

**MODAL ADVERBIALS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE: 7TH JUNE
2015 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN TURKEY**

MASTER'S THESIS

GÜLKAN DÖNER

**MERSİN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
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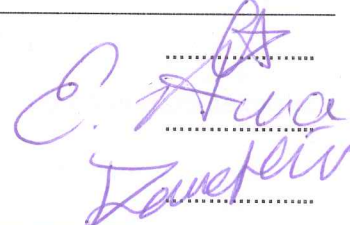
**ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
DEPARTMENT**

**Advisor:
Asst. Prof. Dr. Demet GÜL**

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ONAY

GÜLKAN DÖNER tarafından Dr. Öğr. Üy. Demet GÜL danışmanlığında hazırlanan "Politik Söylemde Kiplik Belirteçleri: Türkiye 7 Haziran 2015 Genel Seçim Söylemleri Üzerine" başlıklı çalışma aşağıda imzaları bulunan jüri üyeleri tarafından oy birliği ile Yüksek Lisans tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın ana konusu, Türkçede kiplik anlatımında kullanılan belirteçleridir. Kiplik belirteçleri, tek başlarına kiplik anlattıkları gibi, yüklemde işaretlenen kiplik anlamını da etkileyebilmektedirler (Palmer, 2001: 2; Hoye, 1997: 7). Bunun yanı sıra, önermenin doğruluk değerini etkilemektedirler. Bu açıdan değerlendirildiğinde, önermelerin doğruluk değerlerinin etkilenmesi politik söylemdeki kullanımının ayrı bir etki ve öneme sahip olmasını da sağlamaktadır. (Vukovic, 2014). Bu belirteçler, çoğu dilde, söylem belirleyici olarak değer kazanmaktadır. Pek çok dilbilim çalışması için de sıklıkla incelenen bir konu başlığı olduğunu söylemek mümkündür (Kocaman, 1988; Ruhi ve diğ., 1997; Palmer, 2001; Bybee ve diğ., 1994; Nuyts, 2001 vb.). Bütün bu etmenler, çalışmanın konusu olarak kiplik belirteçlerinin seçilmesinin başlıca nedenleridir. Çalışmamız, 2015 yılı 7 Haziran Genel Seçimlerine dek 20.02.2015 ile 23.04.2015 arasında gerçekleşen 33 meclis tutanağının söylemlerini (59.-92.oturum) kapsamaktadır. Amacımız iktidar ve ana muhalefet partilerin seçim söylemlerini bilgisel kiplik belirteçleri açısından inceleyerek, her iki partinin de hangi belirteçleri ne sıklıkta kullandıklarını belirlemektir. Elde edilecek sıklık verileri ise karşılaştırarak iki parti arasında politik söylemlerde kiplik belirteçleri açısından karşılaştırıp farklılıklar veya benzerlikler tespit etmektir. Bu tespit sonucunda Türkiye'deki politik söylemlerde kiplik belirteçlerinin kullanımı için bir genellemeye varılması hedeflenmektedir.

Bu çalışmadan elde edilecek sonuçlar, bu alanda Türkiye'de daha sonra yapılacak benzer ve belki daha kapsamlı çalışmalara örnek olabilecek nitelikte olması öngörülmektedir. Ayrıca söylemin aynı zamanda sosyolojik ve psikolojik bir olgu olması nedeniyle, çalışmamızın sonucunda ortaya konacak yargıların toplumbilim ve bilişsel psikoloji alanlarına da katkı sağlayabileceği umulmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, çalışmanın sonunda aşağıdaki temel araştırma sorularına yanıt bulmak hedeflenmektedir:

- i. İktidar partisinin 7 Haziran 2015 genel seçime yönelik söylemlerinde kullanılan güçlük kiplik belirteçleri ve kullanım sıklıkları ile ilgili bir genelleme yapmak olası mıdır?
- ii. Ana muhalefet partisinin 7 Haziran 2015 genel seçime yönelik söylemlerinde kullanılan güçlük kiplik belirteçleri ve kullanım sıklıkları ile ilgili bir genelleme yapmak olası mıdır?
- iii. İki partinin seçime yönelik söylemlerinde tercih edilen güçlük kiplik belirteçleri ve kullanım sıklıklarına bakarak politik söylemin kendine özgü özellikleri ile ilgili bir örüntü belirlenebilir mi?

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kiplik, Türkçe, Belirteç, Anlambilim, Politik Söylem, Söylem Çözümlemesi

Danışman: Dr. Öğr. Üy. Demet GÜL, İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, Mersin Üniversitesi, Mersin.

ABSTRACT

The main subject of this study are markers of modality expressions in Turkish. These modality markers, except for the fact that they describe modality alone, may also affect the meaning of the modality marked on the predicate (Palmer, 2001: 2; Hoyer, 1997: 7). Besides that, their accuracy of the target is impressive. So, according to Vukovic (2014), this feature needs to be evaluated in order to influence the assessment of the accuracy of the event, and to use it in political discourse in order to have a distinct impact and significance (Vukovic, 2014). Lately, these markers have also gained value as the determinants of discourse in language. Because of this, this subject has been investigated in many linguistic works as the main topic of their studies (Kocaman, 1988; Ruhi et al., 1997; Palmer, 2001; Bybee et al., 1994; Nuyts, 2001 etc.). All these factors led us to choose modality markers as the subject of our study, which constitutes of the rhetoric between the dates 20.02.2015 and 23.04.2015, holding 33 councils (59th – 92nd session) until the 7th June 2015 general elections in Turkey. Our aim was to examine the electoral rhetoric of the ruling and main opposition parties due to signs of modality, and to direct which kind of modalities both of them use. The ranking, which shows their frequency at hand, seeks differences or similarities between the two parties in political discourse compared due to epistemic modality symptoms. Via this comparison, it was expected to obtain a unique pattern showing a generalization for the use of epistemic modal adverbs in Turkish political discourse.

The results obtained in this study will be exemplary and are expected to lead to further more detailed studies. As discourse is also considered to be a sociological and psychological phenomenon, it is hoped that today's conclusions will also be evaluated in the fields of sociology and cognitive psychology.

At the end of the study, we aim to receive answers to the following basic research questions:

- i. Is it possible to make a generalization about the frequency usage of epistemic modality markers used by the Turkish government party AKP in its political speeches related to the general elections on the 7th June, 2015?
- ii. Is it possible to make a generalization about the frequency usage of epistemic modality markers used by the Turkish main opposite party CHP in its political speeches related to the general elections on the 7th June, 2015?
- iii. Is it possible to identify a certain pattern by examining which epistemic modality markers are preferred and how often they are used by both parties in their election speeches?

Trying to find answers to these research questions guided us to evaluate epistemic modality in a different perspective. As far as is known, epistemic modal power, though referred to in many studies and in many fields, has not been evaluated in a scalar position, which moves from weak to strong in a linear dimension by following certain criteria. Yet, we claim in our study that the epistemic modal power of utterances can be evaluated on a scalar basis, by meanwhile including to assess their agents, their scope of negation, their usage of modal adverbials and the situation types of their predicates.

Keywords: Modality, Turkish, Modal Adverbs, Political Discourse, Discourse Analysis

Advisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Demet GÜL, English Language and Literature Department, Mersin University, Mersin.

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LIST OF DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITION
Argument structure:	The word "argument" in linguistics does not have the same meaning as that word in common usage. When used in relation to grammar and writing, an argument is any expression or syntactic element in a sentence that serves to complete the meaning of the verb .
Critical Discourse Analysis:	<i>Critical discourse analysis</i> (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of <i>discourse</i> , or put simply talk and text, that views language as a form of social practice.
Deontic modality:	<i>Deontic modality</i> (abbreviated DEO) is a linguistic modality that indicates how the world ought to be according to certain norms, expectations, speaker desire, etc.
Discourse:	In linguistics , <i>discourse</i> refers to a unit of language longer than a single sentence . More broadly, <i>discourse</i> is the use of spoken or written language in a social context.
Discourse Analysis:	is a broad term for the study of the ways in which language is used between people, both in written texts and spoken contexts.
Dynamic modality:	Dynamic modality is concerned with the ability or volition of the subject of the sentence and so is not subjective like other modalities, hence is less centrally modal.
Epistemic modality:	is related to the speaker's belief or opinion about the validity of the proposition and is concerned with the speaker's assumptions or assessment of possibilities and, in most cases, indicates the speaker's confidence (or lack of confidence) in the truth of the proposition.
Event modality:	Event modality describes events that are not actualized but are merely potential. It comprises obligation, permission, commitment, ability, and volition.
Evidential modality:	Evidentiality deals with the source of information for the speaker's utterance. It indicates that the speaker has evidence for the proposition's factual status.
Inflection:	Inflection is the linguistic term for a morpheme that adds grammatical information to a word or a sign.
Irrealis:	refers to events that have not yet happened and are therefore unreal.
Lexical marker:	is a lexical item that signals a morphosyntactic operation.
Modal value:	it is possible to classify modal expressions as (1) high, (2) median, or (3) low value, according to the semantic effect of negating the modal as opposed to negating the proposition under the modal.
Modal adverb:	adverbs that express likelihood, e.g. possibility, necessity and obligation.
Modality:	the essence of "modality" consists in the relativization of the validity of sentence meanings to a set of possible worlds. Is is also 'the speaker's cognitive, emotive, or volitive attitude toward a state of affairs'
Modality markers:	are grammatical cues (linguistic or visual) that highlight degrees of modality (degrees of reality or truth).
Mood:	is a grammatical category which expresses the degree or kind of reality assigned to a sentence.
Morpho-syntactic marker:	is a derivation or inflection.

Particle:	A particle is a word that. does not belong to one of the main classes of words; is invariable in form, and; typically has grammatical or pragmatic meaning.
Political Discourse:	Political discourse: refers to the discourse practices engaged in by all actors – from politicians and organizations to citizens- in a political process.
Propositional modality:	epistemic and evidential modality can be defined as the term propositional modality, as both are concerned with the speaker's attitude to the truth-value or factual status of the proposition.
Realis:	A realis mood is a grammatical mood which is used principally to indicate that something is a statement of fact; in other words, to express what the speaker considers to be a known state of affairs, as in declarative sentences.
Reported evidence:	a term used for second-hand evidence, third-hand evidence and evidence from folklore.
Sensory evidence:	is the information received by means of the senses, particularly by observation and documentation of patterns and behavior through experimentation.
Situation type:	Situation type (otherwise known as aktionsart or lexical aspect) describes the inherent internal temporal structure of a situation which arises from its meaning. Speakers can choose a particular aspect, but cannot choose a situation type because the verb and its arguments determine this.
Speculative judgment:	sometimes called theoretical reason or pure reason, is theoretical (or ... It is also referred to as moral reason, because it involves action, <i>decision</i> , and particulars.
Suffix:	in linguistics, a <i>suffix</i> (sometimes termed postfix) is an affix which is placed after the stem of a word.
Syntactic marker:	In linguistics, a marker is a free or bound morpheme that indicates the grammatical function of the marked word, phrase, or sentence. Most characteristically, markers occur as clitics or inflectional affixes. In analytic languages and agglutinative languages, markers are generally easily distinguished.

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we are going to introduce the topic of this study, explain the research purpose and its questions, we hope to find answers to, as well as state the importance of this study, put forward our hypotheses and finally describe the study's limitations.

In many countries, including Turkey, linguists are occupied with critical discourse analysis studies related to political discourse. Some adopt a pragmatic point of view and focus on researching politeness in political discourse (David et al., 2009; Bevitori, 2004; Yetkin, 2006) while others investigate techniques expressing kindness and hostility (Fenton-Smith, 2008) or pronouns, indicating politeness (Illie, 2010).

The concept of modality in political discourse is also of interest in literature and therefore a very often studied topic because by using modality markers, it is possible to add trust, truth and probability meanings to utterances (Hoye, 2008). But these studies focus whether on the cognitive code of the modality category or aim to question the features of the argumentative text. Studies dealing directly with the effect of modality markers on political discourse are rather rare (Simon-Vandenberg, 1997).

But revealing that modality markers may express modality on their own as well as change the modality meaning of the marked predicate (Palmer, 2001: 2; Hoye, 1997: 7) helped to draw linguistic attention on them. Besides, stating that they affect the truth value of the related propositions, demonstrated without doubt, their significance and effectiveness in political discourse use (Vukovic, 2014). Additionally, it is a fact that modality markers are also more and more valued as discourse determiners in most languages, therefore, they are a frequently researched subject in many linguistic studies (Kocaman, 1988; Ruhi ve diğ., 1997; Palmer, 2001; Bybee ve diğ., 1994; Nuyts, 2001 vb.).

The work of Vukovic (2014) is one of the example studies which analyses modality markers in political discourse. In this study, Vukovic constitutes a corpus according to political discourse in Great Britain and discusses due to this data the usage of modality comparatively. Vukovic (2014) aimed with her work to determine strong epistemic modality markers in political discourse, to identify the most used ones among them and to detect their functions in this kind of discourse. This mentioned study was limited with the identification of strong epistemic modality markers.

Considering the differences in English and Turkish modality expression methods, it is likely that a study in Turkish language would reveal different findings. It is known that in Turkish, modality is often marked on the predicate but it also can take shape according to the related context and other predicate categories (Palmer, 2001: 45, Hoye, 1997: 1-7). Unfortunately, studies discussing Turkish political discourse do not seem to pay the deserved

attention to the effectiveness of modality markers in this kind of discourse. Therefore, being one of the rare studies in this concept, Aksu's work (2008) is considered to be valuable in that it serves as an example for examining the presentation of modality in Turkish political discourse. Nevertheless, besides trying to describe how modality is presented in political discourse, this study questions primarily how factuality is proposed in this kind of discourse. Aksu (2008) does not really put forward how modality markers act. But considering the fact that political discourse is essentially produced in order to convince the audience or listeners of a certain kind of thought to be real or true, it becomes obvious how important it is to examine modality markers especially due to their functions in this kind of discourse. Hopefully, further studies on this topic will help to discover and reveal typical features of political discourse related to modality markers.

1.1. Purpose of the Research

All these above mentioned factors led us to choose modality markers as a study topic. Therefore, the main purpose of this study was to examine which strong and weak epistemic modality markers the leading party and the main opposite party in Turkey use in political discourse and further, to what frequency they make use of them. Additionally, we are going to compare both parties' discourses in order to see if there are differences or similarities related to the preferred epistemic modality markers and their functions and frequencies. For Vuković (2014) also states in her work that the party in power and the opposition party use different modality markers in their speeches and claims that this difference affects political success. She adds that according to her researches, parties managing to add high truth values to their propositions while addressing the electors are much more successful.

For our main purpose we decided to examine parliamentary speeches of Turkey's leader party AKP and the main opposition party CHP made before the 7th June 2015 general elections in Turkey. We attempted to analyse the use of modality markers in both parties' speeches made in 33 parliamentary minutes.

1.2. Research Questions

In our study the purpose was to find answers to the following research questions:

- i. Is it possible to make a generalization about the frequency usage of epistemic modality markers used by the Turkish government party AKP in its political speeches related to the general elections on the 7th June, 2015?

- ii. Is it possible to make a generalization about the frequency usage of epistemic modality markers used by the Turkish main opposite party CHP in its political speeches related to the general elections on the 7th June, 2015?
- iii. Is it possible to identify a certain pattern by examining which epistemic modality markers are preferred and how often they are used by both parties in their election speeches? Is it possible to make a generalization using these patterns and define a continuum for epistemic power of utterances in Turkish?

1.3. Importance of the Study

The importance of the study is due to being the first to examine the usage and the frequency of the preferred strong and weak epistemic modality markers in Turkish political discourse. We hope that the results of this study will lead to general assumptions about the usage of epistemic modality markers in Turkish political discourse and also constitute an example for further similar or even more comprehensive studies of the same kind. Considering that discourse is as well a social as a psychological phenomenon, it can be assumed that the outcomes and conclusions may also contribute to the fields of sociology and cognitive psychology.

1.4. Hypotheses

1. The preference of certain epistemic modality markers and usage frequencies preferred by the government party, AKP, and the main opposition party, CHP, in their parliamentary speeches related to the 7th June 2015 general elections, are going to show differences.
2. The argumentative power of political discourse is going to show variances due to interaction of other kinds of modality markers, tense and aspect markers with epistemic modality markers.
3. Epistemic power of an utterance is to be defined in terms of a continuum where more than one sentential elements, namely the situation type of the predicative element, the arguments of the predicate, negation and realis modal meaning, are regarded and valued.

1.5. Limitations

Our study aimed to analyze only verbal parliamentary speeches of Turkey's leader party AKP and the main opposition party CHP made before the 7th June 2015 general elections in

Turkey. For this purpose, we examined 33 parliamentary minutes, from the 59th session (20.02.2015) to the 92nd session (23.04.2015). Texts like columns, news and commentaries related to the 7th June general elections were not evaluated. Political speeches of other Turkish parties were also not included in his study. Our data consists only of epistemic modality markers appearing in the chosen data, other modality markers like inflectional suffixes and verbal modality markers were only included in the study if they affected the meanings of the epistemic modality markers or were themselves affected by these markers.



2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This section is going to give a short review of literature about the following topics: discourse, context, textuality, discourse analysis and corpora, critical discourse analysis, political discourse, mood and odal systems, modality and finally modality in Turkish.

2.1. Discourse

Language is generally known as a tool for communication; however, it is at the same time one for controlling. Thus, language can be explained within the context of how the human mind is constructed and controlled. The question of how this is done, finds its answers in the domain of 'discourse' (Yağcıoğlu, 2002a: 20). This term is widely used within sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, but its definition varies across the branches of these disciplines, 'integrating a whole palette of meanings' (Titscher et al., 2000, p.42). For example, the linguists Brown and Yule (1983), describe discourse as 'language in use', while Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) define it as 'an extended piece of text, which has some form of internal organisation, coherence or cohesion' (in Mills, 1997:9). To Fairclough (1989), discourse is language as a form of social practice, meaning that 'language is a part of society and not somehow external to it...and it is a socially conditioned process, conditioned by non-linguistic parts of society' (Fairclough, 1989:2). He further states, that the term refers to 'the whole process of interaction of which a text is just a part' (Fairclough, 1989, p.24). Baker (2006: 3), on the other hand, points out that in traditional linguistics, discourse is defined as either 'language above the sentence or above the clause'. Meaning, in other words, that language cannot only be analysed on the level of the phoneme or morpheme, the word, the clause or the sentence, but also on the text level. Resulting in that language should not be solely analysed as an abstract set of rules, but also as a tool for social action (Bhatia, Flowerdew & Jones, 2008:1).

This definition of discourse is essential in that it leads us to explain what is meant by analyzing language on a text level. Widdowson (2007) refers to text as an actual and purposeful use of language or a piece of language without any necessity to be interpreted correctly. The term text includes the purpose or intention of its producer but not necessarily what is interpreted by it. When people hear the word 'text' they tend to associate it with only written forms but text covers both written and spoken use of language. When we locate a text in a context and include its interpretations by the receivers, it gains the qualities to be called a discourse. Discourse then, can be described as a realized use of language in context, which includes both intentions of the producer and interpretation of the receiver. Context of discourse should not be understood as including only physical settings, its range covers both abstract and physical ones. Sociolinguistic, historical and also political settings in which discourses realize

are essential components of context which qualify texts as discourse. Schematic structure, intertextuality, and intentionality of texts can be considered as main determiners for discourse. Thus Fairclough (1995, p.14) defines discourse as “a way of signifying a particular domain of social practice from a particular perspective”.

From the day we were born, we are exposed to different discourses that the society we live in has developed over thousands of years. These discourses include identities which we learn and practice from the beginning of our lives to the end. We display several roles such as male-female, father, son, husband, wife, student, teacher in our daily lives and learn how to react to certain events by playing those roles. In Turkish society, for example, it is a reality that male children are encouraged to swear publicly while girls are raised in a repressive way to act silently. We further learn how to express ourselves as boys or girls by using particular discourse markers. One example of this is the expression “ayol...” in Turkish discourse, considered to be a feminine expression of “well...”. Women as well as homosexuals sometimes make strategical use of this expression to bring forward their sexual identity, which exemplifies that one can express and identify oneself according to different identities such as sex, social class and other social roles (Paltridge, 2012).

2.1.1. Context

Since every single entity is related to each other in universe, we cannot expect language to be an isolated phenomenon. Every single utterance or text of language is in interaction with its surroundings to be meaningful. We relate everything we hear or read to the ones we have heard or read before. We consider texts according to physical environments like time, place or people and inner connections we have in our minds like culture, moral values or general knowledge we have acquired before. We use a particular type of language only when we have its matching context. Context in this sense is a determiner for discourse.

In addition to being a determiner to produce a meaningful text, context is also essential to interpret and position texts. We consider texts as complements to other texts that are produced before or produced simultaneously. A sentence like “I will come after it is over” could be meaningless for someone who is not involved in the communication. However, the sentence would be much easier to understand if the pronoun ‘it’ was defined as a concert. So, shared knowledge between two or more people has an essential part in a communication process because we use language to construct on what has been shared before.

Widdowson (2007) defines context as “...an abstract representation, a mental construct...” and he explains that context is not limited to physical boundaries but actually more related to what we have lived and what we have learned from our perceptions of world in our

minds. That mental structure of our beliefs and knowledge of the world are defined as schema, which we use to understand and make sense of texts and new information. We relate every new information to the ones we already know even if they are not relatable. If we do not have a particular schema of a particular situation it gets much harder or impossible to make sense of it.

Since we need context to make sense of texts, it is almost impossible to think about them separately. According to Halliday (1970, 331) "meaning should be analyzed not only within the linguistic system, but also taking into account the social system in which it occurs. In order to accomplish this task, both text and context must be considered". Context is a crucial ingredient in Halliday's (1970) framework for people make predictions about the meanings of utterances based on the context. He states that "if you put a couple of meaningful words together and combine them according to the grammatical restrictions of the language of which they belong to, you may have a meaningful phrase like "I will come tomorrow". But if you use it in isolation without any context, it will not make sense. If you say it to a friend who lives in New York, it will mean something but if you say it to your boss, it will mean something else. And if you say it to a person with whom you have a conflict, it may have a threatening meaning" (Halliday, 1970). As van Dijk (2011) claims, a particular discourse can be interpreted differently by different language users and it can also diversify in meaning in different contexts. Thus, if a text is going to be put under focus, there must be an emphasis on the situation and thus on the context (Halliday & Hasan, 1985).

Since context is an essential part to interpret text, Halliday & Hasan (1985) describe three features of situation context, in order that we can come to an understanding of text through the context of the situation:

1. Field of Discourse: "refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social interaction that is taking place: what it is that the participants are engaged in, in which language features as some essential component."
2. Tenor of Discourse: "refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kind of role relationships of one kind or another, both the types of speech role that they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved."
3. Mode of Discourse: "refers to what part the language plays, what it is that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organization of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (is it written or spoken or some combination of the two?) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic, and the like.

2.1.2. Textuality

Halliday and Hasan (1985) define text as language that has a function in one way or another in a context but not in any form of separated and unrelated words. They describe text with two aspects, one of which is an output that can be documented and examined and the other as a sense of progressive process of semantic choice. Another definition of text comes from a linguistic dictionary, saying that "Texts are seen as language units which have a definable communicative function, characterized by such principles as cohesion, coherence and informativeness, which can be used to provide a formal definition of what constitutes their identifying textuality or texture." (Crystal, 2008, p.482). Those three principles mentioned above are part of the seven criteria of textuality; cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativeness, situationality and intertextuality. (Renkema, 2004, pp.22-23).

1. "Cohesion is the interrelation between linguistic elements in text. Textual elements like pronouns may be filled with different nouns in text and they would have a complementary relation with each other. In the sentence "He was already stressed, when I saw John." the meaning of 'he' depends on the name 'John'. Also, the conjunctions provide the connections within text.
2. While cohesion provides the connections within text, coherence provides the connection generated by external knowledge of the world. Cohesion is more about structure but coherence is about holistic meaning.
3. Intentionality implies that any kind of text must possess a conscious intention such as giving information or persuading the audience. Without intention, a couple of words lined next to each other do not qualify the criteria to be called text.
4. Acceptability describes that a text must be logical, for instance, a sentence like "I have the biggest mustache, then I am superior to everyone else." will probably sound nonsense to everyone.
5. Another must have feature is informativity, which requires a discourse to contain new information. If an audience does not understand anything from a text or does not get any new information from it, it cannot be considered as discourse.
6. Situationality requires a text type to be relevant to its situation. If there were a love poem in between these lines, it would not fit in the situation.
7. Finally, the last criterion of textuality is intertextuality, which means everything we produce as text is related to the texts that were produced before. We can make jokes related to past events or texts and we can write scientific articles by

referring to the articles that were written before. A piece of text is not considered as a discourse if it does not qualify intertextuality" (Renkema, 2004).

2.2. Discourse Analysis and Corpora

In order to analyze texts in social contexts, linguists make use of discourse analysis. This term dates back to the 1960s and was first introduced by Zellig Harris as a way of analysing connected speech and writing. His main interests were the examination of language beyond the level of the sentence and the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour (Paltridge, 2006:2). Discourse analysis, thus, is interested in 'what happens when people draw on the knowledge, they have about language... to do things in the world' (Johnstone, 2002:3). It is further described as the analysis of written or spoken linguistic behaviour beyond the boundary of individual sentences in order to provide a deeper understanding on how that behaviour becomes meaningful to their users. It also concentrates on the meaning constructed and interpreted through a language's particular use in social contexts (Bhatia, Flowerdew & Jones, 2008:1). Further it can be said that discourse analysis developed its own aims, orientations, methods and theories in parallel with the developments in humanities and social sciences (Oktar, 2011b: 15). Thus, using corpora in discourse analysis is one of these developments, as McEnery and Wilson (1996: 1) defines "Corpus linguistics is perhaps best described for the moment in simple terms as the study of language based on examples of 'real life' language use." Moreover, as Baker (2006: 2) points out, corpora are generally large (consisting of thousands or even millions of words), representative samples of a particular type of naturally occurring language, so they can therefore, be used as a standard reference with which claims about language can be measured. The fact that they are encoded electronically means that complex calculations can be carried out on large amounts of text, revealing linguistic patterns and frequency information that would otherwise take days or months to uncover by hand, and may run counter to intuition. As a result, discourse analysts have used corpora to analyse political texts, teaching materials, scientific writing and newspaper articles (Baker, 2006: 5). Because making use of corpus- based approaches to discourse analysis provide the analysts with important data like frequency, significance, and use of features with direct reference to the context. In this way, "the analyst may compare and contrast an individual text, or sub-corpus of texts of a specific type, with texts of another type, or with a larger or more general corpus" (Thornbury, 2010: 271). Thornbury (2010: 271) further points out that, "In the same way that corpus-derived frequency information has revolutionised language description at the level of lexis and grammar, so too has the study of discourse hugely benefited from the kinds of quantitative data that corpora yield." So consequently, researchers have not only

examined and identified the characteristic features of spoken interaction, but also the micro-features of specific text types such as sports commentary, economic texts and computer conferencing (Thornbury, 2010: 271-272). Additionally to these, Baker emphasizes that using corpora in discourse analysis reduces researcher bias in that they can place a number of restrictions on their cognitive biases by means of corpora (2006: 12). Shortly, it can be said that corpora present a variety of advantages for discourse studies.

