



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of English Linguistics

**EVALUATION AND CONSTRUCTION OF POLITICAL REALITY IN
THE SPEECHES OF TURKISH POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS:
'JUDGEMENT' AND 'ENGAGEMENT' ANALYSIS**

Ayşe Dilek DEMİRTAŞ

Phd Dissertation

Ankara, 2017

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Ayşe Dilek Demirtaş

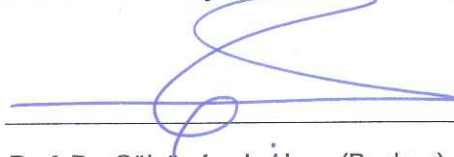
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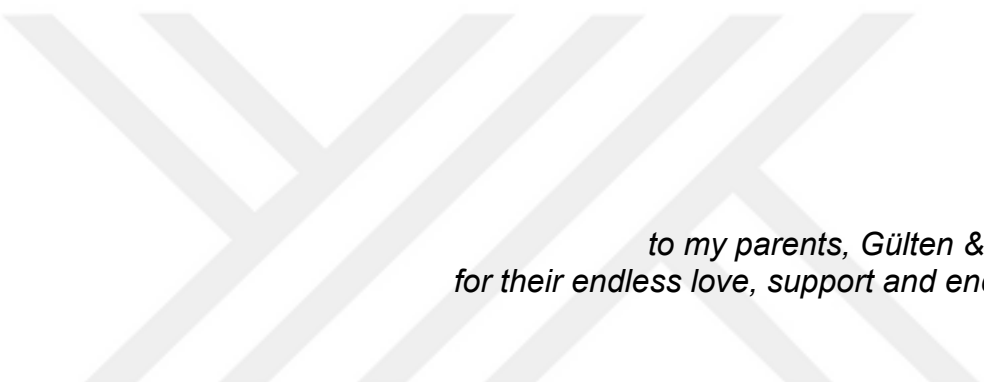
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Ayşe Dilek DEMİRTAŞ

ETİK BEYAN

Bu alıřmadaki bütn bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar erevesinde elde ettiđimi, grsel, iřitsel ve yazılı tm bilgi ve sonuları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduđumu, kullandıđım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadıđımı, yararlandıđım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduđumu, tezimin kaynak gsterilen durumlar dıřında zgn olduđunu, Prof. Dr. Iřıl ZYILDIRIM danıřmanlıđında tarafımdan retildiđini ve Hacettepe niversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstits Tez Yazım Ynergesine gre yazıldıđını beyan ederim.

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*to my parents, Gülten & İsmail Hakkı
for their endless love, support and encouragement*

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ÖZET

DEMİRTAŞ, Ayşe Dilek. *Türk Liderlerin Parti Grup Konuşmalarında Değerlendirme ve Gerçekliğin Kurgulanışı: 'Yargılama' ve 'Konumlanma' İfadelerinin Çözümlemesi*, Doktora Tezi, Ankara, 2017.

Bu çalışmada, Değerlendirme Kuramı'ndan (*Appraisal Theory*) yola çıkılarak, Türkçe politik parti grup konuşmalarında kullanılan Yargılama (*Judgement*) ve Konumlanma (*Engagement*) stratejilerinin incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Siyasi parti liderlerinin değerlendirme ifadelerinde kullandıkları dilsel stratejiler konuşmalarındaki gerçekliğin kurgulanış ve aktarılış yollarını göstermesi bakımından önem taşımaktadır.

Türk siyasi hayatında çok büyük kırılma noktalarını oluşturan önemli politik olayların yaşandığı 8 Kasım 2013 - 25 Şubat 2014 tarihleri arasında yapılmış ve ilgili partilerin internet sitelerinde kamuoyu ile paylaşılmış olan '57' parti grup konuşması çalışmanın derlemine oluşturmuştur. Bu bağlamda konuşmaların yapıldığı tarihlerde parti genel başkanları olarak görev yapan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (*AKP*), Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu (*CHP*), Devlet Bahçeli (*MHP*) ve Selahattin Demirtaş'ın (*BDP*) haftalık parti grup konuşmaları çözümlenmiştir. Aynı konuları incelemek ve parti liderleri arasında eşitliği sağlamak adına seçilen konuşmalardan 10 söylem alanı belirlenmiştir. Bunlar 'Gezi olayları', 'ekonomi', 'demokrasi', 'yargı', 'yolsuzluk', 'terör ve Kürt sorunu', 'Orta Doğu', '30 Mart yerel seçimleri', 'eğitim' ve 'din' alanlarından oluşmaktadır.

Liderlerin yargılarında kullandıkları dilsel araçlar incelenerek, ilk olarak, açık şekilde ifade edilen Yargılamaların sözcüksel-dilbilgisel kategorileri belirlenmiştir. Ayrıca politik söylemde örtük ifadeler de çok yaygın kullanıldığı için, eğretilme (*metaphor*) ve ilişkilendirilmişlikler (*invoked Judgement*) aracılığıyla yargılama ifade eden yapılar da belirlenmiştir. Yargılama ifadeleri dışında, Türk Parlamentosu'ndaki parti liderlerinin değerlendirmelerini 'söyleşimsel' (*dialogic*) olarak nasıl ifade ettiklerini göstermek için Konumlanma bildiren dilsel yapılar da çözümlenmiştir.

Çalışmanın sonuçları incelenen parti grup konuşmalarında değerlendirme dili için belli yapısal kategoriler bulunduğunu göstermiştir. Ayrıca parti liderlerinin 'öz değerlendirme'

(self-evaluation) ve 'diğerini değerlendirme' (other-evaluation) süreçlerinde kullandıkları ifadelerde de farklılıklar bulunduğu gözlemlenmiştir.

Konumlanma gösteren dilsel yapıların çözümlenmesinde de liderlerin bir takım dilsel yapıları daha ön planda kullandıkları ortaya çıkmıştır. Muhalefet partilerinin liderlerinin iktidar partisi lideri ile aynı politik güce sahip olmadıkları için olumsuz eleştirilerinde daha çok 'söyleşimsel açılım' (*dialogic expansion*) gösteren dilsel yapıları tercih ettikleri, ve bu şekilde önermelerinin sorumluluğunu dinleyicileriyle paylaştıkları görülmüştür. Bu liderlerin öz değerlendirme süreçlerinde ise daha çok 'söyleşimsel daralma' (*dialogic contraction*) ifadelerini kullandıkları ve değerlendirmelerinin sorumluluğunu alarak öznelliklerini daha çok ifade ettikleri gözlemlenmiştir. İktidar partisi liderinin ise hem 'öz değerlendirme' hem de 'diğerini değerlendirme' süreçlerinde söyleşimsel daralma ifadelerini daha çok tercih ettiği ortaya çıkmıştır. Tüm bu sonuçlar liderlerin politik güç durumlarının ve ideolojik duruşlarının, dilsel değerlendirme ve gerçekliğin kurgulanması süreçlerinde kullandıkları retorik stratejilerine etkisini göstermesi bakımından önem taşımaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Değerlendirme Kuramı, Türk politika söylemi, değerlendirme dili, kişilerarası anlam, örtülü anlam, açık anlam, söyleşimsel yaklaşım, Yargı, Konumlanma, gerçekliğin kurgulanması

ABSTRACT

DEMİRTAŞ, Ayşe Dilek. *Evaluation and Construction of Political Reality in the Speeches of Turkish Political Party Leaders: 'Judgement' and 'Engagement' Analysis*, PhD Dissertation, Ankara, 2017.

Based on the Appraisal Theory, this study attempts to explore the Judgement and Engagement strategies employed in Turkish political party group speeches. The strategies that political party leaders use in their evaluative language have a significant importance in demonstrating the ways in which they construct and express realities.

'57' group speeches given and shared with the public through the parties' websites on the dates between October 8th, 2013 and February 25th, 2014, during which many significant political issues considered as breaking points in Turkish politics occurred, formed the data of the study. In this sense, the weekly-held party group speeches of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (*AKP*), Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu (*CHP*), Devlet Bahçeli (*MHP*), and Selahattin Demirtaş (*BDP*), who were the party leaders on the dates the speeches given were analysed. In order to analyse similar concepts and satisfy equal conditions among party leaders, 10 discourse areas were determined. These areas were 'Gezi events', 'economy', 'democracy', 'justice', 'corruption', 'terror & Kurdish question', 'Middle East', '30 March elections', 'education', and 'religion'.

By analysing the linguistic devices employed by party leaders in their evaluations, lexico-grammatical categories of overt Judgemental expressions were identified first. Besides, as implicitly structured items are commonly used in political discourse, certain implicit Judgemental realisations were also detected, including metaphors and invoked judgements. Apart from these Judgemental expressions, Engagement resources were also analyzed in order to reveal how party leaders in Turkish Parliament express their evaluations dialogically.

Findings of the study indicated certain structural categories for evaluative language within the examined party group speeches. There were also differences among

leaders' evaluative expressions in their self-versus-other-based evaluations specifically.

The analysis of linguistic resources showing Engagement has also indicated that leaders employ some linguistic devices more. It was realized that as the opposition parties' leaders do not have the same political power as the ruling party leader, they generally tend to use 'dialogic expansion resources' in their negative criticisms and share the responsibility of their propositions with their listeners. In their self evaluation processes, on the other hand, it was observed that they employ 'dialogic contraction' resources and express their subjectivity more by getting the responsibility of their evaluations. On the contrary, it came out that the ruling party leader prefers dialogic contraction resources more both in his 'self-evaluations' and 'other-evaluations'. All these findings have great importance in demonstrating the influence of leaders' political power and ideological stance on their rhetorical strategies through which they make evaluations and construct reality.

Keywords

Appraisal theory, Turkish political discourse, evaluative language, interpersonal meaning, implicit language, explicit language, dialogic approach, Judgement, Engagement, construction of reality

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (<i>Justice and Development Party</i>)
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (<i>Republican People`s Party</i>)
MHP	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (<i>Nationalist Movement Party</i>)
HDP	Halkların Demokratik Partisi (<i>People`s Democratic Party</i>)
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
[+j]	positive explicit Judgement
[-j]	negative explicit Judgement
[i+j]	positive invoked Judgement
[i-j]	negative invoked Judgement
[metaphor+j]	metaphor expressing positive Judgement
[metaphor-j]	metaphor expressing negative Judgement
[e-deny]	deny category of Engagement
[e-pronounce]	pronounce category of Engagement
[e-counter]	counter category of Engagement
[e-concur]	concur category of Engagement
[e-endorse]	endorse category of Engagement
[e-epistemic]	epistemic modality category of Engagement
[e-RQ]	rhetorical question category of Engagement
[e-attribute]	attribution category of Engagement
[e-deontic]	deontic modality category of Engagement
[e-evidential]	evidential modality category of Engagement

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This study derives from a longstanding interest on the evaluative dimension of language and its identification in discourse in that the analysis of evaluative property is a good way to explore not only the interpersonal function of a language, but also the ways in which social realities are constructed. Within the past two decades, a number of linguists from various fields have focused on the interpersonal evaluative phenomenon, from different perspectives or terminologies, including *evaluation* (Hunston, 1989, 2000, 2012; Hunston & Thompson, 2000), *appraisal* (Martin, 2000; Martin & Rose, 2003; Martin & White, 2005), *modality* (Halliday, 1994), *local grammar patterns* (Hunston & Sinclair, 2000), *voice* (White, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2009; White & Thomson, 2008), *stance* (Biber & Finegan, 1989; Biber et al., 1999; Conrad & Biber, 2000), *parameter-based approach* (Bednarek, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2014, 2015), and *evidentiality* (Chafe & Nichols, 1986).

Generally speaking, this study aims to look at the 'evaluation' phenomenon in Turkish political language from a socio-cultural perspective, which is related to a wide range of concepts, including persuasion, Appraisal, construction of (political) reality, maintenance of solidarity and opposition, expression of individual and group ideologies, and intentional meaning. Although the evaluation and reality construction strategies of Turkish politicians are analyzed based on the politicians' linguistic choices, this study goes beyond the structural explorations as it tries to interpret these structural findings in relation to socio-cultural reflections.

1.1. CLEARING THE GROUNDS: FROM EVALUATION TO REALITY CONSTRUCTION

People use language to express their ideas and thoughts; i.e., language reflects individuals' attitudes and beliefs. As social reality is constituted through social interactions among individuals in a particular context, there is a direct influence of society on people, and this influence can be observed within individuals' perceptions affected by the society around them.

Durkheim (1965) argued that man is composed of two main parts; one is the individual being within the body and limited by his own fact; and the other one is the social being within the reality of the society (pp. 15-16). In this sense, man cannot be thought in isolation from the community around. Therefore, reality construction should be considered as a process occurring in a particular society and through language.

While studying the construction of reality, language has the key role as it is directly related to the society and culture. Berger & Luckmann (1966) argue that as the most important sign of human society, the analysis of language is essential for understanding any kind of reality (pp. 51-52). Moreover, language use not only represents the speaker's perspective, but it also reflects the ideologies of other individuals in a collective manner; and linguistic styles can influence the persuasiveness of the conveyed messages in discourse (Arcimaviciene, 2014; Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Krauss & Chiu, 1998; Shi-xu, 2005; Tappan, 1997).

The relationship between language and the construction of reality goes back to de Saussure's (1916) 'structuralism', and to Whorf's (1956) 'language is thought and culture' perspective. They are followed by Austin's (1962) 'performatives' and Searle's (1995) 'speech acts', claiming that people do certain things by saying. In other words, discourse is not only what we say, but also what we do by saying certain things. For Searle, by saying things, individuals perform social acts, and these performative utterances create new institutional / social facts at the end (pp. 54-55). He points out that reality is socially constructed since every utterance requires a "publicly accessible reality" (p. 190).

As a constructivist, Vygotsky (1978, 1986) argued that there are certain steps genetically decided in the process of constructing reality. Firstly, a reality appears within a society. Then, it is internalized within the individual, which is called 'mediated activity' or 'internalization'; i.e., "internal reconstruction of an external operation" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 56). In this internalization phase, individual beliefs or thoughts are re-constructed as a result of cultural sharings. Finally, this social reality turns into an intra-personal reality. In other words, although it starts as a cultural, contextual and social concept, as people socially interact, reality turns into an individual, personal and cognitive notion at the end.

Vygotsky focused on the concept 'dialectic' (*mono individual; intra-psychological*) and tried to explain the development of mental functionings through an intra-psychological dialectical process. He ignored the notion of 'addressivity'. Instead, he emphasized the importance of activity mediation, through which social realities are internalized and considered as individual realities. He saw language both as a personal and a social human process; and he believed that human thinking develops from the social to the individual (Beaty; 2015; Matusov, 2011; van Deer, 1996; White, 2011).

As a constructionist, Bakhtin (1981, 1986), on the other hand, introduced the notions 'dialogue' (the existence and co-operation of various perspectives, multiple participating voices or realities; multivoicedness), and 'voice' (a way of speaking that reflects the speaker's own perspective or reality). For him, "...the utterance is filled with dialogic overtones" (1986, p. 102), and meaning is a social production of a joint activity (Krauss & Fussell, 1996). Bakhtin viewed speech as a social concept, as all language is interanimated by others (White, 2011, p. 6), and he developed a dialogic, genre-based and pluralistic approach to study discourse and social reality. In other words, he emphasized the social side of an utterance.

Regarding Bakhtin's 'voice' concept, it has been argued that each voice is a representation of a particular ideology or attitude to reality (Fernhough, 1996, p. 49). Therefore, both the speaker and the addressee are important in the meaning-making process and the social construction of reality (Baxter, 2006, p. 106).

Criticising Vygotsky and his socio-constructivist approach due to his reducing cultural differences among people to fundamental evolutionary properties, Wertsch (1991, 1994) argues that in order to formulate a more comprehensive sociocultural approach to meaning making and reality-construction processes, one should identify historically, culturally and institutionally situated forms of mediated action, which is directly related to Bakhtinian perspective.

Looking at the construction of reality from a 'sociological perspective' like Bakhtin and Wertsch, Berger & Luckmann (1966) argue that reality is socially constructed (p. 13). They point out that an individual cannot be totally understood without taking the social context around him into consideration (p. 68). For them, people interacting in a certain social setting establish particular concepts or mental representations of each other's

actions. These concepts turn into realities through time. In other words, people's beliefs and thoughts are constructed within institutional settings in a society. In this process, language plays a significant role as it functions as a tool to express the shared meanings and makes them available to all participants within the linguistic community (p. 85).

In the light of all these approaches, it can be argued that there is a direct relationship between evaluation and construction of political reality in political discourse. As language is symbolic and used as a mediating tool while constructing and expressing reality, the linguistic resources that politicians employ in their evaluations play a significant role in the exploration of strategies through which they construct reality, maintain solidarity, express their commitment to their claims and persuade their listeners.

Politicians tend to persuade others to change their ideas. Besides, they try to control their behaviors, ideas or thoughts most of the time. As politics is directly related to power and persuasion, the analysis of reality construction in evaluative political discourse can provide certain insights regarding the relationship between construction of political reality and language, by asking questions like how political meanings are constructed, or how political situations are described (Burnier, 1994, p. 242).

1.2. INTRODUCING THE STUDY

This study mainly focuses on the analysis of 'evaluative language' and reality construction strategies of politicians in Turkish political setting, more particularly in their party group speeches. In general, evaluative language is related to the analysis of attitudes, judgements or assessments of individuals within their speeches or texts. It has been argued in literature that it is impossible to make a wholly objective utterance as everything we say or write expresses a kind of attitude. Therefore, whenever we say something, we express our personal feelings, attitudes, values, judgements or assessments (Biber et al., 1999, p. 966; Quirk et al., 1985, p. 613).

Hunston (1989, p. 2) states that evaluation is an important phenomenon for linguists, because it plays a significant role in the analysis of particular discourse properties, like persuasion or expression of a point of view. Regarding the role of evaluation in

discourse analysis, Hunston and Thompson (2000, pp. 6-8) provide three basic functions: (1) evaluation expresses the speaker's or writer's opinion, and while doing so, it reflects the belief system of that person together with his / her community; (2) evaluation establishes and maintains relations between the speaker / writer and the listener / reader; and (3) evaluation plays a significant role in the organization of discourse. They conclude that expression of the writer's or speaker's opinion is an important feature of language, and it should be examined in a detailed manner in order to realize the evaluative meanings within texts and speeches accurately.

Similarly, Hunston (2011, p. 12) and Lemke (1998, p. 1) argue that evaluation is an intersubjective phenomenon as it serves to interact, align / disalign and establish relationships with others, and in this respect, one of the basic functions of language is to create interpersonal relationships between the addressees and the addressors. In other words, as language is a resource for taking a stance, it is necessary to have a better understanding of what evaluative language is and how attitudinal expressions enable individuals to make propositions, proposals, actions or things, and construct reality.

The analysis of evaluative language should be accompanied with critical discourse analysis or socio-pragmatic approaches. At this point, 'Appraisal model' (Martin & White, 2005) tries to combine different approaches while providing a discourse-semantic framework. Based on Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1994), Appraisal model provides a theoretical work on the language of evaluation by describing various ways of linguistic realization of interpersonal meaning (Martin, 2000; Martin & White, 2005; Martin & Rose, 2003). Although it was primarily employed in the field of psychology, through time, this model attracted attention in the field of linguistics.

In general, Appraisal model is related to the interpersonal metafunctioning of language, as it tries to explore interpersonal functionality of language, by which speakers or writers construct their identities and position themselves (Martin, 2001; White, 2003). In this sense, it is an effective model not only to explore the interpersonality in language, but also to analyze the process of reality construction, as language users have particular linguistic preferences depending on their status, power, community background and ideological perspectives. As the main concern of this study is

evaluative language and reality construction in Turkish politics, Appraisal provides a comprehensive and systematic model for such an exploration.

As Gales (2011a) argues, Appraisal provides a model to examine how speakers / writers express their attitudinal positioning based on their ideologies and main concerns, and use explicit and implicit resources to do that. Appraisal also helps to reveal the rhetorical devices used by speakers or writers in order to create their desired stances and to express commitment to their propositions (p. 266).

Apart from the relationship between evaluation and reality construction, it is also necessary to stress the importance of evaluative functioning within political language. It is obvious that politics and evaluative language are highly interrelated phenomena, as political affairs are expressed via language. Chilton (2004, p. 4) states that language and politics are intimately linked at a fundamental level as political activity cannot exist without language, and the doing of politics is largely constituted through language. As politics covers a wide range of subject matters, including self-reflection, individuation, subjectivity and analytic methods, it is a rich discourse with regard to evaluative properties and social construction of reality.

Concerned with the dynamics of power in society, and particularly the ways in which power is transferred, sociologist Bourdieu (1991) emphasized that ideologies are created and transferred among social actors who share certain semiotic meanings. It is clear that evaluation is not a bare linguistic phenomenon, but it is directly influenced by sociological and ideological patterns within particular political parties.

Political speeches are generally considered as a part of 'subjective' and 'ideology-driven' language, which are accepted to contain a great number of attitudinal expressions. There are many linguists interested in political discourse analysis from a wide range of perspectives, including *Critical Discourse Analysis* (Chilton, 2004, 2008; Fairclough, 1995, 2001; van Dijk, 2002a, 2002b; Wodak & Reisigl, 2001); *pragmatics* (Adamkova, 2011; Bull, 2012; Fetzer, 2006; Fetzer & Bull, 2006; Fetzer & Lauerbach, 2007; Johansson, 2006; Matic, 2012), and *functional linguistics* (Feng & Liu, 2010; Savoy, 2010; Simon-Vanderbergen, White and Aijmer, 2007).

