and Simon Hornblower, eds. 2000. *Greek Personal Names and Their Value as Evidence*. Oxford/New York: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press.

McCarthy, Justin. 1982. *The Arab World, Turkey, and the Balkans (1878–1914): A Handbook of Historical Statistics*. Boston, MA: G.K. Hall & Co.

———. 1983. *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia at the End of the Empire*. New York: NYU Press.

Meeker, Michael. 2002. *A Nation of Empire: The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Menges, Karl H. 1995 (1968). *Verröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica; Bd 42* [The Turkic Languages and Peoples: An Introduction to Turkic Studies. 2. Rev. ed]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Migdal, Joel S. 2001. *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Morgan, Jane, Christopher O'Neill, and Rom Harre. 1979. *Nicknames: Their Origins and Social Consequences*. London/Boston/Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Moshe, Naor. 2006. The Israeli Names Law: National Integration and Military Rule. *Israel Studies* 21 (2): 133–154.

Naskali, Emine Gürsoy. 2013. *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Soyadı Hikâyeleri* [Surname Stories of the Republican History]. Istanbul: Doğan Kitap.

Nautré, Sylvie. 1977. *Le nom en droit comparé*. European University Papers. Series II: Law. Bd/Vol. 180. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Nefes, Türkay Salim. 2013. Ziya Gökalp's Adaptation of Emile Durkheim's Sociology in His Formulation of the Modern Turkish Nation. *International Sociology* 28 (3): 335–350.

Neumark, Fritz. 1935. Yeni Türkiye'nin Siyasal, Ekonomsal ve Kültürel Tekamülü [The New Turkey's Political, Economical and Cultural Evolution]. *Istanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası*. Trans. Ahmet Ali Özden. C.1 (2): 213–231.

Neyzi, Leyla. 2010. Oral History and Memory Studies in Turkey. In *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the 20th Century*, ed. C. Kerslake, K. Öktem, and P. Robins, 443–459. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nicolaisen, W.F.H. 1974. Names as Verbal Icons. *Names* 22: 104–110.

———. 1976. Words as Names. *Onoma* XX: 142–163.

Noiriel, Gerard. 1993. L'identification des citoyens. Naissance de l'état civil republicain. *Geneses check accents*. no. 13. septembre.

Nour, Riza. 1932. Histoire de l'écriture Turque: Consequences d'un brusque changement d'ecriture. *Revue de Turcologie* 2: (41/151–61/171). [dual pagination].

———. 1935. Nom propres Turcs. *Turkbilik Revüsü/Revue de Turcologie* No. 5, Tome II (Livre 1): 65/782–73/792.

Noyes, Dorothy. 1995. Group. *Journal of American Folklore* 108 (430): 449–478.

Öktem, Kerem. 2008. The Nation's Imprint: Demographic Engineering and the Change of Toponymes in Republican Turkey. *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, Thematic Issue No. 7, Demographic Engineering—Part I. http://www.ejts.org/document2243.html

Ölmez, Mehmet. 2000. Dil Devrimi Sonrası Ad ve Soyadlarımız [Our Names and Surnames After the Language Reform]. *Journal of Turkish Studies* [Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları] 24/II: 107–117.

Orbay, K.Ş. 1935. *Öz Türkçe Adlar ve Sözler: Yeni soy adları* [Names and Words in Öztürkçe: The New Surnames]. Istanbul: Hilmi Kitap Evi.

Ortaylı, Ilber. 1984. Eski Osmanlı Adları [Old Ottoman Names]. *Tarih ve Toplum* 7: 4–5.

Örücü, Esin. 2013. A Legal System Based on Translation: The Turkish Experience. *Journal of Civil Law Studies* 6 (2): 445–473.

Özbay, Ferhunde. 2010. Türkiye'de Ulus Devlet, Gözetim ve Nüfus Bilgisi. *Toplum ve Bilim* 118 (2): 165–178.

Özgül, Ceren. 2014. Legally Armenian: Tolerance, Conversion, and Name Change in Turkish Courts. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 56 (3): 622–649.

Özil, Ayşe. 2013. *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire: A Study of Communal Relations in Anatolia*. New York: Routledge.

Özsu, Umut. 2010. Receiving the Swiss Civil Code: Translating Authority in Early Republican Turkey. *International Journal of Law in Context* 1: 63–89.

Öztürkmen, Arzu. 1993. *Folklore and Nationalism in Turkey*. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Özyürek, Esra. 2006. *Nostalgia for the Modern: State Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Parla, Taha. 1985. *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp, 1876–1924*. Leiden: Brill.