2.3. Critical Discourse Analysis

With all this in mind, it must be noted that discourse analysis deals with the usage of language from different perspectives; therefore, there are many different approaches to the study of discourse. Because of this, some analysts, who proposed a critical or socio-political necessity in discourse analysis, developed a new approach to the study of discourse called *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA). Compared with other discourse analysis approaches, the distinctive features of CDA are its way of dealing with discourse and the embracement of critical approach to the social phenomena (Oktar, 2011b: 15).

While the term discourse is applied to written and spoken language by some linguists, critical linguistics or critical discourse analysis approaches describe language as a form of social practice. As Flowerdew (2008: 195) states:

The antecedents of critical discourse analysis (CDA) are usually said to lie in Critical Linguistics (CL), a movement developed at the University of East Anglia during the 1970s. Scholars, working in this group were led by Fowler (e.g. Fowler 1991, 1996a), but all names such as Kress, Hodge and Trew (e.g. Fowler et al. 1979) were concerned to develop a social approach to linguistics which recognized power relationships as a central theoretical issue and text as its main unit of analysis (2008: 195).

It can be added that “social theorists such as Foucault, Bourdieu, and Habermas addressed language from a broadly social-semiotic viewpoint and offered new foundations for sociolinguistic and discourse analytic work” (Blommaert, 2005: 22). However, these theorists were not even at the stage of analysing linguistic features of the text, while CDA was already searching for a connection between social theory and textual analysis. “As in the mainstream critical social theory, the aim of CDA is to uncover hidden assumptions in language use and to expose their claims to authority. Van Dijk (2001b: 352) expresses this aim as follows:

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way how social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (2001b: 352).

Likewise, Bhatia, Flowerdew, and Jones (2008: 11) emphasize that CDA examines language critically as social action by concentrating on issues such as socio-political domination whose sub-topics are social change, power abuse, and ideological imposition along with social injustice. Hegel, however, states that criticism should not be taken simply as a negative

judgement, but has also as a positive emancipatory function" (Flowerdew, 2008: 195). So it can be concluded that CDA has a particular plan in creating social change, or at least making every effort against inequality (Van Dijk, 2001b).

In addition, describing language as a form of social practice also means to emphasize the dialectical relationship between the situations, conditions, institutions forming discourse and the social structure. Within this dialectical relationship, discourse is not only formed with situations, conditions, institutions and social structures but also develops them itself. Meaning, that discourse establishes situations, information entities, the individual's social identity and the social relationships between individuals. Consequently, contributing to the continuation and regeneration of social status quo, discourse fulfils the function of social construction (Oktar, 1998: 282).

Apart from CDA's vital importance of forming discourse and social structure, it is essential to describe the particular principles, aims, theories and methods of CDA. Van Dijk (1995) presents a list of criteria in order to serve this aim. To him, CDA is firstly and foremost a problem or issue oriented since social problems such as sexism, racism, and other forms of social inequality are studied only with appropriate theoretical or methodological approaches. Further, CDA is neither a school or a field nor a sub-discipline of discourse analysis; in fact, it is a critical "approach, position or stance of studying text and talk" (Van Dijk, 1995: 17). In addition to being inter- or multidisciplinary, CDA is also a part of critical studies in the humanities and social sciences. Therefore, CDA comprises a broad level or dimensions of discourse including grammar, style, rhetoric, schematic organization or speech acts.

Besides, other than these verbal approaches, many works in CDA are interested in other semiotic dimensions such as pictures, films, sounds, music, gestures, etc. CDA also includes studies that reflect underlying ideologies in order to reproduce or resist against injustice and dominance. Other characteristics of CDA are as follows:

Among the descriptive, explanatory, and practical aims of CDA-studies is the attempt to uncover, reveal or disclose what is implicit, hidden, or otherwise not immediately obvious in relations of discursively enacted dominance or their underlying ideologies. That is, CDA specifically focuses on the strategies of manipulation, legitimation, the manufacture of consent and other discursive ways of influence the minds (and indirectly the actions) of people in the interest of the powerful. This attempt to uncover discursive means of mental control and social influence implies a critical and oppositional stance against the powerful and the elitists, and especially those who abuse their power (Van Dijk, 1995: 18).

To sum up, it can be said that CDA aims to expose systematically the implicit relation of causality and decisiveness between discourse praxis, phenomena, texts and wider social, cultural structures, relationships and processes. Further, it also aims to clarify that this implicitness itself is used as a resource for power and hegemony between discourse and society.

Critical Discourse Analysis is a field of research that examines power inequality and abuse, racism, sexism and also how ideology comes to exist in language. Wodak (2011, 38) defines CDA as “a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research programme, subsuming a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods and agendas”. With the beginning of 90s, researchers who are engaged in psychology, language, politics, and culture have become more and more focused on determining and describing the traces of social and cultural issues within language. This includes relations between minorities and governors, patriarchal hegemony, and effects of ideology in reality. It can be said that one of CDA's directions is to have an understanding of conflicts between social groups and suggest solutions to them. Wodak (2001) gives a perspective of how CDA approaches to language and society and what it is concerned about with these questions: “what constitutes knowledge, how discourses are constructed in and constructive of social institutions, how ideology functions in social institutions, and how people obtain and maintain power within a given community”.

Another definition of CDA has been made by Paltridge (2012) in an extensive way and may help us understand how it works: Critical discourse analysis explores the connections between the use of language and the social and political contexts in which it occurs. It explores issues such as gender, ethnicity, cultural difference, ideology and identity and how these are both constructed and reflected in texts. It also investigates ways in which language constructs and is constructed by social relationships. A critical analysis may include a detailed textual analysis and move from there to an explanation and interpretation of the analysis. It might proceed from there to deconstruct and challenge the text(s) being examined. This may include tracing underlying ideologies from the linguistic features of a text, unpacking particular biases and ideological presuppositions underlying the text, and relating the text to other texts and to people's experiences and beliefs. Van Dijk (2005) points out that there is a general misconception of critical discourse analysis. Because of its name, there is a tendency to understand CDA as a particular method of analysis and that is why it is seen as a separate form of discourse analysis. It is important to know that all methods that are being used in other discourse studies are applicable with critical discourse studies.

There are many researchers who conduct discourse studies around the world but in CDA, four names come to the forefront: Gunther Kress' Critical Discourse Analysis (1990, 12 84-99), Norman Fairclough's Language and Power (1989), Ruth Wodak's Language, Power and Ideology (1989), Teun Van Dijk's Prejudice in Discourse (1984) are considered as some of the starting milestones in the field. Gunther Kress is acknowledged as the first to put forward a set of criteria, which are improved into ten basic principles of a CDA programme, in critical studies (Wodak, 2001).

While many scholars in linguistics focus on critical studies and critical discourse analysis, some define CDA as a method of discourse analysis, some develop a model for it, and some avoid giving a certain set of steps to follow. Wodak (2001, pp. 63-93) defines and describes the discourse-historical approach, while in the same publishing Van Dijk (2001) avoids presenting a model for discourse analysis but gives a broad description of his approach, which he calls "socio-cognitive discourse analysis". He explains discourse cognition-society triangle as:

Just an analysis of text or talk added to some cognitive and/or social study will not do. We shall see that adequate discourse analysis at the same time requires detailed cognitive and social analysis, and vice versa, and that is only the integration of these accounts that may reach descriptive, explanatory and especially critical adequacy in the study of social problems." (Van Dijk, 2011, p.8)

Wodak (2001, p. 93) puts forward an outline of steps to follow for those who are going to apply a research in critical discourse analysis:

- 1- Sample information about the co- and context of the text (social, political, historical, psychological, and so on).
- 2- Once the genre and discourse to which the text belongs have been established, sample more ethnographic information; establish interdiscursivity and intertextuality (texts on similar topics, texts with similar arguments, macro-topics, fields of action, genres).
- 3- From the problem under investigation, formulate precise research questions and explore neighbouring fields for explanatory theories and theoretical aspects.
- 4- Operationalize the research questions into linguistic categories.
- 5- Apply these categories sequentially on to the text while using theoretical approaches to interpret the meanings resulting from the research questions.
- 6- Draw up the context diagram for the specific text and the fields of actions.
- 7- Make an extensive interpretation while returning to the research questions and to the problem under investigation.

Norman Fairclough and Lillie Chouliaraki (1999, p. 60) also set out a framework modelled on Roy Bhaskar's 'explanatory critique':

1. A problem (activity, reflexivity).
2. Obstacles to its being tackled:
 - (a) analysis of the conjuncture;
 - (b) analysis of the practice of its discourse moment:
 - (i) relevant practice(s)?
 - (ii) relation of discourse to other moments?
 - (iii) discourse as part of the activity
 - (iv) discourse and reflexivity;
 - (c) analysis of the discourse:
 - (i) structural analysis: the order of discourse
 - (ii) interactional analysis
 - (iii) interdiscursive analysis
 - (iv) linguistic and semiotic analysis.

3. Function of the problem in the practice.

4. Possible ways past the obstacles.

5. Reflection on the analysis. (p. 60)

Finally, Van Dijk (2001) underlines that a full discourse analysis is not feasible in any way because even analyzing a short text in terms of all dimensions such as syntactic, semantic, stylistic, rhetorical, pragmatic, phonological, visual or interactional levels would take an extremely long period of time and hundreds of pages. Therefore, it is suggested that researchers should be selective and focus on particular constituents of discourse, only then they would be able to apply a comprehensive analysis. Considering this statement, we focused in this study only on critical discourse analysis of epistemic power in Turkish and tried to determine via which constituents it is achieved and to what extent. In order to restrict the study research area, we decided to investigate only political discourse in Turkish, for we believe that this kind of discourse is especially one in which linguistic power is used on purpose and target-oriented.

2.4. Political Discourse

The analysis of how media illustrates the world and features these identities is part of the goals of CDA. As Wodak (2001:2) explains, “ CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimised and so on by language use (or in discourse).” As political media or political discourse is also a means for representing and shaping society's values and opinions, this kind of discourse is generally used for asserting power and knowledge, of which especially the former may have a significant influence of others' way of thinking. Since it is 'the ability of its holders to exact compliance or obedience of other individuals to their will' (The New Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thoughts, 1999, p.678). As language plays a key role in the exchange of social values and beliefs it may also be used as a means to impose power in certain social domains. Language, therefore, is no longer seen as merely reflecting our reality, but as central to creating reality. Our words are never neutral, they carry the power that reflects the interests of those who speak or write (see Fiske, 1994, p.14). Hague and his colleagues support this claim by adding that 'politics involves reconciling differences through discussion and persuasion, and communication is therefore central to politics (Hague et al., 1998:3-4). This reasoning leads to the need to explain how the use of language can produce the effects of authority, legitimacy, consensus etc., recognised as being intrinsic to politics. Assuming that speakers may express their ideological ideas and point of views by using certain linguistic forms in their oral or written texts, the 'content -structure' of these texts with organized syntactic forms, can reflect the ideological organization of a particular area of social life (Dellinger, 1995:210).

Additionally, Spolsky (1998: 58) points out that “language is regularly used in the exercise of political power”. Thus, political discourse, comprising speeches, interviews, panel discussions etc., contains a number of rhetorical features that are worth studying from the sociolinguistic point of view. Any such discourse subcategory within the realm of politics also deals with social interaction. Thus, political discourse shows evidence of how language is used “to perform power-enforcing/imbuing practices” and demonstrates in what way it is “deployed for communicating decisions” (Okulska & Cap 2010: back cover). According to Chilton (Okulska & Cap 2010: back cover), “[p]olitics in today’s world consists of almost continuous interconnected talking and writing in a constantly expanding media universe”.

Although it can be said that the research tradition in the field of political rhetoric and discourse is an established one, rooted in the Ancient Greek system of political culture and oral tradition dating back to the 4th century BC and before, research on political communication including speeches “has become recognized as a distinct field of study only recently” (Stuckey 1996: vii). Given the “remarkable diversity of theories and approaches ranging from the purely quantitative to the strictly qualitative” (Stuckey 1996: vii) that is so characteristic for the “vast and heterogeneous territory of Political Linguistics” (Okulska & Cap 2010: back cover), it follows almost inherently that there is no considerable amount of research literature on epistemic modality in political speeches and interviews. In order to understand why epistemic modality in this kind of discourse is necessary to investigate, we have to understand what epistemic modality is and how it works. Therefore, we firstly need to define the general linguistic category it belongs to, being modality.

2.5. Mood and Modal Systems

Languages basically deal in two ways with an overall category of modality. They can be distinguished by the terms *mood* and *modal system*. Both can occur within one single language, like in German, but in most languages one of them is more striking or even not used at all (Palmer, 2001: 4). Mood and modality are sometimes used as synonyms for each other but more common is the understanding of modality as an overall semantic category, being expressed by different kinds of markers or lexical items. The term mood, is taken as one of the grammatical markers of that semantic category.

2.5.1. Mood

Some linguists claim that mood is a grammatical marker on the verb, while others take it as a part of the syntactic organization of the components of the sentence which results in different speech acts or sentence types such as interrogative, declarative etc. (Levinson, 1983:

97-100; Halliday, 2014:139). Others say, that mood can be seen as a part of the grammatical system, which marks modality in language. According to this, mood is defined as a morphological inflection on the verb, expressing modal meaning with the main distinction of *subjunctive, indicative, realis, irrealis* (Palmer, 2001:1). Mood may exist in a language as “either cross-language grammatical types (e.g. conditional or subjunctive) or language specific categories”, indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative and conditional are some of the main moods in languages (Bybee et al., 1995:2).

The basic key problems with mood are, that it is often confused with modality; its semantic scope is not clearly defined; linguists still use different criteria (formal, semantic, functional or a combination of them all) in distinguishing moods; there are differences of opinion on the so-called analytical forms of it, i.e. combinations of modal verbs with the infinitive; and there are different views on homonymy and polysemy of verbal forms expressing modal meanings.

Proceeding from the general accepted definition of the grammatical category, the verbal category of mood is a set of opposed form classes, expressing modality by grammatical (morphological) means (Jespersen, 1992:295; Palmer, 2001:4). For this reason, mood is a morphosyntactic category, because it is characteristic of finite forms only. However, the number of opposed form classes (moods), their semantics and means of expressing modality (synthetic and analytical) remain obstacles for grammatical theories.

Because of all those reasons, the category of mood has generated many discussions so far. It has been treated in many different ways and is considered the most controversial category of the verb. Some linguists admit that due to the complexity of this category, it seems hardly possible to arrive at any convincing and universally acceptable conclusion concerning this term (Ilyish, 1971:100).

2.5.2. Modality

Modality is a notion which has been studied in various sciences, particularly in logic and linguistics, which creates some confusion regarding logical and linguistic modalities. In modal logic, modality is defined as the relation of the proposition to objective reality on the basis of either its mode of existence (possibility, factuality, necessity), or whether it is true or false. The main notion of modal logic, necessity and possibility, are closely related to each other in terms of negation. According to this, they can be formalized in terms of each other as:

$$(1) \text{ nec} = \sim \text{ poss} \sim p$$

$$(2) \text{ poss} = \sim \text{ nec} \sim p \quad (\text{Lyons, 1977: 787})$$

In logic, the discussion is mainly on the *truth* of the expressed propositions depending on our knowledge and belief (Lyons; 1977: 788). The necessarily true propositions are *analytic* propositions and exemplify *alethic* modality, which is rare in daily language use and is explained with respect to the necessity and possibility in modal logic. In alethically necessary expressions the propositions is necessarily or contingently true. On the other hand, if the proposition is not “necessarily false”, it is said to be alethically possible (Lyons, 1977:791).

Two other modalities in modal logic are *epistemic* and *deontic* modalities. Epistemic modality is defined as being closer to alethic modality because of its concern with the truth value of a proposition depending on the assessment of the speaker in terms of the known and/or believed facts in one or all of the possible worlds. The three main notions here are firstly *factivity*, which is the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition, secondly *non-factivity*, meaning that the speaker is neither committed to the truth or the falsity of the proposition, and *contra-factivity*, which means that the speaker is committed to the falsity of the proposition (Lyons, 1977:795). The distinction between epistemic necessity and possibility in modal logic is made according to the factual status of the proposition. In other words, if the proposition is factive, it is considered as epistemically necessary whereas if it is non-factual, it is seen as epistemically possible and if it is contra-factual, it is thought to be epistemically impossible (Lyons, 1977:796-7).

Deontic modality, on the other hand, is concerned with the necessity and possibility of the actions of “morally responsible agents” and is closely related with the futurity when the truth value of an expression is to be determined (Lyons, 1977:824-25). The main terms of necessity and possibility of the proposition of epistemic and alethic modality, is in deontic modality replaced by the notions of *obligation* and *permission*. *Commands* and *prohibitions*, which express the obligation to perform or not to perform a specific act by some kind of authority, are therefore a part of the deontic systems. The relation between obligation and permission in deontic modality is similar to that between necessity and possibility in epistemic modality in connection with negation. For example, permission refers to the cases where a specific prohibition (negative obligation) is not in consideration.

Hockett (1968) was probably one of the first linguists to introduce the term modality by studying and defining the unique feature of human language to talk about things beyond the here and now. He called this ability as “displacement” and added that we are able to do this through the *tense*, *aspect* and *modality* systems of natural languages. In this aspect, modality is a category of linguistic meaning, expressing possibility and necessity. It is closely related with its counterparts, *tense* and *aspect*, the verbal expressions of temporality (Bybee et al., 1995:12). According to Comrie (1976), tense, rather obviously, is concerned with the time of the event, while aspect is concerned with the nature of the event, particularly in terms of its ‘internal

temporal constituency' (1976:3). In other words, tense is a "category used in the description of verbs which refer to the location of an action in time (Finch, 2000:118-119), whereas aspect is a "different way of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie, 1976:3).

Roughly said, tense places events on a time continuum; aspect deals with durational properties of these events; modality allows us to talk about events that may not have happened, but are desired or required. These three systems are not completely autonomous units, and they affect one another in non-trivial ways. Tense and modality are undeniably interconnected: what used to be a possibility a month ago may not be one today. Tense and aspect are likewise related: a punctual event that took place yesterday may not hold at present, but an event (or state) that is more durative may still hold. These three categories can be considered as a part of the morphological system because they mostly, but not necessarily, grammaticalize morphologically and appear on the verb. That is why they are also called verbal categories. But the most complex one of these three categories seems to be modality, which is concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event (Palmer, 2001:24; Bybee et al., 1994:2).

The term modality in language, or more specific in the linguistic environment has a different scope from that of modality in logic and is mainly concerned with how modality is grammaticalized and expressed in natural languages. The notion of modality in linguistics appears in different branches such as morphology, syntax and semantics. This, on the other hand, ends in a variety of terminology or classification of this term, mostly defined in contrast to each other, by different linguists due to divergent approaches, trying to draw a general understanding of the term modality. Although there is no unanimity among linguists on categories to be called *modal*, in the traditional version, modality includes three basic semantic dimensions, which are called *dynamic*, *deontic* and *epistemic* (Nuyts in Frawley, 2005:2).

According to the traditional version, the dynamic modality dimension relates to ability and willingness which comes from the individual concerned, whereas the deontic modality dimension is related to obligation or permission, emanating from an external source. To explain it in the simplest terms, it can be said that the difference between them is that with dynamic modality the conditioning factors are internal to the relevant individual, whereas with deontic modality they are external (Palmer, 2001:9).

The third mentioned dimension, epistemic modality, refers to the truth value of the propositions expressed by the utterance of the speaker. In an epistemically modal utterance, the speaker makes judgement on the truth value or the possibility of the proposition expressed by the utterance depending on the speaker's belief and knowledge (Palmer, 2001:8).

But as mentioned before, beside the so-called "traditional version", there are various other classifications of modality in linguistics, each using their own terminology. In this sense the main classifications include the following pairs: *root* vs. *epistemic* modality, *deontic* and

dynamic modalities vs. *epistemic* modality, *agent-oriented* and *speaker-oriented* modality vs. *epistemic* modality, *event* modality vs. *propositional* modality. In all these classifications the referent of epistemic modality stays the same whereas the referent of deontic and dynamic modality vary in different linguistic studies. According to some linguists, the reason for this alteration in terminology has its roots in the speech-act status of deontically modal utterances and the variety of meanings expressed by deontic modality (Lyons, 1977: 778, Sweetser, 1990: 50, Høye, 1997: 42, Palmer, 2001: 1-2).

In recent years most linguists have come to the realisation that modality is a valid cross-language grammatical category which can be subject of a typological study. Modality is closely associated with tense and aspect because all of them are categories of the clause and are generally marked within the verbal complex. All three terms are, in some way, concerned with the event or situation that is reported by the utterance. Tense is concerned with the time of the event, while aspect deals with the nature of it, especially in terms of its 'internal temporal constituency' (Comrie 1976: 3). Modality, on the other hand, is concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event (Palmer, 2001: 1).

What makes modality different from the categories tense and aspect is that it refers directly and only to the status of the proposition and not to any characteristic of the event. One possible approach in order to analyse this status would be to make a binary distinction between 'non-modal' and 'modal' or 'declarative' and 'non-declarative', and to associate this distinction with the notional contrast of 'factual' and 'non-factual' or 'real' and 'unreal', or even 'true' and 'untrue'. But then again, all these terms do not seem to be satisfactory enough to describe the binary distinction of the proposition, and, in any case, it may be wise to avoid these terms according to their logical connotations (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994: 239).

Therefore, the notions 'realis' and 'irrealis' are used for this distinction, which have the advantage of being technical terms, so that their usage would avoid any possible connotations of more familiar terms. As Mithum (1999: 173) states, "The realis portrays situations as actualized, as having occurred or actually occurring, knowable through direct perception. The irrealis portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable only through imagination."

But as with all new notions there are still different thoughts about the validity of the realis/irrealis distinction in a typological study (Bybee and Fleischman 1995: 9-10). Nevertheless, these terms are now used both, as terms for the notional features that determine the status of propositions and written with initial capitals, as typological categories 'Realis' and 'Irrealis'. In some languages, these categories are also used for the related language-specific grammatical categories (Bybee et al. 1994: 236).

In all typological studies there are variations in the ways in which languages deal with grammatical categories. Especially within modality there are variations at a quite basic level

with the categories of Realis and Irrealis. While one language may mark commands as Irrealis, another marks them as Realis, and again another may look at them just as a part of a modality system. There are similar differences in the treatment of questions, denials, reports, etc. (Palmer, 2001:2). In English, for example, a modal verb is used to distinguish a judgement about a proposition from a categorical statement:

(I) Mary is at home.

(II) Mary may be at home.

(III) Mary must be at home. (Palmer, 2001: 2)

This discussion leads us directly to Palmer (1986; 2001), who made one of the latest classifications according to modality in linguistics. He studied modality with the aim of defining a typology of modality among different languages of the world. His definition of modality is close to the traditional linguistic understanding of this term, meaning that he is concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event (2001: 1). Palmer's definition and understanding of modality leads back to Lyons (1977), but he uses his own terminology and classification. He seems to have recategorized these three basic terms used in modality and put dynamic and deontic modality under the main term *event modality*, whereas he uses the term epistemic together with the term *evidential* under another main term, called *propositional modality* (Palmer, 2001:24,70). Hence this study is going to stay close to Palmer's definition of modality, we are going to explain his classificationsof modality, and also try to explain the terms and classifications of other valuable linguistics which compensate for Palmer's terms and classifications.

2.5.2.1. Event Modality

To Bybee (1995), event modality should be divided into agent-oriented and speaker-oriented modality. She states that 'the first term' encompasses all modal meanings that predicate conditions on an agent with regard to the completion of an action referred to in the main predicate, e.g., obligation, desire, ability, permission and root possibility.' She further argues that 'markers of directives, such as imperatives, optatives or permissives, by which a speaker attempts to move an addressee to action, are called speaker-oriented' (1995: 6).

Palmer (2001) points out that there are considerable differences between what Bybee claims to be agent-oriented. Because while the conditional factors of permission and obligation are external to the agent, those of desire and ability are generally internal to the agent. Moreover, he argues that obligation and especially permission often from the speaker, which makes them more speaker-oriented than agent-oriented. To Palmer it is also difficult to

understand the difference between Bybee's agent-oriented 'permission' and speaker-oriented 'permissive' (2001: 85).

This discussion forms the basis of Palmer's distinction of event modality. Palmer (2001) states that the term event modality is used to describe events that have not taken place but have the potential to be realized. He divides event modality into the two main types *Deontic* and *Dynamic*. The basic difference between these two types is that with dynamic modality the conditioning factors are external to the person, who is indicated as the subject of the proposition, meaning he is somehow permitted, ordered etc. to act. Which also means that the realization of the action depends on some kind of authority, often the speaker, who directs the subject. With deontic modality, on the other hand, the conditioning factors are internal to the person, which means he is able to or willing to act. But sometimes it can also be interpreted as being the general circumstances that make the action possible rather than the ability or willingness of the subject itself (Palmer, 2001: 70).

2.5.2.1.1. Deontic Modality

There are two types of Deontic modality, 'directives' and 'commissives', of which the first one is more common.

2.5.2.1.1.1. Directives (Permissives and Obligatives)

Directives are the type of deontic modality, 'where we try to get others to do things' (Searle, 1983:166). In English there are two kinds of directives, expressed by MAY, CAN and MUST as in:

- (1) You may/can go now. (Permission)
- (2) You must go now. (Obligation) (Palmer 1990: 71)

These propositions can be identified as Permissive and Obligative. According to Palmer (2001), these two modals of permission and obligation can also express epistemic Speculative and Deductive in terms of possibility and necessity (Palmer, 2001:72).

2.5.2.1.1.2. Commissives

Searle (1983) defines commissives as 'where we commit ourselves to do things' (1983: 166). Commissives in English are expressed by SHALL. They can either be a threat or a promise, depending on whether the addressee welcomes the speaker's act or not (Palmer, 2001: 72).

