

Notes on Terminology and Orthography

In this collective volume I have not imposed a typology of terms to distinguish between various modes of forced migration. Contributors use the terms ‘population transfer’, ‘population exchange’, ‘population expulsion’ interchangeably, while ‘ethnic cleansing’, a term coined in the 1990s for events in the former Yugoslavia for what in effect took place in 1923, constitutes an anachronism.

I have urged for clarity in distinguishing between the Convention signed on 30 January 1923 and the wider Treaty of Peace of 24 July 1923. The first, the focus of this study, was concerned only with the terms for the compulsory exchange of Greek and Turkish populations (for the text of the Convention see Appendix I). The exclusion of the Orthodox inhabitants of the islands of Imbros and Tenedos, however, was specified in the later Treaty, as were the conditions for the protection of the remaining minorities.

Some further clarification of terms is necessary since they have connotations or usages which differ significantly in the Turkish and Greek contexts.

Geographical terms

Anatolia or Asia Minor

These two geographical terms, referring to the land mass which comprises the major part of Asiatic Turkey today, are used differently in Turkish and Greek usage. The term *Anadolu*, Anatolia, is used in contemporary Turkey, and is actually a Greek loan word, but the term Asia Minor is not familiar to most Turkish speakers.

In contrast, the term Asia Minor (*Mikra Asia*, *Mikrasia*) is standard in Greek today, while *Anatolia* is not used. This is possibly because the term Anatolia has strong orientalist connotations (see Gauntlett this volume). The use of the term Asia Minor, derived from Latin, is probably traceable to the nineteenth century when a ‘purist’ *katharevousa* form of Greek was promoted over the spoken demotic.

Another geographical term without precise connotations (but a long and complex history) and which has different usages is ‘Roumeli’. The Turkish word *Rumeli* is inclusive and has a wide referent including all of the Balkans and Greece. In the Greek usage, though, *Roumeli* is a limited area in the central mainland, excluding Epirus and Thessaly.

Identity terms

Prior to the establishment of the Turkish Republic, formal identity in the Ottoman Empire was based on religion. Ottoman subjects were administered in religious communities, the ‘millets’. Consequently, Orthodox Christians were members of the ‘Rum’ millet and were called *Rum* (pl. *Rumlar*) or *Romios* (pl. *Romioi*). The term ‘Greek’, strictly speaking, should refer only to citizens of the Greek state established in 1830.

This is reflected in the Turkish point of view which designates two categories of Greeks. The Greek Orthodox citizens of the Turkish Republic, i.e., those exempted from the exchange under the terms of the Lausanne agreements, are known as the *Rum Ortodoks* or just *Rum* for short. Citizens of the Greek state, including the so-called *établis* citizens of Greece who were also allowed to stay in Istanbul under the 1923 Convention of Lausanne and the 1930 Ankara Convention, are known as *Yunanli* or *Yunan*.

In the application of the exchange, Muslims of Pomak and Roma extraction in Greece, together with the Muslims of Western Thrace were exempted. According to the official Greek view, these Muslims are a religious minority recognised and protected by the final terms of the Treaty of Lausanne. In the recent period, following the 1974 Cyprus troubles, their self-designation as well as references to them as Turks, has become problematic and controversial (see Alexandris, Oran, this volume).

The terminology used to define identity also involves distinctions between words for ‘refugees’, ‘exchangees’, and ‘migrants’. Interestingly, the Orthodox Christian newcomers to Greece themselves adopted the neoclassical nomenclature, and their original self-designation as *Romios/oi* was supplanted by the local Greek term. Thus, in Greece those expelled from Asiatic Turkey are known as ‘Asia Minor refugees’ (*Mikrasiates prosphyges*). Most commonly, these people referred to themselves as ‘refugees’, but seldom, if ever, as ‘exchangees’ (*antallaksimoi*).

In Turkey, the terms are used differently even within the population that was exchanged. Cretan Muslims who settled in Ayvalik and Cunda call themselves ‘*mübadil*’, exchangees (Koufopoulou this volume), the term being specific to the 1923 compulsory exchange. However, the Muslims expelled from Greek Macedonia who were settled in Muradiye call themselves *muhacir*, refugees, and distinguish themselves from more recent forced migrants from the Balkans whom they call *göçmen* (Köker this volume), a Turkish neologism (*öztürkçe*) meaning migrant or settler. It should be noted, however, that *muhacir* has been the main word in Turkish referring to the

forcibly displaced entering the Ottoman Empire and Turkey from the Balkans and the Caucasus, and *mübadil* the main word referring specifically to the 1923 exchangees.

The term ‘refugee’ does not apply technically to these groups of displaced peoples as defined in international law, however. This is because the Convention stipulated that they were immediately to be granted full citizenship rights in their respective host countries (Article 7). Nonetheless in the Greek context, it proved to be an especially durable term of several generation’s depth with rich and varied connotations (Hirschon 1998 [1989]).

These different usages highlight the significance of indigenous terminologies which might indicate important qualitative differences in the experience of forced displacement. The terms people use to describe themselves are sociologically significant, and could constitute an important topic for further study (cf. Marx 1990, Zetter 1991).

Treatment of Other Terms

Place names have not been standardised in the volume so that, depending on the contributor and the historical period, a place may be referred to either by its Turkish (Izmir, Istanbul, Gökçeada, Bozcaada, Ayvalık) or Greek name (Smyrni, Constantinople, Imvros, Tenedos, Aivali) or by other variants, either in their native or anglicised spellings (Smyrna, Imbros, Thessaloniki or Salonica/Salonika).

There is no standard way of transliterating Greek script. The approach taken here follows a compromise preserving the phonetic with the visual, and allows for exceptions. In some chapters, Turkish words are incorporated as terms integral to the text. Where the plural form is required in English, for readability an ‘s’ has been added to the Turkish word (e.g., muhacirs, misafirs, Rums), even if it is a plural form.