———. 1991. *Turkiye'deki Siyasal Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları C.1* [The Official Sources of Turkish Political Culture, V.1]. Istanbul: Iletişim Yayınları.

Phillimore, W.P.W. (William Phillimore Watts). 1905. An Index to Changes of Name Under Authority of Act of Parliament on Royal Licence and Including Irregular Changes from I George III to 64 Victoria, 1760 to 1901. /comp. By W.P.W. Phillimore and Edw Alex Fry, with an Introduction on the Law of Change of Name. London: Phillimore & Co.

Plakans, Andrejs, and Charles Wetherell. 2000. Patrilines, Surnames, and Family Identity: A Case Study From the Russian Baltic Provinces in the Nineteenth Century. *History of the Family*, 1081602X, 5 (2): 199–214.

Plutzchow, Herbert E. 1995. *Japan's Name Culture: The Significance of Names in a Religious, Political, and Social Context.* Sandgate/Folkestone/Kent: Japan Library.

Portelli, Alessandro. 1991a. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

———. 1991b. What Makes Oral History Different. In *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, ed. Alessandro Portelli, 45–58. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

———. 1997. *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue.* Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Pulgram, Ernst. 1954. *Theory of Names.* Berkeley, CA: American Name Society.

Rasoynyi, L. 1953. Sur Quelques Categories de Noms de Personnes en Turc. *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientarium Hungaricae*: 323–353.

Rennick, Robert M. 1970. The Nazi Name Decrees of the Nineteen Thirties. *Journal of the American Name Society* 16: 65–88.

Rizakis, A.D., ed. 1996. *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East: Social and Political Aspects.* Athens: Kentron Hellenikes kia Romaikes Diffustion de Boccard.

Rona, Zeynep, ed. 1999. *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin 75 Yılına Toplu Bakış.* [International Conference on "History of The Turkish Republic: A Reassessment"]. Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey. V 1&2.

Room, Adrian. 1996. *An Alphabetical Guide to the Language of Name Studies.* Lanham, MD/London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Sadoğlu, Hüseyin, and Zafer Toprak. 2009. Nationalism and Language Policy in Turkey. Text of Talk Delivered at the Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Center, Apr 18, 2009, 1–20. http://www.obarsiv.com/pdf/huseyinsadoglu_nb.pdf

Sahlins, Marshall. 1985. *Islands of History.* Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.

Sakaoğlu, Saim. 1984. Soyadlarımız Üzerine [On Our Surnames]. *Türk Dili* XLVIII (385–396): 243–249.

Salzmann, Ariel. 1999. Citizens in Search of a State: The Limits of Political Participation in the Late Ottoman Empire. In *Extending Citizenship, Reconfiguring States*, ed. Michael Hanagan and Charles Tilly. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Scassa, Teresa. 1996. National Identity, Ethnic Surnames and the State. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 11 (2): 167–191.

Scharlipp, Wolfgang E. 2004. The Decipherment of the Turkish Runic Inscriptions and its Effect on Turcology in East and West. *Journal of Turkic Turkish Civilization Studies* 1: 303–318.

Schimmel, Annemarie. 1989. *Islamic Names*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Scott, James. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.

Scott, James, John Tehranian, and Jeremy Mathias. 2002. The Production of Legal Identities Proper to States: The Case of the Permanent Family Surname. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44 (1): 4–44.

Searle, John R. 1958. Proper Names. *Mind, New Seris* 67 (266): 166–173.

Segalen, Martine. 1980. Le nom caché: la denomination dans le pays bigouden sud. *L'Homme* 20 (4): 63–76.

Selishchev, A.M. 1979. Changes in Surnames and Given Names. *Soviet Anthropology and Archaeology* XVII (4): 46–60.

Sevinçli, Efdal. 2011. Adlarımızda Soyadlarımızda Yaşayan Dil Devrimi [The Language Revolution that Lives in our Names and Surnames]. *Journal of Yaşar University* 1 (2): 277–292.

Shaw, Stanford. 1977. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Volume II Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1805–1975*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1978. The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831–1914. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 9: 325–338.

Shutz, Alfred, and Thomas Luckmann. 1973. *The Structures of the Life-World*. Chicago: Northwestern University Press.

Sisman, Cengiz. 2015. *The Burden of Silence: Sabbatai Sevi and the Evolution of the Ottoman-Turkish Donmes*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Smith, Eldson. 1950. *The Story of Our Names*. New York: Harper.

