THE REFLECTION OF THE DICHOTOMY OF CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY ON LANGUAGE IN TURKEY: AN ANALYSIS OF IDEOLOGICAL PRODUCTION IN NEWSPAPERS' CROSSWORDS

Türkiye'de Kültürel ve İdeolojik Bölünmenin Dile Yansıması: Gazete Bulmacalarında İdeoloji Üretimi Üzerine Bir Analiz

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Abstract

Turkey is a polarized society consisting of modern people and conservatives. Cultural differences in this polarized society are actually a consequence of a long historical process. The dichotomy of culture and ideology in Turkish society has two significant breaking points. The first is the transition process of Turkish society to Islam between the 8th century and the 14th century whereas the second is related to the concept of Westernization, the influences of which are still observable although it started in the 17th century. These two occasions not only changed the lifestyle of Turkish society but also influenced the use of Turkish language. In terms of word capacity, Turkish language therefore contains both Oriental/Islamic ideology and Western/Modern ideology within itself, and this impact is considerably recognizable from spoken language to written language and from scientific language to media language. Media entertainment contents also reveal this interaction. The objective of this study is to analyze the cultural and ideological polarization in Turkey through investigating the contents of crosswords in five daily newspapers which are, respectively, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Yeni Akit and Zaman. Media usually has an ideological content; however the fact that ideological and cultural polarization can also be explored at linguistic levels through crosswords has not been studied before. In this respect, firstly clarifying the concept of ideology in order to theoretically reveal how ideology is reinforced through language, this study basically focuses on the historical process of the cultural and ideological polarization and its reflections on Turkish language. The study, linguistically analyzing the crosswords, has also discussed the relationship among entertainment, ideology and media. Data in the study was collected through content analysis method and was interpreted by means of critical discourse theory. In this respect, this study has actually multi-methodological method. Ten crosswords from each newspaper have etymologically been analyzed, and it has been found out that there are similarities between the words in the crosswords and the publication policies of the newspapers.

Keywords: *Ideological language, the dichotomy of culture and ideology in turkish language, entertainment, crosswords.*

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Özet

Türkiye iki kutuplu bir toplum profili çizmektedir: Muhafazakarlar ve Modernler. İki kutup arasındaki kültürel farklılık yaklaşık bin yıldan fazla bir tarihsel süreçte kurulmuştur. Türk toplumundaki kültürel-ideolojik ikilemin tarihsel iki kırılma noktası bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan ilki, 8. yüzyılda başlayan ve 14. yüzyılda tamamlanan İslamiyete geçiş sürecidir. İkincisi ise 17. yüzyılda Osmanlı'da başlayan ve günümüzde hala etkisini sürdüren Batı hayranlığıdır. Söz konusu iki süreç, Türk kültürünün gündelik yaşamını değiştirmekle kalmamış, dilini de etkilemiştir. Türkçe gösterge/kelime kapasitesi olarakbelirgin bir biçimde hem Doğu-İslami birideolojiyi hem de Batı-Modern bir ideolojiyi içerir hal almıştır. Bu durum, konuşma dilinden yazı diline, bilim dilinden medya diline kadar birçok ortamda hissedilir olmuştur. Durum, medyanın eğlence içeriklerinde dahi kendisini göstermektedir.Çalışmamız, günümüz Tükiye'sindeki kültürel-ideolojik bölünmeyi, Türkiye'de günlük olarak yayınlanan 5 gazetenin (*Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Yeni Akit* ve *Zaman*) bulmacaları üzerinden analiz etmiştir. Medyanın birçok içeriğinin ideolojik olduğu bilinmektedir. Fakat bu bölünmenin bulmacalar aracılığıyla dilsel düzeyde gerçekleştirildiği bilinmemekte ve konuya ilişkin bir çalışma bulunmamaktadır. Çalışmamızda bir bütünlük oluşturabilmek, anlaşılırlık sağlayabilmek amacıyla öncelikle ideoloji kavramı açıklanmıştır. İdeolojinin dil aracılığıyla nasıl işlendiği kuramsal olarak betimlenmiştir. Ardından Türkiye'deki kültürel/ideolojik bölünmenin tarihsel süreci irdelenmiş ve bu bölünmenin Türkçeye yansıması üzerinde durulmuştur. Çalışma, medyanın bir parçası olan bulmacaların dilini analiz ettiği için, eğlence-ideoloji-medya ilişkisi genel hatlarıyla betimlenmiş, gazetelerin bulmacayla neyi hedeflediği üzerinde kısaca durulmuştur. Çalışmanın analiz kısmında yukarıda sıralanan 5 gazetenin 10'ar günlük bulmacaları etimolojik olarak analize tabi tutulmuştur. Bulmacalarda aranan kelimelerin etimolojik kökeni ile gazetelerin yayın politikaları arasında bir paralellik olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.Çalışmamızda veriler içerik analizi yöntemiyle toplanmış ve eleştirel söylem analiziyle desteklenerek yorumlanmıştır. Çalışmamız multi-medololojik yönteme sahiptir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *İdeolojik dil, Türkçedeki dil ve kültür ikilemi, eğlence, bulmacalar.*

Introduction

Ideology is a fact dominating the practices and discourses of individuals as well as shaping their lifestyles. In modern societies, it is not possible to come across with individuals or communities free from the influences of ideology. For that reason, changing the statement "Culture is a lifestyle" of Raymond Williams (1983) into "Ideology is a lifestyle" can metaphorically be consistent considering the definition of the ideology. Ideology can sometimes shape and influence living spaces as a subject while it can sometimes be shaped by the living spaces as an object. Ideology is a "human production", in other words, it is "artificial" whether it shapes individuals as a subject or it is shaped by the individuals as an object. Ideology reveals itself through human practices and discourses or through all micro-spaces of a social space which is actually a macro-space. Neither a conscious nor an unconscious escape from an "ideological action" which overwhelms and controls individual and reveals itself everywhere through individual is possible. Ideology becomes natural by becoming invisible after settling into structures. Individuals act ideologically without knowing whether an action is ideological or not, or they are usually not aware of the motivating ideological force lying behind it.

One of the main areas of social extension in which ideology reveals itself is "language". Language not only exposes the ideology in the clearest manner but also hides it very well. Even the purest speaking or communication holds an ideology within itself. However, individuals cannot be aware of whether their speeches are ideological in the course of their speech. In other words, a number of "actions" such as cultural differences, worldviews, belief systems and ways of entertainment and work are shaped by the ideology, and all such "actions" generate new ideologies. Considering that each way of "action" has a linguistic expression, it can easily be understood that language seizes an ideological dimension. According to Humboldt, each language contains a worldview within itself. Humboldt describes language as a structure founded even before nations by stating that linguistic differences lies beneath national differences and that there is a worldview including culture and ideology within languages (Kula, 2012, p. 55-60).

The Reflection Of The Dichotomy Of Culture And Ideology On Language In
Turkey: An Analysis Of Ideological Production In Newspapers' Crosswords

401

"Communication by choosing signs from different origins" is a tendency that has existed in Turkish society for a while. At first glance, such an utilisation of Turkish language seems to be democratic since it is associated with pluralism and difference. However, the basic reason of etymological linguistic differences lies behind a cultural and ideological polarization/division. As a country stuck between East and West, it is not possible for Turkey either to be a Westernized country or to completely go back to an Eastern lifestyle in which its roots lie. This dilemma shows itself in various fields of social extension, and attempting to use language with signs belonging to different etymologies (East-Turkey-West) is an explicit revelation of this dilemma and predicament. Those choosing a traditional/conservative lifestyle usually use words consisting of Turkish and Eastern signs whereas those choosing modern and Western lifestyle and supporting republican values prefer words consisting of Turkish and Western signs. Such tendencies also shape the contents of the newspapers published daily in Turkey. To give an example, even crosswords prepared for entertainment in the newspapers reflect such an existing ideological and cultural division by constantly reproducing it.

This paper aims to analyze the crosswords of the newspapers published in Turkey with different publication policies by considering etymological linguistic differences. As cultural and ideological polarization lies behind the differences among individuals in society, the concept of social ideology has initially been investigated in general terms. This study especially focuses on the fact that ideology is indeed hidden in structures and imposes itself on individuals' subconsciousness implicitly. Consequently, language-sign-ideology relationship has theoretically been examined, and the historical development of the ideological and cultural polarization and of the linguistic divisions in Turkey has been explored. In the analysis part of the study, the relationship among media, entertainment and ideology have been questioned by etymologically analyzing crosswords published within a period of ten days from five different newspapers. Technical information related to the analysis has been given in the methodology section of the study.

Ideology as an Invisible Power

Ideology is a notion that appears in all areas of life. It shapes ideas, behaviours, and attitudes, and situates individual in social norms/values in which life styles and class struggles are constituted by both material and spiritual ideologies. In general, disclosing itself with embodied behaviours, ideology is not noticed obviously in every occasion, in other words, it can be invisible, that is, it seeps into individual and social life. A great many notable intellectuals in the history of social sciences suggested various definitions for the notion of ideology. Despite distinct points of view, there are certain common points on which all definitions of ideology focus:

> Despite the controversies and the many different approaches to the concept of ideology, the historical terms of the debate remain remarkably similar. We are routinely brought back to the eighteenth century, when Destutt de Tracy in France proposed a 'science of ideas' to be called idéologie, a science which, incidentally, never made it, unless we take philosophy (or psychology?) as its current representative. With equal predictability, we will then meet Marx, of course, usually in the company of Engels, and then their followers (neo-or not) in our century, among whom Lukács, Gramsci and Althusser play a prominent role (van Dijk, 1998, p. 2)

Marx's thoughts on ideology can be understood clearly in his well-known phrase from *Capital, "They do not know it, but they are doing it (Sie wessen das nicht, aber sie tune s)"*

(Zizek, 2008, p. 24). People do so many things in daily life without actually knowing why they do such 'things'. As noted by Marx, capitalist system subtly produces itself with every human action. To exemplify, we make an effort to build our future and want to educate ourselves in the best education institutions, but all of these statuses are the parts of the capitalist system. While people are placed in a position in the society, they are also directly placed in capitalist system. Even though individual activities seem personal, every single action related to status indeed ensures the continuity of the capitalist system. 'The genuine reality' becomes invisible, that is, the reality of the capitalist system is not generally discerned, and individual efforts are perceived as if they are the reality.