In addition to that, political speeches also provide a good basis for the study of evaluation in that politicians tend to assess many things in their speeches, within a wide range of issues from political matters to social and emotional conditions. By using evaluative resources, they tend to express their community-based realities and ideologies. In this respect, studying the evaluative dimension of political discourse is one of the core issues for discourse analysts (A`Beckett, 2009; Becker, 2009; Bednarek, 2015; Chingware, 2014; Coffin, 2003; Helander, 2014; Martin, 2004a; Yalçın & Uçar, 2014; Vukovic, 2014; Zhang, 2012).

As politicians` language use is a reflection of intergroup reality within a party community, the examination of this evaluative language while constructing and expressing particular institutional realities would contribute a lot to the discourse studies. The analysis of appraisal categories within political discourse can provide certain insights regarding the functions and properties of evaluative language in politics.

For the analysis in this dissertation, Appraisal framework (Martin & White, 2005) has been employed as it is highly systematic and provides a rather comprehensive analytical method to deal with interpersonal meaning through a wide range of evaluative resources. Besides, it focuses on how meanings are realized through interpersonal positioning by providing a discourse-semantic approach, and it is an effective framework to study reality construction in political discourse.

1.2.1. Statement of the Problem

So far, it has been argued that analysis of evaluative language can provide certain insights regarding individuals` reality construction strategies, and the influence of socio-cultural backgrounds on their community-based ideas and thoughts. At this point, it can be stated that although there are many linguistic studies exploring evaluative language in various languages, less work on this phenomenon has been carried out in Turkish. To the knowledge of the researcher, only Yalçın & Uçar (2014) and Yalçın (2014) applied Appraisal model in their studies in Turkish political setting.

Besides, although considerable investigation in political discourse has been carried out in Turkish, they have primarily focused on certain phenomena, such as *discursive strategies and critical discourse analysis* (Bayram, 2010; Büyükkantarçioğlu & Yayar,

2006; Güngör, 2014; Küçükali, 2014; Taniyıcı, 2003; Terkan, 2010; Tok, 2012), or *politeness* (Yetkin, 2006). More recent studies have focused on thematic concepts like the ones in this dissertation, including *Gezi events* (Dedeoğlu, 2015; Güven, 2014; Özel & Deniz, 2015; Sommer, 2014), *democracy* (Doğanay, 2007) and *religion* (Efe, 2013; Terkan, 2010).

In order to broaden the linguistic analysis of Turkish political language in literature, through focusing on its functional side, and especially the evaluative property in this respect, such an evaluative language analysis is necessary. In a broader perspective, this study enables the exploration of interpersonal resources which contribute to the rhetorical potential in Turkish political discourse.

1.2.2. Purpose of the Study

The aim of this dissertation is to examine evaluative properties in Turkish political language, particularly party group speeches, based on Appraisal model (Martin and White, 2005), so that Turkish politicians' reality construction strategies can be observed through their evaluative language.

More specifically, this study focuses on the reflection of Judgemental positioning and Engagement strategies of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (*AKP*), Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu (*CHP*), Devlet Bahçeli (*MHP*) and Selahattin Demirtaş (*HDP*), who were political party leaders on the dates speeches were given, so that their use of different evaluative linguistic items to report certain issues, convey their ideas, make criticisms concerning themselves and also other party leaders, and express their evaluative meanings together with in-group realities can be explored.

Based on the Appraisal theory pointing out that speakers employ evaluative resources to express how they feel about things or people within a particular discourse, and negotiate their social relationships, the purpose of this study is threefold:

- 1) to provide a detailed account of the lexicogrammatical resources employed to make Judgemental evaluations, i.e., assessing people's behaviours (from both self and other-evaluative perspectives) in Turkish party group speeches,

- 2) to draw conclusions with regard to overt and covert evaluative strategies of Turkish political party leaders in their group speeches, and to explore whether they have any distinctive tendencies or styles regarding the use of explicit and implicit devices,
- 3) to explore the use of 'dialogic' concept within party leaders' speeches by analysing their stance-taking strategies, through which they negotiate their ideas and share their political opinions with their listeners; and to examine how authoritatively and assertively the evaluations in Turkish party group speeches are presented to the listeners, focusing on the use of dialogic contraction versus dialogic expansion resources, expressing power and authority to some extent.

In this respect, the analysis of Judgement strategies employed by Turkish party leaders in their group speeches can give certain insights regarding not only their evaluative preferences, and also their ideologies and belief systems. More than that, it is expected that through the analysis of Engagement resources employed by Turkish politicians, certain linguistic structures like epistemic modality, evidentiality, rhetorical questions, attributional items and deontic modality categories, and also their functions in self versus other evaluations of the party leaders can be examined.

Analysis of attitudinal resources, particularly the Judgemental resources and dialogic negotiation strategies of Engagement within Turkish political setting can enable the exploration of the links among politicians' personal identities, their social actions and the culturally-oriented realities in their evaluations, as argued in related literature (Jaffe, 2009; Mueller, 1973).

Each political party has its own inter-group reality, and party leaders tend to express these realities in their speeches, so that they can share them with their audience and convince them of their claims. In this sense, by studying evaluative language through Appraisal model, this study also aims to explore Turkish politicians' reality construction and maintenance strategies while they are addressing their own party members. Political realities can be about any issue, such as 'education', 'economics', or 'religion'; and party leaders express their party-based ideologies while talking about these issues most of the time. The analysis of evaluative language can also indicate how party-based realities regarding current political issues are expressed. In general, how reality

is constructed in Turkish political discourse and where the evaluation is deployed in this construction are the other concerns of this study.

1.2.3. Research Questions

As one of the basic purposes of political discourse is persuasion and as evaluation is directly related to this persuasive dimension, through which strategies it is achieved in the speeches of Turkish political party leaders carry an importance. In this respect, the research questions put forward in this thesis are as follows:

1. What kinds of language strategies (*explicit-lexicogrammatical items & implicit resources*) do Turkish political party leaders employ to construct and maintain their political realities while they are making Judgemental evaluations (*self/other*) in their weekly-held group speeches?
2. In this reality construction process, how do Turkish political party leaders make use of Engagement strategies in order to maintain solidarity and also opposition to persuade their listeners?
3. What insights do evaluation and reality construction strategies of Turkish politicians provide regarding the influence of their status and positionings in Turkish political life?

1.2.4. Significance of the Study

This study constitutes a linguistic approach to the lexical and grammatical nature and properties of evaluative language in Turkish political discourse, specifically weekly-held group speeches of party leaders. In this sense, it is expected to make significant contributions to functional linguistic dimension of Turkish political discourse, as the aim is to look at the political discourse analysis from a different perspective by focusing on the evaluative dimension, including the analysis of interpersonal meaning, dialogic expressions and dynamic explanations in the construction of politicians' arguments; and how they maintain solidarity with their listeners.

Mainly, it contributes to the analysis of Judgemental positioning and Engagement strategies (source of evaluation) of party leaders to communicate their opinions in a particular political agenda. As a study conducted within a functional Appraisal

approach, it is hypothesized to provide an important alternative to the interpretations of evaluative semantics and interpersonal meaning in Turkish political language.

With the help of this study, it is expected that more comprehensive and theoretical understanding of evaluation in Turkish political party group speeches can be provided. In other words, the analysis of evaluative resources and the ways in which evaluative stance taken by the politicians can provide certain insights regarding how evaluative meanings are encoded in Turkish politics.

More specifically, the findings can reveal the ways in which party leaders manage their self and other evaluations in their positive and negative Judgemental expressions while arguing for their own points of view. Besides, they may indicate the strategies in which politicians manage to maintain solidarity with their listeners and they orchestrate other voices and cooperate with them into their speeches, as the propositions are considered as dialogic phenomena (Bakhtin, 1981). In other words, this study may enable the exploration of speaker stance in Turkish political speeches.

As evaluative language and reality construction are directly related to intentional meaning, this study is also significant in terms of exploring meaning-making processes in the genre of Turkish party group speeches. In this process, the analysis is carried out from the discourse-semantics and socio-cultural perspectives. As persuasion is in the minds of the speakers, politicians' Judgemental evaluations and solidarity-maintaining expressions can guide us to explore not only the constructed realities existent in party group ideologies, but also the ways in which these realities are expressed to the audience.

In general, discourse is used to convey certain ideological thoughts and realities. Although language is composed of many lexical choices and utterances, it also represents socially conditioned communicative intentions at the same time. In this sense, by analysing how politicians employ language, one can explore their perceptions, ideologies, and community-based realities. As Garcia (2015) argues, "language is considered the main way to the construction of reality, on one side, and for the mediation of the reality socially constructed, on the other" (p. 33). Taking into consideration Bazerman's (1990, p. 81) emphasis on the examination of a particular language for finding out how realities are socially constructed and how linguistic

categories are intertwined with social relations; this study can also indicate the means Turkish political party leaders employ for reconstructing knowledge socially. By understanding the linguistic and social resources, we can understand the social construction of realities expressed in their speeches.

Moreover, studying discourses about '*us*' and '*them*' - expressed as 'self-evaluation' and 'other-evaluation' in this study - can provide certain insights regarding the discursive practices of power and status constructed in Turkish party group speeches. In other words, this study can give information regarding how practices of power are expressed in this genre.

Finally, this study enables the analysis of in-group ideologies, conceptions, and shared attitudinal values within the framework of evaluation. Therefore, attitudinal analysis of Turkish political speeches not only provides information regarding the linguistic resources preferred by the politicians, but it also explains how the political speeches as a specific discourse genre are organized within Turkish context. Besides, it is anticipated to figure out certain value-based expressions employed explicitly and implicitly by the party leaders based on their ideological positioning, political concerns and values.

1.2.5. Limitations of the Study

While exploring evaluative language in a particular discourse, apart from the verbal elements including lexico-grammatical categories and implicit expressions, there are also nonverbal resources, including gestures, body movements, facial expressions, pitch in the speaker's voice, and eye contact that can be studied. In this dissertation, only verbal elements were analysed, and nonverbal evaluative categories were excluded. They may have influenced the overall evaluative properties of the party leaders if they had been included. However, these nonverbal categories were not in the scope of the current study.

Besides, as the main concern was on the behavioural evaluations of the party leaders, only Judgement category of the Appraisal model was included. In this sense, Appreciation and Affect sub-categories of the Attitude element were excluded in the data analysis process. Similarly, the Graduation sub-component of the Appraisal model

was excluded, as well, since the aim was not to explore how Turkish party leaders scale their evaluations, but to explore their overall Judgemental evaluations.

Finally, only party group speeches, which are known as planned talks, were analysed in this study. However, other speeches of the same leaders, such as the ones in interviews, TV programmes or spontaneous declarations might lead to other findings. Besides, findings in this study are restricted to the political situations at the time of data collection; i.e., as politics is a dynamic phenomenon and there may occur changes regarding politicians' evaluative attitudes.

1.2.6. Organization

This dissertation is structured into six chapters:

Following the Introduction Chapter, **Chapter 2** gives information regarding major concepts. The aim is to provide some background before moving to Appraisal model. It is organised in two main sections. First of all, general explanations regarding '*political discourse*' and more specifically '*party group speeches*' are provided. This is followed by related political discourse studies in literature. Then, '*language of evaluation*' phenomenon is introduced in detail, as evaluation is the starting point of the study.

Chapter 3 is designed to introduce the theoretical framework, '*Appraisal*'. The chapter starts with a general overview to provide a general outlook towards this model. Then, some background information regarding the introduction of this model is provided together with Halliday's '*Systemic Functional Linguistics*', which is the main core of Appraisal model. After this general background, components of Appraisal framework are mentioned in detail, including Attitude, Engagement and Graduation categories. In a specific part, the relationship between Engagement and Modality is provided, and the chapter ends with Appraisal in related literature, and more specifically Appraisal studies in the field of political discourse.

In **Chapter 4**, methodology of the thesis is provided. In this respect, data selection and the identification of certain discourse areas are provided. Then, each discourse area is mentioned in detail so that the political case in Turkish setting can be understood better, and it can give the general idea why these discourse areas are important within the data analysis process. This methodology chapter ends with the information with

regard to how data was analysed, including Judgemental and Engagement data analysis processes.

In **Chapter 5**, the findings are provided with relevant discussion, in both quantitative and qualitative ways. The presentation of the findings starts with the Judgemental categories, including not only explicit and implicit resources, but also self and other-based ones. Each lexicogrammatical resource is explained in detail with its functions and features in Turkish political setting. The chapter continues with the detailed analysis of Engagement resources, together with their percentages in party leaders' evaluative expressions and examples from the data.

This dissertation is completed with **Chapter 6**, in which conclusions are provided. In this final chapter, certain observations made in the previous chapters are handled together with a brief summary of the main findings, regarding the evaluative dimension in Turkish political language. This chapter also re-stresses the importance of the current study and gives some suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

BASIC CONCEPTS AND RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter provides information regarding basic concepts including political discourse, party group speeches as a specific genre and related studies, accompanied by studies in Turkish political discourse. Then, fundamental properties of evaluation are mentioned, together with key evaluative approaches and linguists. In this respect, this chapter aims to look at the relationship among politics, language, and evaluation phenomena; and this chapter functions as a bridge to the main model, Appraisal.

2.1. POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Politics has been a subject field in linguistics for many years, and it is nearly as old as the notion of rhetoric. Chilton and Schaffner (2002) argue that one can understand how politicians influence their listeners and convey their opinions to the society by analysing their talks. They define politics as

a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it on the one hand; and as cooperation, as the practices and institutions a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, power, liberty and the like on the other hand (p. 5).

In this sense, the analysis of language in political discourse can provide certain insights regarding the institutional properties of social groups, and more specifically politicians with different ideological stances. According to Schaffner (1996), language plays an important role in the process of manifesting a political will. Therefore, it is quite natural that politicians tend to express or reflect their ideological stance in their speeches and acts. The speeches of the politicians play a crucial role in realizing political values, ideas and political acts.

With his main interest in the relationship among politics, discourse analysis and rhetoric, van Dijk (2002a, p. 20) states that “discourse is political when it accomplishes a political act in a political institution, such as governing, legislation, electoral campaigning and so on”. He believes that political discourse is not a genre, but a class

of genres defined by a social domain, namely that of politics (van Dijk, 2002b). Certain genres such as parliamentary debates, propaganda leaflets, campaign speeches or slogans can be considered as some of the genres within political discourse.

It is crucial to emphasize the constitutive properties of language while talking about political discourse and its ideological side. Kress (1989) argues that language is a social concept, and communities express their specific meanings through language in systematic ways. Thus, language is not only an individual phenomenon, but it also has institutional functions. Similarly, Fairclough & Wodak (1997) see language as social practice; i.e., it plays a crucial role in the construction of situations, identities and relationships among people. As discourse is socially consequential, use of language may provide certain insights regarding the distribution of power between social classes, women and men, or cultural majorities and minorities (p. 258). Wodak & Busch (2004) state that “Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and the long term” (p. 109).

At that point, Fairclough (1995) believes that “Language is a material form of ideology, and language is invested by ideology” (p. 73). He argues that language is not only representational, but it is also constitutive, in that it contributes to the construction of relations in the social world. For him, discursal practices are ideologically constructed based on power relations, and these power relations are affected by discursal practices in return (p. 82). Wodak (2001) similarly asserts that language plays a significant role in establishing and maintaining power relations, as it mediates ideology in various social situations. She also argues that it is not the language that is powerful on its own. Rather, it gains power by the use of powerful people (p. 10).

For van Dijk (1995b), ideologies are abstract, mental systems that organize socially shared attitudes, and they affect the personal perceptions of members in a community (pp. 18-19). About the relationship between language and ideology, van Dijk (2006b) believes that talking about others includes both positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

In line with all these arguments focusing on language, ideology and politics, it is obvious that political discourse has a manipulative side. According to Orwell (1969),

language may be used to manipulate certain thoughts, so politicians tend to employ linguistic means strategically to convey their thoughts to their audience, and these linguistic options form the central issues in the analysis of political discourse. Wilson (2001, p. 10) suggests that one of the basic objectives of political discourse analysis is to indicate the ways in which linguistic resources are manipulated in order that they can have a specific manipulative effect. Moreover, he argues that “the study of political discourse is a highly vast issue, which includes various subject matters, ranging from political ideologies, racism and values to face-saving strategies, politeness and speech acts” (p. 399).

Politicians tend to convey their perspectives, thoughts and realities to their listeners. While doing this, they employ various persuasive linguistic devices from explicit lexical categories to the implied ones. Certain words or expressions, such as some technical words, loaded words or pronouns may be employed strategically. Similarly, some syntactic forms may be used depending on the ideological purposes; or political language may be manipulated at the phonological level as well. Besides, some pragmatic terms such as implicatures, metaphors or speech acts may be used for political purposes, as well. At this point, Chilton (2008, p. 239) argues that in order to study political language, especially cognitive and pragmatic theories of meaning should be taken into consideration.

Linguistic research on political language can be divided into three main categories. The studies on the first category explore the relationship among political discourse, language and ideology representation, and they try to indicate the ties between discourse and power. The researchers in this group are usually interested in identifying the means by which politicians express crucial issues such as class, gender, racism, and so on; and they employ critical discourse analysis as their main framework most of the time. They tend to indicate that language is an instrument to gain and express power and it can be analyzed in ideology-driven studies (Al-Faki, 2014; Chilton, 2004, 2008; Fairclough, 1995, 2001; Lande, 2010; Matic, 2012; Post, 2009; Reyes, 2011b; Ricento, 2003; van Dijk, 1995a, 2001; Wenden, 2005; Wilson, 1990, 2001; Wodak and Reisigl, 2001).

van Dijk (1995a) is interested in the phenomena of ideology and political discourse, and he examines how semantic structures of discourse, such as topic, focus,

propositional structure, local coherence, level of description, implications and macrostructures are monitored by underlying ideologies behind the utterances and the politicians. Similarly, Chilton (2004) explores the relationship between language and power through the analysis of implicatures as the components showing authority, legitimacy and consensus. He states that the use of implicatures enables political actors to convey more than they say, and in political discourse, this frequently happens (p. 37).

The second group of studies on political language has a more '*socio-pragmatic*' motivation (Adamkova, 2011; Ekström, 2001; Fetzer, 2006; Fetzer & Bull, 2006; Fetzer & Lauerbach, 2007; Jagtiani, 2012; Johansson, 2006), and they explore the communicative functions of expressions within this political discourse. Adamkova (2011) explores how the pragmatic perspective of language, defined mostly by maxims and principles, is interconnected with segmental planes of language. Similarly, Jagtiani (2012) and Ekström (2001) focus on political discourse from a Conversation Analytic Perspective, and they examine institutionalized interaction within a political community.

The third group of studies interested in the field of political discourse takes a more '*functional approach*' and concentrate on the linguistic means of persuasion. They particularly focus on linguistic choices employed by the politicians to demonstrate how speakers react towards face-threatening questions, deny accusations and strengthen their own arguments. Examining to what extent taken-for-grantedness is used as a strategy in political media language as a genre at the interpersonal level, Simon-Vanderbergen, White and Aijmer (2007) focus on the lexico-grammatical means that British, Flemish and Swedish politicians use to persuade the others in political debates. They show that various markers of presupposition are typically used in the three cultures, and therefore the genre of political media debate is to a large extent conventionalised at the interpersonal level and that the conventionalisation operates in similar ways in the three cultures.

2.1.1. Political Speech as a Specific Genre

Political speech is considered as an important genre in political discourse. It is known as one of the most manipulative (Chilton, 2004; Orwell, 1969; Wilson, 2001) and figurative genres. According to Nur (2015, p. 52), political speech is a kind of text presented by concerned authorities. While speaking, politicians tend to perform more

speech acts than they talk, as they interact with language and employ it to express intended messages. Feng & Liu (2010, p. 825) assume that although public speeches are delivered orally, they are often well-prepared in writing and presented on formal occasions.

Sarnackaite (2011) argues that making speeches is a significant part of a politician's role in announcing a policy and persuading people to accept it. In this process, rhetorical skills needed for persuasive public speaking have always been a vital factor of political speeches. Thus, politicians use particular persuasive devices that make their speeches compelling, clear and more effective (p. 21).

While giving a talk, politicians not only express their personal political beliefs regarding personal and social affairs, but also speak as members of a political party and represent their party's ideological positioning and orientations; i.e., intergroup realities (Chilton, 2004). Therefore, they act as a member of a particular community holding a particular point of view and trying to convey this view to others. The analysis of political speeches can provide certain insight regarding the underlying ideologies of parties, their values, targeted outcomes and thoughts.

There are many studies focusing on the relationship between Discourse Analysis and Political Discourse with specific focus on political speeches. While some of these studies focus on the analysis of lexical categories encountered in political speeches (Feng & Liu, 2010; Orwenjo, 2009; Savoy, 2010; Wilson, 1990), some others explore this genre from a more pragmatic and critical perspective (Bull, 2012; Matic, 2012).

Studies looking at the relationship between the functioning of lexical elements within political speeches and their ideological reflections have indicated that politicians employ certain lexical resources intentionally. For instance, the frequent use of 'we' pronoun enables the politicians to have intimate relationships with their listeners (Muqit, 2012). Additionally, analysing the pronoun uses in political speeches, Wilson (1990) concludes that in this genre, the most salient pronominal distinction can be seen between the pronouns 'I' versus 'we', or 'us' versus 'them'. He similarly points out that pronouns are employed in political talks in order to show degrees of distance in general.

In a different study exploring the most frequent lexical items and word count in US Political speeches, Savoy (2010, p. 123) states that words and expressions used in politicians' discourses are not chosen randomly, but rather employed intentionally to reflect certain objectives of these politicians. Matic (2012) compares and contrasts discourse structures within ideological strategies used in the speeches delivered by two presidential candidates of two ideologically opposed political parties. She investigates semantic macrostructures (topics), local meanings and lexical styles obtained from speech acts, rhetorical devices, forms of indirectness and strategies especially aimed at positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. She concludes that political speeches are social and representative in terms of ideology, but they are also personal to some extent.