- (3) John shall have the book tomorrow. (Promise)
- (4) You shall do as you are told. (Threat) (Palmer, 2001:73)

In (12) the speaker commits himself to make sure that the event will take place and promises that John will receive the book. With the proposition in (13), the speaker orders the addressee to do what is demanded by threatening him.

2.5.2.1.1.3. Modifications

Palmer (2001) states, that the past tense forms of some deontic modals are used to weaken the force of the modality. *Ought to* and *should* are used instead of *MUST*, *might* and *could* are used instead of *MAY* and *CAN*.

(5) He ought to/should come, but he won't. *He must come, but he won't.

(6) He ought/should have come. (2001:73-74)

Analyzing these two examples, it can be clearly seen that in (14) *OUGHT TO* and *SHOULD* differ from **MUST* in that the speaker admits in the possibility that the event may not take place. This is because *OUGHT TO* and *SHOULD* are essentially conditional, which means they refer to what would occur or would have occurred. This conditionality refers more to the event expressed in the proposition than to the modal (Palmer 1979:02; 102, 1990:125). In example (15) it can be seen that in contrast to *MUST*, *OUGHT TO* and *SHOULD* can also refer to past events by adding *have*. Although *MUST HAVE* seems also possible, it can only be interpreted epistemically (see Palmer, 2001:33), but not deontically. Further examples for *OUGHT TO* and *SHOULD* are:

(7) You ought to come.

*You have an obligation to come, and you would come if you fulfilled it.

(8) You ought to have come.

*You had an obligation to come, and you would have come if you had fulfilled it.

(Palmer, 2001:74)

The modal *MIGHT* is often used in questions in order to be more polite and tentative by asking for permission like in the following example:

(9) Might I come in at the moment of this, Chairman? (Palmer 1990: 80)

But *MIGHT* is also used to make positive suggestions like in:

(10) You might try nagging the Abbey National.

(11) You might have told me. (Palmer 1990: 187)

With *MIGHT* there is also conditionality, referring to events that would take place or would have taken place under the conditions of behaving sensibly or properly. But this is a much stronger term than permission as in propositions with *MAY*. *Might* expresses a stronger kind of deontic modality than *MAY* in that it is rather a positive suggestion than just a permission (Palmer, 2001: 74).

2.5.2.1.2. Dynamic Modality

According to Palmer, there are two kinds of dynamic modality, which are used to express ability (abilitive) and willingness (volitive). In English these are expressed by CAN and WILL:

- (12) My destiny is my control, I can make or break myself.
- (13) Why don't you go and see if Martin will let you stay? (2001: 77)

2.5.2.1.2.1. Abilitive

CAN is, as mentioned before, also used for both, epistemic (but only in negative form) and for deontic modality. In this case it can be seen as a third kind of modality, being internal to the subject of the sentence. Similarities are to be found in many other permissive forms of other European languages, where mostly there is no formal distinction between permission and ability. In English, however, there is a clear distinction in that MAY is not used to indicate any ability, whereas CAN is used to refer to physical and mental ability as well as to include situations that might affect the involved person as in:

- (14) He can run a mile in under four minutes. (ability)
- (15) He can escape. (there is nothing to stop him) (Palmer, 2001: 77)

2.5.2.1.2.2. Volitive

The modal WILL in English is not only used as an assumptive in epistemic modality and to indicate future, but also as volitive, to express willingness like in the following examples:

- (16) Why don't you go and see if Martin will let you stay?
- (17) She loves him and she won't leave him.
- (18) Will you stand by the anchor? (Palmer, 1990: 134)

There is just one formal difference between future and volitive WILL, which is that volitive WILL is used in the *If*-clause of conditional sentences:

- (28) It'll rain tomorrow. → If it rains tomorrow.
- (29) John'll help you. → If John'll help you. (Palmer, 2001: 78)

Similar verbs in other European languages, e.g. like German, may have a much wider meaning. WOLLEN in German can express wishing and wanting and also has the evidential meaning of what is said, claimed or pretended by the subject of the sentence (Palmer, 2001: 78). As it concerns CAN, it can be said that expressing ability can be interpreted in terms of dynamic possibility while expressing permission may be interpreted under deontic possibility. There is

also a quite rare but similar use of MUST to express what is necessary like in (Palmer, 1990:130):

(30) He is a man who must have money.

or in another example (Perkins, 1982:230):

(31) You must go poking your nose into everything.

But these two examples differ slightly in that the first suggests an overwhelming desire while the second one expresses an overwhelming propensity which can also be expressed by *can't help* as in:

(32) You can't help poking your nose into everything. (Palmer, 2001:79)

2.5.2.1.2.3. Past Tense and Time

As Palmer further states, the modals CAN and WILL differ from the epistemic and deontic modals in that they can be used in the past tense to refer to past time:

(33) When I was younger I *could* run much faster.

(34) All he *would* accept was our thanks.

But neither of these modals can be used to refer to an event which follows as a result of an expressed ability or willingness:

(35) * I ran fast and could catch the bus.

(36) * I asked him and he would come.

However, both modals can be used in the negative or habitual past form without causing any misleadings:

(37) I ran fast, but couldn't catch the bus.

(38) I asked him but he wouldn't come.

(39) I always ran fast and so could catch the bus.

(40) I always asked him and he would come. (Palmer, 2001:79-80)

The reason for these differences lies in that it is inappropriate to refer to a *realis* situation or a completed or past situation using an *irrealis* modal. But these *irrealis* modals can be used with negations and habitual past forms, because they can be regarded as *irrealis* situations (Palmer, 1990:92-97, 156-157).

Past tense forms are further used as "modifications" to express ability and willingness more tentatively, especially with offers which often also implicate a conditionality, like 'if you wanted me to' or 'if you asked me to':

(41) I can/could do that for you.

(42) I will/would do that for you.

Could is also used for suggestions like *might*:

(43) You could try nagging the Abbey National.

(44) You could have told me. (Palmer, 2001:80)

2.5.2.2. Propositional Modality

To Palmer (2001) epistemic and evidential modality can be defined as the term propositional modality, as both are concerned with the speaker's attitude to the truth-value or factual status of the proposition. The main difference between these two terms is that with epistemic modality speakers make judgements about the factual status of the proposition, whereas with evidential modality they talk about the evidence they have for the proposition (2001:24).

2.5.2.2.1. Evidential Modality

Evidential modality is, according to Palmer, one of the two types of propositional modality. The main difference between them is that with epistemic modality speakers express their judgements about the factual status of the proposition, whereas with evidential modality they indicate the evidence they have for the factual status of the proposition made (2001:8). To Palmer there are basically only two types of purely evidential categories, which are called *reported* and *sensory* (evidence of the senses). Sensory encloses visual, non-visual and auditory and reported includes three sub-types of report (2001:9).

2.5.2.2.1.1. Reported

Most of the extensive evidential systems can be found in Native American languages and in Papuan languages, which have "joint" systems of mood. Meaning that, grammatical markers of realis and irrealis co-occur with grammatical markers of other categories, which are themselves typologically realis or irrealis (Palmer, 2001:37). But similar forms can be found in languages with predominantly judgement systems, e.g., German and Danish (Palmer, 2001:40).

Other languages find it necessary to sub-categorize reported evidence. Willett (1988:57,96) suggests three kinds of reported evidence:

1. *Second-hand evidence*: the speaker puts forth to be told about the situation by a direct witness.
2. *Third-hand evidence*: the speaker puts forth to be told about the situation, but not by a direct witness.
3. *Evidence from Folklore*: the speaker puts forth that the described situation is part of fictionalized oral history.

But because of great inconsistency in the use of these terms, the subcategories were labelled as 'Reported (2)', 'Reported (3)' and 'Reported (Gen)'. In Northern Iroquoian languages, on the other side, only one form of Reported evidence is used for all three types.

2.5.2.2.1.2. Sensory

The situation with sensory evidence is similar to reported evidence. While some languages have only one category of Sensory evidence, others have sub-categories, of which visual (evidence from seeing) and auditory (evidence from hearing) are the most known ones. Both, visual and auditory markers of sensory evidence, can be found in Native American languages and Papuan languages (Palmer, 2001:43).

Even in English there is some connection between sensation and modality, which can be expressed by the modal verb CAN:

1. I can see the moon.
2. I can hear a funny noise.
3. I can smell something burning.
4. I can taste salt in this.
5. I can feel something hard here.

All these propositions indicate that the speaker has the sensation to see, hear, smell, taste and feel, not the ability to do so. The relevant point is that English prefers to use a modal form to express sensation instead of simple declarative statements like in other languages.

2.5.2.2.2. Epistemic Modality

Traditionally, the term *epistemic modality* is related to the use of modal verbs and modal auxiliaries, when a speaker expresses an opinion about a statement. More exactly, as the Greek word 'episteme' denotes 'knowledge', the term refers to "matters of knowledge, belief or opinion rather than fact" (Lyons 1977: 793). Coates (1995:55) and others define epistemic modality in linguistics as an indicator for a speaker's confidence or lack of confidence in her/his own claims. According to Palmer (2001), epistemic modality is a special type of propositional modality. It refers to the truth-value of the propositions expressed by the utterance of the speaker. In an epistemically modal utterance, the speaker makes a judgement on the truth-value or the possibility of the proposition expressed by her/his utterance depending again on her/his belief and knowledge (2001:24-25).

This judgement can be made in three ways, by expressing uncertainty, by indicating an inference from observable evidence and by indicating inference from what is generally known. These judgements are typologically identified as *speculative*, *deductive* and *assumptive*. Bybee

named the first one as 'dubitative' (1985:179), but because the judgements do not always indicate positive doubt, the term 'speculative' is preferred.

2.5.2.2.2.1. Speculative Judgement

The English language system, like very few other languages, has three different markers to express these judgements. It uses the three modal verbs MAY, MUST and WILL. MAY is used to express speculative judgements like in:

(1) John may be in his office.

The speaker expresses uncertainty whether John is in his office and offers *one* possible conclusion for the situation.

2.5.2.2.2.2. Deductive Judgement

For deductive judgements in English the modal MUST is used like in:

(2) John must be in his office.

The speaker makes a certain judgement based on evidence, e.g. the office lights being on or that John is not at home etc., asserting the *only* possible conclusion.

2.5.2.2.2.3. Assumptive Judgement

For assumptive judgements in English the modal WILL is used like in:

(3) John'll be in his office.

This judgement is made on the general knowledge that John, e.g. always works in his office between certain hours, that he is a workaholic, so the speaker he utters a *reasonable* conclusion. (Palmer, 2001: 25).

While it seems easy to distinguish the three judgements according to the type of conclusion they come up with, identifying them typologically is more complex. Judgements (1) and (2) differ in their 'strength' of conclusion, distinguishing between 'may' (speculative) and 'must' (deductive), meaning that (1) is epistemically possible whereas (2) is epistemically necessary. Judgements (2) and (3) on the other side, differ in their indicated inference from experience (deductive) by using the modal 'may', and inference from experience or general knowledge (assumptive) by using the modal 'will'. The second kind of contrast is mostly found in languages with evidential systems (Palmer, 2001:25, 89-90).

Palmer puts further forward that deductive and assumptive can be seen as both judgements and evidentials because the relevant judgements are based upon evidence (2001:29).

2.5.2.2.2.4. Past Time References

In English the modals 'may', 'will' and 'must' can be used to make a judgement in the present about events in the past by adding *have* plus the past participle:

(4) Mary may / will / must have arrived by now.

Although the proposition here is in the past, the modality cannot be in the past because inferences or conclusions are essentially subjective and performative. They are made by the speaker at the time of speaking.

2.5.2.2.2.5. Inference and Confidence

Coates' (1983:41,131,177) explanation of the English epistemic modals is as follows:

In its most normal usage, Epistemic MUST conveys the speaker's confidence in the truth of what he is saying, based on a deduction from facts known to him (which may or may not be specified).

MAY and MIGHT are the modals of Epistemic Possibility, expressing the speaker's lack of confidence in the proposition expressed.

WILL expresses the speaker's confidence in the truth of the proposition; unlike epistemic MUST, the speaker's confidence is not based on a process of logical inference. Instead, it is based on common sense or repeated experience.

By 'confidence' in this sense, Coates speaks of two things, firstly the degree of commitment made by the speaker and secondly the strength of the conclusion. Although they are not wholly equivalent to sentences with modal verbs, degrees of confidence can also be expressed by adverbs:

(5) *Perhaps* she's there. (She may be there.)

(6) She's *probably* there. (She will be there.)

(7) She's *certainly* there. (She must be there.)

With the modal MUST there are mostly indications of often observable facts, on which the inference is based:

(8) His teeth were still chattering but his forehead, when I felt it, was hot and clammy.

He said 'I must have a temperature.' (Coates,1983: 43)

(9) All the X-rays showed absolutely negative. There was nothing wrong, so it must just be tension, I suppose. (Palmer,1979: 44)

These two examples show clearly that the essential feature of MUST is first of all the inference from known facts, not just the confidence of the speaker, which can also be expressed by adverbs like *certainly*, *definitely*, etc.

Similarly WILL cannot be totally paraphrased by *probably* in (6) because it draws an inference from generally known facts. *Perhaps* in (5) on the other hand seems not to have any difference from MAY because both are negative in the sense that there is lack of evidence for a conclusion to make and absence of real confidence.

So it can be concluded that there is a difference between inference and confidence. While with the former the speakers indicate that they are inferring from available information, in the latter they indicate the confidence in the proposition they make. In order to express inference, speakers use the modals like MUST and WILL, while they prefer adverbs like *certainly* and *probably* instead of these modals to express confidence. Only MAY and *perhaps* seem more alike but are still seen as instances of inference and confidence respectively (Palmer, 2001:34-35).

Halliday (1970:331) mentions in this sense the existence of 'harmonic combinations' used to reinforce the speaker's commitment, and 'hedges' to reduce it. Coates (1983:46,138) offers for epistemic MUST the harmonic combinations *I'm sure*, *surely* and *certainly* and its hedges could be *I think*, *I mean*, *I suppose*, *I fancy*, *I take it* and *I would guess*. For MAY, she suggests harmonic *perhaps*, *possibly*, and the hedges *I suppose*, *I think*, *I don't know*, *I wouldn't know*, *I'm not sure*, *I mean* and *It seems to me*.

The last part of this section showed clearly which epistemic modality markers are used in English. Since we decided to investigate Turkish epistemic modality markers in political discourse, we naturally have to illustrate how epistemic modality is expressed in Turkish.

2.5.3. Modality in Turkish

To express modality, world languages make use of various elements from morphology to phonology, named modality markers. These were defined by de Haan (2006) under the categories modal auxiliary verbs, mood, modal affixes, lexical means, modal adverbs and adjectives, modal tags, modal particles and modal cases (de Haan 2006: 32-41). This list mostly consists of morphologic, lexical and syntactic elements but phonetic tools like stress and intonation are also used to indicate modality in world languages (see Coates 1983; Palmer 1986; Bybee et al. 1994).

The Turkish language also possesses many different modality expressions which can be examined under different categories. Corcu (2003), for example, categorizes Turkish modality markers under four headings, which are modal inflections on the verb, on particles, on lexical

items, and on intonation (Corcu 2003: 68). S. Aslan-Demir (2008) proposes to distinguish Turkish modality markers under a more detailed categorization. To her those are morphological markers, lexical markers (modal predicates, modal adverbs and modal expressions), morphologic-lexical markers, syntactic markers, markers based on syntax and lexicon, markers based on syntax-lexicon-morphology and those based on expression (Aslan-Demir 2008: 17-20). L. Johanson (2009), on the other hand, separates modal markers in Turkish under two headings as synthetic markers, including suffixes, and analytic (periphrastic) markers, generally formed with auxiliary words like *gerek*, *lazım*, *ol-*. He further points out (2009) that Turkish deals with mainly three modal expressions, being volition, necessity and possibility (Johanson 2009: 487-510).

The term “modality” is unfortunately not specified under a special chapter in Turkish grammar, but under the category of “mood” there is a division as indicative and subjunctive. The former focuses on suffixes, which report tenses, while the latter includes expressions dealt with in modality studies, like imperatives, optatives, conditional and necessitive suffixes: *-sA* (conditional/wish), *mAll* (necessitive), *-AyIm /Ø/-sIn/-Allm/-In(Iz)/-sInlAr* (imperative), *A-* (optative) (Ergin 1993: 288-297; Ediskun 1999: 182-195; Gencan 2001: 325-326; Korkmaz 2003: 647-702).

Besides, J. Kornfilt's work (2001), “Turkish: Descriptive Grammars” and Göksel et al.'s (2005), “Turkish: A Comprehensive Grammar” (2005) seem to be the only two Turkish grammars reflecting successfully Turkish modality expressions. J. Kornfilt, for instance, examines the following sub-categories under the category of “mood”: *Indicative* (absence of mood markers), *conditional and wish marker* *-(y)sA*, *imperative* *-Ø/-In/-sIn(lAr)*, *optative* *-A*, *intentional* (no special form, same with optative), *debitive* *-mEll*, *potential* *-(y)Ebil*, *certainty* *-mElĠ*, *(y)Ebil*, *-DIr*, *assertive* *-DI*, *-mİş*, *Ir*, *hortatory* (no special form, same with imperative and potential), *minority* *sakın*, *narrative* *-mİş*, *consecutive* *(-ıp için, dolayı)*, *contingent* *-(y)Abil-* (Kornfilt 2001: 364-379).

Göksel et al. (2005), on the other hand, includes even a special part for “modality”, underlining that “unlike tense and aspect, modality is not related to the concept of time. It is concerned with whether a situation is presented as a directly known fact, or in some other way.” (Göksel et al. 2005: 292). According to them, the Turkish modality marking system allows to make a distinction between (neutral) statements, reflecting the direct experience, knowledge or observation of the speaker, and (modal) statements, making assertions of a more general, theoretical nature, or expressing assumptions or hypotheses. Grammatical markers that represent these types of modality are primarily the aorist forms *-(A/I)r/-mAz* in verbal sentences and the generalizing modality marker *-DIr* in nominal sentences. (2005:293).

A main clause that is marked by tense, aspect or modality suffixes is called *modally neutral*. Such a clause reflects a fact directly known to the speaker:

- (i) in verbal sentences: *-DI*, *-(I)yor*, *-mAktA*
- (ii) in nominal sentences: no marker or *-(y)DI*.

Modalized utterance markers, on the other hand, may be of different kinds and may signify:

- i. a generalization, a general rule, or a statement of principle: *-(A/I)r/-mAz*, *-DIr*,
- ii. an assumption or hypothesis: *-(A/I)r/-mAz*, *-DIr*, *olacak*, *olmalı*,
- iii. a statement concerning the possibility or necessity of the occurrence of an event or state: *-(y)Abil/- (y)AmA*, *-mAlI*,
- iv. a statement based upon knowledge acquired indirectly: *-mIş*, *-(y)mIş*, or
- v. an expression of desire or willingness for an event or state to occur: imperative, optative, conditional and aorist forms.

In some contexts, the suffixes *-mIş* and *-(y)AcAK* have a modal force but in others they do not. It is further grammatically determined that *-mIş* becomes purely a tense/aspect marker when it is followed by *-(y)DI*, *-DIr* or *ol-*. By contrast, whether *-(y)AcAK* is to be understood as a marker (unmodally) of future tense or (modally) as an assumption or an instruction depends on the speech context in a more general way (Göksel et al. 2005: 292-293).

2.5.3.1. Epistemic Modality in Turkish

Since our study's main purpose is to examine epistemic modality markers in Turkish political discourse, we are trying to illustrate how epistemic modality is used in Turkish language. According to Göksel and Kerslake (2005:35), epistemic modality in Turkish can be expressed in the following three ways: through the suffix *(y)Abil*, verbal constructions and modal adverbials.

2.5.3.1.1. Suffix *-Abil*

To them, the suffix *(y) Abil* can be used to express epistemic possibility and also counterfactuality, when combined with the past copula (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:35). In the second case it is usually used together with the aorist as in sentence (1), and sometimes with the future suffix as in (2).

- (1) Yağmur yağ-ma-yabil-ir (It may not rain.)
- (2) Bu ev-ler birkac, yıl sonra yık-ıl-ABİL-ecek
(These houses may be demolished in a few years' time.) (2005:348)

The further interpret that in utterance (1), the suffix *-Abil*, interpreted epistemically, has scope over negation. Additionally, the pre-negation ability suffix *-yA-* allows an epistemic interpretation when used with the auxiliary *ol-*. Here, the negation has scope over the epistemic modal.

(3) Osman Ankara'da ol-a-maz.

(Osman can't be in Ankara.) (e.g. because I saw him in London an hour ago) (Göksel and Kerslake 2005:348)

2.5.3.1.2. Verbal Constructions

As Göksel and Kerslake state (2005), verbal constructions include a suffixed form of the auxiliary *ol-*. The first construction (4), uses the auxiliary with the necessity suffix *olmalı* and expresses 'an inference about a past or present event or state from strong circumstantial evidence' (2005: 344). This nominal construction can further be used with a compound verb form including a verb with the progressive or the perfective *-miş* suffix as in (5).

(4) Kapı açık, ev-de ol-malı-lar.

(The door's open; they must be at home.)

(5) Kayseri'yi gör-müş ol-malı-yım ama... (I must have seen Kayseri but...)

(2005:364-365)

The utterance (6) contains the participant-external construction *-mA-POSS gerek/lazım* with the auxiliary *ol-* and, when used in the third person form, it conveys a 'strong assumption based upon knowledge or other relevant facts' (2005:344).

(6) Bu saatt-e Ali'nin iş-te ol-ma-sı lazım.

(Ali must be at work at this hour.)

Example (7) states probability and joins the conditional form of the auxiliary *ol-* with the lexical item *gerek* 'necessary.'

(7) En iyisi bu ol-sa gerek. (This one is probably the best.) (2005:344)

(8) Yukarı-da birisi matkap kullanıyor ol-sa gerek.

(Someone upstairs must be using a drill.) (2005:368)

Göksel and Kerslake (2005), claim that these constructions can be nominal, as in (7), or form a compound with a lexical verb, as in (8). In the last case, the installed verb can be used with the perfective or the progressive suffix. In both cases, although the judgment is made at speech time, it is actually made about a past or present situation (the same is true for *olmalı* in example (4)). The last sentence is a possibility derived form with the auxiliary verb suffixed by *-Abil*. Here, it is used to convey epistemic possibility and like the other constructions, it is used together with an installed verb combined with the perfective/progressive suffix.

(8) Ali'nin patronu onu sev-mi-yor ol-ABİL-ir.

(It's possible Ali's boss doesn't like him.) (2005:368)

(9) Ayşe bu fotoğraf-ı Hatice'ye göster-miş.

(Ayşe may have shown this photograph to Hatice.) (2005:365)

2.5.3.1.3. Modal Adverbials

Except from the provided morphological tools in Turkish language, certain lexical elements also add on the modal meaning of Turkish utterances. Lexical entries that convey modal meanings make actually a long list, including modal adverbials such as *herhalde*, *mutlaka*, *sanırım*, *galiba*, *sanki*, *güya*, *kesinlikle*, *zorunda*, *zorunlu*, *mecburen*, *gerek*, *muhtemelen*, *kanımca*, *bence*, *olasılıkla*, *ihtimalle*, *mümkün*, *olanaklı*... Since modality affects the whole proposition, it is no surprise for this concept to be expressed through such items. Especially adverbials have a very important place in the Turkish modality system, because speakers identify the modality domain of the proposition by using adverbials. These markers clarify ambiguity and polysemy in linguistic literature (Demir 2006: 487; Doğan et al. 1999: 73; Ruhi et al. 1996: 313). Göksel and Kerslake (2005) state that especially these lexical items, called modal adverbials, are used to express speakers' attitudes towards made statements. Further they add, that these modal adverbials can be explained by categorizing them under four functional groups:

Adverbials indicating:

(i) the speaker's degree of commitment to the truth of a statement:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>gerçekten</i> , | (really) |
| (2) <i>hakikaten</i> , | (really) |
| (3) <i>sahiden</i> , | (really) |
| (4) <i>muhakkak</i> , | (definitely) |
| (5) <i>mutlaka</i> , | (definitely) |
| (6) <i>kesinlikle</i> , | (definitely) |
| (7) <i>kesin(olarak)</i> , | (definitely) |
| (8) <i>belli ki</i> , | (clearly, it's clear that...) |
| (9) <i>anlaşılan</i> , | (evidently) |
| (10) <i>dikkat edilirse</i> , | (it will be noted that...) |
| (11) <i>ashna bakılırsa</i> , | (the truth of the matter is that...) |
| (12) <i>herhalde</i> , | (probably, presumably, I expect) |
| (13) <i>bakarsın</i> , | (it might just happen that...) |
| (14) <i>büyük bir ihtimalle/olasılıkla</i> , | (in all probability) |
| (15) <i>yanılmıyorsam</i> , | (if I'm not mistaken) |

(16) <i>galiba/sanırım</i> ,	(I think)
(17) <i>zannedersem/zannediyorum</i> ,	(I think)
(18) <i>belki</i> ,	(perhaps)
(19) <i>sözde</i> ,	(allegedly)
(20) <i>güya</i> ,	(supposedly)
(21) <i>bence/bizce</i> ,	(I/we think, in my/our opinion)
(22) <i>bana kalırsa</i>	(my own view would be that...)

(15) Herkesin para katkısında bulunması isteniyor **anlaşılan**.
(*Evidently* everyone is expected [to make a financial contribution].)

(11) **Sanırım** Necla'nın sınavı bugün olacaktı.
(*I think* Necla's exam was going to be today.) (2005:192)

(ii) the speaker's attitude towards a described situation by a statement:

(1) <i>İnşallah</i>	(God willing, hopefully, I hope)
(2) <i>Umarım</i>	(I hope)
(3) <i>Allahtan/bereket versin</i>	(fortunately)
(4) <i>Çok şükür</i>	(thank goodness)
(5) <i>İyi ki</i>	(it's good (that...), thank goodness)
(6) <i>Maalesef/ne yazık ki</i>	(unfortunately)
(7) <i>Tabii (ki)/doğal olarak</i>	(of course, naturally)
(12) Ambülans çabuk geldi çok şükür . (<i>Fortunately</i> the ambulance came quickly.) (2005:193)	

(iii) politeness strategies:

This type of modal adverbial is used in order to ease the possibility that a remark might cause offence.

