

A MULTIFACTORIAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF
BUSINESS NAMING PRACTICES IN TURKEY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

ALİ FUAD SELVİ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

JULY 2007

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Prof. Dr. Wolf Konig
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Doç. Dr. Joshua M. Bear
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Doç Dr. Joshua M. Bear	(METU, FLE)	_____
Dr. İsmet Babaoğlu	(Doğuş Univ.)	_____
Dr. Hasan İnal	(Ankara Univ.)	_____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name : Ali Fuad Selvi

Signature :

ABSTRACT

A MULTIFACTORIAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF BUSINESS NAMING PRACTICES IN TURKEY

Selvi, Ali Fuad

M.A., Program in English Language Teaching

Supervisor : Assoc. Prof. Dr. Joshua M. Bear

July 2007, 169 pages

The growing world supremacy of English and its relentless spread across the globe is both widely criticized for becoming a 'threat' and causing socio-cultural destruction in the form of linguistic imperialism and appreciated for being a 'basic survival skill' and a global commodity to which every individual adds a distinct flavor and which has crucial pragmatic and instrumental functions, benefits and prestige for its users.

Acknowledging the current global role and status of English in mind, this thesis investigates the causes and consequences of English language use in business naming practices in shop names in Turkish business discourse.

As a result of the study, it was concluded that foreign influence in shop names in Turkish discourse might be grouped under three major categories: (a) foreign signs (both English and non-English signs), (b) hybrid signs (Turkish-English, English-Turkish), and (c) Englishized Turkish signs (names using of Turkish words spelled according to English orthographical conventions to looks like English and sound like Turkish).

Research results indicated that business naming practices are manifestations of English language dominance in Turkey. Foreignization of shop names in Turkish is spearheaded by English. Nevertheless, foreign words in business names include those from languages other than English. The undisputed dominance of English in business discourse is not limited to business names but includes window displays, signs on the window or door of commercial entities, exterior signs for public entities such as billboards, as well as advertising posters. While certain sectors such as personal care, restaurants and cafes, stores selling

information system goods are more susceptible to English language use, others such as durable consumer goods, pharmacies, auto galleries, gas stations, car repairers, driving schools, bookstores, and publishing houses almost have no place for the English language occurrences.

Keywords: Sociolinguistics, Naming, Branding, Foreign Branding, English in Turkey

TÜRKİYE’DEKİ İŞYERİ İSİMLERİNİN TOPLUMDİLBİLİMSEL AÇIDAN ÇOK ETKENLİ ANALİZİ

Selvi, Ali Fuad

Yüksek Lisans, İngiliz Dili Öğretimi

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Joshua M. Bear

Temmuz 2007, 157 sayfa

İngilizce’nin günümüzdeki küresel ölçekteki yükselişi, rolü ve önemi gerek sosyokültürel tahribata yol açtığı düşüncesiyle dil emperyalizminin kaynağı şeklinde bir tehdit olarak algılanmakta, aynı zamanda kullanıcılarına çeşitli katkılar sağlayan, pragmatik ve işlevsel gereklilik arz eden ve daha da önemlisi temel yaşam gereksinimi olarak değerlendirilen, başlı başına bir prestij unsuru olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

İngilizce’nin küresel anlamdaki rolü de dikkate alınarak yapılan bu çalışma Türk ticaret hayatının bir parçası olan iş yeri isimlerinde kullanılan başta İngilizce olmak üzere yabancı isimlerin sebeplerini ve sonuçlarını incelemektedir.

Yapılan araştırma neticesinde, Türk ticari hayatında kullanılan iş yeri isimlerinin 3 ana başlık altında sıralanabileceği gözlemlenmiştir: (a) yabancı isimler (İngilizce veya yabancı iş yeri isimleri), (b) melez isimler (Türkçe-İngilizce veya İngilizce-Türkçe isimler) ve (c) İngilizleşmiş Türkçe isimler (Türkçe isimlerin İngilizce yazım kurallarına uygun biçimde yazılarak elde edilen hem Türkçe hem İngilizce isimler).

Araştırma sonuçları göstermiştir ki, iş yeri isim uygulamaları İngilizce’nin Türkiye’de olan etkisinin belirgin bir göstergesidir. Ticari alanda kullanılan Türkçe isimleri yabancılaşması İngilizce öncülüğünde olmaktadır. Yine de iş yeri isimlerinde kullanılan yabancı isimler İngilizce dışında yabancı dillerden de örnekler içermektedir. İngilizce’nin ticari alanda gözlemlenen önlenemez etkisi sadece iş yeri isimleri ile sınırlı olmayıp iş yeri girişinde ve camlarında bulunan levhalar ve reklam panolarını da içermektedir. Bu çalışma ortaya koymuştur ki, İngilizce’nin ticari alandaki etkisi her sektörde aynı oranda değildir. Lokantalar,

kafeler, bilgisayar mağazaları, kuaför ve güzellik salonları gibi iş yerleri İngilizce isim kullanmaya nispeten daha meyilli iken, dayanaklı tüketim malları, eczaneler, otomobil galerileri, tamirciler, kitapçılar ve yayınevleri İngilizce isim kullanma konusunda daha muhafazakardır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumdilbilim, isim verme, marka, yabancı marka, Türkiye’de İngilizce.

To My Parents, Eda and Sabri Selvi
Who Always Kept Their Belief in Me and Done More Than I Deserve...

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to all the people without whose constant support and help this study would never have been accomplished.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my thesis supervisor, advisor, mentor, Assoc. Prof. Joshua M. Bear, for his great inspiration, detailed supervision, infinite patience, and invaluable contributions. I am sincerely grateful to him for his enthusiasm about the work. I would like to make use of this opportunity to mention that he has worked with me in close collaboration, presented substantial feedback throughout the study. I wish to state that any remaining faults are mine.

Besides, I would like to extend my gratitude to my thesis committee members Dr. İsmet Babaoğlu for his kindness, great efforts, and detailed comments, and Dr. Hasan İnal for his helpful suggestions and hospitality.

My wholehearted appreciation goes to my wife, Bengü who kept her confidence in my ability, never lost her patience and always supported me at difficult times. I am particularly grateful for her unconditional love and never-ending support.

I feel the necessity to mention two important names for their constant support: Babürhan Üzüm and Bedrettin Yazan. I am deeply grateful to Babürhan for his guidance, suggestions, assistance in data collection and insight throughout the research. I am particularly thankful to Bedrettin for his moral support and revising the earlier versions of the study.

Moreover, the overall assistance that Deniz Şallı-Çopur provided in research design is gratefully acknowledged.

Finally, my family deserves a word of appreciation. I am deeply grateful to my mother Eda Selvi and my father Sabri Selvi for encouragement and support they provided. They not only never lost confidence in me but also sincerely supported me in any moment of my life. I am thankful to my sister Elif for her understanding and moral support, and my brother Selim for his presence and assistance in overcoming technical details.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	III
ABSTRACT.....	IV
ÖZ.....	VII
DEDICATION.....	VIII
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	IX
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	XI
LIST OF TABLES.....	XVI
LIST OF FIGURES.....	XVII
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 Presentation.....	1
1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.1.1 English in the World.....	3
a. English in the field of Education: Global Business of ELT.....	10
b. English in Academia.....	11
c. English in Academic Publishing.....	15
1.1.2 The Dark Side of the Moon.....	16
a. Colonial Background of English: Expansion on Horse.....	17
b. Spread of English in the Age of Information: Expansion on-line.....	20
1.1.3 The Power of English.....	22
1.1.4 English and Globalization.....	25
1.1.5 English Language Teaching.....	27
1.1.6 English in Turkey.....	29
a. Ottoman Period.....	29
b. Republican Era.....	35
c. Understanding Turkey.....	35
d. English in the Republican Era.....	40

e. English in Contemporary Turkey.....	41
f. Job Entrance Requirement.....	42
g. As an incentive.....	43
1.1.7 English in the Educational System of Turkey.....	44
a. English Medium Instruction.....	48
b. Loanwords.....	51
c. English in Turkish Media.....	53
d. Anti-English Movement and Resisting English in Turkey.....	56
1.2 Focus and the Scope of the Study.....	63
1.3 Research Questions.....	65
1.4 Significance of the Study.....	65
2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	67
2.0 Presentation.....	67
2.1 Naming and Branding: What is in a name.....	67
2.1.1 Brand Naming and Language.....	71
a. Foreign Branding.....	73
b. The Umlaut Mark	74
2.2 English Shop Naming Practices around the World.....	82
2.2.1 Thonus (1991)	82
2.2.2 Ross (1997)	83
2.2.3 McArthur (2000)	85
2.2.4 Schlick (2002) & (2003)	86
2.2.5 MacGregor (2003)	88
2.2.6 Griffin (2004)	90
2.2.7 Stewart & Fawcett (2004)	92
2.3 Shop Naming Practices in Turkey.....	93
2.3.1 Doğan (1999)	94
2.3.2 Gözaydın (2000)	97

2.3.3 Aydoğan (2001)	98
2.3.4 Demircan (2001)	100
3. METHOD.....	103
3.0 Presentation.....	103
3.1 Overall Design of the Study.....	103
3.2 Data Collection Instruments.....	104
3.2.1 Field Observations.....	104
3.2.2 Sample Interviews on the Basis of the Questionnaire.....	105
a. Demographic Information.....	107
b. Business Place Information.....	108
c. Business Naming Process.....	108
d. Interview Sessions.....	109
3.2.3 Supporting Mini-Scale Data Sources.....	109
3.2.3.1 Malls in Ankara.....	109
3.2.3.2 Business Naming Practices in Altın Sayfalar.....	110
3.3 Data Collection Procedure.....	111
4. DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS.....	113
4.0 Presentation.....	113
4.1 Results of the Field Observation.....	113
4.2 Sample Interviews on the Basis of the Questionnaire.....	115
4.2.1 Findings of Demographic Information.....	115
4.2.1.1 Educational Level.....	115
4.2.1.2 Foreign Language Knowledge.....	115
4.2.1.3 Gender Distribution.....	118
4.2.2 Findings of Factual Information about Business Place.....	118
4.2.2.1 Date of Establishment and Name Change.....	118
4.2.2.2 Meaning and Pronunciation of Business Places.....	120
4.2.2.3 Business Name in Official Records.....	121

4.2.2.4 Consistency between Names and Business Places.....	121
4.2.2.5 Relation between Location and Business Names.....	122
4.2.2.6 Socioeconomic Status and Business Places.....	122
4.2.3 Findings of Business Naming Process.....	123
4.2.3.1 English-Turkish Contact Reflected in Business Names.....	123
4.2.3.2 Foreign Business Names and European Union.....	124
4.2.3.3 Rationale behind Foreign Naming.....	124
4.2.3.4 Commercial Advantage by means of a Foreign Name.....	126
4.2.3.5 Commercial Profit by means of a Foreign Name.....	126
4.2.3.6 Commercial Profit and Global Status of English.....	127
4.3 Supporting Mini-Scale Data Sources.....	128
4.3.1 Malls in Ankara.....	128
4.3.2 Yellow Pages (Cankaya, Ankara).....	135
5. CONCLUSION.....	138
5.0 Presentation.....	138
5.1 Summary of the Study.....	138
5.2 Discussion of the Findings.....	145
5.3 Pedagogical Implications of the Study.....	149
REFERENCES.....	151
APPENDICES	
A. Questionnaire Used in the Study (English Version).....	165
B. Questionnaire Used in the Study (Turkish Version).....	168

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

1. Table 1: The world's most spoken languages (native speakers)	4
2. Table 2: History of Foreign Languages in Turkey.....	33
3. Table 3: Foreign language development in Turkey.....	41
4. Table 4: The linguistic components of branding.....	72
5. Table 5: Corpus of Griffin's (2004) study.....	93
6. Table 6: Shop Signage Studies in Turkey.....	94
7. Table 7: List of Malls in Ankara, Turkey.....	110
8. Table 8: Linguistic Classification of Shop Names in the Survey.....	115
9. Table 9: Educational Backgrounds of Business Owners.....	117
10. Table 10: Foreign Language Proficiencies of Business Owners	118
11. Table 11: Gender Distribution of Business Owners.....	118
12. Table 12: Foreign Naming Trends of Business Places (in years).....	119
13. Table 13: Name Changes of Business Places.....	119
14. Table 14: Awareness of Pronunciation of Business Names by Owners..	120
15. Table 15: Awareness of Meaning of Business Names by Owners.....	120
16. Table 16: Business Names in Official Records.....	121
17. Table 17: Consistency between Names and Business Places.....	122
18. Table 18: The Role of Location in Foreign Business Naming.....	122
19. Table 19: Socioeconomic Status of Customers of Business Places with Foreign Names.....	123
20. Table 20: Business Owners' Opinion on Pollution of Turkish by English- named business places.....	124
21. Table 21: The Role of the EU integration process in foreign business naming.....	124
22. Table 22: Reasons for Foreign Naming.....	125
23. Table 23: The Relationship between Foreign Naming and Commercial Profit.....	126

24. Table 24: The Relationship between Turkish Naming and Commercial Profit.....	127
25. Table 25: The Role of English as a Global Language in Business Naming.....	128
26. Table 26: Linguistic distribution of shopping malls in Turkey's 8 major cities.....	129
27. Table 27: Linguistic Analysis of Shopping Malls Located in Ankara	133
28. Table 28: Shopping Malls of Ankara.....	134
29. Table 29: Linguistic Analysis of Signage in the field of service and entertainment in Çankaya.....	136

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

1. Figure 1: A model proposed by Kachru (1985)	8
2. Figure 2: Origin of the Words in Turkish Vocabulary.....	53
3. Figure 3. Sample Linguistic Analysis: Armada.....	134
4. Figure 4. Sample Linguistic Analysis: Optimum.....	134
5. Figure 5. Sample Linguistic Analysis: Galleria.....	134

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Presentation

This introductory chapter presents the background to the study, focus and the scope of the current study followed by the research questions, and significance of the study as well as the definitions of terms.

1.1 Background to the Study

The growing world supremacy of English and its relentless spread across the globe is both widely criticized for becoming a 'threat' and causing socio-cultural destruction in the form of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) or linguistic genocide (Day, 1980), or even 'linguicide' (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995) and appreciated for being a 'basic survival skill' (Graddol, 1996) and a global commodity to which every individual adds a distinct flavor and which has crucial pragmatic and instrumental functions, benefits and prestige for its users (Kachru, 1986), as well as the linguistic key used for opening borders: it is a global medium with local identities and messages (Kachru, 1996). Such different conceptualizations stem from the fact that the English language has become a truly global phenomenon which has a wide spectrum of local impacts. In other words, it is "the world's first truly global language", as mentioned by Crystal (2004, p.4).

The worldwide expansion of English, its causes and consequences, created global debates on English for the purposes of labeling the language. The "English as a/an/the..." trend clearly manifests the attitudinal ambivalences towards English language around the world and has a great number of contributors from opposing sides as follows:

- English as an international language (Seidlhofer, 2001)
- English as an international auxiliary language (Smith, 1976)
- English as a world language (Graddol, 1997)
- English as a medium of intercultural communication (Meierkord, 1998; Leontovich, 2005)
- English as a ticket to the good life (Srivastava, 2003)
- English as a global language (Crystal, 1997)
- English as a lingua franca
- English as a word donor (Filipovic, 1996)
- English as a vehicular language (Munat, 2006)
- English as a decorative language (Dougill, 1987)
- English as the common linguistic denominator (Power, 2007)
- English as a hegemonic language
- English as a Trojan horse (Cooke, 1988)
- English as a killer language (Pakir, 1991)
- English as tyrannosaurus Rex (Swales, 1997)
- English as the language of economic globalization
- English as the language of the conqueror (Templer, 2003)
- English as the corporate language
- English as the medium of instruction
- English as the supranational language of human rights (Toolan, 2001)
- English as cash language (Still, 2006)
- English Incorporated (Downing et al., 2002)

The current complex situation of English becomes more evident if one considers the dramatic expansion of the functional range that English plays as a language of international communication in business, sport, science, diplomacy and technology. The revolutionary progresses in the fields of transportation,

technology commerce and communications have further reinforced the global pre-eminence of the English language (Rubdy and Saraceni, 2006:5).

Shakespeare was insightful when he wrote in *As You Like it* (1600) "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players", but what he could not have predicted that the play would be in English.

1.1.1. English in the World

From an historical perspective, the language of Shakespeare for about four centuries ago was spoken by five to seven million speakers as a mother-tongue and at that time, the vast majority of speakers of English were living in the British Isles. In other words, the status and sphere of influence of today's dominating language were confined to the borders of British Isles. The English language was not able to cross the British channel or set out to colonial seas or navigate in international waters; thus, it was appreciated neither in continental Europe nor anywhere else around the world. Crystal summarizes the historical development of English as follows:

In the seventeenth century and eighteenth centuries, English was the language of the leading colonial nation-Britain. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was the language of the leader of the industrial revolution—also Britain. In the late-nineteenth century and the early twentieth, it was the language of the leading economic power-the USA. As a result, when new technologies brought new linguistic opportunities, English emerged as a first-rank language in industries which affected all aspects of society-the press, advertising, broadcasting, motion pictures, sound recording, transport and communications. (Crystal, 1997, p.110-111)

Therefore, the current monopolistic global status of English deserves diligent attention. As cited in Pennycook (1994), "Otto Jespersen (1938/68) estimated speakers of English to have numbered four million in 1500, six million in 1600, eight and a half million in 1800, and between 116 and 123 million in

1900" (p.7). Although numbers are subject to change, today, English is used by an estimated over 2 billion speakers in varying reasonable competencies and approximately 400 million of them being native speakers. Roughly speaking, one out of every four users of English in the world is a native speaker of the language and nonnative speakers of English outnumber native speakers three to one as reported by Crystal (1997, 2003). To put it differently, the number of monolingual speakers of English has increased 80 times and total number of English speakers including those who speak it as the first, second or foreign language has increased nearly 400 times. The global expansion of English in the form of new varieties of English (also referred to as "World Englishes") is evident in every continent of the world.

Table 1.

The world's most spoken languages (native speakers)¹

Ranking	Language	Ethnologue (2005)	Encarta (2007)	The World Almanac (2005)
1	Mandarin	873 million	-	873 million
2	Spanish	322 million	322 million	322 million
3	English	309 million	341 million	309 million
4	Arabic	206 million	422 million	
5	Hindi	181 million	366 million	180 million
6	Portuguese	177.5 million	176 million	177 million
7	Bengali	171 million	207 million	171 million
8	Russian	145 million	167 million	145 million
9	Japanese	122 million	125 million	122 million
10	German	95.4 million	100.1 million	95 million

Source: Ethnologue (2005), Encarta (2007) and *New York Times*, *The World Almanac 2005*, p.729.

Based upon the current statistics presented above, it might be possible to consider Mandarin, Spanish, English, Arabic and Hindi, the five most widely

¹ The statistics related to world's most spoken languages have been derived through a triangulation of different sources including (1) Ethnologue, an encyclopedic reference work collecting all of the world's 6912 living languages prepared by publication of SIL International, (2) Encarta, the world's leading and reliable digital multimedia encyclopedia published by Microsoft Corporation as well as (3) The World Almanac published by the internationally respected American daily newspaper the New York Times. In order to highlight the lack of connection between numbers and actual spread of languages, the emphasis has given to native speaker usages of world's most spoken languages.

spoken languages in the world, as international languages. However, such a conclusion would be inconclusive, misleading and deceptive for two particular reasons:

- a. It does not provide any comprehensive and comprehensible rationale which explains the reason why the lingua franca of the new millennium, English, has become the dominant language in various aspects of global life such as in science, literature, politics, business, telecommunication, arts and sports.
- b. It fails to provide any account for the functional range of those languages (except English) on a supranational level. In other words, the numbers neither explain the expansion of English nor the rest of the most widely spoken languages.

David Crystal, one the world's foremost experts on the subject of the spread of the English language and author of many prominent books including "English as a Global Language" (1997) estimates that English, which is spoken by approximately 750 million people, is an official language in 50 countries, and 85% of 12.500 international organizations use it as an official language including the European Union, the United Nations, and most international athletic organizations, including the International Olympic Committee. The English language was accepted as the official language of the European Central Bank, located in Frankfurt, Germany. It is interesting to note that no predominantly English-speaking country is a member of the European Monetary Union. Munat (2006) identifies the scope of English language as being "the language of air and maritime navigation, of the worldwide web and of diplomacy, as well as the vehicle for international scientific exchange, and its pervasive presence can be felt in pop culture and the worldwide media." It is further maintained by Crystal

(1997) that "a language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country²" and that special role is being the world's lingua franca.

Internationalization of English language was discussed by Carla Power in a recent article entitled "Not the Queen's English" that appeared in *Newsweek International*, in which she defines English language as "the common linguistic denominator" and argues that "whether you're a Korean executive on business in Shanghai, a German Eurocrat hammering out laws in Brussels or a Brazilian biochemist at a conference in Sweden, you're probably speaking English" (Power, 2007). Another manifestation of the communicative role that English plays was drawn by McKay (2002) who maintained that:

...as a language of wider communication, [that] English is the international language par excellence. And in many instances it is a language of wider communication both among individuals from different countries and between individuals from one country. In this way, English is an international language in both a global and a local sense. (McKay, 2002, p.5)

The global 'triumph' of English is highly respected among the members of the big, multilingual European Union family where 23 different official languages are spoken by almost 500 million siblings in 27 member states. According to a 2001 Eurobarometer (2001) survey, English—being the mother tongue of only 16% of the EU's population— is spoken as a foreign language by 31%. And when the respondents were asked to identify the language they find the most useful besides their mother tongue, not surprisingly, 75% of respondents answered English. Buck (2002) highlights the importance of English in the world business arena by stating that "The European Union's monetary policy is decided at

² The special status of English language could be recognized either as adopting it as an official or working language of the country as in more than 70 countries today, according to Crystal (1997) or giving particularly priority to English language especially in the field of education as a foreign language. If a country neither adopts English as the official language nor requires its citizen to learn English, the impact and penetration of English is still unstoppable due to its lingua franca status today.

Frankfurt, Germany, but in English. In the corridors of power, whether in Brussels, Geneva or New York, official discourse is produced in English first, and then translated. Anybody who's anybody speaks English, or they'd be nobody".



"Different types of letters, characters and colors symbolize the differences in the EU, but I wanted to show in spite of

that, we can coexist in harmony" said 23 year old Polish art student, Szymon Skrzypczak, who is the designer of the winning design for the competition for official logo of the EU for the 50th anniversary of the Rome treaties. It is obvious that the winning design (figure shown above) has a European flavor; but still, the unifying element of the logo is English *per se*. It is the English word "together" that unites the European family.

In the dotcom world, According to Thomas (1996), 75% of the world's mail, 80% of computer data and 85% of all information are stored in English, while the next greatest, German, has only 4.5% and Japanese 3.1%. (http://www.englishenglish.com/english_facts_8.htm) Besides, the English language accounts for 60% of all radio broadcasts, 80% of data transfers as well as 85% of international telephone calls (<http://www.rogerdarlington.co.uk/FFF.html>). English language dominance on the WWW is generally explained by a 'positive feedback loop' to mean that new Internet users have an inclination to learn English and use it online, thus, in a way, increasing the penetration and spread of English throughout the world. As cited in Graddol (2006), Nunberg (2000) found out that around 85% of web pages are in English. Nurnberg further mentions that "the proportion of English tends to be highest where the local language has a relatively small number of speakers and where the competence in English is high. In Holland and Scandinavia, for example, English pages run as high as 30% of the total; in

France and Germany, they account for around 15-20%; and in Latin America, they account for 10% or less”.

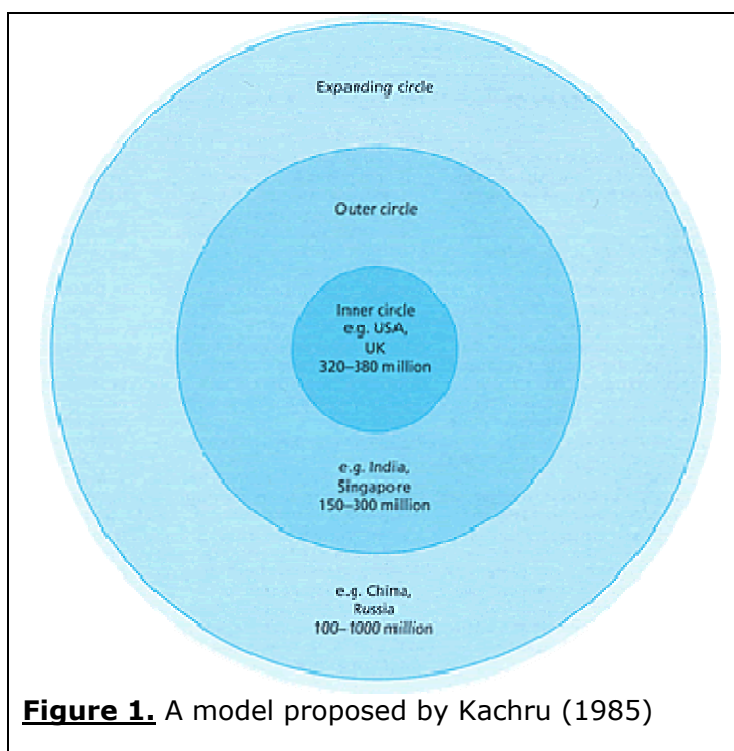


Figure 1. A model proposed by Kachru (1985)

In a seminal article, the world's leading scholar in the field of world Englishes, Braj Kachru (1985) proposed a theoretical model consisting of three concentric circles (see Figure 1), depicting “the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional

domains in which English is used across cultures and languages” (Kachru, 1985, p.12). Kachru’s perspective maintains that various roles English serves in different countries could be best understood in three concentric circles. Kachru’s framework³ related to the global diffusion of the English language was summarized in Crystal (1997) as follows:

The **inner circle** refers to the traditional bases of English, where it is the primary language: it includes the USA, UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

3 Despite the fact that McKay (2002) highlights the primary drawback of Kachru’s categorization by stating that “today many countries in what Kachru terms the Expanding Circle (e.g. Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands) have many more English-speaking bilinguals than countries of the Outer Circle where English has an official status (e.g. the Gambia and Rwanda),” Crystal (1997) benefited from the framework to provide an estimate of the current number of English speakers and Graddol (1997) found it useful to account for the development of English in these contexts. Besides, the global expansion of English in the direction from Inner through Expanding Circle is also shown by different labels of the English language presented at the beginning of this chapter.

The **outer circle** involves the earlier phases of the spread of English in non-native settings, where the language has become a part of a country's chief institutions, and plays an important 'second language' role in a multilingual setting: it includes Singapore, India, Malawi and over 50 other territories.

The **expanding circle** involves those nations which recognize the importance of English as an international language, though they do not have a history of colonization by members of the inner circle, nor have they given English any special administrative status. It includes China, Japan, Greece, Turkey and (as the name of this circle suggests) a steadily increasing number of other states. In these areas, English is taught as a foreign language.

The expansion of English is understandable and predictable in domains like the Inner and Outer Circles. To put differently, scrutinizing the colonial history of Anglo-American Empire reveals the linguistic colonization happened in the Inner and Outer Circles. However, it is in the Expanding Circle where there is the greatest potential for the continued spread of English. It is in the Expanding Circle where the global construct called the 'English language' is attributed a wide spectrum of different labels and fulfills a variety of different functions.

The global language phenomenon has been examined on a Chomskyan-Whorfian plane by Buck (2002) as follows:

"It's easy to get off track in the language debate. Scholars have long entertained very conflicting views about what language is. Chomsky for one has held that, for all their apparent diversity, the world's 5000 languages can be boiled down to a number of universal rules hard-wired in the brain. If that's the case, then little is lost if the whole world evolves towards a single language. At the other extreme, Whorf believed that human beings are totally at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society to the point of molding their thought processes. If so, people from different backgrounds can only talk at cross-purposes, whatever the language." (Buck, 2002)

a. English in the Field of Education: Global Business of ELT

A comprehensive overview of the current globalized status of English would be highly deficient if it did not include a particular section devoted to the omnipresence of English as a second and foreign language (ESL/EFL) in educational contexts. Interestingly enough, the number of English language learners in China is greater than the total number of speakers of English in the USA (Taylor 2002, cited in Jiang, 2003:3). Within a decade, 2 billion people will be studying English and about half the world—some 3 billion people—will speak it, according to a 2004 report to the British Council. Therefore, the role of English in the field of education is serving the global 'triumph' of English.

Since the beginning of its establishment as the British Committee for Relations with Other Countries, educational attaché of the post-British Empire, the British Council has understandably and clearly supported the global influx of the English language in keeping with the Council's intention, stated in 1968-1969 report of the British Council and cited in Pennycook (1994)

...There is a hidden sales element in every English teacher, book, magazine, film-strip and television program sent overseas....The British teacher of English cannot help being a teacher about Britain....Britain does indeed 'gain political, commercial, and cultural advantage from the world-wide use of English'. (Pennycook, 1994, p. 149)

It was further explained by Pennycook (1994) that British Council is an institution that unquestionably supports commercial and political interests of the British government. Today, with 7,500 staff in offices, teaching centers, libraries, and information and resource centers in 234 towns and cities in 110 countries and territories worldwide (British Council, 2006), the British Council is the flagship of English language institutes together with the BBC and several US organizations such as the Peace Corps, the Center for Applied Linguistics and the Ford Foundation.

The diffusion of the English language, also proudly declared as “the UK’s biggest export success story” by the websites in Portugal (<http://www.britishcouncil.org/portugal-ingles-cursos.htm>) and Mexico (<http://www.britishcouncil.org/mexico-english.htm>) of the British Council, the United Kingdom’s international organization for educational opportunities and cultural relations, is probably most evident in the English Language Teaching (ELT) sector. Graddol (2006) asserts that ELT sector makes up nearly 1.5 billion pounds for the UK and other education related exports earn up to 10 billion pounds a year. On the other hand, as mentioned in Seidlhofer & Jenkins (2003:140), David Blunkett, the British Education and Employment Secretary in 2000, told British business leaders to capitalize on their advantage as native English speakers as reported in The Observer, 29 October 2000. A recent commentary on Newsweek International highlights the economic magnitude of the English language sector in India by stating that “...the massive English-learning industry in India alone is a \$100 million-per-year business. They are the front lines of a global revolution in which hundreds of millions of people are learning English, the planet’s language for commerce, technology—and, increasingly, empowerment” (Power, 2007).

b. English in Academia

The global attractiveness of English is echoed in the field of higher education. The global educational marketplace is dominated by English-speaking countries, particularly by those on both sides of Atlantic.

The Institute of International Education (2006) reported that there were a total of 564,766 international students studying in the U.S. during the 2005-2006 academic year. Despite the fact that the statistics reveal a trend of decline in the last three years compared to a peak of 586,323 in the 2002-2003 academic year, it still marks the seventh year in a row that the US higher

education system, consisting of more than 3,000 accredited U.S. institutions, has hosted more than half a million foreign students. Notwithstanding the current numbers stating that the 'foreign student market' in the USA constitutes only 3.9 per cent of the total enrollment, the total contribution of is about 13.5 billion US dollars in the 2005-2006 academic year and this was 28 per cent of the total global market in cross-border degrees.

Statistical information about international students studying in UK Higher Education (HE) provided by the Higher Education Statistics Agency and British Council reports there were a total of 318,395 international students studying in the UK during the 2004-2005 academic year. Anglo-American higher institutions, consisting of more than 6000 accredited institutions, host nearly 1 million students.

The Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) published by the Institute of Higher Education, Shanghai Jiao Tong University (IHE-SJTU) is regarded as one of the most widely-cited rankings of the world's higher education institutions. According to Population (2004) and GDP (2004) data which come from "Key Development Data & Statistics" compiled by the World Bank, the percentage distribution of top universities by country with their share of global population and gross domestic products (GDP) is given in Figure 2:

nation	Gross National Income 2003	population 2003	GNI per head 2003	share of world economic capacity	share of top 500 research universities 2005	share of top 100 research universities 2005
	\$b USD PPP		\$ USD PPP	%	%	%
United States	10,978	290.8	37,750	41.8	33.6	53.0
United Kingdom	1643	59.3	27,690	4.6	8.0	11.0
Germany	2279	82.5	27,610	6.3	8.0	5.0
Japan	3629	127.6	28,450	10.4	6.8	5.0
Canada	950	31.6	30,040	2.9	4.6	4.0
France	1652	59.8	27,640	4.6	4.2	4.0
Sweden	239	9.0	26,710	0.6	2.2	4.0
Switzerland	237	7.4	32,220	0.8	1.6	3.0
Australia	572	19.9	28,780	1.7	2.8	2.0
Netherlands	463	16.2	28,560	1.3	2.4	2.0
Italy	1546	57.6	26,830	4.2	4.6	1.0
Israel	130	6.7	19,440	0.3	1.4	1.0
Austria	241	8.1	29,740	0.7	1.2	1.0
Finland	143	5.2	27,460	0.4	1.0	1.0
Denmark	167	5.4	31,050	0.5	1.0	1.0
Norway	173	4.6	37,910	0.7	0.8	1.0
Russian Federation	1284	143.4	8950	1.3	0.4	1.0
China *	6410	1288.4	4980	3.2	6.5	0.0
Spain	910	41.1	22,150	2.0	4.5	0.0
Korea	862	47.9	18,000	1.6	4.0	0.0
Belgium	300	10.4	28,920	0.9	3.5	0.0
China Hong Kong	195	6.8	28,860	0.6	2.5	0.0
Taiwan	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	2.5	0.0
New Zealand	86	4.0	21,350	0.2	2.5	0.0
Brazil	1326	176.6	7510	1.0	2.0	0.0
South Africa	464	45.8	10,130	0.5	2.0	0.0
India	3062	1064.4	2880	0.9	1.5	0.0
Ireland	123	4.0	30,910	0.4	1.5	0.0
Poland	428	38.2	11,210	0.5	1.5	0.0
Singapore	103	4.3	24,180	0.3	1.0	0.0
Hungary	140	10.1	13,840	0.2	1.0	0.0
Turkey	475	70.7	6710	0.3	1.0	0.0
Greece	220	11.0	19,900	0.4	1.0	0.0
Mexico	919	102.3	8980	0.8	0.5	0.0
Argentina	420	36.8	11,410	0.5	0.5	0.0
Chile	155	15.8	9810	0.2	0.5	0.0
Czech Republic	159	10.2	15,600	0.3	0.5	0.0
Portugal	185	10.4	17,710	0.3	0.5	0.0
all other nations **	8219	2338.2	3456	2.9	0.0	0.0
world total	51,401	6272.5	8190	100.0	100.0	100.0

* China Hong Kong is listed separately ** Population and GDP data include Taiwan World economic capacity is measured as an aggregate of the individual nations' economic capacity, defined as GNI multiplied by GNI per head. All nations without any top 500 research universities are treated as one unit.
sources: World Bank (2006); SJTUHE (2006)

Figure 2. Jiao Tong (2006) research rankings

Jiao Tong (2006) research rankings show that English-speaking universities account for 70.4 % of the world's top 100 universities and 38% of the world's GDP. In other words, almost three-fourth of the world's top 100 universities are in English-speaking countries. The domination of English-speaking institutions presented in Jiao Tong research figures is unsurprisingly spearheaded by the United States which had 17 of the top 20 and 54 of the top 100 in 2006. The picture depicted above unquestionably reflects the necessity to

use English as the medium of education to ensure collegiality in the international arena.

A commentary in *The Economist* puts forward that

The top universities are citizens of an international academic marketplace with one global academic currency, one global labor force and, increasingly, one global language, English. They are also increasingly citizens of global economy, sending their best graduates to work for multinational companies. The creation of global universities was spearheaded by the Americans; now everybody else is trying to get in on the act.

(*The Economist*, 8 September 2005 as cited in Graddol, 2006)

Marginson (2007) asserts that "they [calculations] favor universities very strong in the sciences, universities from English language nations because English is the language of research (non English language work is published less and cited less) and universities from the USA because Americans tend to cite Americans" (p.7).

The English-language dominated figures above might account for the fact that "the English-speaking nations of the USA, UK and Australia are relatively attractive to foreign students but have largely one-way student flows" as put forward by Marginson and Van der Wende (2006:17) who also summarize the role of the English language in educational circles as:

English is the premier language of business and the professions and the only global language of science, research and academic publication. The erstwhile world-wide roles of Latin, French, German and Russian have declined. French remains important in Francophone Africa, and German continues to be quite widely known in university circles in Japan and Korea; Arabic is a common medium of academic discussion in many nations; and Spanish an important regional language in Central and South America with a growing importance in the USA; nevertheless, in an increasing number of institutions throughout the world faculty have formal or informal incentives to publish in Anglophone journals. (Marginson and Van der Wende, 2006, p.17)

c. English in academic publishing

The role that the English language fulfills in academic contexts is spearheaded by Anglo-American powers within the world economy, propelled by byproducts of cultural industries such as universities, educational institutions and the internet. In this regard, academic publishing stands out as a sector where hegemonic global power and monopolistic trends in English are clearly observed. Held et al. (1999) asserts that English is actually the primary source for translation. In other words, the books which are prepared originally in English have more chance to be translated into other languages than the books written in other languages.

In a *Le Monde Diplomatique* article dated 2004, the critic Pierre Lepape argues that "It's clear from the annual Frankfurt book fair, the world's largest, that books originally written in English are displacing books in other languages and from other traditions. Big international publishing conglomerates, the demands of book chains and declining sales all narrow the range of what's available to read" and further adds that "Cultural imperialism has gone beyond the cinema, popular music and television; books translated from English are having great success in Italy and Spain and are making substantial inroads in France and Germany" (Lepape, 2004).

In "English-Language Dominance, Literature and Welfare" (CEPR Discussion Paper No. 2055). Méritz (1999) extends the scope of fears and argues that just as in the field of academic publishing, those who wish to reach a wider global audience will need to write in English. He maintains that "World literature will be an English literature and will be the poorer for it – as if all music were written only for the cello".

The influence of English in the field of academic publishing was by Viecek (1996) as follows:

In 1950 *Zeitschrift für Tierpsychologie*, the oldest specialist journal in the field of behavioral science, a German domain, contributions were all in German. In

1984, 95% was in English. In 1986, the title of the journal changed into Ethology. The Italian physics journal *Nuovo Cimento* (1950) accepted contributions other than Italian which resulted that contributions have in Italian dropped to 0 in 20 years of span and while that of contributions in English has increased from 0 to 100 %. In the Journal of Astronomy and Astrophysics, 2 out of 3 scientists publish in English while all organs of the Agence Internationale de l'Energie Atomique, Nuclear Fusion are written in English, despite the fact that the authority is subscribed by the French government.

As reported in Graddol (1997), in the Science Citation Index which provides citations and references found in 3,700 of the world's leading scholarly science and technical journals covering more than 100 disciplines, 95% of the articles were written in English in 1997, even though only half of them came from authors in English-speaking countries.

1.1.2 The Dark Side of the Moon

The dominance of English often generates ambivalent feelings, sometimes being perceived as neutral Wardhaugh (1987), as imperialist and oppressive (Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994; Canagarajah, 1999) or even democratic and liberating (Crystal, 1997). The controversies in attitudinal standpoints generated towards English language usually pave the way to emergence of politicized attitudes towards it.

The undisputed role achieved by English in the international arena as the world's dominating language was foreseen by John Adams, the second president of the United States, in his letter to Congress in 1780:

English is destined to be in the next and succeeding centuries more generally the language of the world than Latin was in the last or French is in the present age. The reason of this is obvious, because the increasing population in America, and **their universal connection and correspondence with all nations** will, aided by the influence of England in the world, whether great or small, **force their language into general use**, in spite of all the obstacles

that may be thrown in their way, if any such there should be. (Emphasis are mine) (Letter to Congress by John Adams, 1780)

The present-day world status of English is primarily the result of two factors: the expansion of British colonial power which peaked towards the end of the nineteenth century, and the emergence of the United States as the leading economic power of the twentieth century. It is the latter factor which continues to explain the world position of the English language today" (Crystal, 1997). This straightforward exposition of the progressive factors behind the global supremacy of English reveals the two main trends in the expansion: "expansion on horse" and "expansion on-line".

a. Colonial background of English: Expansion on Horse

The term "expansion on horse" was coined to refer to the spread of English language into colonial lands by means of exertion of any kind of force. Starting with the first permanent settlement at Jamestown, Virginia in America in 1607, and colonies of the Caribbean and followed by colonization of Australia, New Zealand and India, the unstoppable British juggernaut made its move rapidly towards ethno-linguistically diverse territories of South East Asia, and the Indian subcontinent and showed its ruthless face in several West and East African nations. The British Empire, the most extensive territory under a single country's rule in history after the Mongol Empire, reached its golden age during *Pax Britannica*. The primary reasons that prevented the Sun from setting on the Empire were interaction of trade, worldwide settlement as a result of colonization, politically-oriented trade relationships and military campaigns. The expansion of the territorial boundaries of the British Empire was at the same time expansion and 'promotion' –at any price- of indispensable components of the Empire including industry, economy, legal systems, technology, society and unquestionably the language.

As English traveled all around the world on the back of the horse, in the barrels of imperial soldiers, on a ship of the Royal Navy or in the shadow of British flag, the colonization movement meant the conquest of English. In other words, the reign of the British Empire was the reign of the *Lingua Anglia* in imperial times. Linguistic expansion of the English language has resulted in developments of local accents and varieties.

The beginning of the spread of English towards the other side of the Atlantic resulted in spreading the linguistic boundaries of the English language. In a relatively short period of time, immigrants coming from various parts of the British Isles created a multidialectal society across the United States and partly Canada. The linguistic heritage of New England was enriched by the arrivals from France, Spain, Italy and different parts of Continental Europe. The assimilation process created the necessity of using English as 'the common tongue'. The countries which experienced British colonization also experienced British linguistic colonization. Crystal (1997) argues that the reason behind the development of a unique version of English in the West Indies was the influence of the slave ships that traveled from Europe to West Africa and the Americas. International marital routes controlled by the British Empire not only established a ground for establishment of trade routes, but as well as linguistic routes. Crystal (1997) further maintains that the first black Creole emerged in the Southern part of the US resulting from the voyages for the purposes of exchanging slaves for commodities in the Caribbean. Moreover, it should be noted that linguistic colonization policies of the British Empire did not differ at all from the rest of the colonization movement. "Unilateral flow" for the interests of the Empire was the essence of this process.

Similarly, the growing presence of English in the South Asian peninsula had immense impacts on the society whose effects are still present today. It

should be fairly enough to rely on present-day statistics to envisage the colonial history of English language. Today, English, also given associate official language status in India, is spoken (to certain varying degrees) by an estimated 4% of the Indian population which has recently exceeded 1 billion (Crystal, 1997). Latest statistics reveal that with more than 350 million English speakers, India has the largest number in the world. That number is equal to sum of English-speaking populations of Britain, the USA, Australia and New Zealand. (Crystal, 2004). The functional range of English in Indian context was explored by Kachru (1986) who stated that it serves as a linguistic tool for the administrative cohesiveness of the country and as a language of wider communication. Kachru's standpoint was, to a varying extent, applicable to the Indian subcontinent (Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka), Australasia (Australia, New Zealand, and Papua New Guinea), South Eastern nations including Singapore, Malaysia, and Hong Kong as well as colonies in the African continent (Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, South Africa and Zimbabwe).

The British Empire gained more prominence as the English language became rooted in linguistic, cultural, societal, administrative, legal and educational settings in colonized societies. English was used as a tool of power to establish closer links with cultural and societal norms of the colonizing elite. Therefore, the penetration of the British sociopolitical and sociocultural power defined the roles for the colonized and the colonizer: the former being barbaric whereas the latter is inherently cultivated, divine, civilized and emancipating. Thus, "the language of the conqueror", to use Templer's (2003) term, gradually acquired social and administratively dominant roles in colonized lands.

Consisting of nearly 458 million people which approximately equals about a quarter of the world and scattered around 36.6 million km² as of 1921, the British Empire entered a period of stagnation and consequently dissemination.

The dissemination of British colonization commenced prior to WWII by a period of decolonization started with Canada (1867), Australia (1901), New Zealand (1907), South Africa (1910), and followed in post-war era India (1947), African colonies (1957-1968), Caribbean territories (1960s) and finally Hong Kong (1997). Right after World War II, most of the newly-independent territories of the Empire formed a free association of independent states under the name of the Commonwealth of Nations (known as 'the Commonwealth').

b.The Spread of English in the Age of Information: Expansion on-line

The other contributing factor behind the omnipresence of English in the world can be explained with the other trend of the expansion: "expansion on-line". The term "expansion on-line" refers to the spread of English in the period starting with the post-war era towards the new millennium that reached its culmination in cyberworld. The dissolution of the British Empire at the end of World War II was accompanied with economic, military, and cultural developments on the other side of the Atlantic. The US-propelled expansion of the English language riveted by economic developments, technological advances and cultural exports had a wider sphere of influence across the globe and was consequently coronated by the dominance in the dotcom world. All those factors have direct implications in the spread of English language. Moreover, all those factors trigger the stereotypical dispositions and attitudes towards the English language and its current status today.

Expansion on-line was echoed by major scholar in the field of technology and learning, Marc Warschauer, in a recent *International Herald Tribune* article by Mydans (2007),

English and globalization have spread hand in hand through the world. Having a global language has assisted globalization, and globalization has consolidated the global language. That process started with the dominance of two successive English-speaking empires, British and American, and continues today with the new virtual empire of the Internet.

(International Herald Tribune, April 9, 2007)

Despite the fact that its constitutional organization does not have a place for a king or emperor, and it has no officially established settlement outside its home territories, it is still not enough to prevent critics from labelling the US as an "empire" and compare its military and economic leadership to that of Britain's 200 years ago. Therefore, in this respect, the United States is often labeled as the "crown prince" of the British Empire, following in the imperial footsteps and criticized for its self-attributed role as "the world's policeman". Maintaining 702 military bases in 36 different countries and having active-duty military personnel in 135 of the 195 sovereign independent nations of the world, "the U.S. global empire [is] an empire that Alexander the Great, Caesar Augustus, Genghis Khan, Suleiman the Magnificent, Justinian, and King George V would be proud of" (Vance, 2004). Imperialistic claims or any kind of imperialistic associations were strictly denied by Washington, by the former Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld who firmly declared in 2003 that "We don't seek empires. We're not imperialistic. We never have been", as a response to a question whether the United States has any intention of "empire building". Crystal (1997) mentions that "a language becomes an international language for one chief reason: the political power of its people — especially their military power, and the history of a global language can be traced through the successful expeditions of its soldier/sailor speakers" (p.7).

It should be very appropriate in this regard to remember David Crystal's (1997) words regarding the intertwined relation between economy and global language, who states that "It may take a militarily powerful nation to establish a

language, but it takes an economically powerful one to maintain and expand it” (p.7). In other words, in the 17th and 18th centuries, English language was the linguistic flag of the British Empire which was the leading colonial nation and the leader of the Industrial Revolution at that time. When it comes to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the English language was the linguistic flag of the US, the world’s leading economic superpower. The massive expansion of English in the post-war era was criticized by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1989) who concluded that “it has been British and American government policy since the mid-1950s to establish English as a universal ‘second language’, so as to protect and promote capitalist interests” (p.63). Crystal further summarizes the historical pathway of drastic expansion of English by stating that

British political imperialism had sent English around the globe, during the nineteenth century, so that it was ‘a language on which the sun never sets’. During the twentieth century, this world presence was maintained and promoted, almost single-handedly, through the economic supremacy of the new American superpower. And the language behind the US dollar was English (Crystal, 1997, p.8).

1.1.3 The Power of English

Linguistically speaking, the end of British colonization did not result in the dissolution of colonial ties penetrating deep down in the society. Contrary to what might have been expected, the sociolinguistic influence of the English language did not vanished after the dissolution of the Empire. The English language in colonies was the medium of political discourse and the essence of national administration and the legal system. Interestingly, the English language maintained its power over local languages in post-colonial era. However, it should be noted that at times the English language was used by colonized against the colonizer as in the case of Gandhi (1869 - 1948) who “struggled to create consensus for an acceptable native variety as the national language, [but] expressed his message to the elite in English” (Hohenthal, 2003).

Understandably, the global language of the world has always been at the heart of global debates of power and politics. Kachru (1986), for instance, has examined the power of English in a global context and used a metaphor “loaded gun” to characterize the language. According to Kachru (1986), linguistic matters and the issues related to language and power are not confined to the linguistic borders but have close contact with history, sociology, attitude studies, politics and economics. He further maintained that the language could manifest itself in diverse roles including persuasion, imposing regulation or inducement, even the suppression of a particular variety or promotion of another.

An idealistic perspective on language and culture was provided by Smith (1983) who argues that “when any language becomes international in character, it cannot be bound to any one culture”. However, it should be noted that it is perhaps the integral elements of culture that enable a particular language to maintain a globalized position. On the other hand, Bailey (1991) asserts that English contains both positive and negative cultural values such as economic development and at the same time exploitation, political and cultural ideas and institutions, enrichment of English at the expense of autochthonous languages, creating chances to communicate with readers around the world at the cost of one’s own language. However, Kachru (1986) insists on the neutrality of English by giving specific reference to the claim that English is free from any kind of undesirable connotations that native languages might have. He further adds that the benefits that come from using English have, in fact, vitiated the fact that it was originally the tongue of the colonizers. Similarly, Pennycook (2001) defined the diffusion of English as:

...natural (although its spread was initiated by colonialism, since then it has been an accidental by-product of global forces), neutral (unlike other, local languages, English is unconnected to cultural and political issues), and beneficial (people can only benefit by gaining access to English and the world it opens up) (Pennycook, 2001, p.79).

The linguistic power of the English language in the light of the complex nature of the global expansion was defined by Cooper (1988) in the following terms: "English is powerful... because the powerful use it and because they use it to pursue power" (p.1). Although it employs a wide range of functions as the lingua franca of the world today, carrying prior encumbrances of its colonial past, English will also be remembered as the "language of the conqueror" in Templer's (2003) terms. Whether English just happened to be in the right place at the right time (Crystal, 1997) or was the loyal servant of colonialism (Pennycook, 1998).

Another school of thought maintains that colonialism has not come to an end but reformatted for the needs and interests of capitalism and implemented by non-military means. Robert Phillipson coined a seminal collocation in 1992: "Linguistic Imperialism". For many, the impression that one gets from Phillipson's work is very similar to that mentioned in the opening sentences of *The New Life* (1997) by Orhan Pamuk, Nobel-prize winning Turkish novelist, who states that "I read a book one day and my whole life was changed". It is often regarded to be the first systematic examination of the language from the point-of-view of neo-colonial powers. Phillipson theorizes his argument of linguistic imperialism as "the dominance asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" and "an essential constituent of imperialism as a global phenomenon involving structural relations between rich and poor countries in a world characterized by inequality and injustice". Pennycook (2001), in this respect, states that:

the extent to which English is involved in the political, educational, social and economic life of a country is clearly a result of both the historical legacy of colonialism and of the varying success of countries since independence in warding off the threats of neo-colonialism (cited in Burns and Coffin et al. 2001, p.81).

1.1.4. English and Globalization

The collapse of Soviet Empire in the last decade of the previous millennium was regarded as the end of the Cold War and absolute victory of the West which, from another perspective, resulted in the victory of the Western Culture. Therefore, starting from the post-Soviet era through the new millennium, the rules of the 'new game' (also known as 'globalization') were primarily re-set by the global Western powers and primarily by the United States. To put it differently, no matter how thick your 'curtain' is, it is impossible to remain unaffected by the 'lights' of the new world order. These lights of the new global rules, which can be defined as the constitution of the 'global village' in McLuhan's terms (1962), are represented in variety of different areas, from politics to sports, to language.

The rationale behind the argument that English language is often associated with globalization and cultural imperialism is also evident in The Encyclopedia Britannica definition of the term 'globalization' which puts forward that globalization is the "process by which the experience of everyday life... is becoming standardized around the world".

Unidirectional center-to-periphery market ideologies require a high level of homogenization for the purposes of generating susceptibility towards penetration of global values, norms and products. Therefore, standardization necessitated due to the nature of globalization cannot be different from employment of the global standards set by Western centers of power.

English-propelled global industries including communication, media, technology and entertainment, created a necessity of dependence on English as the medium of communication in these fields. Computer technology and internet applications are probably the best representations of this dependence. Therefore, regardless of historical, social and cultural proximity to English language and culture, societies are becoming susceptible to English for their well-being. In

other words, the role of English language is undeniable in any country since it is an indispensable element for sustaining 'global' culture and society. Rezendes (1994) explains the American-led globalization by stating in an article that appeared in The Boston Globe that "experts attribute the worldwide spread of English to British colonialism and American culture, rather than to the inherent qualities of the language...English is dominating the globe today because, when the sun finally set on the British Empire at the end of World War II, the United States emerged as a global superpower and cultural giant, leading the way in medical research, technological innovation, motion pictures and rock 'n' roll."

"It is not surprising for a wolf to intend to hunt a lamb, what is actually perplexing is when the lamb has fallen in love with the wolf" says Mevlânâ Celâleddin Mehmed Rumi, better known to English-speaking world as Rumi, one of the most prominent philosophers of Anatolia. Adapting his philosophy to today's sociopolitical milieu, what makes an indigenous people or cultures fall in love with English are the current sociocultural denotations of English language. Therefore, it is not surprising for English to spread over the globe, what is actually perplexing is when the indigenous languages and cultures have fallen in love with the spread of English. English has become the glittering symbol of modernity, affluence, and civilization. Rohde (1996) maintains that "what centuries of British colonialism and decades of Esperanto couldn't do, a few years of free trade, MTV, and the Internet has. English dominates international business, politics, and culture more than any other language in human history" (p.15).

The English language blended with globalization consequently leads to Westernization which has become an analogous term to Americanization. Globalization, in a very broad sense, refers to the growing interdependence, close cooperation and collaboration among states. One of the key characteristics

of globalization requires that the globalization process should include the involvement of not only states but also non-state actors, primarily multinational, transnational corporations. In this equation, the English language serves the interests of globalization, the sociopolitical interests, as well as the economic interests of the Anglo-American bloc. Today, Anglo-American influence is omnipresent and omnipotent in "McWorld" in Barber's term (1996). Exposure to Anglo-American cultural bombardment created a necessity for the better understanding of the multi-billion dollar English as a Second/Foreign Language (ESL/EFL) industry in the UK and the United States.

1.1.5 English Language Teaching

The center of gravity of the global expansion of the English language is probably its educational dimension: English language teaching. As indicated in a recent International Herald Tribune article "riding the crest of globalization and technology, English dominates the world as no language ever has, and some linguists are now saying it may never be dethroned as the king of languages" Myans (2007). In such an understanding, English language teaching (whether in second or foreign language context) is the manifestation of the global spread of English and the current status of English in today's world. This understanding was rephrased by Kell (2004) in the field of educational policy as

One of the dilemmas that nation states have to address is the tension between the need to resource the teaching of English as a means of participating in the global economy and at the same time responding to the need to maintain and sustain the national languages of the nation state project(Kell, 2004, p. 4).

This might stem from the globally shared belief that English language teaching is similar to a coin. One on side, there is the English language and what it stands for on a global scale, i.e. the instrumental face and on the other, there is the perception that English language teaching is often the perfect medium for

the spread of values, norms and culture, in general, that promote Western ideals of capitalism. Naysmith (1987) suggests that English language teaching "has become part of the process whereby one part of the world has become politically, and culturally dominated by another...The central place the English language has taken as the language of international capitalism". Cooke (1988) has described English as a Trojan Horse, arguing that it is a language of imperialism and it serves the interest of a particular class. Today, English as a Trojan horse, for Edge (2003) is being led by ELT professionals who are regarded as "imperial troopers". For Swales (1997), English is like a tyrannosaurus Rex, a dinosaur which cruelly gobbles up cultures and traditions as well as identities of non-native speakers. Similarly, Pakir (1997) described English "as a killer language" so as to reflect her first-hand experience of teaching English along with the native language in the Singaporean context which ultimately contributed to nothing but the emergence of a local variety of English called 'Singlish'.

By spreading the study and use of English world-wide, the British Council seeks to further the business and political interests of the British government throughout the world. It does this by providing access to English ideas and expertise through the English language education and training, books, and information on the arts, science and technology. Habermas (1990) as cited by Kell (2004) highlights the mystery behind the 'triumph' of English by stating that "there is one salient feature that differentiates English from other Asian and European global languages. It is the way in which English has been subject to and driven by commodified and characterized as a marketable product". As cited in Graddol (1997), the Council launched the "English 2000 Project" in 1995 as part of its strategic investment and performance management program to

facilitate informed debate about [and to forecast] the future use[s] and learning of the English language worldwide [...] and to help develop new means of teaching and learning English. The project team works to position

British English language teaching goods and services to the mutual benefit of Britain and the countries with which it works (Graddol, 1997, p. i).

In conclusion, fueled by the Internet, the spread of US culture and economic globalization, English has an immense impact on our lives regardless of the country we are in, the language we speak, the religion we practice or the passport we had. Whatever the linguistic stance might be in the future, it is the hidden fascination for English and American cultures as well as the fact that English is so much associated with linguistic, political or economic power that will ensure an always-expanding future for the language. The desire to be associated with the internationality and prestige of English makes any specific reference to the English language the practice of upward mobility.

1.1.6 English in Turkey

As broadly discussed in the previous chapter, English language is a global phenomenon which has a wide spectrum of local impacts regardless of whether English is spoken as first, second, additional or foreign language. The current local impacts of English in present-day Turkey date back to the transition period from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic. A linguistic-historical analysis could be divided into three major sections: the Ottoman era, the Republican period and present-day Turkey. It would be highly relevant to discuss Western and Eastern interaction in a linguistic melting pot in a country which defines itself as 'a place where East meets West'.

a. Ottoman Period

Originally located in Central Asia, where today many independent Turkic nations are located, Turks followed a nomadic life for centuries due to physical struggles such as famines, disasters and wars; and based their lives predominantly upon agriculture and raising livestock up until they established a

settled life, commencing with the battle of Manzikert in 1071 (Sevim and Merçil, 1995; Shaw, 1976). Thousands of miles in Turkish nomadic history have experienced numerous states, a variety of different religions, and the influence of many languages. Despite language contact between Turkish and a variety of different languages, Turks, traditionally, did not have high motivation to learn foreign languages. Throughout time, members of minority groups under Turkish rule were employed as intermediaries in communicating with foreigners.

The Turkish linguistic contact with foreign languages could be traced back to the Seljuq Dynasty, originated by a group of Turkic descendants called as Oguz Turks, in the pre-Ottoman period where the strong influence of Persian language and culture was seen with Persian being the language of government and Turkish the language of court and military. In addition, Persian literature was highly respected and regarded as superior to Turkish literature since Turkish was considered to be the language of nomads (Demircan, 1988).

Following Islamic doctrines, a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious Turkish state, spanned three continents covering 12 million km²; the Ottoman Empire (1299-1922) was regarded as a 'superpower' and a major global actor in world politics, and was at the heart of Eastern and Western world for six centuries. From a linguistic point of view, Ottoman Turkish was a variety of Turkish, highly influenced by Persian was the language of science and literature, and Arabic, the language of the Holy Koran, was encouraged to be learned. The great influence of both Arabic and Persian grammar and vocabulary in Ottoman Turkish created the necessity to become familiar with those foreign languages if one wants to become truly fluent in Ottoman Turkish. In addition, the role of Islam in the Ottoman state created the linguistic necessity to supplement Turkish lexical heritage with Arabic religious terms. In other words,

religion paved the way to internalization of these foreign languages. Konig (1990) describes the situation of Turkish as follows:

...the drastic change of Turkish under the influence of Arab and Persian was not a consequence of a widespread knowledge of these languages, but was realised by a number of Islamic scholars who studied Arabic and Persian. As a result of the Islamic influence, lexical transfers entered Turkish as there was need for religious terms. However, the process of transfer was carried on to such an extent that by the 17th century a diglossic situation was created within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman Turkish, which was loaded with a great number of lexical transfers and even with morphological and some syntactic transfers, served as the high variety with an official function and was the language of education. The original Turkish was the low variety used for non-official domestic communication. (Konig, 1990)

Based upon religious grounds, Ottoman Empire had a positive attitude towards languages. That is the same reason which explains the reason why Ottomans were not interested in learning any Western languages like their predecessors. The artistic status of those languages was a complimentary factor. The multilingual nature in Ottoman era was addressed in the final report of *An Investigation Commission Established For the Purposes of Investigating the Degeneration and Foreignization in Turkish and Establishing Necessary Precautions to Protect Turkish and to Use it Effectively* by the Turkish Parliament:

An idea that "Ottoman Turkish was a hybrid language consisting of Turkish, Persian and Arabic" is a misleading argument. If that were the case, the cultural heritage remaining from the Ottoman period would have been claimed by Arabs and Persians, too. However, the cultural heritage [of the Empire] only belongs to Turkish nation." (Commission Report, p.31)

Despite the fact that Ottoman troops first invaded Europe in 1345 and that Asia Minor experienced Crusades between 1096 and 1270, the

establishment of a close relationship with the West unsurprisingly gained a considerable momentum during the years of stagnation and decline of the Empire (16th century onwards). The relations with the Western world, started with commercial purposes, had direct implications with regard to languages. Similar to the introduction of Arabic and Persian as discussed earlier, foreign merchants hired interpreters called "dragomans" for the purposes of ensuring commercial relations.

The territorial losses experienced in the Empire during the period of stagnation and decline resulted in extending the sphere of influence of foreign languages towards military circles. Such an idea was echoed by Demircan (1988) who maintained that Western countries penetrated into the Ottoman Empire via commercial goals whereas the Ottoman Empire concentrated on foreign languages pursuing not only commercial but also military ones. The losses, especially in the Balkans, reinforced the idea that Western forces had advanced in the military field. Therefore, the decision makers in Istanbul embraced the idea that they would play the Western games by the Western rules. For this reason, high-salaried French, English and German officers were employed to train Turkish officers; this was regarded as the preliminary attempts to modernize the Turkish army and follow latest military innovations in the Western world. Foreign officers came with their foreign tongues; for instance, English was taught as a mandatory course in the navy school whereas artillery was dominated by German (Demircan, 1988).

Another dimension of foreign languages in the Ottoman Empire includes minority schools where different foreign languages were taught. The multi-ethnic social structure of the Empire provided the grounds for the claim that educational institutions owned by the ethnic minorities living within the Ottoman border were supported by Western states. Therefore, foreign language learning in the Empire was actually associated with the elites and predominantly

controlled by minority groups. As a result of concessions given by Mehmed II (Mehmed the Conqueror) and capitulations authorized by Suleiman I (Suleiman the Magnificent), Roman Catholics living in Istanbul demanded priests from the Pope. The priests sent by the Pope settled in Saint Benoit Monastery and the first foreign school in the Ottoman Empire was opened in November 18, 1853. This school was regarded as the first serious attempt of missionary priests in the Empire (Ergin, 1977). Statistics reveal the fact that the number of Christian schools outnumbered Muslim schools as of 1859. The minority and foreign schools founded primarily in Istanbul were educational and quasi-missionary institutions where the medium of instruction was French, German, or English. Those institutions provided educational instruction for only a limited group of elites. Graduates of those institutions acquired a sufficient amount of foreign language and culture as well as a respective sect of Christianity. The statistical representation of minority schools in 1894 was presented in the table below:

Table 2.

History of Foreign Languages in Turkey

The Origin	In Turkey	In Arab Countries	In Balkans	Total
France	65	46	3	114
USA	64	33	1	98
England	8	44	1	53
Italy	12	10	15	37
Germany	4	13	1	18
Other	100	11	49	160

Source: Demircan, 1988, p.5

The first American educational attempts in the Ottoman Empire were initiated by the missionaries that belonged to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and came to Turkey in the first quarter of the 19th century. Educational missions were supported American-funded printing houses established in Izmir in 1833 and in Istanbul in 1853. More than 10 million

pages were printed in 1870 (Kocabaşoğlu, 1994). Starting with Samakov and Edirne, American educational endeavors reached their culmination with the establishment of English-medium Robert College in Istanbul on September 16, 1863, an institution which produced its first Muslim graduate in 1903 (Davison, 1961, as cited in Bear, 1985). Robert College is the oldest American school still in existence in its original location outside of the United States.

The interest in foreign languages was not only limited to foreign language education but also made its way into deeper strata of the language represented as lexical borrowings. The westernization program introduced late in the 18th century, as the panacea for the "Sick Man of Europe", highlighted the importance of Western culture and languages. It is not surprising to note that lexical borrowings from foreign languages, particularly words of French origin, were implanted in Turkish these years. It was the prestige, popularity and qualities associated with French and the Western world in general that explains the paradox: while only a small group of elites had access to French, it was French that was the primary word donor to Turkish in those times. The eighteenth century was actually the era of French which was used as the language of trade, international relations and diplomacy. For instance, when the British Ambassador had to draw up a treaty with the Ottoman Turks in 1809, the language of the treaty was French, because he was unable to find a translator proficient in English (Issawi, 1981, as cited in Bear, 1985). The only concrete example of French in present-day Turkish social life is probably certificate of marriage issued to newly-wedded couples in Turkey. The document is still prepared in Turkish and French. The way through a new century was actually a new way through a new state, new dynamics and a new dominating foreign language: the English language. "In the 1950s, Turkey gradually began to move away from European influences towards the power of the US and English as an international language" (Dogançay-Aktuna, 1998, p.4).

b. Republican Era

The fall of the "sick man of Europe" was in fact the rise of a newly independent Turkish state under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the great Commander-in-chief of the Turkish forces during the War of Independence (*Kurtuluş Savaşı*), who successfully led the Turkish national movement, following the defeat of the Ottoman Empire by the Western Allies and contravened the plans for its partition. His socio-military campaigns woke up the sleeping giant and consequently led to the liberation of the country and to the establishment of the state today known as the "Republic of Turkey".

"Father of the Turks" as his surname "Atatürk" suggests, Atatürk engaged in a series of political, legal, cultural, economic, and educational reforms during the transition period from the Empire to a nation-state. The reforms actualized under his supervision has deeply penetrated every domain of the society and had a significant impact on the citizens of the new republic. The reforms started with the establishment of a modern constitution primarily based upon adapting European laws and jurisprudence, were followed by seminal changes in administration, secularization and unification of education, establishment of economic reforms, civil rights for women and many others. The fundamental aim of the revolutionary movement was to modernize the state not only politically, but also socially and culturally by Westernization. These ideals were echoed by Atatürk in his speech on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Republic (*10. Yıl Nutku*):

...We are going to advance our country to the level of the most prosperous and the most civilized countries of the world. We shall make it possible for our nation to acquire the necessary resources and means for her to live in nation-wide prosperity" (Nutuk, 1933)

c. Understanding Turkey

Atatürk's widely-quoted statement above which draws a fine line between creating 'Turkishness' and Westernization reflects his perspective on the

emergence of a Turkish national identity in the newly-established state. His ultimate goal was to modernize the country with Turkish national ideals. Any kind of Westernization movement, therefore, needed to be consistent with and applicable to Turkish nationalism and nation-building dynamics. Any policy or idea that is abhorrent to Turkish identity did not have a place in the formation of such an identity.