A contradiction arises between the reality of individual and the reality of capitalist system, which is also emphasized by Marx. Marx describes ideology as *false consciousness*. The misperception of the basic reasons of personal actions results in 'false consciousness' or 'false understanding.' In his book *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, Zizek contradicts Marx's concept of ideology, and he characterizes ideology as such: *"They know very well what they are doing, but still, they are doing it."*(Zizek, 2008, p. 26). According to Zizek, living in the capitalist systems of modern societies, people are aware of the reasons behind their actions, but they do not change them. For this reason, Marx's concept of ideology is reversed in Zizek's idea. According to Zizek, people in the system recognise the reasons behind their actions, but in order to achieve some elements of status such as success, money and prestige they behave as if they are not aware of the incentives of their behaviours. In modern societies, people know what ideology means and how it serves. By ignoring this process, people try to reach success (Zizek, 2008, p. 25-30). Ideology is a phenomenon by which people are integrated into the capitalist system. As Althusser cites from Marx, *"Ideology is the system of the ideas and representations which dominate the mind of a man or a social group."*(Althusser, 1994, p. 120). Marx, by the virtue of the fact that ideology is a material production process, remarks, *"All forms and products of consciousness cannot be dissolved by mental criticism ... but only by the practical overthrow of the actual social relations which gave rise to the idealistic humbug"* (Stoddart, 2007, p. 197). Marx notes that people are not aware of the ideological goals, on the contrary, Zizek argues that people are aware of it.

Teun A. van Dijk states that ideology is sometimes notived overtly in the actions although it is sometimes not possible to see it. Dijk points out that individuals recognize ideological forms in the social space to a certain extent. However, in most cases, individuals cannot realize or perceive the ideology behind the actions since ideology dictates itself as inherent in an action. Dijk elaborates this issue as follows;

> Social members are barely aware of many of the social representations they have, and of the ways these control their social practices and evaluations. As we shall see later for the notion of 'common sense', ideologies may be or seem so 'natural' that people don't even realize they have them. As is the case for knowledge of natural language (people's shared competence), ideologies often are simply part of everyday life, and taken for granted. (Dijk, 1998, p. 98)

Gramsci utilises the notion of 'hegemony' in order to explain how hierarchies are produced in the capitalist system of the state and the civic society (Stoddart, 2007, p. 193). As pointed out by Gramsci, ideology should be examined as a superstructure with regard to the philosophy of praxis. According to Gramsci,

> To the extent that ideologies are historically necessary they have a validity which is "psychological"; they "organize" human masses, and create the terrain on which

men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle etc."(Gramsci, 1999, p. 705-710)

Althusser offers two theses on ideology. The first thesis focuses on the representation of the objects in the imaginary form of ideology, and the second one focuses on the material structure of ideology. As he remarks in his first thesis,

> Ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence. (…) it is not their real conditions of existence, their real world, that 'men' 'represent to themselves' in ideology, (…) it is their relation to those conditions of existence which is represented to them there. It is this relation, which is at the centre of every ideological, i.e. imaginary, representation of the real world. It is this relation that contains the 'cause' which has to explain the imaginary distortion of the ideological representation of the real world. Or rather, to leave aside the language of causality it is necessary to advance the thesis that it is the *imaginary nature of this relation* which underlies all the imaginary distortion that we can observe (if we do not live in its truth) in all ideology."(Althusser,1994, p. 123-125).

In his second thesis, Althusser argues that *"ideology has a material existence."* In this approach, instead of the spiritual structure of ideology, he centers on its material existence. In his own concept of Ideological State Apparatuses, Althusser states that each apparatus is a realization of an ideology. According to this thesis, ideology is placed in an apparatus, and its practice, or practices and thus, *"this existence is material."*As stated by Althusser, individuals' beliefs in certain values such as God, or Duty, or Justice, are derived from ideas related to the individual. In other words, these beliefs are not based on material but spiritual reasons. Hence, beliefs are reduced from ideology to idea, and this process seems natural. These beliefs determine the positions of the individuals in social groups and structures, or in behaviour patterns. Individuals find themselves as participants in the social practices arranged by the systems. Obeying the rules, worshipping, servility are among these practices. In this way, ideology becomes material, that is, it is revealed with physical practices, and ideology situates itself within apparatus, or ritual etc. Althusser remarks that 'idea' disappears in the structures in which ideology represents itself; and subject, consciousness, belief, actions and so on remain; and they seem as practices, rituals, ideological apparatus (Althusser, 2014 and 1994, p. 126-128).

Bakhtin's ideas also have vital importance in the field. According to Morris (1994, p. 249), Bakhtin's approach to ideology can be summarised as follows,

> The Russian word 'ideologiya' is less politically coloured than the English word 'ideology'. In other words, it is not necessarily a consciously held political belief system; rather it can refer in a more general sense to the way in which members of a given social group view the world. It is in this broader sense that Bakhtin uses the term. For Bakhtin, any utterance is shot through with 'ideologiya', any speaker is automatically an 'ideolog'.

Bakhtin thinks that ideology is a form by which people perceive the world. Since each utterance includes an ideology, each speaker is an ideolog. Human consciousness is not connected directly with the existence, but it is related to existence indirectly, that is,

human consciousness is connected with existence through world surrounded by ideology according to Bakhtin (Bakhtin, Medvedev, 1978, p. 14).

As stated above, intellectuals generally agree on the concept of ideology which is defined as a power by which people are integrated into a group, a society, or a belief so on. In other words, in order to ensure the continuity of the social system, people have to interiorise system rules and behave accordingly. While individuals obtain this consciousness, they fall under the influence of ideology. Indeed, class struggle is based on ideology which is an artificially arranged power directing struggles among classes. Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus', which can be defined as structured consciousness, contributes to this context. The consciousness in the rules of the field is determined by this field, and at the same time the consciousness determines the field. The aim of 'habitus' is to teach the rules of the field and to ensure the ways for the agents to achieve their goals in the field. Because habitus is an historical constitution, it is a *structured structure* (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 72). It is an ability constituted in the society and it can be regarded as the internalized rules of society. Habitus, guiding people in social space, is shaped ideologically (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 55,190). In brief, ideology is a notion that structures consciousness and propounds itself with certain representations in daily life circumstances. In fact, individuals together with all their actions represent themselves ideologically.

Language as an Ideological Apparatus

Language is a basic mechanism getting people together in a society. And in order for a society to be called as a society or to manifest itself as a collective structure, the first thing needed is a common language practice. In all societies, language is a structure through which people come to terms, and approve it. Being a phenomenon, language shapes individuals with its grammatical structure and vocabulary and forms the way of thinking. Not only being brought into existence with individuals but also bringing them into existence, the structure of language is the best privilege bestowed on mankind. It is seen that society is established within a language which also shapes the society.

The most vital way to express ourselves is language. It is not directly an 'idea itself', it only carries the 'idea', and therefore, language is a 'medium'. Linguists and sociologist in linguistic studies investigate language with multi-dimensional aspects. Some linguists and sociologist concentrate on the grammatical structure of language whereas others focus on the functioning of language in social space. The pioneer of structuralism, Saussure investigated language in terms of constructional dimension. In his researches on language, he ignores sociological functioning of the language and its historical structure. His approach focused intensively on language in terms of structural level such as denotation, synonym, and grammar, phonetic so on (Saussure, 2013). Saussure is criticized for not touching upon the historical process and the relations between language and ideology while conceiving the language as a system of signs providing communication and being separate from human effects. The well-known Russian intellectual, Volosinov criticized Saussure within this context (Shelton, 1978, p. 193-194). Likewise, Saussure's successors also faced similar criticism afterwards. *Russian formalism*, which arose in 1920s and regarded language as significant for examining structural characteristics rather than scrutinizing its functions in social structures, also became the target of a similar criticism. Since Russian formalism placed a great emphasis on the idea of "art for art's sake" rather than the idea of "art for society" in literature, the movement got negative criticism.

The Reflection Of The Dichotomy Of Culture And Ideology On Language In Turkey: An Analysis Of Ideological Production In Newspapers' Crosswords

405

Saussure is a linguist who theorized the concept of '*sign*' up. Before Saussure, various philosophers such as Plato, Aristo, Lock, Leibnez, and Humboldt and so on used the concept of 'sign'. However, '*sign*' was conceptualized properly by F. de Saussure for the first time. The Russian intellectual Volosinov emphasizes the role of the signs in ideology. He alleges: *"The problem of the ideological sign, the ideological sign and consciousness, the word as an ideological sign par excellence, the ideological neutrality of the word, the capacity of the word to be an inner sign."* (Volosinov, 1986, p. 9). This citation from Volosinov shows that Volosinov firstly commences his probe on the relation between ideology and language at the level of sign. According to Volosinov, because each word in a language is a sign, each word is also loaded with ideology. In order to explain the relation between ideology and language in details, Volosinov asserts that ideology cannot exist without signs and that everything has an ideological dimension. As he states,

> Any ideological product is not only itself a part of reality (natural or social), just as is any physical body, any instrument of production, or any product for consumption, it also, in contradistinction to these other phenomena, reflects and refracts another reality outside of itself. Everything ideological possesses meaning: it represents, depicts, or stands for something lying outside of itself. In other words, it is a sign. Without signs there is no ideology. A physical body equals itself, so to speak; it does not signify anything but wholly coincides with its particular, given nature. In this case, there is no question of ideology. (Volosinov, 1986, p. 9)

Therefore, everything has an ideological content or individuals convert physical objects into ideological signs (Volosinov, 1986, p. 9). Language usage, i.e. the choice of words as sings, is one of them.