(1) <i>Doğrusu/Doğrusunu isterseniz</i>	(to be honest, to tell the truth)
(2) <i>Affedersiniz</i>	(if you'll pardon the expression)
(3) <i>Deyim yerindeyse</i>	(if the expression is acceptable)

(13) **Doğrusunu isterseniz** ben hiçbir zaman Osman'ı o mevkiye layık görmemiştim.
(*To be honest*, I had never regarded Osman as worthy of that office.) (2005:193)

(iv) The modal adverb *meğer(se)*:

Göksel and Kerslake (2005) claim that, *meğer* (or *meğer(se)*), can be added to a sentence evidentially marked by *-mİş* or *-(y)mİş*, indicating that the statement expresses a revision of the speaker's earlier belief about a situation due to new information, new observation or new experience. The nearest English equivalent is usually 'it turns/turned out that...'.
(14) Anahtar palto-m-un ceb-in-de **ymiş**.
(It turned out that the key was in the pocket of my coat.) (2005:193)

It is further mentioned, that the nature of modality includes the possibility that the above mentioned verbal constructions and suffixes combine. Just like in the constructions built on the copula, e.g. {ol-malı}, {ol-acak}, {ol-ur} as in the sample sentences (15)-(17):

(15) Uçak Ankara'ya çoktan varmış olmalı.

(The plane should have already arrived in Ankara.)

(16) Gözlüğün buralarda olacak. (You glasses should be here around.)

(17) Böylece bu hikaye burada bitmiş olur. (Thus, this story ends here.) (2005: 93)

These constructions are frequently used in spoken and written language forms.

As the linguists Göksel and Kerslake (2005), also put forward, certain verbs, like *San-* for example, can also be said to express epistemic modality. Many psych verbs possessing a sentential component can be exemplified as adding an epistemic or modal meaning on the utterance. Some of these verbs are *düşün-*, *san-*, *tahmin et-*, *zorunlu kıl-*, *gerek o-*, *iste-*, *zannet-*, *şart koş-*, *izin ver-*, *dile-*, *söz ver-*, *gör-*, *bil-*, *duy-*, *söyle-* etc. (2005:370).

Since our study focuses on epistemic modality markers used to express modal power in Turkish political discourse, we are especially interested in those markers who indicate the speaker's degree of commitment to the truth of a statement. Thus, we examined in our study all the 22 modal adverbials mentioned under the section II.5.3.1.3. in category (i).

3. METHOD

In this section, we are going to describe the used data collection techniques, the data itself and the applied data analysis methods.

In terms of the research design, we can define our research as quantitative, statistical and interpretive. The great advantages of this quantitative research were that it enabled to compare a relatively large specialized spoken corpora by using a comparatively easy index. Further, this quantitative data was then analysed using statistical methods, particular mathematics tools which allowed us to work with numerical data. Finally the data results were interpreted in their social contexts.

3.1. Data Collection Techniques

Our data collection techniques were doing Web-search, proofreading, file conversion (.txt) and making use of Antconc (3.5.0), a free corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis provided by Anthony, L.(2015) and the appliance of R-programming language (3.6.1), a free software environment for statistical computing and graphics provided by R Core Team (2014).

In order to gather the data, we run some Web-search and finally decided to analyze both parties' speeches made in parliamentary minutes because meeting speeches, parliamentary writings in newspaper or political advertisements would not provide the necessary amount of data. After having decided which parliamentary minutes to include in our data, these speeches were proofread and saved on word documents, one for each parties' speeches. Then, we converted these word files into (.txt) documents. For this purpose, firstly the word files were opened, then we clicked the office button, chose "save as" and then "other formats". From the menu under "other formats", "plain text" was chosen and thus both word documents were converted into .txt files. After the process of collecting, converting and thus, computerizing the related texts, getting concordance lines appeared as the next move. As Hunston (2002: 39) defined:

A concordancer is a program that searches a corpus for a selected word or phrase and presents every instance of that word or phrase in the centre of the computer screen, with the words that come before and after it to the left and right. The selected word, appearing in the centre of the screen, is known as the node word.

For this purpose, we decided to use the free software concordance program AntConc (3.5.8), which can easily be downloaded on each computer. This program contains seven tools, being concordance, concordance plot and file view tool, clusters/N-grams, collocates, wordlist and finally keyword list to analyze texts. On this program, texts can be seen as corpus files and the concordance lines due to the chosen keywords can easily be interpreted.

In order to use this program, first and foremost, the AntConc program has to be downloaded. Its screen can be opened by double clicking the “AntConc” icon. The next step is doing language encodings by choosing Unicode (utf8) after clicking Standard Encodings. Then, to load the files, first the ‘File’ icon in the menu at the top of the window, and then the ‘Open Files’ icon, from the resulting drop-down menu, were selected. Clicking the ‘Open Files’ window provided for the opening of the folders that were saved as txt. files. After that, the files that were to be used for the study were selected and opened. To get concordance lines, we had to enter keywords at this stage. Our keywords were the 22 Turkish epistemic adverbs, presented in Göksel and Kerslake’s work (2005:192). All these related adverbs were entered as keywords one by one in the search box on the left and then the ‘Start’ icon was clicked. The results for each keyword appeared on the KWIC window, showing the keyword in its context, and right above it, the concordance hits were also presented as a number.

In conclusion, we also decided to compare these results as proportions to show clearly whether there are significant differences in the usage frequencies of the two parties due to the 11 determined epistemic adverbs, found in our data. For this purpose, we chose the R-programming language, a programming language and environment commonly used in statistical computing, data analytics and scientific research. It is one of the most popular languages used by statisticians, data analysts, researchers and marketers to retrieve, clean, analyze, visualize and present data. Due to its expressive syntax and easy-to-use interface, it has grown in popularity in recent years. R is free to download as it is licensed under the terms of GNU General Public license.

Thanks to this program, we were able to compare the usage frequency of each related adverb within the total adverb count of each party as well as within the total word count of each party. The two proportion test (prop1,prop2) is used for testing the null that the proportions (probabilities of success) in several groups are the same, or that they equal certain given values. Due to the related proportion results we got two more values, the chi-square (X²) value, showing the relationship between two categorical variables, and the p-value (p), a level of marginal significance within a statistical hypothesis test representing the probability of the occurrence of a given event. The p-value is the determiner in this test, it is presented as a number between 0 and 1. If this number is ≤ 0.05 , it indicates that there is a statistical significant difference between the compared two proportions.

3.2. Data

Our data constitutes of verbal political speech texts, to which we got access by using the following website: <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanak/donem24/tutanak5.htm>. This is the

website of the 24th period of the 5th legislative year of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, illustrating a total of 92 minutes of general meetings.

Since our purpose was to analyse verbal political speeches related to the general elections on the 7th June 2015 in Turkey, we began our data collection with the last session of the general meetings before the elections, the 59th session made on the 20th of February, 2015 to 92nd session made on the 23rd of April, 2015. At this point, we had collected a 33 session corpora ready to analyze. The total word count of our 33-session data consisted of almost 273.000 words, of which approximately 174.000 words belonged to CHP's speeches and 99.000 words to AKP's speeches.

3.3. Data Analysis Methods

Our primary concern in this study was to examine which epistemic adverbs appear in AKP's and CHP's parliamentary speeches and to what frequency. And further to identify which verbs and subjects were used commonly together with each identified adverb in the related utterances.

In order to reveal the most frequently used epistemic adverbs in AKP's and CHP's parliamentary speeches, we analysed our data due to the 22 epistemic adverbs introduced by Göksel and Kerslake (2005). The related epistemic adverbs were (1) *gerçekten* (really), (2) *hakikaten* (really), (3) *sahiden* (really), (4) *muhakkak* (definitely), (5) *mutlaka* (definitely), (6) *kesinlikle* (definitely), (7) *kesin(olarak)* (definitely), (8) *belli ki* (clearly, it's clear that...), (9) *anlaşılan* (evidently), (10) *dikkat edilirse* (it will be noted that...), (11) *aslına bakılırsa* (the truth of the matter is that...), (12) *herhalde* (probably, presumably, I expect), (13) *bakarsın* (it might just happen that...), (14) *büyük bir ihtimalle/olasılıkla* (in all probability), (15) *yanılmıyorsam* (if I'm not mistaken), (16) *galiba/sanırım* (I think), (17) *zanndersem/zannediyorum* (I think), (18) *belki* (perhaps), (19) *sözde* (allegedly), (20) *güya* (supposedly), (21) *bence/bizce* (I/we think, in my/our opinion) and (22) *bana kalırsa* (my own view would be that...).

All these adverbs were entered as keywords in the AntConc program to see whether they exist in our corpora. Among them we identified in our data the presence of 11 epistemic adverbs, of which 4 are strong epistemic adverbs and 7 are weak ones. The related strong adverbs are (1) *kesinlikle* (definitely), (2) *mutlaka* (certainly/definitely), (3) *elbette (ki)* (certainly/of course), and (4) *gerçekten* (really, in fact), whereas the weak ones are determined as (1) *herhalde* presumably, (2) *galiba* (probably), (3) *sanır-ım/ız/yoruz* (I/we think), (4) *belki* (maybe/perhaps), (5) *bence/bizce* (according to me /us), (6) *sanki* (as if) and (7) *güya* (as if/though).

After having scanned each adverb for its frequency in both parties' speeches, we calculated their usages due to the total word count, found strong or weak epistemic adverb hits (depending on the strength of the adverb in question) and the total modal adverb hits of each party. Besides, each keyword's concordance lines were further analyzed for situation types, argument structures, modal values and use in negations.

Additionally, we compared AKP's and CHP's usages of each adverb by carrying out the two proportion test, (AKP/Prop1) and CHP/Prop2), for each adverb by meanwhile determining the chi-square values and the p-values for all the related 11 epistemic adverbs.

The data was analyzed and compared by two researchers and the obtained results of the mentioned analyses were presented on related tables.



4. DATA ANALYSIS

In this section the results of our data analyses is illustrated on 33 tables and supported with 164 example utterances chosen from the related copora. The revealed 11 epistemic adverbs, existing in our data, were counted due to their frequencies as hits, calculated as percentages in total word counts and among strong/weak epistemic modal counts as well as total epistemic modal counts. Further these outcomes were statistical analyzed and compared according to significant differences. Additionally, the situation types, argument structures, modal values and usages with negations of the determined 11 epistemic adverbs were illustrated. Finally, all these results were interpreted and shown on a proposed continuum.

4.1. Distribution of Epistemic Adverbs in AKP's and CHP's Speeches

The Tables 4.1-4.6 are going to demonstrate the distributions of the related 11 epistemic adverbs for both parties' speeches together and separately.

Table 4.1. Strong Epistemic Adverbs in CHP's and AKP's Speeches

Strong epistemic adverbs	Number of hits	% in total word count	% in total epistemic adverb count
CHP	356	20 %	69,67 %
AKP	227	18 %	77,09 %

Table 4.1 illustrates the general distribution of strong epistemic adverbs for both parties. At first glance, CHP seems to use much more strong epistemic adverbs with 356 hits compared to 227 hits in AKP's speeches, but looking at the percentages calculated due to the total word count, being 20% for CHP and 18% for AKP, and total epistemic adverb count, with 69,67% for CHP and 77,09% for AKP, it can be said that both parties use these adverbs nearly equally.

Table 4.2. Weak Epistemic Adverbs in CHP's and AKP's Speeches

Weak epistemic adverbs	Number of hits	% in total word count	% in total epistemic adverb count
CHP	155	9 %	30,33 %
AKP	52	5,25 %	22,91 %

Table 4.2 presents the distribution of weak epistemic adverbs for both parties. Here, it is obvious that CHP uses a 3 times higher number of weak epistemic adverbs, 155 hits in comparison to AKP with only 52 hits. This difference is also clearly to be seen by looking at the

percentages calculated due to the total word count, being 9% for CHP and 5,25% for AKP, and the total epistemic adverb count, with 30.33% for CHP and 22.91% for AKP. It can be concluded that CHP makes definitely more use of weak adverbs compared to AKP.

Thus, according to Tables 4.1 and 4.2, it can be concluded that both parties make use of strong epistemic adverbs to nearly the same extent in their political speeches, whereas CHP members seem to use weak epistemic adverbs in their utterances more frequently than members of AKP.

Table 4.3. Strong Epistemic Adverbs in AKP's Speeches

AKP's used strong epistemic adverbs	Number of hits	Total word count	Total modal adverb hits	% in total word count	% in strong epistemic adverb count	% in total modal adverb count
Kesinlikle	17	99.021	175	0,02 %	9,71 %	7,49 %
Mutlaka	26	99.021	175	0,03 %	14,86 %	11,45 %
Elbette (ki)	54	99.021	175	0,05 %	30,86 %	23,79 %
Gerçekten	78	99.021	175	0,08 %	44,57 %	34,36 %

As it is obvious in Table 4.3, AKP's most used strong epistemic adverbs found in an almost 99.000 total word count are 175 in total, of which, due to their frequency, *gerçekten* (really, in fact) appeared for 78, *elbette (ki)* (certainly) for 54, *mutlaka* (certainly, definitely) for 26, and *kesinlikle* (definitely) for 17 times, respectively. Comparing AKP's strong epistemic adverbs to the used total number of 227 strong and weak epistemic adverbs in the analysed speeches with a word count of 99.021, the results show that *gerçekten* (really, in fact) is used for 44, 57 % among strong epistemic adverbs and for 34, 36, % among all used modal adverbs, which is 0, 08 % of usage due to the total word count. *Elbette (ki)* (certainly), on the other hand, occurs for 30, 86 % among strong epistemic adverbs and 23, 79% among all used modal adverbs, which makes 0,05 % of appearance according to the total word count. The modal adverb *mutlaka* (certainly, definitely) appears to 14,86 % in strong epistemic adverbs and 11,45% in total modal adverbs, which equals to 0,03% in total word count. *Kesinlikle* (definitely) is found in 9,71 % among strong epistemic adverbs and 7,49 % in the total number of adverbs, which makes up 0,02 % of the total word count. To sum up, it can be stated that AKP's used 175 strong epistemic adverbs make up 77, 09 % of all used 227 adverbs and 18 % of the analysed 99.021 words.

Table 4.4. Weak Epistemic Adverbs in AKP's Speeches

<u>AKP's</u> used Weak Epistemic Adverbs	Number of hits	Total word count	Total modal adverbs hits	% in total word count	% in weak epistemic adverb count	% in total modal adverb count
Herhalde	1	99.021	52	0,0010	1,92 %	0,44 %
Galiba	3	99.021	52	0,0030	5,77 %	1,32 %
Sanır-ım/ız/yoruz (ki)	2	99.021	52	0,0020	3,85 %	0,88 %
Belki	31	99.021	52	0,0313	59,62 %	13,66 %
Bence /Bizce	10	99.021	52	0,0101	19,23 %	4,41 %
Sanki	5	99.021	52	0,0050	9,62 %	2,20 %
Güya	0	99.021	52	0,0000	0,00 %	0,00 %

In Table 4.4, it can be seen that AKP's most used 52 weak epistemic adverbs in a word count of almost 99.000 words are due their frequency *belki* (maybe /perhaps) occurring for 31 times, *bence/bizce* (according to me/us) for 10, *sanki* (as if) for 5, *galiba*(probably) for 3 times, *sanır-ım/ız/yoruz (ki)* (I/we think) for 2, *herhalde* (presumably) and *sanki* (as if), for 1 time, respectively. On the other hand, *güya* (as if/though) is not used at all. Considering AKP's most used 52 weak epistemic adverbs, it is seen that among the analysed total 99.021 words *belki* (maybe/perhaps) occurs to 59, 62% among all weak adverbs and to 13, 66 % in all adverbs, which is 0, 031 % in the total word count. The adverb *bence/bizce* (according to me/us) is seen for 19, 23 % in all weak adverbs and for 4, 41 % among all adverbs, which makes 0,0101 % in the total word count. *Sanki* (as if), on the other hand is used for 9,62 % among weak epistemic adverbs and for 2,20 % in the total number of used adverbs, which is 0,0050 % due to the total word count. *Galiba* (probably), is seen for 5, 77 % among weak epistemic adverbs and for 1,32 % among all modal adverbs. *Sanır-ım/ız/yoruz (ki)* (I/we think) appears to 3, 85 % in weak epistemic adverbs and to 0, 88 % in all modal adverbs, which makes up 0,0020 % among the total word count. The modal adverb *herhalde* (presumably) occurs to 1, 92 % among the used weak epistemic adverbs and 0,44 % among all used adverbs, which is then just 0,0010 % in the total word count. On the other hand, *güya* (as if/though) does not appear in AKP's analysed speeches and therefore has no numeric value at all. So it can be concluded that the 52 weak epistemic adverbs in AKP's analysed speeches appear to 22,91 % in the used total number of 227 epistemic adverbs and to 5,25 % in the total word count of 99.021.

Table 4.5. Strong Epistemic Adverbs in CHP's Speeches

CHP's used Strong Epistemic Adverbs	Number of hits	Total Word count	Total modal adverb hits	% in total word count	% in strong epistemic adverb count	% in total modal adverb count
Kesinlikle	14	174.124	356	0,01 %	3,95 %	2,74 %
Mutlaka	41	174.124	356	0,02 %	11,52 %	8,02 %
Elbette (ki)	99	174.124	356	0,06 %	27,81 %	19,37 %
Gerçekten	202	174.124	356	0,12 %	56,74 %	39,53 %

As Table 4.5 shows, CHP's most used strong epistemic adverbs found in an almost 174.000 total word count are due to their frequency *gerçekten* (really/in fact) for 202 times, *elbette (ki)* (certainly) for 99, *mutlaka* (certainly/definitely) for 41, *kesinlikle* (definitely) for 14times, respectively. Compared to the total used 511 strong and weak epistemic modal adverbs in CHP's analysed speeches with a word count of 174.124, the results show that *gerçekten* (really/in fact) is used for 56,74 % among strong epistemic adverbs and for 39,53 % in the total used modal adverbs, which makes 0,12 % in the total word count. *Elbette (ki)* (certainly), on the other hand, appears for 27,81 % among strong epistemic adverbs and 19,37 % among all used modal adverbs, which is 0,06 % of appearance according to the total used word count. The modal adverb *mutlaka* (certainly/definitely) occurs to 11,52 % in strong epistemic adverbs and 8,02 % in total modal adverbs, which equals to 0,02 % in total word count. *Kesinlikle* (definitely) is found in 3,93 % among strong epistemic adverbs and 2,74 % in the total number of adverbs, which is 0,01 % in the total word count. In short, it can be said that CHP's used strong epistemic adverbs make up 70 % of all used 356 adverbs and 20 % of the analysed 174.124 words.

Table 4.6. Weak Epistemic Adverbs in CHP's Speeches

CHP's used Weak Epistemic Adverbs	Number of hits	Total word count	Total modal Adverbs	% in total word count	% in weak epistemic adverbs	% in total modal adverbs
Herhalde	0	174.124	155	0,0000 %	0,00 %	0,00 %
Galiba	4	174.124	155	0,0023 %	2,58 %	0,78 %
Sanır- ım/ız/yoruz (ki)	6	174.124	155	0,0034 %	3,87 %	1,17 %
Belki	86	174.124	155	0,0494 %	55,48 %	16,83 %
Bence /Bizce	25	174.124	155	0,0144 %	16,13 %	4,89 %
Sanki	27	174.124	155	0,0155 %	17,42 %	5,28 %
Güya	7	174.124	155	0,0040 %	4,52 %	1,37 %

In Table 4.6, it is clear that CHP's most used weak epistemic adverbs out of a word count of almost 174.000 words are due their frequency *belki* (maybe/perhaps) for 86 times, *bence/bizce* (according to me/us) for 25, *güya* (as if/though) for 7, *sanır-ım/ız/yoruz (ki)* (I/we think) for 6, *galiba* (probably) for 4 and *sanki* (as if) for 3 times, respectively. Whereas *herhalde* (presumably) does not appear in CHP's analysed speeches at all. Taking CHP's most used 155 weak epistemic adverbs, it is clear that among the analysed total 174.124 words *belki* (maybe/perhaps) occurs to 55,48% among all weak adverbs and to 16,83 % in all adverbs, which is a 0,0494 % in the total word count. The adverb *bence/bizce* (according to me/us) is seen for 16, 13 % in all weak adverbs and for 4,89 % among all adverbs, which makes a 0,0144 % in the total word count. *Sanki* (as if), on the other hand is used for 17,42 % among weak epistemic adverbs and for 5,28 % in the total number of used adverbs, which is a 0,0155 % due to the total word count. The modal adverb *güya* (as if/though) makes up 4,52 % of the used weak epistemic adverbs and 1,37 % among all adverbs, which is then 0,0040 % in the total word count. *Sanır-ım/ız/yoruz (ki)* (I/we think) appears to 3,78 % in weak epistemic adverbs and to 1,17 % in all modal adverbs, which equals to 0,0034 % among the total word count. On the other hand, *galiba* (probably) occurs to 2,58 % among weak epistemic adverbs and to 0,78 % among all adverbs, which is 0,0023 % considering the total word count. *Herhalde* (presumably) does not appear in CHP's analysed speeches and therefore has no numeric value at all. To conclude, it can be stated that the 155 weak epistemic adverbs in CHP's analysed speeches appear to 30, 63 % in the total number of 511 epistemic adverbs and to 9 % in the total word count (174.124).

To sum up the results of Tables 4.3-4.6, it seems obvious that both parties use strong epistemic adverbs nearly to the same extent and the same sequence. In other words, both use the strong epistemic adverb *gerçekten* the most, followed by *elbette (ki)*, *mutlaka* and *kesinlikle*, respectively. The only difference seems to lie in the usage of the adverb *kesinlikle* because due to the percentages on Table 3, this adverb is more frequently used in AKP's speeches.

As to the frequency of weak epistemic adverbs, it can be concluded that CHP members make more use of these adverbs than members of AKP. Additionally, it is obvious that both parties use the adverb *belki* the most, followed by *bence/bizce*. While the adverbs *herhalde* and *galiba* also seem to be used equally, *sanırım/ız/yoruz (ki)*, *sanki* and *güya* are definitely much more used by CHP members in their speeches.

4.2. Statistical Analysis of Epistemic Adverbs in AKPs' and CHP's Speeches

The statistical analysis of the 11 epistemic adverbs in AKPs' and CHP's speeches was made by the comparison of the two proportion test conducted in R-programming language.

Proportion 1 shows the statistical frequency of the related adverbs in AKP's speeches while proportion 2 demonstrates the frequency in CHP's speeches. The following Chi-square and p-values for each epistemic adverb are illustrating whether there is a significant difference between the two compared proportions. In this case, especially the p-value of each compared epistemic adverb is the determinant in revealing the presence of a significant difference. Table 4.7 presents the results for the differences of epistemic adverb usage among the total word count of each party separately, whereas Table 4.8 exhibits the outcomes for the differences of these adverbs among each party's used total adverbs.

Table 4.7. Two Proportion Test due to Total Word Count

Epistemic modal adverb	AKP (prop1)	CHP (prop2)	X ²	df	P -value
Kesinlikle	0,0017	0,0008	3,8651	1	0,049
Mutlaka	0,0002	0,0002	0,94744	1	0,758
Elbette (ki)	0,0005	0,0005	0,2639	1	0,871
Gerçekten	0,0008	0,0116	8,1879	1	0,004
Herhalde	0,0001	0,0000	0,0817	1	0,775
Galiba	0,0003	0,0002	0,0000	1	1
Sanır-ım/ız/yoruz (ki)	0,0000	0,0000	0,8662	1	0,768
Belki	0,0003	0,0004	4,4081	1	0,035
Bence/Bizce	0,0001	0,0001	0,5920	1	0,441
Sanki	0,0000	0,0001	5,0334	1	0,024
Güya	0,0000	0,0000	2,5667	1	0,109

On Table 4.7, it is clearly seen that only four of the related 11 epistemic adverbs show statistical significant differences between the analyzed two proportions due to their total word counts. The p-values of the two strong epistemic adverbs *kesinlikle* and *gerçekten* are 0.049 and 0.004, respectively. This means that due to the usage of these two adverbs there exists a significant difference in frequency between these two parties. In the first case, this difference is in favour of AKP because this party uses the adverb *kesinlikle* with the proportion of 0.0017, higher than the one of CHP, being 0.0008. But for the adverb *gerçekten*, the proportion of CHP is higher, 0.0116, and the one of AKP is lower with 0.0008. Thus, with this adverb the significant difference is in favour of CHP. The p-values of the two weak epistemic adverbs *belki* and *sanki*, being 0.035 and 0.024, respectively, are also indicating that according to these two adverbs, there is a statistical significant difference between the usage frequencies of the two parties. Here, the significant differences of both adverbs are in favour of CHP, which makes use of them to 0.0001 more often than the party AKP.

According to these results, it can be concluded that AKP members only use the strong epistemic adverb *kesinlikle* more frequently whereas CHP members use the strong epistemic adverb *gerçekten* and the two weak epistemic adverbs *belki* and *sanki* more often due to their

parties' total word counts. Besides these mentioned four epistemic adverbs, the remaining 7 ones seem to be used to nearly the same extent by the two parties related to their total word counts.

Table 4.8. Two Proportion Test due to Total Modal Adverb Count

Epistemic modal adverb	AKP (prop1)	CHP (prop2)	X ²	df	P -value
Kesinlikle	0,0971	0,3932	6,1215	1	0,013
Mutlaka	0,1485	0,1151	0,90366	1	0,341
Elbette (ki)	0,3085	0,2780	0,3934	1	0,531
Gerçekten	0,4457	0,5674	6,4925	1	0,010
Herhalde	0,1923	0,0000	0,3306	1	0,565
Galiba	0,0576	0,0258	0,4322	1	0,510
Sanır-ım/ız/yoruz (ki)	0,0384	0,0387	0,0000	1	1
Belki	0,5961	0,5548	0,1284	1	0,720
Bence/Bizce	0,1923	0,1612	0,0915	1	0,762
Sanki	0,0961	0,1741	1,2665	1	0,260
Güya	0,0000	0,4516	1,2449	1	0,264

Table 4.8 reveals that there are only two of 11 epistemic adverbs which show statistical significant differences between the analyzed two proportions due to the two parties' total modal adverb counts. These two epistemic adverbs are *kesinlikle* with a p-value of 0.013 and *gerçekten* with a p-value of 0.010. In this case, both values, being smaller than 0.05, are of favour of CHP's speeches because as both parties' proportions clearly illustrate, CHP's members used both related adverbs more frequently. The proportions of AKP for *kesinlikle* and *gerçekten* are 0.0971 and 0.4457, respectively whereas CHP's proportions are 0.3932 for *kesinlikle* and 0.5674 for *gerçekten*.