Some other studies have employed critical discourse analysis in order to explore the properties of political speeches as a specific genre in political discourse. Wang, for instance, (2010) analyzes the speech of Barack Obama from the perspectives of critical discourse analysis and systemic functional linguistics in order to explore the effects of power and ideology in the transitivity and modality of his speech. He concludes that his utterances are trying to arouse the American people's confidence towards the president and his government, and while doing this, Obama makes his audience understand and accept his political perspective by means of modal verbs, tense and first person pronouns, as they all help him persuade the public to accept and support his policies.

Similarly, Shayegh & Nabifar (2012) explore Obama's speeches to demonstrate the ideology-based linguistic occurrences and they examine how the phenomenon of power exists in Obama's words on the base of Hallidayian Systemic Functional Grammar and the critical perspective of Fairclough. At the end, it is concluded that Obama, as the dominant character manipulating particular belief systems and values, mostly uses 'I' and 'we' pronouns, more religious statements, more persuasion and longer turns in his speeches.

Studies exploring the pragma-semantic features of political speeches, on the other hand, emphasize the importance of communication skills, facework strategies and social context while conveying the intended message in political speeches. For example, a speech made by a politician after an election victory may differ considerably

from the one made in the case of a political scandal. Social context, therefore, should be taken into consideration in the process of political speech analysis (Bull, 2012).

2.1.2. Studies on Turkish Political Language

In Turkish, there are many discourse-oriented studies focusing on a wide range of issues, from the lexical choices of Turkish politicians to their discursive strategies. For example, Küçükali (2014) focuses on the discursive strategies in Turkish politics, mainly in the AKP. He looks at Turkish politics from an interdisciplinary discourse-analytical perspective by combining the discourse-historical and critical approaches in order to reveal how AKP, as the ruling party, establishes and maintains its political hegemony on the discursive level. Similarly, Büyükkantarçioğlu and Yarar (2006) analyse discursive structures in Turkish politics in order to demonstrate the propositional structures employed by the politicians for persuasion. They look at the propaganda speeches delivered before the 2002 election, and they reveal that all party leaders tend to employ similar types of discursive strategies; like positive self-representation and negative other-representation, referencing to future acts, blaming the opposing, and so on.

In a different study, Taniyıcı (2003) focuses on the discourses of political parties by analysing the parliamentary debates regarding the European Union, and he draws the conclusion that party leaders tend to emphasize democratization and human rights themes most. In a similar study, Bayram (2010) analyses the political speech of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan given at the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2009 from a critical perspective. He explores the strategy Erdoğan uses in a foreign policy to influence the voters in domestic politics. He concludes that Erdoğan's attitude and linguistic behaviour are the reflections of a particular social group; i.e., party ideology.

Güngör (2014) tries to define the features of political language in Turkish setting. He analyses the speeches of political party leaders delivered in-group meetings in terms of speech acts, usage of natural language, rhetorical aspects and themes. He draws the conclusion that patterns 'I' and 'we', certain persuasive methods and common agenda topics are used by the leaders. Besides, he states that political speeches are highly rich in vocabulary choice (p. 66).

There are also some other studies focusing on only one aspect of political discourse in Turkish language. For instance, looking at the impoliteness strategies in Turkish Parliament, Yetkin (2006) asks how the ruling party and the opposing party leaders express derogation from a pragmatic perspective. Through a pragmatic analysis, she draws a conclusion that politicians tend to employ various instances of positive impoliteness as well as off-record impoliteness strategies through threats to Public Face most of the time. In a different study, Terkan (2010) investigates the women issue in political language, by analysing the political discourse of the AKP and the CHP. He concludes that the AKP mostly depicts women as part of a family and important for society, whereas the CHP forms a connection between women and modernity, secularism and participation in public.

As a different political discourse theme, Tok (2012) focuses on education policies of the parties by analysing the party programmes and election manifestos. In order to identify the educational policies of the parties, she investigates the education concept and deciphers some sub-components of it, including educational goals, language of education, formal versus informal education, education of religion, assessment in education, teaching staff, student support, education environment and education programs. Based on the analysis in terms of these sub-components, she reveals that parties' policies to address educational issues are quite general and abstract. She draws a conclusion that in the educational view of political parties, political ideologies they defend and the factors that determine their political identity come to forefront.

The theme 'Gezi Park protests' has also been handled in different studies in Turkey. For instance, Özel and Deniz (2015) analyse how the national newspapers in Turkey presented these protests on their front pages. Doing a frequency analysis, they conclude that most national newspapers in Turkey present news related to these protests in their front pages, and related to the ideology of the newspapers, they tend to be the supporters or against the protests in their news. In a similar study, Dedeoğlu (2015) investigates how the Gezi protests have been represented in Turkish print press by using van Dijk's method of critical discourse analysis. She draws the conclusion that although the protests have been represented in the print press, people's reactions against the government have not been reflected sufficiently in the news.

Güven (2014) makes a semiotic analysis focusing on the language used by the protestors at Gezi Park events. He analyses the metaphors and metonymies in slogans and graffiti from a discourse-semiotic perspective, and concludes that there is a tendency from metaphoric to metonymic form, which shows that there has been a social transformation among people. Besides, he reveals that the slogans are quite ideological.

The theme 'democracy' has also been studied in Turkish linguistics. Focusing on the democracy and conservatism discourses of the AKP, Doğanay (2007) analyses certain concepts emphasized by this party, such as deliberation, dialogue and participatory democracy. She states that in many speeches of the party, the term 'conservative democracy' is used in relation to the terms 'tolerance', 'participation', 'civil society', 'deliberation' and 'multiculturalism'. She concludes that these terms are used as a pragmatic strategy.

As a different discourse area, Tekin (2012) examines Turkish political discourse on 'ethnic and religious minorities' in the context of recent debates on a new Law on Foundations. She states that debates in the Turkish parliament provide a valuable opportunity to decipher the constructions of identity of the Self and the Other among these parties. She analyzes arguments, discursive strategies and rhetorical moves used in political debates about ethnicity and religion. Using the steps of critical discourse analysis, she demonstrates that minority rights reforms are presented via rhetorical language, metaphors, argumentative devices as *topoi* and fallacies.

Similarly, Efe (2013) believes that the discourse on and around 'turban' (*turban*) and 'başörtüsü' (*headscarf*) is socially constructed. Exploring the use of these two terms in political discourse, he argues that preferring one word to the other can indicate the ideological position of the speaker / writer. In his study, Efe reveals that 'turban' is used remarkably more frequently in the newspapers *Cumhuriyet* and *Hürriyet*, whereas 'başörtüsü' takes precedence in the newspapers *Zaman* and *Vakit*.

2.2. LANGUAGE OF EVALUATION

Language of evaluation has been studied from different perspectives with different terminologies, including 'evaluation' (Hunston, 1989, 2000, 2011; Hunston & Thompson, 2000), 'stance' (Conrad & Biber, 2000, 2009) 'hedging' (Myers, 1989;

Hyland, 1996, 2005), 'modality' (Halliday, 1994), 'evidentiality' (Chafe & Nichols, 1986), 'politeness' (Brown & Levinson, 1987), 'parameters' (Bednarek, 2006a, 2006c, 2006e, 2008b, 2010,) and 'appraisal' (Martin, 2000; Martin & Rose, 2003; Martin & White, 2005). However, all these concepts refer to the same phenomenon; i.e., 'interpersonal meaning'.

In general, evaluative language studies try to explore what kind of language resources are used to express evaluative meaning; how evaluative meaning is modelled in different genres, including narratives, academic writings, conversations, corpus studies and so on; and the functions of evaluation within particular discourses. Taboada & Carretero (2012) argue that "the study of evaluative language has intrinsic motivation as all individuals use language to evaluate, appraise and classify objects and other people on an everyday basis" (p. 276).

Downes (2000) points out that "evaluations are semiotic, because the meaning, positive or negative, is mapped onto the substance of an experience in contexts of situation" (p. 104). Similarly, Bednarek (2006a) emphasizes that evaluative meanings should be analysed within context, as propositions perform certain discourse functions, such as expressing a criticism, involvement or mitigation based on the context in which they are uttered (p. 211).

According to Hyland (2005), evaluations depend on certain standards. Thus, Judgemental evaluations can be persuasive or meaningful if they are made according to communal ideologies or belief systems within a society. In this sense, they may hold interesting, relevant, novel, useful, good or bad meanings dependent on the community (p. 175).

Although there are different points of view towards evaluation, Hunston (2011) provides the commonly accepted features regarding evaluative language: (a) Evaluation is both subjective and intersubjective. Evaluative utterances express a personal opinion, and therefore evaluation is something personal, private, and subjective, but, at the same time, evaluation has the function of interacting with a social other; and (b) evaluation construes an ideology that is shared by the writer and the reader (or the speaker and the hearer), as it takes place within a social and ideological framework (p. 12).

In literature, there are various terminologies introduced for evaluation and evaluative language. In this part, some key terminologies are provided in order to demonstrate the similarities among them, and also to emphasize their relations with Appraisal model.

2.2.1. Evaluation

Within different terminologies regarding evaluative language, Hunston (1989, 2000, 2011) and Hunston & Thompson (2000) use the term 'evaluation'. According to Hunston & Thompson (2000), "Evaluation is the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoints on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about" (p. 5).

According to Hunston & Thompson (2000), there are certain functions that evaluation performs; including (a) expressing the speaker's or writer's opinion; (b) constructing and maintaining relations between the speaker or writer and hearer or reader; and (c) organizing the discourse. They believe that evaluation can be used to persuade the reader / listener to accept things the writer / speaker wants. This is usually achieved by manipulating linguistic resources to assess people or things negatively or positively, and that's why, evaluation has a function of organising discourse based on this persuasion objective (pp. 6-8). Depending on these functions, it can be argued that an examination of political texts or speeches can reveal ideologies and underlying values of politicians and parties.

They also state that some lexical items such as adjectives (like *splendid, terrible, surprising, obvious, important*), adverbs (like *happily, unfortunately, interestingly, necessarily*), nouns (like *success, failure, tragedy, likelihood, triumph*), and verbs (like *succeed, fail, win, lose, doubt*) can have evaluative functions within contexts they are deployed. Besides, they argue that evaluation in texts / speeches can be identified by exploring the comparators, markers of subjectivity (modals), and markers of value (evaluative lexis, adjectives, adverbs, nouns, verbs, indicators of the existence of goal achievement) (pp. 15-21).

2.2.2. Stance

Similar to the concept of Evaluation, and even functioning as its synonym, 'stance' is considered as a speaker's or writer's internal thoughts, opinions or attitudes about a

person being assessed or a topic being conveyed through lexico-grammatical choices that s/he makes. It is generally considered that stance is related to valuing and taking a position towards entities or propositions, and some researchers take a grammar-based analysis perspective as their starting point in the identification of this value taking process (Biber & Finegan, 1989; Conrad & Biber, 2000; Halliday, 1994; Hunston, 2011; Hunston & Sinclair, 2000; Labov, 1981).

According to du Bois (2007, p. 139), “one of the most important things we do with words is take a stance”. He argues that as an evaluative property, stance enables individuals to give value to people and entities. Similar to Bakhtin’s dialogism perspective (1981, 1986), du Bois argues that stance is achieved dialogically as each stance is in relation with previous, already existing stances within a community during interpersonal activities (p. 172).

Biber and Finegan (1989) argue that stance is related to “the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgements or commitments concerning the propositional content of a message” (p. 93). In expressing stance, Biber et al (1999) argue that stance can be expressed lexically and grammatically (p. 968). They point out certain major categories expressing stance, such as stance adverbials (e.g., *unfortunately*), stance complement clauses (e.g., *It is amazing that...*), modals and semi-modals (e.g., *I might*); stance noun + prepositional phrase (e.g., *They deny the possibility of*); and pre-modifying stance adverbs (e.g., *I am so happy for you*) (pp. 369-370).

Similarly, Conrad & Biber (2000) argue that the use of adverbials as a grammatical category can give certain insight with regard to how feelings and evaluations are conveyed. They believe that stance can be encountered in three major domains; ‘epistemic stance’, ‘attitudinal stance’, and ‘style stance’.

Exploring the ‘lexical bundles’ which are multi-word sequences, Biber, Conrad & Cartos (2004) provide two major kinds of meaning: ‘epistemic’ and ‘attitude / modality’. Epistemic stance bundles comment on the knowledge status of the information in the following propositions: certain, uncertain, or probable, possible (e.g. *I don’t know if, I don’t think so...*); whereas attitudinal modality stance bundles express speaker attitudes towards the actions or events described in the following proposition (e.g., *I*

want you to, I am not going to...). Attitudinal / modality stance bundles include ‘desire bundles’, ‘obligation/directive bundles’ and ‘intention/prediction bundles’ (pp. 389-391).

2.2.3. Local Grammar Approach

Apart from the analysis of modality and adverbial markers to express evaluation, Hunston (2011) and Hunston & Sinclair (2000) handle grammar and evaluation relationship from a different perspective and introduce the ‘*local grammar pattern*’ approach for the analysis of evaluative language.

In this process, Hunston (2011) explores the relationship between recurring patterns and evaluative meaning. She discusses grammar patterns and local grammars of evaluation, and asks whether grammar patterns can be used as a diagnostic to distinguish between types of evaluative meaning or to parse evaluative statements in running texts. Exploring patterns such as “*V+n+into+–ing*”; “*v+way+prep / adv*”, and so forth, she concludes that patterns make some contribution towards distinguishing evaluative meaning. She argues that grammatical patterns have particular functional roles, and they play a significant role in the study of evaluative language (p. 121).

In their analysis, Hunston and Sinclair (2001) try to provide evaluative patterns, which cluster around evaluative adjectives and nouns, and they try to set them up in large comprehensive grammars. They try to identify and parse evaluation by considering some patterns which are typically used to evaluate, such as:

1. *It + linking verb + Adjective group + clause* (e.g., It seemed important to trust her judgement.)
2. *there + linking verb + something / anything / nothing + adjective group + about / in + noun group / -ing clause* (e.g., There is something rather appealing about being bale to spend)
3. *linking verb + adjective group + to – infinite clause* (e.g., This book is interesting to read)
4. *linking verb + adjective group + that - clause* (e.g., Doctors are optimistic that he would make a full recovery)
5. *Pseudo – Clefts* (e.g., What is interesting is the tone of the statement)
6. *Patterns with general nouns* (e.g., The surprising thing about chess is that computers can play it so well)

They conclude that based on Local Grammar Approach, it is possible to identify some patterns whose primary purpose is to evaluate, or to attribute evaluation to another speaker, and which therefore tend to select evaluative adjectives. These patterns may be used as a diagnostic for evaluative positioning.

Bednarek (2009b) similarly investigates how far linguistic patterns express evaluative meaning and whether there are any specific pattern used to evaluate things, persons and emotions, through the analysis of utterances in the 100 million Word British National Corpus. She aims at finding instances where the patterns occur with sub-categories, as in '*I feel adj about / that*', '*It was adjective of X to*', '*I consider it adj (that)*' or '*I find it adj (that)*'. She suggests that a researcher should classify attitudinal lexis first, and then s/he should look at the pattern in which it is used and what the effect of this usage is (p. 26). Similar to Hunston, and Hunston & Sinclair, Bednarek also agrees that patterns have an important meaning-making role within evaluative language.

2.2.4. Parameter-based Approach

Bednarek (2009a, p. 148) defines evaluation as "the linguistic expression of speaker / writer opinion". She argues that when speakers / writers evaluate something or someone, they make negative or positive assessments (Bednarek, 2006a). In general, she tries to establish her own framework of evaluative parameters to study evaluative meaning, and she provides her parameter-based approach. She argues that "Evaluative parameters refer to the standards, norms and values according to which we evaluate something through language" (Bednarek, 2010, p. 18).

Parameter-based theory of evaluation is based on the assumption that there are different parameters along which speakers can evaluate aspects of the world. What speakers are talking about can be evaluated in relation to a wide range of norms: do we feel that we are talking about is 'good news' or 'bad news'; do we evaluate the information we have as reliable or unreliable; is what we are talking about presented as expected or unexpected; obvious or surprising, important or unimportant, and appropriate or inappropriate. This framework is composed of ten parameters; '*comprehensibility*', '*emotivity*', '*importance*', '*seriousness*', '*expectedness*', '*mental state*', '*evidentiality*', '*possibility / necessity*', '*reliability*', and '*style*' (Bednarek, 2006e, pp. 1888-189). Speakers can evaluate aspects of the world using these parameters.

Besides, Bednarek argues that there are '*core evaluative parameters*', which are concerned with the evaluative qualities ascribed to the entities, situations or propositions that are evaluated within two scales; and '*peripheral evaluative parameters*', which do not involve any evaluative scales, and do not indicate the same

kind of qualitative evaluation of entities, situations or propositions as do core evaluative parameters (2008b, pp. 10-12).

Other parameter-based approaches include Francis (1995, p. 9), providing eight main parameters of evaluations, as *modality, ability, importance, predictability, obviousness, value and appropriacy, rationality* and *truth*. Moreover, Thompson & Hunston (2000, p. 22) use the term 'parameter' and describe four of them as: *good-bad / positive-negative parameter, certainty parameter; expectedness / obviousness parameter; and relevance / importance parameter*. Similarly, Lemke (1998) describes seven dimensions of attitudinal meaning or evaluative semantic relations as; *desirability / inclination; warrantability / probability; normativity / appropriateness; usuality / expectability; importance / significance; comprehensibility / obviousness; and humorousness / seriousness*.

Apart from these different terminologies and classifications, there are many other linguists exploring evaluative language from their own perspectives. Labov (1981), for instance, emphasizes the comparative nature of evaluation. For him, evaluation may consist of anything that can be compared to or contrasted with certain norms or values, and this comparison / contrasting process provides or shapes evaluation. Labov provides four evaluative categories, namely "intensifiers, comparators, correlatives and explicatives".

Exploring the relationship between stance and Engagement, Hyland (2005) proposes a model for the analysis of stance (*hedges, boosters, self-mention, attitude markers*) and engagement (*directives, questions, shared knowledge, reader reference*). For him, stance and engagement are important elements within writers' arguments and they suggest how writers anticipate and understand their readers' background knowledge, interests and interpersonal expectations to control how they respond to a text and to manage the impression they gain of the writer.

There are also some researchers focusing on the social motivations behind the meaning-making process, such as politeness strategies or face-saving resources (Brown and Levison, 1987; Channell, 1994). In this respect, the concept 'hedging' is one of the linguistic resources used to indicate an opinion towards a proposition. As a rhetorical strategy, by including a particular linguistic resource into an utterance or by

imposing a specific prosodic form, the speakers can signal a lack of full commitment to their propositions. Because of that, hedging is accepted as an intentional action that a speaker chooses and it affects the interpretation of the utterance, most of the time. Hedges are considered as positive or negative politeness strategies which function to avoid face-threatening acts by showing "solidarity with the (discourse) community by exhibiting responses that assume shared knowledge and desires", as well (Myers, 1989, p. 8).

From the point of Appraisal framework, the main analysis method in this dissertation, evaluative language refers to the 'linguistic expressions' that indicate "the subjective presence of writers / speakers in texts as they adopt stances towards both the material they present and those with whom they communicate" (Martin and White, 2005, p. 1). From this definition, it can be understood that Appraisal focuses on evaluative semantics within discourse analysis.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter focuses on 'Appraisal model', the main framework employed in this study. It starts with a brief account of this model and its roots, particularly Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), with its basic tenets and metafunctions. Then, Appraisal model is introduced in a detailed way, together with its main components and linguistic resources, through which evaluative meanings are construed. The chapter ends with Appraisal-based studies in literature.

3.1. APPRAISAL THEORY

Evaluation has traditionally been the domain of psychology (Liwanağ, 2006; Bednarek, 2008), and the notion 'Appraisals' was originally encountered in that domain. Within psychological accounts, Appraisals are cognitive evaluations that individuals make whenever they face stimuli in their environment. It is believed that an individual constantly evaluates stimuli or events when they encounter them, based on their importance (Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003).

However, in recent years, a number of researchers from various fields within linguistics have paid attention to this interpersonal phenomenon (Martin, 1997, 2000, 2003; Martin & Rose, 2003; Martin & White, 2005, Bednarek, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2015), particularly focusing on the analysis of evaluative language.

Originally introduced by Jim Martin at the University of Sydney in the 1990s, Appraisal model is concerned with the 'interpersonal' aspect of language. Linguists try to explore how people position themselves with regard to their listeners or readers while expressing their opinions, and how these opinions are negotiated in order to construe a particular meaning. Generally, in Appraisal, the main emphasis is given to the systemic aspect of interpersonal meaning.

Discourse is not a modular phenomenon, and therefore it can be problematic to study discourse in a systematic way. However, Appraisal model enables such kind of analysis through discourse-semantic resources. In other words, Appraisal has been decided as the theoretical model, as it provides modules to study evaluative language and enables the analysis of the ways in which political realities are constructed in politicians' speeches. Martin (2004b, p. 272) argues that it is necessary to employ a framework so that interpersonal resources and evaluative meaning within discourse can be explored, and this framework should be the one beyond traditional approaches focusing on speech function and exchange structure, and he introduces Appraisal model.

Coffin (2012, p. 10) states that "Appraisal is a set of systems which give language users choice in terms of how they appraise, grade and give value to social experience". Speakers or writers use the resources of Appraisal to negotiate their social relationships, by telling their listeners / readers how they feel about things and people (in other words, their attitudes). It provides an analytical tool to better understand the issues associated with evaluative language and the negotiation of intersubjective positions. As Martin & Rose (2003, p. 22) point out, "we use the resources of Appraisal for negotiating our social relationships, by telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people (in a word, what our attitudes are)".