Bourdieu states that linguistic signs, which are words, are not neutral and have different meanings vis-à-vis their usage in social space. For Bourdieu, nothing used by individuals is neutral and language is one of them. Signs gain meaning according to the context they are used and according to the context produced by social space or social relations. In some cases, signs move away from their basic meanings and undertake opposite meanings. To reinforce his idea, Bourdieu cites from Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas on language. Bakhtin notes that in the case of social revolution, words which have common meanings for people who share common social space can undertake opposite meanings. From one social class to another, the meanings can be changed, which arises from the differences in the structural property of social spaces (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 39).

Bourdieu remarks that utterances as linguistic competence are not only simple linguistic coding or understanding but also signs of authority and wealth. In other words, intents such as valuation, believing, obeying and so on appear via language or signs (Bourdieu, 1991, 66). To elaborate his statement, signs (words) are not neutral, Bourdieu states:"When you use the word pays an (peasant) in the presence of someone who has just left the countryside, you never know how he is going to take it."(1991, p. 40). Loaded meanings in signs assess the value of the things and the 'individuals'. The word *peasant* might represent various meanings such as describing a person who probably lives in a village or who has a lower education level etc. Hence, signs are not neutral, but they seem to be neutral.

Shelton is another intellectual focusing on this issue. He states that class concept does not correspond to the sign community which consists of people using the same set of signs for ideological communication. Thus, various different social classes use a common

language. Eventually an intersection of differently-oriented accents occurs in every ideological sign. Sign becomes an arena of the class struggle.

> Every society defines and accentuates particular Inodes of discourse, the subjects of which command its attention. Such modes of discourse are not 'only socially related to the material circumstances of specifically positioned social group. But there is also a historical relation with the material circumstances of specifically positioned social groups: the only that which has acquired social value can enter the world of ideology and establish itself here." (Shelton, 1978, p. 195)

In this context, Bakthin is another important thinker who made profound contribution to the field. He perceives language as a socio-political and socio-cultural structure, because he concentrates on the discursive dimension of language rather than its grammar. According to Bakhtin, language is not a system of abstraction of categories; it is a world view which also appears in Humboldt's thoughts as "every language is a world view."(Kula, 2012, p. 55-60). Bakhtin notes that,

> We are taking language not as a system of abstract grammatical categories, but rather language is conceived as ideologically saturated, as a World view, even as a concrete opinion, insuring a maximum of mutual understanding in all spheres of ideological life. Thus as unitary language gives expression to forces working toward concrete verbal and ideological unification and centralization, which develop in vital connection with the processes of socio-political and cultural centralization." (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 269)

Bakhtin investigates the structure of language by means of the heteroglossia concept. For Bakhtin, languages are layered structures and also include the properties of different historical periods and different geographies. While people use language to communicate, they do not realize that their language use involves chronology and topography. While forming language, these two cases were combined under one concept which was conceptualized by Bakhtin as 'chronotope'. According to Bakhtin,

> Every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear. The processes of centralization and decentralization, of unification and disunification, intersect in the utterance; the utterance not only answers the requirements of its own language as an individualized embodiment of a speech act, but it answers the requirements of heteroglossia as well; it is in fact an active participant in such speech diversity. And this active participation of every utterance in living heteroglossia detcrmines the linguistic profile and style of the utterance to no less a degree than its inclusion in any normative-centralizing system of a unitary language." (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 272)

Focusing on the ideas of Oktar and Yağcıoğlu is also considerably important. In *Dil Kullanımı ve Toplumsal Kimlikler* (2005), Oktar points out that language is directly in relation to institutionalized identities. In other words, an individual's use of language determines his own place in a social structure, and this actually reveals his social and political ideology. To Oktar (2005, p. 74), language is a means to express social identities from cultural, national, ethnical, occupational, gender and political perspectives. Identities are legitimated through discourse. And words are substantially functional in terms of revealing certain objectives and social representations. Oktar usually centers upon the ideological dimension of language. In his *Dil Kullanımı ve Toplumsal Kimlikler*

The Reflection Of The Dichotomy Of Culture And Ideology On Language In
Turkey: An Analysis Of Ideological Production In Newspapers' Crosswords

407

(2005), he aims to explore how Turkish language has been shaped and changed as a consequence of the clash between moderns and conservatives. Moderns integrate borrowed words to Turkish language in a hybrid way while conservatives are opposed to such a situation. However, considering globalisation process in the world, it is not possible to prevent such an invasion (Oktar, 2005).

Another scholar whose ideas are significant in the field of language and ideology is Yağcıoğlu. Like Bourdieu, Yağcıoğlu also indicates that language has a symbolical power through which individuals can influence others' attitudes and mindsets and that there is therefore a strong relationship between language and ideology (2005, p. 137). Yağcıoğlu prefers to use the term "linguistic market" in which he alleges that words, signifiers and titles in Turkish are significant in the linguistic market. In this respect, making use of language efficiently and speaking a foreign language fluently have a parallelism with respectability at a linguistic level. Yağcıoğlu also remarks that values, beliefs and attitudes having substantial impacts on individuals are ideological which are unveiled through discourse. In other words, the dynamics of oral and written communication are controlled by those holding power, and the mindsets of ordinary people are subsequently shaped in accordance with such a hegemonic structure (Yağcıoğlu, 2002, p. 5-6). Yağcıoğlu consequently argues that economical and political power designs the linguistic market. The idea that discourse and signifiers are constructed and legitimized by hegemonic structure is also supported by Yağcıoğlu.

As stated above, all the signs (words) in a language are not neutral because they are used by individuals. For that reason, signs used by individuals in their speeches reveal the historical conditions of the society in which they live or they were born. Individuals speak ideologically whether they are aware or unaware of it. The title below reveals the fact that the speeches of the individuals in Turkish society are an ideological choice caused by culture. All kinds of social movements somehow make themselves representational by becoming symbolic at the level of language. Lacan explains this in details. It is not possible to escape from the symbolic one since we do not have the opportunity to see or experience the signified out of the signifier. Thus, signifier is superior to the signified (Bowie, 1993, p. 63-65). Although language seems to be a simple-symbolic structure, it is truly a structure in which we live and cannot go beyond it. Habermass (1987, p. 265) makes a symbolic simile of language and money. Despite the fact that money does not have an immanent value as a concrete quality (paper/metal), it is the management instrument of the systems from an abstract-symbolic aspect. In this context, language resembles to money. It does not draw its power from its concrete materiality, but from its being symbolic, and it manages the life world. The following part of this study focuses on the social context of Turkish society created by historical conditions and investigates how this social context has become symbolic through its reflections on Turkish language.

The Process of the Dichotomy of Cultural and Ideological Polarization in Turkish History

The history of linguistic polarization in Turkish roots back to old times. Turkish society that changed its direction to West from East passed many regions and finally settled in today's geographical location. Interacting with many civilizations on the way of migration, Turkish society influenced some cultures and was influenced by other cultures too. The data of Turkish Language Society indicates that Turkish language exchanged lots of signs/words with many languages. Arabic, Persian and French are significantly on the foreground among these languages. Turkish language adopted a number of words from Arabic and Persian languages in the east and words from French language in the west.

Under the influence of Arabic and Persian languages, a new language called Ottoman Turkish was born in Ottoman Empire. This language is syntactically Turkish, and in terms of vocabulary it has a mixed structure consisting of Turkish, Arabic and Persian. Berkes points out that there were signs/words and grammatical rules from different languages which were not related to Turkish in terms of structure, root and etymology and that Ottoman language was therefore an artificial language. (Berkes, 2002,p. 255).

Arabic is the language from which Turkish language adopted the most signs/words. It is also possible to claim that Persians were the first civilization from which Turkish society was influenced in terms of literature and language. However, considering that Persian and Arabic societies were in touch with each other longer than they were with Turkish society, it can be said that Persian and Arabic languages –partially Persian is stronger- started to influence Turkish language almost simultaneously. The reason of why Arabic signs/words were in majority is associated with the fact that Arabic is the language of Islam.

The basic reason of why Arabic influenced Turkish is quite clear. First and the most important of these is the islamization process that started in the 8th century and continued until the 14th century. The acceptance of Islam by Turkish societies created changes in Turkish culture and lifestyle. This movement became efficient not only in the religious lives of the Turkish states but also in literature and cultural fields. Even the concepts of Turk and Muslim became identical. Subsequent to the embrace of Islam, learning Arabic as Koran language and Persian as palace/management language (Persian is qualified as the cultural basin of the palaces of the age) became an obligation (Yazıcı, 1992, p. 11; Mermer, 2010, p. 19). As a consequence of the Islamic culture, some major changes were experienced in the social structure of Turks. Arabic was used as science language while Persian was used as art and culture language (Yıldız, 2004, p. 161). The second reason in connection with the first one is the fact that Sultan Selim I seized the Caliphate in 1517 and announced himself as the Caliph of Islam. All sultans that ascended to the throne after Selim I naturally received the title of the Caliph of Islam. This period continued till 1922. The control of Islam belonged to Turks for about 400 years.