In short, due to the two parties' total modal adverb counts, *kesinlikle* and *gerçekten* are statistical significantly more used by CHP members. The other 9 epistemic adverbs, on the other hand, seem to be used equally by the two parties related to their total modal adverb counts. Further, it can be summed up that except for *kesinlikle* in the total word count usage, all epistemic adverbs which show statistical differences, whether due to usage frequencies in total word counts or modal adverb counts, are used more frequently by CHP members.

4.3. Usage of Strong Epistemic Adverbs in both Parties' Speeches

In general, strong epistemic adverbs in Turkish add a deductive meaning to the utterance. The speakers' opinions about the proposition are beyond prediction and close to certainty due to certain facts. Therefore, we are trying to illustrate how the related four strong

epistemic adverbs add certainty to utterances in our corpora. For this purpose, the following four strong epistemic adverbs (1) *kesinlikle* (definitely), (2) *mutlaka* (certainly/definitely), (3) *elbette (ki)* (certainly/of course) and (4) *gerçekten* (really, in fact) are analysed respectively due to certain criteria. The relevant properties here are the situation types of the verbs the adverbs are used with, the argument structures of the predicates the adverbs belong to, the modal markers present in the adverbial utterances and how negativity is created in sentences with the related strong epistemic adverbs. In order to show the results clearly and interpret them easily, they are going to be illustrated comparatively in the following Tables 9-23.

4.3.1. *Kesinlikle* (Definitely)

Kesinlikle (definitely) is the first strong epistemic adverb that is going to be analysed according to the above-mentioned criteria.

4.3.1.1. Situation Type

The following Table 4.9, illustrates the usage of the strong epistemic modal “*kesinlikle*” due to the situation types of the predicates in the data, being whether stative or non-stative verbs. The table shows how often this epistemic modal is used in total and illustrates also its frequency with stative as well as with non-stative verbs in both parties’ utterances, expressed in numbers and percentages.

Table 4.9. Situation Types with *kesinlikle*

	Stative		Non-stative		Total count
	Count	% in total	Count	% in total	
AKP	10	58,82 %	7	41,18 %	17
CHP	13	92,86 %	1	7.14 %	14

As table 4.9 shows clearly, the strong epistemic modal adverb “*kesinlikle*” is used for 17 times in AKP’s and for 14 times in CHP’s utterances. The number of the hits do not seem to differ among the speeches of the two parties. Compared with the total count, it is obvious that this modal adverb is more often used with stative verbs such as “*ol-*” (be), “*katıl-*” (agree), “*söz konusu ol-*” (to be of concern). Looking at the used non-stative verb counts and percentages, it is seen that the leading party AKP uses nearly 6 times more non-stative verbs than the opposite party. These numbers illustrate also the different approaches by two parties. AKP, for example, uses both active and stative verbs nearly equally, while CHP prefers non-active verbs to almost 93%. In other words, AKP does not seem to make only statements like CHP, but also speaks about actions. The following examples will illustrate how both parties use the modal adverb “*kesinlikle*” with stative and non-stative predicates:

(1) Burada bizim dahilimiz *kesinlikle* siyaseten söz konusu değildir. (AKP/stative)

(Our politically inclusion herein is definitely out of question.)

Sentence (1) exemplifies the stative predicates used with the adverb in AKP speeches. Here, the predicate modified by the adverb is “söz konusu ol-” (to be of question). The AKP representer claims in the utterance that their involvement in the issue is out of question.

(2) Yine, aynı şekilde, eğitim sorunları olsun, sağlık sorunları olsun ve birçok diğer konular *kesinlikle* sonuna kadar çözülmüştür. (AKP/non-stative)

(Yet in the same way, whether being educational problems, health problems or several other issues, all were definitely solved to the full extend.)

In sentence (2), the AKP representer states that they have definitely solved the problem. The predicate here is not stative since it involves many steps to solve a problem.

CHP on the other hand, almost never uses active verbs with the adverb “*kesinlikle*”. When they speak about actions, CHP representers do not seem to use the strong epistemic adverbial “*kesinlikle*” at all.

(3) *Kesinlikle* o kelime bunun karşılığı değil. (CHP/stative)

(This lexeme definitely cannot stand for that word.)

Sentence (3) exemplifies one of the many instances where CHP representers use *kesinlikle* with stative verbs. Here, the speaker comments that a certain word cannot be replaced by another.

(4) Yine, Anayasa 131’inci madde, 132’nci madde *kesinlikle* böyle bir üniversitenin hiçbir şekilde kurulamayacağını bizlere söylüyor. (CHP/non-stative)

(And again, the 131. and 132. constitution law tells us that such a university definitely cannot be established under any circumstances.)

In its speeches, the only non-stative predicate used with this adverb is *söylemek* (to tell) in (4), used by a CHP politician to say that a certain kind of university cannot be built. This leads to the assumption that this party makes nearly only statements in its sentences involving *kesinlikle*.

4.3.1.2. Argument Structure

Another factor that has influence on the modal meaning of modal adverbs is the argument structure of the utterances. The argument structure of utterances is relevant to the study in that it helps us see who is coded to be responsible for the actions or states in the utterance. What’s more, we may find the chance to see if the argument is actively involved in the act or state or somehow affected by it. This also acts as an influencing factor to alter the modal value of the modal adverb in the utterance.

In this analysis, we try to find out the agentive subjects and the themes. We want to see which entities are marked as the agents of the predicates in the utterances. We want to test the hypothesis that CHP uses AKP and its acts as the main argument in the utterances, whereas AKP does not use CHP and its acts as the main argument in its speeches. Within the topic and limitations of the study, we include the arguments of the utterances where modal adverbs are used. Table 4.10 below, displays the distribution of agentive and non-agentive subjects in the data. Furthermore, you can follow the number and percentage of the agentive uses of the main arguments in the utterances.

Table 4.10. Argument Structures with *kesinlikle*

	The party itself as the main argument						Other party as the main argument						
			Agentive		Non-agentive				Agentive		Non-agentive		N
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	6	35,29	2	11,76	4	23,53	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
CHP	4	28,57	0	0	4	28,57	4	28,57	3	21,43	1	7,14	14

As clear on Table 4.10, AKP representers do not speak about the dissident parties at all. At least, not with sentences where they use "*kesinlikle*". By not using this adverb, AKP does not make strong claims on part of the other parties in the parliament. (5) and (6) show us sample sentences where AKP is the main argument.

(5) Ve biz, milletin içinden geldiğimiz için, *kesinlikle* bu milletin birliği, dirliği ve geleceği için *dövüşeceğiz*. (AKP/agentive)

(And because we emanate from the folk, we are definitely going to fight for the unity, peace and future of this nation.)

In sentence (5), "*biz*" (we), referring to the AKP members, is the agent.

(6) Burada bizim dahilimiz *kesinlikle* siyaseten söz konusu *değildir*.

(AKP/ non-agentive)

(Our political inclusion herein is definitely out of question.)

In sentence (6), the main argument is not the party or its representers directly but 'their involvement in the issue' is the topic. It is clear, thus, that the speaker is not telling any information on part of the other parties.

CHP, on the contrary, talks about the actions or states of AKP as frequent as they talk about themselves/their own acts or states. Agentive or not, CHP makes AKP as the main argument for 50 % of the utterances with "*kesinlikle*". Sentence (7), (8) and sentence (9) illustrate how CHP talks about AKP.

(7) Sayın Başkan, açıklamalarınıza *kesinlikle* *katılmıyorum*. (CHP/non-agentive)

(Dear President, I definitely do not agree with your statements.)

In (7), the CHP presenter states that his thoughts differ from that of the president when it comes to how to use governmental power.

(8) *Kesinlikle* AKP, ... demokratik bir rejim yerine, çağdaş bir demokrasi yerine bir kabile devleti gibi, bir klan gibi *ülkeyi yönetmeyi* kendisine *şiar edinmiş*. (CHP/other party-agentive)

(...instead of a democratic regime, instead of a modern democracy, the AKP aims to govern the country like a tribal state, like a clan.)

In the eighth sentence AKP is accused of leading the country like a clan and in the last sentence.(9), AKP is blamed for distancing from a qualified education system.

(9) “Eğitimde *kesinlikle* kalite ve çağın modernitesini yakalayan, bilgiye, akla, müspet ilme dayalı bir eğitim sisteminden *uzaklaşmış durumdasınız ve ...*” (CHP/other party-non-agentive)

(When it comes to education, you are definitely far away from an education system, which is qualified, keeps up with the times modernity and is based on knowledge, reason and positive science and...)

4.3.1.3. Modal Values

There is no doubt that modal suffixes that co-occur with the modal adverbs influence the strength of modal adverbs. The two parties differ from each other in terms of the modal values they assign on the utterances. As noted by Aksu-Kurtoğlu (2008), the different choices that AKP and CHP make is clear in most of their utterances. As she notes, AKP prefers marking the utterances as necessary while CHP uses possibility more frequently in the speeches. This seems to be proved by our analysis as well. CHP uses the modal adverb *kesinlikle* with modal suffixes -*Abil* and lexical possibility coders such as “*mümkün*” (possible), “*olası*” (plausible), “*muhtemel*” (probable). AKP, on the other hand, uses strong possibility markers like *AcAk*, *AcAktır*, *Yap-Amaz*.

Table 4.11. Modal Values with *kesinlikle*

	IRREALIS								REALIS		N
	Necessity				Possibility						
	Weak		Strong		Weak		Strong				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	2	11,76	0	0	0	0	6	35,29	9	52,94	17
CHP	0	0	0	0	1	7.14	2	14.29	11	78.57	14

It is clear from the numbers on Table 4.11 that “*kesinlikle*” is not used with necessity markers. Among few such utterances by AKP representers are the ones with order suffix -*sA* shown in (10).

(10) Türkiye Cumhuriyeti devleti böyle bir ayırım yapmamaktadır, bunu *kesinlikle* herkes *bilsin*.” (AKP/weak necessity)

(The Republic of Turkey does not such a distinction, which should be known by everybody.)

When compared to that, “*kesinlikle*” is more frequent with possibility markers, e.g. in sentences (11), (13) and (14).

(11) Bu konuda *kesinlikle*, Jandarma Genel Komutanlığının kendi içinde, tecrübeleriyle, siciliyle, disipliniyle insanlar *seçilecek*, il ve ilçelere atamalar ve belki de Genel Komutanlık içerisinde atamalar *yapılacaktır*.” (AKP/strong possibility)

(In this respect, in the general commandership of gendarmerie itself, people are definitely going to be chosen according to their experiences, registry and discipline; state and province appointments and maybe even in the general commandership itself appointments are going to be made.)

(12) Basında çıkan bütün haberler *kesinlikle* yalandır değerli kardeşlerim. (AKP/realis)

(All news in the press are definitely false statements my dear fellows.)

(13) Değerli milletvekilleri, milli egemenliğin önemini Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk şöyle anlatır: “Bu kadar acı tecrübeyi geçiren milletin bundan sonra egemenliğini bir kişiye vermesi *kesinlikle mümkün değildir*.”

(CHP/weak possibility)

(Dear members of parliament, Gazi Mustafa Kemal expresses the importance of the national sovereignty in this way: “A nation having had this much unpleasant experience, can definitely not hand over its sovereignty to only one person.”

(14) Ama şunu açıkça söylüyorum: Bu *kesinlikle* bu millete *kan kusturacak bir kanundur*. (CHP/strong possibility)

(But I can put this clearly: This is definitely a law which causes this nation great distress.)

(15) Diğerlerinden emin değiliz ama burada *kesinlikle bir lobi var*.

(CHP-Realis)

(We are not sure about the others but here there is definitely a lobby.)

However, “*kesinlikle*” is certainly more frequent in utterances where the proposition is not marked by a modal possibility or modal necessity. Such sentences, as we take them, are categorized as realis. Sentence (12), for instance, shows “*kesinlikle*” occurring in a realis utterance. The suffix -Dir in sentence (12) is used with categorical function, thus, it does not denote any possibility or necessity meaning. The suffix specifies the meaning that the proposition expressed in the utterance should be taken to be true in the universe of discourse.

Sentence (15), taken from CHP speeches in the parliament, has the same affect by the existential predicate “*var*”.

4.3.1.4. Negation and Modal Values

Although the effects of negation on the modal meaning (especially in Turkish), it is certain that negation makes vital changes in the modal meaning of any utterance.

The scope of negativity might be on the proposition or on the modal markers. Although the two options are always left underspecified without particular context in English, the scope is clear in Turkish.

1. Annem evde olamaz.

√a. It is not possible that p

Xb. It is possible that not p

2. Annem bizi terk edemez.

√a. It is not possible that p

X b. It is possible that not p

3. Annem evde olmayabilir.

X a. It is not possible that p

√b. It is possible that not p

4. Annem bizi terk etmeyebilir.

X It is not possible that p

√ b. It is possible that not p

With these in mind, we should analyse the data in terms of the negativity marking. We distinguish the two scopes of negativity on the proposition or on modality.

Table 4.12. Negation and Modal Values with *kesinlikle*

	Negation on Possibility				Negation on necessity						N
	On proposition		On modal		On proposition		On modal				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	1	5,88	3	17,65	0	0	0	0	4	23,53	17
CHP	2	14,29	1	7,14	0	0	0	0	4	28,57	14

On Table 4.12, we see that sentences with “*kesinlikle*” do not show a significant difference in terms of negation. The counts given on both of the rows on Table 4.12 are nearly the same. Both parties have 4 negated sentences marked with possibility, and there are 4 negated samples for each party which are non-modal. As for necessity, neither of the groups negated an utterance with “*kesinlikle*”. Sentences (16) – (21) show samples to the classified uses.

(16) Türkiye Taşkömürü veya diğer alanlarda özel sektörün işlettiği veya ihale ile aldığı işletmelerde taşeron uygulaması *kesinlikle olmayacak*.

(AKP/possibility-proposition)

(There definitely won't be a subcontractor practice with the Turkish hard coal authority or other fields run or secured a tender by the private sector.)

(17) İslam ile terörü bir arada *kesinlikle* kimse *kullanamaz*, kullanmamalıdır.

(AKP/possibility-modal)

(Definitely nobody can and should use the Islam and terror lexemes together.)

(18) Eğer demokrasiyi ve özgürlükleri savunuyorsak AK PARTİ'nin çizgisi dışında, bu konulara ilişkin *kesinlikle* bir yaklaşım söz konusu *değildir*, değerli arkadaşlar. (AKP/realis)

(Dear colleagues, if we uphold democracy or fundamental freedom, then there is definitely no approach beyond the AKP line according to these issues.)

(19) Biz, tekrar ediyorum, toplumun baskı altına alınmasına, sindirilmesine, korkutulmasına *kesinlikle* sıcak bakmayız.

(CHP/possibility-proposition)

(We, I repeat it, definitely will not be open to the society being suppressed, oppressed or frightened.)

(20) Bu milletin bundan sonra egemenliğini bir kişiye *vermesi kesinlikle mümkün değildir*. (CHP/possibility-modal)

(From now on, it is definitely impossible for this nation to give its sovereignty to one person.)

(21) *Kesinlikle* o kelime bunun *karşılığı* *değil*. (CHP/Realis)

(This word is definitely not the definition of this.)

4.3.2. **Mutlaka (Definitely/Certainly)**

The second strong epistemic adverb to be illustrated according to its usage in our data is “*mutlaka*” (definitely/certainly).

4.3.2.1. **Situation Type**

As seen on table 4.13, the strong epistemic adverb “*mutlaka*” is used for 20 times in AKP's and 35 times in CHP's data with stative verbs, but only for 6 times in both parties' speeches with non-stative verbs. Looking at the percentages, it can be said that the opposite party uses this adverb to almost 10 % more often with stative verbs and less with non-stative

ones compared to the leading party. So it is obvious that both parties' utterances with "*mutlaka*" are made in general about statements more than about actions.

Table 4.13. Situation Types with *mutlaka*

	Stative		Non-stative		Total count
	Count	% in total	Count	% in total	
AKP	20	76,92 %	6	23,07 %	26
CHP	35	85,37 %	6	14,63 %	41

Examples (22) and (24) show the usage with stative predicates like (22) *hesabını yapmak* (to make the math of sthg.) and (24) *ciddiye almak* (to take seriously). The predicate in (22) should not be confused with "to calculate" or "to do sums". Here it means "to foresee what is going to happen". Sentences (23) and (25), on the other hand, are examples for utterances including non-stative verbs like (23) *teknoloji kullanmak* (to use technology) and (25) *değişmek* (to change).

(22) Mutlaka *hesabını yapmıştır* bu kurumlardan gelen siyasetçimiz. (AKP/stative)
(Our politician, coming from these institutions, certainly must have made its math.)

(23) Bunu biz söylemiyoruz, dünya bunu böyle yaptı ve Türkiye de *mutlaka teknolojiyi kullanmak* durumundadır. (AKP/non-stative)

(It's not us to say this, the world does it this way and Turkey definitely has to use technology.)

(24) Onun için *mutlaka* ama *mutlaka* bu işi çok *ciddiye almalıyız*. (CHP/stative)
(For this reason we have to take this definitely but definitely very seriously)

(25) Buradan şu sonucu çıkarırız ki, *mutlaka* dünya *değişiyor*, şartlar gelişiyor ve Türkiye gelişiyor. (CHP/non-stative)

(This makes us conclude that the world is definitely changing, the conditions are developing and Turkey is developing.)

4.3.2.2. Argument Structure

Table 4.14 shows that in utterances with "*mutlaka*" both parties talk more about themselves than the dissident party. There are just a few example utterances in which both parties make claims on part of the other party.

Table 4.14. Argument Structures with *mutlaka*

	The party itself as the main argument						Other party as the main argument						
	n	%	Agentive		Non-agentive		n	%	Agentive		Non-agentive		N
			n	%	n	%			n	%	n	%	
AKP	8	30,79	4	15,38	4	15,38	2	7,69	2	7,69	0	0	26
CHP	8	19,51	3	7,32	5	12,20	6	14,63	2	4,88	4	9,76	41

Looking at the percentages, it can be seen that CHP uses in its utterances the other party twice as much as the main argument compared to AKP. (26) and (27) are sample sentences where AKP is the main argument, whereas in (29) and (30) CHP is the main argument. In utterance (27) it can be inferred that the speaker, an AKP parliament member, also includes CHP's and other parties' parliament members by saying "we", because he mentions a situation where parliamentarians in general "may have hurt each other". Further, it is also obvious according to table10, that both parties make evenly use of agentive and non-agentive verbs, while talking about their own actions and states. Utterances (28), (31) and (32) illustrate how AKP and CHP talk about the other party. Doing so, AKP uses only agentives while CHP talks about AKP's acts and states.

(26) Bakın, bazı eleştiriler habire tekrarlanıyor ama bunu *mutlaka düzeltmemiz lazım*. (AKP/agentive)

(Let me put it in this way, some criticism is always repeated, but we definitely have to correct this.)

(27) Değerli arkadaşlarım, *mutlaka* bilmeden *birbirimizi kırdığımız olabilir*. (AKP/non-agentive)

(We certainly may have hurt each other unconsciously.)

(28) Acaba haksızlık mı ediyoruz, biz iktidar olsaydık ne yapardık? diye *mutlaka düşünüyorlardır*. (AKP/other party/agentive)

(Are we being unfair to them, what would we do if we came to power?" is what they definitely think to themselves.)

(29) Niçin oluyor, niçin bunlar bu ülkede yaşandı, niçin bu kadar insan hayatını kaybetti, bunları *mutlaka araştırmamız lazım*. (CHP/agentive)

(Why is that happening, why did these happen in this country, why did so many people lose their lives, we definitely have to investigate these questions.)

(30) İşte buna karşı bir *karşı duruşu mutlaka sergilememiz gerekiyor*. (CHP/non-agentive)

(That is the point where we definitely have to maintain a stance against it.)

(31) Şimdi, bunlar, *mutlaka* önemli hizmetler yapıyor, toplum yararına, kamu yararına çalışıyor. (CHP/other party/agentive)

(Yet, they certainly provide important services, work for the benefit of society and public.)

(32) Yüreğiniz varsa açıklarsınız, yüreğiniz yoksa kapalı toplum olma yolunda hızla ilerlersiniz ama bunun da *hesabını mutlaka ama mutlaka verirsiniz*. (CHP/other party/non-agentive)

(If you have the courage, you'll explain; if you do not, you'll proceed to become a closed society, but you definitely but definitely have to give an account of this.)

4.3.2.3. Modal Values

The numbers on Table 4.15 show that “*mutlaka*” is almost 3 times more frequently used with strong necessity markers like in the utterances (33) and (37). But it is also used with strong possibility markers like in (35) and (38).

Table 4.15. Modal Values with *mutlaka*

	IRREALIS								REALIS		N
	Necessity				Possibility						
	Weak		Strong		Weak		Strong				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	0	0	6	23,08	1	3,85	2	7,69	17	65,38	26
CHP	0	0	6	14,63	0	0	5	12,20	30	73,17	41

A weak possibility marker appears only once in one of AKP's utterances, exemplified in (34). Again according to Table 4.15, “*mutlaka*” appears in realis utterances nearly to the same amount as it does with necessity or possibility markers. Sentences (36) and (39), on the other hand, are examples for realis utterances of both parties.

(33) Bazı eleştiriler belki sürekli tekrarlanıyor ama bunu *mutlaka düzeltmemiz lazım*.
(AKP/strong necessity)

(Some criticism may be continuously repeated but we must definitely correct them.)

(34) Değerli arkadaşlarım, *mutlaka birbirimizi kırdığımız olabilir*, bunun için ben hepinizden tekrar özür diliyorum. (AKP/weak possibility)

(My dear friends, we might certainly have hurt each other, that is why I want to apologize to you again.)

(35) Halkın hakkını teslim etmeniz gerekiyor ve *bu mutlaka gerçekleşecek*. (AKP/strong possibility)

(We have to give the people their credit and this is definitely going to happen.)

(36) Üretimin kalitesinin artabilmesi için de *mutlaka sulamanın kaliteli olması gerekir.*

(AKP/Realis)

(In order for the production to rise, the watering definitely has to be of good quality.)

(37) Kamu-özel iş birliğinde hazine garantileri *mutlaka şeffaflaşmalı.* (CHP/strong necessity)

(In public-private cooperation, the treasury guaranteed bonds have to become transparent.)

(38) Adliyeyle silahlarla nasıl girdiğimiz *mutlaka zamanla ortaya çıkacaktır* ama şu aşamada açıklama yapmayacağız. (CHP/strong possibility)

(With time it will definitely come to light how we entered the court house with guns, but at this stage we won't make an explanation.)

(39) Her toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşü, basın açıklaması da dâhil, *mutlaka* insanların *dikkatini çekmek için* yapılır. (CHP/Realis)

(Each meeting and demonstration march, including press briefings, are definitely made to attract attention.)

4.3.2.4. Negation and Modal Values

Further analysis of our data according to negativity and modal values of sentences with “mutlaka” made obvious that there are no negative utterances with this strong epistemic modal in both parties' speeches.

4.3.3. *Elbette (ki)* (Of course/Certainly)

“*Elbette (ki)*” is the third strong epistemic adverb which is going to be analysed according to its appearance in AKP's and CHP's parliament speeches.

4.3.3.1. Situation Type

As clear on Table 4.16, the strong epistemic adverb “*elbette (ki)*” appeared to 54 times in AKP's and to 99 times in CHP's parliamentary speeches in total. In AKP's utterances “*elbette*” was used nearly evenly with stative and non-stative predicates, while it is more often seen with stative verbs in CHP's utterances.

Table 4.16. Situation Types with *elbette (ki)*

	Stative		Non-stative		Total count
	Count	% in total	Count	% in total	
AKP	26	48,14	18	33,33	54
CHP	60	60,60	39	39,39	99

Utterances (40) and (42) are examples for stative usages, whereas (41) and (43) exemplify non-stative utterances with this modal adverb.

(40) Bu, bir bitiş ve aynı zamanda bir başlangıçtır *elbette*. (AKP/stative)

(This is an end and certainly a beginning at the meantime.)

(41) “Başarı” dediğimiz kavram *elbette* farklı şekillerde *tarif edilebilir*, (AKP/non-stative)

(The term “success” can certainly be described in different ways.)

(42) Yaptığınız yardımların *elbette önemi vardır*. (CHP/stative)

(The accommodation we made, certainly mattered.)

(43) Askerimizin gitmesi, devletimizin, ülkemizin, milletimizin yararına ise *elbette göndereceğiz*. (CHP-non-stative)

(If the going of our soldiers is for the sake of our nation, we certainly will send them.)

4.3.3.2. Argument Structure

As visible on Table 4.17, in utterance with “*elbette (ki)*” both parties talk about their states or actions nearly to the same extent, which makes up 35 to 39 %. But while speaking about the opponent party, the percentages show that CHP makes twice as much claims on AKP than AKP does on CHP. (44) and (45) are sample sentences, where AKP is the main argument, whereas utterances (48) and (49) are examples for CHP as the main argument.

Table 4.17. Argument Structures with *elbette (ki)*

	The party itself as the main argument						Other party as the main argument						
			Agentive		Non-agentive				Agentive		Non-agentive		N
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	21	38,89	12	22,22	9	16,67	6	11,11	4	7,41	2	3,70	54
CHP	35	35,35	20	20,20	15	15,15	19	19,19	12	12,12	7	7,07	99

The utterances (46), (47), (50) and (51) show how AKP talks about CHP and vice versa.

(44) Başka ülkelerle *elbette iş birliği yapabiliriz* ama ayrıştığı noktalarda da kendi millî politikamız neyi gerektiriyorsa biz onu yaparız.

(AKP/party itself/agentive)

(Of course we can collaborate with other nations but at decomposition points, we will do whatever our own national policy demands.)

(45) Değerli milletvekilleri, Bingöl Üniversitesindeki yolsuzluk iddialarını da *elbette önemsiyoruz*. (AKP/party itself/non-agentive)

(Dear members of parliament, we certainly do care about the corruption allegations at Bingöl University.)

(46) Sayın Başkan, değerli arkadaşlar, muhalefet *elbette* konuşacak. (AKP/other party/agentive)

(Dear minister, dear friends, of course the opposition will talk.)

(47) *Elbette* muhalefetin çekinceleri var. (AKP/other party/non-agentive)

(The opposition certainly has its drawbacks.)

(48) İç güvenlik paketi konuşulurken biz *elbette* sesimizi yükseltecektik. (CHP/party itself/agentive)

(While they were talking about the internal security package, we certainly had to raise our voice.)

(49) *Elbette* bu konunun kamuoyunun bilgisi çerçevesinde çözülmesi gerektiğine inanıyoruz. (CHP/party itself/non-agentive)

(We certainly believe that this subject has to be solved within the information frame of the public opinion.)