Spencer, Robert F. 1961. The Social Context of Modern Turkish Names. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 17 (3): 205–218.

Stahl, Abraham. 1994. The Imposition of Hebrew Names on New Immigrants to Israel: Past and Present. *Names* 42 (4): 279–288.

Stahl, Paul H. 1998. *Name and Social Structure: Examples From Southeast Europe*. Boulder: East European Monographs.

Stevens, Jacqueline. 1999. *Reproducing the State*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Stone, Lawrence. 1979. *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500–1800*. New York: Harper and Row.

Strauss, Johann. 1995. Diglossie dans le domaine ottoman. Évolution et péripéties d'une situation linguistique. *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 75–76: 221–255.

———. 2008. Modernisation, nationalization, désislamisation: La transformation du turc aux XIXe-XXE siècles [Modernization, Nationalization and de-Islamization: The Transformation of Turkish During the 19th–20th Centuries]. *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 124: 135–159.

Sümer, Faruk, Ahmet E. Uysal, and Warren Walker, Trans. and eds. 1972. *The Book of Dede Korkut: A Turkish Epic*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Szurek, Emmanuel. 2013. Appeler les Turcs par leur nom. Le nationalism patronymique dans la Turquie des années 1930. Revue D'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine No 60-2.

Tekin, Talat. 1973. Atatürk'ün Dil Reformu, Istanbul Universitesi Atatürk Devrimleri Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları. *Atatürk Devrimleri I. Milletlerarası Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (10–14 Aralık, 1973). Istanbul: Sermet Matbaası, 488–499.

Telkes, Simon. 1977. *How to Become a Hungarian: The Artificial Reproduction of a People*. Roma: Edizioni Europa.

Ter-Matevoysan, Vahram. 2017. Turkish Transformation and the Soviet Union: Navigating Through the Soviet Historiography on Kemalism. *Middle East Studies* 43 (2): 281–296.

Tezcan, Naim. 1949. *Öz Ad Soyadı ve Yaş Düzeltme Davaları* [Lawsuits on Correction of Names, Surnames and Age] Şaka Matbaası. Istanbul: Yeni Hukuk ve Ictihatlar Mecmuası Yayınlarından.

Tezmen, Naim. 1962. *Tatbikatta Isim-Yaş Tashihi Davaları ve Ilgili Mevzuat* [Lawsuit Practice on Changes of Name and Age, and the Relevant Legislation]. Istanbul: Alkaya Matbaası.

Toury, Gideon. 1988. Surnames and Their Substitutes. *Semiotic Theory and Practice Vol II*, eds. Michael Herzfeld and Lucio Melazzo. Proceedings of the Third International Congress of the IASS Palermo, 1984, 1143–1152.

Tunaya, Tarik Zafer. 1952. *Turkiye'de Siyasi Partiler* [Turkish Political Parties]. Istanbul: Doğan Kardeş.

Turfan, Ruhi, and Celal Bayar. 1935. *Öz Türkçe Soy Adları* [Surnames in Öztürkçe]. Yozgat: Vilayet Basımevi.

Turinay, Faruk. 2014. Yabancı Irk ve Millet İsimlerinin Soyadı Olarak Kullanılması Yasağı ve Bir Anayasa Mahkemesi Kararının İncelenmesi [The Ban of the use of Foreign Race and Nation Surnames and the Examination of a Court Decision of the Constitutional Court].

Türk Ansiklopedisi [The Turkish Encyclopedia]. 1975. Milli Eğitim Basımevı. Ankara: s.v. "LÂKAB."

Türk Dil Kurumu [Turkish Language Association]. 1993. *Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Söz Derleme Dergisi, I-XII* [Turkish Journal of Word Collection from the Populace, vols.I-XII]. Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.

Türköz, Meltem. 2004. *The Social Life of the State's Fantasy: Memories and Documents on Turkey's 1934 Surname Law*. PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

———. 2007. Surname Narratives and the State–Society Boundary: Memories of Turkey's Family Name Law of 1934. *Middle Eastern Studies* 43 (6): 893–908.

———. 2011. Instrumentalizing Fantasy: The Process of Surname Legislation in the Republic of Turkey, 1934–1937. In *Towards a Social History of Modern Turkey: Essays in Theory and Practice*, ed. Gavin Brockett, 59–78. Istanbul: Libra Books.