In this framework, the Turkish nation-building project employed Turkish as a "common denominator" in shaping the official language policy, in linguistically uniting the nation, and in defining the concept of 'Turkishness'. The construction of Turkish national identity during the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish nation-state beginning with the Tanzimat (the process of Westernization that began in 1839) initiated by literary and intellectual figures including Ziya Gökalp whose ideas have influenced Atatürk, marks the importance of Turkish in defining the concept of the new Turkish national identity. Therefore, the most important educational goal of the new Republic was considered to be the spreading of literacy in Turkish, which was only 6% at the time, in a manner congruent with developing nationalism and nation-building (Dogançay-Aktuna, 1998). The Arabic script was replaced by a newly-created Latin alphabet as the first step in increasing literacy. Since literacy rate was so low in the foundation years of the Republic, it could be well asserted that it had a "tabula rasa effect" meaning that mental representations of the citizens were equipped by, the newly established Turkish alphabet. Language was the medium of transferring Turkish national norms and values to her citizens and the new alphabet was its flagship. As Kohn (1945) described in general, language is a force that shapes nationalism, and an element that contributes to the development of the national sentiment. Aydingün and Aydingün (2004) give specific reference to Smith (1991) and claim that, "within the process of forming

the national consciousness needed to build the Turkish state, language was used as a significant instrument to create Turkishness as a collective identity.

...in the case of modern Turkey, language was the main instrument that defined the nation and national history, since it did not contradict the major modernization policies that were developed. In fact, in constructing the new Turkish nation-state, the founders of the republic focused on three important elements: secularism, language, and history. They defined the nation based on these elements. (Aydingün and Aydingün, 2004, p.3)

Being one of the cornerstones of the nation, language took its share from the pro-nationalist ideas that consequently led to extreme ethnocentrism. Having its origins the works of the French scientist Hilaire de Baranton ("L'Origine des Langues, des Religions et des Peuples"), and Austrian linguist Dr. Hermann F. Kvergić ("La psychologie de quelques elements des langues Turques" a linguistic theory called the "Sun-Language Theory" opposed to the classification of languages by German linguists Schlegel and Humboldt, who categorized languages as isolating, agglutinative and inflectional; it proposed that all human languages are descendants of one Central Asian primal language and, more or less, that primal language is Turkish (Aytürk, 2004). Previously, as cited in Aytürk (2004, p.12) Feraizcizade Mehmet Sakir (1894) had claimed that: "...all names that Almighty God taught Adam in paradise were of Turkish origins, and other languages derived from Turkish...". Having attracted Atatürk's attention in 1935, the theory was at the 3rd Turkish Language Congress in 1936. From 1935 to 1938, a total of 25 books were published on the theory. From a linguistic point of view, the theory brought a new perspective to the issue of purification of foreign loanwords in Turkish. Since the theory asserts that Turkish is the source of all human languages, there should not be any need to purify the language since the original roots of loanwords are Turkish anyway. Such an understanding is believed the suspension of the purification movement for some time until the

theory fell finally into oblivion in the 1950s and 1960s. The purification movement that had been put on the back burner, came into existence through active support of the Turkish Language Association.

Another extremist extension of the nationalist movement was manifested in a theory called the "Turkish History Thesis" which put forward that all nations in Anatolia were of Turkish origin, due to the fact that people who emigrated from Central Asia were the first residents of the region and therefore they must be the ancestors of all those who subsequently lived in these lands (Aytürk, 2004; Aydıngün and Aydıngün, 2004). Far from any solid scientific explanations, both theories, according to Üzüm (2007), aimed at "restoring national self confidence in reaction to the image of the "Turk" seen in the west as "primitive, vulgar and barbarian" (p.34). In other words, both the Sun-Language Theory "a pseudo-scientific explanation for a presumed linguistic transplantation" and the "equally half-baked Turkish History Thesis" in Aytürk's (2004) terms were nothing but naïve attempts to generate collective Turkish national identity and pride. Therefore, it would not be far-fetched to claim that the Turkish nation building-project is paradoxically western and explained by Aytürk (2004) as follows:

...the Turkish national identity was, and one has to say still is, afflicted with a certain degree of ambiguity vis-à-vis the 'west' and the European family of nations. On the one hand, the Republic of Turkey looked toward the 'west' as the only source and model of modernity, the ultimate prize that Kemal Atatürk and the republican elite coveted so much. On the other hand, an equally strong feeling of distrust toward the 'west' counterbalanced this high regard for things western that bordered on unbridled adoration. The feeling of distrust stemmed from a now jealously guarded national independence against former invaders and was also aggravated by the widespread perception of western contempt for the Orient in general and Turks in particular. (Aytürk, 2004, p.2).

From a Kemalist perspective on national identity, language is one of the cornerstones of a nation. "A person who says that s/he belongs to Turkish nation

should speak the Turkish language in the first place. If a person who does not speak Turkish claims that s/he belongs to Turkish nation and culture, it would not be convincing.” (Oran, 1987, p.157). He further maintained that national language and national culture are just like two sides of a single coin, and cannot be separated (Bear, 1985). This explains the reason behind his support of the linguistic nationalism movement in the early years of the state, which intended to make a positive influence (Bear, 1985). Therefore, he summarizes his ideas on the language as follows:

The language of the Turkish nation is Turkish. The Turkish language is the most beautiful, the richest and the simplest language in the world. For that reason, every Turk loves his language greatly and seeks to glorify it. Furthermore, the Turkish language is a sacred treasure for the Turkish nation. Because, the Turkish nation realizes that in the many difficult situations which it has experienced, it has preserved its morals, its traditions, its memories, and its interests, in short, everything which makes up its own nationality, through the medium of language. (Bear, 1985; Turan, 1981)

The reforms in the field of education started on March 3, 1924 by abolishing of religious education system and the introduction of a uniformed national educational system. The unification of education (also known as Tehvid-i Tedirsat) has not only ensured democratization but also created secularism in the field of education. The Turkish Language Reform continued with the introduction the new Turkish alphabet created by *Dil Encümeni* (Language Commission) at the initiative of Atatürk. Derived from the Latin alphabet with the intention of appropriately representing Turkish phonology with a new set of symbols, the new Turkish alphabet replaced the previously used Arabic script. The introduction of the new alphabet was supported by publishing sector and by laws such as the “Law on Copyrights” as well as literacy campaigns instituted by Atatürk in person who taught the new letters to the public in his trips to the countryside (Dilaçar, 1977). Turkish Language Reform was supported by the establishment of institutionalized bodies of the reform, namely the Turkish

Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) in 1931 and the Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti (*Society for Research on the Turkish Language*) later re-named, the Turkish Language Association (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) in 1932. Turkish language reform closely linked with educational practices reached its culmination in 1993 with a university reform.

d. English in the Republican Era

Any discussion depicting the linguistic landscape of the newly independent Turkish state needs to have clear references to the state of the Turkish language at the time. While the rise of Turkish as the language of the state was still in its infancy, it has already had an important impact on various aspects of society, particularly in the field of education; therefore it has implications for foreign languages. On the one hand, great importance was attached Turkish to T both at the administrative and societal level, ensuring the foundation of the Turkish national identity, on the other, a Western foreign language was made a compulsory school subject as of 1924 with the intention of culturally enriching the citizens (Sebüktekin, 1981). The Turkish Language Reform, supported by the active cooperation of the press, the radio, the 'People's Houses' and the Party had a prominent aspect of purifying Turkish of Arabic and Persian loanwords, while at the same time serving as the sociopolitical extension of secularism in the form of moving away from the influence of Islam.

The importance of foreign languages was well acknowledged by the leading figures of the state who initiated the access to foreign-language materials, mostly through translations (Demircan, 1988). During the establishment years of the newly independent Republic, French and German were by far the dominating languages compared to English, probably stemming from the sociopolitical developments of the time and the fact that the views of French and German scholars were highly influential in higher education in the

1930s and 1940s (Dogançay-Aktuna, 1998). It would not be wrong to argue that English language gained popularity and prestige in Turkey after World War II. The rise of English in Turkey has never decelerated and the motivation to learn English has continued since then. Blended with modernization and Westernization, foreign languages, particularly the English language are at the heart of the matter.

e. English in Contemporary Turkey

A comprehensive analysis of the English language in the Turkish sociopolitical context would be highly deficient if it did not encompass the historical progress of foreign languages in present-day Turkey. The global rise of the English language in the post-war era, hastened by American military and economic power, became more evident than ever, and Turkey did not remain unaffected by the global winds of change. Crystal's (1997) explanation that English just happened to be in the right place at the right time is applicable to the Turkish context. On the one hand, Arabic and Persian were abhorrent to the newly established, secularized Turkish ideals and values, and on the other, major Western languages English, French and German were linguistic rivals. Therefore, both globally as well as locally English was the panacea. The chronological status of foreign languages in Turkey is represented below:

Table 3

Foreign language development in Turkey. Demircan (1988, p.116)

Order	Pre 1773	1773 – 1923	1923 – 1950	1950 – 1980	After 1980
1	Arabic	Arabic	French	English	English
2	Persian	Persian	English	French	German
3	Turkish	French	German	German	French
4		English	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic
5		German		Persian	Persian

The role and status of English is well acknowledged in the literature, for instance by König (1990) who maintained that despite the fact that growing

cultural and commercial relations with the rest of the world are actualized by means of English as a linguistic medium, English is not on the way to attain a second language status in Turkey. She draws the bottom line for the discussion *"it certainly is a foreign language, but is the second most useful language after Turkish as it is all over the world today"* König (1990). Dogançay-Aktuna (1998, p.37) summarized the role of English in Turkey as follows:

"In Turkey English carries the instrumental function of being the most studied foreign language and the most popular medium of education after Turkish. On an interpersonal level, it is used as a link language for international business and for tourism while also providing a code that symbolizes modernization and elitism to the educated middle classes and those in the upper strata of the socioeconomic ladder." Dogançay-Aktuna (1998, p.37)

It should be noted that domains of English – Turkish contact should be well studied since they reveal the attitudinal predispositions of Turkish society towards English language and culture. Here are some points:

f. Job entrance requirement

The current status of English creates a sort of privilege for those who have access to competence in it (not even performance, for most). English language knowledge has a distinct role in every curriculum vitae prepared today. Therefore, learning English is directly related to instrumental reasons of education and better career opportunities, as far as the Turkish sociopolitical and sociolinguistic context is concerned (Sebüktekin, 1981). Briefly speaking, the reason behind the learning and teaching English is to establish and maintain international communication links, which ultimately lead to individual and national advancement Dogançay-Aktuna (1998).

English had become the sine qua non for a successful career in virtually any field and parents struggled to have their children acquire a working knowledge of the language. Vernacular schools and universities, even established ones

like Istanbul University, declined as they attracted only students who were unable to enter the elite institutions; the religious schools attracted the poorest and the least qualified students. (Ahmad, 1993, p.210)

The market value of English was proved by Dogançay-Aktuna (1998) in a survey which included 419 advertisements for 773 vacancies in a variety of different sectors. The results show that about 22% (91 ads) of job advertisements in the survey of two Turkish newspapers were printed in English. This is another way of eliminating the candidates who do not possess knowledge of English. Out of 773 openings, 426 (55.1%) required knowledge of a foreign language, while 44.9% did not. Another finding of the study was that the sectors such as import and export, data analysis, product management, sales, and secretarial tasks, which make up 68% of all the openings, required the candidates to have a good command of English.

g. As an incentive

Kamu Personeli Dil Sinavi (KPDS - Foreign Language Proficiency Examination for State Employees also referred to as Governmental Staff Language Exam) is a language examination administered twice a year (the first Sundays of May and November) by the Higher Education Council Student Selection and Placement Center (ÖSYM) in Turkey in order to evaluate foreign-language skills, especially of governmental officials. The examination consists of a hundred item test in English, French, German, Arabic, Bulgarian, Persian, Italian, or Russian. The candidates who apply to take the test in another language are given a text to be translated.

According to Article 15 of Executive Order number 570 and Article 2 of the Executive Order number 375, state employees are given a monthly bonus (dil tazminatı) according to the score they get in the exam. Those who score 96-100 are paid 36 YTL (around \$27.50), those who score 90-95 are paid 27 YTL

(around \$21), those who score 80-89 are paid 18 YTL (around \$14), and those who score 70-79 are paid 9 YTL (around \$7).

One interesting point which is worth mentioning is the monopolistic status of English, revealed by the latest statistics. According to the most recent statistics presented on the Higher Education Council Student Selection and Placement Center (ÖSYM) website, a total of 63,285 testees took the exam on May 6, 2007. 58,792 test-takers (92.9%) answered the English language test, followed by German with 1348 (2.1%), French with 970 test-takers (1.5%), and Arabic with only 712 test-takers (1.1%). The gulf between English and the other languages is a clear manifestation of the current status of foreign languages in Turkey.

The promotion criteria defined for associate professorship by the Higher Education Council requires a minimum score 65 which demonstrates the ability in a second foreign language, other than the first foreign language which is English in most cases. This proves the fact that English language knowledge is taken for granted as part of fundamental ability in academia.

1.1.7 English in the educational system of Turkey

In order to understand the sphere of influence of English in Turkey, it would be simply enough to scrutinize its role and practices in the Turkish educational context. It may seem paradoxical since it neither fulfills intra-national communication nor meets basic communicational needs of Turkish society and is attached no official status English language is sine qua non for virtually every Turkish citizen and therefore, the demand for English, English-medium and English teaching institutions is rapidly increasing.

Before discussing further the role and status of English in the Turkish educational context, it should be mentioned that the importance of the Turkish market is also acknowledged by British Council and reflected in the British Council's 2005 – 2006 Annual Report:

This region is of critical importance to the UK's objective of building stability and enhancing security in countries neighboring the European Union....Turkey, as the largest country in the region with a population of 70 million, is of pivotal importance. We [British Council] work with the Turkish government, educational NGOs and other institutions to strengthen reform and encourage convergence with EU norms by providing access to UK resources, expertise and networks. (British Council Annual Report. 2005 - 2006)

According to a recent report published by the Higher Education Council, entitled "The Higher Education Strategy of Turkey", there are currently 53 state and 24 private universities in Turkey. The total student population studying in these universities is 1,247,404 as of February 2007. Of the 53 state universities, 23 are English-medium universities, which, in other words, means that those universities offer one year of intensive English preparation for all incoming students who are not successful in the language proficiency exam. For some scholars, this is the "violation of fundamental human rights" (Demircan, 2006). 11 of the state schools are both Turkish and English-medium. The remaining state universities offer English language courses in certain schools. As cited in Dogançay-Aktuna and Kızıltepe (2005) the integration of foreign language preparation classes into all Turkish-medium universities has been required since the 2001-2002 academic year. The new regulation includes specific language courses such as "Yabancı Dilde Okuma ve Konuşma" (Reading and Speaking in a Foreign Language), "Mesleki Yabancı Dil I-II" (Foreign language for Specific Purposes I and II), İş Hayatı İçin Yabancı Dil (Foreign language for Business). The figures in private universities are apparently English-dominated. All private

universities in Turkey are English-medium with the exception of one where education is both in Turkish and English.

The standpoint of the Turkish state towards foreign languages is worth mentioning at this point, as reflected in the "Strategic Selections for Equipping University Students with Foreign Language Knowledge" chapter of the "Higher Education Strategy in Turkey" report, prepared and published by the Higher Education Council:

In a globalized world, Turkey, demanding to become a part of the EU and to increase competitiveness, needs to equip university students with knowledge of, at least, one foreign language. That is the minimal condition. EU states require possession of at least two foreign languages...Teaching only one language is a conservative aim. The universities that are organized within the framework of language production should encourage students, who know one foreign language, to learn second foreign language.

1. In the long run, it should be attained that students should resolve any problem related to foreign language during the years of secondary education so that they could commence higher education not having any problems in a foreign language.
2. In the short run, higher education institutions should maximize the efforts to overcome a foreign language problem of the students
3. In order to actualize both the first and the second suggestions, the number of foreign language instructors should be increased.
4. In the medium term, graduating students might be required to take and score a certain point in recognized standardized language proficiency tests. This implementation might be enforced earlier for the students with an intention to pursue graduate studies.

It is insufficient that universities employ language teaching channels to teach only one foreign language [English]. Learning more than one language should be encouraged. An example would be to make bigger efforts to teach the languages of the EU, Balkan, Middle Eastern, Caucasian languages which are the languages of our neighbors, the languages of the countries like Spanish, Chinese, Russian and Japanese that play a prominent role in world politics and economy. (The Higher Education Council, 2006, p. 188-189)

The introduction of foreign-language instruction in the Turkish educational context can be traced back to the 1950s. Prior to 1953, foreign-medium education was limited to a group of educational institutions such as Robert College and Saint Joseph, up until Yenışehir Lisesi, a Turkish-medium institution at the time, was turned into Ankara College and Anadolu liseleri (Anatolian High Schools) came on the heels of this trend. The manifestation of foreign-medium instruction in higher education came into existence with the establishment of Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi (Middle East Technical University) in Ankara, in 1956. English-medium instruction in state institutions has expanded with the help of Boğaziçi, Hacettepe, Dokuz Eylül, Ege universities, and many others (Temizyürek, 2001).

The changes in the field of education happened from the middle of the last century onwards were criticized by Demircan (2006) on a sectoral level as follows,

Despite the fact that the primary aim of the state was to teach “foreign language”, the primary aim of the countries that support and prepossess the State with a notion of teaching a foreign language was to create “foreign language teaching market” in Turkey. Therefore, supported by the initiatives between 1950–1980, the market was open to British and American native speaker language teacher workforce and publishers. (Demircan, 2006, p.3)

There has been a dramatic influx of English in Turkey after the 1980s. First established with the intention of equipping students with a solid foundation in English, fundamental content courses comprising an important part of the curriculum such as mathematics, physics were taught in English. As a result of a study conducted by the Ministry of Education, it was found out that only 19% of the students studying at Anatolian High Schools were able to attain an intermediate-level in English (Ağca, 2001). All the discussion above requires the in-depth analysis of English-medium instruction in Turkey.

a. English-medium instruction

The omnipresence of English in classrooms of Turkish schools was regarded as a threatening development against Turkish society, culture and Turkish identity or 'Turkishness', in general. Being an important debate among Turkish scholars, educators and intellectuals, the role of English in the Turkish national education system is still debated whether English-language instruction should be done through content teaching in English-medium instruction or through isolated intensive English language courses as part of curriculum. The increase in the number of English-medium institutions (both at tertiary and secondary levels) has provided a ground for those who view it as degeneration of Turkish culture. Therefore, English-medium instruction has always been at the heart of discussion in education in recent years. On the one hand proponents of English-medium instruction maintain that the knowledge of the lingua franca in a globalized era is an essential asset for every world citizen and nation, on the other, its opponents argue that learning English through English-medium instruction is, in fact, learning a language at the expense of content knowledge in an excessively time-consuming manner.

There are primarily two streams of criticisms that are frequently voiced as far as English-medium instruction is concerned: first, its role in Turkish society and second, cognitive and pedagogical factors. The latter is mentioned primarily by scholars in academia, whereas the first is predominantly dealt with in non-linguistic circles. Regardless of streams, English-medium instruction is harshly blamed as the reason behind the failure of national education system. To be more specific, causing lower levels of in-class participation by students since they could barely achieve low level proficiency in English, allocating too many class hours, trying to transmit knowledge of language to certain extent at the expense of the subject studied, English-medium instruction is claimed to reduce the cognitive ability of the students (Arslantunalı, 1998; Boztaş, 1998; Demir,

1995; Demircan, 1995; Kocaman, 1998; Köksal 1995, 2002; Sankur and Usluata 1998). According to a survey conducted by the Ministry of Education "as far as science courses are concerned, 82.4% of students at Anatolian High Schools stated that they prefer Turkish-medium instruction instead of English-medium instruction, 83.9% mentioned that course content was not fully transmitted via English, and finally, 81.9% declared that English-medium instruction leads them to rote memorization" Karabulut (2000) as cited by Demircan, (2006), p.10.

Complementary arguments were put forward by Yörük (2000) who maintained that:

It is impossible to find qualified teachers who could teach such [content] courses [in English]. Due to the fact that the University Entrance Exam (ÖSS) is administered in Turkish, such [content] courses are conducted in English despite the administrative regulations. ... During one year of intensive English language preparatory year in high schools, the other courses are suspended. However, continuity is the essence of education. Yörük (2000) as cited by Demircan, (2006), p.10.

In addition, Akünal-Okan's (1997) survey reflects the student opinions regarding English-language instruction in the nation's top higher education institution where the medium of instruction is English. She reported that students at Middle East Technical University (METU) think that they are lacking oral expression skills. Besides, 54% of students majoring in Economics, 50% of those in the field of Chemistry and 45% of those studying in the department of Architecture are in line with the argument that English-medium instruction fails. Finally, her analysis reveal that 48% of the students would prefer to study in an environment where major departmental courses are conducted in Turkish only, and supported by intensive English courses.

Another camp of criticism related to English-medium instruction in Turkey holds the idea that it will have a detrimental impact on the Turkish language and

consequently lead to cultural degeneration and loss, if not, attrition of national language. The solution for the foreign-language education conundrum by this camp is the implementation of "Turkish-only" policy in the national educational system. According to Doğançay-Aktuna (2005) "they hold that the reasons for having what they call "foreign education" are based on certain misconceptions developed in the Turkish society within the last 35-40 years" (p.15). The increasing Anglicization of education in Turkey, achieved by English-language instruction and requirement for English language publications for academic promotion, are regarded as the fundamental obstacles to the development of Turkish (Ekmekci, 1995; Sarıoğlu, 1994; Sinanoğlu, 2000 as cited by Doğançay-Aktuna (1995).

On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that some scholars and intellectuals argue that the employment of English as language of instruction does not lead to any debilitating effect on the part of Turkish and emphasizes the positive outcomes of second language learning (Alptekin, 1998). Having acknowledged the fact that for most students communication in English is more or less limited to language classroom, Bear (1998) argue that English-medium instruction is actually an artificially-created environment where students are forced to communicate in English. Such ideas have been harshly criticized by Demircan (2006):

A sentence like **"a person who learns a foreign language better learns his/her own language"** is a lie which aims to prevent mother tongue learning. In fact, learning of Turkish has deteriorated since the introduction of foreign-medium instruction....**Not everyone who learns a foreign language actually learns Turkish better.** There is no such a condition. If you believe such an idea, you will forget Turkish. Moreover, such an assertion has no applicability in the Turkish context. (Demircan, 2006, p.8)

b. Loanwords

The perennial coexistence with other linguistic heritages that Turkish experienced in an extensive geography resulted in bi-directional contribution of lexical items. The 2005 edition of *Güncel Türkçe Sözlük* (GTS), the official up-to-date dictionary of the Turkish language published by Turkish Language Association, contains 104,481 entries, of which about 14% are of foreign origin. As graphically represented, the major word donors to Turkish vocabulary are Arabic (6463), French (4974), Persian (1374), Italian (632), English (538), and Greek (399). The Turkish Language Association is currently working on the other side of the equation by preparing *Türkçe Verintiler Sözlüğü* (Dictionary of Turkish Loanwords). It is stated by Prof. Dr. Şükrü Haluk Akalın, the chairman of the association, there are nearly 12,000 words of Turkish origin in other languages.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the role of Arabic and Persian in Ottoman period supported by close religious and social ties was impeded by the neo-Republican reforms and the Turkish language underwent a period of purification. The role of Arabic and Persian was taken over by English which is supported militarily and economically by the rising superpower of mid-20th century- the United States. Even the lexical borrowings which came from French into Turkish are pronounced according to English norms rather than French. These feelings were verbalized by Özen (2003)

Once Arabic and Persian, and then French, in the age of modernization and Westernization. Everything in the country is "German", even up to a Wilhelm style moustache. When train came into the country, it came along with cars filled with French words! Now think, anything and everything related to trains in this country is not Turkish! Is there any such thing in German? There was only one person [Atatürk] who wanted to redirect this huge train into national lands, and managed in his own time. (Özen on Cumhuriyet daily, January 5 2003)

A great majority of the loanwords that entered Turkish within the last 50 years are of English origin (Konig, 1990). Fueled by the omnipresence of online and mobile technologies, today, English-origin loanwords are employed in everyday conversation. From naming of television and radio channels to labeling the titles of the shows to speeches of participants and hosts, all are decorated with English words. English is so fashionable for young adults that they use English words and expressions in their everyday conversation. This view has recently been verbalized by Şahin (2006):

Today, people who hold a kind of colonized identities “who are always receivers” cannot restrain themselves from sprinkling English words into their speeches and writings. Those people are unfortunately bad role models since they hold effective positions in the society” (Şahin, 2006, p.2)

Alpaydın (1996) exemplifies the extent to which loanwords penetrated the language by giving specific references to the internal relations in one of Turkey’s most respected higher education institutions where the medium of instruction is English as follows

...at Bogazici University, internal correspondences and meetings are not held in Turkish; to put it better, in Turkish with additional English words, which ultimately makes up a strange language, neither Turkish, nor English.... If we are teaching such a language to our students, if we are corrupting their Turkish while not teaching English, the quality of our education is suspicious. Alpaydın (1996) as cited by Demircan, (2006), p.10.

The prevailing existence of foreign, particularly English, borrowings in Turkish language is a threat against the purity of Turkish language, according to some linguists and nationalists. The percentile representation of the origin of the words in Turkish vocabulary is shown below:

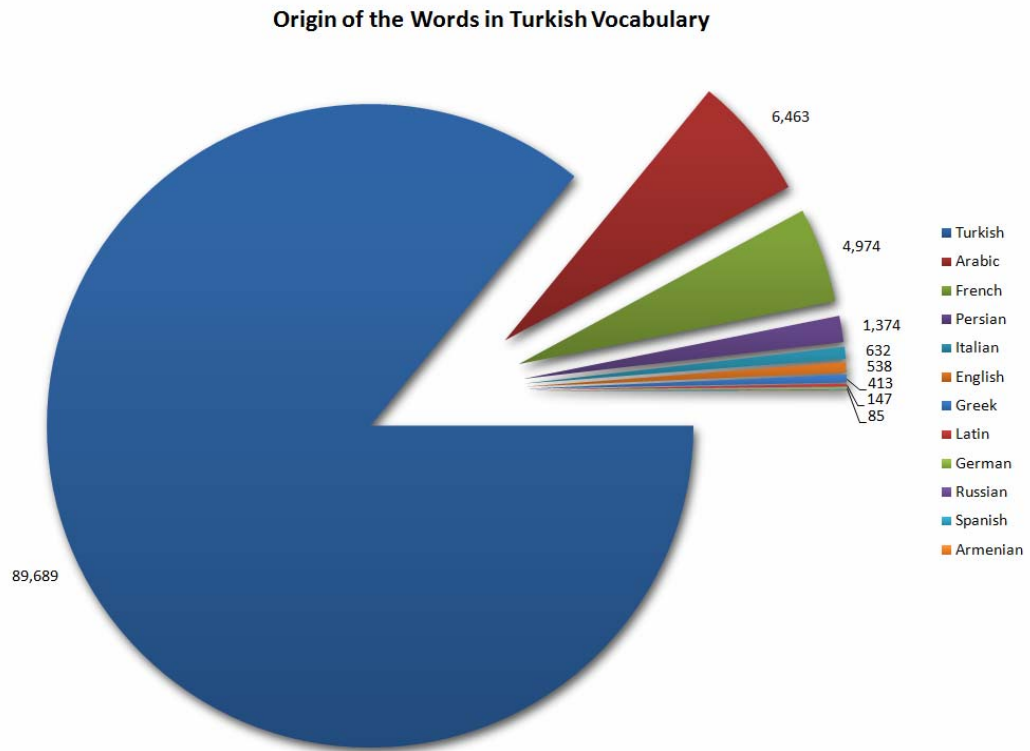


Figure 2. Origin of the Words in Turkish Vocabulary

c. English in Turkish Media

Prior to the age of broadcasting and mass media, contact between different languages was primarily through either face-to-face (through visits, travels or conquests) or written communication. Thanks to diverse organs of mass media, today language contact is actualized independent of time and space virtually through high-tech gadgets, space satellites and mobile devices. It would not be an exaggeration to argue that nowadays, language (information in general) travels at the speed of light.

From a linguistic point of view, mass media organs are regarded as the important factors behind the increasing supranational influence of English on indigenous languages. In other words, fueled by satellite technology, digital networks, mobile devices and internet, the expansion of English has changed its paradigm to "on-line", as discussed earlier in this chapter. For that reason,

media organs are considered to be an audiovisual medium for the expansion of English. For instance, Phillipson (1992) cites film, video and television as vehicles of English linguistic imperialism. The role of media is also recognized by Crystal (1997) who maintains that "Technological advances in the form of movies and records fueled new mass entertainment industries which had a worldwide impact" (p.8). Rohde (1996) echoes such views by stating that "what centuries of British colonialism and decades of Esperanto couldn't do, a few years of free trade, MTV, and the Internet has. English dominates international business politics and culture more than any other language in human history" (p.15).

According to statistics cited by the Office of The Prime Minister, Directorate General of Press and Information, gathered from the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK), a quasi-governmental body which is responsible for the regulation of the radio and television broadcasts all across Turkey, of 24 national television channels, only 10 of them bear "Turkish-only" titles (examples like Kanalturk, Kanal D, Kanal E, Kanal 7, Samanyolu), whereas 5 of them bear "English-only" titles (Cine 5, Fox TV, Flash TV, Show TV, Star TV, Number One, Dream TV) and further 8 of them bears "English-Turkish hybrid" titles (CNN Turk, SkyTurk, Powerturk). It is interesting to note that English-Turkish hybrid titles are usually generated with the use of "-Turk" as a suffix, however pronounced in a hybrid manner where the English part is articulated according to the phonological norms of English language and the Turkish suffix is verbalized according to the phonological norms of the English language. In addition to the national televisions listed above, there are two digital satellite platforms broadcast in Turkey: Digiturk, hybrid Anglo-Turkish mixture as an abbreviation of "digital" and Turk, and D-Smart composed of the letter "d" which stands for Dogan Publishing Company and a hyphenated English word "smart".

In the subfield of print-media, particularly in the naming of newspapers, the domination of Turkish is observed. Relying on the statistics cited by the Office of the Prime Minister, Directorate General of Press and Information, as well as YAYSAT/MDP cited in Medyaline, all 34 national newspapers circulated in Turkey bear either Turkish names like Evrensel, Türkiye, Bugün, or foreign loanwords borrowed from English and Arabic in their forms complying with Turkish morpho-phonological conventions like Fotospor, Radikal, Cumhuriyet. Considering the fact that TV ownership rates in Turkey have reached 96.78, as of 2001 according to an article by Büyük (2001) in *Capital magazine*, regardless of socio-economic stratification, print-media in which paper prices range of 0.15 YTL and 1.5 YTL (around 0.11 USD – 1.13 USD) and total circulation for June 11-24 are slightly above 5 millions, might be argued to have a milder English influx. It is worth mentioning that currently; there are three English-medium newspapers in Turkey: Turkish Daily News (TDN), The New Anatolian and Today's Zaman whose weekly circulations do not exceed 8000-9000.

The dominating influence of English in Turkish mass media organs is applicable for radio stations as well. Statistics provided by the Office of The Prime Minister, Directorate General of Press and Information, gathered from The Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK), show that of 38 national radio stations, only 5 of them bear Turkish-only" title, 4 of them bears English-only titles, one of them an "Anglicized Turkish" title (Radyo Mydonose), one of them is VOA (Voice of America – Amerika'nın Sesi) one of them which bears an English-Turkish hybrid name is broadcast online and the rest bear foreign loanwords borrowed from English and Arabic in their forms complying with Turkish morpho-phonological conventions.

d. Anti-English movement and Resisting English in Turkey

The phenomenon called anti-Americanism, which is often defined as “an opposition or hostility toward the government, culture or people of the United States” (Random House Unabridged Dictionary) has been well documented in recent years in mass media organs and public opinion surveys. Global increases in anti-American feelings have their reflections in the Turkish sociopolitical context, stemming from their roots in particular US foreign policies, such as the war in Vietnam and Iraq and Turkish-US relations.

According to a survey of 38,000 people in 44 countries conducted by the Pew Research Center in 2002, US favorability ratings have sharply declined all around the world. It is interesting to note that the decrease in favorability was found in significant rates among the long-lasting US allies like Britain (dropping from 83% to 56%), France (from 78% to 37%) and Germany (from 78% to 37%) parallel to countries that contain great Muslim populations like Indonesia (from 75% to 38%), Pakistan (from 23% to %23), and Turkey (from 52% to 23%).

Turkey – US relations which has a 50-year of history of being strategic allies, in the same frontline in Korea against Soviet expansionism gained a new dimension at the end of the last millennium. As stated by Çağatay (2004), analyzing Turkish foreign policy throughout the 1990s was relatively easy since it was more or less predictable. In other words, he maintained that Ankara cooperated enthusiastically with Washington in a geography surrounding Turkey. Meanwhile, the relations with the European Union (EU) were underway and Turkey was struggling with the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK, Partiya Karkaren Kurdistan) terrorists.