From a general perspective, Appraisal framework provides a meaningful model for the analysis of discourse semantics. In order to achieve this analysis, Appraisal framework lists certain linguistic resources that carry some type of interpersonal meaning. With the help of this interpersonal meaning, speakers or writers express their attitude towards the world and other individuals (*Attitude*). Apart from this attitudinal evaluation, linguistic resources provided also help to express the source of evaluation (*Engagement*), and they grade these evaluative meanings based on the boundaries given (*Graduation*). In brief, Martin & White (2005) emphasize that appraisal can be considered "as a discourse semantic resource for meaning" (p. 11).

3.1.1. Roots of Appraisal Theory

As a model looking at language from an interpersonal perspective, Appraisal goes back to constructivist accounts, including Vygotsky (1978, 1986), Bakhtin (1981, 1986), Wertsch (1991, 1994), and Berger & Luckmann (1966); who consider interpersonal

meaning and construction of reality as jointly designed understandings of the world. For them, meaning is established in a particular community, and it is mainly expressed through linguistic practices.

Vygotsky (1986) believed in the influence of social and cultural circumstances on the formation of individual beliefs and realities. For him, the intra-personal beliefs are the results of the internalization processes in which culturally shared knowledge is mediated and transformed to individual beliefs at the end. Similarly, Bakhtin's (1981, 1986) 'dialogic' approach indicated certain similarities with Vygotsky's 'internalization' or 'mediated activity', as they both expressed the influence of communication and incorporating others' words on the formation of interpersonal and intrapersonal perspectives, beliefs and thoughts; and emphasized the effect of this joint activity on the social construction of meaning. In other words, meaning is inherently social even if it looks personal, particularly in politicians' utterances. Bakhtin believed that realities get into circulation within a society when they are conceptualized through language, and what makes this conceptualization possible is communication.

All in all, it has been emphasized by constructivists that concepts, language and social discourse mediate higher mental functionings; and this mediation occurs through communication; i.e., joint activity among voices. In this respect, one cannot provide an account of human action without taking its cultural, institutional and historical settings into account (Wertsch, 1994, p. 204), as "subjective reality is always dependent on specific plausibility structures, that is, the specific social base and social processes required for its maintenance" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 174).

It can be argued that interpersonal meaning is directly related to social attitude, as there is a social purpose in the construction of social meaning and reality. Since the analysis of evaluative language particularly demonstrates how intended meanings are constructed socially within a community and how they function as the outcomes of particular social ideologies within particular groups, Appraisal model can be considered as the extension of these constructivist accounts.

Apart from these constructivist accounts, as a linguistic model, the origins of Appraisal can be traced back to Systemic Functional Linguistics. Giving priority to the functioning of language, Halliday's (1994) SFL is a grammar-based linguistic theory of discourse

analysis, which is primarily concerned with language as a system and how the system is taken up differently in various cultural and social contexts. Rather than emphasizing the analysis of syntactic categories, SFL gives priority towards the exploration of interpersonal relations and social contexts in which language is used to construct intended meanings. In this respect, by focusing on how linguistic resources are used and how this process is influenced by the social context around, functional organization of a language can be observed (Halliday, 1985, p. 11).

3.1.1.1. Language as a System and Metafunctions in SFL

According to SFL, language is a system used to express meanings and perform functions in particular social contexts. SFL is concerned with how language is employed in this meaning-making process. Language is regarded as a social semiotic tool and speakers / writers use this tool in order to express their opinions, convey their intended meanings and as a result, fulfill their objectives. According to Halliday (1978, 1994, 2007), in order to analyze the functions achieved through language, three different types of meaning (*metafunctions*) should be studied in that they are accepted as systemic clusters enabling the meaning-making process in discourse. Halliday classifies them as 'ideational', 'textual', and 'interpersonal' functions.

Halliday (1978) argues that ideational function of language emphasizes the speaker's / writer's meaning potential, and therefore it is related to the content function of language (p. 112). In this respect, ideational function enables people to conceptualize the world around them. Similarly, Martin and White (2005) claim that ideational resources focus on the expression of experience, including what is going on, who is doing what to whom, where, when, why, how and with other logical connections (p. 7).

The interpersonal function of language, which is central to this dissertation, can be considered as the participatory function of language. It allows for the analysis of the expression of attitudes and evaluations (Halliday, 1978). Similarly, Martin and White (2005) point out that interpersonal resources enable the negotiations within social relations (p. 7). This function helps to indicate how people are interacting, how they express their feelings and share their thoughts with others. Martin (2004a) argues that interpersonal meaning guides social relations (p. 323).

Finally, the textual function of language indicates how the relationship between

ideational and interpersonal functions is actualized. In order to do this, it provides the model so that the difference between the uttered sentence and its role in a particular context of situation can be indicated. This function expresses the relation of the language to its environment (Halliday, 1978). Martin and White (2005) schematically represent the relationship between these three metafunctions of language as in the following figure below:

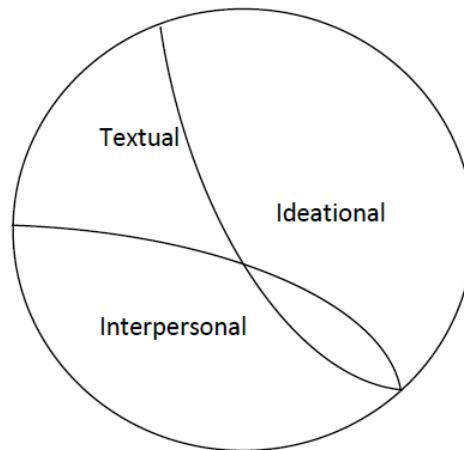


Figure 1. *Metafunctions of language (from Martin & White, 2005, p. 8).*

Halliday's approach provides a systematic way to deal with notions, such as ideology and power, which are very important for the study of political discourse, and this point of view directly leads to the introduction of Appraisal theory. White (2008) argues that as a new model, Appraisal has aimed to extend the SFL-model of interpersonal meaning-making by providing more elaborated and delicate descriptions of the linguistic choices available to speakers / writers so that they can convey their positive and negative assessments and negotiate those assessments with their receivers (p. 543).

3.1.2. Components of Appraisal Model

Appraisal framework is divided into three interacting domains, namely '*Attitude*' which is concerned with feelings and individual / entity-based evaluations; '*Engagement*' which is interested in sourcing attitudes and the voices around opinions within discourse; and '*Graduation*' which focuses on the grading phenomenon whereby feelings and evaluations are amplified and graded (Martin & White, 2005).

For each main category, Appraisal model provides sub-categories, so that a systemic semantic analysis framework to explore evaluative meanings in a particular discourse can be gained. 'Attitude' category is divided into three sub-components, namely '*Judgement*', '*Appreciation*' and '*Affect*'. Similarly, 'Engagement' category is divided into two components as '*Monogloss*' and '*Heterogloss*'; and finally, 'Graduation' category is divided into two, as categories '*Focus*' and '*Force*'. These main categories and their sub-categories can be seen in the following figure below:

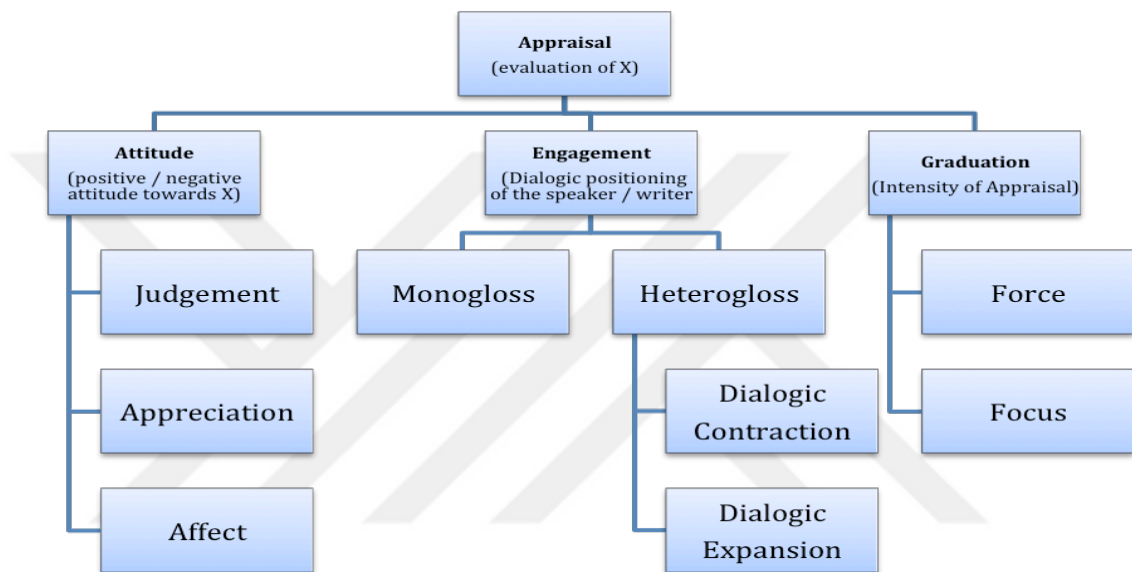


Figure 2. Main Categories of Appraisal Model (from Martin & White, 2005, p. 38)

3.1.2.1. Attitude

Attitude is concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluation of things (Martin & White, 2005, p. 35). Attitude focuses on how people express their emotional evaluations (*affect*), how they give judgemental reactions about both themselves and others (*judgement*), and how they assess entities, things, or events (*appreciation*).

The aim of this attitudinal classification is to indicate how evaluative meanings towards people, things or emotions are expressed linguistically within a particular discourse. It should be kept in mind that all these three sub-components have both positively and negatively-connotated linguistic resources for attitudinal expressions.

3.1.2.2.1. Affect (emotions; reacting to behavior)

As a sub-component of Attitudinal expressions, Affect is concerned with expressions of emotions together with positive and negative responses and evaluations. It is related to “registering positive and negative feelings: do we feel happy or sad, confident or anxious, interested or bored?” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 42). In the following example, linguistic resources for affect can be seen:

e.g. *The terrible events of the past week have left us with feelings – in order of occurrence – of **horror**, **worry**, **anger** and now, just a **general gloom*** (p. 35).

For the analysis of this category, Martin and White provide four subtypes of affect that can be encountered in texts or speeches; including ‘un/happiness’ - concerned with affairs of the heart (e.g., *sadness, hate, happiness or love*); ‘in/security’ - concerned with ecosocial well-being (e.g., *anxiety, fear, confidence or trust*); ‘dis/satisfaction’ - concerned with the pursuit of goals (e.g., *displeasure, curiosity or respect*; and ‘dis/inclination’ - concerned with the emotions directed at some external agency (e.g., *tremble, wary or miss*) (pp. 49-51).

Exploring the evaluative resources in history texts, Coffin (2012) argues that Affect comprises a set of language resources for appraising experience in affectual terms, for indicating the emotional effect of an event, as in:

e.g. *These people looked like gods with white skin and clothes in different colors. They came on land. I was **scared**, **very scared*** (pp. 10-11).

3.1.2.2.2. Appreciation (aesthetics; evaluating text / process)

Appreciation is interested in the analysis of how things, processes or products are valued, as in the following example;

e.g. *..and, as a bonus, a very **psychedelic**, **destructive** (literally!), **cathartic** and **liberatory** version of Jimi Hendrix’s *Third stone from the sun* (Martin & White, 2005, p. 36).*

They point out that appreciation involves evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena, according to the ways in which they are valued or not in a given field (p. 43), and they divide appreciation into three major categories, including our ‘*reactions*’ to things (do they catch our attention; do they please us?), their ‘*composition*’ (balance and complexity), and their ‘*value*’ (how innovative, authentic, timely, etc.) (p. 56).

Similarly, Coffin (2012) argues that Appreciation can be thought of as the institutionalization of feeling, but with reference to norms for valuing processes and products rather than behaviour, as in the example:

e.g. *It is a **significant** period in Australian history as it demonstrated how strongly Aboriginal people resisted the invasion* (pp. 11-12).

3.1.2.2.3. Judgement (ethics; evaluating behaviour)

As the main concern of this study, Judgement is related to the resources for assessing individuals' behaviours according to various normative principles. Martin and White (2005) state that "Judgement deals with attitudes towards behaviour, which we admire or criticise, praise or condemn" (p. 42), as in the example below, the criticism of the Australian Prime minister, John Howard's neo-conservative government:

e.g. *Worse, this is a **mean** administration, a **miserly, mingy, minatory** bunch if ever there was one* (pp. 35-36).

In general terms, Judgement involves evaluations about the ethics, morality or social values, and in this respect, it is divided into two main categories, as the evaluations dealing with 'social esteem' and evaluations dealing with 'social sanction'. Martin & White argue that Judgements of social esteem is related to 'normality' (how normal / unusual someone is), 'capacity' (how capable someone is), and 'tenacity' (how resolute someone is). Judgements of social sanction, on the other hand, is related to 'veracity' (how truthful someone is), and 'propriety' (how ethical someone is) (p.53).

According to Martin (2000), evaluations of social esteem is related to the admiration or criticism, which are typically expressed without any legal implications; whereas evaluations of social sanction involve praise and condemnation and they are often expressed through legal implications.

Similarly, Coffin (2012, p. 11) states that Judgement is concerned with meanings that serve to appraise human behaviour, but unlike Affect, it does this by reference to a set of institutionalised norms about how people should and should not behave as in the example:

e.g. *It was Lenin's **commitment, shrewdness** and **willingness to take risk** as opposed to Kennedy's cowardly attitude.*

Coffin (2003, p. 7) also argues that Judgement is highly determined by cultural and ideological values and therefore different behaviours may be classified differently according to the set of social values to which the evaluator subscribes. Similarly, White (2008) points out that Judgemental evaluation is interpersonally and rhetorically significant, because to assess the human agent puts most at stake interpersonally since the assessment goes most directly to the human agent and their standing and character in the community. He concludes that an understanding of how positive and negative attitudes are conveyed and negotiated is crucial for those with an interest in the interpersonal functionality of language. He adds that it is via our expressions of attitude that we announce who we are, in social, cultural terms and develop the various personal and professional alliances upon which we are so fundamentally reliant (p. 561).

Within Appraisal model, Judgement can be expressed either overtly (inscribed, explicit) through certain lexico-grammatical resources, or covertly (implicit) through metaphors or invoked categories.

3.1.2.2.3.1. Inscribed Judgement

According to Martin and White (2005), judgemental evaluations can be stated explicitly through certain lexico-grammatical categories, namely 'verbs', 'adjectives', 'adverbs' and 'nouns'. They provide a wide variety of linguistic examples expressing Judgemental evaluations, as given in the following tables below;

Table 1. *Judgement – social esteem*

SOCIAL ESTEEM	Positive (admire)	Negative (criticise)
normality 'how special?'	lucky, fortunate, charmed, normal, natural, familiar, cool, stable, predictable, fashionable, celebrated...	unlucky, star-crossed, odd, unpredictable, dated, daggy, obscure, retrograde, eccentric, also-ran...
capacity 'how capable?'	powerful, vigorous, robust, sound, healthy, fit, adult, mature, experienced, witty, humorous, droll, insightful, sane, balanced, together, educated, learned, competent, accomplished, successful, productive...	wild, weak, whimpy, unsound, sick, crippled, immature, childish, helpless, slow, stupid, insane, naïve, inexperienced, foolish, uneducated, illiterate, uneducated, ignorant, incompetent, unaccomplished...
tenacity 'how dependable?'	plucky, brave, heroic, cautious, wary, patient,	timid, cowardly, gutless, rash, impatient, hasty, reckless, weak,

	tireless, thorough, meticulous, persevering, reliable, dependable, faithful, loyal, constant...	distracted, despondent, unreliable, undependable, unfaithful, disloyal, inconstant, stubborn, obstinate, wilful...
--	---	--

(taken from Martin & White, 2005, p. 53)

Table 2. Judgement - social sanction

SOCIAL SANCTION	Positive (praise)	Negative (condemn)
veracity (truth) 'how honest?'	truthful, honest, credible, frank, candid, direct, discrete, tactful...	dishonest, deceitful, lying, deceptive, manipulative, devious, blunt...
propriety (ethics) 'how far beyond reproach?'	good, moral, ethical, law abiding, fair, just, sensitive, kind, caring, unassuming, modest, humble, polite, respectful, reverent...	bad, immoral, evil, corrupt, unfair, unjust, insensitive, mean, cruel, vain, snobby, arrogant, rude, selfish, greedy, avaricious, discourteous, irreverent...

(taken from Martin & White, 2005, p. 53)

3.1.2.2.3.2. Invoked Judgement

Apart from these explicit resources for Judgemental evaluations, there are also some 'implicitly-stated' Judgemental categories, which include 'invoked judgement structures' and 'metaphors' within Appraisal model. They can be seen in the following figure below:

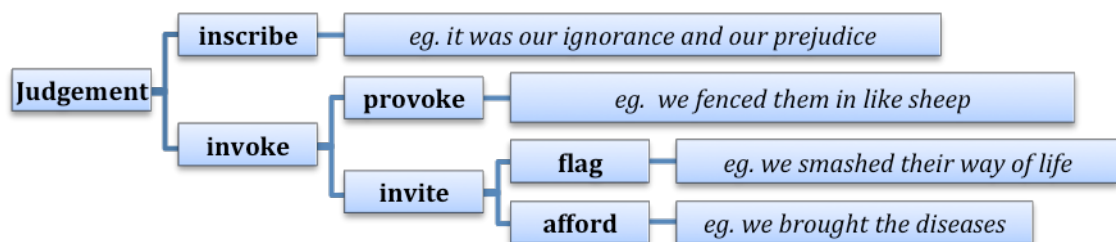


Figure 3. Strategies for Implicit Judgement (Martin & White, 2005, p. 67)

Martin (2004b) argues that

... inscribed judgement is realized through explicitly stated evaluative lexis; whereas evoked option draws an ideational meaning to 'connote' evaluation, either by selecting meanings which invite a reaction or deploying imagery to provoke a stance (p. 289).

Similarly, Bednarek (2009a) points out that an important aspect of evaluation is the difference between explicit and implicit evaluation. Evaluative dimensions may be directly and explicitly referred to through language, as when writers use lexical items (e.g., *great*, *fantastic*, *brilliant*) to evaluate something positively. In contrast, the same dimension may be more indirectly implied, e.g. via an utterance like '*Her research is corpus-based*', which does not include any explicitly evaluative language, but may imply positive or negative evaluation depending on the position taken up by the speaker / hearer, their values and their background (p. 6).

3.1.2.2. Engagement

As the second component of Appraisal model, Engagement is concerned with sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse. More specifically, it is related to the ways in which resources such as modality, adverbials, quoting / reporting, acknowledging a possibility, denying, countering, affirming and so forth position the speakers or writers with respect to others (Martin and White, 2005, p. 36).

According to White (2008), Appraisal framework perceives attitudinal language to do more than simply self-expressively announce the speaker or the writer's viewpoint, and therefore, in any praising or condemning, applauding or criticizing, there is always more involved communicatively and interpersonally than self-expression (pp. 543-544).

Originally, Appraisal theory approaches Engagement from Bakhtin's (1981, 1986) perspectives of 'dialogicity' and 'heteroglossia', assuming that all texts / speeches are dialogic. Also referred to as 'intertextuality' by Kristeva (1986), and 'manifest intertextuality' by Fairclough (1992); Bakhtin's (1986) dialogical approach assumes that an utterance should not be considered in isolation or it should not be evaluated based on its speaker only. Instead, it should be accepted as a link with other related utterances. Bakhtin (1981) points out that interpersonal meaning has a 'social' and 'dialogic' nature, and he believes that any utterance reflects both the individuality of the speaker and also an evaluative stance towards other voices within a particular discourse (p. 428).

For the analysis of dialogism within political discourse, Bakhtin (1981) emphasizes the ideological reflections of individuals, which can be easily seen in the utterances or texts. This is quite related to the current research because of the ideological side of

political language. Bakhtin believes that our language is ideologically under the influence of world views around, and in meaning making process, there is a mutual understanding of all spheres of ideological groups (p. 271). In brief, originating from Bakhtinian accounts and emphasizing the intersubjective side of utterances, Engagement is directly related to how this positioning or stance is sourced while expressing an opinion. It “deals with sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 35).