Turnaoğlu, Banu. 2017. *The Formation of Turkish Republicanism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ülker, Erol. 2007. Assimilation of the Muslim Communities in the First Decade of the Turkish Republic (1923–1934). *European Journal of Turkish Studies* [En ligne], Liste complète, 2007, mis en ligne le 11 janvier 2008. http://ejts. revues.org/822. Consulté le 16 avril 2017.

Ungor, Uğur. 2011. *The Making of Modern Turkey: Nation and State in Eastern Anatolia, 1913–1950.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ünsal, Artun, ed. 1998. *75 Yılda Tebaa'dan Yurttaş'a Doğru* [From Subject to Citizen in 75 Years]. Istanbul: Turkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı.

Uspenskii, B.A. 1979. Name Changes in Russia From a Historical and Semiotic Point of View. *Soviet Anthropology and Archaeology* XVII (4): 25–46.

Uyar, Hakkı. 2002. Tek Parti İktidarının Toplumsal Kökenleri: İkinci Seçmenler Örneği [The Social Roots of the Single Party Regime]. *Toplumsal Tarih Dergisi,* 106.

Uzer, Umut. 2016. *An Intellectual History of Turkish Nationalism: Between Turkish Ethnicity and Islamic Identity*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Van Bruinessen, Martin. 1994. The Suppression of the Dersim Rebellion in Turkey (1937–1938). In *Conceptual and Historical Dimensions of Genocide*, ed. George J. Andreopoulous, 141–170. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 2000. Popular Islam, Kurdish Nationalism and Rural Revolt: The Rebellion of Shaikh Said in Turkey (1925). In *Mullas, Sufis and Heretics: The Role of Religion in Kurdish Society. Collected Articles*, ed. Martin van Bruinessen. Istanbul: Isis Press. http://www.hum.uu.nl/medewerkers/m.vanbruinessen/ publications/Bruinessen_Shaikh_Said:rebellion.pdf

Vural, M. 1935. *Öz Türkçe Kadın ve Erkek Adları ve Soy Adları* [Women's and Men's Proper Names and Surnames in Öztürkçe] (3. Basılışı) Bursa: Bizim Matbaa.

Wilber, Donald N. 1975. *Riza Shah Pahlavi: The Resurrection and Reconstruction of Iran*. Hicksville, NY: Exposition Press.

Willingham-McLain, Laurel. 1997. *Arroisoir*, ou, *Manhattan*, non: Naming and the Law in France. *Names* 45: 185–202.

Willson, Kendra. 2002. Political Inflections: Grammar and the Icelandic Surname Debate. In *Standardization: Studies from the Germanic Languages*, ed. A.R. Linn and N. McLelland. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 135–152.

———. 2002b. Political Inflections: Grammar and the Icelandic Surname Debate. In *Standardization: Studies from the Germanic Languages*, ed. A.N. Linn and N. McLelland, 135–152. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Wilson, Stephen. 1998. *The Means of Naming: A Social and Cultural History of Personal Naming in Western Europe*. London: University College London (UCL) Press.

Yakın Tarih Ansiklopedisi [The Encyclopedia of Recent History]. 1988. *Yeni Nesil Gazetesi*. Cağaloğlu: Acar Matbaacılık.

Yıldız, Ahmet. 2001. *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene: Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etno-seküler Sınırları (1919–1938)* [So Happy is Who He Can Call Himself A Turk: The Ethno-Secular Boundaries of Turkish National Identity]. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Yılmaz, Hale. 2011. Petitions as a Source in Womens History of the Republican Period. In *Women's Memory: The Problem of Sources*, ed. Fatma Türe and Birsen Talay Keşoğlu, 81–93. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

———. 2013. *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reforms and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey (1923–1945)*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Zonabend, Françoise. 1980. Le Nom de Personne. *L'Homme* 20 (4 (Formes de Nomination en Europe)): 7–23.

Zürcher, Erik Jan. 1984. La théorie du "langage-soleil" et sa place dans la réforme de la langue turque. In *La linguistique fantastique*, ed. Sylvain Aurore, 83–91. Paris: Denoel.

Zürcher, Erik J. 1992. The Ottoman Legacy of the Turkish Republic: An Attempt at a New Periodization. *Die Welt des Islams* 32: 237–253.

Zürcher, Erik. 1998. *Turkey: A Modern History*. New rev. ed. London/New York: I.B. Tauris.

———. 2010. *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey*. London: I.B. Taurus.

INDEX[1]

[1]Note: Page number followed by 'n' refers to notes.