Çağatay (2004) highlights how drastic change in Turkish foreign policy actually feed the existing Anti-American feelings by stating that “If Turkey's reorientation of its foreign policy toward Europe came at the expense of the

United States, then the Iraq war exacerbated the process, reviving dormant political forces and anti-Americanism". The shackling relations between Turkey and US reached their lowest-point on March 1, 2003 when the Turkish parliament dominated by the governing Justice and Development Party (AKP) refused the US proposal to use Turkish soil to enable coalition forces to open a second front against Saddam's forces in northern Iraq. The invasion of Iraq by US-led coalition forces actually awakened the buried "anti-" feelings towards United States. Since then, newspapers, regardless of their position on the political continuum, became the voice of anti-Americanism. The 2003 war caused Anti-American feelings to resurface in pro-AKP circles, since long before the start of the war Turkey echoed Franco-German rhetoric in its insistence that the war "lacked international legitimacy", and in on leftist circles whose members include intellectuals, professors, media elite and businessmen that actively supported global anti-American movements in 1970s up until the coup d'état on September 12, 1980.

The deteriorating relations with the US turned into a real crisis on July 4, 2003 when the 173rd Airborne Brigade of the US forces under the commandment of Colonel William C. Mayville allegedly arrested 11 Turkish special operation soldiers and 13 civilians in Sulaymaniyah, Iraq and held them in custody for more than two days with an accusation that they were conspiring to assassinate elected Iraqi Kurdish officials. The incident was called "the worst crisis of confidence" in the two countries' more than 50-year NATO alliance" by a top Turkish general (as cited by Birch, 2003). The photographs of Turkish soldiers with hands tied and sacks over their heads provoked widespread anger in Turkey. A great majority of the Turkish nation has regarded this incident as a declaration that Washington actually favored Iraqi Kurds over a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) "strategic partner". The situation has been exacerbated by the overt US policy maintaining that since the invasion of Iraq,

the US military forces have always been reluctant to act against the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), a separatist group seeking independence in the southeastern part of Turkey and which has actualized the deaths of more than 30,000 civilians since the 1980s. Today, tolerated by Washington, a de facto Kurdish state provides a base for the PKK in northern Iraq, therefore disturbing the internal dynamics of Turkey. Today, Washington tolerates a de facto Kurdish state in northern Iraq. The depth of the anti-American sentiments in Turkey toward Americans was revealed in the 2005 Pew Global Attitudes survey in which 53 percent of Turks who responded associated Americans with the word "rude"; 70 percent with "violent"; 68 percent with "greedy"; and 57 percent with "immoral".

The emergence of anti-American feelings was fueled by a Hollywood movie which deeply wounded national pride- *Midnight Express* (1978). In this movie, Billy Hayes, an American tourist jailed for smuggling hashish voiced his hostility towards the Turkish nation. Brought to the surface by the 2003 invasion of Iraq, strong anti-American sentiments in Turkey were manifested in the form of movies and books as follows:

"Valley of the Wolves - Iraq" - With a budget of \$10.2 million, the most expensive Turkish film ever made, the movie featuring American actor Gary Busey as a Jewish U.S. army doctor who cuts out the organs of Iraqi prisoners at Abu Ghraib and sells them to wealthy foreign clients is and Billy Zane (the officer Sam William Marshall) as the leader of a rogue group of U.S. soldiers was seen by 2.5 million Turks in its first ten days of release, breaking all box office records in Turkey and grossed \$24.9 million total. The film's scriptwriter Bahadır Özdener has defended the film by saying "our film is a sort of political action. Maybe 60 or 70 percent of what happens on screen is factually true. Turkey and America are allies, but Turkey wants to say something to its friend. We want to tell the bitter truth. We want to say that this is wrong" (Rainsford, 2006).

"Metal Storm" – Written by Orkun Ucar and Burak Turna, first published in December 2004, became a best-seller in a very short-time, several hundred thousand copies sold as of 2006. Set in May 2007, the plot of the book depicts a war between Turkey and the United States due to the fact that the United States invades Turkey to seize Turkey's rich borax deposits which account for 60 percent of the world's boron production. "This novel is not just another conspiracy theory; it's a possibility theory," said Orkun Uçar, one of the book's authors...The United States today has a crusader mentality," Ucar added. "The Americans today are just like the crusaders who seized Jerusalem centuries ago" (AFP via al Jazeera, February 23, 2005).

Cola Turka – A Cola brand from major Turkish confectionery and cookie company Ulker, Cola Turka competed with the two giants of the industry, Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola, in the Turkish market as the rising star of Turkish positive nationalism movement during the time when heightened nationalist sentiments in society were at peak because of the war on Iraq. The reason behind the initial success of the drink in the carbonated soft drink market lies in the fact that the launch of Cola Turka campaign coincided with the sociopolitical milieu when Turkish – US tension reached its zenith through the notorious "sack incident". Therefore, Cola Turka was considered to be a Turkish response to one of the most significant symbols of American life. The nationalistic tone employed for the marketing purposes was reinforced by two television commercials feature American actor Chevy Chase playing an American who displays Turkish traits such as using typical colloquial Turkish idioms, singing a Turkish folk song, even sporting a mustache, upon drinking Cola Turka. The campaign was extremely successful in manipulating the Turkish-US tension in the market and created extreme manifestations such as a banner reading "we will not sell Coca Cola or Pepsi here until sacks are put on the heads of Americans," outside a restaurant in the resort town Antalya. According to a recent news report (Today's Zaman,

June 14, 2007) Ülker sells annually 40 million glasses of cola, nearly 1 million liters, to 16 countries, including the US, France, Britain and Jordan. Another report asserts that “unlike the new Islamic colas Mecca Cola, Qibla Cola and Zam Zam Cola that have sprung up around Europe and the Middle East to counter Western brands, Ülker aims to be more than a niche brand in Turkey's 7.5 billion liter soft drink market” (Britt, 2003). Briefly speaking, Cola Turka is a branded and packaged form of anti-American and positive nationalist sentiments in Turkey. In the famous words of Cetin Altan, one of Turkey's most prominent columnists, this is nothing but “Turkish propaganda for Turks” (Türk'ün Türk'e propagandası”). This is a very accurate example of converting nationalistic feelings into money, perhaps in US dollars.

From a sociopolitical and sociolinguistic point of view, the increasing anti-American feeling all around the world is expected to have a significant impact on the implications of English in non-English speaking communities. Despite the fact that US foreign policy makes every possible endeavor to counter it, the impact of anti-Americanism is more or less limited to the individual attitudinal level. In other words, governmental bodies around the world, even those who initiated the anti-American campaigns, did not generate any huge-scale reflexes against the English language, did not have any impact on policy-makers. The reason behind why the resistance will ultimately atrophy is probably the symbolic and instrumental role and value of English. The global construct called the English language⁴ has penetrated so deeply that it is not decomposable anymore. “It is never about the language. It is always about the cultural behaviors that are symbolically represented by language” as Walt Wolfram cited in a CBS news report, said (Geller, 2006).

⁴ At this point, the construct refers not only to the linguistic dimension but also includes any particular cultural attachment, lifestyle and so forth.

It could be argued that the growing world supremacy of English and the US actually sharpened the sensitivity of the indigenous people towards their own language and culture. To put it differently, threat perception by local people caused their resistance to surface through the hands of institutions that protect the language from any linguistic threats. "Some 158 nations have included a specific measure in their constitutions promulgating one or more national languages according to a survey by Eduardo Fainglod, a professor at the University of Tulsa." (Geller, 2006). For instance, France has attempted to issue laws to ban English borrowings and French-speaking Quebec has changed advertisements, shop names and traffic signs from English to French. Established in 1635, the pre-eminent French learned body on matters pertaining to the French language, the Académie Française" has been dedicated to protect the "language de la nation" from any foreign borrowings, primarily the ones from English. In Israel, the Academy of the Hebrew Language is responsible for formulating new Hebrew words or finding Hebrew equivalents for the borrowings. In Iceland, Islensk Malstad, a government-supported national institute of languages, suggests new words and therefore, ultimately contributes to the sustainability of the language that has been little changed over the last millennium.

The current status of English in the Turkish sociopolitical and sociolinguistic context requires scrutinizing interdependent factors. In her concluding sentence, Konig (1990) summarizes the importance of English by stating that

Knowledge of foreign languages and in particular of English is an indispensable part of the modern world. And the only way to bring Turkish up to the level of the communicational requirements of the modern world is through the interaction of knowledge of English with the derivational convenience provided by the Turkish language reform. (Konig, 1990)

Recently, some municipalities in towns like Aydın, Karaman and Turgutlu banned the use of foreign words in business names. The owners of businesses/shops with Turkish names are given awards by the Turkish Language Association. Recently, many campaigns have started to stop the degeneration and pollution of Turkish language, and culture from English language. As clearly stated by (Dogançay-Aktuna, 1995) these calls for action and corpus purification attempts by linguists do not seem to progress beyond decision making, because they lack the implementation and authoritative support which are required for successful language planning.

Such practices are paradoxical in nature, since in a country, business places are being rewarded for using the national language of the country, part of the cultural heritage of its people, authorized and regulated by legislation. Even this is fairly enough to estimate global expansion of English and its local implications.

Below is a list of websites which promote the Turkish language and inform the public about the “malignant tumor” of the body, that is the English language.

www.anadilim.org

www.byebyeturkce.com

www.dahianlamindakideayriyazilir.com

www.dilderneji.org.tr

www.dilimdilim.com

www.dilimiz.com

www.egitimdiliturkce.com

forum.antoloji.com/tahta/tahta.asp?tahta=10007

www.karatekin.net/2turkdili/

www.sinanoglu.net

www.tdk.gov.tr

www.tdtkb.org

www.turkcan.org

www.turkcedunya.com

www.turkcekampanyalari.org

www.turkcesevdalilari.com

www.turkcetopluluklari.net

www.turkceyasasi.org

www.turkdilidergisi.com

www.turkdili.gen.tr

1.2 Focus and the Scope of the study

Another domain where the ubiquitous spread of English is observed in business discourse is naming practices of shop-signs and window displays of business stores all around the world including Turkey. Foreign-branding, particularly Englishization of shop signs is considered by many to be “pollution of Turkish”.

The constitutional regulations for the use of Turkish can be traced back to the early years of the Republic when the Parliament enforced the İktisadi Müesseselerde Mecburi Türkçe Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun (Law on Mandatory Use of Turkish in Commercial Enterprises) dated April 10, 1926, parallel to the Turkish language reform and policies. This law states that

Article 1 – All kinds of corporations and enterprises are to prepare and conduct any kind of transaction, contract, correspondence, account and registers in Turkish.

Article 2 – For foreign corporations and enterprises, this obligation is restricted to the situations when those establish transactions, correspondence and communications with Turkish corporations and enterprises and when account and registers are to be presented to a legal administrative body.

Article 3 – Despite the fact that aforementioned corporations and enterprises might employ any additional language other than Turkish, the fundamental one is Turkish and therefore, the responsible signatures must be on the

Turkish one. Even though the signature or the part written in another language or any copy becomes the subject under discussion, the one in Turkish is legally considered to be the main source.

Article 7 – The people who violate this law could be charged in a public prosecution which is to be conducted upon request of attorneys or privies.

PUNISHMENT: A person who violates the terms stated above is given a pecuniary punishment from 100 Turkish liras, for the first time, to 500 Turkish liras. If the violation is repeated the pecuniary punishment is doubled, as well as, the corporations and enterprises are prohibited from engaging in any kind of commercial activities ranging from one week to one year.

(Government Code of Republic of Turkey, 1926)

The legislative regulations which authorize and regulate the use of Turkish in legal and corporate bodies have been vitiated by an executive order during the prime ministry of Turgut Ozal in the 1980s, during which Turkey followed a liberal import policy which consequently “brought an air of affluence to the big cities, also influenced education as well as the workforce” (Ahmad, 1993 as cited in *Dogancay-Aktuna, 1998, p.28*).

As with any discussion related to the current status of Turkish and English-Turkish contact, Englishization of naming and branding in virtually any field, is among the topics most dealt with by linguists as well as columnists who define themselves as “language enthusiasts” One such example is Feyza Hepçilingirler, a columnist in Cumhuriyet:

Using foreign names is nothing but a desire to imitate. That is not right. I believe that the rational behind such a mentality is a meaningless intention to achieve Europeanization by that way. However, it only helps to cause self-alienation. There used to be a desire to imitate the French people, now it has been redirected to America. (Firat, 2001)

Scholars like Aydoğan (2006) argue that the Turkish nation has the potential to produce goods and consequently export the goods in an

important brand name. He concludes that there are three major factors that affect such a practice that are namely, commercial attitudes, the need to export and competitiveness. The current language contact between English and Turkish has been evaluated on the business naming plane by Şahin (2006) as follows:

“We [Turks] are hospitable people; however, if the English language which comes into our homeland dismisses or snubs my mother tongue [Turkish] into silence, replaces my beautiful Turkish in the names of every business place, squares, hotels, monumental buildings, office buildings, private television stations and illustrated magazines, we should oppose it hammer and tongs. If a guest who comes to my country [Turkey] holds my hand in a friendly manner, respects my language, we welcome him/her. However, if the guest does not hold our hands but clenches our finger with an intention to break, that is not the hand of a friend” (Sahin, 2006)

This study aims to reveal the factors behind the use of English in business naming on the plane of the current expansion of English, considering the attitudes generated towards English in the Turkish sociopolitical context, and intends to present the sociolinguistic causal link in business naming practices.

1.3 Research Questions

The study addressed the following research questions:

1. What is the linguistic classification of shop-signs in Turkey?
2. What might be the factors influencing the use of English in business naming?
3. Is there any relation between the sectors and the use of English language?

1.4 Significance of the Study

Language is a social practice and cannot be abstracted from the sociocultural, economic and political contexts within it takes place (Mazaffero,

2002). Probably the best example of Mazaffero's statement came into reality in Turkey. In November 2006, when Pope Benedict XVI made his first visit to a Muslim country- Turkey, after his silent meditation inside the one of Turkey's most famous mosques, the Blue Mosque (Sultanahmet Camii), he uttered a message urging "dialogue" between Christians and Muslims, the language he employed was not Latin, not Turkish, not his native language German; he spoke in English.

This thesis which aims to investigate (English usage in shop signs) one particular aspect of the sociolinguistic implications of English on Turkish culture, society and language within the framework of the globalized position of English language has been written in English as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for an MA degree in English Language Teaching in an English-medium university in Ankara, Turkey by a native speaker of Turkish who learned English in a non-English speaking community without any authentic contact with English.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0 Presentation

This chapter presents a discussion related to shop naming practices around the world as well as in Turkey. Before thoroughly discussing the matter, the role of business naming and branding will be presented bearing the role of English language in mind by giving specific references to English-medium naming and branding practices and followed by a conclusion.

2.1 Naming and Branding: What is in a name?

The concept of naming was actually mentioned in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* where Juliet says,

*What's in a name? that which we call a rose
By any other name would smell as sweet;
(Romeo and Juliet, Act II, Scene 2, Line 43.)*

In a similar vein, Gertrude Stein, American pioneer of modernist literature, as part of the 1913 poem "Sacred Emily", took a similar view on naming by stating that "A rose is a rose is a rose" which is often interpreted as "things are what they are". In Stein's view, things not names are important. However, the role and the importance of naming was highlighted by the prominent linguist Benjamin Lee Whorf who took another view and stated that our worldviews are heavily influence by the language we speak. In other words, languages affect perceptions and thoughts and speakers of different languages have different worldviews (Whorf, 1956). Therefore, in a garden (global market) where roses (products, services and business organizations) are so alike, there emerges the necessity to distinguish roses from one another. To put it

differently, branding is defined as "a process of attaching an idea to a product" (Walker, 2006), and therefore "a brand is seen to encapsulate the additional values that are inherent and associated with the corporation and its products and services" (Balmer and Gray, 2003). It is also defined as "a trademark or a distinctive name of a product or manufacturer. It is a name, term, sign, symbol, design or any combination used to identify the goods and services of a seller" (Palumbo and Herbig, 2000). A brand is a name, symbol, design or some combination, which identifies the product of a particular organization as having a sustainable differential advantage (Baker and Hart, 1999). De Chernatory and McDonald (1992) define a brand as "an identifiable product, service, person and place, augmented in such a way that the buyer or user perceives relevant, unique added values which match their needs most closely" (p.237).

The way consumers perceive brands is a key determinant of long-term business-consumer relationships (Louw & Lamb, 2000). A successful brand has a recognizable name which signals specific attributes to the consumer, and performs many key functions. These functions include the following:

1. It identifies the product or service and allows the customer to specify, reject or recommend brands
2. It communicates messages to the consumer. Information provided could include statements regarding their users' style, modernity or wealth
3. It functions as a piece of legal property in which the owner can invest and through law is protected from competitor trespass.

(Palumbo & Herbig, 2000, p.1)

The role that branding plays is listed by Holt as follows (2002:1):

- branding is a strategic point of view, not a select set of activities
- branding is central to creating customer value, not just images
- branding is a key tool for creating and maintaining competitive advantage
- brand strategies must be incorporated into the marketing mix

(Holt, 2002, p.1)

Not only does a brand identify a product from competitors' products, but it also differentiates it from competing products (Lamb, Hair, McDaniel, Boshoff & Terblanché, 2002). Such an idea was echoed by Bovée, Houston & Thill (1995) who maintained that "a brand is a name, term, phrase, design, symbol, or any combination of these, chosen by an individual or company to distinguish a product from competing products" (p.247). In this way, a brand is tantamount to a bilateral commitment made between customer and the product/service owner. It is a commitment on the part of the customer which will be manifested in the form of consumer's consistent commitment to repurchase the brand as well as other positive behaviors including word of mouth advocacy (Dick and Kunal, 1994). A significant example of brand loyalty that might be mentioned is the devotion of Mac users to the Apple company. The other aspect of brand loyalty observed on the part of the product or service, is the standardization of quality. To put it differently, in order for a customer to demonstrate brand loyalty, there should be consistent accessibility to the same level of the product or service that satisfied the customer and ultimately led to brand loyalty. Such a commitment is reinforced over time on the basis of the established relationship between a customer and the product/service. The bilateral commitment between the product/service and the customer will ultimately lead to overall value of the brand, which is better known as brand equity.

According to Aaker (1998), the term "brand equity" refers to "a set of assets and liabilities linked to a brand that add to or subtract from the value provided by a product or service to an organization and/or that organization's customer" (p.173). Aaker (1993) further maintains that the value of a brand can be established by considering "consumers' awareness of associations with brand loyalty to and perceived quality of brands" (p.173). Brand equity can be tracked and rated using the following criteria:

- **Relevance.** This refers to the personal appropriateness of the brand to consumers (i.e. perceived quality).
- **Esteem.** This has to do with the extent to which consumers like a brand and hold it in high regard (i.e. brand loyalty).
- **Differentiation.** This is the defining aspect of a brand and what distinguishes it from all others (i.e. brand association).
- **Knowledge.** This involves being aware of the brand and understanding what the brand or service stands for (ie brand awareness) (Gregg, 2003, p.12)

A brand is both a physical and a perceptual entity. The physical aspect of a brand can be found on a supermarket shelf or in the delivery of a service. A successful brand has a recognizable name which signals specific attributes to the consumer (e.g. quality, elegance, value). The ability to make a consumer repeatedly seek out and buy one brand over another even when others offer coupons or lower prices is brand loyalty. The case in the US might be regarded as an exception since internationally marketed US products tend to follow a policy of standardized branding conventions (Rosen, Boddewyn, and Louis 1989).

As successful brand name which has high consumer awareness and satisfaction rates "can save millions of dollars over the product's life because it carries its own meaning, describes the product's advantages, is instantly recognized and serves to differentiate the product significantly from other competition" (Stern (1983) as cited in Chang and Huang (2001, p.1).

The vitality of brand knowledge has attracted so much attention; and therefore, there had been extensive studies in the literature which examine children's brand knowledge (Brennan, 2005; Gotze, 2002 as cited in Brennan 2005; Oates at al, 2002; Ross and Harrendine, 2004) and formation of children's brand knowledge (Wyckham and Collins-Dodd, 1997). As cited in Brennan (2005), the earlier a child establishes an awareness of a brand, the stronger

brand associations are likely to be when the child becomes an independent customer (Ross and Harrendine, 2004).

2.1.1 Brand Naming and Language

In the field of marketing, developing a name for a business place or a product/service of a business place (brand in general) is heavily influenced by sociolinguistic considerations and marketing research. In other words, any naming decision for a brand requires active involvement of sociolinguistic factors and market dynamics congruent to be used in that particular context. Since the naming is the essence of the identity, as stated by Whorf (1956), corporate identity (often abbreviated as "CI") refers to the identity or persona of a corporation. The interrelation between the brand name and its contribution to the identity could be well defined by a Latin phrase saying "Vultus est index animi" meaning that "the expression on one's face is a sign of the soul" (Balmer and Gray). Therefore, it is the brand name ("the expression on one's face") that determines the identity ("a sign of the soul"). Brand names play a crucial role in marketing products and services and in their acceptance by the public (Charmasson, 1998); and therefore, they are regarded as the factors behind the success or failure of new products or services (Kotler and Armstrong, 1997; Zatman & Wallendorf, 1979). In this respect, studies in branding have focused on developing effective brand names (Collins, 1977; McNeal and Zeren, 1981; McCharty and Perreault, 1987 as cited by Chan and Huang, 2001).

Langer et al. (2005) indicated that previous research on branding has focused on the investigation of memory effects of brand names (e.g. Kanungo, 1968; Keller, Heckler and Houston, 1998; Robertson, 1987), phonetic effects of brand names (e.g. Dogana, 1967; Janbandhu and Gupta, 1978; Peterson and Ross, 1972; Pavia and Costa, 1993; Taylor, 1963) and the impact brand names can have on product evaluation (e.g. Heath, Chatterjee and France, 1990;

LeClerk, Schmitt and Dube, 1994; Zinkhan and Martin, 1987). The importance of business naming was put forward by Davis (2005) as

Naming a business is a lot like laying the cornerstone of a building. Once it's in place, the entire foundation and structure is aligned to that original stone. If it's off, even just a bit, the rest of the building is off and the misalignment becomes amplified. (Davis, 2005)

The linguistic components of branding are categorized by Chan and Huang (1997) and given below:

Table 4

The linguistic components of branding (adapted from Chan and Huang, 1997)

Phonetic requirements	Morphological requirements	Semantic requirements
Easy to pronounce	Short and simple	Positive, not offensive, obscene or negative
Pleasing when read or heard		Modern or contemporary, always timely
Pronounceable in only one way and in all languages for goods to be exported		Understandable and memorable

In their discussion of the linguistic components in branding, Chan and Huang (1997) highlight the congruity of linguistic considerations with the market in which the brand name will be used as follows:

...We must first distinguish the target market that the products want to enter the local market or the international market. For products targeting primarily the local market, the branding task is relatively simple because only the linguistic features of that language and the preference of the consumer in the community concerned need to be considered. To brand a product for the international market linguistic universals have to be taken into consideration.”
Chan and Huang (1997, p.2)

In a similar vein, Charmasson (1988) mentioned that the intrinsic characteristics of the words and phrases employed in naming have significant implications in market promotion and legal protection of the brand.

a. Foreign Branding

Language plays an influential role in determining international brand strategies (Hollensen, 2004). In the field of marketing, there are two important strategies used by international brand managers in decision-making process for a brand that will employ the appropriate language(s) for advertising and marketing (Sawyer and Howard, 1991). In other words, when a brand is to be marketed internationally, there are primarily two roads to be taken, namely standardization (i.e. adopting a standard global brand strategy regardless of the context and keeping the brand name in the original language) or localization (i.e. adopting localization through brand names in local languages). Standardization of brands and brand names on a global basis is an arduous task for decision makers. The same product might have different established values in each local market as in the example of Unilever which sells a cleaning liquid under the brand Vif in Switzerland, Viss in Germany, Jif in Britain and Greece, Cif in France and Turkey (Palumbo & Herbig, 2000:1). Due to the fact that global brands bear values like global recognition, especially for those like Mc Donalds or Starbucks, standardization of brand names would be a risk avoidance strategy.

On the other hand, foreign branding which is defined as “the strategy of spelling or pronouncing a brand name in a foreign language” (Leclerc et al, 1994, p.263) is a dynamic advertising and marketing strategy which implies marketing of domestic products or services with a foreign or foreign-sounding name. Schiffman (2007) defines the term foreign branding as “a concept from advertising, meaning the technique of giving a product a 'foreign' name or brand in order to increase its desirability or 'perceived value'.” The rationale behind using such a dynamic strategy actually stems from the fact that consumers in less developed countries favor products and brands from more developed countries (Bailey & Pineres, 1997; Batra et al, 2004).

Pan & Schmitt (1996) stated that difference in orthographies affect mental representations of the concepts. Therefore, alphabetic systems represented in the mind are primarily in a phonological code. Still, an orthographic input is needed to activate such representations. Here are two main examples of foreign naming implementations through foreign orthographic conventions:

b. The Umlaut Mark

The umlaut mark (or simply umlaut), also diaeresis mark (or simply diaeresis) are two diacritics consisting of a pair of dots placed over a letter. Just like their similar representations, they have similar etymological meanings. While the word “umlaut” is composed of “um-” (to mean around), and “laut” (to mean sound) and means change of pronunciation or sound shift (Wikipedia), the word diaeresis comes from a Greek word meaning “divide or distinguish”. Linguistically speaking, the umlaut is used in several languages including Azeri, Estonian, Finnish, German, Hungarian, Icelandic, Swedish and Turkish. In Turkish, it changes the way a vowel is pronounced as in the case of Turkish ı vs. i, u vs. ü, o vs. ö and c vs. ç. The diaeresis mark, which is graphically similar to the umlaut,

also makes a change in the way the sound is pronounced and used in several languages such as Greek, French, Spanish, Welsh, Dutch and many others. The usage of diæresis mark in English requires pronunciation of the two vowels separately as in the popular example of "naïve".

Example 1: Häagen Dazs

Probably the best example of the way the umlaut is employed for the purposes of advertising and marketing is premium-priced ice cream brand called **"Häagen-Dazs"**.



The idea for Häagen-Dazs dates back to the early 1920s when Reuben Mattus, a young entrepreneur decided to manufacture ice cream. Started as a small firm, the ice-cream giant was acquired by The Pillsbury Company for \$70 million. Finally, "Nestle, the Swiss food giant, has bought out US firm General Mills to take full control over US distribution of the Häagen-Dazs luxury ice cream brand.... It has now agreed to pay about \$641m for a 99-year license in the US as well as in Canada." (BBC News Thursday, 27 December, 2001)

In spite of the fact that it was a brand born in Bronx, New York, it was named Häagen-Dazs with an intention "to convey an aura of the old-world traditions and craftsmanship to which he remained dedicated" as stated on the official website of the company. In order to reinforce such feelings, Mattus included a map of Denmark on the carton (REF) and named the brand with a name which includes an umlaut over the first "a" in Häagen, although umlaut is not used in Danish. What is even more interesting is that the marketing strategy behind Häagen-Dazs has taken for granted two main generalizations for the US market:

1. The ice cream is a European asset and therefore needs to be imported or pretend to be imported.
2. It should be given a Scandinavian-sounding brand name in order to invoke the feelings such as chilly, frosty, icy which are associated with distinct qualities of ice creams.

Notwithstanding the fact that Häagen Dazs is a dominating premium ice cream brand in the US and 54 countries with 700 stores worldwide, none of those stores with a Scandinavian name above them are located in Scandinavia.

Started with Häagen-Dazs, the association established between ice creams and European, particularly Scandinavian, cachet for the purposes of conveying a sense of "old-world traditions and craftsmanship" is re-ignited by Frusen Glädjé, another premium ice cream brand. Linguistically speaking, the phrase "frusen glädjé" means "frozen joy" in Swedish. As cited in Campbell (2003), the close relationship between brand names and Scandinavia was generalized to frozen milk-fat association with Scandinavia and actualized by the Canadian frozen yogurt brand, Yogen Früz, which started in 1989 and attained a net profit of \$200 million. Predictably, competition in the frozen yogurt sector followed a similar trend. Freshëns, major competitor of Yogen Früz with products like Smoöthe, takes it for granted that the competition requires that competition should be supported by the umlaut mark.

A similar implementation of foreign branding in ice cream business is evident in Turkey which experienced 30% growth rate and reached 500 million dollars (Tosuner, 2007). Compared to annual consumption average of the US (25 liters), Sweden (13 liters), Italy (9 liters) and Greece (4 liters) according to IBISWorld statistics (IBISWORLD, 2005), Turkey with an annual average of 1.6 liters is a prominent market with growth potential that exhilarates both domestic and international companies. Owned by a Turkish company named "Has Inc.",

located in Istanbul, Panda is among the leading ice cream brands in Turkey⁵ with



a product mix including 56 different flavors and 103 different products.

From a marketing point of view, the rationale behind adopting a foreign name for an ice

cream brand to be marketed in Turkey might be explained by the fact that 80% of the total consumption was shared by a population aged between 6 and 25; therefore, the branding, marketing and advertising should be done with the demands and interests of the age span. Since, global youth culture is manipulated by the global dominance of English, it should not be surprising that decision-makers tend to favor Englishized brand and product names. As in the case of Panda, products include several English names including Magic, Magic Cup, Maxi Cup, Stix, Big Ben and so forth. There also foreign borrowings used in Turkish like Panda, Fanatik, Kornet as well as Turkish names like Sen & Ben, Esmerim and Maraş.

Similar to the example of "Häagen-Dazs", the reason behind adopting the name "Panda" for an ice cream brand is actually a clever way of manipulating the misconception which suggests that the panda, a mammal classified in the bear family, lives at the North Pole where the temperature is far below zero degree Celcius; Despite the fact that pandas are native to central-western and southwestern China (www.panda.org), the name "panda" was used

⁵ It is interesting to note that the top three ice cream brands in Turkey are demonstration of the dominance of foreign aura (and particularly English) in Turkish business sector. The world's biggest ice cream manufacturer with an annual revenue of €5 billion (Heartbrand), Unilever's Algida is the most-desired ice cream brand in Turkey with 65% of market share (Hurriyet). The strongest competitor of Algida is "Golf" owned by the Ulker group, which is Turkey's leading biscuit manufacturer which managed 3 billion net sales in 2006 including exports reaching a reported \$250 million. Finally, the third place is held by Panda, as stated above. This is a typical example of the strategy of most Turkish manufacturers competing with international monopolies: foreign branding.

to make an association with the distinct qualities of ice creams like chilliness, frostiness and so forth, as stated by Professor Joshua M. Bear of Middle East Technical University. The panda picture used in the logo of the company is actually a visual reinforcement of the linguistic message conveyed by the brand name. The logo of the company which triggers the misconception stated above also serves for the brand awareness. Adopting "panda" for an ice cream brand and logo is not peculiar to the Turkish business context. In the Philippines, a family enterprise established in Dumaguete City in 1995 adopted "Panda" as a brand name for ice cream products (www.pandaicecream.net).

The sphere of influence of the umlaut mark is not limited to premium ice cream brands. The widespread use of umlauts in the names of heavy metal music bands, better known as 'heavy metal umlaut' is also considered to be a form foreign branding. The effect aimed to be achieved on the part of the listener and/or customer is the runic, teutonic qualities often associated with the roots of rock-and-rolls. The use of umlaut marks is reinforced by gothic blackletter style typeface. The stereotypes triggered by the use of umlaut and other diacritics emphasize Viking associations. The use of heavy metal umlaut dates back to 1972 with Long Island rock group Blue Öyster Cult, the usage subsequently gained popularity by relatively more popular rock bands including Motörhead, Mötley Crüe, and many others. There are also interesting examples like a Finish band named Umlaut per se and, a band from Illinois, US named Mudvayne whose members are Chüd, Güüg, R-üD and Spüg. Similar to umlauts, the use of endings like -eth or -thorn are also widely used. As cited in Wikipedia, "In the film This Is Spinal Tap (spelled with an umlaut over the n), fictional rocker David St. Hubbins (Michael McKean) opines, "It's like a pair of eyes. You're looking at the umlaut, and it's looking at you." In 2002, Spin magazine referred to the heavy metal umlaut as "the diacritical mark of the beast". The comic strip Hagar the Horrible is sometimes billed as Hågar the

Hørrible to emphasize its Viking theme. In Scandinavian and German translations the name of the main character is actually written Hågar or Hægar, which makes it similar to the English pronunciation, whereas å sounds more like o.

Despite the fact that the term "umlaut" means "a change in sound", linguistically speaking, umlauts are treated as decorations in English language. In other words, Campell (2003) states that the simplest technique to be employed is actually treating the umlauts just like decorations, and therefore, ignoring any possible phonological effect they might have on the letters. What is actually more important for an umlaut is its connotative and evocative meaning rather than its actual reading. Native speakers of English are more familiar with words transferred from French such as fiancé, café, résumé and many others, instead of limited English words with diacritics such as Brontë and naïve. French words with accents have a distinct role in English lexicon, whereas German or Scandinavian words are regarded as peculiarities and therefore pronounced in accordance with the English phonological norms.