(50) *Elbette* Başbakanın görevi ekonomiyi iyi *tanıtmak* ve yatırımcıları Türkiye'ye *davet etmektir*. (CHP/other party-agentive)

(The duty of the prime minister is certainly to introduce the economy and invite investors to Turkey.)

(51) *Elbette*, *art niyetlisiniz*. (CHP/other party-non-agentive)

(Of course you are evil-minded.)

4.3.3.3. Modal Values

It is obvious from the percentages on Table 4.18, that “*elbette (ki)*” is used with necessity as well as possibility markers in both parties’ utterances, but more frequently with the later one.

Table 4.18. Modal Values with *elbette (ki)*

	IRREALIS								REALIS		N
	Necessity				Possibility						
	Weak		Strong		Weak		Strong				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	0	0	4	7,41	6	11,11	1	1,85	43	79,63	
CHP	1	1.01	3	3.03	13	13.13	13	13.13	69	69.69	

A striking difference is that CHP makes use of strong possibility markers for 15 times, while AKP does not use even one. It can also be seen that realis utterances with “*elbette (ki)*” make only up nearly 25 % of AKP’s and almost 33% of CHP’s sentences. In other words, in utterances with this strong epistemic modal both parties prefer to strengthen its influence by

using modal suffixes. The sentences (51), (52), (54), (55), (56) and (57) exemplify the usages of these suffixes by both parties. (53) and (58), on the other hand, are example sentences for both parties' realis utterances with "*elbette (ki)*".

(51) Bu oranları *elbette* daha çok *arttırmalıyız*. (AKP/strong necessity)

(We certainly should raise these rates much more.)

(52) *Elbette ki* bu sorunların araştırılması, incelenmesi, kapsamlı bir çalışmanın yapılması son derece makul, *haklı bir talep olarak görülebilir*.

(AKP/weak possibility)

(The investigation of these problems, their analysis, making an extensive study, may be certainly seen as a justified request.)

(53) *Elbette* Kütahya her şeyin en iyisini *hak ediyor*. (AKP/realis)

(Kütahya certainly deserves the best.)

(54) Tabii ki ekonomimizin yurt dışında övülmesinden biz mutlu oluruz, *elbette* yani *övünülecek bir durumumuz varsa* tabii ki. (CHP/weak necessity)

(Of course it would make us happy when our economy would be praised abroad, certainly this means if there is there is actually a situation we can boast of.)

(55) Kadınlar, çocuklar ve engelliler ile ilgili konulara *elbette el atmamız gerekecek*.

(CHP/strong necessity)

(We certainly have to lay hands on topics related to women, children and disabled people.)

(56) Kanun teklifi *elbette hazırlanabilir* ama ne hikmetse bunu yapmak istemiyorsunuz.

(CHP/weak possibility)

(The right of initiative for legislation can certainly be prepared but for some reason you do not want to do this.)

(57) *Elbette görevden alacaksınız* sizin gibi düşünmeyen bürokrati.

(CHP/strong possibility)

(You will certainly discharge the bureaucrat who does not think like you.)

(58) Sayın Başkan, değerli milletvekilleri; *elbette* her şey huzurlu ve güvenli bir Türkiye için *yapılıyor*. (CHP/realis)

(Dear President, dear members of parliament, everything is certainly done for a peaceful and safe Turkish Republic.)

4.3.3.4. Negation and Modal Values

It is clear from the numbers on Table 4.19, that AKP's negative utterances with "*elbette (ki)*" include negations on the proposition once, as shown in example (60).

Table 4.19. Negation an Modal Values with *elbette (ki)*

	Negation on Possibility				Negation on necessity				Realis		N
	On proposition		On modal		On proposition		On modal				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	0	0	3	5,56	1	1,85	2	37,04	5	9,26	54
CHP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2,02	99

Further there are negations on possibility and necessity markers, given in the samples (59) and (61), as well as in realis utterances, exemplified in (62). On the other hand, CHP only uses two negations with “*elbette (ki)*” in realis utterances, like exemplified in (63).

(59) *Elbette ki böyle bir önerenin aleyhinde kimse konuşamaz.*

(AKP/Possibility-modal)

(It is certainly out of question for anybody to argue against such a resolution)

(60) Oradaki insanların *elbette* madencileri *yalnız bırakmaması gerekiyor.*

(AKP/Necessity-proposition)

(The people there certainly shouldn't leave the miners alone.)

(61) Değerli milletvekilleri, *elbette fazla izaha gerek yoktur ki*, terörün önümüzdeki yüzyılda dünyanın bir numaralı sorunu olacağı şimdiden bellidir. (AKP/Necessity-modal)

(Dear members of parliament, there is certainly not much need to explain that it is already clear for terrorism to become the number one issue in the next century.)

(62) “Kalkınma” *elbette* ekonomiyi de içeren *bir kavramdır.* (AKP/Realis)

(The word “development” is of course a term, which also includes the economy.)

(63) *Elbette ki* mali dengelerin, aktüaryel dengelerin *bozulmasından yana değiliz.*

(CHP/Realis)

(Of course we are not of the side of spoiling financial stability, actuarial balance.)

4.3.4. Gerçekten (Really/In fact)

“*Gerçekten*” is the last strong epistemic adverb which is going to be analysed due to our data. It is at the same time the most used one in the parliamentary speeches of both parties, with a total count of 78 times in AKP's and 202 times in CHP's utterances.

4.3.4.1. Situation Type

As obvious on Table 4.20, the strong epistemic adverb “*gerçekten*” is used in 46 of AKP' utterances with stative predicates like in example (64) and for 32 times with non-stative predicates like in (65).

Table 4.20. Situation Types with *gerçekten*

	Stative		Non-stative		Total count
	Count	% in total	Count	% in total	
AKP	46	59,00	32	41,03	78
CHP	72	35,64	130	64,36	202

CHP's utterances with this adverb, on the contrary, include mostly non-stative verbs, 130 in total, like exemplified with the utterance (68) and only half as much, 72 in number, non-stative verbs like in sample (67). Which means that AKP speaks nearly as much about statements in utterances with "*gerçekten*" as about actions, but CHP speaks twice as much about actions than about statements.

- (64) Bu konuda açılmış pek çok dava *var gerçekten*. (AKP/stative)
(There are really a lot of charges filed on this subject.)
- (65) İş yeri hekimiyle ilgili, iş güvenliği uzmanıyla ilgili *gerçekten* önemli düzenlemeler getiriyoruz. (AKP/non-stative)
(We really make important regulations concerning workplace physic and occupational safety practice.)
- (66) İnsan hakikaten merak ediyor acaba *gerçekten*bu durum düzelecekmi diye. (CHP/stative)
(One wonders if this situation is really going to improve.)
- (67) Orman işçisinin korunması gerekir çünkü onlar *gerçekten*yaşamlarını çok zorsürdüren bir kesim. (CHP/non-stative)
(Forestry workers have to be protected because this community really leads a very hard life.)

4.3.4.2. Argument Structure

The numbers on Table 4.21 make clear that in utterance with "*gerçekten*", AKP uses itself, agentive or not, to nearly 41 % as the main argument, whereas the other party is only used for 5 % as the main argument. CHP, on the contrary, is the main argument for almost 16 % while the dissident party is the main argument for 45 % in its utterances.

Tablo 4.21.Argument Structures with *gerçekten*

	The party itself as the main argument						Other party as the main argument						
			Agentive		Non-agentive				Agentive		Non-agentive		N
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	32	41,03	12	15,38	20	25,64	2	2,56	0	0	2	2,56	78
CHP	31	15,35	17	8,42	14	6,93	45	20,23	24	11,88	21	10,40	202

In other words, AKP talks in its utterances with “*gerçekten*” more about its own actions and states, as in the samples (68) and (69), than about CHP as exemplified in (70). CHP, on the other hand, prefers to speak about AKP's actions and states, like the examples (73) and (74) reveal, rather than about its own actions and states, as shown in the samples (71) and (72).

(68) Geride bıraktığımız bu süre zarfında milletimize *gerçekten* çok önemli *hizmetler yaptık*. (AKP/party itself/agentive)

(We really did very important services to our nation during the time we left behind.)

(69) *Gerçekten* çok önemli *bir yasa*yı kabul ettik, öncelikle hayırlı olsun. (AKP/party itself/non-agentive)

(We really passed a very important law, first of all congratulations on that.)

(70) Bundan dolayı muhalefetimize, bu kanun için emek veren bütün arkadaşlarımıza çok teşekkür ediyorum, onların da *gerçekten* yapıcı anlamda önemli *katkıları oldu*. (AKP/other party/non-agentive)

(Therefore, I want to thank very much the opposing party and all our friends who made a great effort for this law, they also really made important constructive contributions.)

(71) Bu hatadan dönüldüğü için, bu yanlışlık onarıldığı için *gerçekten* teşekkür ediyorum. (CHP/party itself/agentive)

(I really do thank for correcting this fault, for fixing this mistake.)

(72) Değerli arkadaşlar, *gerçekten*, bu ölümcül iş cinayetlerinin hepimizin *vicdanlarını sızlattığını biliyorum*. (CHP/party itself/non-agentive)

(Dear friends, I really do know that we all are moved by these fatal workplace murders.)

(73) O zaman, siz bunu yapıyorsanız, *gerçekten kim kimi finanse ediyor*, kim bundan kazançlı çıkıyor, oraya bakmak lazım.

(CHP/other party/agentive)

(Then, if you do that, we have to take a look at who really finances who and who gets the best of that.)

(74) Siz *gerçekten* İşsizlik Sigortası Fonu'ndan *elinizi çektiğinizde* çok daha onurlu bir iş yapmış olacaksınız. (CHP/other party/non-agentive)

(If you really take your hands off the unemployment insurance fund, you will have made a much more honourable thing.)

4.3.4.3. Modal Values

Looking at the numbers and percentages on Table 4.22, it is clear that only a few utterances with “*gerçekten*” contain modality markers. AKP uses these markers in only 13 % and CHP in just 2 % of their utterances. AKP uses 9 necessity markers, of which 6 are weak, like in the example (75) and 3 are strong, as in example (76). Example (77), on the other hand, shows the only usage of a weak possibility marker, in all other sentences the proposition is not marked, like exemplified in (78).

Table 4.22. Modal Values with *gerçekten*

	IRREALIS								REALIS		N
	Necessity				Possibility						
	Weak		Strong		Weak		Strong				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	6	7,69	3	3,85	1	1,28	0	0	68	87,18	78
CHP	0	0	4	1,98	0	0	0	0	198	98,02	202

The data for CHP's utterances with “*gerçekten*” reveals only four sentences where the proposition is marked by strong necessity markers, like in the sample (79), but all other sentences can be categorized as realis, as seen in utterance (80).

(75) Eğer *gerçekten* bir usulsüzlük, bir yanlışlık *varsa* orada yargı da var.

(AKP/Irrealis/weak necessity)

(If an irregularity, a mistake really exists, there is also judgement.)

(76) Bu soruyu *gerçekten* bizim kendi kendimize de sormamız *lazım*.

(AKP/Irrealis/strong necessity)

(We really have to ask this question to ourselves.)

(77) Bir de orada barışın simgesi olan olimpiyatların yapılması, *gerçekten* onlar için bir *acı olmuştur*. (AKP/Irrealis/weak possibility)

(And the holding of the Olympic Games there, which is a symbol of peace, must have been really painful for them.)

(78) Türkiye'de uzun yıllar *gerçekten* adil olmayan bir kalkınma anlayışı *mevcuttu*.

(AKP/Realis)

(In Turkey, there really existed an unfair development understanding for a long time.)

(79) Siyasal iktidarın bir Başbakanı, İçişleri Bakanı ve Cumhurbaşkanı muhalefeti suçluyorsa burada *gerçekten* iktidarın çok vahim bir şekilde bunu *düşünmesi gerekir*. (CHP/Irrealis/strong necessity)

(If the prime minister, the minister for internal affairs and the president of the political power blame the opposition, the government should very seriously be thinking about this here.)

- (80) “100 lira vereceğiz.” diye milleti *gerçekten* yanılttınız. (CHP/Realis)
(You really misled the people by saying, “We will give you 100 liras.”)

4.3.4.4. Negation and Modal Values

Analyzing the data with “*gerçekten*” in terms of negativity marking, we see on Table 4.23 that in AKP’s utterances there is no use of negativity markers at all, there are only three negative realis sentences to be found, exemplified in (81).

Table 4.23. Negation and Modal Values with *gerçekten*

	Negation on Possibility				Negation on necessity						N
	On proposition		On modal		On proposition		On modal				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3,85	78
CHP	0	0	1	0,49	0	0	0	0	5	2,48	202

As for the utterances of CHP presenters, there is only one sample (82), showing negation on the modal and five more not marked negative utterances are found as in sentence (83).

- (81) 2014 yılına dek dünya finans piyasalarında *gerçekten* böyle bir kaos gözlemlemedik.
(AKP/realis)
(We really have not seen such a chaos in the global finance market until 2014.)
- (82) Benim ülkemin klasik Sünni’sini, Hanefi’yi ve Şafii mezhebine mensup Sünni kardeşimi Müslüman da *gerçekten* kabul etmez. (CHP/possibility on modal)
(A Muslim will in fact not accept my country’s classical sunni, Hanafi and my sunni brother belonging to the shafii sect.)
- (83) Değerli arkadaşlar, Meclisin bu yasama döneminin sonuna doğru yaklaşır *gerçekten* incitici olmak, *kırıcı* olmak istemeyiz ama AKP klasiklerinden bir türlü kurtulamadı Meclis. (CHP/realis)
(Dear friends, while we are coming to the end of the council’s legislative session, we really do not want to be offending or unkind but the council could somehow not get rid of the AKP classics.)

4.4. Usage of Weak Epistemic Adverbs in AKP’s and CHP’s Speeches

Weak epistemic adverbs in the Turkish modality system indicate in general possibility, uncertainty or suspicion related to the utterance and others, the personal attitude of the

speaker towards the utterance. Thus, they are reflecting the speaker's weak belief about the utterance (Ruhi et al. 1999:313).

We are going to present how weak epistemic adverbs are used in our data and reveal what modality meaning they add on the utterances made by the members of both parties. In order to do this, the following seven weak epistemic adverbs (1) *herhalde* (presumably), (2) *galiba* (probably), (3) *sanırım/ız/yoruz* (I think /we think), (4) *belki* (maybe/perhaps), (5) *bence/bizce* (according to me/us), *sanki* (as if) and *güya* (as if) are going to be analysed respectively due to the the same criteria as it was done before with strong epistemic adverbs. The results are again to be illustrated in relevant tables.

4.4.1. Herhalde (Presumably)

According to Erguvanlı-Taylan et al. (1993), the epistemic adverb *herhalde* marks objective possibility. It also expresses a stronger belief when compared to *belki* and *galiba* (1993:6-7). In our corpora there is only one utterance found with this weak epistemic adverb, belonging to AKP's data, therefore there was no need to show this sentence on tables. This utterance is used with the negated stative predicate "*dinlememek*" (not to listen) speaking about the dissident party, which is the main argument, accusing a certain CHP parliament member not to listen to the AKP presenters' responses. In addition, it can be seen that this utterance has no necessity or possibility markers, which makes it a realis sentence.

- (84) Yine, Sayın Tanal "cari açık borcu" ifadesini kullandı; biraz önceki cevabımı *herhalde dinlememiş*, şu andaki cevabımı da dinlemiyor kendisi.

(AKP/stative/other party/agentive/Realis)

(Dear Tanal used again the term "current deficit debt"; he presumably did not listen to my former response; he does not listen to my current response either.)

4.4.2. Galiba (Probably)

The second weak epistemic adverb, which is going to be presented due to its appearance frequency in our data, is *galiba*. This is one of the adverbials used to express possibility. *Galiba*, also marking suspicion, indicates a stronger belief about propositions than *belki*, but being still far away from certainty.

In our corpora, it only appears for three times in AKP's utterances and for four times in CHP's. For this reason, there is again no need to show all outcomes on different tables. Beginning with the situation type for utterances with "*galiba*", it is seen that AKP's utterances have only stative verbs, while CHP speakers use evenly two stative verbs and two non-stative

verbs in their sentences. An example for an AKP stative utterance is given in (85), while CHP's stative predicate usage can be seen in (86) and its non-stative sample is shown in (87).

- (85) Çok öfkeli konuşmalar yapanların sonra gülümseyerek yerlerine oturması, beni her zaman "Nedir bu?" diye düşünmeye sevk etti ama *galiba* buna 17'nci yüzyıla kadar Avrupa'da "Theatrum mundi" *derlerdi*.

(AKP/Non-stative)

(Sitting down smiling after giving furious speeches, made me always think "What is that?" but probably this was called "Theatrum mundi" in Europe until the 17th century.)

- (86) Siz *karşısınız galiba*, *karşısınız değil mi?* (CHP/stative)

(You are probably opposed to this, aren't you?)

- (87) Sayın Cumhurbaşkanı geçmişte yaptığı hatalarla ilgili zaman zaman *galibagünah çıkarıyor*. (CHP/non-stative)

(The dear president probably confesses from time to time his past faults.)

As for the argument structure, it appears that one AKP presenter only uses the party itself once as the main argument to speak about a statement and do not seem to make any utterances with the dissident party as main argument. But looking at example (94), it can be assumed that the AKP presenter also involves the dissident party, even all parties present in the parliament, by using the subject pronoun "we" and claiming that all parliamentariens resemble each other with time. CHP's utterances, on the other hand, do not involve themselves or their party as the main argument at all, but the dissident party is mentioned twice as the main argument, with an agentive predicate in sample (96), as well as a non-agentive predicate in sample (97).

- (94) Zaman içerisinde biraz da *birbirimize benziyoruz galiba* çünkü insan, yumruğa yumrukla karşılık veriyor. (AKP/party itself/non-agentive)

(With time we probably resemble each other because one fights back.)

- (96) Sayın Cumhurbaşkanı geçmişte yaptığı hatalarla ilgili zaman zaman *galibagünah çıkarıyor*. (CHP/other party/agentive)

(The dear president probably confesses from time to time his past faults.)

- (97) Siz *karşısınız galiba*, *karşısınız değil mi?* (CHP/other party/non-agentive)

(You are probably opposed to this, aren't you?)

Further it can be said that there are no modal meanings in the total seven existing utterances with *galiba*, neither in positive nor in negative utterances. Only realis utterances could be found in the two parties' sentences, exemplified in (98) for AKP's and in (99) for CHP's usage, where the later is at the same time a sample for the only negative utterance with "*galiba*" in our data.

(98) Çok öfkeli konuşmalar yapanların sonra gülümseyerek yerlerine oturması, beni her zaman “Nedir bu?” diye düşünmeye sevk etti ama *galiba* buna 17’nci yüzyıla kadar Avrupa’da “Theatrum mundi” *derlerdi*. (AKP/Realis)

(Sitting down smiling after giving furious speeches, made me always think “What is that?” but probably this was called “Theatrum mundi” in Europe until the 17th century.)

(99) Hepinizi saygıyla selamlıyorum ama 550 kişilik milletvekili grubumuda, maşallah, 30 kişiyi *geçmiyoruz galiba*. (CHP/Realis/Negation)

(I greet you all respectfully but despite our 550 memberparliament group, we probably do not pass 30 people.)

4.4.3. *Sanırım-ız-ıyoruz* (I think/We think)

This lexical item is claimed to be the Turkish equivalent of the expression „I think“ in English. This marker reports the speaker’s lack of belief and knowledge about the proposition. The speaker marks his/her suspicions, deductions and predictions by using this epistemic adverb, which signals uncertainty (de Haan 2006: 37). This adverb appears very rarely in the parliamentary speeches of both parties. It only occurs in eight utterances in our data, of which two are made by AKP presenters and six by CHP presenters. Both parties’ utterances made with “*sanırım-ız-ıyoruz*” are only used with sative verbs like exemplified in (101) for AKP’ utterances and in (102) for CHP’s. Looking at the subjects in these mentioned eight sentences, it occurs that only AKP uses the other party as a non-agentive subject once, as shown in the sample (103). Besides, neither AKP nor CHP makes any usage of agentive or non-agentive subjects in utterances with *sanırım-ız-ıyoruz*. Further it occurred that there are no modal markers in AKP’s two utterances with this adverb, both sentences can be categorized as realis as to be seen in sample (104). In the data of CHP’s utterances, on the other hand, we found two usages of modality markers, of which the sample (105) shows strong necessity and (106) strong possibility marking. The other four utterances are realis utterances as exemplified with sentence (107). The following sample (108), is the only negative utterance with *sanırım-ız-ıyoruz*, found in CHP’s data, where the scope of negativity is on the proposition marked with possibility.

(101) *Sanırım* yedi sekiz ay önce bir tartışma *oldu* ve sonrasında bu görüşmeler yapıldı. (AKP/stative)

(I think there was a discussion and these negotiations were made after that.)

(102) *Sanırım*, Sayın Pervin Buldan’ın basına yansıyan açıklamaları bu düşüncede olan herkesi bir ölçüde olmaya *meçbur kıldı*. (CHP/stative)

(I think that dear Pervin Buldan's statements reflected in the press, forced everyone who had the same opinion to be in a certain extent.)

(103) Bu çekinceler sırf salt muhalefet olsun, muhalefet yapalım anlayışından kaynaklı değil; bunu *sanırım* siz de *anladınız*. (AKP/other party/non-agentive)

(These reservations do not exist only to be dissent, are not originating from opposing; I think that you understood that, too.)

(104) *Sanırım* yedi sekiz ay önce bir tartışma *oldu* ve sonrasında bu görüşmeler yapıldı. (AKP/Realis)

(I think there was a discussion and these negotiations were made after that.)

(105) Sayın Başkan, değerli milletvekilleri; sabahı bulan bu görüşme maratonunda *sanırım* artık ne oluyor diye bir *sormamız gerekiyor*.

(CHP/Irrealis/strong necessity)

(Dear President, dear members of parliament; at this negotiation marathon, lasting until the morning, I think that we finally have to ask what is happening.)

(106) Eğer bugün Meclis Başkanlığı bu önerenin üzerine bizlere açıklayıcı bir yazı gönderseydi, *sanırım* bu tartışmaya da *gerek kalmayacaktı*.

(CHP/Irrealis/strong possibility)

(If the speaker's office had sent us an explanatory statement considering this resolution, I think there would have been no need for this discussion.)

(107) Naci Bey *sanırım* benim sataşmamdan çok eleştirilerime cevap vermek için o *haklı kullandı*. (CHP/Realis)

(I think that Mr. Naci used that right more to reply to my criticism than to my teasing.)

(108) Eğer bugün Meclis Başkanlığı bu önerenin üzerine bizlere açıklayıcı bir yazı gönderseydi, *sanırım* bu tartışmaya da *gerek kalmayacaktı*.

(CHP/possibility/on proposition)

(If the speaker's office had sent us an explanatory statement considering this resolution, I think there would have been no need for this discussion.)

4.4.4. *Belki* (Maybe/Perhaps)

Belki also indicates also weak possibility and among the weak epistemic adverbs in our data, utterances with *belki*, are the most found ones. This adverb is used for 31 times in AKP's and for 86 times in CHP's utterances. It is clear from the numbers on Table 4.24 below, that both parties' presenters used to a great extent stative verbs in utterance with this adverb like the

examples (109) and (111) show, but to a third, both parties' sentences are also composed with non-stative verbs, exemplified in (110) and (112).

4.4.4.1. Situation Type

In Table 4.24, we can see the number of hits with the stative and non-stative situation types. Samples (109)-(112) exemplify the use of these items together in the data.

Table 4.24. Situation Types with *Belki*

	Stative		Non-stative		Total count
	Count	% in total	Count	% in total	
AKP	20	64,52	6	19,35	31
CHP	60	69,77	26	30,23	86

(109) *Belki* telaffuzlarımız *farklıydı*, belki yaklaşımlarımız farklıydı ama sonuçta bu milletin çıkarları ve geleceği için konuşmaya çalıştık. (AKP/Stative)

(Maybe our pronunciation was different, maybe our approaches were different but eventually we tried to speak for this nation's interests and future.)

(110) *Belki* çok daha sıklıkla bu kürsüye çıkıp bütün bu yeni çalışmalarını size *anlatmam gerekir*. (AKP/non-stative)

(Perhaps I should go up much more often to the rostrum and tell you about all these new studies.)

(111) *Belki* zamanımız *dar* ama biz bu zaman darlığı içerisinde dahi, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi olarak görüşlerimizi sizlerle paylaşacağız. (CHP/stative)

(Maybe we do not have much time but even in this time lag, we, as the Republican Party, want to share our opinion with you.)

(112) *Belki* sabaha kadar *çalışacak* bu Meclis, görüşmeleri olacak. (CHP/non-stative)

(Perhaps this council will work all night long, there will be negotiations.)

4.4.4.2. Argument Structure

As Table 4.25 shows clearly, both parties' presenters make use of main arguments in their utterances with "*belki*", either with agentives or non-agentives, while talking about their own or the other party's states or actions. Looking at the percentages of usage, it stands out that AKP uses twice as much main arguments as CHP and the distribution of them according to the two parties seems almost equal. CHP's presenters, on the other hand, use three times as much main arguments in utterances about the dissident party than in sentences where they themselves are the main argument.

Tablo 4.25. Argument Structure with *Belki*

	The party itself as the main argument						Other party as the main argument						
	n	%	Agentive		Non-agentive		n	%	Agentive		Non-agentive		N
			n	%	n	%			n	%	n	%	
AKP	10	32,26	6	19,35	4	12,90	8	25,80	4	12,90	4	12,90	31
CHP	6	6,98	5	5,81	1	1,16	18	20,93	3	3,49	15	17,44	86

Utterances (113) and (114) are examples of how AKP presenters talk about their own party or themselves, and sentences (115) and (116) exemplify how they talk about the opposite party and their members. Likewise, (117) and (118) illustrate how CHP presenters talk about their own actions and states in utterances, where they are the main argument, and examples (119) and (120) show CHP' usage while mentioning the opposite party's actions and states.

(113) Biz SUKAP programımızı *belki* yeterince *anlatamadık*. (AKP/itself/agentive)

(Perhaps we have not told enough about our SUKAP program.)

(114) *Belki* 20'yi aşan tekliflerimizle, önemli toplumsal sorunları çözen yasaların geçmesine *vesile olduk*. (AKP/itself/non-agentive)

(With our more than 20 proposals we perhaps contributed to pass laws which solved important social problems.)

(115) Ben bunu bilmiyorum, *belki* de kendileri bunu *cevaplarlar*. (AKP/other party/agentive)

(I do not know about this, maybe they themselves answer this.)

(116) *Belki* burada çok olumlu *katkılar sağlayacaktınız* ama bunu yapmıyorsunuz.