Persian and Turkish interaction is not different from the processes mentioned above. The interaction of Turkish with Arabic and Persian is almost based on similar reasons. Yıldız states that Turks embraced Islam in the 10th century, 200 years after Persian had embraced, that they learned Islam from Persians rather than Arabs, and that the first Muslim Turkish states, Karakhandis (840-1212), Ghaznevids (962-1183) and Seljuks (1040-1157), strived hard to promulgate Islam. In this era, Turks obtained some basic Islamic concepts from Persians rather than Arabs. Their new literature shaped by the influences of their new religion, Islam, was influenced by Persian literature rather than Arabic one. According to Yıldız, the language of the palace, army and people in Ghaznevids was Turkish whereas their official language was Persian and scientific language was Arabic. Ghaznevid ruler Mahmood invited many Persian poets and artists to his palace. Another Turkish state Seljuks followed the same policy and utilized Persian as their official language. In the era of Ghaznevids and Seljuks, Turkish Islamic philosophers wrote their works in Persian and Arabic rather than Turkish. The tradition of conducting official correspondences and writing poems in Persian continued till the Ottoman sultan named Murad I (1362-1389). Arabic poetry had an impact on Persian poetry while Persian poetry had impact on Turkish poetry (Yıldız, 2004, p. 160-163). Ghaznevids and Seljuks laid the foundations of the tradition of writing poems in Persian (Armutlu, 2002, p. 1690). This tradition was followed by the Ottomans. The main reason of Turkish-Persian interaction was that the Persians were the neighbours of Turks for a long time and that they were Muslims who used Arabic alphabet and were advanced in

The Reflection Of The Dichotomy Of Culture And Ideology On Language In
Turkey: An Analysis Of Ideological Production In Newspapers' Crosswords

409

the fields of literature and arts. With a more general expression, Turks and Persians, two nations geographically close to each other, used Arabic alphabet and shared Islamic culture throughout the history. At the same time, they struggled to maintain a political-economical unity in Anatolian-Iran geography.

The literature that was formed under the influence of Persian and Arabic literature in Turkish culture is called as "Divan Literature". In today's Turkey, the name of this course in the departments of "Turkish Language and Literature" is "Old Turkish Literature", and it includes/studies the tradition of poem writing that existed between the 13th and the 19th century (Dilçin, 2003, p. 3-4; Hocaoğlu, 2012, p. 703). The term Old Turkish Literature refers to the literature based on the aesthetic rules of Arabic and Persian – primarily on Persian- in the widest sense (Çavuşoğlu, 1986, p. 1-2; Kabaklı, 2002, p. 26; Mazıoğlu, 2009, p. 72). One of the main reasons for the fact that there are a great many Arabic and Persian words in modern Turkish is the significance given to Divan Literature in Turkish palaces.

Divan literature has always been significant for Turkish-Islamic tradition since it predominantly treats sufistic subjects like spiritual love. Most of the Ottoman sultans had their own divans. Sultans always placed importance to divan poetry and granted privileges. They invited Persian poets to their palaces, honoured and took them under protection. Until its fall, Ottoman Empire preserved this tradition of divan literature. Covering almost 700 years, this tradition was explicitly influential on Turkish language both in terms of structure and signs/words.

The influence of Arabic and Persian on Turkish language started to decrease as Ottomans turned their face towards science, technique and lifestyle of the West. This tendency that started in the 17th century started to rise in second half of the 19th century. However, this does not mean that eastern lifestyle was no longer prevalent in the Ottoman Empire. Even though the existing lifestyle was preserved, Western civilization started to become the new pattern/orientation of the Ottoman Empire from that date onwards. Consequently, Turkish culture which had been under the influence of the Eastern culture for long years started to be influenced by the Western culture. In particular, French lifestyle constituted a model for Turkish intellectuals. And French became the language from which Turkish language started to adopt new signs/words.

18th century is the century when the intellectuals of the Ottoman Empire started to adopt the technical innovations of the West. In the 18th century, Ottomans aspired to the Western culture, but cultural interaction and transformation in real terms started in the 19th century (İnalcık, 1993, p. 426). The western influence on Turkish language and culture roots back to the 17th century when the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) as a result of which Ottomans started to lose lands was signed. Ottoman Empire entered the period of stagnation after this treaty. The idea of using the war techniques of the Western countries in order to stop land loss was offered by a few intellectuals. Land loss also continued in the first years of the 17th century. In 1720, Ottomans started to send emissaries to France. This is fundamentally about the struggle of the Ottoman Empire to know the Western cultures and states closer. During these years, the gardens of mansions and manors in Istanbul were designed in a similar way to those of Versailles. The influences of the West, especially French, were felt more prominently after the era of the Rescript of Gülhane (Kuran, 1992, p. 491). 17th century when Ottoman Empire started to enter a stagnation period in terms of policy, economy and land loss is considered as the century of the start of Turkish modernization process (Berkes, 200, p. 41-63; Karpat, 2002, p. 20).

In the first quarter of the 18th century, the first printing house of the Ottoman Empire was founded. The printing house founded by Ibrahim Muteferrika (Hungarian origin) in Istanbul in 1727 which was 300 later compared to Europe is one of the first signs of the Western style life in Ottoman Empire. The foundation date of the printing house corresponds to Tulip Period between 1718 and 1730. The foundation of the printing house and the start of printing by Muteferrika are interpreted as a part of the modernization process (Berkes, 2002, p. 41-63). Berkes (p.52-53) argues that Muteferrika was aware of the scientific and technical innovations happening in the East and West. Just like Muteferrika, other Turkish-Islamic intellectuals were able to notice the stagnation in the Ottoman Empire. However, reforms were made with a delay of one hundred years (Berkes, 1975: 17-25). Printing houses were founded in the 18th century, but printing some important religious texts like Koran was forbidden. This prohibition continued till the 19th century (Ortaylı, 2007, p. 37). Ottoman Empire did not allow the printing of the religious texts due to religious reasons.

In 18th century Europeans worked as teachers in the schools of the Ottoman Empire. France volunteered in helping Ottomans in subjects such as science, technique and medicine (İnalcık, 1993, p. 428-429). Baron de Tott who was brought in order to train Ottoman army was also French. Before he came to the throne in 1773, Selim III had secretly discussed with French King Louis XVI about the reforms he was planning to carry out. Selim III founded a permanent French Embassy in Istanbul. Mahmud II took Saint Cry Military School as an example for the army he founded in Istanbul in 1840. Kanun-I Ceraim including statements like the equality of Muslim and Nonmuslims in front of law was issued under the influence of French Criminal Code. In fact, most of the laws introduced in the 19th century were influenced by French law. Neo-Ottomans Association that secretly started in 1865 aimed to limit the authority of the sultan. The members of this movement argued French intellectual Montesquieu's idea of "division of powers" and "natural rights" (Kuran, 1992, p. 493-499; Tazegül, 2005, p. 81-82). In the 19th century, Sultan Mahmud himself announced that the language of the school of medicine founded in Ottoman Empire was going to be French. Sultan Mahmud stated that this was related to the fact that Arabic books about medicine in the past were outdated and that updating these books would have taken hundreds of years and Europe had new information about medicine. Learning Arabic fluently takes approximately 10 years. Instead of this, following medicine books translated from Arabic to European languages were more useful. Europeans also added new information to these existing books. In this respect, Sultan Mahmud explained why they had to study in French to those who would study in the school of medicine (Berkes, 2002, p. 186). Again in the 18th century, students were sent to the West in order to give lectures and make experiments. Among medicine students, the materialist ideas of western philosophers were observed. Even the idea of founding a university in the Ottoman Empire was at their agenda (Berkes, 2002, p. 253-254).

It can be pointed out that press and literature movements of the time played an important role regarding the influence of French language on Turkish language. Ottoman Empire was aware that newspapers had been published in Europe since the middle of the 18th century. In the time of French Revolution, a newspaper in French called Buletin des Nouvelles (1795) was published. During Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, he had a newspaper called Gazette Française de Constantinople (1798) which was published in Istanbul. Besides, Charles Tricon published *Le Spectateur Oriental* in Izmir in 1821 while French Lawyer Alexandre Blacque published *Le Courrier de Smyrne* in Izmir in 1928 (Koloğlu, 2006, p. 21-22).

The foundations of Turkish press were laid around the second half of the 19th century (Topuz, 2003, Koloğlu, 2006). The Rescript of Gülhane (*Tanzimat Fermanı/Gülhane Hattı*

Hümayun - The Rescript of Gülhane) announced in November 1 1839 allowed western style Turkish newspapers to be published in Ottoman Empire and led new ideas to be born in the fields of language and literature. There were three Turkish or Turkish-Arabic newspapers published in Ottoman Empire until 1839. The first one was Veka-i Mısıriye which was published by Egypt Governor Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha (He did not allow newspapers in French to be published in Egypt) in Bulak printing house founded 1829. The second one was Veka-i Girdiye that was published by Kavalali Mehmet Pashe in Kryta in 1830. The third and the most important was Takvim-i Veka-i that was published by the Ottoman Government itself. At this point, it is important to emphasize that Takvim-I Vekai was also published in various western languages like French (Koloğlu, 2006, p. 24; Ortaylı, 2007, p. 39). One year after the Rescript of Gülhane, William Churchill (English) benefited from the rights granted to the foreigners and published his semi-private newspaper called Ceride-i Havadis. These newspapers cannot actually be categorized as a part of critical press since they were all published by government's support.

The first private newspaper having critical features was Tercuman-i Ahval published by Agah Efendi. This was followed by Tasvir-i Efkar by Ibrahin Sinasi Bey (1862), Muhbir by Ali Sinasi Efendi (1866), Basiret by Basiretçi Ali Bey (1869), Ibret by Namık Kemal (1870), Tercüman-i Hakikat by Ahmet Mithat Efendi (1878), Sabah by Mirhan Efendi (1882) and İkdam by Ahmet Cevdet (1878).[1] (Topuz, 2003, p. 18-116). All these newspapers had some features in common. The owners of the newspapers are known both as a journalist (in the history of press) and an author (in the history of literature) in modern Turkey. These Turkish intellectuals who started their literal life in newspapers knew western lifestyle pretty well. Ottoman Empire sent intellectuals to the Western countries in order to educate them as good statesmen. All of these intellectuals worked in the Ottoman Empire as governmental officials, especially at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These intellectuals were able to speak French fluently. These authors are also known as the founders of New/Modern (Western) Turkish Literature whose foundations were laid in the 19th century and have continued until now (Berkes, 2002: 262-268). They wrote their first literary works by imitating French works. After The Rescript of Gülhane, Ottomans attached importance to the concept of nation, and these intellectuals struggled to constitute a national language (Timisi, 2003, p. 133).