This standpoint of umlaut and its symbolic value is also acknowledged by the brand owners. When the Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) forced, Möben, Manchester-based kitchen manufacturer and a registered trademark since 1977, to remove the double dots from all its advertising in 2001 with an indictment stating that "a German-sounding name implied that Moben or their products were German" (De Lisle, 2006), the company defended itself by stating that "the dots are not an umlaut, but they are merely decorative, which is not exclusive to Germany but used in Austria, Switzerland and Liechtenstein" (Campbell, 2003). On the basis of the examples above, it can be concluded that linguistic role of thumb for the umlaut marks used in the field of marketing, branding and advertising is to focus on only their ornamental purpose represented by specific orthographic features. It can be concluded in the light of

different examples of foreign branding implications stated in this section that foreign branding is a way to attract, manipulate and persuade the customers with the distinct qualities of the foreign countries that the brand is linked to.

Example 2: Faux Cyrillic

The discussion above presents the way orthography influences the perception and therefore triggers stereotypes connected to that particular notion. The umlaut mark or diaeresis are not the only media of foreign branding. When building a brand, carrying out an advertising campaign or conducting marketing endeavors, the relevant process might be supported by a special typography method called "faux Cyrillic" to invoke Soviet, Eastern European or Russian feel by replacing Latin letters. Since the process requires replacement of Latin letters, with their Cyrillic counterparts, there should be graphical resemblances between the shapes. Therefore, the letters that are employed in faux Cyrillic are often stable, meaning that chosen from the same uppercase letters since there should be graphical correspondence to certain extent between the Cyrillic letters to be used and the Latin originals. Examples of faux Cyrillic would be to replace capital Latin letter R with Cyrillic capital letter Я, N with И, Ш with W, Ц with U, Г with r, Ф with O, Д with A, and Ч or Ы with Y. It should be stressed that graphic shape, not sound (pronunciation) is the determining factor.

An early example of faux Cyrillic was a 1966 American comedy movie *The Russians Are Coming, the Russians Are Coming* by Norman Jewison. Other examples of faux Cyrillic includes "the British indie rock band "iFФЯWДЯД, RUSSIД!" which uses both faux Cyrillic and decorative inverted exclamation points to add to the effect of foreignness in their wordmark, the famous computer game "TETЯIS", cover artwork for Paul McCartney's album *CHOBA B CCCP* ("PAUL McCARTИEЧ"), "ЛЭИИГЯД COWBOYS", a Finnish, but "fake

Russian" band, spelled with varying amounts of faux Cyrillic, early seasons of the television series Mission: Impossible which used faux Cyrillic signs to indicate an "Iron Curtain" location and the movie Borat written "БОРДТ!" on advertising posters, replacing the A with a Cyrillic D (Д) (Wikipedia).

Mirror-imaged Latin characters are also used for ornamental purposes as in the famous example of Toys "Я" Us, a worldwide toy store chain operating in 29 countries including Turkey, is used "Я" to symbolize a child's backward writing. Cyrillic orthographic symbols in MY BIG FAT GREEK WEDDING, a 2002 romantic comedy film directed by Joel Zwick, maintains that the Cyrillic alphabet is actually influenced by the Greek letters.

The *raison d'être* behind foreign branding is actually activating the existing national and cultural stereotypes on the part of the customer towards a foreign branded product or service. Such stereotypes are defined broad, consensually shared beliefs and judgments related to a country, its citizens and their culture (Peabody, 1985 as cited in Leclerc et al, 1994). To put it differently, the concept of a particular culture and identity formulated by the language of that culture and identity brings to mind a diverse network of associations, stereotypes, memoirs and experiences which in sum account for a unified image of that particular culture.

Therefore, there are two primary components of foreign branding. First, the domain in which the particular country is dominant and the its linguistic representation in the form of a brand which will evoke the related beliefs, judgments, stereotypes and ultimately persuade the customer to purchase of product or to use of service.

The English language has a key role in triggering collective consciousness which could be attributed to the global status of English and the role of the Anglo-American bloc in world economy and politics. Therefore, despite the fact that foreign branding applications in languages other than English limits the

importance of that particular country to a particular sphere of influence of that sector, the omnipotence and omnipresence of English asserts that English language is the panacea for foreign brand naming. To put differently, decision-making process to foreign brand a product or service no longer needs to include comprehensive research so as to establish the bilateral connection between the product or service and the country. Instead, implementation of English in brand naming, especially in non-Western countries would give the message that the English-branded product or service is of high-quality.

The impact of English in business discourse is not limited to foreign branding or advertising of products or services, but influences the business naming process as well. The growing supremacy of the English language across the globe is reflected in use of English language in business names, store signs and window displays, which are considered to be a small-scale manifestation of foreign branding. The reason behind such practices may not necessarily be to establish the representative link between the name and the service or products sold or served in that business place.

2.2 English Shop Naming Practices Around the World

2.2.1. Thonus (1991)

The literature of Englishization of shop names dates back to a study conducted by Thonus (1991) who examined the phenomenon in the Brazilian context. Her study explored the sphere of influence of English in Rio, Sao Paulo, Manaus, Brasilia, Recife, Porto Alegre, which are five Brazilian state capitals.

The study came up with two major groups of borrowings as follows:

1. This group includes a more sophisticated use of English which is constructed upon conscious and meticulous selections and puns on words. Since Brazilian society is comprised of Portuguese

monolinguals to a great extent, the perception of this group is limited to a small portion of the population. In other words, language proficiency of the potential customers plays a prominent role in grasping the message given by the shop name. (Example: naming a pet shop – “Hotdog”)

2. The second group consists of shop names that are chosen free from the context in which they are used. The inconsistency between the shop names and the types of business suggest that decision making behind those shop names is often haphazard. English language proficiency of the potential customers is not the primary focus. (Example: naming a fashion store – “Stroke”)

Another important conclusion that Thonus (1991) reached in her study was that English naming is used to attract the ordinary Brazilian citizen or consumer. The assumption which English shop naming and brand naming in general, manipulates is that English brand and shop names to sell. As rightly mentioned by Said (1993), the English language is the shared experience between the Western world and developing countries. Therefore, the easiest way to become Westernized which is somehow tantamount to modernization is by acquiring an English shop name. That is to say, the association of English and prestige can be the introductory motive for the lexical item. What keeps the lexical item as part of the local lexicon is the penetration into local cultural life.

2.2.2. Ross (1997)

The findings of the study conducted by Thonus (1991) which focuses on the Brazilian context were interestingly confirmed by the findings of Ross (1997), which focuses on the Italian context, particularly the city centers of Milan in

Italy. The plethora of English shop signs which were calculated to up to 50% on some blocks is worthwhile scrutinizing.

The reason behind shop naming was the primary concern of Ross who came up with hypotheses for the emergence of widespread use of shop signs. For Ross (1997), the omnipresence of English shop signs cannot be explained by the instrumental value of the English language. To put differently, despite the fact that Milan is a large city which attracts a huge population of international tourists and is considered to be a major business stop, it is far behind the popularity of Venice, Rome and Florence, beaten tracks of international tourists. Similar to the findings of Thonus (1991), there is not a one to one correspondence between the English language proficiency of the society and the prevalence of shop signs that make use of English in some way. This also leads to existence of the two major shop sign practices observed in Brazilian context as reported by Thonus (1991). The lexical analysis of the signs asserts that most signs mentioned in the study are simple English words which require basic knowledge of English. Moreover, English shop naming practices lead to incorrect spellings (i.e. "Reds Car") which makes it incomprehensible even for the native speakers of English.

The reason for prevalent use of English in the shop names of Milan, Italy was explained by Ross (1997) as follows:

The simple reason for most of these shop signs [in Milan] is that English is today seen as an attractive and fashionable language. An English name lends an aura of chic prestige to a business, suggesting that it is part of the international scene, following the latest trends, up-to-date with the newest ideas. This aspect of English as an international language . . . is perhaps too often underestimated. Yes, English is important for communication world-wide, but English is also important because of the prestige associated with English-speaking countries, America in particular. (Ross, 1997, p. 31)

Ross (1997) concludes that Englishization of shop signs in the streets of Milan is another way of displaying appreciation of American lifestyles, values and culture. In addition, the reason behind the fact that English is associated with latest developments in virtually any field is very much related to the prestige attached to it. Prestige and popularity are the two twin factors which reinforce one another and have a snowball effect. Therefore, English becomes a sign of prestige, style and modernity.

2.2.3. McArthur (2000)

The research studies in the literature which were discussed up to this point investigate the prevailing dominance of English in shop naming process with a focus on the monolingual communities. In this respect, Mc Arthur's (2000) study which explores the multilingual nature of shop naming process in Zurich, Switzerland and Uppsala, Sweden. The study sampled particular areas in the city centers of those two major cities. In Zurich sample, the dominance of English in business naming was observed in varying degrees including English only (4 signs), English and German (7 signs), English and French (2 signs). To put it differently, the sampled group consisting of 31 shop names display a considerable inclination towards English language by 17 English-including shop names (55%).

The case in Uppsala was no different. The dominance of English in the field of business naming was felt to varying degrees including English only signs (22 signs), English and Swedish (8 signs), English and French (1 sign). The multilingual nature of the English-including shop naming was evident in trilingual signs including English (2 signs) and quadrilingual signs containing English (3 signs). To put it differently, the sampled group consisting of 86 shop names display a remarkable tendency towards using the English language by 38 English-including shop names (44%).

The conclusions to be drawn from McArthur (2000) study are twofold. One of the interesting contributions of McArthur's (2000) study to English shop naming literature is that the study is actually the manifestation of omnipresence of English regardless of the languages that it coexists with. The other conclusion is the demonstration of the multilingual nature of the society in shop naming. Despite the fact that multilingual traits of the society were reflected in shop names, it needs to be stressed that English is the common denominator of multilingual shop signs. Therefore, those shop signs need to be called English-plus signs.

2.2.4. Schlick (2002) & (2003)

Following on the heels of the studies in the literature (Thonus, 1991; Ross, 1997; McArthur, 2000) which investigate the reasons for Englishization of shop names in different parts of the world, in a wide spectrum of different sociolinguistic and sociopolitical contexts, Schlick (2002) investigated the phenomenon focusing on the store signs in Klagenfurt in Austria, Udine in Italy, and Ljubljana in Slovenia: "three cities in three countries where three different languages belonging to three different language groups (Germanic, Romance, and Slavic) are spoken" (p.1).

The initial presupposition of Schlick (2002) maintained that Klagenfurt would display relatively more foreign, especially English, influence in shop names, whereas fewer signs would be found in the Italian town. The Slovenian capital which was part of Communist Yugoslavia up until 1990 was expected to bear the least influence in foreignization of business names. This assumption was reinforced by the assertions that the number of international companies in a newly independent state might be relatively low and therefore, shop names would display an inclination towards use of the local language only. The research results confirmed that the shop signs and window displays in Udine (Italy)

showed less foreign influence than those in Klagenfurt (Austria). However, what is significant to note at this point is that the Ljubljana (Slovenia) sample interestingly contained at least the same proportion of English as the Klagenfurt sample. The factors which contribute to this result reportedly were the fact that Ljubljana sample contained an inundation of international company names as well as the exposure to American movies on Slovene TV where they are shown in the original language whereas in Germany and Austria dubbing is employed. The emergence of the new Slovenian Republic is blended with the enthusiasm for both Western ideas and the world language. For Slovenes, making one step towards the English language is departing one step from their Communist history.

In a follow-up to her study in 2002, Schlick (2003) conducted another study regarding the use of English and other foreign languages in shop signs in eight European locations in four countries. The significance of the study lies with its methodology which focuses on a larger city and a relatively smaller town. The sample group includes London and Nuneaton in the United Kingdom, Vienna and Leoben in Austria, Trieste and Pordenone in Italy, and Ljubljana and Kranj in Slovenia. The research results interestingly indicated that the location which displays the largest proportion of business names containing some English was Kranj (36%) in Slovenia. Kranj was followed by Vienna, Trieste, Leoben and Ljubljana. Pordenone showed the least examples of signs containing English (21%). In this conclusion, Englishization of the shop signs in Nuneaton and London was excluded from the rest of the sample.

Unlike the other studies in the literature, Schlick (2003) included a sample of business names from an English-speaking context which enabled her to compare and contrast monolingual signs in different contexts. Research results indicated that monolingual signs in Nuneaton were 89%, followed by London and Pordenone (72%). In addition, there seems to be a similarity

between the British and Italian samples which displayed the fact that the percentage of local language use in business names increases in provincial towns rather than in larger cities. The results were not validated by the Slovenian and Austrian samples which assert that there is not a direct causal relationship between the percentage of local language use and business naming practices. The samples acquired from non-English samples maintained that the language most in evidence in store signs is predictably English, after the local language. English is followed by French, Italian, and German.

Another point which contributes to the significance of Schlick (2003) is that the study also gave a relative importance to the types of businesses that adopt foreign names. The business names in the corpus which make use of a language other than the local language are spearheaded by fashion shops. However, the dominance of English is not limited to such shops, shops selling jewelry, electronics and cosmetics. French seems to be only rival of English, observed in the field of food and related stuff.

2.2.5 MacGregor (2003)

The salient role of English in commercial signs continues to be matter generating much debate and therefore attracts a considerable attention all around the world. The literature in the field of foreignization (particularly Englishization) of business naming has gained a new perspective by the contribution of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural studies. In this respect, MacGregor's (2003) study which was carried out a study on shop signs in Tokyo has a prominent role. In her study, MacGregor sampled 120 shop signs found in three streets near Siejo Gakuen-mae train station, which is located 12 kilometers from central Tokyo. The preliminary assumptions included the fact that Japan is still a considerably monolingual country, notwithstanding its close economic ties with the rest of the world, particularly with the Anglo-American

bloc. Therefore, Japan was considered to be relatively safe from the global influence of English. The conservative nature of Japanese society, however, did not apply English language use in Japan since English language appears in some of the most popular domains such as music, fashion, print media, and advertising (Haarman, 1984; Loveday, 1986 as cited by MacGregor, 2003).

The current penetration of English into deep strata of Japanese society was reflected in the study which asserts that of the 120 signs, 31 were English-only, while 29 signs were English-Japanese hybrids. In other words, half of the signs in the sample (50%) exhibit the influence of English in varying degrees. The research data were divided into three main categories as unilingual, bilingual and trilingual signs. The research results for unilinguals were further divided into three as Japanese in kanji, hiragana, katakana and Roman (43.3%), English (25.8%) and French (2.5%). The research result for bilingual shop signs included English-Japanese hybrids (24.2%), French and Japanese (1.7%); and Danish and Japanese (0.8%). Bearing the importance of Japanese in business naming in mind, the researcher concluded that 'foreign languages, mostly English, function to embellish the Japanese and to a lesser extent communicate meaning on their own' (2003). The MacGregor (2003) study was significant in the sense that it showed not only how shop signs in Japanese are ornamented with English words in katakana and Roman letters but also validated how the four different orthographies (kanji, hiragana, katakana, and Roman alphabet) contributed to the foreignization trend. For instance, using hiragana script instead of original French or katakana script for naming a women's clothing store called "Le Soleil" is an unusual choice for foreign words, and therefore attracts attention.

Introduced by Schlick (2003), the dominant retail types among the sampled shop names are important aspects of shop-naming studies in the sense that it presents the linguistic concentration of English in particular domains. In MacGregor (2003), the dominant retail types among the sampled 31 English-only

shop names were women's clothing stores (n=9) and hair salons (n=4), which are considered to be two industries in Japan which tend to view their foreign counterparts in western countries as superior (Haarman, 1984 cited in MacGregor, 2003). The research results revealed that while Japanese is the language of the signs for restaurants serving Japanese food, pastry is equated with French and bread is linked to Scandinavia. The fashion industry is the battlefield of English and French.

2.2.6 Griffin (2004)

Following the footsteps of Ross (1997), Griffin (2004) examined one particular aspect of "English as an invader – its presence on street signs, on store fronts, in shop windows, outside commercial and public buildings, in billboards and other street advertisements, and in graffiti" (p.1). His interest in the prevalence of English was flourished by a study which examined the use of English in Polish magazine advertisements (Griffin, 1997). The scope of the study included advertisements in 12 major Polish magazines which represent different genres. Research results revealed that 88% of the 346 advertisements contained at least one English word and that average of 8.5 English words was used per ad.

In addition to previous studies, Griffin (2004) intended to take a broader and more comprehensive approach in order to attain a better understanding of English-propelled foreign shop naming phenomenon on the streets of a non-English-speaking context. The current study was designed to include a broader sample of shop names in Rome. The sample of the study included 17 streets in 7 different zones assigned to 14 coders. The coders of the study were asked to indicate the following contexts in which the English language appeared:

- an exterior sign for a commercial entity such as a shop, store, office, etc.

- a window display or on the window or door of a commercial entity such as a shop, store, office, etc.
- an exterior sign for a public entity such as a museum, monument or church
- a billboard
- an advertising poster or placard
- another context

The results showed that there were 225 instances of English with an average of 16.07 instances per street. The research results indicated that there is fairly an equal distribution of English shop signs among the zones. The research results were as follows in descending order:

Zone D (Piazza del Popolo/Villa Borghese/Tridente) - 44 occurrences (19.6%)

Zone B (Vatican/Prati/Castel Sant'Angelo) - 40 occurrences (17.8%)

Zone F (Coliseum/San Giovanni/Caracalla Baths) - 33 occurrences (14.7%)

Zone A (Campo dei Fiori/Pantheon/Piazza Navona) – 30 occurrences (13.3 %)

Zone C (Testaccio/Aventino/Trastevere/Ghetto) – 29 occurrences (12.9%)

Zone E (Esquiline/Quirinale/Termini) - 29 occurrences (12.9%)

Zone X (EUR) - 20 occurrences (8.9%).

The primary significance of Griffin's (2004) study lies in the corpus size including English words (n=901). As a prominent outcome of the study, Griffin determined that the ten most frequently used English words were

Table 5

Corpus of Griffin's (2004) study

Word	Occurrences	Percentage
American	37 occurrences	4.1 %
express	37 occurrences	4.1 %
visa	17 occurrences	1.8 %
the	16 occurrences	1.7 %
international	15 occurrences	1.6 %
club	14 occurrences	1.5 %
for	12 occurrences	1.3 %
diners	12 occurrences	1.3 %
cards	11 occurrences	1.2 %
ritual	10 occurrences	1.1 %

The table above which summarizes the English language corpus found on the shops signs and window displays on the streets of Rome, show that the primary motive behind English language use is to convey the basics of international monetary actions. Thus, the corpus reveals the fact that English language use is not limited to business naming but includes window displays. Based on the statistics above, it would be wise to speculate that even business places with monolingual signs might employ English words for the purposes of maintaining the requirements of international business, and/or to create an aura of being a highly credible, internationally recognized business place. This assumption was confirmed by the physical distribution of English words on window displays and windows and door decals for commercial entities (36.2%), followed by exterior signs for commercial entities (30.8%), advertising posters and/or placards (12.9%), graffiti (3.1%), billboards (3.1%), exterior signs for public entities (2.7%) and street signs (2.7%).

2.2.7 Stewart & Fawcett (2004)

A replication of the methodology employed by Ross (1997), McArthur (2000), and Schlick (2002), the study conducted by Stewart and Fawcett (2004) described the frequency of foreign languages in shop signs located in six small

towns in northwestern Portugal. The study included Fermentelos, Afife, Arcos de Valdevez, Caminha, Ponte da Barca, and Vila Praia de Ancora, each ranging in size from a year-round population of 600 to one of 4,400. The study included a total of 271 shop signs in six towns. Despite the fact that shop signs in small towns in Portugal are monolingual, mostly in Portuguese, the remaining 27 signs (10%) are in English. It is interesting to note that the shop names display an absence of signs in Spanish in locations close to the border between Portugal and Spain; whereas English shop names was the common denominator. Almost two-thirds of the English language sample in the study was "snack bar". The other occurrences included phrases like *fast food*, *fashion and style*, *Black-Gate Bar*, *handcraft's*, and *café*.

An interesting manifestation of widespread presence of the English language in everyday Portuguese life is hexagonal, red and white stop signs displaying English "stop", not using the Portuguese version "pare". For Stewart and Fawcett (2004) "this prevalence of foreign language stop signs provides a strong counter-example to the frequently held notion that a borrowed term enters a native language only if the equivalent is either long or clumsy by comparison or if the term itself doesn't exist in the local language" (p.3).

The study conducted by Stewart and Fawcett (2004) is of particular importance in the sense that minimal data obtained from six small towns in a non-English-speaking country that is physically distant from direct influence of English language account for the whole phenomenon.

2.3 Shop Naming Practices in Turkey

It should be stated at the beginning of the discussion that English in the Turkish context is not a recent phenomenon. As broadly discussed in the previous chapter, the linguistic contact with English, flourished through the strategic partnership during the Cold War and educational policy

implementations since the 1960s and blended with anti-American sentiments in the new millennium this gaining a complex status in Turkish sociolinguistic and sociopolitical milieu. There is a growing literature on the impact English has had in this domain in Turkey, as seen in the table below.

Table 6

Shop Signage Studies in Turkey

Location	Author	Year
Turkey	Yaman	1990
Bursa	Üstünova	1996
Turkey	Alkibay	1996
Ankara	Doğan	1999
Sakarya	Öçalan	1999
Ankara	Gözaydın	2000
Turkey	Aydoğan	2001
Turkey	Demircan	2001
Erzurum	Köktekin and Kara	2006

2.3.1. Doğan (1999)

The expansion of English in the Turkish context, considerable resistance against English-medium instruction blended with anti-American feelings evolved in the society would generate a conundrum in the sense that the English language is favored in Turkish business discourse resulting in widespread implementation of business names in English. One would argue that there may not be another context in the world where English is both condemned (campaigns, personal attitudes shaped by sociopolitical variables) and appreciated (in the form of educational policies backed up by the government and business naming practices), other than Turkey. Therefore, studies which focus on dominance of English use in shop signage reveal the extent to which English has penetrated Turkish perception through business names and window displays.

The significance of Doğan's (1999) study lies in the methodological scope of the study which focused not only on observation but also on fieldwork applications such as interviewing. The corpus in Doğan's (1999) study embraces a total of 105 shop signs displayed both in Turkish and in various foreign languages. The research results validated the globally dominant tendency of foreignization of shop names (51%).

Of 105 respondents who participated in the survey, 64 respondents (61%) reported that they do not have foreign language knowledge; whereas 39% responded that they know at least one foreign language. Despite the fact that a great majority of the respondents do not have a working knowledge of any foreign language, only 5 respondents declared that they do not know the actual meaning of the shop name.

The research results further indicated that the factors which contributed to business naming (both in English and Turkish) included 'personal reasons' (32%), 'commercial benefits' (17%), 'ideological reasons' (17%) and 'sense of being different' (15%). A total of 53 shop owners who adopted foreign names for their business justified themselves by revealing the factors below (in descending order) as their rationale behind their choices:

- Being interesting 17%
- In order to relate to culture 15%
- Sense of being different 9%
- Suitability with business 9%
- Being a brand name 9%
- Being impressive 8%
- Never thought about it 6%
- The city s/he lived in before 4%
- Not his/her personal choice 4%

- Commercially impressive 2%
- Selling imported goods 2%
- Being a surname 2%
- Stereotypes 2%
- His/her child's name 2%
- Aiming a particular group 2%
- Fashionable 2%

Another interesting finding of the study was that the district in which the shop is located has no direct influence on business naming process. Statistically speaking, 71% of the respondents claimed the irrelevance between the two concepts, whereas only 17% of the participants established a link between the location and the name of the business place. The remaining 12% did not have a concrete opinion on this matter. The assumption that the primary target audience of the business establishments with English or foreign names is the upper rungs of the socioeconomic ladder of the society was refuted by Doğan's findings. The percentage of the respondents who declared to have customers from all socioeconomic layers is 64% (n=67).

The common denominator of the studies conducted in Turkish context, which is at the same time the fundamental difference from cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies conducted all around the world, is that foreign, and particularly English shop names are considered to be missionaries of linguistic pollution spearheaded by English. In this context, Turkish is being contaminated by English through Englishization of business names. Doğan (1999) made an interesting move and asked the shop owners who adopted Turkish names whether there is any relation between their sensitivity towards Turkish and the shop naming process. Statistics reveal that 71% of the respondents claimed that the current status of Turkish was a prominent factor in business naming process.

2.3.2. Gözaydın (2000)

Planned by Sheraton Hotels and Towers in 1986 by Koray-Kavala Investor Group and opened in the October of 1991 with the motto of "***A New Center in Ankara***", Karum Business and Shopping Center, better known as "Karum" is the oldest of a total of 11 shopping malls in Ankara, Turkey, after Atakule (1989). Etymologically, the word "Karum" meant "harbor or water front" in Assyrian and was used as "a trade center located close to the city center".

Gözaydın (2000) states that the penetration of English is so deep that today, in the district where Atatürk's and Turkey's presidential residence is located in Ankara, one could observe Englishization of shop signs:

"Even today, the impact, magnitude and aura of [Atatürk] is felt even in the district of Çankaya and around where presidential residence of Atatürk, our great leader who founded the Turkish Language Association, is located. However, from time to time, we come across such situation that one can easily pine away with grief. Despite the love and ambition of Atatürk towards the Turkish language, the insensitivity near his presidential residence in Çankaya represented in the shopping mall, named "Karum" is the focal point of this study. (Gözaydın, 2000)

Gözaydın (2000) maintained that despite the fact that the architectural project was designed and the construction of the mall were carried out by a group of Turks, this trend had no influence in business naming practices in the mall. The mall is full of business names in "Turkilizce" ("Turkinglish"). The concept of "Turkinglish" might be defined as a blend of the English-language words for Turkish and English and used to emphasize the actualization of the English-Turkish language-contact phenomenon. Statistical outcomes of the study showed that of the 188 business places in the mall only 38 stores make use of Turkish-only signs, which equals 20% of the sampled population. The remaining 150 stores employ foreignization to some degree either in foreign-only signs

(n=94) or foreign-Turkish hybrids (29%). In other words, while the percentage for Turkish is 20%, foreign signs are %51 and hybrid signs are 29%.

Since a shopping mall, or simply mall, contains stores of multinational companies and international brands in a building or a set of buildings, it might be argued that franchising stores of international brands should not be treated as foreign branding implementation in store signs. Gözaydın (2000) reveals that stores with such qualities of internationalization may only account for 8% of the all stores in Karum. This means that the remaining 43% of the foreignization stems from the attitudes and perceptions of business owners. He further makes an interesting and at the same partially xenophobic comment "suppose that the 20% Turkish bearing shop names are closed down, you could easily feel yourself in England, America, Paris or so forth". Another worthwhile point mentioned in Gözaydın (2000) is that shop assistants with whom he discussed the matter responded that the purpose of foreignization, particularly Englishization, of names of business places were deliberate attempts to impress the customer.

2.2.3 Aydoğın (2001)

The widespread employment of English in Turkish business discourse had not been considered in a industry-specific manner until Aydoğın (2001) who scrutinized the issue within the framework of the undisputed flagship of Turkish economy and undeniably modern face of modern Turkey/tourism. The prominence of tourism for the Turkish state and economy could be easily understood through some simple facts.

The tourism sector in Turkey has shown great progress since 1980. Based upon the statistics presented on the website of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the share of the tourism sector in the Gross National Product (GNP) rose from 0.6% in 1980 to 6% in 2001 and therefore, the share of total revenues in export rose from 11.2% to 28.8%. Similarly, while the number of

tourists in Turkey was 1,288,060 in 1980, it almost expanded eight times in 1996 and reached to 8,614,085, increased 45% in 2000 and reached to 9,689,004, 2000. Hosting 21.2 million tourists in 2005, Turkey made great progress in the field of tourism and became one of the most desirable destinations in the world for foreign tourists. The total revenues for 2005 were reportedly US\$17.5 billion which at the same time puts Turkey among the ten biggest revenue owners in the world.

Aydoğan (2001) focused on the relationship between industry-specific development and naming practices in the industry. The fundamental significance of tourism as a branch of industry lies in its nature which maintains international relations and therefore, serves for the global publicity of the country. The relationship between business naming and global publicity of the country was established by Aydoğan (2001) as follows:

“...In brief, we attained the world standards in the field of tourism. Everything is fine except the names of the hotels. Millions of tourists visiting Turkey are not even aware of the fact that they come to Turkey. They come to Antalya. They think that Antalya is located in Spain or Greece and think that Antalya is a country on its own. Therefore, the travel agencies make use of Antalya rather than Turkey in their advertisements. Since the hotels in Antalya employ non-Turkish names, they are unaware of being in Turkey. **If you label your hotel with a foreign name, it would not be possible for you to advertise your country. In fact, names are symbols.** It is through that symbol that you attain a certain place in the minds of people” (Aydoğan, 2001)

The list of hotel names presented in the study consists of a total of 318 names. The hotels with Turkish names in the study (n=30) only account for 9.4% of the sample. The remaining hotels (n=288) account for 90.6% of the total sample. The undisputable domination of foreign names in hotel naming is enough to envisage the prevalence of English in the Turkish context.

In addition to the industry-specific perspective in the study, Aydoğan (2001) makes a linguistic analysis of the hotel names which contribute to the overall significance of the study. Analyzing hotel names in the sample from a linguistic point of view, Aydoğan (2001) maintained that the influences of English is not limited to hotel naming process but also influence the morpho-syntactic construction of Turkish names used in hotel naming. Morphologically, it should be noted that the phrase construction in Turkish requires the modifier to be inflected by a possessive inflectional suffix *-ı* or *-i*. To be more precise, a hotel name should include name of the hotel followed by "otel" and an inflectional suffix of *-ı* or *-i* as in the example of "*Aras Oteli*" or "*Poyraz Oteli*". However, the trend in hotel naming and the examples in the sample reveal that inflectional suffix is not commonly used. The English word "hotel" is considered to be the primary instigator of such use. Another point to be mentioned within the scope of linguistic analysis is on lexical level. The most frequently used lexical items in hotel names are "*hotel*", "*club*", "*resort*", "*holiday*", "*village*", "*sun*", "*sunrise*" and "*grand*". The influence of foreign words, and particularly English, did not stay on the outside of the hotel as its name but entered into the hotel in the form of "fitness show", "disco", "snack-bar", "a la carte restaurants", "clubs" and "beach".

The one-sentence summary of the study maintains that "the balance of language contact is deteriorating to the disadvantage of Turkish" (Aydoğan, 2001).

2.3.4 Demircan (2001)

Fueled by the new rules asserted by globalization and massive increase in prices, Turkey showed a tendency toward a paradigm shift from collectivism to individualism (Demircan, 2001). The indivisible duality of body and soul which comprise the identity in the form an individual (indivi+dual) is divided by the

choice of English or Turkish. While body demands English for instrumental purposes, the soul favors Turkish as part of collective consciousness of the society.

Demircan (2001) describes the current situation of Turkish and relation which paved way for the rationale for his study as follows:

“Because of the post-modern construction, different centers of power started having relations with nation-states for the purposes of interests and benefits, Turkey became a market for foreign goods. Since the transmission of this state is actualized by a world language, Turkish became a market for foreign words. In addition, the current status of the language led people to define their image (or identity) in a way enslaved by the ranked brands.” (Demircan, 2001)

The study which was carried out in central Istanbul included a sample of 500 business names. Of the 500 shop names, 445 business names bear English words. He concludes that product names can be classified in two major categories as “local names that are not brands” and “foreign names that are not determined as foreign or local”.

Research results showed that

1. 17% of the stores sell imported foreign goods. Since the business is actualized by local customers, linguistic explanation is limited to foreign brands. For Demircan (2001), there is no communicative correspondence between store having foreign name, selling imported goods and local customers. The store sign is not determined by external factors, but only by the business owner.
2. The percentage of English shop names that targeted foreign customers is only 12.5%.

3. The percentage of English shop names adopted with an intention to contribute publicity is 26.5%. Most of these names include names of popular icons like pop singers, movie actors, TV shows etc. The percentage of business owners who adopt such a name for their business and has no knowledge of English is 44%. The positive connotation is the primary reason for English-naming.
4. The percentage of business owners who claimed that “products with English-brands are considered to be more prestigious” is 20%. Being foreign is being privileged. This leads to appreciation of foreign branding.
5. The percentage of business owners who adopted an English name for their business stemming from the fact that English is the world’s global language is 29%. Since domestic business relations are around 87.5%, this does not reflect the actual reality. This is selling local goods to local customer with foreign names or brands.
6. The percentage of business owners who adopted an English name for their business because English names are commercially interesting is 36%. It is interesting to note that 28% of business owners who gave such a response are reportedly proficient in English whereas 12.5% of business owners do not have any knowledge of English.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

3.0 Presentation

This chapter presents the overall design of the study including the sample, data collection instruments and details of procedure.

3.1 Overall Design of the Study

This study aims to investigate the sociocultural and sociopolitical influence of foreign languages, particularly English, on business names in Turkish business discourse by adopting a multifactorial analysis method. As a result of the study, it is hoped to draw conclusions concerning which factors influence Englishization of business naming in Turkey, a representation of Englishization of business naming in Turkey, as well as the consequences of Englishization of business names on both societal as well as linguistic levels. The visual description of the general aim of the study is given below:



The conclusions reached and the generalizations generated as an outcome of this study have been formed on the basis of multifactorial analysis of the phenomenon and strengthened by supportive evidence.