Within Appraisal framework, there are barely asserted propositions and they are generally defined as intersubjectively neutral utterances. Thus, they are called ‘monoglossic’ (*single-voiced / no dialogic*) utterances, and they deny the dialogic nature of the utterance. However, utterances on which Engagement analysis can be carried out represent the dialogic potential through the inclusion of some ‘heteroglossic’ categories, like denying, pronouncing, modality, quoting or reporting expressions. This single-voiced and multi-voiced difference can be seen in the following examples:

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>Monoglossic:</i> | <i>no recognition of dialogic alternatives, there is taken for grantedness. The proposition is accepted, and there is nothing to discuss</i> |
| | (1) The XY party lost the election. |
| <i>Heteroglossic:</i> | <i>recognition of dialogic alternatives.</i> |
| | (2) The XY party might have lost the election. |
| | (3) I believe the XY party has lost the election. |
| | (4) It seems the XY party has lost the election. |
| | (5) Apparently, the XY party has lost the election |
| | (taken from Becker, 2009, p. 8). |

Engagement analysis, focusing on the heteroglossic dimension of interpersonal meaning, indicates the resources employed in discourse to analyze the interpersonality and rhetorical strategies employed by speakers / writers. Engagement or sourcing of evaluations is achieved through particular linguistic resources, such as epistemic modal expressions, evidentials, denials, rhetorical questions, counters, and quoted expressions most of the time. As the communicative side of an utterance, Engagement functions to acknowledge alternative positions or voices in a speech or text. The way of this positioning may vary, from ‘dialogically contractive’ (*i.e., to reject, counter, deny, endorse, pronounce, etc.*) through which alternative voices are restricted; to ‘dialogically expansive’ (*i.e., entertain, acknowledge, be open to, etc.*) which allow for the inclusion of other voices (Martin & White, 2005; White, 2003), as can be seen in the following figure below;

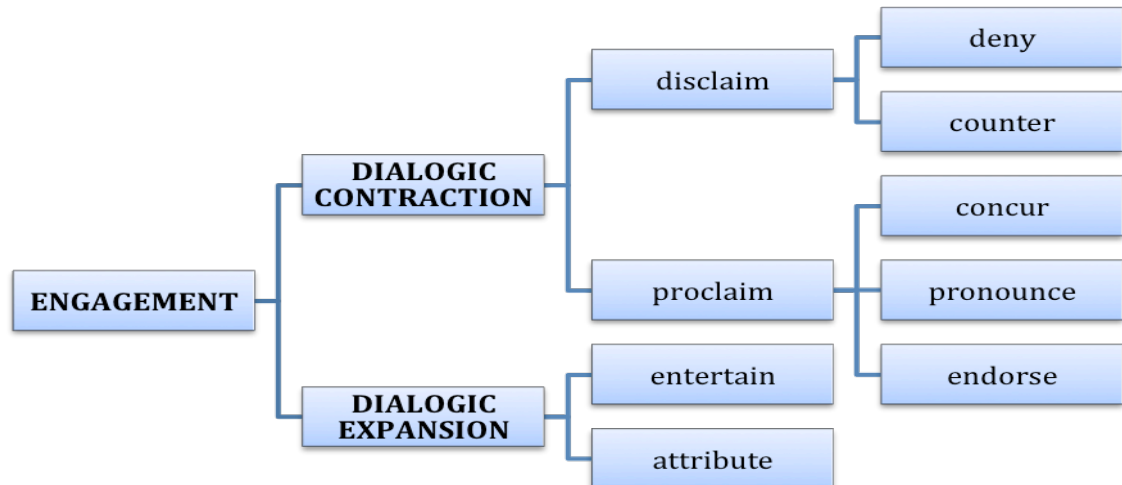


Figure 4. An overview of Engagement (from Martin & White, 2005, p. 134)

By analyzing the heteroglossic preferences of speakers / writers, linguists doing Engagement analysis can explore how they contract or expand the dialogic space in their utterances. As Martin (2000, p. 166) states, “just as it is impossible to include without also excluding, so it is impossible to appraise without running the gauntlet of empathy and alienation”. All in all, Engagement analysis may provide certain insights with regard to the stance taking and solidarity strategies of politicians in this study.

3.1.2.2.1. Dialogic Contraction

Dialogic contraction resources function to challenge or restrict the alternative voices by construing a dialogic space with the aim of ‘closing down’ dialogue and suppressing alternative stances (Martin & White, 2005, p. 117). Dialogically contracted meanings can be expressed through the use of ‘disclaimers’ or ‘proclaimers’ as can be seen in the following figure below. Disclaimers require ‘*denying*’ a particular stance, or ‘*countering*’ this stance in favour of another, which is presented as preferable. Proclaimers, on the other hand, function as defending a particular stance, but again excluding or refuting alternatives. This is achieved through ‘*concurrence*’ aiming to indicate agreement; ‘*pronouncement*’ where the explicit intervention of the speaker / writer is used to strengthen subjective stance; and ‘*endorsement*’ where alignment is achieved through an external voice or evaluation.

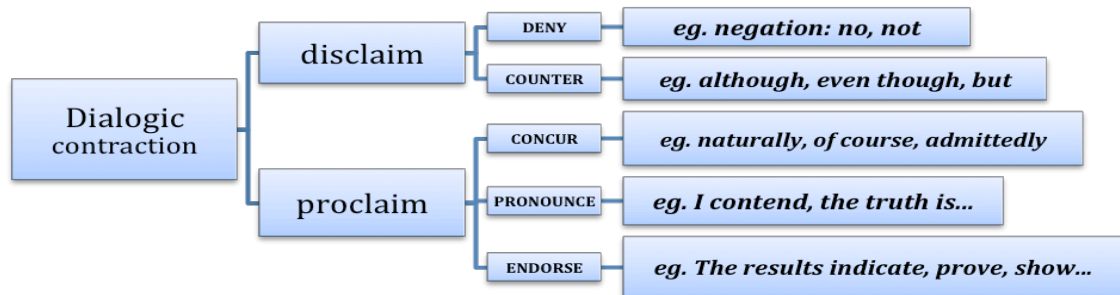


Figure 5. Dialogic Contraction Categories (from Martin & White, 2005, p. 134)

3.1.2.2.1.1. Disclaimers

According to Martin and White (2005), in disclaim, the contrary arguments are rejected, and the speaker's / writer's voice is expressed as the ultimate realities. As a result, the dialogic space is closed down or restricted (p. 118).

One of the basic disclaiming categories and the most common one is **Denial**, which is linguistically sourced through negating words, such as '*no*', '*not*', '*never*', and '*didn't*'. The negation here functions not just to deny a proposition, but to deny an expectation or assumption which the naturalised reader / listener is construed as holding (White, 2003; Martin & White, 2005), as in the following example:

e.g. You **don't need** to give up potatoes to lose weight (Martin & White, 2005, p. 97).

Counters, on the other hand, serve to replace the denied expectation with an alternative that the speaker / writer voice presents as preferable or more correct or justified. Counters typically involve adverbials, such as '*although*', '*however*', '*nevertheless*'; or conjunctions like '*yet*' and '*but*', as in the following example;

e.g. **Although** he ate potatoes, he lost weight (Martin & White, 2005, p. 97).

3.1.2.2.1.2. Proclaimers

Proclaimers restrict the inclusion of other voices and close down the dialogic space in an utterance, by providing evidence or support for a particular stance (Martin & White, 2005, p. 121). Proclaimer category is divided into three main sub-components, namely 'concurrence', 'pronounce' and 'endorse'.

In **Concurrence** category, evaluation within an utterance is considered as already accepted, agreed or taken for granted by the listeners / readers. This is achieved through adverbials, such as *obviously, naturally, clearly, Admittedly* and so on.

Pronouncement mostly requires the explicit involvement of the speaker / writer into the proposition in order to “assert or insist upon the value or warrantability of the proposition” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 128). This sub-category can be encountered within discourse through certain expressions, such as ‘*I contend*’, or ‘*the truth is...*’, which contract the space by expressing a strong level of writer / speaker commitment.

As the last sub-category of contracting resources, **Endorsement** refers to “those formulations by which propositions sourced to external sources are construed by the authorial voice as correct, valid, undeniable, or otherwise maximally warrantable” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 126). This sourcing is achieved through certain linguistic expressions, such as ‘*The results indicated / proved that*’ or ‘*The report has shown that...*’, in which existing evaluation is attributed to an external source.

3.1.2.2.2. Dialogic Expansion

Apart from the dialogically contracted ones, there are also dialogically expanded evaluations within Engagement component. Expansion category “actively makes space for alternative positions and voices” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 102). As can be seen in the following figure, the process of opening up the dialogic space for other voices is fulfilled, either by ‘entertaining’ an evaluation to the speaker / writer himself, or ‘attributing’ it to a named or unnamed source which is external to the text / speech. In both cases, the evaluation expressed becomes heteroglossic because it includes a context of alternatives, namely alternative stances, voices and anticipated reactions

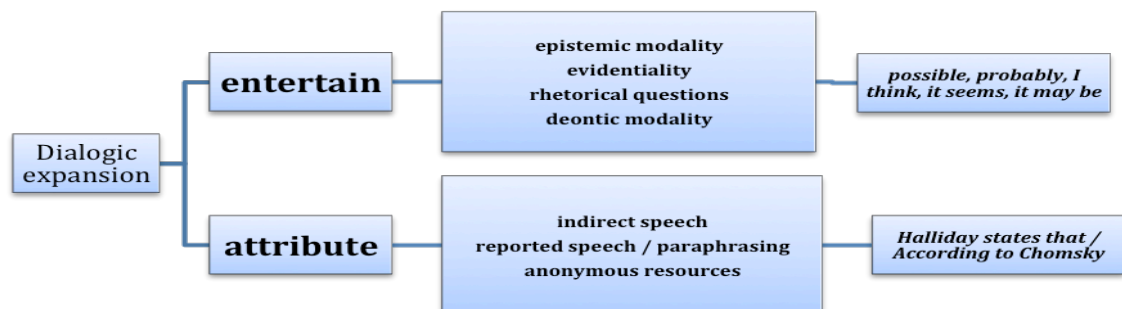


Figure 6. Dialogic Expansion categories (from Martin & White, 2005, p. 117)

3.1.2.2.2.1. Entertainment

By grounding the evaluation on individual subjectivity, entertain represents the speaker or authorial voice, but in this process, the proposition subjectively expressed is considered as one of a range of possible positions, and therefore, it entertains or invokes dialogic alternatives. (Martin & White, 2005, p. 98). In this way, this category makes 'dialogic space' for other possibilities or alternative voices.

Entertain has been covered in literature under the headings of *epistemic modality* and *evidentiality*. Similar to epistemic modality and evidentiality, in Appraisal model, as well, entertain is expressed through the assessments of the likelihood via; *modal auxiliaries* (*may, might, could*); *modal adjuncts* (*perhaps, probably, definitely*); *modal attributes* (*It is possible that*); *circumstances* (*In my view,*); *mental verbs* (*I think, I believe, I suspect*); *evidentials* (*It seems, I hear*) (Martin and White, 2005, p. 105).

Apart from the likelihood, there are also modals of permission and obligation / necessity, traditionally called 'deontic modality' and also 'rhetorical questions' within Martin & White's Entertain category.

3.1.2.2.2.2. Attribution

Attribution, on the other hand, requires the presence of an external voice that takes over the responsibility for the evaluative meaning in a proposition (Martin and White, 2005, p. 111). It is most commonly achieved through the use of *directly and indirectly reported speech* through reporting verbs (e.g., *report, state, say, announce, inform, describe, declare*), and mental verbs like (e.g., *It is thought / suggested / believed*) (White, 2003; Martin & White, 2005).

Attributed utterances provide an external source or voice for the claims expressed, and they offer so-called objectivity in this respect. Due to this objectivity, attribution can be considered as a strategic maneuvering employed by individuals in order to hide their subjectivity. Although the evaluations made through attribution tools seem objective, these evaluations, in fact, should be considered in relation with their surrounding context and some hidden subjectivity properties. Coffin (2012, p. 14) provides the following example, showing the attribution of views and judgements to voices other than those of the writer, either by 'quoting' or 'reporting';

- e.g. On the other hand, those who favoured conscription argued that if there was a German victory and it became the dominant power then the economic prosperity of Australia would be finished.

3.1.2.2.3. Relationship between Engagement and Modality

In Engagement, there is an emphasis on modality as an interpersonal resource, because individuals use modality resources to express their stance intersubjectively. In general terms, modality is concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event (Palmer, 1986, p. 1). Palmer makes a distinction between ‘*propositional modality*’ (including epistemic modality and evidential modality) and ‘*event modality*’ (including deontic modality and dynamic modality). He argues that while the former one is concerned with the speaker’s attitude to the truth value or factual status of a proposition, and achieved through the expressions of speculative, deductive, assumptive, reported and sensory resources; the latter one is related to the events that are not actualized or have not taken place, and generally represented through the expressions of directives, commissives, ability or willingness (p. 8). The classification of these categories can be seen in the following Figure below;

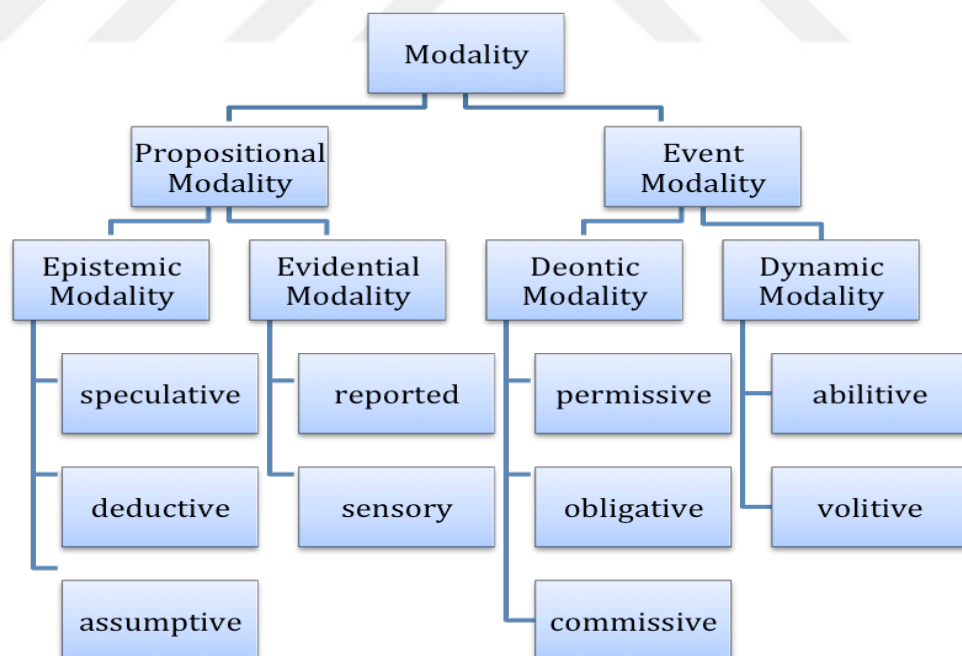


Figure 7. Palmer’s Modality Classification

According to Martin & White (2005), Engagement system is more detailed than traditional accounts of modality, including evidentiality, hedging or truth-functional

semantics. ‘Modality’ and ‘Engagement’ approaches interpret a sentence like ‘*It was probably the most immature, irresponsible, disgraceful and misleading address ever given by a British Prime Minister*’ from different perspectives. More traditional accounts of modality analyse such a statement from a truth functional perspective and state that there is a ‘lack of commitment to the truth value of the proposition’ (Palmer, 1986). However, from the dialogic perspective under the system of Engagement, it is argued that the speaker attempts to express a totally subjective and opinion-based negative evaluation regarding the Prime Minister’s addressee.

Through Engagement system, modal expressions like the one above are seen as revealing that meaning is subject to heteroglossic negotiation, instead of just reflecting the writer’s / speaker’s degree of commitment to the truth value of a proposition. In other words, modality in this system is considered as having a dialogic function to acknowledge the proposition in a dialogistic perspective (Martin and White, 2005, p. 106). According to Halliday (1976), through modality, speakers or writers take up a position with respect to the status or validity of their judgements, and therefore, it serves an interpersonal function (pp. 197-198); and for Becker (2009), within the appraisal framework, modality plays a central role in the appraisal systems of Engagement as it is one of the linguistic resources used to indicate people’s attitudes regarding the truth or likelihood of the propositions they represent (p. 7). Badran (2001) argues that the speaker’s choice of modal expressions signals both the degree and type of involvement a speaker has in the content of his message, and consequently his ideological stances (p. 49).

All in all, Martin (2003) views modality not as a separate category in linguistics, but as a component in language system called Appraisal. Therefore, he puts this category under the Entertain sub-part within Engagement devices, together with other subjective expressions like deontic modality expressions, rhetorical questions and evidentials.

3.1.2.3. Graduation

Graduation “attends to grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified and categories blurred” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 35). In Appraisal model, all resources provided within Attitude and Engagement categories are gradable, and through Graduation category, the degrees of evaluative expressions can be explored, depending on how strong or weak they are. This kind of graduation is called *Force* and

it can be expressed through intensifications, comparatives, superlatives, and repetitions (e.g., *so touchy*, *quite clinical*, *most dangerous*, *a little upset*). Apart from this force sub-category, there is also *Focus* component, which deals with non-gradable resources (e.g., *a fully-fledged*, *award-winning*, *about 60 years old*). Martin and White's (2005) Graduation categories can be seen in the following figure:

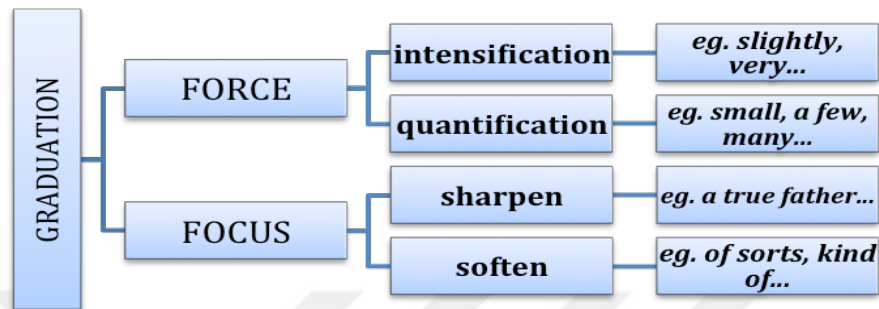


Figure 8. Graduation categories (from Martin & White, 2005, pp. 138-154)

Graduation category was excluded in this study, in that the aim was not to explore the ways in which Turkish politicians graded their evaluations and subjective realities.

3.2. APPRAISAL IN DISCOURSE STUDIES

Appraisal has been employed in a wide range of fields, including English for Academic Purposes (EAP), Systemic Functional Linguistics, critical discourse analysis, register analysis, textual analysis, emotion analysis / psychological studies, rhetorical studies, journalistic discourse, narrative analysis, conversation analysis, language acquisition, corpus linguistics, discourse negotiation, genre & register studies, reporting language and of course, in political discourse.

3.2.1. Appraisal in Related Literature

Appraisal framework has been frequently used in the studies focusing on '*journalistic discourse and news reporting*', in which evaluation categories of authors or writers have been explored through the analysis of semantic evaluation categories provided by the Appraisal model (Arrese & Perucha, 2006; Babicheva, 2011; Bednarek and Caple, 2010; Caffarel & Rechniewski, 2008; Caldwell, 2009; Chen, 2004; Economou, 2008; Holmgreen & Vestergaard, 2009; Högländ, 2008; Know & Patpong, 2008; Knox, 2008; Lukin, 2008; Pazderova, 2006; Pekarova, 2011; Mugumya, 2013; Sano, 2008; Stenvall,

2008; Taylor, 2003; Thomson, Fukui, & White, 2008; Thomson & Van, 2008; Tran & Thomson, 2008; Vo, 2011; Xiaoping, 2013).

Some of these studies focus on the Judgemental evaluations made by journalists within editorials or news reports, whereas some other emphasize the analysis of 'voice concept', which is called 'reporter voice' or 'author voice' (Jullian, 2011; White, 1997, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2009; Thomson & White, 2008). They argue that authors tend to represent themselves neutral and impersonal, through employing the quoted comments of external sources. These researchers explore how evaluative resources, particularly quoted expressions, help journalists to express their attitudinal positioning and their ideological stance, and they conclude that even while journalists avoid from making explicit judgemental evaluations or expressing their points of view directly, they still express their personal stance most of the time through the use of 'indirect' attitudinal positioning.

There are also studies exploring voice from a 'cross-linguistic' perspective; making cross-linguistic comparisons of evaluations (Ghavamnia & Dastjerdi, 2013; Liu & Stevenson, 2013; Pounds, 2010; Sabao, 2013; Thomson, White and Kitley, 2008). Focusing on the linguistic analysis of 'authorial stance', they all find out that authorial subjective evaluations can be represented through a variety of strategic impersonalizations, largely attribution. Besides, there may be certain differences between the objective and interpretative styles of the journalists, which can be linked to different socio-cultural contexts and their effects in people's communication strategies.

Some other studies have focused on the exploration of evaluative language expressing 'ideology in editorials' (Ghannam, 2011; Lagonikos, 2005; Oddo, 2013; Taylor, 2003). Using Appraisal framework together with CDA, they find out that editorials distinguish between 'us' and 'them' groups for the purposes of advancing and confirming in-group ideologies and agendas. They suggest that language can indicate underlying ideologies by reporting and reshaping the articles in different ways.

Appraisal framework has also been used in '*psychological studies*', especially with the ones holding affective or emotional concern (Adendorff & Klerk, 2005; Bednarek, 2008c; Bortoluzzi, 2010; Caldwell et al., 2005; Forey, 2008; Hood & Horarik, 2003; Liwanag, 2006; Page, 2003; Pounds, 2012; Stenvall, 2008). These emotion-based

studies generally focus on the analysis of evaluative resources employed by particular groups, such as depressed patients (Caldwell et al., 2005), individuals narrating their birth experiences (Page, 2003), or emotional corpus taken from conversations (Bednarek, 2008c). All these studies attempt to investigate the evaluative functioning and interpersonal meanings within psychological discourses.

In evaluative language literature, appraisal model has also been employed in the analysis of '*academic-genre*', including the exploration of evaluative language within textbooks, academic research papers, scientific articles or peer-review reports, on the one hand (Chen, 2009; Coffin, 2000, 2003, 2012; Hood, 2004; Hyland & Diani, 2009; Kawamitsu, 2012; Mondt, 2015; Marshall, 2009; Sano, 2006); and the investigation of argumentative essays (Coffin, North & Martin, 2009; Crane, 2007; Derewianka, 2007; Swain, 2007; Thompson & Zhou, 2000; Wu & Desmond, 2003; Xinghua & Thompson, 2009) and teaching dimension (Liu, 2010; Lee, 2005, 2008) on the other hand. Coffin is one of the leading researchers in this group, with her famous work on Appraisal within school history books, with the aim of demonstrating the historical 'objectivity' and 'subjectivity' within school context. More specifically, she analyses how the history book writer's stance is played out through linguistic realizations, and she concludes that history provides an abstract world to students through linguistic means to talk about people and entities; and it also gives them particular positioning and persuading strategies that are necessary for social positions and interpersonal relations.