Berkes states that Turkish-Islamic intellectuals in the 1800s lived in Istanbul. Berkes also remarks that those who were brave used to write articles in newspapers, and that such intellectuals could speak French well and therefore followed French authors too. Intellectuals were sent to France for education through which they could also learn a foreign language. And in each case in which Ottoman Empire became suspicious and cancelled their passports, they managed to flee to the West (Berkes, 1975, p. 45). These intellectuals were the first to discuss the idea of liberty in the Ottoman Empire. Mardin (2002, p. 174-175) states that the idea of liberty in Ottoman intellectuals inspired French romantic authors' thoughts. Intellectuals who argued a new order were generally exiled to different provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Those who were sent to exile usually fled to the West, especially to Paris. These intellectuals continued publishing newspapers in some cities like Napoli, Geneve, London and Paris (Koloğlu, 2006, p. 69). Their attempts for an independent Turkish press continued even within the boundaries of Europe (Doğaner, 2012, p. 114). Modern independent Turkish press whose foundations were laid during the Ottoman Empire followed Western traditions, particularly French press and authors. French influence on Turkish press and literature continued for long years. Tracking the influence of the western influence is possible to be observed in humour magazines, women magazines and fashion magazines published in the Ottoman Empire.

Discussions about language and alphabet started in Ottoman Empire in the first half of the 19th century. Ideas such as opening schools having western style education, using Turkish as science language and purifying it from Arabic and Persian signs were discussed in details. An article stating that the official language of the state was Turkish and those who wanted to work in government had to speak Turkish was added to Ottoman Basic Law in 1876. And Turkish was announced to be the official language. However, discussions concerning language and alphabet came up again. Intellectuals advocated that Arabic alphabet was not suitable for Turkish language and that this was the root of problem. Ideas about changing the alphabet and switching it to Latin alphabet were disputed. Although an agreement was reached about using Turkish as science language, there were no steps taken regarding the issue of switching to Latin alphabet. This was achieved in November 1, 1928 in Republican era, nearly half a century later. Innovations did not stop here, but the simplification of the language was also discussed. In 1932, Turkish Language Society was founded, and a great many studies were carried out in line with this. Such a change concerning language meant that new regime severed their ties with Ottomans radically (Berkes, 2002, p. 264-266; Acun, 1999, p. 163-164).

At this point, it is important to mention the alphabets used by Turks throughout the history. Turkish society used 13 different alphabets: Gokturk, Soghod, Uigur, Mani, Brahmi, Tibetan, Assyrian, Arabic, Greek, Armenian, Hebrew, Latin, Slav. Eight of these alphabets (Soghod, Mani, Brahmi, Tibetan, Assyrian, Armenian, Hebrew) were used for a short period and in a narrow geography. The other five alphabets (Gokturk, Uighur, Arabic, Cyrillic, and Latin) were used in a wider geography for a longer period of time (Kartalcık, 2009). Arabic and Latin alphabets are substantially significant for this study. Arabic alphabet is perceived as the representative of traditional eastern ideology whereas Latin alphabet is perceived as the representative of modern western ideology. Changing the status of compulsory religious course in Turkish curriculum has been discussed for a long time. This course is still compulsory in spite of the fact that European Court of Human Rights delivered a judgement regarding the fact that this course violated human rights. A similar discussion about using Ottoman alphabet has been on the boil these days. Political power has made a decision that compulsory Ottoman language course will be a part of the curriculum in secondary schools. This decision has created a new division again in Turkish society.

In his book *Modernization In Turkey* (2002), Berkes focuses on some processes in the Ottoman Empire. Berkes states that Turkish was the language of daily life. However, the language of those in administration was a rich language consisting of many words from Arabic, Persian, Romaic and various Slav languages. This language developed as a language which was not understood by the society (p. 255). Ottoman Empire could not manage to be secular in language just as it did in many other areas. Berkes states that Bible was translated into French, English, German and other Roman-Slav languages, but religious language was not used as public language in these languages, which was contrary to the circumstances in the Ottoman Empire (p.256). Ottomans did not allow Koran to be printed, and reading Koran in its original language was viewed a sort of merit and qualification. Learning Arabic language also became compulsory since students had to go to Madrasah for their education. Ottomans did not allow Koran to be translated into Turkish either. The idea of translating Koran into Turkish was a tough job even during the Republican period. Koran was translated into Turkish in the 20th century for the first time. Since the education language was Arabic due to Islam, Turkish language was not a part of education facilities in the Ottoman Empire and therefore Turkish language could not be developed. Both in education facilities and in administrative level, Turkish language could not find the value it deserved (p. 257). Assigning Turks to the chambers of translation in Bab-I Ali in Istanbul started to decrease the influence of the Ottoman

The Reflection Of The Dichotomy Of Culture And Ideology On Language In
Turkey: An Analysis Of Ideological Production In Newspapers' Crosswords

413

language, but this time, French influence started to rise. French influenced Turkish not only in terms of vocabulary and style but also in terms of terms and meaning. Divan literature which included Arabic and Persian words made the understanding of the literary works difficult, and Turkish literature became unproductive during Tanzimat Reform era (p.258). In 1870s, Mahmut II thought that it was not rational to conduct education in French in the Faculty of Medicine, and he therefore made Ottoman Turkish language obligatory. This clearly meant that Ottoman Empire was against conducting education in Arabic and French languages. However, it was too late since it was not possible to remove Arabic and French words in Turkish (p. 259). Berkes often emphasizes the fact that Ottoman language was a difficult one and that ordinary people in the society had difficulties in understanding it. According to Berkes, developing press in the Ottoman Empire helped the simplification of the language. This was performed especially by the intellectuals of the time who were involved in press and literature. Intellectuals were also very close with France and French people (p.262). They brought the idea of switching to Latin alphabet to fore. According to these intellectuals, the main reason of illiteracy in Turkish population was Arabic alphabet (p.265).

Ottoman Empire announced Turkish as obligatory language in the 16th century. However this was a language consisting of a combination of Turkish-Arabic-Persian-Farsi, which is far more different than the language used by ordinary people. This language established and perpetuated a social hierarchy between administration and public before Tanzimat Reform era (Timisi, 2003, p. 133). During the Ottoman Empire, a great gap between spoken and written language came into being. Spoken language was simple while written language was tough and demanding. The press whose foundations were laid in Tanzimat Reform era defended the simplification of the written language, and newspapers followed a policy in line with this motivation. In other words, they aimed to close the gap between the spoken and the written language, that is, the gap between the rulers and the public. The Young Turks movement also defended to give importance to Turkish language, and made attempts to make Turkish an international language. In other words, they defended the idea of Turkism (Nationalism). However, they employed a language policy that contained Turkish-Muslim unity without excluding Islam. In 1922 in Grand National Assembly of Turkey and in 1923 in a conference, Atatürk emphasized the contradiction between religion and language by stating that the language of religion should be Turkish. Religious Affairs Administration had Turkish sermons in mosques in 1927. In this period, Koran was translated into Turkish even though it received negative reactions. Some newspapers like Vakit, Milliyet and Iktam defended worshipping in Turkish language, however there were also opposing views. As a result of the struggles of Atatürk, ezan was recited in Turkish for the first time in 1932. This tradition continued until 1950. After 1950, ezan was recited again in Arabic. An additional article stating that the official language of Turkish Republic was Turkish was added to the constitution of 1924 (Timisi, 2003, p. 133-140). Timisi (p. 139-140) interprets such circumstances as attempts to build a nation state. Grand National Assembly of Turkey was founded In April 23, 1920, and Turkish Republic with a republican regime was founded in October 29, 1923. New Regime added an article stating that Turkish was official language (3rd article) to the constitution in 1924. And another article (4th article) declared that the founding principles of the Republic, the first three articles, could not be removed or changed and that even a proposal regarding such issues was strictly banned.

New regime gave great importance to Turkish language. Atatürk even claimed that Turkish was the mother of all languages under the heading of Sun Language Theory (Timisi, 2003, p. 139). Various researchers all around the world were invited to Turkey in order to carry out researches. Researchers were also sent to different countries. For this reason, Atatürk founded the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography (one of the

most prestigious faculties in modern Turkey) in Ankara University. Alphabet reform was carried out, and Latin alphabet was used (1928). Subsequent to such developments, Turkish Historical Society and Turkish Language Society were founded. Studies focusing on the purification and simplification of Turkish language were supported, and Turkish language was able to be purified as a consequence of the concept of Turkish nationalism of Atatürk. Arabic and Persian noun phrases were removed from the language. However, such extreme nationalist policies caused ethnic discussions in today's Turkey since the languages of other nations living in this geography even before Turks were ignored, which resulted in a conflict between Turkish and Kurdish languages in Turkey.

Westernization strategies, the foundations of which were laid in the 17th century in parallelism with the socio-political progress in the world, have continued from the Tanzimat Reform Era to our day without interruption. Turkey wanted to be a part of Europe. In this respect, it took the first step by applying for a membership to European Economic Community (European Union) in July 31, 1959. The application was accepted in 1963, and negotiation process officially started in December 1, 1964. Each new progress deepened the ideological polarization, and Turkey had to run through some cultural changes due to European orientation process. This process still continues.