3.2 Data Collection Instruments

The data obtained in this study were collected by means of quantitative and qualitative data collection instruments and employed for different purposes. The major data collection instruments were listed as follows:

- **Field Observations**
- **Sampled Interviews on the Basis of Questionnaire**
 - Demographic Information
 - Factual Information about Business Place
 - Business Naming Process
 - Interview Sessions with Business Owners
- **Supporting mini-scale data sources**
 - Malls in Ankara
 - Yellow Pages (Çankaya, Ankara)

Field observations, sampled interviews and supportive mini-scale data sources were included in the study with the intention of achieving triangulation among the data collection instruments.

3.2.1 Field Observations

In a general sense, field observations are an essential part of studies in various fields of science ranging from ethnographic studies to entomologic studies and educational studies. Within a more limited scope, the field observation method has been identified as the common denominator of any study which focuses on the expansion of English through practices of English-shop naming all around the world. Researchers following this method walk through the sampled zone previously selected in the city or town-of-focus and carefully note down the repeated instances or absence of instances of the phenomenon that they are investigating. As part of the studies which focus on

English-use in business names, field observations can be actualized by recording occurrences of English naming practices in store signs.

3.2.2 Sampled Interviews on the Basis of Questionnaire

Since occurrences of Englishized business names are found in the thousands, the total sample was randomly sampled so as to identify the business places with English names at which interviews would be conducted.

The questionnaire that was employed in this study served two main purposes. First, it presented the researcher with demographic information about the participants. The information obtained from the questionnaire might be employed for descriptive purposes. On the other hand, it was employed by the researcher as a guideline when conducting interviews. Therefore, the interview section provided an inferential contribution to the study.

As far as the literature of business naming through the perspective of foreignization and especially Englishization is concerned, the employment of questionnaires is not considered to be an essential part of such studies. It should be noted at this point that none of the studies conducted in non-Turkish contexts mentioned in the review of literature section of the thesis employed questionnaires as an instrument of data collection. This feature of the studies of non-Turkish contexts reveals the fact that those studies are rather descriptive rather than inferential. On the other hand, as it was mentioned in the review of literature section, some of the studies conducted in the Turkish context made use of questionnaires which contributed to the overall significance of such studies by adding an inferential aspect.

In designing the questionnaire used in this study, several questionnaires in the literature were adapted with the intention of obtaining the most relevant and most accurate results for the research questions that have been discussed previously. The first questionnaire (*İşyeri İsimleri Bilgi Formu – An Information*

Form for Business Places) that provided a basis for the study is that of Doğan (1999) which was published as a book entitled *Sokaktaki Yabancı İşyeri İsimlerine Yansıyan Kültürel Eğilimler* (Cultural Inclinations Reflected in Foreign Named Business Places on the Streets). The questionnaire used by Doğan was modified for the needs and purposes of the current study by adding several items.

The modifications made to the questionnaire were performed by the researcher in person with close cooperation with his thesis supervisor. To begin with, the researcher divided the questionnaire into three major sections, namely Demographic Information, Factual Information about the Business Place, and Business Naming Process. Categorizing the questionnaire under three major headings enabled the researcher to present the findings in a more organized and comprehensive manner. The modifications were not limited to organizing the items in the questionnaire. An item which lists the shop owner's gender was added to Demographic Information section. In addition, the question that was included in Doğan (1999) asking "Are you the owner of this company?" was found rather inconclusive since any interview, or survey conducted with employees of an English-named shop would only reflect the personal views of a group of people whose standpoints were not reflected in the business naming process. Therefore, the researcher decided to discard the question related to the ownership of business and limited the study to shop owners only. In addition to the question which asks the meaning of the shop name, specific pronunciation of the name above the shop was included. A brand new item which asks the date of establishment and the name of the business at the time of establishment was included in the survey with the intention to trace the roots of Englishization in Turkish business discourse, particularly in Ankara, Turkey. The name of the shop at its establishment would reveal any naming decision in the direction of English. Due to the fact that the role and sphere of influence of foreign languages in

Turkish business discourse is authorized and regulated by laws, a specific survey item which inquiries into the name of the business was added so as to reveal discrepancies, if any, between the name above the shop and the name in official records. Another brand new item included in the questionnaire investigates the consistency and relation between the name above the shops and the products sold or service provided in the shop. Similarly, Doğan (1999) included an item which focuses on the congruity between the name and decoration of the business place. That particular item was discarded in the study. Since the influence of English through practices of English-named shop names is a major debate in Turkey, a specific item was included which investigates whether the owners of English-named business places agree with the general public opinion that Turkish is being contaminated by English through shop naming practices. The integration of Turkey into the European Union was reflected in the study with an item which explores the extent to which Turkey's bid for the European Union was effective in business naming practices within the scope of the current study. Moreover, two additional questions focused on the effectiveness of English names with regard to commercial profit. The respondents were asked whether the name that employed for their business place resulted in commercial profit, and whether they would have reached the same position by using a Turkish name. The questionnaire ended with a question which specifically deals with the global role and status of English. The item investigated whether the global role of English is acknowledged by Turkish business owners whose business places have English names.

The final version of the questionnaire consists of a total of 15 questions in 3 major sections:

a. Demographic Information – This first section of the questionnaire consists of two questions which were designed to obtain demographic information about

the business owners sampled from the total group for interview. The findings of this section were employed while drawing conclusions referring to participants' gender, educational background, and foreign language proficiency.

b. Business Place Information – The second part of the questionnaire consists of a total of six questions. The first three were designed to reveal factual information about the business place and the other three were multiple choice questions related to the business place. The answers given in this section of the questionnaire specifically deal with the consistency factor between the business place and its name. That is the primary reason for including a combination of factual as well as information-deriving questions in the questionnaire.

c. Business Naming Process – The last part of the questionnaire consists of six questions. The questions in this section focus on the specific aspects of the business naming process. Results obtained from this section have been employed in making inferences about the name of the business and the factors influencing that particular name. Serving for the inferential aspect of the study, the items of this section were designed to reveal the business owners' rationales behind adopting English-business names.

All items in the questionnaire have been reviewed by experts in the field so as to ensure face and content validity. The comments and critical feedback given by the reviewers have been seriously scrutinized by the researcher when finalizing the questionnaire for implementation.

Since the questionnaire is administered as a roadmap for the interview session, orally by the researcher and coded accordingly, it has been designed so as to be of a reasonable length in terms of items (15 items), and necessary time for its completion (3-5 minutes). The final version of the questionnaire is presented in the Appendix section.

d. Interview Sessions — The questionnaire was administered in an integrative manner in conjunction with an interview with the business owner who runs an English-named business place in Ankara, Turkey. Respondents' answers were coded on a code sheet and their comments were carefully noted. Therefore, the interview session which is the primary data collection instrument includes the administered questionnaire, but is not limited to the questionnaire. Since business names are a particularly important aspect of establishing and running a business of any kind, the business owners were willing to give detailed responses about the factors influencing their choice. Interview sessions were conducted by the researcher in person and sometimes with the assistance of a colleague.

Since business naming in English in the Turkish sociopolitical context is caught between commercial interests and societal preferences, the interview sessions were not recorded or affected by any means, either audio or video so as to reduce the face threat.

3.2.3 Supporting Mini-Scale Data Sources

There are two mini-scale data sources which contributed to the overall results of the study, namely malls in Ankara and business naming practices in *Altın Sayfalar*.

3.2.3.1. Malls in Ankara

Shopping malls are considered to be modern faces of the cities, and often closely associated with the cities, as prominent symbols. There are a total 80 malls in 9 major cities of Turkey whose population accounts for 49.1% (21,627,856) of the overall population (44,006,274) living in cities. The distribution of malls includes Istanbul (40), Ankara (11), Izmir (9), Bursa (4), Adana (4), Konya (4), Gaziantep (2) and Antalya (6).

The naming practices in shopping malls in Turkey, and particularly in Ankara, was descriptively presented with the intention of giving an idea about the extent to which foreign brands and branding have penetrated into the Turkish socioeconomic context. The shopping malls located in Ankara can be found below:

Table 7

List of Malls in Ankara, Turkey

NAME	DATE OF ESTABLISHMENT	LOCATION IN ANKARA
AnkaMALL	2007	Akköprü
Arcadium	2003	Çayyolu
Armada	2002	Söğütözü
Atakule	1989	Çankaya
Bilkent Center & Ankuva Shopping Center	1998	Bilkent
CarrefourSA	2001	Batıkent
FTZ Shopping Center	2003	Keçiören
Galleria Ankara	1995	Ümitköy
Karum	1991	Kavaklıdere
Mesa Plaza	1999	Çayyolu
Optimum Outlet Center	2004	Eryaman

3.2.3.2. Business Naming Practices in *Altın Sayfalar*

Published and distributed annually by Doğan Group both as a hard-copy directory of classified ads and as a web site (www.altinsayfalar.com.tr), *Altın Sayfalar* (meaning "Golden Pages") presents commercial listings according to specialization. The website includes 16 different major fields of commerce which easily enables one to find local business with a few clicks.

As far as the scope of the current study is concerned, the *Altın Sayfalar* website has been employed to carry out a small-scale analysis of English language practices in business names in Ankara. The website, that including more than 10,000 businesses, was also useful in the sense that it provided a massive database for business naming from 18 different cities across Turkey. The numbers and statistics related to the website presented in the current study

contributed to the general discussion that has been carried out throughout the thesis.

3.3 Data Collection Procedure

Due to the fact that this study has focused on Englishization of business names in the city of Ankara, a special paragraph needs to be devoted to a description of the city. Located in central Anatolia, the city of Ankara is the capital of Turkey and with a population of more than 4 million as of 2005. In addition to being an important commercial and industrial city, Ankara houses the bodies of the Turkish government, as well as foreign embassies.

Throughout the course of time, civilizations such as the Hittite, Phrygian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman have left their mark on the city. When the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, was occupied by the Victoria's Western Allies at the end of World War I, the leader of the Turkish independence and nationalist movement, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, established its headquarters in Ankara in 1920. It was only three years later, soon before the establishment of the republic, Ankara replaced Istanbul as the capital city of the young Republic of Turkey on October 13, 1923.

Virtually any study examining the dynamics of a city of nearly 4 million residents would face certain difficulties and require solutions on its own. As for the current study, the primary problems were time and sampling. A longitudinal approach might have been adopted in a similar study in order to account for the whole city. Since the size of the population in the study makes it impossible to collect relevant data in terms of time and sample group, selecting a representative sample was the only way to obtain the information regarding Englishization of business places. Therefore, the study was limited to Çankaya, the central district of the city of Ankara which has a population of 769,000 (2000

census). The district is estimated to have a nearly 1 million residents and houses more than 2 million during any given day.

The data collected by the researcher in person on the basis of a stratified sampling method included the names of business names that bear a foreign lexical item. The sample which includes foreign words was linguistically analyzed so as to come up with a foreignization pattern dominant in Turkish business discourse. Furthermore, the sample population was randomly selected to identify the shops whose owners would be interviewed. The researcher visited the previously selected shops and conducted the interview sessions which were based upon the questionnaire discussed earlier in this chapter. The interview sessions were subject to the consent of the shop owners; those who did not wish to participate in the survey were not included in interview sessions. In order to minimize the face threat, the researcher did not make use of any recording device such as a video camera or sound recording equipment. The results of interview sessions were analyzed sociolinguistically both at the micro and macro level. Micro level sociolinguistic analysis of the results included the case in Turkey by giving specific references, whereas macro-level analysis focused on the phenomenon by adopting a holistic perspective and relating the issue to global concerns.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4.0 Presentation

In this chapter, first the results of the field observation will be given. Next, the sampled interviews on the basis of the questionnaire will be presented and discussed. Finally, results of mini-scale data sources will be commented upon respect to the main findings of the study.

4.1. Results of Field Observations

As for the field observations, the researcher carried out the field observations in person by recording the name and location of sampled business places. Having completed the list of sampled shops, the researcher chose the business places through the random sampling method and identified the business places whose owners would be interviewed.

The researcher walked through to the district of Çankaya, Ankara and noted down instances of foreign language use in shop names. The total number of instances that was noted down by the researcher within the scope of the study was 1200. The results of field observations are summarized in the table below:

The linguistic analysis of the names of shop names in the survey indicated that foreign influence of shop names in Turkish discourse might be grouped in three major categories:

1. **Foreign signs** – Signs in this category include business places that adopted non-Turkish lexical items. This category is further divided into two subcategories namely, non-English signs and English signs.

- a. **Non-English signs** – This subcategory contains 385 business places that adopted non-English lexical items for their names. Examples of this category include *Café des Café* (café), *Pittoresque* (jewelry), *Ares* (hair dresser), and *Monami* (tailor). Shops named with foreign words that are not English (n=385) correspond to 32.1% of all the shopping malls in the survey. Several shopping malls including *Armada* (Söğütözü neighborhood) and *Karum* (Kavaklıdere neighborhood) in the sampled zone use non-English names.
- b. **English signs** – This subcategory contains business places that adopted English lexical items for their names. Examples of this category include *One Way Car Wash* (car cleaning), *Datasoft* (information technologies), *Blue Way* (shoe store), *Free Style* (clothing store). Business places named with foreign words that are in English (n=589) corresponds to 49% of all the shopping malls in the survey.
2. **Hybrid signs** – Signs in this category include business places that adopted lexical items from Turkish and a foreign language. Examples of this category include *Happy Hamile* (literally meaning “Happy Pregnant”, a clothing store for expectant mothers), *Ankara Home Center* (a department store), *Cep Land* (literally meaning “Pocket Land”, a store selling mobile phones), and many others. Business places named with hybrid names formed by Turkish and foreign lexical items (n=209) account only for 17.4% of the business places in the survey.

3. **Englishized Turkish signs** – Signs in this category include business places that adopted artificially created signs which use English orthography to represent Turkish phonology; therefore, they do not graphically correspond to Turkish orthography and consequently appear meaningless to one does not understand the conventions of English spelling. For this reason, it would be highly appropriate to name them as “Englishized Turkish” signs. Examples of this category include *Chilek* (representation of Turkish “ç” by English orthographic representation of “ch”, “çilek” meaning strawberry), and *Dishy* (representation of Turkish “ş” by English orthographic representation of “sh”, and of Turkish “i” by “dişi” meaning “feminine”, and “y” following “sh” to seem more Englishized), as well as many others. Business places named with Englishized Turkish signs (n=17), hyper-integrated forms of hybridization, account only for 1.41% of the shops in shopping malls in the survey. Despite the fact that the signs in this category are the least dominant component in business naming practices reflected in survey, the existence of such practices are clear demonstrations of deep penetration of English into business discourse.

Table 8

Linguistic Classification of Shop Names in the Survey

SAMPLE	Foreign Signs				Hybrid		Englishized Turkish	
	Non-English		English					
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
TOTAL (N=1200)	385	32.1	589	49	209	17.4	17	1.41
(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)								

Relying on the statistics presented above, it could be argued that foreignization in Turkish business discourse is spearheaded by English. The percentage of English-named shop signs in the survey was 49%. This means that almost every one of two foreign signs is English-only. If the impact of

English language in business names is considered to be sum of English, hybrid as well as Englishized Turkish signs, the percentage of "English total" would reach 67.9%, and a total of 815 shop names. In other words, the ratio would be 1 to 3. The fact that English is undisputedly dominant in business naming practices would not denigrate the role of non-English foreign signs. A total of 385 signs in the survey, which equals to 32.1% of the sample, are named in languages other than English. Another domain which manifests the impact of English is the domain of hybrid signs, the signs comprised of English and Turkish most of the case. A total of 109 hybrid signs in the survey constitute the third dominant aspect in naming practices. The total number of hybrid signs represents 17.4% of the sample. The final domain to be mentioned is "Englishized Turkish" signs which are peculiar to the Turkish business context. While the rise of Englishized Turkish signs is still in its infancy ($n=17$ and 1.41%), it has already had an important impact on the field of Turkish social life as will be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

For the reader who is not familiar with the Turkish context, it should be mentioned that the sphere of influence of English, or the foreignization trend in general, is not limited to business names. From products sold in those stores to window displays there are numerous elements which reinforce the omnipresence of English in business domain.

Having classified the shop names linguistically, an interview session was designed for stores that adopted a foreign (non-English or English), hybrid (Turkish-English, English-Turkish) as well as Englishized-Turkish (names composed of Turkish words in English orthographical conventions to seem like English and sound like Turkish) signs. As for the interviewing stage, a total of 120 stores were selected (10%) and the interview sessions were conducted by the researcher in person or with the assistance of a colleague on the basis of the questionnaire.

4.2. Sampled Interviews on the Basis of Questionnaire

4.2.1 Findings of Demographic Information

4.2.1.1 Educational Level

The first item revealed that the owners of shop names that are named with English names receive a relatively higher degree of education which is another way of claiming that educational status correlates with the exposure to English language. Business owners who are graduates of high school and universities are 45.8% and 37.5% respectively. It should be noted that exposure to English language is at peak in high school and university level education.

Table 9

Educational Backgrounds of Business Owners

Question 1: What is your current educational level?		
Educational Status	N	%
Illiterate	0	0
Literate, no formal educational training	0	0
Primary school	13	10.8
Secondary school	5	4.1
High school	55	45.8
University degree	45	37.5
Graduate degree (master's/doctorate)	2	1.6
TOTAL	120	100
(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)		

4.2.1.2 Foreign Language Knowledge

Foreign language knowledge is said to believe the primary rationale behind foreign name practices in business discourse. Although this claim is partially validated by business owners who know English as a foreign language (61.6%), it still fails to give a comprehensible account for monolingual business owners who named their shops with an English name (25%). The multifactorial analysis presented throughout the thesis would enable reader to determine factors contributing such practices.

Table 10*Foreign Language Proficiencies of Business Owners*

Question 2: Do you know any foreign languages?		
Foreign Language Knowledge	N	%
No	30	25
Yes – English	74	61.6
French	8	6.6
German	5	4.1
Other	3	2.5
TOTAL	120	100

(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)

4.2.1.3 Gender Distribution

Despite the fact that business places owned by men (80%) far outnumber that of women (20%), it would be no more than a speculation to reach any conclusions or generalizations on the basis of gender. The current male-dominating picture represents the patriarchal status of ownership in business discourse.

Table 11*Gender Distribution of Business Owners*

Question 3: Gender		
Gender Distribution	N	%
Female	24	20
Male	96	80
TOTAL	120	100

(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)

4.2.2 FINDINGS OF FACTUAL INFORMATION ABOUT BUSINESS PLACE**4.2.2.1 Date of Establishment and Name Change**

The reason why the researcher included such an item was the intention to identify foreignization trend in Turkish business discourse. As it is represented in the table above, foreign shop signs showed a significant increase between 1995 to 1999 (from 3.3% to 10%) and between 2000 to 2004 (from 10% to 14.1%). The dramatic expansion in business naming is evident between 2005 to the

present (from 14.1% to 68.3%). The last decade was certainly the decade of English in Turkish business discourse. While the percentage of English-named business places was 10% in 1999, today the percentage increased to 68.3%. The traces of Englishization in shop signs date back to pre-1980 period as shown in the table.

Table 12

Foreign Naming Trends of Business Places (in years)

Question 4a: What is the date of establishment of your business?		
Date of Establishment	N	%
Pre-1980	2	1.6
1980 – 1984	2	1.6
1985 – 1989	1	0.8
1990 – 1994	4	3.3
1995 – 1999	12	10
2000 – 2004	17	14.1
2005 - present	82	68.3
TOTAL	120	100
(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)		

Within the scope of the previous item in the questionnaire which investigated the date of establishment of business places, this supplementary item dealt with changes in the name, if any. For this purpose, the name of the shop on the day of establishment was compared with the name used today. It was found out that 10.8% of the shops in the survey was originally employed a Turkish sign and consequently experienced a name change and adopted an English sign. Even this item by itself is the representation of uni-directional trend in employing English for shop signage purposes.

Table 13

Name Changes of Business Places

Question 4b: Has your business undergone a name change?		
Name Change	N	%
Yes	13	10.8
No	107	89.1
TOTAL	120	100
(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)		

4.2.2.2 Meaning and Pronunciation of Business Places

As reflected in the table above, a great majority of business owners (80.8%) were able to correctly pronounce the names of the shops they own. Still, nearly ever one out of five business owners was not able to utter the actual pronunciation. It should be noted that pronunciation patterns for English words mostly followed the phonological conventions of Turkish for the sake of easiness. For instance, instead of pronouncing English sound /æ/ as in the word "cat", a business owner would employ /e/ which exists in his or her mental representations.

Table 14

Awareness of Pronunciation of Business Names by Owners

Question 5a: What is the pronunciation of your business name?		
Pronunciation	N	%
Able to pronounce correctly	97	80.8
Unable to pronounce correctly	23	19.1
TOTAL	120	100
(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)		

When it comes to stating the meaning of the shop name, 92.5% of the business owners successfully stated the actual meaning of the shop, while 7.5% of business owners were not able to state actual meaning.

Table 15

Awareness of Meaning of Business Names by Owners

Question 5b: What is the meaning of your business name?		
Meaning	N	%
Able to state the actual meaning	111	92.5
Unable to state the actual meaning	9	7.5
TOTAL	120	100
(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)		

4.2.2.3 Business Name in Official Records

Another widely cited criticism about foreignization of shop names was the inconsistency between the name above the shop and the name in official records. In spite of the regulations secured the role of Turkish in business discourse, as this item revealed that a considerable amount of business names (76.6%) are registered in English in official records. This means that laws and regulations against the use of English in official records are not implemented by the authorities.

Table 16

Business Names in Official Records

Question 6: What is the name of your business in official records?		
Names in Official Records	N	%
Turkish	28	23.3
Foreign	92	76.6
TOTAL	120	100
(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)		

4.2.2.4 Consistency between Names and Business Places

As represented by the table above, respondents think that there is a consistency between the name of their business and products they sell or service they provide (79.1%). It should be noted that some of the respondents were in line with the argument that the consistency between the name of a business and products sold or services provided in that business place is not an essential component of business naming process.

Table 17

Consistency between Names and Business Places

Question 7: Do you think that there is a consistency between the name of your business and products you sell or service you provide in your business?		
Consistency (Business Name - Service/Products)	N	%
Yes	95	79.1
No	23	19.1
No response / I have not thought about it	2	1.6
TOTAL	120	100

(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)

4.2.2.5 Relationship between Location and Business Names

The location of the business place is apparently not a major determinant in naming process, since 72.5% of the respondents did not associate the name and the location of the shops they own. This is another way of stating that English language is dominant free from any particular location. Still, a considerable amount of business owners (26.6%) argued that the location played a role in employing an English name for the business place.

Table 18*The Role of Location in Foreign Business Naming*

Question 8: Do you think that the district in which your business place is located has a role in adopting a foreign name?		
Location and Foreign Naming	N	%
Yes	32	26.6
No	87	72.5
No response / I have not thought about it	1	0.8
TOTAL	120	100

(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)

4.2.2.6 Socioeconomic Status and Business Places

Another stereotype often associated with Englishization of business names is that those shops named with English names serve customers from upper level socioeconomic ladder of the society. However, the table below shows

that 40% of the customers have medium level socioeconomic status and a further 45% belongs to all socioeconomic levels in the society.

Table 19

Socioeconomic Status of Customers of Business Places with Foreign Names

Question 9: What is the profile of your customers on the basis of their socioeconomic status?		
Customer Profile (Socioeconomic Status)	N	%
Upper Level Socioeconomic Status	6	5
Medium Level Socioeconomic Status	48	40
Lower Level Socioeconomic Status	12	10
All levels	54	45
TOTAL	120	100

(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)

4.2.3 FINDINGS OF BUSINESS NAMING PROCESS

4.2.3.1 English – Turkish Contact Reflected in Business Names

This item of the questionnaire is probably the most straightforward question which specifically dealt with the sociolinguistic consequences of Englishization of shop signs in Turkey. Different from cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies conducted in various contexts, Englishization of shop signs is considered on a local plane and in relation with Turkish. Interesting enough, 71.6% of the business owners who named their shops with an English name think that it actually contributed to degeneration of Turkish. On the other hand, 28.3% of the respondents are in line with the argument that Englishization of shop signs is a whole different phenomenon and has no relation with the current status of Turkish.

Table 20

Business Owners' Opinion on Pollution of Turkish by English-named business places

Question 10: Do you personally agree with the opinion that English-named business places are polluting Turkish?		
Pollution of Turkish	N	%
Yes	86	71.6
No	34	28.3
No response / I have not thought about it	0	0
TOTAL	120	100

(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)

4.2.3.2 Foreign Business Names and European Union

Despite the fact that Turkey's integration into the European Union is a major issue in the society, it apparently had no impact on Englishization of shop names. 85.5% of the business owners in the study stated that the EU integration process was not a major determinant in employing an English name above the shop.

Table 21

The Role of the EU integration process in foreign business naming

Question 11: Does Turkey's integration into the European Union play a role in your decision about a name for your business place?		
Foreign-Naming and the European Union	N	%
Yes	4	3.3
No	103	85.8
No response / I have not thought about it	13	10.8
TOTAL	120	100

(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)

4.2.3.3 Rationale behind Foreign Naming

The reasons for using English in business names were ranked as (1) sounds interesting (n=71), (2) might generate positive commercial outcomes (n=54), (3) personal reasons (n=49), (4) desire to be different from competing business places (n=32), (5) positive attitudes towards Western concepts (n=30), (6) other reasons (n=12), (7) the global impact of English (n=8), (8) prejudice

against Turkish goods (n=7), and (9) Negative attitudes towards Eastern concepts (n=6).

Table 22

Reasons for Foreign Naming

Question 12: What is your primary motive for adopting such a name?		
Foreign Naming Reasons	N	Ranking
Positive attitudes towards Western concepts	30	5
Negative attitudes towards Eastern concepts	6	9
Prejudice against Turkish goods	7	8
Might generate positive commercial outcomes	54	2
Sounds interesting	71	1
Personal reasons	49	3
Desire to be different from competing business places	32	4
The global impact of English	8	7
Other	12	6
(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)		

A respondent clarified his/her justifications as follows:

The reason that forced me to adopt an English name is actually public desire. The interest in anything foreign and interest in foreign brands create an attractive context for us to use English names. (Respondent 3)

Personal reasons and “other” items in the survey question actually included what is behind the mirror. Many of the signs employed made use of English to varying degrees with the intention of achieving a sense of a brand. This perspective is also voiced by many respondents:

I sell goods from Bursa. Marks and Spencer sells 100% cotton, so am I. All they have is a brand. (Respondent 3)

English is the most accepted language in the world. In varying proficiency levels, everyone in the streets have English knowledge of some sort. We are only one in the city of Ankara. (Respondent 8)

I was living in the United States. Therefore, I adopted such a name to attract attention with an intention that it might be more memorable in the minds of the customers. We are trying to be a brand and this name will help us. (Respondent 8)

English is an international language used all around the world. Though we might use a Turkish name, we favored an English name thinking that it sounds more like a brand name. (Respondent 7)

4.2.3.4 Commercial Advantage by Means of a Foreign Name

Commercial advantage by means of an English name would be expected to be the primary concern in this study. However, the current numbers revealed that 64.1% of the respondents do not think that the English name of their business bring any commercial advantage.

Table 23

The Relationship between Foreign Naming and Commercial Profit

Question 13: Do you think that the name of your business brings commercial advantage to your business?		
Foreign Naming and Commercial Profit	N	%
Yes	41	34.1
No	77	64.1
No response / I have not thought about it	2	1.6
TOTAL	120	100
(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)		

This standpoint was also voiced by respondents as well:

Foreign name is the symbol of modernity. How could possibly a name contribute to the success of a business? What really matters is the service not the name. (Respondent 8)

I searched for an Ottoman name but was not able to find any... Still, I believe that the success of any business is not directly related to its name. (Respondent 2)

4.2.3.5 Commercial Profit by Means of a Foreign Name

Similar to the previous item, respondents showed that they would reach the same position in their business if they had adopted a Turkish name (76.6%). English name was a source of commercial advantage for 17.5% of the respondents.

Table 24*The Relationship between Turkish Naming and Commercial Profit*

Question 14: Do you think that you would reach the same position in your business if you adopted a Turkish name for your business?		
Turkish Naming and Commercial Profit	N	%
Yes	92	76.6
No	21	17.5
No response / I have not thought about it	7	5.8
TOTAL	120	100
(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)		

English-Turkish contact in the study is recognized as follows:

Necessary impact cannot be generated by adopting a Turkish name.
(Respondent 2)

Though it might be deteriorating the current status of Turkish, I feel obliged to use an English name, when thinking financially. (Respondent 3)

It would be difficult for us to reach success if we use Turkish.
(Respondent 6)

4.2.3.6 Commercial Profit and Global Status of English

The last item in the questionnaire dealt with the current globalized status of English and its influence on the business owners who named their shops with English names. Relying on the statistics, it could be argued that the global status of English is only partially acknowledged by the business owners. While 50% of the business owners are in line with the argument that English was effective in naming their business (includes "very effective" and "effective" total), the remaining 50% denied the effectiveness of English in business naming (includes "not effective" and "not effective at all").

Table 25*The Role of English as a Global Language in Business Naming*

Question 15: To what extent does the global status of English have an influence on you in adopting a foreign name for your business place?		
Turkish Naming and Commercial Profit	N	%
Very effective	39	32.5
Effective	21	17.5
Not so effective	45	37.5
Not effective at all	15	12.5
TOTAL	120	100
(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)		

The current role of English and its impacts were commented by business owners as follows:

English is the most accepted language in the world. Even Arabs ask [you] whether to know English, if you do not know Arabic. (Respondent 5)

I do not acknowledge any imposition in globalized world. From cars to TV sets, we are in close contact with international standards. It is hard to deny. Such impositions might have a place in restricted societies. (Respondent 4)

4.3 Supporting Mini-Scale Data Sources

In addition to field observations followed by sampled interviews on the basis of the questionnaire, this section of the thesis includes two mini-scale data sources with the intention of cross-checking the results and therefore, ensuring the issue of triangulation.

4.3.1 Malls in Ankara

Shopping malls, also known as “shopping centers”, “shopping arcades” or simply “malls” have existed in various forms like ancient bazaars, market squares and commercial districts throughout the course of time. The shopping centers in the modern world usually include a building which enables visitors to walk from one store to another.

The shopping center tradition in Turkish social life dates back to the 15th century when the *Kapalıçarşı* or Grand Bazaar as it is better known in the Western world was constructed between 1455 and 1641 by the order of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. Serving between 250,000 and 400,000 visitors in a day, on 58 streets and in 4,000 shops, the *Kapalıçarşı* is considered to be one of the largest covered bazaars in the world and well known for its jewelry, spice and carpet shops. The historical and social aspects of the *Kapalıçarşı* contribute to its being one of the symbols of Istanbul and one of the notable reminiscences of Ottoman commercial life.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are a total of 80 malls in 8 major cities of Turkey whose population account for 49.1% (21,627,856) of the overall population (44,006,274) living in cities. The distribution of malls includes Istanbul (40), Ankara (11), Izmir (9), Bursa (4), Adana (4), Konya (4), Gaziantep (2) and Antalya (6).

Table 26

Linguistic distribution of shopping malls in Turkey's 8 major cities

City	Population ⁶	Malls	Turkish-Only		FOREIGN				HYBRID	
					Non-English		English			
			n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Istanbul	9,085,599	40	9	22.5	14	35	13	32.5	4	10
Ankara	3,540,022	11	2	18.1	5	36.3	2	18.1	2	18.1
Izmir	2,732,669	9	4	44.4	2	22.2	1	11.1	2	22.2
Bursa	1,630,940	4	2	50	2	50	0	0	0	0
Adana	1,397,853	4	2	50	2	50	0	0	0	0
Konya	1,294,817	4	2	50	1	25	0	0	1	25
Gaziantep	1,009,126	2	2	50	0	0	0	0	0	0
Antalya	936,330	6	0	0	2	33.3	3	50	1	16.7
TOTAL	21,627,856	80	23	28.7	28	35	19	23.7	10	12.5

(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)

1. First, shopping malls in Turkey are manifestations of a bombardment of foreign brands.

⁶ Population figures are given according to the 2000 census and focus on the population living in city centers.

2. Second, linguistically speaking, naming practices in shopping malls give insights about foreign and particularly English-branding practices of business names in Turkey.

The foreignization of shop names in Turkish business discourse is reflected in the names of shopping malls. The distribution of shopping malls on the basis of city of location, population of the city, total number of location and linguistic analysis of naming practices in shopping malls are reflected as follows:

From the table above it can be seen that 80 shopping malls serve the benefits of nearly 22 million people living in 8 major cities in Turkey. In other words, for every 270,348 people living in those 8 major cities, there is one shopping mall. It is interesting to note that 50% of the shopping malls presented in the table are located in Istanbul where there is one shopping mall for every 227,140 people, above the average for 8 major cities. On the other hand, Antalya stands out as a notable exception. For every 156,055 people living in Antalya, there is one shopping mall, which is way above the average. The exceptional case of Antalya could be explained by the city's prominence as the tourism capital of the country. The population of the city reaches up to 2 million in summers. When the population of the city is considered to be 2 million, the shopping mall average sharply increases to 333,333.

The linguistic analysis of the names of shopping malls located in 8 major cities in Turkey includes three main categories:

- 1. Turkish-only signs** – Signs in this category include shopping malls that adopted only Turkish lexical items for their names. Examples of this category include Europe's biggest mall *Cevahir* (Istanbul), the oldest shopping mall in Ankara *Atakule* and many others. Shopping malls named with Turkish words (n=23) account for only 28.75% of the shopping malls in the survey. It is worthwhile mentioning that the percentage of Turkish-only signs shows an inclination to decrease parallel to the increase in the

population of the city. In other words, Turkish-named malls are more extensively found in less crowded cities. A final point to be mentioned regarding the role of Turkish in mall-naming practices in Turkey is that the city of Antalya, considered to be the center of tourism, does not have even one shopping mall with a Turkish name. One contributing factor may be that all 6 shopping malls in Antalya were established after the year 2000. This is another demonstration of the growth of foreignization of naming practices in every aspect of the Turkish business discourse.