Appraisal framework has also been encountered in '*corpus linguistics*' studies, in which mainly evaluative lexis is explored (Channell, 2000; Hunston, 2011). They attempt to identify words and phrases with connotations of positive or negative evaluation. Exploring the role of corpus linguistics in the study of evaluative language, Hunston (2011) argues that corpus investigation techniques play critical roles in the study of evaluative language, because they allow the researcher to guarantee that a particular word or phrase has an evaluative property, and they permit the quantification of evaluative meaning.

Apart from the fields stated above, Appraisal framework was employed in many other areas in the literature, including specific fields like '*stance studies*' (Conrad & Biber, 2000; Karkkainen, 2006; Gales, 2011a, 2011b), '*advertising discourse*' (Wu, 2013b), '*rhetorical studies*' (Bock, 2007; Sano, 2008), '*analysis of hotel reviews*' (Tian, 2013),

'*politeness*' (Vera, 2010; Ho, 2014), '*social and national identity*' (Fuoli, 2012; Don, 2007), '*translation*' (Munday, 2012b; Wu, 2013a; Brata, 2010), '*computer-based automatic appraisal parsing*' (Taboada & Grieve, 2004), '*business communication*', (Magocha, 2010), and '*ideology in song lyrics*' (Arfiyantama, 2012).

3.2.2. Appraisal and Political Discourse

There are many studies exploring the evaluative language within a wide variety of political genres, including *political speeches* (Chingwere, 2014; Helander, 2014; Muqit, 2012; Zhang, 2012), *political interviews* (Fetzer, 2008; Lauerbach, 2004; Shalash, 2009), *political translations* (Khajeh & Khanmohammad, 2009), *political discussions* (Tilakaratna & Mahboob, 2013), *political news* (Caffarel & Rechniewski, 2008; Lihua, 2009), and so on, using the Appraisal-theoretic framework.

As for the use of Appraisal to analyse evaluative meanings in '*political speeches*', Zhang (2012) investigates judgemental expressions encountered in the inaugural speeches given by the US Presidents, and he concludes that attitudinal meanings of judgement account for the most part of all the inaugural speeches in the corpus and usually positive judgments are foregrounded. Similarly, in his thesis, Chingwere (2014) argues that Zimbabwean politicians tend to make sure they remain in contact with ideology-based interests, and whenever they are giving a speech, they try to outwit each other by undermining their political opponents.

In a different study, Muqit (2012) investigates the ideology and power relation reflected in Osama bin Laden's pronoun usage in his speech. His study reveals that Osama bin Laden reflects his ideologies variously through the use of pronoun in his speech text. In his speeches, the pronouns 'I', 'we', and 'our' belong to Osama and his group; whereas the pronouns 'them', 'they', 'their', 'its' and 'it' refer to the United States and its people.

Exploring the use of explicit and implicit evaluative language within Sri Lankan political discussion through Appraisal model, Tilakaratna & Mahboob (2013) argue that understanding local context is very crucial for the coding of attitude, in that meaning is conveyed inexplicitly in context. They reveal that participants within the discussion use a variety of linguistic resources to convey their attitude implicitly. Based on the analysis of data, they demonstrate that Appraisal framework makes evaluation within the text

more easily accessible and enables the coder to interpret a considerable amount of evaluation within the text.

Apart from the political speeches, there are also studies carrying out Appraisal analysis in the genre of '*political interviews*'. Analyzing British and German political interviews, Fetzner (2008) points out that during political interviews, interviewers and interviewees negotiate validity claims. The interviewer sets up a position and requests the interviewee to ratify claim by expressing alignment or non-alignment. She examines the expressions of non-alignment in a corpus of interviews between journalists and the losers of the general elections, by focusing on the expressions like "*well, I don't think so*".

Similarly, Shalash (2009) explores alignment and disalignment in broadcast political news interviews, and she combines conversation analysis with interpersonal functional analysis to comment on stance, evaluation, subjectivity and identity relations in politician interview. She concludes that negated, prefaced, disjunctive, and declarative questions and attributing the claim to external sources can perform actions of embedding presuppositions and displaying either alignment or disalignment with other speakers. Besides, when asking questions or giving statements, they can make references to membership categories, or they can label the 'other' with negative references to express disalignment with their political position.

In a different study focusing on the televised political interviews through Appraisal model, Lauerbach (2004) concludes that while expressing attitude, speakers can position themselves based on different cultural and ideological values. Besides, intersubjective positionings are managed by negotiating probability and evidentiality.

There are also Appraisal-based studies focusing on the '*visual side*' of political discourse. For instance, Swain (2012) uses appraisal theory to map some of the richly complex visual and verbal resources for making evaluative meanings in political cartoons, and to capture how distinctive patterns of those resources create different interpersonal styles. Detailed appraisal analyses and discussions of three cartoons illustrate the different configurations of appraisal resources realizing the evaluative key of each, and how evaluative meanings and viewer alignment depend on multiple interactions between visual and verbal appraisal and ideation.

Appraisal model has also been employed in the analysis of '*national anthems*'. de Souza (2006) carries out a research focusing on discourse semantic functions, lexicogrammatical properties and production processes of national anthems with the aim of the analysis of power. He carries out an Appraisal analysis of 24 national anthems written in English in order to identify and analyze the main attitudinal resources the anthem authors utilize to construe and negotiate feelings with their audience. He concludes that the direct encoding of attitudinal meanings is the national anthem authors' preferred strategy for expressing their evaluative stance. Besides, judgemental evaluations play a significant role in national anthems to align people around character and shared moral values.

Analysis of evaluative language in political discourse can also be encountered within the studies focusing on '*political editorials*'. Based on Appraisal theory, Lihua (2009) uses editorials from the China Daily to investigate interpersonal patterns constructing and shaping public opinion. He concludes that the author of the selected editorial is more likely to be explicit in evaluating events and implicit in evaluating behavior and that s/he seldom attributes attitudes to other sources. Besides, modality occurs frequently in editorial discourse. Modal expressions of certainty, necessity and obligation are particularly common and indicate the authority and power nature of the discourse.

Similarly, Caffarel & Rechniewski (2008) analyze the appraisal resources and transitivity in two editorials with contrasting political orientation in order to explore how they construct ideology through the particular patterns of linguistic choices. They find out that ideologies, worldviews and cultural norms are directly reflected within each linguistic act of the authors. Moreover, authors avoid explicit value judgements, which can be considered as a strategy of impersonalisation.

As an extra attitude towards ideology in political discourse, appraisal or evaluative language has also been studied in political discourse from the perspective of '*political translation*'. Khajeh & Khanmohammad (2009) examine the relationship between language and ideology involved in translation. They demonstrate that there are significant changes made by the two translators in their selection of lexical items and syntactic structures, and these changes stem from the differences between two societies.

As for the case in Turkish political context, only Yalçın & Uçar (2014) and Yalçın (2014) carry out an Appraisal-based evaluative language research, and they investigate the term 'family' in the conservative democracy field of the AKP government. They explore the corpus taken from the newspapers, based on the family key concept. They conclude that newspapers show attitudinal differences regarding their assessments of the AKP's family concept.



CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

This chapter starts with the focus of the analysis, as only some components of Appraisal model have been included in this dissertation. Then, information about targeted parties and their backgrounds are provided, together with the selection of certain discourse areas and their importance for evaluative language research. Besides, data analysis processes are mentioned step by step in order to demonstrate how the linguistic resources expressing Judgement and Engagement were detected, analysed, and interpreted within the target speeches. At the end of the chapter, sample evaluative resources within politicians' utterances are provided in order to demonstrate how targeted items have been categorized within data.

4.1. RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1.1. Focus of the analysis

As stated in the previous Chapter, Appraisal has a broad perspective and enables the analysis of many evaluative meanings, from emotional to grading categories. However, in this dissertation, only Judgement and Engagement categories were selected as the targeted items.

Language is a dialogic phenomenon (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Martin & White, 2005), and using it, politicians frequently try to establish their authority and persuade their audience to agree with them. Besides, as language is viewed as a social semiotic (Halliday, 1978), which supports the idea that social reality is established, maintained and modified through language, party group speeches provide a good basis to study the construction and representation of individuals and identity in Turkish political discourse. Additionally, the manipulative function of political language plays a significant role in specific representations of events and people they are talking about. Regarding this manipulative function, politicians tend to convey their thoughts and points of view to their audience through using certain rhetorical strategies (Chilton, 2004; Orwell, 1969; Wilson, 1990).

To start with, one of the categories of Appraisal, which is adopted in this study is Judgement. It is concerned with evaluations about people's behaviour. Speakers and writers generally admire, praise or criticise people they are talking and writing about (Martin & White, 2005). Besides, Judgement is highly common in political discourse (Chingwere, 2014; Dung, 2010; Lagonikos, 2005; Taylor, 2003; Zhang, 2012), as politicians generally tend to express their positive and negative judgemental evaluations both towards their own behaviours (self-evaluation) and also towards the others (other-evaluation).

Moreover, Coffin (2000) argues that Judgement values frequently occur in argumentative genres. As political speeches are a part of these genres, it is certain that the linguistic expressions preferred by politicians to make Judgemental evaluations can be good indicators of their evaluation and reality construction strategies. In other words, the analysis of Judgemental expressions can provide certain insights regarding how politicians in Turkish setting express their evaluations, to what extent they prefer explicit and implicit categories and what this explicitness / implicitness may indicate about the relationship among their power, solidarity, ideology and inter-group realities.

However, other sub-categories of Attitude, namely 'appreciation' (evaluation of things) and 'affect' (evaluation of feelings) were excluded in this study, as the main focus was on the assessment of individuals, not things or feelings. They can be the emphasis in further studies.

Apart from the Judgement category, in order to study how politicians negotiate their ideas, how they express their stance and how they provide alignment / disalignment in their speeches, Engagement – the second sub-category of Appraisal framework – was included in the research, as well, due to its relationship with modality, voice, stance-taking, solidarity, power, and alignment / disalignment strategies.

While Judgement analysis indicates explicit and implicit strategies politicians employ to make judgemental evaluations to some extent, under the category of Engagement, 'sources' of these judgemental evaluations can be uncovered, whether they are internal or external, whether they are subjective or objective, whether they are dialogically contractive or expansive. Through the analysis of these sources, it can be explored whether politicians express strong or weak commitment to their claims. In other word,

it is possible to examine the engagement strategies that party leaders employ to establish their stance towards the issues being communicated and how they align or disalign with these issues.

Linguistic resources encountered in party group speeches may be representative in terms of their evaluative political meanings and reality construction strategies within political language. There may be certain linguistic strategies employed by Turkish politicians to convey their intended messages and to create a community sharing the same knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, values and objectives. Similarly, leaders' linguistic preferences can reflect their party-based ideologies and intergroup realities constructed within their political communities.

At that point, Appraisal model helps to uncover these strategies and reveal how politicians persuade their audience and supporters. An analysis of evaluative meaning in political speeches can contribute to a better understanding of party-reality construction in Turkish politics, and as the analysis of Engagement provides information regarding these issues, it had to be included in the study of Turkish political discourse from an evaluative perspective. As Engagement is concerned with the ways in which writers / speakers interact with their readers / listeners in order to present a stance towards a particular evaluation or attitude (Martin & White, 2005), its strategies are particularly important for understanding the persuasive nature of Turkish politics.

However, like Appreciation and Affect sub-components, Graduation category was also excluded in this study. It was not one of the main concerns of this study to explore how politicians express their high and low level commitments to their evaluations. As Graduation is particularly related to the grading phenomenon through which feelings, Judgements and evaluations are enhanced and graded, it was not addressed in this thesis.

4.1.2. Data

This study draws its data from the weekly-held group speeches of four different political party leaders who were represented in Turkish Parliament on the dates speeches given, namely the ruling party leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (*AKP*); and opposition

parties` leaders Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu (*CHP*), Devlet Bahçeli (*MHP*), and Selahattin Demirtaş (*HDP*).

Using Appraisal-theoretic principles, this study explored a corpus of “**57**” party group speeches of four political parties, including “**216,151**” **words**. The target speeches were given on the dates from October 8th, 2013 to February 25th, 2014, during which lots of significant political issues occurred in Turkey. Most speeches were taken from the parties` websites as they were downloaded and shared with the public. However, Demirtaş`s speeches were taken from *Youtube* and they were transcribed by the researcher, as only videos had been downloaded.

4.1.2.1. Party Information

‘Justice and Development Party’ (AKP) was the ruling party on the dates of data collection. In their website, they describes themselves as a political party emphasizing the elements of national will, supremacy of law, intelligence, science, experience, democracy, fundamental rights and freedom of individuals, and ethics as the foundations of its political administration. This party argues that Turkish Nation is indivisible, and serving people is their priority. It states that Turkish citizens have the fundamental rights such as different beliefs, thoughts, races, languages, self-expression, organizing, living, etc., and it rejects any form of discrimination towards individuals. It also gives importance to the ‘social state’ and ‘individuals equipped with moral values’ phenomena, which are considered fundamental for the development of the country. Besides, this party favors referendums as an efficient way so that people participations can be provided in the management process ¹

‘Republican People`s Party’ (CHP) was the main opposition party in Turkish Parliament on the dates speeches were given. This party was founded in 1923, by the great leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. It considers republicanism, populism, nationalism, secularism, statism and revolutionism as its fundamental principles². The main objectives of this party are identified as to constitute secular, contemporary, participatory and pluralistic democracy; to enhance national security and unity together with economic and political independence; to provide democratic constitutional state based on the separation of

¹ *Fundamental Objectives Article 4*, By-Laws of the Justice and Development Party, Chapter One: General principles, pp: 11-13. (<http://www.akparti.org.tr/english/akparti/parti-tuzugu>)

² *Political Principles and Values Article 2*, By-Laws of Republican People`s Party, Part One: Foundation and Principles., pp: 7. (<https://www.chp.org.tr/Assets/dosya/tuzuk2016-29012016.pdf>)

powers and objective justice; to provide freedom and rights for individuals; to fight against any kind of discrimination and exclusion, to fulfil sustainable and balanced development together with humanely and fair division and social solidarity; and to give importance to science and technology³.

'Nationalist Movement Party' (MHP) was another opposition party. It gives importance to the phenomena, including nationalism, democracy, human rights and freedom, rule of law, secularism, social state, social justice and transparency in ruling. In this way, it identifies its certain objectives as ensuring the prevalence of the rule of law and justice in all areas; raising the democratic standards; protecting the fundamental principles of the Republic and its indivisible integrity; securing the human rights and liberties; adopting fair, honest and transparent rules and regulations; providing all citizens with modern life standards; enhancing economic development; establishing a peaceful environment by preventing all kinds of terrorism and anarchy; and making the country a regional and global power⁴

'People`s Democratic Party' (*HDP – former Peace and Democracy Party, BDP*) was the last opposition party in Turkish Parliament, and it was co-chaired by Selahattin Demirtaş and Gülsen Kıvanak on the dates speeches were given. This party states that HDP mainly gives importance to peace, justice, democracy, workers` rights and humane life standards. They are totally against any kind of discrimination, oppression and pressure stemming from different ethnic backgrounds, beliefs or thoughts. Besides, they identify themselves as a pro-peace and pro-labor party. For them, achieving peace in the country, providing education in one`s mother tongue, establishing self-governing at the local level and considering the Kurdish people`s demands are the fundamental priorities. HDP believes that the establishment of democratic and autonomous local governments is the first step towards a well-functioning democracy⁵. In this study, only Selahattin Demirtaş`s weekly-speeches were analyzed.

³ *Objectives Article 3*, By-Laws of Republican People`s Party, Part One: Foundation and Principles., pp: 8-10. (<https://www.chp.org.tr/Assets/dosya/tuzuk2016-29012016.pdf>)

⁴ Nationalist Movement Party: Introduction, mission-vision statements, fundamental values and principles http://www.mhp.org.tr/mhp_dil.php?dil=en

⁵ People`s Democratic Party: Who Are We? <http://www.hdp.org.tr/en/who-we-are/peoples-democratic-party/8760>

4.1.2.2. Data Selection

The target speeches for the analysis were selected based on three criteria; (1) to ensure that they form the representative sample of the self versus other evaluations of the party leaders, which could be achieved through the selection of leaders` speeches in which they make both positive and negative evaluations; (2) to select the speeches carrying some ideological and party-based values, which would provide insights regarding party leaders` different ideological stances and reveal their party-based positioning towards certain issues in Turkish politics; and (3) to select the speeches particularly including some significant political issues, such as Gezi protests, corruption scandal, democratization package and so-called reforms regarding education, religion, Kurdish question, democracy and justice, about which it was hypothesized that leaders` political stances would be represented and it would be guaranteed that all four leaders express their evaluative perspectives.

Most speeches were taken from parties` websites; however, some of them were taken from YouTube as there were no written documents, particularly in HDP`s website. The speeches given by four party leaders and their dates can be seen in the following table.

Table 3. Speeches in the data

	Kılıçdaroğlu (17 speeches)	Erdoğan (12 speeches)	Bahçeli (15 speeches)	Demirtaş (13 speeches)
57 speeches	Jan. 7 th 2014 Jan. 14 th 2014 Jan. 21 st 2014 Jan. 28 th 2014 Feb. 4 th 2014 Feb. 11 th 2014 Feb. 18 th 2014 Feb. 25 th 2014 June 4 th 2013 June 11 th 2013 June 18 th 2013 June 25 th 2013 July 2 nd 2013 Nov. 19 th 2013 Nov. 26 th 2013 Oct. 8 th 2013 Oct. 22 nd 2013	Jan. 14 th 2014 Jan. 28 th 2014 Feb. 11 th 2014 Feb. 18 th 2014 Feb. 25 th 2014 June 11 th 2013 June 18 th 2013 June 25 th 2013 Nov. 19 th 2013 Nov. 26 th 2013 Oct. 8 th 2013 Oct. 22 nd 2013	Jan. 7 th 2014 Jan. 14 th 2014 Jan. 21 st 2014 Jan. 28 th 2014 Feb. 4 th 2014 Feb. 11 th 2014 Feb. 18 th 2014 June 4 th 2013 June 11 th 2013 June 18 th 2013 June 25 th 2013 Nov. 19 th 2013 Nov. 26 th 2013 Oct. 8 th 2013 Oct. 22 nd 2013	Jan. 14 th 2014 Jan. 21 st 2014 Jan. 28 th 2014 Feb. 4 th 2014 Feb. 11 th 2014 Feb. 25 th 2014 June 4 th 2013 June 11 th 2013 June 18 th 2013 June 25 th 2013 Nov. 19 th 2013 Oct. 8 th 2013 Oct. 22 nd 2013
TOTAL (238,189 words)	61, 795 words	61,772 words	58,316 words	56,306 words

4.2. DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis was carried out in three main steps: (1) all speeches were scanned and the utterances representing the same discourse areas were identified. The aim was to provide parallelism among leaders' speeches so that their party-based meanings and realities would be explored comprehensively; (2) all phrases and clauses representing explicit and implicit Judgemental evaluation were detected, based on both the categorization provided in Appraisal model and also some additional categories identified within Turkish language. The aim was to provide an evaluative framework for Turkish political party group speeches, including certain lexico-grammatical evaluative resources; (3) all Engagement categories were detected, based on the classification provided within Appraisal model. The aim was to demonstrate how Turkish politicians express their stance, subjectivity, commitment, solidarity and negotiation within their evaluative utterances while addressing their own party community.

Especially for the epistemic, deontic and evidential modality categories under Engagement component, as Palmer's (1986) and Martin & White's (2005) classifications were mainly on English language, studies and definitions regarding Turkish language were taken into consideration and the identifications of these lexico-grammatical categories were carried out accordingly.

4.2.1. Identification of Discourse Areas

The overall analysis of the weekly-held party group speeches indicated that party leaders generally tend to start their speeches with a general introduction. They usually memorize individuals who devoted their lives to their party's objectives, they make some get-well wishes, and they express some party-based concerns such as meetings they are holding or organizations they attend / have attended, which cannot be generalized to other parties. As such utterances indicate certain differences among party leaders and they cannot meet on common grounds, it was necessary to limit the data based on the same concepts or issues handled by all party leaders. In that way, the utterances meeting on the same ground could be detected and a more reliable and generalizable analysis could be achieved.

In order to provide parallelism among party leaders, 10 discourse areas were identified through selecting the concepts mentioned in all of the speeches. These areas included

the vulnerable points in Turkish politics and it was anticipated that party leaders from different political backgrounds might express their points of view differently based on their parties' different values and ideological stances. As a result, only the utterances about these discourse areas were gathered together, grouped under the categories of self and other-evaluation, and they were analysed in terms of the Judgement and Engagement categories encountered within them. 10 discourse areas selected for the analysis are follows:

1. Gezi events
2. economy
3. democracy
4. justice
5. corruption
6. terror and Kurdish question
7. Middle East
8. 30 March elections
9. education
10. religion

4.2.1.1. Gezi Events

Gezi events refer to a group of demonstrations originating from an environmental protest against the construction of an Ottoman-style shopping center in Gezi Park region in İstanbul. In order to stop the construction, many citizens guarded the park from May 2th to June 15th, 2013. This protest spread all over Turkey, and turned into a social demonstration chain, together with the police violence and its reflections on the social media. During the protests, police forces treated the demonstrators with gas tears, water cannons and weapons. Unfortunately, 11 people were killed and more than 8,000 people got injured.

With such a broad range of effect, Gezi events were one of the political issues about which party leaders talked for weeks; i.e., all party leaders made some evaluations about the protestors, people attending these events, police forces and the general perspective of the government. To exemplify, while the main opposition party leader Kılıçdaroğlu describes the protestors using expressions, such as '*our young people (gençlerimiz)*' and '*our future (geleceğimiz)*', ruling party leader Erdoğan names them as '*terrorists (teröristler)*, and *people trying to destroy the unity and bothering 50% of citizens in Turkey (birliğimizi bozanlar ve Türkiye'nin %50'sini rahatsız edenler)*'. He has even introduced the term '*chapulling (çapulculuk yapmak; çapulcu for people)*' to describe the protestors as looters, and accused them of trying to disturb the public

peace. Other opposing party leaders, Devlet Bahçeli and Selahattin Demirtaş, on the other hand, show their full support to the protestors and they describe them as the idealist individuals looking for more democracy and freedom.