The developments in science in the western countries had also great impact on Turkish language. The hegemony of English language in today's world has started to influence Turkish language. At first, Arabic and Persian languages were seen as a symbol of excellence while it was French language in the 19th century which symbolized prestige. And now it is English language, and many terms in English have been used in Turkish. To be more precise, the two most significant universities of Turkey, Boğaziçi University and Middle East Technical University, owe their prestigious position to their education language in English. Universities the education language of which is English accept students having a higher score compared to the other universities in Turkey (Yağcıoğlu, 2005, p. 138). Private universities which were founded after 1982 also give education in English. Speaking a foreign language is a privilege and a sign of elitism. However, speaking an oriental language means obscurantism while speaking a western language is associated with excellence.

Habertürk columnist Ahmet Altan wrote an article in which he claimed that the basic cause of the polarization in Turkey was not religious but cultural. Altan stated that the polarization between conservatives and modern people was not because of religion but of western-eastern lifestyles. Emphasizing that conservative ideology became stronger whereas modern people became a minority, Altan stated that cultural polarization could be noticed in many areas from art to entertainment, from food culture to clothes and from education to science. He also added that religious people became more religious while modern people started to become more alienated to religious traditions in reaction to such a transformation in the structure of the society. At this point, he also alleged that the gap between these two factions became deeper and more visible (Altan, *Habertürk,*June, 15, 2007).

Within this respect, what is the reflection of this long historical process on Turkish language in terms of signs and word numbers? According to a study conducted in 1900 (Kâmûs-ı Türkî), total word number in Turkish is 29,000. The distribution of the words in accordance with their origin is as follows: Turkish 11,000, Arabic 13,000, Persian 3,700, Western languages 1,300. Another study carried out in 1969 indicated that the word number in Turkish was 28,800. This number is distributed as follows: Turkish 17,500, Arabic 5,300, Persian 1,000 and Western languages 4,000. In a study conducted in 1944, it is stated that there are 2,652 words belonging to the westerns languages. This number rose to 6,955 in 2005 (Vural & Böler: 2008, p. 59-62).

The number of meaning in the 10th edition of Updated Turkish Dictionary in 2005 is 104481. Only 77,407 of this number are signs/words (Hızlan, *Hürriyet*, November, 19, 2005). Turkish Language Society (TDK) assessed the number of signs/words as 111,027 in Updated Turkish Dictionary in 2010. 14,438 of these words have foreign origins. The distribution of the words of foreign origin is as follows: Arabic 6,467, French 5253, Persian 1359, English 485, Romaic 400, German 98, Italian 89, Latin 78, Greek 48, Russian 44, Spanish 485, Armenian 24, Slavic 24, Sogdian 24, Bulgarian 19, Hungarian 9, Japanese 9, Hebrew 7, Mongolian 4, Portuguese 3, Norwegian 2, Finnish 2, Korean 1 and Albanian 1.

Analyzing how conservatives and modern people make use of Turkish in their daily lives is important in order to indicate the polarization in the society. Even if we do not consider some differences like accent, ethnicity, dialect in Turkish language, the use of standard Turkish reveals an individual's worldview. Modern people prefer to use Turkish signs and words while conservatives make use of Arabic signs and words. To exemplify, modern people say "Good Morning" whereas conservatives use the phrase "Have a nice morning" which has religious connotation related to Arabic. Modern people prefer "Merhaba" meaning 'hello' in Arabic and conservatives say "Selamün aleyküm/Aleyküm selam meaning 'Peace be with you' in Arabic which is a religious way of greeting. In a similar way, "Kendine iyi bak" meaning "take care of yourself" is used by modern people while "Allah'a emanet ol" meaning "May God protect you" is preferred more by conservatives. Modern people also use "Umarım" meaning "I hope" unlike conservatives who use "inşallah" in Arabic. Modern people also choose Turkish words like "deneyim" meaning experience and "bilim" meaning science whereas conservatives again prefers Arabic words like "tecrübe" meaning experience and "ilim" meaning science. It is possible to give many such examples which will function as a direct symbol of cultural and ideological polarization in Turkey.

Media is one of the strongest systems in ideology production in today's world. And media literature is unanimous about the fact that media showed great success in shaping societies or in subordinating a society to capitalist order. The analyses above support this argument. However, the following part focuses on how media produce ideology through entertainment since crosswords which will be focused are a part of media entertainment. Media, especially Turkish media, acts ideologically even in entertainment contents. In other words, media produces the ideology of the social fraction it supports through its publication policies, and such an inclination can even be observed in the crosswords of the newspapers which are indeed a part of entertainment in daily life. That is, free time activities have been functionalized as a means to produce and reinforce ideology by means of linguistic signs.

Ideology Embedded In Entertainment Part of Media

While media entertains audiences, it simultaneously injects ideology into subconsciousness. Entertainment contents invisibly present ideology. In the entertainment part of the media, people cannot notice ideology infiltrating into their subconsciousness. Generally, ideology is consciously loaded in contents fictionalised. Any sort of entertainment contents, broadcasted especially by televisions, include ideologies both in material and spiritual dimensions. Moreover, cinema sector also has a great success in conveying ideologies simultaneously while entertaining people. Ideological attitudes can be encountered in entertainment contexts of newspapers. In modern societies, computer games also include ideologies.

Todd Gitlin (1979), in his work, focused on the relation between entertainment and ideology in order to explain how hegemonic culture or commercial culture can be turned into a kind of commodity itself within societies by mass media, especially by commercial televisions in the USA. According to Gitlin, formal conventions of American television entertainment support a larger hegemonic structure (Gitlin, 1979, p. 251):

> Television entertainment is also an ideological field, and must have played a part in formulating and crystallizing the cultural tendencies of the sixties; surely it deserves extensive treatment of its own." (Gitlin, 2003, p. 18)

Gitlin states in his book *The Whole World Is Watching* (2003) that television through its entertainment content produces ideology not only with regards to the abstract but also with regards to the material. To put it differently, the phenomenon of consumption, ensuring the continuity of capitalist system, is produced by means of the entertainment section of media at the same time (Gitlin, 2003, 255, 267). Thus, entertainment context convey ideology to audience both ideationally and materially. Gitlin's statement clarifies the situation as such,

> Commercial culture does not manufacture ideology; it relays and reproduces and processes and packages and focuses ideology that is constantly arising both from social elites and from active social groups and movements throughout the society (as well as within media organizations and practices)." (Gitlin, 1979, p. 253).

Entertainment industry is one of the paramount sectors of societies. While people have fun in their leisure time, they acquire ideology. In other words, we must recognise the centers of power fictionalising entertainment contents. In terms of entertainment industry in the world market, the USA has the largest share which is why American culture becomes hegemonic all over the world. The reason why American culture is known as popular culture is owing to this fact.

Cinema and television series in which entertainment and ideology are presented together and produced by culture industry are major media elements. Every film can be qualified political because they are created by the ideology of the producer (Büker and Topçu, 2008, p. 103). The cinema providing communication through arts around the world reproduces things refracted by the ideology, and the elements constituting the cinema such as the objects, styles, semantics, the manner of narration express the general ideological discourse of the subject (Büker and Topçu, 2008, p. 104). All types of films are ideological (Büker and Topçu, 2008, p. 105). In this respect, Hollywood films produced before and after the Vietnam War can effectively exemplify the situation with their content of American nationalism which represents and reproduces the aggression and the psychology of defeat in the course of exploitation.

In cinema and television industry, USA has therefore a major part; the lifestyles of the Americans are followed by millions of people, and such lifestyles spread to the different parts of the world by means of this media policy. The culture in the world is shaped by American culture. Wherever you go, it is not possible to come across someone who does not know anything about the USA. USA imposes its culture to the world through the mass media and entertainment industry, especially through cinema. Hollywood is a brand introducing USA to the world as a powerful, successful, developed country.

Another important way of conveying ideology is computer game, an important element of the entertainment industry. The computer games bear the ideological elements of the culture in which they are produced. At the same time, there are parties which struggle

The Reflection Of The Dichotomy Of Culture And Ideology On Language In
Turkey: An Analysis Of Ideological Production In Newspapers' Crosswords

417

against each other in the games. In some games the decent party struggles against the evil, and these decent and evil parties symbolize some groups of people or cultures in the world. This makes the computer games ideological. Especially in computer games having race and war themes, ideology is represented more effectively. In their work *Do Computer Games Contain Ideology?* (2008) İnal and Kiraz put forward that educational and commercial games also produce ideology. Inal and Kiraz note that computer games have dramatic influences on the youth. The most negative aspect of the computer games according to İnal and Kiraz (2008, p. 533) is that computer games are extremely politicized. Sicart (2014) who carried out a study on the computer game *The Sims* also emphasizes on the fact that computer games produce ideology.

Newspapers are responsible report current events to public. Events and problems about all aspects of life are reflected in newspapers. Current events, sports, recipes, alternative medicine suggestions, astrology, sexual issues, cultural items, arts, religion, technology, science are among the daily subjects included in newspapers. Some newspapers daily or weekly publish additional supplements including entertainment stuff, recipes, arts, literature, and sports. Two of the bestselling newspapers in Turkey, *Posta* (the second with 400.000 daily circulation) and *Sözcü (the fourth with 353.000 daily circulation)* give three-full-page crossword supplements. One of the reasons for *Posta* to be the second newspaper in terms of circulation number is its daily crossword supplement as uttered by some intellectuals. Crosswords are prepared to entertain readers; however the question styles and the answers in the crosswords are consistent with the publication policies of the newspaper companies. As Bourdieu notes (1998), the position of a newspaper in the social space influences and shapes all the content of the newspaper.

The Role of Crosswords in Newspapers

Crosswords are a part of the entertainment content of mass media. People are interested in having fun while solving puzzles. Answering the questions in crosswords actually means learning new concepts and thoughts. However people do not notice the ideological dimension of the crosswords because of the delight they feel. Crosswords in each newspaper differ in terms of the content they cover. Although newspapers use the same methods and techniques while preparing crosswords, they cover particular topics coherent with their ideology. This situation is very compatible with Marx's statement *"They do not know it, but are doing it." P*eople just solve puzzles; nevertheless they do not know that their thoughts are reshaped.