2. Foreign signs – Signs in this category include shopping malls that adopted non-Turkish lexical items as their names. This category is further divided into two subcategories namely, non-English signs and English signs.

- a. **Non-English signs** – This subcategory contains shopping malls that adopted non-English lexical items for their names. Examples of this category include *Armada* (Ankara), *Galleria* (Adana), *Atirus* (Istanbul) and many others. Shopping malls named with foreign words that are not English (n=28) correspond to 35% of the shopping malls in the survey. It could be argued that even the non-English naming practices of shopping malls are an indication of the massive extent of foreignization of business naming in Turkey. The percentage of non-English foreign signs demonstrates the dominance of the foreignization trend. Excluding Izmir and Gaziantep, the remaining cities have more non-English foreign named shopping malls than Turkish-only named malls. In this category, Gaziantep is truly exceptional in the sense that it

does not have any shopping mall which bears a non-English foreign name.

- b. **English signs** – This subcategory contains shopping malls that adopted English lexical items for their names. Examples of this category include *G-Mall*⁷ (Antalya), *Optimum Outlet Center* (Ankara), *Maxi City* (Istanbul) and many others. Shopping malls named with foreign words that are English (n=19) correspond to 23.75% of the shopping malls in the survey. It is clearly seen from the statistics that Englishization is an indispensable component of foreignization of business naming, and particularly mall naming. However, it is noteworthy that foreignization of mall naming in the Turkish context is more frequently manifested by non-English lexical items, rather than English ones. A supporting result is the fact that half of the sampled cities (Bursa, Adana, Konya and Gaziantep) do not have any shopping centers with solely English names. Still, this does not negate the influence of English. English maintains its influence by hybrid signs as well.

3. Hybrid signs– Signs in this category include shopping malls that adopted lexical items from Turkish and a foreign language. Examples of this category include the Europe's biggest mall *Beylicium* (Istanbul), *AnkaMALL* (Ankara), Konak Pier (Izmir), and many others. Shopping malls with hybrid names formed from Turkish and foreign lexical items (n=10) account for only 12.5% of the shopping malls in the survey, and therefore, are the least dominant component in naming. Hybrid signs are

⁷ Even the word “G” is pronounced as in English letter “g” in the word ‘gemini’.

not found in three cities in the survey and frequently associated with cities with high population density.

Table 27

Linguistic Analysis of Shopping Malls Located in Ankara

City	Population	# of Malls	Turkish-Only		FOREIGN				HYBRID	
					Non-English		English			
			n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Ankara	3,540,022	11	2	18.1	5	36.3	2	18.1	2	18.1
(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)										

In terms of naming of shopping malls, Ankara presents us with a different picture in the Turkish context. With one mall for each 321,820 persons, the city accounts for 27.5% of the shopping malls reflected in the survey, which is slightly below the average. From a linguistic point of view, the city is a remarkable case. Ankara, the capital of Turkey, has the lowest percentage of Turkish-named shopping malls rate (n=2 and 18.1%) in the survey, if Antalya is excluded. Of the 11 shopping malls, only 2 of them bear Turkish names, while the remaining malls have either non-English names, English-names or Turkish-English hybrid names. Foreignization of mall naming is dominated by non-English names (n=5), which account for 36.3% of the survey. Despite the fact that only two shopping malls are named with English words, which accounts for 18.1% of the survey, the percentage is actually as significant as Turkish that has the same percentage. The situation with regard to hybrid signs is no different; since, remarkably, the percentage of malls that have hybrid names (18.1%) equals the percentage for Turkish or English. In all, for every 1,770,011 Ankara inhabitants, there is only one Turkish-named mall, whereas for every 393,335 Ankara inhabitants, there is one shopping mall with a foreign-influenced (non-English, English or hybrid named) name above it—a dramatic difference.

Table 28*Shopping Malls of Ankara*

NAME OF THE MALL	ESTABLISHMENT	LOCATION
AnkaMALL	2007	Akköprü
Arcadium	2003	Çayyolu
Armada	2002	Söğütözü
Atakule	1989	Çankaya
Bilkent Center & Ankuva Shopping Center	1998	Bilkent
CarrefourSA	2001	Batıkent
FTZ Shopping Center	2003	Keçiören
Galleria Ankara	1995	Ümitköy
Karum	1991	Kavaklıdere
Mesa Plaza	1999	Çayyolu
Optimum Outlet Center	2004	Eryaman

In order to show the bombardment of foreign brands in Turkish life, three of the malls in Ankara, located in entirely different districts having different socioeconomic profiles were randomly selected. Three malls, namely *Armada*, *Optimum Outlet Center* and *Galleria* were classified for the purposes of analyzing their naming tendencies.

MALL	Establishment	Turkish-only		Foreign Signs				Hybrid	
				Non-English		English			
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Armada	2002	58	37.6	33	21.4	51	33.1	12	7.79

Figure 3. Mall Number 1: Armada (n=154 stores)

MALL	Establishment	Turkish-only		Foreign Signs				Hybrid	
				Non-English		English			
		n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Optimum	2004	62	44.2	28	20	40	28.5	10	7.1

Figure 4. Mall Number 2: Optimum (n=140 stores)

MALL	Establishment	Turkish-only		Foreign Signs				Hybrid	
				Non-English		English			
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Galleria	1995	30	42.8	9	12.8	23	32.8	8	11.4

Figure 5. Mall Number 3: Galleria (n=70 stores)

Statistically speaking, the employment of Turkish in store names located in three different shopping malls in Ankara ranges from 37.6% – 44.2%. Foreign signs, however, clearly dominate the business names 45.6% with a range of 54.5%. Foreign words in this analysis include non-English as well as English lexical items. While the percentage of stores that have English names ranges from 28.5% - 32.8%, the stores that employ non-English words range between 12.8% - 21.4%. In addition, the percentage of the stores that adopt a Turkish word as well as a word from a foreign language as part of their names ranges between 7.1% and 11.4%. Considering the fact that both hybrid and foreign names are domains where the influence of foreignization is observed, a degree of foreignization of naming practices in shopping malls of Ankara thus ranges between 55.6% and 62.4%.

A point which needs to be clarified is the nature of the shopping malls in developing countries such as Turkey. In today's globalized world, not only are local markets are under the attack of foreign goods, but also the local language is invaded by the language of foreign goods. In other words, 'marketspeak' is becoming foreignized, as the market per se is becoming foreignized.

4.3.2 Yellow Pages (Çankaya, Ankara)

Providing an industry-specific categorization of the business places for 18 major cities in Turkey, Doğan Grup's *Altın Sayfalar* is Turkey's leading classified advertisement source. There are 16 major categorizations on the website. These categories include:

- Computer, Telecommunication and Electronics
- Packaging, Machinery, Metal and Industrial Products
- Finance, Insurance, Law and Translation
- Textiles and Garments
- Personal Care and Beauty

- Press, Publishing, Advertising and Marketing
- Pharmaceuticals and Medicine
- Cargo, Logistics, Transportation and Foreign Trade
- Education, Stationery, Human Resources and Consulting
- Chemistry, Mining, Energy, Cleaning and Security
- Food
- Real Estate, Construction, Decoration and Goods
- Automotive
- **Shopping Centers and Entertainment**
- Agriculture, Forestry and Livestock
- Tourism, Traveling, Accommodation and Taxi Services

Within the scope of the thesis, the sample that makes use of the *Altın Sayfalar* website is limited to the subcategory of “shopping malls and entertainment” on the basis of the convenience sampling method. Relying on field observations and current statistics, field of shopping centers and entertainment alone provides ample evidence for foreignization and Englishization of business naming practices.

Table 29

Linguistic Analysis of Signage in the field of service and entertainment in Çankaya

Service and Entertainment	Foreign Signs							
	Turkish-only		Non-English		English		Hybrid	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Cafes [n=305]	135	44.2	55	18	89	29.1	21	6.8
Bars [n=33]	13	39.3	10	30.3	9	27.2	1	3.1
Beer Houses [n=12]	3	25	1	8.3	7	58.3	1	8.3
Internet Cafes [n=89]	38	42.6	3	3.37	35	39.3	14	15.7
(Percentages may not always sum to 100% due to rounding errors)								

Turkish-only data examined in the mini survey indicates that the use of Turkish as part of business names in the sampled area ranges from 25% - 44.2%, which is far behind foreign name practices in the same region. While the business places with non-English names range between 8.3% and 30.3%, the percentage of English-named business place ranges from 27.2% to 58.3%. Following on the heels of Turkish in business naming practices, English has a prominent role. The only exception in the survey where the role of English surpasses that of Turkish is found in the names of "beer houses". The number of English-named beer houses in the survey is more than that of Turkish-named ones, with percentages of 58.3 and 25 respectively. As part of the foreignization trend, hybrid signs have relatively small frequency of occurrence; but still, have a distinct role when the whole picture of the foreignization trend is considered. The percentage of hybridization in business names reported in the survey ranges from 3.1% to 15.7%. When foreignization of business names is considered as an inclusive phenomenon composed of non-English, English and hybrid names, the total foreignization undoubtedly dominates the naming process in the survey. The contrast between Turkish names and foreign names is 44.2% versus 55.8% for cafe names, 39.3% versus 60.7% for bar names, 25% versus 75% for beer house names, and 42.6% versus 57.4% for internet cafes.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

5.0 Presentation

In this chapter the purpose of the thesis and the findings of the study will be summarized by giving specific references to micro and macro-level factors influencing the business naming practices in Turkish business discourse. Finally, implications for research with regard to business naming will be discussed within a sociolinguistic framework.

5.1 Summary of the Study

This thesis investigated, in the most general sense, the reasons for and consequences of English language use in Turkish business discourse. For this purpose, the researcher constructed a three-layered research method including field observations, sampled interviews on the basis of a questionnaire, and supporting mini-scale data sources.

The first phase of the study focused on the statement of the problem and designing a field observation roadmap. The prevalence of English in Turkish social life generates a public debate on a linguistic plane, and business naming practices are considered to be 'flagships' of the debilitating consequences of foreignization evident in Turkish language and culture. The issue was so extensively debated that finally a Parliamentary investigation commission prepared a report entitled *Türkçedeki Bozulma ve Yabancılaşmanın Araştırılması, Türkçenin Korunması ve Etkin Kullanımı İçin Alınması Gereken Önlemlerin Belirlenmesi Amacıyla Kurulan Meclis Araştırma Komisyonu*⁸ (An Investigation Commission Established For the Purposes of Investigating the Degeneration and

⁸ The investigation commission is actually one of the three investigation commissions in the Turkish Parliament. The other two investigation commissions focus on the reasons for and impacts of global warming and trend of violence among youth and children and related incidents at educational institutions.

Foreignization in Turkish and Establishing Necessary Precautions for the Protection and Effective Use of Turkish). Consisting of a total of 14 members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM), the Commission conducted a 3-month study began on March 1, 2007. During the course of investigative process, a total of 33 meetings were held and 39 different individuals representing a wide spectrum of the society, including university professors, news casters, journalists, and writers were consulted on their opinion. The Parliamentary Commission worked in close collaboration with participants and relevant organs of the government. According to the final report of the commission, the Turkish language experiences foreignization in the domains of (1) foreign loanwords, (2) foreign suffixes, (3) writing foreign words, (4) non-Turkish symbols, (5) non-Turkish letters, **(6) foreignization of shop signs,** and (7) literal translation into Turkish.

Foreignization of Turkish in business discourse is much debated in the newspapers and has attracted attention from various parts of the society. Such campaigns might be considered to be resistance against English language use in Turkish, particularly in the business domain. Campaigns against foreign language use in the Turkish context have been initiated by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Ankara Chamber of Commerce (Ankara Ticaret Odasi), institutions such as Turkish Language Association (Türk Dil Kurumu), non-profit organizations for 'protecting' Turkish such as TürkCAN and Dil Derneği, professional associations such as Advertising Creators Association as well as societies and clubs at universities promoting the use and protection of Turkish language. The common denominator of anti-foreign sign campaigns is the resistance against foreign language use in the naming of brands, products and business places. In addition, business places with foreign names are encouraged to replace foreign names with Turkish ones. Sinan Aygün, the chair

of Ankara Chamber of Commerce reflected his opinion regarding foreign language use in business domain as follows:

...In order to stop this cultural and linguistic pollution, we should purify our language, business places and products from foreign words...When we walk in the streets, the exception [foreign language use] became widespread. Only hearing Turkish words in the streets made us feel at home... Foreign named shops and offices around the cities are unfortunate events even though they are officially registered with Turkish names. Just like splitting hairs when we find names for our children, we take particular attention for them to be Turkish, we should take the same attention for our business places. Just like we do not give names like Hans, Jack and Tom to our children, we should not name our businesses, our products with foreign names. We are digging a pit for our industry by adopting Italian or French labels for our products so as to maintain high quality for the product. We are giving Mehmet's rights to Johnny. While our textile products are number one in the European market, we are demeaning our national language by including foreign labels for jackets, shirts when we give them our products. Is it because we do not have self-confidence, no trust in ourselves, in our nation or in our language? Why do not we put Turkish brands on our shirts or jackets, or above our shops? In the age of globalization, Turkey should establish a position for itself in the global market through her own identity, own language and local products, not by means of someone else's language. Turkey should create high quality world brands not imitate foreign brands." (Aygün's speech at ATO (Ankara Trade Chamber) Website).

The primary outcome of the campaigns is the adoption of Turkish names for business places as well as brands. It should be noted that there have been several notable results of "anti-foreign use" campaigns in Turkey. Turkishization of business names has started with the two shopping malls in Kayseri named "Kayseri Park" and "İpeksaray", which were originally known as "Armonium" and "İpek City" respectively. Name change implementations have not been limited to small-scale shopping malls in small cities but also affected major brands. For instance, "MyShowland", constructed in 1999 for \$15 million, as the world's

second and the Europe's biggest convention center and named "Mydonose Showland" has experienced a name change in 2006 and adopted a Turkish name "İstanbul Gösteri ve Kültür Merkezi" (İstanbul Show and Culture Center). Another prominent change is related to the world of sports. Inaugrated in August 2005, İstanbul Speedpark, Turkey's motor sports race track in İstanbul and an important stop in the Formula 1 race calendar, has also experienced a name change process and been renamed as "İstanbul Park". It should also be noted that many business places that converted their name into Turkish have been awarded with a plaque by the Turkish Language Association for their careful attention to the Turkish language.

Despite the fact that the tip of name-change iceberg is full of success stories, what is beneath the surface of the water is often discouraging for the Turkish language enthusiasts. The capital's biggest shopping mall, *Migros Alışveriş Merkezi* (Migros Shopping Center) has experienced a name change in the direction towards English and adopted the name "ANKAMall". The Turkish Language Association made a public statement harshly criticizing the practice and asserted that "forcing the Turkish nation to pronounce /mol/ by writing "mall" is entirely ignoring the Turkish orthographic and phonetic system" (Zaman, June 11, 2006). On the other hand, Alev Kahraman, the director of ANKAMall stated that the company is not in favor of a name change since the word "ANKA" represents Ankara and "mall" means "exclusive shopping center" in English.

When the Italian automobile manufacturer, Fiat, which is engaged in joint venture enterprises in Turkey, launched a sedan car project coded "D200", the actual name of the car was a matter of discussion. TOFAŞ, Turkey's biggest automaker, that builds Fiat models under license, was in favor of adopting a Turkish name for the car that is produced in the city of Bursa, Turkey. TOFAŞ's CEO Alfredo Altavilla expressed the desire to name "D200" project with a Turkish

name. A total of 300 name proposals were offered to TOFAŞ and 7 of them were sent to headquarters of Fiat in Turin, Italy. Despite the fact that TOFAŞ had worked with internationally-recognized naming companies to adopt a Turkish name that is easy to remember and easy to pronounce, the vehicle was named "Linea" which means "line" in Italian (Köprülü, 2006). According to a survey, customers from Brazil, Eastern European countries, the European Union, and Turkey favored "Linea". The primary choice of the Turks in the survey was "Linea" and it was further reported that the final decision was the favorite choice of Turkish respondents who participated in the survey (Sabah, October 20, 2006).

Naming practices are not always derived from linguistic sources as shown above but also influenced by current political waves in a country. Thus, naming practices might serve as symbolic representations of political standpoint. A Turkish cosmetics company which has been using a French name 'François Patrick' for 24 years, has undergone a name change as a reaction against the parliamentary bill in France enabling the punishment of anyone who denies the so-called Armenian genocide, and has begun to use the "MW" for its products (Today's Zaman, November 7, 2006). Similarly, Baskent University, the first private university to offer education in health sciences in Turkey, declared that the University will no longer offer French language courses, faculty members will not attend any academic meetings in France or invite any participants from France, and will not establish any economic relations with French companies. Name changes for political reasons might also be effective for small-scale businesses. A Turkish women's hairdresser in Antalya has changed its French name "coiffeur" into Turkish "kuaför" due to France's support for Armenian genocide claims (Radikal, October 26, 2006).

As the language serves as the domain where political decisions are manifested as a reaction, business naming practices in the streets of Turkish

cities are at the heart of any discussion related to foreign language use. Several municipalities in Turkey including Çanakkale, Beypazarı, Karaman, Denizli, Ilgaz, Tokat and Bolu have recently banned the use of foreign languages in the names of business places. In addition, such policies are being discussed in cities like Balıkesir, Erzincan, Eskişehir, and İzmir.

This study aimed to investigate the sociocultural and sociopolitical influence of foreign languages, particularly English, in business names in Turkish business discourse by adopting a three-layered research method which included field observations, sampled interviews on the basis of questionnaire and supporting mini-scale data sources. As a result of the field observations, it was concluded that foreign influence in shop names in Turkish discourse might be grouped under three major categories: (a) foreign signs (both English and non-English signs), (b) hybrid signs, and (c) Englishized Turkish signs. The sample used in this study consisted of 1200 shop signs which might be categorized under the domains above. Having classified the shop names linguistically, interview sessions were designed for stores that adopted foreign (non-English or English), hybrid (Turkish-English, English-Turkish), and Englishized-Turkish signs (names using of Turkish words spelled according to English orthographical conventions to looks like English and sound like Turkish). Interviews revealed that there is no one-to-one correspondence between the educational level of the business owners and foreign store signs. Instead, a great majority of business place owners who employed foreign signs were high school and university graduates (45.8% and 37.5% respectively). In addition, foreign language knowledge is considered to be a major determinant of foreign language naming (75%), but lack of foreign language knowledge (25%) does not prevent business owners from adopting English names. Gender differences reflected in the study showed that males are more in favor of English business names. Still, this might be the general picture in the Turkish business domain as far as the ownership of

business places is considered since there is an overwhelmingly high difference between male business owners (n=96) and female business owners (n=24). Furthermore, business places that adopted English names were classified in 5-year periods and it was found out that the foreignization trend started in the early 1990s and has shown a tendency to grow since then. It is also interesting to note that the last three years have experienced the greatest foreign language adoption (68.3%). Of the 120 business places in the sampled population, 13 have undergone a name change and adopted an English store name. Despite the fact that a great majority of business owners were able to state the actual meaning of their English store names (80.3%), nearly 20% of the business owners were not able to pronounce the name of the store correctly. Despite the fact that Turkish language use in official records and documents is required by laws enacted long ago, it could be inferred from the statistics that a great majority of shop signs (76.6%) used English names in official records. Though business owners (79.1%) think that there is a consistency between names and products and activities of business places, they do not think (72.5%) that the location of the store has a role in adopting a foreign-named business place. The well-known stereotype which maintains that English language use in business names established the link between upper-level social strata and businesses is not validated by the current study which indicates that 40% of the English-named stores welcome customers having a mid-level socioeconomic status and 45% from all levels whereas business places catering to customers from the upper level socioeconomic level account for 5% of the sampled group. A great majority of the business owners in the study (76.1%) maintained that the English name they use for their business contributes to the pollution of the Turkish language. Furthermore, the study revealed that Turkey's integration into the European Union does not play a significant role in business naming in English (85.6%). The motives for adopting an English name for the business were listed

as (1) sounds 'cool' or interesting, (2) might generate positive commercial outcomes, (3) personal reasons, (4) desire to be different from competing business places, (5) positive attitudes towards Western concepts, (6) other reasons, (7) the global impact of English, (8) prejudice against Turkish goods, and (9) negative attitudes towards Eastern concepts. Despite the fact that foreign branding through English is on the increase, 64.1% of the business owners do not think that the name of their business brings commercial profit, and 76.6% of the business owners believe that they would reach the same position in their business by placing a Turkish name above their shops. The global status of English is partially acknowledged by the business owners (50%).

5.2 Discussion of the Findings

The conclusions of the study can be listed as follows:

- Business naming practices are manifestations of English language dominance in Turkey. It is widely acknowledged by the business owners that English is the language of the globe.
- The susceptibility of Turkish to English words is a related but quite distinct phenomenon and cannot be equated to Englishization of shop names. Many of the words used in business discourse are actually limited to that sphere whereas English loanwords in Turkish cover a wide spectrum of different areas. It is a far broader issue and business names are only a small part of it.
- The undisputed dominance of English in business discourse is not limited to business names but includes window displays, signs on the window or door of commercial entities, exterior signs for public entities such as billboards, as well as advertising posters.

- Foreignization of shop names in Turkish is spearheaded by English. Nevertheless, foreign words in business names include those from languages other than English.
- The omnipresence of English-named businesses decreases the impact of foreign language use. Thus, the use of foreign or English words in business naming has lost its original differentiating effect. Generic names like "VIP", "Star", "Collection", "Club", "Inter", "Elite" might be used in virtually any business sector. Besides, generic prefixes like "My-" and suffixes like "-Shop", "-Home", "-Store", "-Art", "-House", "-Rent a Car" and "-Club" are used in every sector and makes Englishization more haphazard.
- From a linguistic point of view, business naming conventions are authorized and regulated by the laws; however, authorities are not enforcing the current laws. This means that Englishization of business names or foreign business names in general, exists de facto in Turkish business discourse.
- While certain sectors such as personal care, restaurants and cafes, information systems are more susceptible to English language use, others such as durable consumer goods, pharmacies, auto galleries, gas stations, car repairers, museums, libraries, driving schools, bookstores, publishing houses, law offices, insurance agencies, and NGOs have no place for the English language occurrences.

As for "foreignization of shop signs", the Parliamentary commission report stated that the foreignization trend in the language made its way into business discourse and reflected in foreign names. The trend, which began with the adoption of foreign names for shopping malls, spread to small-scale stores in small neighborhoods and can be viewed as nothing but self-denial. The proposed

solutions mentioned in the final report of the commission regarding business domain include:

Naming Turkish products with foreign names is actually serving a foreign culture. Naming a product or a sign with a foreign name creates unfair business competition. Such a practice would only serve the promotion of brands of the foreign branded country. Such practices create a public opinion that there are no Turkish products with high quality, thus impeding the expansion and exportation of Turkish products. For this reason;

1. New regulations for brand and shop naming should be adopted.
 - a. The letters or signs that have no place in the Turkish alphabet should not have any place in business names.
 - b. Business places, products, institutions and/or corporations should not be allowed to adopt foreign names that conflict with Turkish orthography. Effective measures should be taken by relevant ministries and institutions.
 - c. Since foreign signs found in the streets create the feeling of a foreign country, businesses with such signs should be subject to high-rate taxes whereas business with Turkish signs should be provided with some advantages. Total removal of foreign business names in our streets should be gradually actualized by local municipalities gradually.
 - d. The practice of rewarding municipalities that resolve to implement a Turkish-only policy in business naming should be become widespread.
 - e. A special commission consisting of experts from the Turkish Language Association as well as media and manufacturing authorities needs to be established with regard to the adoption of brand names.
 - f. The name above the shops should be the same one as that in official records and Ticaret Sicil Gazetesi (Trade Registry Gazette).

2. In export of commercial products as well as in marketing of local products, a condition of having a Turkish manual for the product should be required.

3. In manuals of internationally marketed products, a total of 17 languages including Slavic, Finnish, Polish and Hungarian were included except for Turkish. Therefore, Turkish should be included as well.

4. The representation of Turkish as in the form of English conventions ("Turk") like Turkche, DigiTurk or Turkcell should be prevented.

5. The registration departments of the Labor Association as well as Trade Council should not register newly-established business places with non-Turkish names and should lead public adopting Turkish names."

It was further stated in the final report that governmental bodies and organizations including the Undersecretariat of Treasury and Foreign Trade, the Turkish Patent Institute, the Turkish Standards Institution and local municipalities should work in close collaboration to reduce the impact of English in business discourse. (Commission Report, 2007)

Sociolinguistic consequences of shop signs practices in Turkey might be as follows:

- Shop naming in languages other than Turkish stems from non-linguistic considerations; however the consequences of foreign shop naming are only linguistic.
- Personal commercial benefit is expected at the expense of the purity of Turkish.
- If Turkish business owners have foreign names above their shops and sell Turkish goods to Turkish customers, the blame for what has been called the degeneration of Turkish cannot be placed upon English or Western centers of power. If that is considered to be a major sociolinguistic

problem, then both the source of and solution to the problem lie within the borders of Turkey.

- The resistance against Englishization of business names in Turkey is on the individual or small-scale level. The campaigns which foster Turkish language use in business discourse have been initiated by Turkish language enthusiasts and do not represent a wide spectrum of the society.
- Englishization of shop signs affected 'marketspeak' and resulted in changes in morphosyntactic construction of business names.

5.3 Pedagogical Implications of the Study

The sociolinguistic dimension of the study offers certain implications of the study in an educational context. The role of education in the omnipresence of English business names is evident; however, today educational policies supporting the English language play a minute role in the spread of English in Turkish context. It would be enough to take a look out of the window to observe the societal influence of English in Turkish life.

The language teachers in a country belonging to the expanding circle, in Kachru's terms, where the impact of English is at its peak should have a better understanding of foreign language education. English language teachers in Turkey should be equipped with a solid foundation in issues such as language and culture and the bi-directional relationship between the first and second language. English language teaching programs at the tertiary level should include specific courses or course content which enable prospective language teachers to become language analysts. So that they can have a critical perception of languages to be transmitted to their students. Critical perception of foreign languages includes the establishment of a reciprocal relationship between the mother tongue and the foreign language that is being learned. In other

words, teachers should equip their student with the idea that mother tongue and foreign language are compartmentalized differently, act differently, but exist together in a harmony. In extreme cases strong ties with mother tongue and native culture can result in failure in foreign language learning, however, extreme departure from mother tongue in the direction of a foreign language would result in the degeneration of the mother tongue. Therefore, foreign language learning should be viewed as a compromise, as a happy balance. In this respect, Englishization of business names should be carefully studied in language classrooms as an awareness raising activity for English language learners. English language teachers might employ English language signs from the streets of the city to discuss the global role and status of English, as well as its impact on the local language.

From another perspective, this thesis might be discussed in relevant courses both secondary and tertiary levels. The courses in Commercial Trading High Schools (*Ticaret Meslek Liseleri*) might include the current study with an intention establish the link between a business place and its name. Furthermore, economics or linguistics departments at tertiary level might approach the issue from the two ends. While students majoring in economics employ the study to start from commercial concerns and lead into linguistic considerations, students majoring in linguistics depart from linguistic considerations to arrive at commercial outcomes. In both departments, students might be assigned similar but relatively smaller-scale studies as part of their assignments for an academic term. In both cases, such studies that students conduct will prove that linguistic considerations and its outcomes are closely related.

REFERENCES

- Aaker, D.A. (1998). *Strategic Market Management*. 5th edition. New York: John Wiley
- Ağca, H. (2001). Türk Dili Ne İdi Nereye Götürülüyor? [How was the Turkish language and where it is headed for] *Türk Yurdu*. Vol. 21, No: 162-163.
- Ahmad, F. (1993) *The Making of Modern Turkey*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Akünel-Okan, Z. (1997, March 1). ODTÜ'nde yabancıdille öğretim üzerine [On foreign-medium instruction at METU], *Cumhuriyet Bilim Teknik*.
- Al Jazeera (February 23, 2005). Tale of US attack hits mark in Turkey. *AFP via Al Jazeera*. Retrieved on January 7, 2007 from <http://english.aljazeera.net/English/archive/archive?ArchiveId=9745>
- Alkibay, S. (1996). Mağazalarda Yabancı İşletme Adı Kullanımına Yönelik Bir Araştırma [A study on foreign names for business places], *Türk Dili*, October 1996, 415-421.
- Alpaydın, E. (1996, December 21). Öğretim Türkçe olmalı [Instruction should be Turkish], *Cumhuriyet Bilim Teknik*.
- Alptekin, C. (1989). Yabancı Dil Öğrenmek Türkçe'yi Unutturmaz.[Learning a foreign language does not lead to forgetting Turkish] In Kilimci, A. (Ed.), *Anadilinde Çocuk Olmak: Yabancı Dilde Eğitim [To be a child in mother tongue: Education in foreign language]* (pp.34-37). İstanbul: Papirüs Yayınevi.
- Arslantunali, M. 1998. Education in yabancı dil: There are çok problems [Education in English: There are many problems]. In, *Anadilinde çocuk olmak: Yabancı dilde eğitim [To be a child in mother-tongue: Education in foreign language]*. ed. A. Kilimci, 74-76. İstanbul: Papirüs Yayınevi.
- Aydingün, A. & Aydingün, İ. (2004). *The Role of Language in the Formation of Turkish National Identity and Turkishness*. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 10, 415-432.
- Aydoğan, B. (2006) *Teksasta Oturuyor, İrem'de Uyuyorum; Üstüm Yağmur Altım Çamur ya da Ürün Adlarında Yabancılaşma. [I sit on Texas, sleep on Irem, Stuck between Rain and Mud or Foreignization in Product Names]* Retrieved on March 2. 2007 from <http://turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/DIL%20SORUNLARI/06.php>
- Aydoğan, B. (2001). Türkçeye Giren Yabancı Sözcükler ve Otel Adları, *Türk Dili* Vol. 596, 144-154.
- Aygün, S. (n.d). ATO'dan işyerlerine Türkçe isim çağrısı. [ATO calls business places to adopt Turkish names]. Retrieved on June 1, 2007 from <http://fireball.atonet.org.tr/turkce/bulten/bulten.php3?sira=334>

- Aytürk, I. (2004). *Turkish Linguists against the West: The Origins of Linguistic Nationalism in Atatürk's Turkey*. Middle Eastern Studies, Vol.40, No.6, November 2004, pp.1-25.
- Bailey, R. W. (1991). *Images of English. A Cultural History of the Language*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Baker, M. & S. Hart (1999). *Product Strategy and Management*. London:Prentice Hall.
- Balmer, J.M.T., Gray, E.R. (2003). Corporate brands: what are they? What of them? *European Journal of Marketing* Year: 2003 Volume: 37 Issue: 7/8 Page: 972 - 997
- Barber, B. (1996). *Jihad vs. McWorld*. New York: Ballantine.
- Batra, R., et al. (2000), Effects of brand local and non-local origin on consumer attitudes in developing countries. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*. 9(2), 83-95.
- BBC News (2001, December 27). Nestle absorbs Haagen-Dazs. British Broadcastong Company (BBC) News. Retrieved on January 5, 2007 from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/1730497.stm>
- Bear, J.M. (1985). *Historical factors influencing attitudes towards foreign language learning in Turkey*. Journal of Human Sciences of Middle East Technical University 1, 27-36.
- Bear, J. (1998). Yabancı bir uzman gözüyle [From a foreign specialist's point of view]. In *Anadilinde çocuk olmak: Yabancı dilde eğitim [To be a child in mother-tongue: Education in foreign language]*. (Ed.) A. Kilimci, 53-55. Istanbul: Papirüs Yayınevi.
- Bear, J. (1998). Yabancı dilde eğitim [Education through foreign languages]. In *Anadilinde çocuk olmak: Yabancı dilde eğitim [To be a child in mother-tongue: Education in foreign language]*. (Ed.) A. Kilimci, 73-76. Istanbul: Papirüs Yayınevi.
- Beiley, W., & Pineres, S. (1997). Country of origin attitude in Mexico: the Malinchismo Effect. *Journal of International Consumer Marketing*. 9(3), 25-41.
- Birch, N. (2003, July 15). Detention strains already tense US-Turkey relations. *The Christian Science Monitor*. Retrieved on February 3, 2007 from <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0715/p11s01-woeu.html>
- Bovée, C.L., Houston, M.J. & Thill, J.V. (1995). *Marketing*. Second Edition McGraw Hill, Inc. USA
- Boztas, İ. (1995). Yabancı dille öğretim mantıksız. [It is illogical to teach through foreign languages]. *Öğretmen Dünyası*, 16 (182): 18.
- Brennan, S. M. (2005, December). *The Development of Children's Brand Knowledge: a Preliminary Investigation*. Paper presented in ANZMAC

- 2005: the Australian and New Zealand Marketing Academy Annual Conference, Fremantle, Western Australia.
- British Council. (2006). *British Council Annual Report 2005 – 2006*. Retrieved April 24, 2007, from <http://www.britishcouncil.org/annual-report/index.htm>
- Britt, B. (2003, July 28). Chevy Chase Does Turkish Cola Ads Aimed At Coke And Pepsi: Spots Air as Anti-American Feeling in Turkey Runs High. *Adage.com* Retrieved on May 22, 2007 from http://adage.com/article?article_id=38049&search_phrase=%2Bchevy+%2Bchase
- Buck, V. (2002). One world, one language? *Communicate Webzine*. April-May 2002. Retrieved on February 12, 2007 from <http://www.aiic.net/ViewPage.cfm/page732.htm>
- Burns, A. and Coffin, C. (2001). *Analysing English in a global context*. London: Routledge.
- Campbell, B. (2003). *Would you like umlauts with that? What do Hard Rock, Ice Cream, and Do-It-Yourself Furniture have in common?* Retrieved on October 2, 2006 from <http://www.clicknation.com/snoof/stuff/umlaut.pdf>
- Büyük. S. (2001). Yeni Yaş Analizi. *Capital Magazine*. Retrieved on December 15, 2007 from http://www.capital.com.tr/haber.aspx?HBR_KOD=1989
- Canagarajah, A.S. (1999). *Resisting linguistic imperialism in English teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chan, A. K.K., Huang, Y.Y. (1997). Brand naming in China: A linguistic approach. *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*. Vol. 15, (5), 227 – 234.
- Charmasson, H. (1988), *The Name Is the Game-How to Name a Company or Product*, Dow Jones-Irwin, Homewood, IL.
- Collins, L. (1977), A name to conjure with. *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 11 No. 5, pp. 340-63. as cited in Allan K.K. Chan, Yue Yuan Huang
- Cooke, D. (1988). Ties that constrict: English as a Trojan horse. In A. Cumming, A. Gagne, and J. Dawson (Eds.), *Awareness: Proceedings of the 1987 TESL Ontario conference* (56-62). Toronto: TESL Ontario.
- Crystal, D. (1997). *English as a global language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, D. (2003) *English as a global language*. Second Edition, Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, D. (2004). *The language revolution*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Çağatay, S. (2004) Where goes the U.S.-Turkish relationship? *Middle East Quarterly*. Fall 2004 Vol. XI No. 4. Retrieved on April 1, 2007 from <http://www.meforum.org/article/657>

- Davis, P. (2005, April 7). 8 Mistakes to avoid when naming your business. Entrepreneur . Retrieved on January 19, 2007 from <http://www.entrepreneur.com/startingabusiness/startupbasics/namingyourbusiness/article76958.html>
- Davison, R.H. (1961) Westernized education in Ottoman Turkey. *Middle East Journal* 15, 289–301.
- Day, R. (1980). ESL: A factor in linguistic genocide? In J.C. Fisher, M.A. Clarke, and J. Schachter (Eds.), *On TESOL'80. Building bridges: Rresearch and practice in teaching English as a second language*. Washington, D.C.: TESOL.
- De Chernatony, L., & McDonald, M. H. B. (1992). *Creating Powerful Brands*. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1992.
- De Lisle, T. (2006, April 20). Why Moben wanted to be Möben. *The Guardian*. Retrieved on October 5, 2006 from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/g2/story/0,,1757088,00.html>
- Demir, A. (1995). Yabancı dille öğretim açmazı. [The dilemma of foreign-medium education]. *Öğretmen Dünyası*, 16 (182): 5-8.
- Demircan, Ö. (1988). *Dünden Bugüne Türkiye’de Yabancı Dil* [Foreign languages in Turkey from past to today]. Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi.
- Demircan, Ö. (1995). Yabancı öğretim diliyle nereye? [Where to go by teaching through foreign language?]. *Öğretmen Dünyası*, 16 (182): 19.
- Demircan, Ö. (2001). İş-Yeri Adlarında Yabancılaşma. Paper presented in XIV. Dilbilim Kurultayı Bildirileri, Ç.Ü. Basımevi, Adana 2001.
- Demircan, Ö. (2006, November). Öğrenici Açısından Yabancıdil Öğretimi ile Yabancı Dilde Öğretim İlişkisi. [The relationship between foreign language education and foreign-medium education from the learner’s point of view]. Paper presented in a meeting of Language and Communication Society at Yıldız Technical University.
- Dick, A. & Kunal, B. (1994). Customer loyalty: Toward an integrated conceptual framework. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*. 22 (April), 99-113.
- Dilaçar, A. (1977). Atatürk ve Yazım. [Atatürk and Writing] *Türk Dili*, Vol. 35 (307).
- Dogana, F. (1967). Psycholinguistic contributions to the problem of brand names. *European Marketing Research Review*. 2 (1), 50-58.
- Doğan, İ., (1999). *Sokaktaki Yabancı-İşyeri İsimlerine Yansıyan Kültürel Eğilimler* [Cultural Inclinations Reflected in Foreign Named Business Places on the Streets]. Sistem Yayınları: İstanbul.
- Doğançay-Aktuna, S. (1995) *English in Turkey: Impact on language teaching and on Turkish*. Paper presented in the 29th International Annual

Conference of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL), 9–12 April 1995, York, England.