(AKP/other party/non-agentive)

(Perhaps you were going to make very positive contributions but you are not doing that.)

(117) Millî Eğitim Bakanının dediği gibi, ihtiyaç olan 110 bin rakamına gelmesi için *belki* *tekliflerimizi vereceğiz*. (CHP/itself/agentive)

(Like the ministry of education said, we perhaps will give our proposals in order to reach the needed number of 110 thousand)

(118) *Belki* de bu dönem bu son *konuşmamdır*. (CHP/itself/non-agentive)

(Maybe this is my last talk in this period.)

(119) Meclisten ayrılanların yüzde 70'i bu Meclise bir daha dönmeyecek, *belki* sizlerden de bir sürüsü *dönmeyecek*. (CHP/other party/agentive)

(70% of those who leave this council will not come back again, maybe many of you will not either.)

(120) Bunları görün, *belki* biraz *alınırsınız*, belki biraz utanırsınız arkadaşlar. (CHP/other party/non-agentive)

(You should see these things, maybe you will be offended, maybe a little ashamed dear friends.)

4.4.4.3 Modal Values

The numbers and percentages on Table 4.26 make visible that each party's speakers make use of modality markers to approximate 20 %, of which nearly all are possibility markers, weak and strong.

Table 4.26. Modal Values with *Belki*

	IRREALIS								REALIS		N
	Necessity				Possibility						
	Weak		Strong		Weak		Strong				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	0	0	3	9,68	4	12,90	4	12,90	20	64,52	31
CHP	0	0	0	0	8	9,30	4	4,65	74	86,05	86

The only exeption is made in one of AKP's utterances, shown in sample (121). The utterances (122),(123) and (124) are examples for AKP's presenters' use of weak and strong modality markers and realis utterances, respectively. CHP's presenters' usage of modality markers with "*belki*" are to be seen in the utterances (125), (126), where the first is an example of weak possibility marking and the second one of strong possibility marking. Sample (127), on the other hand, is an example for CHP's realis utterances.

(121) *Belki* çok daha sıklıkla bu kürsüye çıkıp bütün bu yeni çalışmalarını size *anlatmam gerekir*. (AKP/Irrealis/strong necessity)

(Perhaps I should go up more often to the rostrum and tell you about all these new studies.)

(122) Sizin benimsemediğiniz, sarsıcı, *belki* hiç hoşunuza gitmeyen düşünceler *dile getirilebilir*. (AKP/Irrealis/weak possibility)

(Perhaps thoughts may be uttered which you do not like, not adopt, which are traumatic.)

(123) Eğer Çanakkale'de mağlup olsaydık, *belki* de Anadolu topraklarını tamamen *kaybetmiş olacaktık*. (AKP/Irrealis/strong possibility)

(If we had been beaten in Çanakkale, we perhaps would have lost the Anatolian territories completely.)

(124) Diğer taraftan, aynı kaynaktan kaynaklanan ve *belki* birçok öğelere ayrılan bir *dil yapısıdır* ana dil. (AKP/Realis)

(On the other hand, the mother tongue is a language construction, generating from the same source and maybe diverging in several items.)

(125) Hükûmet *belki* böyle bir tercihte bulunmuş olabilir. (CHP/weak possibility)

(Perhaps the government may have made such a preference.)

(126) Türkiye'nin topladığı vergi *belki* bu yıl 360, 370 milyar TL'lere *çıkacak*. (CHP/strong possibility)

(The taxes Turkey collects maybe go up to 360, 370 billion TL this year.)

(127) *Belkizamanımız dar* ama biz bu zaman darlığı içerisinde dahi, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi olarak -görüşlerimizi sizlerle paylaşacağız. (CHP/Realis)

(Maybe we do not have much time but even in this time lag, we, as the Republican Party, want to share our opinion with you.)

4.4.4.4. Negativity and Modal Values

It is clear from Table 4.27, that the use of negative utterances in our data including both parties is quite low. In AKP's utterances negation appears just for two times, in which it conveys possibility and is on the proposition of the utterance like exemplified with (128).

Table 4.27. Negation with *Belki*

	Negation on Possibility				Negation on necessity				Non-modal		N
	On proposition		On modal		On proposition		On modal				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	2	6,45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31
CHP	1	1,16	1	1,16	0	0	0	0	4	4,65	86

CHP's representers also use only negation with possibility, but on both proposition and modal as samples (129) and (130) make obvious. The last utterance with "*belki*", (131), is an example for the four realis negations found in CHP's data.

(128) Birçok çalışmamız *belki* bu kanun tasarısına *yetişmeyebilir*.

(AKP/possibility/Proposition)

(Several of our studies may not be ready in time for this parliamentary bill.)

(129) Aslında, kamu görevlilerinin izin sorunları *belki* o kadar çok üzerinde durulması gereken sorun gibi *görülmeyebilir*. (CHP/possibility/proposition)

(Actually, the holiday problems of the public officials may not be seen as a problem to dwell on.)

(130) *Belki* bundan sonra *görüşmeyiz*, hakkınızı helal edin diyorum.

(CHP/possibility/modal)

(Perhaps we cannot see each other hereafter, so I say give your blessing.)

(131) Sayın Bakanım, *belki* direkt olarak sizi *ilgilendirmiyor* ama iki üç gün önce Türkiye çapında bir elektrik kesilme olayı yaşandı. (CHP/non-modal)

(Dear minister, maybe this is not of your concern but two or three days ago there was a power cut situation throughout Turkey.)

4.4.5. *Bence/Bizce* (According to me/us)

Bence/Bizce, are the inflected forms of the pronoun *ben* with the addition of the equative suffix *+ca*. This lexical item is different from the other weak modality markers as it indicates the approach of the speaker to the proposition. *Ben* is actually a pronoun marking the first singular person, but with the addition of the suffix *+ca*, it is used as an adverb. Thus, this form can be evaluated as a modality marker (Finegan 1995: 4). This weak epistemic adverb is the second most used weak one in the speeches of both parties.

4.4.5.1. Situation Type

As to be seen clearly on Table 4.28, this weak epistemic adverb occurs in 10 utterances, all having stative predicates, made by AKP presenters and in 25 sentences, of which only one has a non-stative predicate, said by CHP representatives. Sentence (132) exemplifies AKP' utterances, while (132) and (133) are samples for CHP's utterances.

Table 4.28. Situation Type with *Bence/Bizce*

	Stative		Non-stative		Total count
	Count	% in total	Count	% in total	
AKP	10	100,00	0	0	10
CHP	24	96,00	1	4,00	25

(132) *Bence* Türkiye bunları *aştı*. (AKP/stative)

(According to me, Turkey overcame those things.)

(133) Bu vesileyle bu konunun tekrar gündeme gelmesi *bence* *faydalı* *oldu*.

(CHP/stative)

(According to me, it was helpful that this subject came herby up again.)

(134) Evet, *yapmayın bence*. (CHP/non-stative)

(Yes, according to me, do not do it.)

4.4.5.2. Argument Structure

On Table 4.29 it is clearly illustrated, that AKP's presenters talk about their own actions and states as much as about the dissident party's. While they only use agentive verbs talking

about their own party, as shown in (135), they use agentive verbs and non-agentive ones when mentioning the other party's doings, exemplified in utterances (136) and (137).

Tablo 4.29. Argument Structure with *Bence/Bizce*

	The party itself as the main argument						Other party as the main argument						
			Agentive		Non-agentive				Agentive		Non-agentive		N
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	3	30,00	0	0	3	30,00	3	30,00	1	10,00	2	20,00	10
CHP	3	12,00	0	0	3	12,00	11	44,00	3	12,00	8	32,00	25

CHP parliamentarians, on the contrary, use the other party three times more as the main argument in their utterances as they use themselves or the party they represent. Samples for these utterances are (138), (139) and (140).

(135) *Bence Türkiye ilkel toplum kaygılarını aştı.* (AKP/party itself/non-agentive)

(According to me, Turkey has gone beyond concerns of primitive societies.)

(136) *Eğer sizin anlattığınız kadar vahim bir durum varsa, bence bunun yöntemi çözüme odaklanmış ve çözüme yönelik katkı sağlayacak bir hareket yapmaktır.*

(AKP/ other party/agentive)

(If there is such a desperate situation as you say, then according to me its tactic should be to make a contributing move focusing on and serving its solution.)

(137) *Bir felaket tablosu çizmek ve bunu milletle bu şekilde paylaşmak bence sizin için de çok faydalı olmuyor, olmayacaktır da.* (AKP/other party/non-agentive)

(According to me, drawing a disaster table and sharing it with the nation like this, is not and also will not be beneficial to you, too.)

(138) *Bunlar bence önemli konulardır.* (CHP/itself/non-agentive)

(According to me, these are important subjects.)

(139) *Böyle bir kanun getirmenin temeli, bence sadece önümüzdeki süreçte başınıza gelecekleri engellemektir.* (CHP/other party/agentive)

(The origin of introducing such a law, is according to me just done to hinder what will happen to you in the following time-span.)

(140) *Bence siz de tavrınızı koyun.* (CHP/other party/non-agentive)

(According to me, you should also take up your position.)

4.4.5.3. Modal Values

Table 4.30 shows clearly, that both parties' utterance have just strong necessity and strong possibility markers but only to a small extent. Examples for these utterances are to be

seen in (141), (142) for AKP and (144), (145) for CHP. Both parties' presenters prefer not to use modality markers up to 80 and more percent, like exemplified in utterances (143) and (146).

Tablo 4.30. Modal Values with *Bence/Bizce*

	IRREALIS								REALIS		N
	Necessity				Possibility						
	Weak		Strong		Weak		Strong				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	0	0	1	10,00	0	0	1	10,00	8	80,00	10
CHP	0	0	3	12,00	0	0	1	04,00	21	84,00	25

(141) Sadece gensoruyu da beklememeli, bu gelenek *bence* geliştirerek devam etmeli.

(AKP/strong necessity)

(It should not just be waited for the interpellation, this tradition should be increasingly carried on.)

(142) Bir felaket tablosu çizmek ve bunu milletle bu şekilde paylaşmak *bence* sizin için de çok *faydalı olmuyor, olmayacaktır* da. (AKP/strong possibility)

(According to me, drawing a disaster table and sharing it with the nation like this, is not and also will not be beneficial to you, too.)

(143) *Bizce* bu çok temel ve yanlış bir *akıl yürütme biçimidir*. (AKP/Realis)

(According to us, this is a very basic and wrong line of reasoning.)

(144) IMF borcu ile kısa vadeli borcu karşılaştırmak doğru değildir, hatadır Sayın Bakan, *bence* bunu *düzelteniz lazım*. (CHP/strong necessity)

(It is not right to compare IMF debts with short-term debts, that is a mistake dear minister, according to me you have to correct that.)

(145) Göreceksiniz, *bence* bu kanun *iptal edilecek*. (CHP/strong possibility)

(You will see, according to me this law will be rescinded.)

(146) Özel yurtların denetiminin Millî Eğitimde kalmış olması *bizce* bir *eksiklik* tir.

(According to us, it is a deficiency that the supervision of private student residences is carried out by the ministry of national education.)

4.4.5.4. Negativity and Modal Values

As Table 4.31 illustrates clearly, there is only one negative possibility marker found with “*Bence/Bizce*” in our data, this marker is on the proposition of an utterance made by an AKP representer, shown in sample (147). Besides, both parties make only use of a few realis negative utterances as in the examples (148) and (149).

Table 4.31. Negativity with *Bence/ Bizce*

	Negation on Possibility				Negation on necessity				Non-modal		N
	On proposition		On modal		On proposition		On modal				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	n	n	%	
AKP	1	10,00	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10,00	10
CHP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	8,00	25

(147) Bir felaket tablosu çizmek ve bunu milletle bu şekilde paylaşmak *bence* sizin için de çok *faydalı* olmuyor, *olmayacaktır* da. (AKP/on possibility/on proposition)
(According to me, drawing a disaster table and sharing it with the nation like this, is not and also will not be beneficial to you, too.)

(148) Meramını anlatmaya çalışmak, karşı tarafa söylediklerini iletmenin bir yolu *bizce* bu *değil*. (AKP/non-modal)
(According to us this not a way to express oneself, to convey one's sayings to the opponent.)

(149) On üç yıldır iktidarsınız fakat bu yurt sorunumuzu bir türlü çözmediniz, *bence* çözmek de *istemiyorsunuz*. (CHP/non-modal)
(You are at power for 13 years but you could not solve this student residence problem, according to me you do not want to solve it, either.)

4.4.6. *Sanki* (As if)

This weak epistemic modality marker indicates suspicion and reflects the speaker's weak belief about the proposition. Similiar to *galiba*, it is based on the deduction of the speaker but reports a weaker belief. It is used in deductions based on certain facts, stating uncertainty in the lowest degree. In this manner, *sanki* takes the lowest place in the scale including *belki*, *herhalde* and *galiba*. In our data, this possibility marker is definitely much more used in speeches of CHP members.

4.4.6.1. Situation Type

Table 4.32 shows that both parties do not form many sentences with the weak epistemic adverb "*Sanki*". AKP presenters used this adverb only in 5 of their utterances, of which all have stative verbs, like in example (150). Similarly, CHP presenters used it for 27 times, of which just one has a non-stative verb, shown in samples (151) and (152).

Table 4.32. Situation Types with *Bence/Bizce*

	Stative		Non-stative		Total count
	Count	% in total	Count	% in total	
AKP	5	100,00	0	0	5
CHP	26	96,30	1	3,70	27

(150) On üç yıllık AK PARTİ iktidarı döneminde demokrasi ve özgürlükler alanında yapılan çalışmaların *sanki* hiçbirinden *haberi yokmuş gibi davranmaları* da dikkate sayandır. (AKP/stative)

(It is remarkable that they do as if they are unaware of the work done in the fields of democracy and freedom during the thirteen year rulership period.)

(151) *Sanki*, bütün avukatlar bu *terörün içindeymiş gibi* bir algı yaratılıyor. (CHP/stative)

(It seems as if there is the perception created that all lawyers are involved in terror.)

(152) Oradakiler *sanki kurtarılmış gibikonuşuldu*. (CHP/non-stative)

(It was talked as if the people there were rescued.)

4.4.6.2 Argument Structure

The numbers on Table 4.33 show that in AKP's speakers use main arguments in all their utterances, with agentives as well as non-agentives, and nearly evenly with each party, like exemplified in samples (153) and (154).

Tablo 4.33. Agentive Argument with *Bence/Bizce*

	The party itself as the main argument						Other party as the main argument						
			Agentive		Non-agentive				Agentive		Non-agentive		N
			n	%	n	%			n	%	n	%	
AKP	2	40,00	0	0	2	40,00	3	60,00	0	0	3	60,00	5
CHP	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3,70	1	3,70	20	74,07	27

CHP's representers, on the contrary, only make use of main arguments while talking about AKP's actions and states, as samples (155) and (156) show.

(153) Değerli milletvekilleri, grup önerisinde, bu faiz lobisini *sanki* değerli arkadaşlarımız, milletvekillerimiz bilmiyormuş gibi ve *sanki* bu tabir *AK PARTİ mensupları* *bulunmuş gibi*, faiz lobisinin ne olduğu ve araştırılması isteniliyor. (AKP/itself/non-agentive)

(Dear members of parliament, in the group suggestion it is requested to find out what an interest rate lobby is and to investigate it, as if our dear friends and

members of parliament did not know about this and as if this term was found by the AKP members.)

- (154) On üç yıllık AK PARTİ iktidarı döneminde demokrasi ve özgürlükler alanında yapılan çalışmaların *sanki* hiçbirinden *haberi yokmuş gibi davranmaları* da dikkate şayandır. (AKP/other party/non-agentive)

(It is remarkable that they do as if they are unaware of the work done in the fields of democracy and freedom during the thirteen year rulership period.)

- (155) Başbakanlar sorunun odağında olmalarına rağmen *sanki* sorunu başkaları yaratmış gibi çözmeye uğraşıyorlar. (CHP/other party/agentive)

(The prime ministers, although being in the centre of the problem, try to solve the problem as if it was created by others.)

- (156) Böyle bir dönemde sizler, *sanki son derece önemliymiş*, bu tip tekliflerle hem kendinize eziyet ediyorsunuz hem bakanlara ve bize eziyet ediyorsunuz.

(CHP/other party/non-agentive)

(In such a period, as if it were extremely important, you torment yourselves as well as the ministers and us with such kinds of proposals.)

While doing further analysis in our data with “Sanki” according to modality markers, it became clear that neither AKP’s nor CHP’s speakers used modality markers at all on the predicates in utterances with this adverb. They preferred realis utterances like the samples (157) and (158). The same is true for negative sentences with “*sanki*”, of which only one is found in AKP’ utterances, as shown in (159).

- (157) Kadın problemleri konuşulurken, kadınla aileyi karşılaştırıyor, *sanki* kadın aile içine *hapsedilmek istenmiş*, aile farklı bir yere konmuş gibi bir algı oluşmasına sebebiyet veriyorsunuz. (AKP/Realis)

(While talking about women problems, you compare women and families as if it is wanted to imprison the woman into the family and give rise to the perception that the term family is placed somewhere different.)

- (158) Yeşilay Vakfı kurulmuş, *sanki* Yeşilay Vakfı tapınak şövalyeleridir; isim yok, yöneticiler belli değil, açıklanmıyorlar. (CHP/Realis)

(The Green Crescent Foundation was founded, as if it is an order of hospitallers, no names, the directors are unknown, they are not revealed.)

- (159) *Sanki* Türkiye’de mevcut mevzuatta molotoflar *suç değilmiş* gibi.

(AKP/non-modal) (As if molotovs are not a crime in the current legislations of the Turkish Republic.)

4.4.7. *Güya* (As if/As though/So to say/Supposedly)

This weak epistemic adverb is the last one to be analysed in our data. It also indicates suspicion and weak belief about the utterance. Additionally, it also adds an ironic meaning on the utterance. There are no utterance with *güya* at all to be found in AKP's speeches and there are just seven present in CHP's utterances. Of these seven utterances, five have stative verbs like in example (160), and 2 have non-stative verbs, exemplified in utterance (161). Besides, the data revealed that CHP uses the other party as the main argument in all its utterances with *güya*, both with agentives as well as non-agentives, as shown in examples (162) and (163). Further it can be added that none of these utterances are negative and none of them are used with modality markers, which makes all of them realis sentences as in example (164).

(160) Efendim, öğrenci orada *güya* ortaokulu *bitirdiğini zannediyor*, aslında bitirmiş olmuyor. (CHP/stative)

(Well, the pupil feels as if he has finished secondary school, but actually he has not.)

(161) Bilgisayarlara ve otomasyona o kadar çok para veriliyor ki, *güya eğitim veriliyor*. (CHP/non-stative)

(Lots of money is spent on computers and automation, as if they gave education.)

(162) Değerli arkadaşlar, bir diğer konu da evleneceklerle ve konut alacaklara *güya yardım ediliyor olması*. (CHP/other party/agentive)

(Dear friends, another subject would be that they do as if they help people who want to get married or want to buy a house.)

(163) AKP grubu araştırma önermeleri getirmek ve bir çok konuya *güya* çözüm bulma amacını *ortaya koymak istedi*. (CHP/other party/non-agentive)

(The AKP group did as if they wanted to reveal their aim according to bringing forward investigation motions and finding solutions to quite a few problems.

(164) Yani biz *güya* çocuklara, aileye vesaire çok *önem veriyoruz*.

(CHP/realis)

(In other words, we supposedly care a lot about children, family etc.)

5. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

As we stated before, epistemic power of utterances basically refers to the degree of possibility of the proposition expressed in the utterance. Some modal adverbs mark the meaning that the proposition is highly possible, or the utterance has a high truth value. If the utterance is marked with *realis*, then the modal adverb adds on the truth value of the utterance. The speaker uses modal adverbs to make his/her assertion stronger. That is to rise the truth value of their utterances. In some cases, the utterance is marked with one of the *irreal* modal meanings. If this is the case, the modal adverbs affect the assertive degree by tuning the possibility degree of the proposition. That is to say, modal adverbs might add the meaning that the proposition expressed in the utterances is highly possible, or less likely.

Turkish, being evaluated as a versatile subject language in modality studies is, among various reasons, also based on the fact that it makes use of more than one type of linguistic items to express modality. Modal suffixes, modal adverbs, lexical items and even some particles are used in Turkish to express modal meanings. These items might even co-occur in a single utterance. In such cases, the modal value of the utterance is determined by the combination of all modal expressions, which not only gives the speakers a tool to alter the modal value in a wide range, but also makes modal expressions in Turkish a rich matter of study for linguists.

In the previous sections, we provided numbers and percentages on 33 tables and supported by 164 sample sentences to exemplify how Turkish makes use of these modal expressions in political discourse. All these results give us a general overview about how and to what frequencies epistemic adverbs were used by the two parliament parties, AKP and CHP during the four months period before the 2015 elections in their parliament speeches.

We basically categorized the adverbs according to the epistemic power they express. Strong epistemic adverbs increase the epistemic power, whereas weak epistemic adverbs decrease the possibility degree or truth value of the utterances in which these items are used. The 4 strong epistemic modal adverbs determined in our data are *gerçekten* (really/ in fact), *elbette (ki)* (certainly), *mutlaka* (certainly/definitely) and *kesinlikle* (definitely). The weak 7 epistemic modal adverbs are *belki* (maybe /perhaps), *bence/bizce* (according to me/us), *galiba* (probably), *sanırım/ız/yoruz (ki)* (I/we think), *herhalde* (presumably), *sanki* (as if) and *güya* (as if/though).

The general distribution of these epistemic modal adverbs in these two categories in our data are given in Tables 5.1 and 5.2:

Table 5.1. Distribution of Strong Epistemic Adverbs

	Speeches by AKP members			Speeches by CHP members		
	% in total word count	% in strong epistemic adverbs	% in total modal adverbs	% in total word count	% in strong epistemic adverbs	% in total modal adverbs
Kesinlikle	0,02	9,71 %	7,49 %	0,01 %	3,95 %	2,74 %
Mutlaka	0,03	14,86 %	11,45 %	0,02 %	11,52 %	8,02 %
Elbette (ki)	0,05	30,86 %	23,79 %	0,06 %	27,81 %	19,37 %
Gerçekten	0,08	44,57 %	34,36 %	0,12 %	56,74 %	39,53 %
Total	0,18%	100,00%	77,09%	0,21%	100,00%	69,66%

Table 5.1 draws the outline of usage frequency of the adverbs *gerçekten* (really/ in fact), *elbette (ki)* (certainly), *mutlaka* (certainly/definitely) and *kesinlikle* (definitely). These items increase the possibility degree or truth value of the utterances.

Table 5.2. Distribution of Weak Epistemic Adverbs

	Speeches by AKP members			Speeches by CHP members		
	% in total word count	% in weak epistemic adverbs	% in total modal adverbs	% in total word count	% in weak epistemic adverbs	% in total modal adverbs
Herhalde	0,0010%	1,92 %	0,44 %	0,0000 %	0,00 %	0,00 %
Galiba	0,0030%	5,77 %	1,32 %	0,0023 %	2,58 %	0,78 %
Sanır-ım/ız/yoruz (ki)	0,0020%	3,85 %	0,88 %	0,0034 %	3,87 %	1,17 %
Belki	0,0313%	59,62 %	13,66 %	0,0494 %	55,48 %	16,83 %
Bence /Bizce	0,0101%	19,23 %	4,41 %	0,0144 %	16,13 %	4,89 %
Sanki	0,0050%	9,62 %	2,20 %	0,0155 %	17,42 %	5,28 %
Güya	0,0000%	0,00 %	0,00 %	0,0040 %	4,52 %	1,37 %
Total	0,05%	100,00%	22,91%	0,09%	100,00 %	30,33%

In Table 5.2, the numbers show the word counts and frequencies of the weak modal adverbs *belki* (maybe /perhaps), *bence/bizce* (according to me/us), *sanki* (as if), *galiba* (probably), *sanır-ım/ız/yoruz (ki)* (I/we think), *herhalde* (presumably), *sanki* (as if) and *güya* (as if/though).

The distribution of the modal adverbs on Table 1 and 2 shows us that in this version of political discourse, strong epistemic adverbs are preferred by the speakers. It is easy to see why: the politicians want to convince people. Their speech is argumentative in nature. They have the claim that people should believe in what they say. Thus, they try to sound as certain and trustable as possible. Strong epistemic adverbs are one means to do that.

Nuatic differences could be seen between the usage frequencies of epistemic adverbs between two parties. The first one is that they have different preferences in terms of which adverbs they use. The data shows that *gerçekten* and *elbette (ki)* are the most frequently used strong epistemic adverbs by both of the party members. Yet, AKP members would use *elbette ki*

and *kesinlikle* much more frequent than CHP members, whereas CHP members would prefer *gerçekten*. The main difference between these choices might be due to the subjectivity degrees assigned with these items. *Gerçekten* has the objective status in that the proposition is true due to the facts in the real world, not a personal opinion of the speaker. *Elbette ki* has a similar meaning, however it is not native Turkish. The word is borrowed from Arabic with the meaning of being obligatory or necessary. AKP policy and the general inclination of the speakers of their community have a tendency to use lexical items borrowed from Arabic more frequently, whereas CHP members prefer the native versions. This preference is also mirrored in the use of modal adverbs. Thus, we can conclude that the data shows that CHP members seem to be more willing to sound objective. This is also evident in the preference of CHP speakers for not using the adverb *kesinlikle* as frequently as AKP members. Because *kesinlikle* is less objective when compared to *gerçekten*. It adds certainty on the utterance, however, this is not due to any real world situations, but is a subjective evaluation on the part of the speaker him/herself. This finding is also supported by our statistical analysis on Table 7, demonstrating clearly that the strong epistemic adverb *kesinlikle* is with significant difference more preferred by AKP members, whereas *gerçekten* is significantly more favoured by CHP members.

The analyzed data shows another aspect of the language use, which is that members of both parties do not prefer weak epistemic adverbs in their speeches. However, there is a tendency on part of AKP members to use less weak epistemic adverbs. *Belki* and *bence/bizce* are two common items to be preferred by both party members. Though, *belki* and *sanki* are more frequent in speeches by CHP members, followed by the item *güya*, another weak epistemic adverb occurring in the data. We can claim that these three items, however, are almost characteristic to speeches by CHP members. Specifically, there are no hits of *güya* in parliament speeches by AKP members, and *sanki* is barely in their data. *Sanki* is an adverb used to create a non existent possibility and assign the truth value of the utterance as false. *Güya* has similar implication. *Güya* may even be said to introduce a possible world to the discourse. These judgements are also supported by statistical analysis on Table 8, revealing that CHP members' speeches show a statistical significant difference in favour of a higher usage of the weak epistemic adverbs *belki* and *sanki*.