It is essential to mention the value of the mystery which attracts and intrigues people. People pursue mysterious things in their social lives. Reaching and knowing mysterious or secret things has been the only aim of human beings throughout the history. Similarly the main objective of all fields of science is to discover the secrets of life and nature. Human beings dedicate their lives to find out mysteries or confidential things. Solving puzzles therefore makes people feel contented and self-confident since they feel that they unearth something secret (Eco, 2003, p. 41). And crosswords should be analyzed within this respect.

In his study, Ben Tausig states that curiosity is the innate motivation to know. It is what compels us to explore what a noisy commotion is about, what moves toddlers to persistently ask "why?" and perhaps what drives our scientific inquiries. He also argues that there are other beings that are curious, however he considers human beings as species hungry for knowledge. According to him, crosswords are produced for curious people. The appearance of the crosswords incites the feeling of solving a riddle. In the beginning, when it is not filled with letters by solvers, nothing is known. However, when

the solver starts to answer each question, he/she seems to have a feeling of success and the mysteries and oddities of the universe in which individuals live become known and obvious. Solvers engaged with crosswords for a long time know such a feeling well. Each day, their curiosity is satisfied by solving, finding out and discovering the unknown (Tausig, 2013, p. 5). Crosswords do not improve the logic of the individuals; they are just a game of knowledge. As Tausig states, *"Crosswords are, at their core, games of knowledge. They are not games of wisdom or cleverness or logic—though each plays a role—but of being schooled in a certain set of facts and ideas"* (Tausig, 2013, p. 9).

Crosswords include questions from every segment of daily life. The main element of the crosswords is the knowledge that can be placed in ordinary knowledge. Still and all, the most crucial resource for people who prepare crosswords is the language itself. Words, synonyms, old and new usages of words or their structures constitute a huge resource. In this study, the emphasis is on the choice of words and the knowledge belonging to different domains of life within the crossword because individuals always choose or prefer something in their daily lives. There are various factors which influence choices. It is possible to gather all these factors under one category: philosophy of life, that is to say, ideology.

When crosswords and ideological manipulations are considered, the first newspaper to be mentioned is *Yeni Akit* whose old name was *Anadolu'da Vakit*. In an interview, Fatih Uğurlu, responsible for preparing crosswords, responded the question *"Do you feel the obligation to give messages in your crosswords?''* as follows: He considers that people spend their time in a fruitful way while solving crosswords. He states that the reason for including ideological questions into crosswords is to make people learn what is happening in Turkey (Coşkun, interview with Uğurlu, *Vakit Gazetesi*, Dec 27th, 2007). Questions covering ideological items or content are very widespread in the crosswords prepared by Uğurlu. Some of the examples are as follows. The answer of the question *"Who is the religious leader living like a prisoner in the USA?"* is Fethullah Gülen while another question is *"Who is the parliamentarian who deceived the political party of which he was a member?"* and the answer is İdris Bal. Another question is *"Who is the musician who is hostile to women covering their heads?"* and the answer is Fazıl Say. Crosswords have been transformed into a tool by which ideology can be spread and taught. People can learn the differences, discussions and conflicts between individuals or institutions even while having fun, and newspapers can be so subjective or biased even with the use of the crosswords.

Methodology

In the study, the crosswords of five national newspapers have been

In this study, the crosswords of 5 daily national-political newspapers were investigated (01-10 June 2014, in total 50 crosswords). A number of different criteria were taken into account in order to sample newspapers. The publication policy and social space of the newspapers are among the most important criteria. In this respect, critical discourse analysis was employed. According to T. A. Van Dijk (1993. 2001), critical discourse analysis indeed investigates texts constructing discourse from social-cultural and socio-economic perspectives. In other words, hidden meanings construct discourse and make them visible. And this study analyzed crosswords, a visible phenomenon, in order to uncover implicit cultural and ideological polarization in the society. Data in the study was collected through content analysis method and was interpreted by means of critical discourse theory. In this respect, this study has actually multi-methodological method.

The names of the newspapers are *Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Zaman* and *Yeni Akit.* *Cumhuriyet* is a leftist newspaper with nationalist tendencies and secular republican values. It is at the same time known as an opinion newspaper[3]. The other two newspapers, *Hürriyet, Milliyet*, have a liberal policy; and the last two, *Yeni Akit, Zaman*, have a conservative Islamic policy. *Zaman* is similar to *Cumhuriyet* since it is also known as an opinion newspaper.

Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Zaman and *Yeni Akit* have been published since 1923, 1948, 1950, 1986 and 1993, respectively. These newspapers have a long history of publishing. While choosing samples, publishing policies, establishment dates and circulation rates were taken into consideration. *Zaman* is the first newspaper in terms of circulation number in Turkey (approximately 1 million). *Hürriyet* is in the third rank (approximately 380.000) while *Milliyet* is in the ninth rank (approximately 160.000) and *Yeni Akit* is in the nineteenth place (approximately 60.000). As to *Cumhuriyet*, it is the twenty third newspaper (approximately 52.000) in terms of circulation number. All of the newspapers have daily crossword puzzles. The crosswords of the sample newspapers are analyzed under the etymologies of the words (the answers of the questions).

Hence, in this part of the study, four main categories of language are established. The words have been analyzed under the titles of Turkish, Arabic, Persian and Western languages. In the analysis, two distinct Turkish Language dictionaries published by Turkish Language Society (TDK) have been utilised. Proper nouns, place names, musical notes, abbreviation of elements and words with two letters are not included in the analysis. Etymology of some words could not be found. In total 1665 words have been examined etymologically. The number of the words covered in each newspaper is as follows. The differences between the numbers result from different number of questions included in newspapers.

- *Cumhuriyet*   : 229
- *Hürriyet*   : 444
- *Milliyet*   : 365
- *Zaman*   : 313
- *Yeni Akit*   : 304

Findings

As a result of etymological investigation, it has been found out that there is a parallel connection between the etymological origins of the words and the publication policies of the newspapers. Newspapers supporting nationalist/modernist/western values mostly use words having either Turkish or Western origin while newspapers having a conservative publication policy prefer words having eastern origins. And the words having western origins usually belong to French language as mentioned in the previous parts. It is also important to point out that words and signs having Greek origin take second place among the other words of western origin. Graphic 1 and 2 show the distribution of words into categories of Turkish, Arabic, Persian and Western Languages. When they are examined, it is obvious that *Cumhuriyet* (49,34 %) is in the first place in terms of Turkish. The newspaper following *Cumhuriyet* is *Hürriyet* (49,32 %). The ratios of these two

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[3] There is a classification of newspaper genres in Turkey, the genre defined as opinion newspapers accomodate more column writings and, are on more serious issues such as politics, economy and etc.

newspapers are almost the same. Moreover, 50 % of the words they preferred to use are the ones with Turkish root. It can be stated that the crosswords of *Cumhuriyet* and *Hürriyet* are in line with their publishing policies. In this category, *Yeni Akit* is the third, *Milliyet* is the fourth and *Zaman* is the last. The results showed that the newspaper which used most Arabic word is *Yeni Akit* (38,66 %). The second is *Milliyet*(35,34 %) whereas *Zaman* (34,87 %) is the third place. The ratios of *Zaman* and *Milliyet* are approximately the same. It can clearly be viewed that, excluding *Milliyet*, there is an analogy between the publishing policies and the crosswords of *Zaman* and *Yeni Akit* in terms of using Arabic words. In *Milliyet*, *Zaman* and *Yeni Akit*, Arabic word category has the highest percentage which is even higher than Turkish.

In the category that shows the usage of western languages, *Cumhuriyet*has the highest rate. *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Zaman* have almost the same ratio (approximately 22 %). *Yeni Akit* whose publishing policy is consistent with conservatism has the lowest rate in terms of using western languages. Its having the lowest rate (11,82 %) and *Cumhuriyet*'s (26,64 %) having the highest rate are the expected results. *Yeni Akit* does not approve western life style. The fact that they preferred to use less words from western languages than the other ones did can be due to this view. It is necessary to state that *Cumhuriyet* used more words from western languages than Arabic words. In *Hürriyet*, the ratio is the same for words of western and Arabic origins. In other words, *Hürriyet* is also a newspaper which tends to use more words from western languages.

In the use of another eastern language, Persian, *Yeni Akit* (11,82 %) and *Zaman* (11,51 %) are the top two newspapers. The third one is *Milliyet* (9,32 %) while the fourth is *Cumhuriyet* (6,55 %) and last one is *Hürriyet* (4,73). When the ratios of the usage of Persian are taken into consideration, the consistency between the newspapers and their publishing policies is noteworthy.