Doğançay-Aktuna, S. (1998). The spread of English in Turkey and its current sociolinguistic profile. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 19(1), 24–39.

Doğançay-Aktuna, S. & Kızıltepe Z. (2005). English in Turkey. *World Englishes*, 24, 2, 253–265.

Dougill, J. (1987). English as a decorative language. *English Today*, 12, October–December, 33–35.

Downing et al. (2002). English Incorporated. In David B. Downing, Claude Mark Hulbert and Paula A. Mathieu (Eds.) *Beyond English, Inc.: Curricular Reform in a Global Economy*. Heinemann, Portsmouth NH, USA.

Edge, J. (2003) Imperial troopers and servants of the lord: A vision of TESOL for the 21st century. *TESOL Quarterly* 37/4: 701–709.

Edge, J. (2006). *Relocating TESOL in the age of Empire*. London: Macmillan Palgrave.

Ekmekci, M. (1995). Dil bilinci [Language awareness]. *Cumhuriyet Daily*, June 1–13, pp. 1–6.

Ergin, O. (1977). *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, Eser Matbaası, İstanbul.

Fırat, G. (2001, July). İşyeri isimleri Türkçe mi olmalı? *Milliyet*, Retrieved on May 21, 2006 from <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2001/07/11/guncel/gun08.html>

Filipovic, R. (1996). English as a word donor to other languages of Europe In R. Hartmann, (Ed.) *The English Language in Europe*. (37–45) Exeter: Intellect.

1.1 Geller, A. (2006, May 20). English Language Debate Renews Questions. *CBS News*. Retrieved on April 19, 2007 from <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2006/05/20/ap/national/mainD8HNNEK80.shtml>

Gotze, E. (2002, May). *The formation of pre-school children's brand knowledge: an empirical analysis into the factors of influence*. [CD-ROM] 31st EMAC Annual Conference, Braga, Portugal.

Gözaydın, N. (2001). Türkçe Bilinci ve Karum [Awareness of Turkish and Karum], *Türk Dili*, Vol. 585, 227–231.

Graddol, D. (1996). *English: History, Diversity and Change*. New York: Routledge.

Graddol, D. (1997). *The future of English*. London: The British Council.

- Graddol, D. (2006). *English Next: Why global English may mean the end of 'English as a Foreign Language'*. London: British Council.
- Gregg, E.A. (2003). *Perspectives on Brand Equity*. University of Virginia. Darden Business.
- Griffin, J. (2004) The presence of written English on the streets of Rome. *English Today*, 20(2), 3–7, 46.
- Griffin, J. (1997). Global English invades Poland. *English Today* 13:2, 34–41.
- Güleryüz, H. (2004) Dil kirlenmesinin bir başka boyutu: İş yeri adları [Another dimension of language pollution: Business names] *Bilim ve Aklın Aydınlığında Eğitim Dergisi*, Vol 5.
- Haarman, H. (1984). The role of ethnocultural stereotypes and foreign languages in Japanese commercials. *International Journal of Sociology of Language*, 50, 101–121.
- Habermas, J. (1990). *The lifeworld and the system: A critique of functionalism Vol 2*, Polity Press, New York.
- Heath, T. B., Chatterjee, S. & France, K. R. (1990). *Using the phonemes of brand names to symbolize brand attributes*. AMA Educator's proceedings, 38-42.
- Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D., & Perraton, J. (1999), *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Hohenthal, A. (2003). The power of English: the case of India. *The Literature and culture of the Indian subcontinent*. Retrieved on October 18, 2006, from <http://usp.nus.edu.sg/post/india/hohenthal/3.5.html>
- Hollensen, S. (2004). *Global Marketing*. 3rd edition, Prentice Hall-Financial Times.
- Holt, D.B. (2002). *Brand and Branding*. Boston, MASS: Harvard Business School Publishing
- IBISWorld Statistics. (2005). *Business outlook: ice cream manufacturing*. Retrieved on April 14, 2007 from <http://www.ferret.com.au/articles/31/0c02a331.asp>
- Institute of International Education (2006). *New enrollment of foreign students in the U.S. Climbs in 2005/06* (November 13, 2006). Retrieved March 14, 2007 from <http://opendoors.iienetwork.org/?p=89251>
- Issawi, C. (1981). The struggle for linguistic hegemony. *The American Scholar* 50, 382–87.
- Janbandhu, D. S., Gupta, G. C. (1978). The meaningfulness of 103 five letter German words. *Journal of Psychological Researches*. 22 (1), 54-58.

- Jespersen, O. (1938/1968). *Growth and structure of the English language*. Toronto :Collier-Macmillan
- Jiang, Y. (2003). English as a Chinese language. *English Today*, 19(2), 3-8.
- Judith, M. (2006). English as a vehicular language: a case of globalization or linguistic imperialism? In (Ed.) Ann K. Isaacs *Language and Identities in Historical Perspective*. (143-154). Pisa: Plus
- Kachru, B. (1985). Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk and H.G. Widdowson (Eds.), *English in the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kachru, B. (1986). *The alchemy of English: The spread, functions and models of non-native Englishes*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Kachru, Braj B. (1996). Opening borders with world Englishes: Theory in the classroom In *On JALT 96: Crossing Borders. The Proceedings of the 23rd Annual JALT International Conference on Language Teaching/Learning*. (10-20).Hiroshima, Japan:
- Kanungo, R. N., (1968). Brand awareness: Effects of fittingness, meaningfulness, and product utility. *Journal of Applied Psychology*. 52 (4), 290-295.
- Karabulut, Ö. (2000, February 23). Yabancıdille eğitim yıkımdır [Foreign-medium instruction is devastation], *Cumhuriyet*.
- Kell, P. (2004, July). *Appropriating English: The global business of teaching English in south east Asia*. Paper presented at *Asia Examined: Proceedings of the 15th Biennial Conference of the ASAA, Canberra, Australia*.
- Keller, K. L., Heckler, S. E., Houston, M. J., (1998). The effects of brand name suggestiveness on advertising recall. *Journal of Marketing*. 62, 48-57.
- Kilimci, A. (1998). *Anadilinde Çocuk Olmak: Yabancı dilde eğitim [To be a child in mother-tongue: Education in foreign language]*, Papirüs Yay. İstanbul.
- Kocabaşoğlu, U. (1989). *Kendi belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika*, [America in Antolia with Documents] Second Edition, Arba Yayınları, Ankara, 29-33.
- Kocaman, A. (1998). Çözüm, nitelikli dil öğretimi [The solution, language teaching of high quality]. In *Anadilinde çocuk olmak: Yabancı dilde eğitim [To be a child in mother-tongue: Education in foreign language]*. ed. A. Kilimci, 37-39. İstanbul: Papirüs Yayınevi.
- Kohn, H. (1945). *The idea of nationalism. A study of its origin and background*. New York. Macmillan.
- Kotler, P. & Armstrong, G. (1997). *Marketing: An Introduction*, 4th ed., Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.

- Köksal, A. (1995). Yabancı dilde öğretim konusunda öğretmenler ne diyor: Öğrenci zorlanıyor [What are the teachers' opinions on foreign-medium instruction: Students are having difficulties.] *Öğretmen Dünyası*, 16 (182): 24-25.
- Köksal, A. (2002). *Yabancı dilde öğretim: Türkiye'nin büyük yanılması [Foreign-medium instruction: Turkey's fatal mistake]* 2nd ed. Ankara: Öğretmen Dünyası.
- Köktekin K. & Kara, F. (2006) Erzurum İş Yeri Adlarında Dil Kirliliği. *Türk Dili*, 660, 519-523.
- König, G. (1990). *The Birth and Growth of a Department: Department of English Language and Literature: 25th Anniversary*, Deniz Bozer (Ed.). 157-67. Ankara, Hacettepe University.
- Köprülü, L. (2006, October 20). TOFAŞ Türkçe istemişti, adı Linea oldu [TOFAŞ wanted a Turkish name, but named Linea]. *Milliyet Daily*.
- Lamb, C. W. et al. (2002). *Marketing*. Cape Town. Oxford.
- Langer et al. (2005). *Brand Name Design: A Psycholinguistic Approach To Explain Consumers' Inference Of Brand Associations From Brand Names*. Paper presented in ANZMAC 2005: the Australian and New Zealand Marketing Academy Annual Conference, Fremantle, Western Australia.
- Le Clerc, F., Schmitt, B. H. & Dubé, L. (1994). Foreign Branding and Its Effect on Product Perceptions and Attitudes. *Journal of Marketing Research*. Volume 31, 263-270.
- Leontovich, O. (2005). American English as a medium of intercultural communication. *World Englishes* 24(4), 523-532.
- Lepape, P. (2004, May 1). Lost without translation. *Le Monde diplomatique*. Retrieved on January 15, 2007 from <http://mondediplo.com/2004/05/15literature>
- Louw, G.S. & Lamb, C.W. (2001). The measurement and dimensionality of brand associations. *The Journal of Product and Brand Management*. 9 (6): 1-10
- Loveday, L. (1986). Japanese sociolinguistics. An introductory survey. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 10, 287-326.
- MacGregor, L. (2003). The language of shop signs in Tokyo. *English Today*, 19(1), 18-23.
- Marginson, S. (2007, March). "Global university rankings: where to from here?" Paper presented in Asia-Pacific Association for International Education Conference, National University of Singapore.
- Marginson, S. & M.C. van der Wende. (2007) *Globalisation and Higher Education*. Paris: OECD/CERI. Retrieved on May 30, 2007 from <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/33/12/38918635.pdf>

- Mazzaferro, G., (2002). *The English Language and Power In* G. Mazzaferro (Ed.) *The English language as part of macro economic and socio-political processes* (2002) Edizioni Dell'Orso, Alessandria, Italia.
- McArthur, Tom (2000) Interanto: the global language of signs. *English Today*, 16(1), 33–43.
- McCarthy, E.J. and Perreault, W.D. Jr (1987). *Basic Marketing: A Managerial Approach*, 9th ed., Irwin, Homewood, IL.
- McLuhan, M. (1962). *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*. 1st Ed.: Univ. of Toronto Press
- McNeal, J.U. & Zeren, L.M. (1981). Brand name selection for consumer products., *MSU Business Topics*, Spring, 35-39.
- McKay, S. L. (2002). *Teaching English as an international language: Rethinking goals and approaches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Meierkord, C. (1996): *Englisch als Medium der interkulturellen Kommunikation. Untersuchungen zum non-native / non-native-speaker-Diskurs*. Frankfurt / M.: Lang.
- Mélitz, J. (1999) *English-language dominance, literature and welfare*. Unpublished manuscript. Institut d'études politiques, Paris.
- Munat, J. (2006). English as a vehicular language: a case of globalization or linguistic imperialism? In K. Isaacs (Ed.) *Language and Identities in Historical Perspective*, 143-154.
- Mydans, S. (2007, April 9). Across cultures, English is the word. *International Herald Tribune*. Retrieved on April 29, 2007 from <http://www.iht.com/articles/2007/04/09/asia/englede.php?page=1>
- Naysmith, J. (1987, April). *English as imperialism?* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language, Brighton, England
- Nunberg, G. (2000). Will the internet always speak English. *The American Prospect*, Vol 11: No. 10 March-April 2000.
- Oates, C., Blades, M. & Gunter, B. (2002). Children and television advertising: when do they understand persuasive intent. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, 1 (3), 238 – 246.
- Oran, B. (1981). *Atatürk Milliyetçiliği: Resmi İdeolojisi Dışı Bir İnceleme*. Ankara: Dost Kitabevi.
- Öçalan, M. (1999). *Sakaryadaki İş Yerlerine Verilen İsimlerde Yabancılaşma Eğilimlerinin Tespiti Hakkında Bir Araştırma ve Düşündürdükleri [A Study on Foreignization Trend in Business Names Located in Sakarya and its Implications]*. Paper presented in Sakarya ve Çevresi Tarih ve Kültür Sempozyumu, SAÜ publishing, 277-287.

- Özen, Ö. F. (2003, January 5). Dil Yarası: Dog-Shop [Language Fault: Dog Shop] *Cumhuriyet*. Retrieved on February 8, 2007 from http://www.dilimdilim.com/icerik/makaleler/dil_yarasi.htm
- Palumbo, F. & Herbig, P. (2000). The Multicultural Context of Brand Loyalty. *European Journal of Innovation Management*, 3(3), pp.116-124.
- Pan, Y. & Schmitt, B. (1996). Language and Brand Attitudes: Impact of Script and Sound Matching in Chinese and English. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, Vol. 5 (3), 263-277.
- Pakir, A. (1991). *Contribution to workshop on endangered languages*. Paper presented at the International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Hawaii.
- Pavia, T. M. & Costa, J. A. (1993). The winning number: Consumer perceptions of alphanumeric brand names. *Journal of Marketing*. 57 (3), 85-98.
- Peabody, D. (1985). *National characteristics*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Pennycook, A. (1994). *The cultural politics of English as an international language*. Harlow: Longman Group Ltd.
- Pennycook, A. (1998). *English and the Discourse of Colonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Pennycook, A. (2001). English in the world/the world in English. In A. Burns & C. Coffin (Eds.), *Analysing English in a global context*, Routledge, London, 78-89.
- Peterson, R. A., Ross, I., 1972. How to name new brands. *Journal of Advertising Research*. 12 (December), 29-34.
- Pew Global Attitudes Project (2002). *America's Image Slips, But Allies Share U.S. Concerns Over Iran, Hamas*. Retrieved on 12 June 2007 from <http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=252>
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Phillipson, R., & Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1995). Linguicide and linguisticism. I: *Papers in European language policy*. (83-91). Roskilde: Roskilde Universitetscenter.
- Power, C. (2007, March 7). Not the Queen's English. *Newsweek International*, March 7 Issue. Retrieved on May 15, 2007 from <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/7038031/site/newsweek>
- Radikal Daily. (2006, October 26). Fıkra gibi Fransa protestosu! [French protest like a joke] Radikal. Retrieved on November 16, 2006 from <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=202609>
- Rainsford, S. (2006). Turkish rush to embrace anti-US film. *BBC News Istanbul*. Retrieved on March 1, 2007 from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/4700154.stm>

- Rezendes, M. (1994, November 6). English as the global language; From Poles to poles, it's now on the tip of a billion people's tongues. *The Boston Globe*, City Edition, Focus Section. p.82.
- Robertson, K. R. (1987). Recall and recognition effects of brand name imagery. *Psychology & Marketing*. 4, 3-15.
- Rohde, D. (1996, September 4). As English spreads, speakers morph it into world tongue. *The Christian Science Monitor*, p.10.
- Rosen, B. N., Boddewyn, J. J., & Louis, E. A. (1989). U.S. brands abroad: An empirical study of global branding. *International Marketing Review*, 6(1), 7- 19.
- Ross, J., Harradine, R., 2004. I'm not wearing that! Branding and young children. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management*, 8 (1), 11 - 26.
- Ross, Nigel J. (1997). Signs of international English. *English Today*, 13(2), 29-33.
- Rubdy, R. & Saraceni, M. (2006). *English in the World: Global Rules, Global Roles*. London: Continuum.
- Sabah Daily (2006, October 20). **Türkçe isimle çıkacaktı İtalyanca 'Linea'yı seçtiler**. [Expected to have a Turkish name, but they chose Italian 'Linea'] Retrieved on December 1, 2006 from <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2006/10/20/eko101.html>
- Şahin, O. (2006) Dilimiz ve Dil Kirliliği [Our language and language pollution]. *Türk Dili Dergisi*. No. 115. July-August 2006.
- Sebüktekin, H. (1981) *Yüksek öğretim kurumlarımızda Yabancı Dil İzlemleri. (Foreign language curricula in institutes of higher education)*. Istanbul: Bogaziçi University Publications.
- Sankur, B., and Usluata, A. 1998. Yabancı dilde öğretim mi, Yabancı dil öğretimi mi? [Foreign medium instruction or foreign language education?]. In A. Kilimci (Ed.) *Anadilinde çocuk olmak: Yabancı dilde eğitim [To be a child in mother-tongue: Education in- foreign language]*, 193-196. Istanbul: Papirüs Yayınevi.
- Santosun, N. (1994) Türkiye Türkçesinde bilim dili ve terim sorunu [The problem of the language of science and terminology in Turkish]. In VIII. Dilbilim Kurultayı Bildirileri [Proceedings of the Eighth Linguistics Convention]. Istanbul: Istanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Yayınları, pp. 141-54.
- Sawyer, A. G. & Howard, D.J. (1991). Effects of omitting conclusions in advertisements to involved and uninvolved audience. *Journal of Marketing Research*. 28, 467-474.
- Schiffman H. (n.d.). *Product Naming: The Notion of foreign branding and its use in advertising and marketing*. Retrieved on January 8, 2007 from <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/~haroldfs/popcult/handouts/adverts/forbrand.html>

- Schlick, M. (2002). The English of shop signs in Europe. *English Today*, 18(2), 3–7.
- Schlick, M. (2003). The English of shop signs in Europe. *English Today*, 19(1), 3–17.
- Seidlhofer, B. (2001). Closing the conceptual gap: The case for a description of English as a lingua franca. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 11:2, 133-158.
- Seidlhofer, B. & Jenkins, J. (2003). English as a lingua franca and the politics of property. In C. Mair (Ed.) *The Politics of English as a World Language*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi: 139-154.
- Sevim, A.& Merçil, E. (1995). *Selçuklu Devletleri Tarihi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Shaw, S. (1976). *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute of Higher Education, SJTUIHE (2005). *Academic ranking of world universities*. Retrieved on February 2, 2007 from <http://ed.sjtu.edu.cn/ranking.htm>
- Sinanoğlu, O. (2000): Bye Bye Türkçe, Otopsi publishing.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. & Phillipson, R. (1989). *Wanted! Linguistic rights*. Rolig Rapir 44, Roskilde: Universitetscenter.
- Smith, A.D. (1991). *National Identity*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991, p.14.
- Smith, L. (1976). English as an international auxiliary language. *RELJ Journal* 7.2: 38-43
- Smith, L. (1983). English as an international language In L. Smith (Ed.) *Readings in English as an International Language*, Pergamon, Oxford.
- Srivastava S. (2003, September 3). English as a ticket to the good life. *The International Herald Tribune*.
- Stern, W. (1983). A good name could mean a brand of fame", *Advertising Age*, 17 January, M53-M54.
- Stewart, P. & Fawcett, R. (2004). Shop signs in some small towns in northern Portugal. *English Today*, 20:1(77) (Jan), 56-58.
- Still, T. (2006, May 5). *English as the lingua franca of a new age: It's more powerful than any law*. Wisconsin Technology Network, LLC. (WTN). Retrieved on February 21, 2007 from <http://wistechnology.com/article.php?id=3005>
- Swales, J. (1997). English as tyrannosaurus rex. *World Englishes* 16, 373-382.

- Üzüm (2007). *An investigation of Turkish learners' attitudes towards English and English-speaking societies*. Unpublished master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara.
- Üstünova, K. (1996). Bursa'da Tabela Adları [Shop Signs in Bursa]. *Türk Dili* 533, 1186-1190.
- Taylor, I. K., (1963). Phonetic symbolism re-examined. *Psychological Bulletin*. 60, 200-209.
- Taylor, J. (2002). China's English language push. *ABC News Online, ABC Radio National, correspondents report*, Retrieved on April, 20, 2007 from <http://www.abc.net.au/correspondents/s717371.htm>
- Temizyürek, F. (2001). Yabancı Dille Eğitimin Sakıncaları Üzerine [On drawbacks of foreign medium instruction] *Türk Yurdu*. Vol. 21, No: 162-163.
- Templer, B. (2003, November). Teaching the language of the conqueror. *Z Magazine* [Online] Vol. 16.6 <http://www.zmag.org/ZmagSite/Jun2003/templer0603.html>
- The Higher Education Council (2007). Türkiye'nin Yüksek Öğretim Stratejisi [The Higher Education Strategy of Turkey] Retrieved on October 24, 2006, from http://www.yok.gov.tr/duyuru/yok_strateji_kitabi.pdf
- Thomas, L. (1996). Language as power: A linguistic critique of US English. *The Modern Language Journal* 80, 129-140.
- Thonus, T. (1991). Englishization of business names in Brazil. *World Englishes*, 10(1), 65-74.
- Today's Zaman (2006, November 7). Turkish Cosmetics Company Changes French Name in Protest. Retrieved on November 29, 2006 from <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=38028>
- Today's Zaman (2006, November 7). Turkish Cosmetics Company Changes French Name in Protest. Retrieved on November 29, 2006 from <http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=38028>
- Today's Zaman (2007, June 14). Cola wars heat up, Cola Turka fights for 2nd place. Retrieved on June 29, 2007 from <http://www.ulker.com.tr/ulkerportal/en/news/info.cfm?iid=987>
- Toolan, M. (2001, June). *English as the supranational language of human rights?*. Invited plenary paper delivered to the GNEL/MAVEN Conference on New Varieties of English language and literature, University of Freiburg.
- Tosuner, N. E. (2007, May 7). We invested 400 \$ million in 17 years, second factory in 2008 Retrieved on May 17, 2007 from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/6471066.asp?m=1>

- Turan, Ş. (1981). *Atatürk ve Türk Dili [Atatürk and Turkish Language]*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi.
- Vance, L. (2004). The U.S. Global Empire. [online] Retrieved on March 16, 2007 from <http://www.lewrockwell.com/vance/vance8.html>
- Viereck, W. (1996). English in Europe: its Nativisation and Use as a Lingua Franca, with Special Reference to German Speaking Countries. In R. Hartmann (Ed.), *The English Language in Europe*. Europa 2/3 (1996), 16-23.
- Walker, R. (2006). The Brand Underground. *New York Times*, July 30, 2006.
- Wardhaugh, R. (1987). *Languages in Competition*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Whorf, B. L. (1956). *Language, Thought and Reality* (ed. J. B. Carroll). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
- Wikipedia (n.d.). Faux Cyrillic. Retrieved on May 13, 2007 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faux_cyrillic
- Wikipedia (n.d.). Heavy metal umlaut. Retrieved on May 13, 2007 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heavy_metal_umlaut
- World Bank. (2006). *World Bank Data and Statistics*, Retrieved on May 21, 2007. <http://www.worldbank.org/data>
- Wyckham, R. G., Collins-Dodd, C. (1997). *Learning brands: young children and brand recognition. How to be Number One in the Youth Market: proceedings of the European Society for Opinion and Marketing Research*, (pp. 31 – 46). Amsterdam: ESOMAR.
- Yaman, E. (1990). *Ankara'daki İş Yeri İsimleri Üzerine [On shop signs in Ankara]*, Millî Kültür, Aralık 1990, 58-61.
- Yörük, G. (2000, August 15). Anadolu liseleri ve günümüz gerçekleri [Anatolian high schools and today's realities], Cumhuriyet daily.
- Zaman (2006, June 11). 'ANKAMall' ismi Türk Dil Kurumu'nu kızdırdı [The name 'ANKAMall' annoyed the Turkish Language Association]. *Zaman Daily*.
- Zinkhan, G. M. & Martin, C. R. Jr. (1987). New brand names and inferential beliefs: Some insights on naming new products. *Journal of Business Research*. 15, 157-172.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire Used in the Study (English Version)

QUESTIONNAIRE

a. Demographic Information

1. What is your educational level?
 - a. Illiterate
 - b. Literate, no formal educational training
 - c. Secondary school
 - d. High school
 - e. University degree
 - f. Graduate degree (master's/doctorate)

2. Do you know any foreign languages?
 - a. Yes _____
 - b. No

3. Gender distribution.
 - a. Female
 - b. Male

b. Factual Information About Business Place

4.
 - a. What is the date of establishment of your business?

 - b. Has your business undergone a name change?

5.
 - a. What is the pronunciation of your business name?
 - a. Able to pronounce correctly
 - b. Unable to pronounce correctly
 - b. What is the meaning of your business name?
 - a. Able to state the actual meaning
 - b. Unable to state the actual meaning

6. What is the name of your business in official records?
 - a. Turkish
 - b. Foreign

7. Do you think that there is a consistency between the name of your business and products you sell or service you provide in your business?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. No response/I have not thought about it
8. Do you think that the district in which your business place is located has a role in adopting a foreign name?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. No response/I have not thought about it
9. What is the profile of your customers on the basis of their socioeconomic status?
 - a. Upper Level Socioeconomic Status
 - b. Medium Level Socioeconomic Status
 - c. Lower Level Socioeconomic Status
 - d. All Levels

c. Business Naming Process

10. Do you personally agree with the opinion that English-named business places are polluting Turkish?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. No response/I have not thought about it
11. Does Turkey's integration into the European Union play a role in your decision about a name for your business place?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. No response/I have not thought about it
12. What is your primary motive for adopting such a name?
 - a. Positive attitudes towards Western concepts
 - b. Negative attitudes towards Eastern concepts
 - c. Prejudice against Turkish goods
 - d. Might generate positive commercial outcomes
 - e. Sounds interesting
 - f. Personal reasons
 - g. Desire to be different from competing business places
 - h. The global impact of English
 - i. Other

13. Do you think that the name of your business brings commercial advantage to your business?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. No response/I have not thought about it
14. Do you think that you would reach the same position in your business if you adopted a Turkish name for your business?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. No response/I have not thought about it

15. To what extent does the global status of English have an influence on you in adopting a foreign name for your business place?
- a. Very effective
 - b. Effective
 - c. Not effective
 - d. Not effective at all
16. Do you think that you would reach the same position in your business if you adopted a Turkish name for your business?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. No response/I have not thought about it

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire Used in the Study (Turkish Version)

ANKET

a. Kişisel Bilgiler

1. Öğrenim durumunuz nedir?
 - a. Okur – yazar değil
 - b. Okur – yazar
 - c. İlkokul
 - d. Ortaokul
 - e. Lise
 - f. Üniversite
 - g. Lisansüstü / Doktora

2. Yabancı dil biliyor musunuz?

a. Evet _____ b. Hayır

b. İşyeri Bilgileri

3. İş yerinizin kuruluş tarihi ve kuruluşundaki ismi nedir?

4. İş yerinize verdiğiniz ismin telaffuzu ve anlamı nedir?

a. _____

b. Fikrim yok

5. Ticaret sicili gazetesinde/resmi kayıtlarda işyerinizin adı tam olarak nedir?

6. İşyerinize verdiğiniz isim ile vermekte olduğunuz hizmet/satmakta olduğunuz ürün(ler) arasında bir uygunluk olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

c. Evet b. Hayır c. Fikrim yok

7. İşyerinizin bulunduğu semtin/ilçenin verdiğiniz ismin yabancı olmasında etkisi var mı?

d. Evet b. Hayır c. Hiç düşünmedim

8. Müşteri profilinizin hangi sosyo-ekonomik sınıfa dahil kişiler oluşturmaktadır?
- a. Üst gelir grubu
 - b. Orta gelir grubu
 - c. Alt gelir grubu
 - d. Hepsi

c. İşyerine İsim Verme Süreci

9. Kimi insanlar iş yeri isimlerine verilen İngilizce isimlerin Türkçeyi kirlettiğini düşünüyorlar. Buna katılıyor musunuz?
- a. Evet
 - b. Hayır
 - c. Hiç düşünmedim
10. İşyerinize yabancı bir isim vermeniz Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği'ne olan üyelik sürecinin herhangi bir etkisi var mı?
- a. Evet
 - b. Hayır
 - c. Hiç düşünmedim.
11. İşyerinize isim verirken yabancı bir isim tercih etme sebebiniz nedir?
- a. Toplumda batılı kavramlara oluşan olumlu yaklaşım
 - b. Toplumda doğulu kavramlara oluşan olumsuz yaklaşım
 - c. Toplumda Türk malı kavramına karşı oluşan olumsuz önyargı
 - d. Ticari açıdan olumlu getirisi olacağını düşünme
 - e. Kulağa hoş/enterasan gelmesi
 - f. Kişisel sebeplerden dolayı
 - g. Diğer rakip işyerlerinden farklı olma isteği
 - h. İngilizce'nin küresel etkisi
 - i. Diğer _____
12. İşyerinize verdiğiniz ismin size ticari kar olarak katkısı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
- a. Evet
 - b. Hayır
 - c. Hiç düşünmedim
13. İşyerinize isim verme sürecinde İngilizce'nin küresel etkisinin ne denli etkili olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?
- a. Oldukça etkili
 - b. Etkili
 - c. Etkili değil
 - d. Hiç düşünmedim
14. İşyerinize yabancı/İngilizce isim vererek şu an itibarıyla ulaşmış olduğunuz ticari başarıya Türkçe bir isim vererek de ulaşabileceğini düşünüyor musunuz?
- a. Evet
 - b. Hayır
 - c. Hiç düşünmedim