Apart from the protestors, party leaders also focus on the security forces and evaluate their reactions during the Gezi events from different angles. Erdoğan congratulates the police officers for their successful operations towards the protestors. He utters certain statements like *'our police made history (polisimiz destan yazdı)'*, *'I congratulate our security forces for their successful operation (Başarılı operasyonlarından dolayı polisimizi kutluyorum)'*, and *'we are going to increase their response power (müdahale gücünü daha da arttıracamız)'*. Besides, he expresses his get-well wishes to the police officers injured during the protests. Opposing party leaders, on the other hand, harshly criticize the police violence towards the young people there. They accuse Erdoğan of guiding the police violence done disproportionately, and of being intolerant to the youth.

4.2.1.2. Economy

Turkey's economic condition is considered as one of the important focus points within Turkish politics as all four party leaders tend to emphasize some economy-based issues in their weekly group speeches. They usually mention their parties' economic plans. Besides, they criticize the inefficiency of their rivals' economic policies, by offering solutions and economic developments most of the time.

While identifying 'economy' as a specific discourse area, it was recognized that ruling party leader Erdoğan tends to emphasize the economical reforms they have been making and improvements they have been fulfilling as the steps to economic success and welfare in the country; whereas opposition party leaders generally prefer to criticize the wrong and deficient economic policies of the government, and its failure in providing the economic prosperity for the citizens. For instance, Erdoğan prefers to boast about the economic improvements like importation rates or car sales; while opposition party leaders accuse him of making citizens get into a bind due to the economic crisis and deficient income that cannot be controlled successfully by the government.

Apart from criticism, party leaders also tend to emphasize their economy-based promises when they come into power one day. For instance, main opposition party

leader Kılıçdaroğlu mentions their 'family allowance act', which they are planning to organize when they come into power. Similarly, Bahçeli and Demirtaş emphasize their economy-based promises in their speeches. In this respect, as a discourse area, 'economy' was hypothesized to give particular examples regarding party leaders' evaluative stances.

4.2.1.3. Democracy

Democracy is one of the key topics that party leaders tend to focus on within their speeches. While the ruling party leader Erdoğan emphasizes the reforms and modernity in their democracy perception, and expresses that they have brought freedom of thought for the citizens, opposing party leaders express just the opposite and blame Erdoğan for not providing enough freedom and equality for the citizens. They believe that democracy is in danger.

Another reason behind identifying democracy as one of the discourse areas in this study was the introduction of 'democratization package', which was first announced by Erdoğan on September 30th, 2013. He called it as a new reform package, and introduced the package as a historical victory for democracy that would finally free Turkey from heavy chains, like head-scarf ban in public areas. It was also praised as lowering the national electoral threshold, giving some rights to Kurdish population, allowing the practice of education in mother tongue, and so on.

This discourse area had an importance in order to analyse different attitudinal stances of the party leaders based on their party-group ideological positionings. The package received a great criticism from the CHP and the MHP leaders, as they believed that instead of bringing more democracy and social rights to public, this package was full of privileges given to Kurdish people, and the terrorist group, PKK (Kurdish Workers' Party). They reacted negatively and expressed that there was a deterioration in the country due to the dangers towards national identity and country's unity.

4.2.1.4. Justice

Justice is one of the important topics handled by the leaders in their speeches. Especially after the corruption scandal, the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan accused the prosecutors of trying to undermine him with the inquiry. He emphasized

the need for a change in the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK) and stated that there should be new regulations in the justice system in Turkey.

The party leaders' opinions regarding the changes in the justice system were different. The ruling party leader claimed that they were protecting the justice; whereas after the corruption scandal, lots of judiciary members were reassigned, their positions were changed or they were sacked. Seeing these practices as injustice towards judiciary members and the justice system in Turkey, opposing party leaders criticized the power party and Erdoğan as he was trying to turn the justice to a dependent system. They claimed that the justice system was distorted and Erdoğan do not have the right to do such a thing.

4.2.1.5. Corruption

One of the most emphasized topics within leaders' speeches was 2013 Corruption Operation. On 17th December 2013, the Financial Crimes and Battle Against Criminal Incomes Department of İstanbul Security Directory made an operation and 47 people were arrested, including officials from key positions (the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning, sons of some Turkish Ministers, Muammer Güler - former Minister of the Interior, Zafer Çağlayan - former Minister of Economy, Erdoğan Bayraktar - former Minister of Environment and Urban Planning, Süleyman Aslan – the general manager of Halkbank) together with businessmen Ali Ağaoğlu and Reza Zarrab. They were accused of bribery, corruption, fraud, and gold smuggling. Within the following weeks, many police officers were removed from their positions.

In this discourse area, all leaders express their criticisms; however, the things they emphasize are different. During this investigation process, opposition parties' leaders accused the government, the Prime Minister and his ministers of getting involved in this financial crime. They pointed out that Erdoğan had been acting in cooperation with Gülen until the corruption operation occurred. It is known that in the history of the AKP, the most important supporter of the party had become Fethullah Gülen's community (Toruk and Olkun, 2014). The ruling party leader, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, on the other hand accused Fethullah Gülen⁶ of organizing everything against them. After the

⁶ Muhammed Fethullah Gülen is an Islamic community leader and the founder of the Gülen movement. He is reportedly sought by the Turkish government for involvement in the 2016 coup attempt in Turkey. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fethullah_Gülen

corruption scandal, Gülen was harshly accused and criticized by the AKP members of attempting to take control of the government and authority.

4.2.1.6. Terror and Kurdish Question

Kurdish question is one of the key issues in Turkish politics. There has been a conflict between Turkey and the PKK (an armed Kurdish terrorist group) for years. In Turkish Parliament, the HDP is struggling for the rights of the Kurds as a Kurdish-rooted party. During the dates speeches were given and selected for the analysis of the present study, there occurred negotiations between Turkish government and the PKK to solve the terror problem in Turkey, under the name of the 'Kurdish resolution process'.

Leaders' attitudinal stance towards this issue can be easily seen in their speeches, because the AKP, as the builder of these negotiations, approached the issue from a positive perspective, claiming that they had been trying to stop terror and build a peaceful environment in Turkey; whereas opposition party leaders Kılıçdaroğlu and especially Bahçeli harshly criticized the government for collaborating with the terrorist group and damaging the national unity among citizens in Turkey. They accused him of engaging in a damaging project and destroying the national unity of the country. Kurdish-origin party, HDP, on the other hand, accused the government of not giving enough importance to the resolution process, and ignoring the negotiations.

Another point highly emphasized by the leaders in their speeches regarding the Kurdish question was 'Diyarbakır meeting', held on 16th November 2013. This was introduced as an historical event and interpreted as a new step of Turkish diplomacy, as Erdoğan, the Kurdish leader Mesud Barzani and a Kurdish singer Şivan Perwer gave peace messages together. Although Erdoğan argues that such a meeting can be considered as a movement towards peace in the region and as a way to friendship, Kılıçdaroğlu and Bahçeli describe this meeting as the defeat of Erdoğan and the accomplishment of Kurdish groups. They accuse Erdoğan of giving privileges to Kurdish group. Especially Erdoğan's introduction of Barzani as 'The President of the Kurdistan Regional Government' and his reference to the Kurdish populated area in Northern Iraq as 'Kurdistan' were strictly criticized by Kılıçdaroğlu and Bahçeli.

4.2.1.7. Middle East

It was observed that all four leaders tend to emphasize the Middle East policy of Turkey, its good and bad sides, and its strategic importance in their speeches. Especially 2013 has been a problematic year for Turkey's foreign policy because of the tension in Egypt, Syria and Iraq. Assad regime in Syria caused a problem and thousands of Syrian refugees came to Turkey. In this process, while Erdoğan boasted about AKP's support and help towards these people, opposition party leaders harshly criticized the government for unknown number of these refugees and their low-level life standards.

As the ruling party leader, Erdoğan tends to emphasize their successful foreign affairs policy in Middle East, emphasizing their 'zero problems with neighbours' policy and stating that this policy is being applauded both domestically and internationally. However, opposition party leaders tend to emphasize that AKP has misunderstood the concept of the Arab Spring and exaggerated Turkey's potential influence over Middle East. Especially Bahçeli states that zero problem with neighbours policy cannot be sustained, and Erdoğan's desire to be the regional leader in the area is just a dream. He accuses Davutoğlu, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, of drowning in the strategic depth.

4.2.1.8. 30 March Elections

30 March Local elections was intentionally identified as a particular discourse area in the present study because of two main reasons. Firstly, in their utterances emphasizing these elections, all leaders tend to talk about their own party perceptions by evaluating themselves. Besides, they emphasize their future promises when they come to power as a result of the election. While talking about their promises, they also criticize other leaders due to their ineffective governmental policies.

It has been observed that ruling party leader Erdoğan not only gives certain promises for the future, but also talks about the achievements fulfilled locally in cities. While introducing AKP's new local candidates, he tends to give a short summary about their progress and then promise to achieve certain things in the future. Similarly, opposition party leaders tend to focus on their future vows when they come to power in the local elections.

4.2.1.9. Education

Under the key concept of education, politicians generally tend to state what kind of education activities they are going to fulfil for the public, what policies they are going to adopt in the field of education, what kind of solutions they are going to produce to the problems existing in the area of education and so on. Considering the education activities or objectives of the parties in Turkish parliament, Tok (2012) argues that the AKP asserts to bring up individuals under the influence of Islamic tradition. The CHP, on the other hand, aims at bringing up individuals attached to Atatürk's principles and reforms under democratic and secular values. The goal of the MHP as a nationalist party is to bring up generations who are aware of their values, ethics, morals, the importance of unity, and national values. The HDP, finally, emphasizes the need for educational policy that takes into consideration the ethnic communities and their desires, origins, culture and language.

In other words, all party leaders tend to express their party-based realities in this discourse area. For instance, while the MHP stresses the importance of Turkish as a mother tongue and the unique medium of instruction by rejecting the inclusion of any other languages in national curriculum, the HDP claims that Kurdish language should also be used as the language of education.

In this dissertation, party leaders' discourse regarding 'education' issue mainly included the 'abolishment of national anthem', 'education in mother tongue', and the 'reforms brought to education through the democratization package'. It has been realized that while the Prime Minister boasts about his and his government's achievements in education, opposition party leaders harshly criticize him. Besides, they talk about their future educational plans.

4.2.1.10. Religion

The last discourse area identified in this study is 'religion'. It is, in fact, one of the controversial issues in Turkish political life. Turkey's secular identity has long been considered unique among majority of the Muslim states, as secularism was a founding principle of the modern Turkish Republic. The AKP, formed in 2001, has Islamist roots but claims to be conservative and democratic (Migdalovitz, 2010).

Regarding the issue 'religion', one of the key concepts is 'headscarf' or 'turban'. According to Efe (2013), while the AKP presents some democratisation attempts as a pro-Islamist party, especially the CHP sees these attempts as a threat to Kemalism and secular state of the country. Efe believes that the discourse on and around 'turban' and 'başörtüsü' is both socially constitutive and socially shaped. So, the struggle over the use of these concepts helps to sustain and present the ideological loading of language in politics. In this dissertation, similarly, party leaders tend to emphasize this headscarf issue; therefore it is important in terms of detecting their ideological positionings.

Besides, as a conservative party leader, Erdoğan tends to use religious terms frequently. For instance, while criticising Gezi protestors, he states that they entered the mosques without taking off their shoes, or they have attacked ladies wearing scarves. Opposing party leaders, especially Kılıçdaroğlu, on the other hand, accuse Erdoğan of exploiting the belief systems of citizens in Turkey. They argue that Erdoğan makes use of religious terminology intentionally so that he can get support from the public.

All in all, 57 speeches were scanned and these ten discourse areas were detected as the basic concepts to be analysed in this study. What they had in common was the fact that all party leaders tended to express both their negative and positive attitudinal stance on these issues, and it was hypothesized that such a discourse-area based analysis would make the ideological positionings of the leaders, their reality construction strategies and the comparisons among them realized in a better way. After identifying the utterances related to these eleven discourse areas, selected corpus was divided into two as the ones expressing self-evaluation and the ones expressing other-evaluation. This process was done for all four party leaders. In the following table, leaders' word counts within their self-versus-other evaluations were given:

Table 4. Total word count and analyzed word counts of leaders' Other and Self Evaluations

	Other-evaluation	Self-evaluation	Total word count
Erdoğan	24,015	27,399	51,414
Kılıçdaroğlu	46,376	9,788	56,164
Bahçeli	48,190	6,166	54,356
Demirtaş	45,121	9,096	54,217
Total	163,702 words	52,449 words	216,151 words

4.2.2. Identification of Evaluative Linguistic Items in Turkish

4.2.2.1. Judgement Analysis

The analysis started with the identification of lexico-grammatical categories of 'explicit Judgemental resources'. Martin and White (2005) identify four main lexical categories for explicit judgement, namely 'verb phrases', 'noun phrases', 'adjective phrases' and 'adverb phrases'. However, in Turkish data, the analysis revealed that there were also 'postpositional phrases', 'complement clauses', 'adverbial clauses', and 'relative clauses' expressing judgemental evaluations within leaders' speeches.

As a result, the Appraisal framework was modified for Turkish setting. For this modification, two main Judgemental categories were defined as 'evaluative phrases' and 'evaluative clauses'. Under the phrases category, in addition to Martin and White's classification, postpositional phrase category was added, as a linguistic structure common in Turkish language. Besides, clauses category was introduced in this study, including relative clauses, adverbial clauses and complement clauses. In this analysis, the aim was to demonstrate which lexico-grammatical items were employed more and which ones were employed less in Turkish party group speeches.

In the following examples, these lexico-grammatical categories indicating explicit judgemental evaluations can be seen. Positively-connotated judgemental evaluations are demonstrated as '[+j]' and negatively-connotated ones are indicated as '[-j]' just before each lexico-grammatical device.

4.2.2.1.1. Evaluative phrases

(i) Verb phrases

1. Sizi [-j] **kandırdılar**. Halkı [-j] **kandırıyorlar**.
2. Kimse kusura bakmasın bu lafı kullanacağım için ama adam [-j] **cahil**.

(ii) Adverb phrases

3. Onu da [-j] **yanlış** anladı O.
4. Türkiye genelinde inanç farklılıklarını [-j] **alçakça** tahrik eden CHP.

(iii) Adjective phrases

5. Dilinin ayarı kaçmış, önüne gelene rest çeken, önüne gelene diklenen ve hemen hemen herkese üstün bakan [-j] **kibirli** birisi olmuştur.
6. Bir yandan güvenlik güçlerinin, bir yandan sivil [-j] **faşist** çetelerin gençlerimizi soluksuz, nefessiz, örgütsüz bırakma girişimlerinin altında yatan neden budur işte.

(iv) Noun phrases

7. [-j] **Cehaletin** bu kadarına pes.
8. Hele hele milliyetçi-ülkücü harekete hayatları boyunca kem gözle bakmış olanların [-j] **tezviralari**, [-j] **dedikoduları** ve [-j] **suçlamaları** bizim için sadece teneke gürültüsüdür.

(v) Postpositional phrases

9. Niye işi sağa sola kıvırıyorsun? Niye başka seçenek olmaz diyorsun? Neye göre hesap yapıyorsun? Yine [-j] **kendi çıkarına göre**.
10. Komisyondaki tartışmalar büyük bir [+j] **özveriyle** sürdürülüyor.

4.2.2.1.2. Evaluative clauses

(vi) Relative clauses

11. Öyle bir noktaya geldik ki [-j] **yolsuzluğu savunan** bir Başbakan portresi çıktı karşımıza, yolsuzlukla mücadele değil, [-j] **yolsuzluğu savunan** bir Başbakan portresi çıktı karşımıza.
12. Demokrasiyle güçlendirmek yerine kendi devletinizi inşa etmeye çalıştınız. Gezi direnişinde, [-j] **sokakta işkence yaptığınızı**, [-j] **katlettiğiniz** gençlerle ilgili hesap vermek yerine çıkıp onlardan hesap sormaya kalktınız.

(vii) Adverbial clauses

13. Hazine yardımını cebine dolduruyorsun, vatandaşın vergisiyle alınan paralarla çalışma yürütüyorsun, partimiz üzerinde [-j] **baskı yaratıp** terörize ediyor.
14. AKP hükümeti [-j] **saldırdıkça** kalabalıklar artmış, tahammülsüzlük [+j] **gösterdikçe** olaylar büyümüş ve yurt sathına yayılmıştır.

(viii) Complement clauses

15. “Bana oy veren % 50 evde sabırsızlanıyor, sokağa çıkmak için bizden izin istiyor” deyip bununla halkı [-j] **tehdit etmek**, kendisine oy verenlerle oy vermeyenleri karşı karşıya getireceğini [-j] **ima etmek** kelimenin tam anlamıyla bir faciadır.
16. Paralel devletle el ele, kol kola yıllardır bize [-j] **ne zulüm yaptığınızı** unutmuyacağız, unutturmayacağız.

After this general analysis, each lexico-grammatical category was examined one-by-one, based on their occurrence in self and other evaluations of the party leaders. The aim was to investigate whether certain linguistic forms expressing Judgement would be preferred more during the self and other evaluations of the leaders, so that any probable positively and negatively-connotated evaluative functions of these resources could be explored.

In the second part of Judgement analysis, ‘implicit Judgemental expressions’ were investigated, including ‘metaphors’ and ‘invoked Judgements’. Within the Appraisal Theory, it is claimed that Judgement can be expressed using both explicit categories as the ones stated above and also implicit structures or resources. In this respect,

implicit judgemental evaluations can occur in two main ways; either through metaphorical categories or some invoked judgement expressions that do not include any overt judgemental resources, but still accepted as evaluative since the meaning in the utterance can carry some evaluative function based on the shared community culture in the society.

In political discourse, especially, implicit judgemental expressions are highly common, as politicians tend to evaluate people indirectly, usually through the use of metaphorical expressions, and invoked judgemental items. In the following examples, '[i-/+]j]' groups indicate that there is an invoked Judgemental evaluation, and although there are not any overt judgemental expressions, the criticism or evaluation can still be understood by the listener through certain shared knowledge in a community or the world knowledge. '[metaphor-/+]j]' groups, on the other hand, indicate that there is again an implicit (covert) evaluation, but conveyed through metaphorical expressions.

According to the framework, while metaphorical expressions are less implicit, invoked judgements are quite implicit as the evaluative meaning is quite covert and more indirect than metaphors. In the following statements taken from the data, leaders' invoked judgemental and metaphor Judgemental expressions can be seen.

For instance, in example (17) below, Kılıçdaroğlu criticizes Adana governor and the government for their attitude during 2014 MIT lorries (National Intelligence Organisation) event, in which lorries going to Syria was stopped by the military police on suspicion of carrying military aid. However, the ruling party leader stated that they were carrying humanitarian aid there. Kılıçdaroğlu employs invoked Judgemental expression, and implies that the governor has misbehaved by dismissing the police officers in that event. Even though there are not any explicit Judgemental devices, his criticism can still be understood through common knowledge.

17. [i-j] **Vali yazı yazıyor, polisi ve jandarmayı geri çekiyor.**
18. [i-j] **Dönemin istihbarat yetkilileri, Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü'nde üst görevlere, rütbelere getirildi.**
19. [i-j] **Yönetmeliği değiştirdiler.** HSYK açıklama yaptı, doğru değildir diye.
20. [i-j] **Bilal'e 20 dönümlük arsa veriliyor.**

In example (23), on the other hand, Kılıçdaroğlu uses a metaphorical expression to make a positive self evaluation. He states that they are going to build Turkey together.

In this example, he employs a BUILDING metaphor and likens the country to a building.

21. Kusura bakma [metaphor-j] **baş aktörlerinden birisinin**
22. Anlaşılacağı üzere, [metaphor-j] **Türkiye terör kuşatmasına alınmıştır.**
23. Türkiye'yi beraber [metaphor+j] **inşa edeceğiz**
24. [metaphor+j] **Milliyetçi Hareket, Türkiye'nin milli birliğinin ve kardeşliğinin temel harcı** ve [metaphor+j] **ebedi sigortasıdır.**

In the final part of Judgement analysis, the categorization of explicit (overt) and implicit (covert) Judgemental resources was analyzed. The aim was to indicate which Judgemental expressions (explicit or implicit) are employed more in Turkish political party group speeches; i.e., to indicate whether Judgemental evaluations are made directly or indirectly in this genre. Here, the aim was to analyse the explicitness and implicitness within leaders' utterances. After this general look, leaders' use of explicit and implicit Judgemental expressions in their self versus other evaluations were examined in order to analyse whether leaders have certain styles and tend to employ more direct expressions while evaluating themselves, but more indirect expressions in their other-evaluations, or vice versa.

4.2.2.2. Engagement (source of evaluation) Analysis

As mentioned before, Engagement explores the way in which attitudes are sourced and how alternative standpoints are introduced. It is thus concerned with the linguistic elements serving to negotiate interpersonal positioning and stance. Engagement analysis tries to answer the questions '*What is the source of attitude?*' and '*How do speakers take stance towards value positions?*'

While analysing evaluative language within a discourse, Judgemental analysis may give certain information regarding judgemental evaluation preferences of the leaders; but it is also necessary to examine the source of these judgemental expressions, since such an analysis may provide insights regarding the relationships among leaders' dialogic strategies, their political positioning and the distinction between self and other evaluations. In other words, leaders' commitment strategies to the proposition they are expressing should be analysed in order to examine evaluative language properly. Engagement category is divided into two subcomponents, as '*dialogic contraction*' and '*dialogic expansion*'.