Graphic 1: The distribution of the words in the newspaper in terms of etymology.
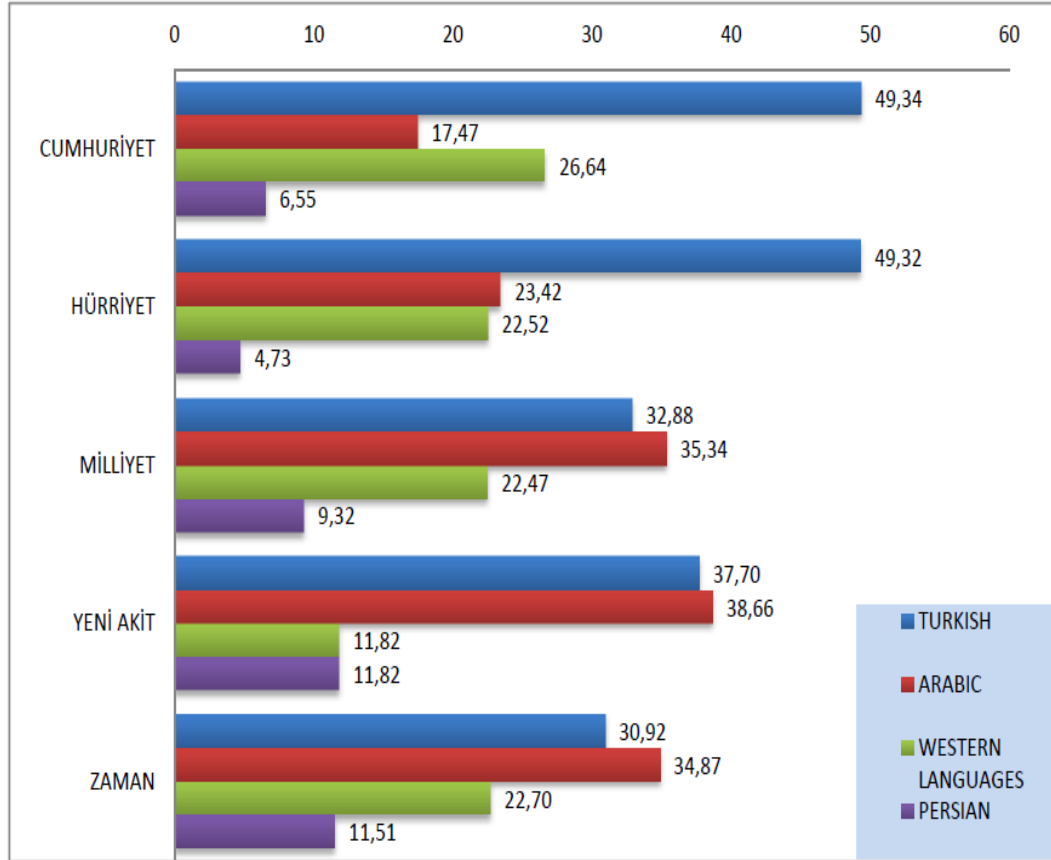
If the situation is assessed in general, newspapers which are nationalist, modernist, leftist or partly leftist tend to use Turkish words. In terms of the preference of words from western languages, the ratio is higher in these newspapers when compared to the other ones. In the newspapers which are conservative, words of Arabic origin have the highest rate. After Arabic, Turkish is the second mostly used language in the crosswords of these newspapers. The use of Turkish is in the second place in these newspapers. The ratio of the words from western languages is on the decline when compared to Turkish and Arabic words. It can be argued that newspapers produce the cultures of the societies to which they feel close with the help of crosswords. While Islamic newspapers use Arabic which has a central role for Islam, the nationalist, modernist and leftist newspapers opt for using words of western origins. The percentage of using Persian is also higher in conservative newspapers (*Yeni Akit* and *Zaman*) than the others. Persian is another crucial language for Islam.

In this category, the situation of *Milliyet* is intriguing since there is not much consistency between its publishing policies and crosswords. It is surprising that the ratio of *Milliyet* which has the same publishing policy with *Hürriyet* has a tendency for eastern culture. *Hürriyet* gave the expected result in terms of publishing policy with a high ratio. However, the same results could not be found in *Milliyet* which is in the same category in terms of publishing policies.

Graphic 2: The distribution of the words in the newspaper in terms of language etymology.
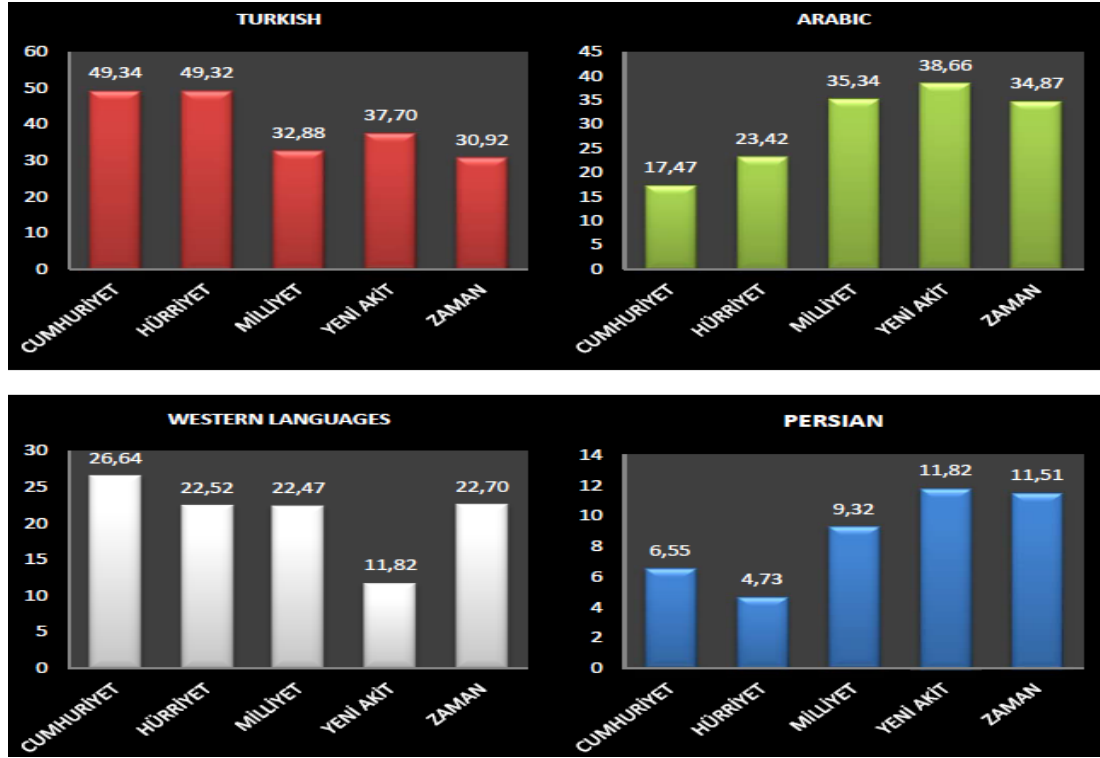
It is a well-known fact that newspapers produce the ideology of the broadcasting corporation to which they are subjected. In many studies, it has been stated that it is realized with the help of entertainment. In this study, crosswords in daily newspapers have been examined. The analysis showed that the questions in the crosswords have a direct relationship with their newspapers' publishing policies in the sense of etymology. Except for *Milliyet,* the manner *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet*, *Yeni Akit* and *Zaman* have is consistent with the ideologies they represent. The results of *Milliyet* are partly in contrast to the expected results. While newspapers which have an Islamic publishing policy mostly preferred to use words from eastern languages (Arabic and partly Persian), the percentage of the use of words from Turkish or western languages was pretty high in the newspapers which are nationalist, leftist and liberal. Newspapers like *Yeni Akit* and *Zaman* prepared their crosswords with Arabic words while *Cumhuriyet* and *Hürriyet* mostly opted for the words with Turkish roots. Turkish words in *Cumhuriyet* are not even in the first place, they fall behind thwords from western languages which have the first place. The percentage of the words from western languages is also high and they have the third place in *Hürriyet.*

Conclusion

Ideological and cultural polarization can be observed in every aspect of life in Turkey. Even crosswords which are considered to be a simple entertainment means also function

423

The Reflection Of The Dichotomy Of Culture And Ideology On Language In Turkey: An Analysis Of Ideological Production In Newspapers' Crosswords

as an instrument to produce and reinforce ideology. Individuals become a part of capitalist hegemony day by day, and they actualize themselves through this system in an illusionary way. Ideology is everywhere, and it is therefore not possible to run away even from daily life activities which have indeed hidden ideological layers.

Ideology is in the service of capital, and newspapers which have been analyzed in the previous parts are intellectually and financially supported by the ideological and cultural fractions they represent. In return, they produce the worldview of the fraction they belong to. Since capital and financial income are always at stake, newspapers are ready to carry out what is necessary to increase their circulation numbers. Newspapers are also so skilful in terms of adaptation to new political atmosphere. In other words, newspapers function as instruments which deepen the ideological and cultural polarization in the country. In the theoretical part of this study, the development of Turkish press in the Ottoman Empire is an example of this process. And expecting newspapers to be neutral in their publication policies is not possible in societies like Turkey in which ideologies are put into practice in a harsh way.

Language is a mechanism that represents and reacts to ideology as it has been revealed by this study. Turkish society has always been in interaction with other civilizations throughout the history, and cultural exchanges and transformations have therefore been experienced. However, Turkish language has not been able to find an opportunity to develop in terms of Turkish words and signs since Turkish society has chosen either West or East instead of constituting its own life style within its own culture.

Turkey is situated between Europe and Asia geographically. It is also located in a region culturally between Asia and Europe, which can clearly be viewed in language and lifestyle. At this point, Turkey itself does not want to be a part of East, and West does not want Turkey to be a part of its own civilization as it is. Today's political tendency in Turkey is conservatism, and the current ruling government has even created a term called 'conservative democracy' in order to clarify the political circumstances in Turkey. Turkish language is still being shaped by the current ruling government, and conservative party leaders prefer to use Arabic words by making use of Turkish grammar. Even leftist party leaders who assume that using conservative terminology will bring success have started to use some signs and expressions in line with the linguistic habitus of the ruling government. The cultural and ideological polarization the foundations of which were laid in the 8th century still continues in a sharper way today, and Turkish language function as a mirror of this polarization process.

It is considerably easy to deduce an individual's political stance by taking his use of words and expressions into account. Even if all other ideological signs are omitted, the use of language reveals an individual's worldview, and individuals are rarely aware of this incident. Especially, middle and lower middle classes make use of language in an ideological way, yet they cannot understand such a process. Crosswords in the newspapers function similarly and impose some ideological messages on individual's subconsciousness implicitly.

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The Reflection Of The Dichotomy Of Culture And Ideology On Language In Turkey: An Analysis Of Ideological Production In Newspapers' Crosswords

425

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