All these mentioned findings are in alignment with the ones of Vuković (2014), who claims that (although it is not easy to make a firm connection between the language of the parliament members and the winners of the elections) the parties who use more strong epistemic adverbials seem to be getting more successful results in the elections. The general elections on 7th June 2015 were won by AKP. However, we see that the differences between the epistemic modal uses are not on high levels. Although the party AKP was the winner of the elections, in fact the 7th June 2015 elections were significantly different in that CHP also had a

significantly high score. AKP had 40 % with 18.864.864 votes whereas CHP rated 24 % with 11.518.070 votes in sum. It is of course not possible to come to an ultimate conclusion about the usage frequencies and manners due to only one election period, however, we can say that we expected a more significant differences between the language used by these two parties.

Aksu (2008) analyzed modality in newspapers and tried to outline the differences between the modal frames by newspapers with different political alignment. Her study has implications to conclude that newspapers in alignment with AKP's political views use linguistic items which make their claims firmer and more definite, i.e. have higher truth values. Her findings also add that newspapers alligned with CHP's political views are less firm and use items which are more objective and include different possibilities. Our data shows a less clearcut distinction in these tems. However, to make a claim we certainly need to analyze much more parliament speeches related to general elections by the members of these two political parties and try to see if election results and the modal values assigned on the utterances are related or not. This study might be counted as the first attempt to ask such research questions in another study.

The analysis of frequency of modal adverbs might work as an indication of epistemic power of the utterances. Thus, in this study we claim that there are more effective factors on the epistemic strength of utterances in discourse. What we wanted to see are the sentential contexts in which the modal adverbs occur in our data. To be able to make any claims we analysed four basic properties of utterances in the data and aimed to see any effects of linguistic properties of utterances on the modal force of those utterances or on epistemic modal adverbs in those utterances. The linguistic items we wanted to analyse were the situation types of the predicates in the utterances, the agentive status of the main argument (usually the argument in subject position in the utterances), realis or irrealis modal meaning marked in the utterances and scope of negation.

Below we are going to summarise the results of the analysis where these properties of the utterances are lined up with the listed modal adverbs illustrated in the two categories. Then we are going to present a continuum to show how epistemic strength analysis of the utterances with modal adverbs is affected by the existence of these properties. We claim that such a continuum might be useful in determining the epistemic power of utterances.

5.1. Situation Types for Strong Epistemic Adverbs

The following four tables are composed in order to give a general view of how and how often each parties' presenters make use of strong and weak epistemic adverbs in parliamentary speeches. Looking at the word count percentages on Table 5.3, it becomes clear that presenters of

AKP use stative predicates to almost 16 % more often than non-stative ones. Meaning that they talk more about actions than states. CHP presenters, on the other hand, make use of stative and non-stative predicates nearly to the same extent in their utterances with strong epistemic adverbs. In other words, they talk as much about actions as they do about states.

Table 5.3. Weak Epistemic Adverbs with Stative and Non-stative Situations

	Stative		Non-stative		
	Count	% in total	Count	% in total	Total count
AKP	102	58,30	73	41,70	175
CHP	180	50,60	176	49,40	356

5.2. Situation Types for Weak Epistemic Adverbs

In Table 5.4, the numbers and percentages present the usages of weak epistemic adverbs in our data. As it can be seen clearly, the presenters of both parties use weak adverbs to nearly 80% with stative predicates and only to about 20% with non-stative predicates. In other words, both parties' speakers talk more about states than actions in utterances with weak epistemic modals.

Table 5.4. Weak Epistemic Adverbs with Stative and Non-stative Situations

	Stative		Non-stative		
	Count	% in total	Count	% in total	Total count
AKP	41	78,85	11	21,15	52
CHP	123	79,35	32	20,65	155

Evaluating Table 5.3 and 5.4 together, it can be said that both parties' speakers tend to use stative verbs with epistemic adverbs, which means that they talk in general more about actions than states. Due to these results, it can be understood that presenters of AKP like to talk a lot about the present stable perceived situation of their leading party in parliamentary speeches, also being eager to mention their party's recent actions, done to strengthen their current leading position. CHP speakers, on the other hand, try to explain in their speeches how unshakable they still remain standing despite the party in power and that at the meantime, their party's practices are going on in order to supervise the leading party and meet the needs of the nation wherever the opposite party fails.

5.3. Argument Structure for Strong Epistemic Adverbs

Table 5.5 shows the argument structure of both parties' utterances with strong epistemic adverbs. The numbers and percentages on this table illustrate clearly that AKP presenters talk as much about states as actions, using their own party as the main argument.

The same is true for the presenters of CHP, but looking at the usage frequencies, it is striking that AKP representers talk about themselves twice as much as CHP representers do, whether using agentives or non-agentives.

Table 5.5. Main arguments of strong modal utterances

	The party itself as the main argument						Other party as the main argument						
	n	%	Agentive		Non-agentive		n	%	Agentive		Non-agentive		N
			n	%	n	%			n	%	n	%	
AKP	67	38,29	30	17,14	37	21,14	10	5,71	6	3,43	4	2,29	175
CHP	78	21,91	40	11,24	38	10,67	74	20,79	41	11,52	33	9,27	356

This difference changes drastically with utterances where both parties' speakers talk about the opposite party. Both parties' representers mention the other party almost to the same extent in their utterances with agentive and non-agentive predicates, but CHP presenters talk about AKP nearly 4 times as much as AKP representers talk about them. In other words, speakers of AKP make twice as much utterances with strong epistemic adverbs about themselves than the opposite party, while CHP speakers prefer to speak to four times more about the other party and its members than about themselves in utterances with strong epistemic adverbs.

5.4. Argument Structure for Weak Epistemic Adverbs

The numbers and percentages on Table 5.6 give information about how often both parties' representers use utterances with weak epistemic adverbs, referring to themselves or the other party. AKP speakers make again, like with strong epistemic adverbs, much more utterances with themselves as the main argument than CHP speakers do.

Table 5.6. Main arguments in weak epistemic modal utterances

	The party itself as the main argument						Other party as the main argument						
	n	%	Agentive		Non-agentive		n	%	Agentive		Non-agentive		N
			n	%	n	%			n	%	n	%	
AKP	16	30,77	6	11,54	10	19,23	16	30,77	7	13,46	9	17,30	52
CHP	10	6,45	5	3,23	5	3,23	37	23,87	8	5,16	29	18,71	155

With weak epistemic adverbs this difference is even much bigger than with strong epistemic adverbs, nearly 4 times more with agentives and to 6 times more with non-agentives. Meaning, that besides using more utterances with themselves as the main argument, AKP presenters talk more about their states than actions using weak epistemic adverbs. In sentences with weak epistemic adverbs where both parties' speakers use the other party as the main argument, Table 5.6 does not reveal important differences. Both parties' presenters seem to talk

nearly to the same extent about the other one. The only difference is that AKP's utterances include nearly as much agentives as non-agentives, while CHP speakers talk to 4 times more about AKP's states than its actions.

In other words, Tables 5.5 and 5.6 illustrate obviously that AKP presenters prefer to use themselves as main arguments in utterances with epistemic adverbs to talk about their states and actions, rather than to mention the other parties' actions and states. CHP speakers, on the other hand, tend to talk about AKP's states and actions than to mention their own doings. This result shows actually that the speakers of the leading party do not seem to care much about the opposite party's states or doings. Being in power gives them the confidence to disregard the opposition and bring themselves in the forefront by mentioning their current strong position and their doings aiming to strengthen this position.

5.5. Modal Values of Strong Epistemic Adverbs

Table 5.7 displays to what extent and what kinds of modality markers are used in utterances with strong epistemic adverbs. As the percentages show clearly, both parties' presenters do not tend to use modality markers with utterances where they use strong epistemic adverbs. AKP speakers use modality markers only to nearly 18% and prefer necessity markers, while CHP speakers use modality markers for almost 13% and favour possibility markers.

Table 5.7. Modal Values of Strong Epistemic Adverbs

	IRREALIS								REALIS		N
	Necessity				Possibility						
	Weak		Strong		Weak		Strong				
	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	8	4,57	13	7,43	8	4,57	3	1,71	143	81,71	
CHP	1	0,28	13	3,65	14	3,84	18	5,06	310	87,08	

5.6. Modal Values of Weak Epistemic Adverbs

The figures on Table 5.8 illustrate clearly that again both parties' representers prefer only to a rate of 25% (AKP) and 12% (CHP) to use modality markers in utterances with weak epistemic adverbs. Although it has to be added that AKP speakers use modality markers twice as much with weak epistemic adverbs than CHP speakers. On this table, it can be seen that in general both parties' speakers prefer possibility markers to necessity markers.

Table 5.8. Modal Values of Weak Epistemic Adverbs

	IRREALIS								REALIS		N
	Necessity				Possibility						
	Weak		Strong		Weak		Strong				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	0	0,00	4	7,69	4	7,69	5	9,62	39	75,00	
CHP	0	0,00	4	2,58	8	5,16	6	3,87	137	88,39	

Reviewing Tables 5.7 and 5.8, it can be concluded that the tendency of both parties' speakers to use modality markers in utterances with epistemic adverbs is very low. Further, it is also found out that in these utterances, AKP speakers make use of necessity as well as possibility markers, while CHP speakers prefer possibility markers to necessity ones.

Besides, our data reveals that modality markers are used with all four (*kesinlikle*, *mutlaka*, *elbette* and *gerçekten*) strong epistemic adverbs, while they are only used with three (*belki*, *sanırım* and *bence*) of the seven weak epistemic adverbs investigated in this study.

According to the four used strong epistemic adverbs in utterances with modality markers, it can be said that all of them increase the epistemic value of the utterances, because their presence in the sentence strengthens the value of the modality marker like in the following example with *kesinlikle* (definitely):

- (1) Türkiye Cumhuriyeti böyle bir ayırım yapmaktadır, bunu *kesinlikle* herkes *bilsin*.
(The Turkish Republic makes such a distinction; everybody should definitely know this.)

Saying "herkes bilsin" (everybody should know) adds already strong necessity to the sentence, but including also *kesinlikle* makes the modality marker much stronger. Besides, strong epistemic adverbs can also add a deontic meaning to an utterance with a modality marker, making the utterance sound more like an imperative or order. Without the epistemic modal, the utterance would only be a promise or plan, as exemplified in sentence (2) with *mutlaka* (certainly/definitely):

- (2) Halkın hakkını teslim etmemiz gerekiyor ve bu *mutlaka* *gerçekleşecek*.
(We have to give the nation credit where it is due, and this is certainly going to happen.)

The presence of strong epistemic adverbs can also increase the certainty value of the utterance by decreasing its agent authority and enforcing a passive authority on it, as in example (3) with *elbette*:

- (3) *Elbette* görevden *alacaksınız* bu insanı.
(You are certainly going to dismiss this person.)

Another effect of strong epistemic adverbs is, that they can add a dubitive meaning to the utterance when used with the –SA suffix, meanwhile increasing its objectivity as shown in example (4) with *gerçekten*:

- (4) Eğer *gerçekten* bir yanlışlık, bir usulsüzlük varsa, orada yargı da var.
(If there is really a mistake, an infraction of rules, then there is also judgement.)

Looking at the three weak epistemic adverbs, used in utterances with modality markers, it can be said that all of them decrease the epistemic value of the utterance, like in sentence (5) with *belki*:

- (5) Hükümet *belki* böyle bir tercihte bulunmuş olabilir.
(The government maybe might have made such a preference.)

Used with utterances in the past tense, the presence of these adverbs may even add a counterfactual meaning to the utterance as exemplified in (6):

- (6) Bu konu iki yıl önce *belki gündeme alınabilirdi*.
(This subject maybe might have been put on the agenda two years ago.)

When used together with the suffix –acak (ecek), weak epistemic adverbs can add the expression of plans or possibilities as in sentence (7) with *bence*:

- (7) Göreceksiniz, *bence* bu kanun iptal edilecek.
(You will see, according to me this law is going to be scrapped.)

At the meantime it can be said that especially in utterances with modal markers, the addition of the weak epistemic adverbs *bence* and *sanırım* make the sentence subjective, expressing actually the opinion of the speaker, like in the following example (8) with *sanırım*:

- (8) Sayın Başkan, değerli milletvekilleri; sabahı bulan bu görüşme maratonunda *sanırım* artık ne oluyor diye bir sormamız gerekiyor.
(Dear President, dear parialment members; I think we have to ask what is happening in this marathon lasting until the morning.)

Basing on all these findings, it can be summed up that in utterances with modality markers, the presence of strong and weak epistemic adverbs can add different values and meanings to the already existing modal value of the utterance, depending on the related modal's meaning, used time in realted utterance and verb suffix it is used with. These epistemic adverbs can strengthen or weaken the epistemic value of the sentence, add a deontic meaning to it, increase its certainty, decrease its agent authority, express a plan or possibility, add counterfactuality or a dubitive meaning and increase the objectivity or subjectivity of the utterance.

5.7. Negation and Modal Values of Strong Epistemic Adverbs

Table 5.9 shows that negative sentences with strong epistemic adverbs are used very rarely by both parties' speakers. AKP presenters use them just to nearly 7%, while CHP presenters make use of negations for only 3%. Negations in utterances with modality markers are even less. In AKP's utterances they are only used for almost 5% and in CHP's utterances for just 1%. In those utterances both parties prefer possibility markers, either on the proposition or the modal.

Table 5.9. Negation and Modal Values of Strong Epistemic Adverbs

	Negation on Possibility				Negation on Necessity						N
	On proposition		On modal		On proposition		On modal				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	1	0,57	6	3,43	1	0,57	2	1,14	12	6,86	175
CHP	2	0,56	2	0,56	0	0,00	0	0,00	11	3,09	356

5.8. Negation and Modal Values of Weak Epistemic Adverbs

The numbers and percentages on Table 5.10 illustrate also a very rare use of negations in utterances with weak epistemic adverbs. Only 10 negative sentences are registered in our data, of which just 7 include modality markers, which are all possibility markers and mostly on the proposition of the utterance.

Table 5.10. Negation and Modal Values of Weak Epistemic Adverbs

	Negation on Possibility				Negation on necessity						N
	On proposition		On modal		On proposition		On modal				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
AKP	3	5,77	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	3	5,77	52
CHP	3	1.94	1	0.65	0	0.00	0	0.00	7	4.52	155

Looking at Table 5.9 and 5.10, it can be seen that negative sentences with strong and weak epistemic adverbs, including modality markers, are rarely to be found in both parties' utterances. The negations in these utterances are mainly on possibility markers, equally on both the proposition and the modal of the utterance. The used strong epistemic adverbs in these utterances are *kesinlikle* (definitely), *elbette* (certainly) and *gerçekten* (really/ in fact) for only one time, whereas the weak ones are *belki* (maybe), *bence* (according to me) and *sanırım* (I think). It strikes in this case, that while AKP representers make use of *kesinlikle* and *elbette*, CHP speakers only use *kesinlike*, but never *elbette*. The function of strong epistemic adverbs in these sentences are mainly to increase, and that of weak epistemic adverbs to decrease their epistemic value, like they do in affirmative sentences with modality markers. The effect of

increase can be exemplified by sentence (9) with *kesinlikle*, while sentence (10) with *belki* is an example for decreasing the epistemic value of the utterance:

- (9) Bu durum, bu muhtaçlığınızı, muhtaçlığa mahkum ediliğiniz tezinizi *kesinlikle doğrulamaz*.

(This situation does definitely not verify this neediness, the thesis that you are convicted to it.)

- (10) Birçok çalışmamız *belki* bu kanun tasarısına *yetişmeyebilir*.

(Maybe a lot of our work may not be ready until this draft of law comes out.)

Strong epistemic adverbs in negations with modality markers, can increase the certainty value of the utterance by decreasing its agent authority and strengthening the certainty degree of it, like in utterance (11) with *elbette*, and add objectivity to it as in the examples (12) and (13) with *elbette* and *kesinlikle*:

- (11) *Elbette ki* böyle bir önerenin aleyhinde kimse *konusamaz*.

(Certainly nobody can argue against such a proposal.)

- (12) Özgürlüğün olmadığı yerde *elbette* barıştan söz etmek *mümkün değil*.

(One certainly cannot talk about peace in a place, where there is no freedom.)

- (13) Benim ülkemın klasik Sünni'sini, Hanefi'yi ve Şafii mezhebine mensup Sünni kardeşimi, Müslüman da *gerçekten kabuş etmez*.

(In fact, a Muslim will not accept my country's classic Sunni, Hanafi and Sunni belonging to the Shafii sect.)

The two weak epistemic adverbs *bence* and *sanırım*, also decrease the modality value of the negative sentence they are used with, like in the previously given example (10) with *belki*, but they also add subjectivity to the utterance like the following two sentences (14) and (15) exemplify:

- (14) Bir felaket tablosu çizmek ve bunu milletle bu şekilde paylaşmak, *bence* sizin için çok *faydalı olmuyor, olmayacaktır*.

(Painting a disastrous picture and sharing it with the nation like this is, according to me, not useful for you and will not be.)

- (15) Eğer bugün Meclis Başkanlığı bu önerenin üzerine bizlere açıklayıcı bir yazı gönderseydi, *sanırım* bu tartışmaya *gerek kalmazdı*.

(If the speaker's office sent us an explanatory writing related to this proposal, I think, that there would be no need for this discussion.)

According to the given examples and our data analysis, it can be said that strong and weak epistemic adverbs used in negative sentences with modality markers, in general increase or decrease the epistemic value of the sentence, increase its certainty degree, decrease its agent authority and strengthens the objectivity or subjectivity of the related utterance.

In general it can be concluded that the agentive use of subject nouns seems to be an element which raises the modal strength of the utterances. Negation, on the other hand, has a double affect. The first one might be that it cancels the modal affect and lowers the epistemic strength of the utterance. This happens when the scope of the negation is on the modal marker itself. It might as well be the case that the negation has scope on the predicate itself. If this is the case, the epistemic power of the utterance inclines.

The situation type does not seem to have as strong an effect as the other two factors. But it is still the case that epistemic power rises up when the predicate describes an active situation.

5.9. Epistemic Power Continuum: A Proposal

It is a fact that in literature epistemic power has been evaluated as being strong epistemic or weak epistemic. The sentences are generally analysed in terms of the modal markers, the meanings of modal suffixes or other means of modal expressions. Additionally, although modality is defined as being a property of the unified meaning of members forming the utterance, the studies that try to form a continuum are rare in number according to literature. Even if they take other factors in regard the related concepts are mostly verbal inflectional categories tense, aspect or in some studies evidentiality.

Analyzing our data due to the occurrence of different items/properties in a single utterance illustrated that certain items might function as boosters for certain meanings. For example, if the speaker is speaking about him/herself (the agentive argument of the utterance is him/herself) this adds on the epistemic power of the utterance. Throughout the study, our data analyses proved that, in addition to the modal adverbs present in the utterance, situation types, agentive status of the main argument, modality status and scope of negation might count as factors influencing epistemic power of the utterances.

With these in mind, we claim that the epistemic modal power of utterances can be evaluated on a scalar basis, moving from weak to strong in a linear dimension by following certain criteria.

The continuum we offer for this purpose can be seen in Figure 5.1:

Figure 5.1. Epistemic Power Continuum

Weak Epistemic Power Factors	Strong Epistemic Power Factors
1-Weak epistemic modal adverbs	1-Strong epistemic modal adverbs
2-Static situation types	2-Active situation types
3-Non-agentive subject	3-Agentive subject
4-Irreal modality marking	4-Realis marking
5-Negation on the proposition	5-Negation on modality

The grading criterion for the continuum is as follows:

Weak epistemic factor power scale

100-80 % =	1 point
79-60 % =	2 points
59-40 % =	3 points
39-20 % =	4 points
19- 0 % =	5 points

Strong epistemic power factor scale

0 - 19 % =	6 points
20-39 % =	7 points
40-59 % =	8 points
60-79 % =	9 points
80-100% =	10 points

The effective factors on this continuum are going to be rated related to the percentage results for each mentioned factor, presented on the former 10 tables in this section. On this continuum, our analyses of the data might alter to a certain extend. The results of this analysis give us another version of the comparison that we provided in the beginning of this section. With the new elements to be included in the findings, we have the following Figures 5.1 and 5.2. Using this continuum, we can have a scale of epistemic strength of our data.

On Figure 5.2, we see the language usage of AKP members. The left most row on the continuum shows us the weakest epistemic meaning assigned on the utterance. The right most continuum, on the other hand shows us the strongest epistemic modal meaning assigned on the utterances with modal adverbs.

Figure 5.2.Epistemic Power Continuum: AKP Data

Weak Epistemic Power						Strong Epistemic Power				
1				•					•	
2		•						•		
3				•			•			
4					•					•
5					•	•				
%	80-100 (1p.)	60-79 (2p.)	40-59 (3p.)	20-39 (4p.)	0-19 (5p.)	0-19 (6p.)	20-39 (7p.)	40-59 (8p.)	60-79 (9p.)	80-100 (10p.)

If we rate this continuum for AKP according to our grading criterion, we get 4+2+4+5+5 =20 points for the weak epistemic power factors and 9+8+7+10+6 =40 for the strong epistemic power factors, which makes 60 points in total.

On Figure 5.3, on the other hand, we outline the epistemic power continuum results for utterances of CHP members.

Figure 5.3. Epistemic Power Continuum: CHP Data

Weak Epistemic Power						Strong Epistemic Power				
1				•					•	
2				•				•		
3				•			•			
4					•					•
5					•	•				
%	80-100 (1p.)	60-79 (2p.)	40-59 (3p.)	20-39 (4p.)	0-19 (5p.)	0-19 (6p.)	20-39 (7p.)	40-59 (8p.)	60-79 (9p.)	80-100 (10p.)

CHP, on the other hand, gets $4+4+4+5+5= 22$ points for weak epistemic power factors and $9+8+7+10+6= 40$ points for strong epistemic power factors, which scores 62 on the scale. This is only two points more than the score of AKP's continuum. Thus, these continuums present again that there seem to be nearly no differences between both parties' speeches when it comes to express modal power in political speeches due to our data.

Reminding Vuković's (2018) claim, the scores being so close to each other might look odd to an extend or unexpected through her perspective. However, if we take political discourse as the common point of these two groups of data, we see that similarities are actually more expected than differences. Both of the continuums show clearly that although there are different ways to express modality, or assign certain truth values on utterances, the discourse itself determines what is going to be marked and what is not. The speakers only may choose among different items and use any one they prefer to serve their purpose.

6. CONCLUSION

The main subject of this study are markers of modality expressions in Turkish. These modality markers, except for the fact that they describe modality alone, may also affect the meaning of the modality marked on the predicate (Palmer, 2001: 2; Hoyer, 1997: 7). Besides that, their accuracy of the target is impressive. So, according to Vukovic (2014), this feature needs to be evaluated in order to influence the assessment of the accuracy of the event, and to use it in political discourse in order to have a distinct impact and significance (Vukovic, 2014). Lately, these markers have also gained value as the determinants of discourse in language. Because of this, this subject has been investigated in many linguistic works as the main topic of their studies (Kocaman, 1988; Ruhi et al., 1997; Palmer, 2001; Bybee et al., 1994; Nuyts, 2001 etc.). All these factors led us to choose modality markers as the subject of our study, which constitutes of the rhetoric between the dates 20.02.2015 and 23.04.2015, holding 33 councils (59th – 92nd session) until the 7th June 2015 general elections in Turkey. Our aim was to examine the electoral rhetoric of the ruling and main opposition parties due to signs of modality, and to direct which kind of modalities both of them use. The ranking, which shows their frequency at hand, seeks differences or similarities between the two parties in political discourse compared due to epistemic modality symptoms. Via this comparison, it was expected to obtain a unique pattern showing a generalization for the use of epistemic modal adverbs in Turkish political discourse.

The results obtained in this study will be exemplary and are expected to lead to further more detailed studies. As discourse is also considered to be a sociological and psychological phenomenon, it is hoped that today's conclusions will also be evaluated in the fields of sociology and cognitive psychology.

Here, at the end of the study, we aim to receive answers to the following basic research questions:

- i. Is it possible to make a generalization about the frequency usage of epistemic modality markers used by the Turkish government party AKP in its political speeches related to the general elections on the 7th June, 2015?
- ii. Is it possible to make a generalization about the frequency usage of epistemic modality markers used by the Turkish main opposite party CHP in its political speeches related to the general elections on the 7th June, 2015?
- iii. Is it possible to identify a certain pattern by examining which epistemic modality markers are preferred and how often they are used by both parties in their election speeches?

Trying to find answers to these research questions guided us to evaluate epistemic modality in a different perspective. Distinct from the other studies on modality expressions in Turkish, our study has focused on adverbs, but it is not limited to these modal markers only. Our study also included the examination of these adverbs related to their situation types, their agentive and non-agentive subject nouns, their scope of negations and their interaction with distinct markers of the concept. All the utterances in our data were investigated in terms of all these criteria.

The outcomes of our study showed more similarities than differences between the usage and occurrence frequencies of strong and weak epistemic adverbs in both parties' political speeches. Although, counting the adverbs solely might give the idea that the leading party uses more strong epistemic modals and the main opposite party focuses more on weak ones, our statistical analysis proved us wrong.

The same was true for the almost equal results we attained via our proposed continuum, which enabled us to evaluate the epistemic modal power of utterances on a scalar basis, moving from weak to strong in a linear dimension by following certain criteria.

All our data analyses, illustrated that there are actually many different ways to strengthen the truth of utterances are available in all languages, which, on the other hand, shows discrepancy related to the assumption that the speeches of both parties will show differences in the usage and occurrence frequencies of epistemic modal adverbs.

Thus, although it still seems to be possible to make a generalization about the frequency usages and forms of use of epistemic modality markers in the leading party AKP's as well as the main opposite party CHP's political speeches related to the general elections on the 7th June, 2015, identifying a certain pattern seems less likely because the outcomes illustrated that there are various ways to strengthen the truth values of utterances by using epistemic modality adverbs in different combinations with other modality markers. This, on the other hand overlaps then with the assumption that argumentative power will show variances due to different modality items in the related utterances of both parties.

According to the study's results and findings, we might claim that our study contributes a new way to the modality analysis to be made in the future. In this regard the scalar continuum suggested in our study is intended to be an offer for literature. It may be used as a path to define all modal power factors together on a scale which can be rated according to the criterion we defined. Future works on this topic and more morphosyntactic and/or morphosemantic properties will certainly add much to the discussion we present here.

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