This part of the analysis again started with the identification of the linguistic devices expressing these sub-categories of Engagement within party leaders' speeches. In the dialogic contraction category, alternative voices are restricted and politicians' evaluations are considered as the only alternative to know or believe through the use of denials, counter expectation phrases, pronouncements, concurring and endorsement expressions; whereas in the dialogic expansion category, dialogic space is opened for alternative voices and the listeners are involved in the evaluation process, through the use of epistemic and evidential modals, rhetorical questions, deontic modal structures and quoted expressions.

The categorization of these linguistic devices can be seen in the following examples:

4.2.2.2.1. Dialogic Contraction categories

(i) Deny

25. Bugüne kadar hiçbir şey **[e-deny]** yapmadılar.
26. Bunların özgürlük diye bir derdi **[e-deny]** yok.

(ii) Pronounce

27. Bakın, altını çizerek **[e-pronounce]** ifade ediyorum; bunları bize yaşatan sadece devlet değildi, sadece statükocu siyaset değildi, bu ülkenin bazı sanatçılarından, bazı medya kuruluşlarından, bazı sivil toplum örgütlerinden biz her daim bu muameleyi gördük
28. Bu oyunun arkasında da paralel yapı vardı, bunu ben burada **[e-pronounce]** ilan ediyorum

(iii) Counter

29. Sen bu davaların savcılığını niye üstlendin? **[e-counter]** Hâlâ mağdur edebiyatı yapıyor .
30. Başbakan Erdoğan tepkileri ilk başta basite almış, doğan krizin yine kendisine yarayacağını sanmış, **[e-counter]** ancak bu kez yanıldığı ve yanlışa düştüğü günler sonra meydana çıkmıştır

(iv) Concur

31. Ne diyordu? "Ben bugüne kadar evladından hırsızlık öğrenen baba görmedim." **[e-concur]** Doğrudur. "Evladından hırsızlık öğrenen baba görmedim, duymadım. Hırsızlık babadan evlada geçer, evlattan babaya değil" diyor.
32. Taksim Gezi Parkı'nda ve ülkemizin pek çok yerinde karmaşıklık hakimdir. Başbakan Erdoğan ise acımasızca demokratik reflexleri ve karşı çıkışları bastırmaktadır. **[e-concur]** Bu nedenle kendisine yönelmiş kızgınlıkları daha katlamış, daha da kabartmıştır.

(v) Endorse

33. 18 Nisan 2013, bu olaydan çok önce, Millî İstihbarat Teşkilatı Başbakanın önüne üç sayfalık bir rapor koyuyor. Raporun sonuç bölümünü okuyorum size: **[e-endorse]** "Rıza Sarraf'ın, hapiste olanın, Ekonomi Bakanı Zafer Çağlayan ve İçişleri Bakanı Muammer Güler ile mevcut ilişkisinin ortaya

çıkması hâlinde söz konusu hususların hükümet aleyhine kullanılabilceği değerlendirilmiştir.”

34. **[e-endorse] Türkiye Kamu Sen’in bir araştırmasına göre, memurlarımızın yüzde 97’si borçlu, yüzde 60,2’si de borcunu ödemekten uzaktır**

4.2.2.2. Dialogic Expansion Categories

(vi) Epistemic modality

35. Her toplumun içinde provokatörler **[e-epistemic] olabilir**, gençlerin arasına **[e-epistemic] sızabilirler**, mahalleye **[e-epistemic] sızabilirler**, her yere **[e-epistemic] sızabilirler**.
36. Bunlar kefene **[e-epistemic] kesin cep yapacaklardır**, **[e-epistemic] kesin yapacaklardır**

(vii) Rhetorical question

37. Erdoğan’a üzülüyorum, üzüldüğüm onların çocukları; **[e- RQ] yazık günah değil mi o çocuklara kendi hırsızlığına ortak ediyorsun?** **[e- RQ] Nasıl babasın sen?**
38. **[e-RQ] Taksim Meydanı’ndaki zulmü hâlâ acaba sen anladın mı?**

(viii) Attribution

39. 1994’lü yıllarda halkın önüne çıktığı zaman genç Recep Tayyip Erdoğan **[e-attribution] “Ben bugüne kadar evladından hırsızlık öğrenen baba görmedim, duymadım. Hırsızlık babadan evlada geçer, evlattan babaya değil. Yönetimlerde hırsızlık yukarıdaki üst yöneticilerden alttaki yöneticilere, oradan da halka yansır.”** Aynen bugünü anlatmış, aynen bugünü anlatmış. **[e-attribution] Başbakanlık akşam açıklama yaptı. “Bunların tamamı montajdır, doğru değildir” diye**
40. 11 Ocak 2014 tarihinde Uzak Doğu Asya’dan dönerken; **[e-attribution] “kara para diyorlar. Neye göre kara para? Para bankaya girip çıkıyorsa kara para diyemezsin”** sözleriyle bir kez daha yaş tahtaya basmış, bir kez daha aldatma ustası olduğunu göstermiştir.

(ix) Deontic modality

41. Sen sokakta normal bir yurttaş yürüdüğü gibi alnı açık yürüyemezsin, sen önüne bakmak **[e-deontic] zorundasın**.
42. Havuz problemlerine kafasının basıp basmadığını tam olarak bilemediğimiz Başbakan Erdoğan bize şu sorunun cevabını **[e-deontic] vermelidir**: Sayın Erdoğan, banka hesaplarındaki milyarlar kaç ayakkabı kutusuna sığacak, kaç gemiği dolduracak, kaç kasaya girecek, kaç villayı taşıracaktır

(x) Evidentiality

43. Bu firmalara 87 milyar 832 milyon liralık **[e-evidential] ihale verilmiş**, eski parayla 87 katrilyon liralık **[e-evidential] ihale verilmiş** bu firmalara.
44. Türkiye **[e-evidential] görüldüğü kadarıyla El Kaide terör örgütünün de menziline girmiştir**. **[e-evidential] Anlaşılacağı üzere, Türkiye terör kuşatmasına alınmıştır**.

After counting these resources, their percentages within the whole data were calculated so that a comprehensive model for the occurrence of Engagement resources in Turkish political party group speeches could be formed. Then, these resources were grouped within two categories, as given in the framework; deny,

counter, pronounce, concur and endorse resources were under the '*dialogic-contraction*' category; and entertain and attribute resources were under the '*dialogic-expansion*' category.

Leaders' use of each category was analyzed within their self and other evaluations. For instance, if a politician uses lots of entertainment resources, it indicates that he is frequently rising up some possible, likely or apparent propositions for consideration through epistemic expressions, rhetorical questions and such. However, the usage of counter resources indicates that the speaker is disclaiming against alternative views by offering more refined and accurate views; or if a leader uses lots of pronouncement resources, it indicates that he is relying on his own viewpoint. All these linguistic items demonstrate certain strategies politicians employ while expressing their intergroup realities in a way.

Then, leaders' use of '*dialogic contraction*' and '*dialogic expansion*' categories was analysed within their self evaluations and other evaluations so that to what extent they open up the dialogic space in their self praises and negative criticisms could be indicated. For instance, while the negation 'not' indicates a strong degree of commitment of the speaker towards the idea or opinion in the proposition and contracts the space for alternative positions, structures like '*As Halliday noted, perhaps*' or '*rhetorical questions*' indicate a weak degree of commitment as they expand the space and there can be the inclusion of other voices.

In Appraisal model and other resources for the analysis of evaluative language in literature, there are all English-language based samples for modality category. Therefore, for the accurate analysis of modality expressions encountered within data, certain modality classifications presented for Turkish language were taken into account.

There are similar accounts regarding epistemic modality in Turkish. Göksel & Kerslake (2005), for instance, provide certain modality suffixes added to verbal and nominal categories; including the ones for generalizations '*-(A/I)r / -mAZ*'; for assumptions '*-(A/I)r / -mAZ*'; for possibilities and necessities '*-(y)Abil / -(y) AmA, -mAll*'; for knowledge acquired indirectly '*-mIş, -(y)mIş*' (pp. 294-295). They also mention the forms with the

copular / auxiliary verb *ol-* followed by some other words like '*gerek, lazım (to be necessary)*' (p. 299).

According to Corcu (2003a), inflectional modal markers are the major ways of expressing modality in Turkish, including *conditional marker* '*-(y)sA*'; *imperative* '*(y)In*'; *optative* '*-(y)A*'; *debitive* '*-mElİ*'; *potential* '*-(y)Ebil*'; *certainty* '*-mElİ, -(y)Ebil, -Dir*'; and *assertive* '*-DI, -mİş, -Ir*'. Similarly, Kerimoğlu (2010) provides a detailed account of inflectional suffixes expressing epistemic modality in Turkish. He argues that '*Abil / -AmA*' suffixes hold an epistemic meaning to express a prediction or deduction as in '*Ali yarın gelebilir / gelemez*' (*Ali may / may not come tomorrow*). Moreover, '*-Dir*' suffix expresses 'certainty', 'possibility' or 'assumption' as in '*Ali yorgundur*' (*Ali may be tired*). Besides, '*-(A/I)r / -mAz*' suffixes can express possibility or certainty depending on speaker knowledge.

For Nauze (2008), Turkish modal system is polyfunctional, and the same categorical suffix can express different modal expressions, depending on the context, which is also supported by Emeksiz (2008) as she argues that in Turkish, the suffixes "*-Abil, -Ar, -mİş, -mAIl and -AcAk*" can be used to express both epistemic and deontic modality in a sentence. For instance, the sentence '*Emrah yarın gidebilir*' (*Emrah may come tomorrow*) can be interpreted as having a deontic meaning if the speaker expresses his permission to Emrah to do this action, or epistemic meaning if there is such a possibility for Emrah to leave.

There are also some lexical categories expressing modality in Turkish, including modality adverbs (*kesinlikle-certainly, herhalde-presumably, galiba-maybe, belki-perhaps*); modality nouns (*olasılık-possibility*); modality verbs (*kuşkulan-to doubt, şüphelen- to suspect, san – to think, farz et – to suppose*); modality adjectives (*muhtemel-possible, gerekli-necessary, zorunda-obliged*), and modal predicates (*gerek-to be necessary*) (Corcu, 2003a; Kerimoğlu, 2010).

As for evidential categories, Aksu-Koç & Slobin (1986) argue that there is a contrast between what they call 'direct evidence' with the suffix '*-DI*' in Turkish, as in '*Ahmet geldi*' (*Ahmet has come*), and 'indirect experience' with the suffix '*-mİş*'. In a sentence '*Ahmet gelmiş*' (*Ahmet has come*), '*-mİş*' suffix can function as 'inference' if the speaker sees Ahmet's coat hanging in the front hall, but has not seen Ahmet, but it can also

function as 'hearsay' if the speaker has been told that Ahmet has arrived, but again has not seen Ahmet by himself.

Similarly, Göksel & Kerlake (2005) argue that evidential modality is related to the knowledge acquired indirectly and the main verbal suffix for that category is '-mlş' in Turkish. There is also '-(y)mlş' suffix added to nominal structures. Besides, the modal adverbial 'meğer(se) – to my surprise' has evidential function in statements (p. 309).

Some basic resources expressing Evidential modality detected in the data can be listed as the inflections '-mlş' and '-lmlş'; verbs like 'tanıklık et- (to witness); gör- (to see); anla- (to understand); işaret et- (to point); duy- (to hear); dinle- (to listen); şahit ol- (to witness); meydana çık- (to appear); görün- (to appear); and some inflections of the verbs in the chunks like 'görülmetedir (ki) (it seems); anlaşılan-anlaşılmaktadır (ki)- (it is understood); anlayacağınız- (as you will understand); görünen gerçek (the truth is); demek ki- (it means); anlaşılacağı üzere (as it is understood); anlaşılacağı kadarıyla; gördüğümüz kadarıyla- (as we see); görünen odur (ki)- (it seems); ayan beyan ortadadır ki- (it is apparent)'. Like all other categories, evidentiality was considered as a linguistic device expressing 'voice' in this study.

There were also some structures expressing deontic modality in Turkish data, such as the inflections '-mAlI; -AcAk (+sIn)'; verbs like 'gerekmek- (to require); görev düşmek- (duty falls to)'; adjectives like 'şart (be necessary); elzem (be essential); gerekli (be required); zorunda (be obliged to)' and some nouns like 'gereği (the need); zorunluluk (the necessity); görev (the duty)'.

Additionally, there are some studies focusing on the reality construction in Turkish language (Aksu, 2015; Aslan, 2007; Ebubekir, 2015; Uzun, 2010; Uzun & Emeksiz, 2006). The classifications provided by these researchers have also contributed to the data analysis process in this research. Epistemic modality categories were identified according to certain epistemic devices in Turkish language.

In brief, in order to make correct categorization of epistemic modality, evidential modality and deontic modality, the classifications made by some Turkish scholars in the literature were used. Structures taken into consideration while analysing epistemic modality were listed in the table below:

Table 5. Categories showing Epistemic Modality

Epistemic categories		
Modal Inflections on the verb	verbs	Adjectives
AcAK+-Dır	inan-	imkansız
(A/I)r / -mAz	bekle-	tartışmasız
sA.....-Dır	düşün-	muhtemel
Abil / -AmAz	gör-	kaçınılmaz
Dır	bil-	mümkün
sA.....-AcAK + -Dır	san-	aşık
sA.....-DI	merak et-	kesin
sAydı.....DI	zannet-	emin
AcAK	ümit et-	farkında
mAmAlıdır	anla-	
mAktA+-Dır	kanaat getir-	Postpositional category
miş+-Dır	varsay-	bize göre
sAydı.....AcAK+DI	emin ol-	bizim açımızdan
sA.....(A/I)r / -mAz	um-	bizim için
sAydı.....(A/I)r+DI	tahmin et-	bizce
sA.....-AcAK	tanı-	
sın	temenni et-	Adverbs
sA.....(A/I)r+DI	şüphelen-	herhalde
Acak+DI	hayret et-	mutlaka
abil+ir+di		kesinlikle
		elbette
Nouns	Morpho-syntactic markers	şüphesiz
ihtimal	miş olmalı ki....	kesinlikle
kuşku	miş olmalıdır	inşallah
muamma	miş olacak (ki)	kuşkusuz
inanç	miş olursun	belki (de)
mutalaa	miş olabilir	inkar edilemez şekilde
kanaat	lyor olabilirsin	muhtemelen
izlenim	farkında olacak ki	muhakkak
merak	miş oluruz	çok büyük ihtimalle
tereddüt	İmiş oluruz	
tesadüf		
imkan		
şüphe		
endişe		

In Table 6 below, sample analysis on the utterances taken from the data can be seen. This analysis has been carried out depending on the Appraisal model. It is necessary to point out that only the components marked by the green color are excluded in this dissertation.

Table 6. Sample Representation of Appraisal Framework

APPRAISAL FRAMEWORK		ENGAGEMENT		GRADUATION [excluded in this study]
ATTITUDE	CONTRACT (the speaker narrows, restricts the external sources / voices)	ENTERTAIN (source of the evaluation is the speaker)	ENPAND (the speaker expands / broadens the external sources / voices / negotiatory space)	1 FORCE -grading according to intensity or amount -scalar assessment; like size, extent, proximity...
<p>AFFECT [excluded in this study] emotional reactions -mutlu / acı / ağladı</p> <p>APPRECIATION [excluded in this study] evaluation of things / -olumsuz etki -verimil proje</p> <p>JUDGEMENT evaluation of human behaviors</p> <p>1. EXPLICIT -noun phrase Bu kadar yüzüzlük. pes yani -verb phrase sizi kandırıyorlar. Halkı kandırıyorlar -adjective phrase faşist ceteler -adverb phrase Onu da yanlış anladı O. <i>(added extra)</i> -postpositional phrase adım adım kararlılıkla yürüyoruz biz - adverbial clauses Toplumunu ayırıştırarak ve bölerek, bir çatışma zemini hazırlıyor -relative clauses olayları terrorize etmeye çalışan gerçek çapulcular.... - complement clause Bütün bu kaldırım taşlarının sökülmesi....</p> <p>2. IMPLICIT (no explicit judgement) - tokens of judgement Bilal'e 20 dönümlük arsa veriliyor. -metaphors AKP'nin çöküşü yakındır.</p>	<p>DISCLAIM explicitly rejecting a particular position</p> <p>1. DENY (Negation) * invokes a contrary position by rejecting it directly, and therefore it gives very little dialogic space. -Yapıyorlar mı? Hayır!!! -Doyma sınırları YOK !!! -Yahu bu parlamentoya sen, Sayıştay'ın raporlarını getirmiyorsun</p> <p>2. COUNTER *invokes a particular expectation and then provides an alternative to counter the expectation onun çocuğu miyyar dolarlarla oynuyor ama o mağdur.</p>	<p>PROCLAIM defending a stance by excluding alternatives</p> <p>1. CONCUR (Affirm) *the assumption is already accepted or taken for granted -Bir cete var gerçekten -Ne diyordu? "Ben bugüne kadar evladından hırsızlık öğrenen baba görmedim." Doğrudur.</p> <p>2. PRONOUNCE * The use of "I" to pronounce a point of view * grounded in speaker commitment and subjectivity. Bu oyunun arkasında da paralel yapı vardı, bunu ben burada ilan ediyorum.</p> <p>3. ENDORSE * The use of "externalized voices" instead of "I" – Türkiye Kamu Sen'in bir araştırmasına göre, memurlarımızın yüzde 97'si borçlu, yüzde 60,2'si de borcunu ödemekten uzaktır</p>	<p>ENTERTAIN (source of the evaluation is the speaker)</p> <p>* The speaker is represented as the source of the propositions or values, thereby making space for alternative viewpoints *subjective *Epistemic modality * Evidentiality *Rhetorical questions -Tabi merak ediyorum.. ...bu Sayıştay raporlarının gelişini de ceteler mi engelliyor? bunlar kefene kesin cep yapacaklardır, kesin yapacaklardır Başbakan Erdoğan bize şu sorunun cevabını vermemelidir Oğluna bir vakıf kurdurmuş, adı TÜRGEV.</p>	<p>2. FOCUS prototypical assessment like; true, real, genuine (ie He's a true friend) -kind of, of sort of, ie "It was an apology of sorts"</p>

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the findings in two main categories. First of all, the results of Judgemental analysis are provided, together with leaders' explicit and implicit evaluative resources in their self and other-presentations. Then, the results of the analysis of Engagement tools in party leaders' self versus other-evaluations are presented. The aim is to provide a general overview of evaluative language in Turkish political discourse. Besides, leaders' in-group realities within their evaluative propositions can be demonstrated.

5.1. FINDINGS OF JUDGEMENT ANALYSIS

In this part, (1) lexico-grammatical analysis of explicit judgemental expressions are provided so that linguistic categories in Turkish political party leaders' evaluations can be indicated, together with their individual preferences, and their use of certain categories in their self and other-based evaluations; (2) the analysis of implicit judgemental evaluations are presented as the second phase, including the analysis of invoked judgemental and metaphorical judgemental expressions carrying evaluative meaning together with leaders' detailed preferences in their self and other-based evaluations; and (3) the findings of the general comparison of leaders' explicitness and implicitness strategies are provided in order to demonstrate to what extent party leaders tend to employ these two Judgemental evaluation categories strategically in their self versus other-presentations.

5.1.1. Explicit Judgemental Resources: Lexico-grammatical Analysis

5.1.1.1. Overall Analysis of Explicit Lexico-grammatical Categories

As the starting point of Judgemental analysis, explicit evaluative categories encountered within the whole data were grouped in terms of their lexico-grammatical categories, and their percentages were calculated. The aim was to provide a general framework regarding how or through what kind of lexico-grammatical devices political

party leaders in Turkish setting present their evaluative meanings while giving a speech. As Spina (2016) emphasizes, “evaluative attitude is systematically adopted by politicians through the conscious choice of a specific vocabulary” (p. 279).

Within the whole data consisting 216,151 words in total, there were ‘5695’ lexico-grammatical items with Judgemental evaluative function. The percentages of each item were calculated based on their ratios in the sample, and they were presented in the following Figure:

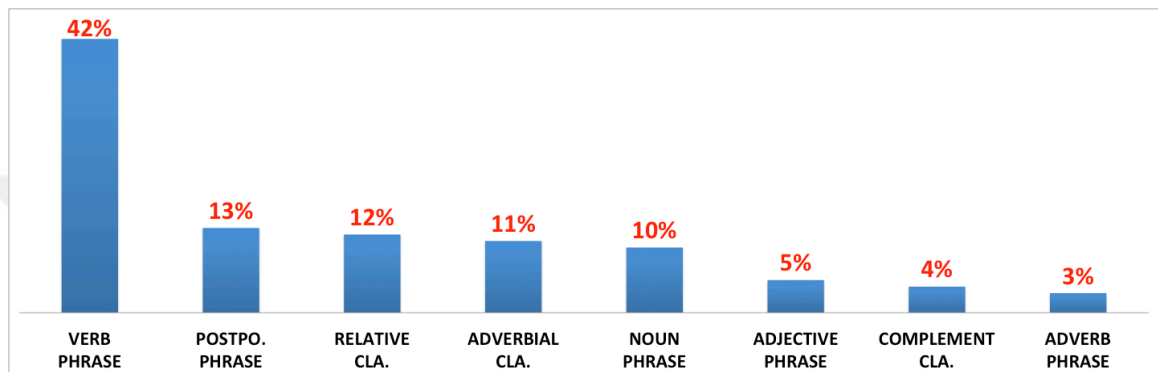


Figure 9. Percentages of Lexico-grammatical Categories of Explicit Judgemental Expressions in Turkish Politics ($n=5695$)

It can be seen that in the target party group speeches, party leaders employ verb phrases most ($f=2408$; 42%) to make Judgemental evaluations, which shows that they tend to express their evaluations in a dynamic manner. Besides, although not as much as verb phrases, they also use postpositional phrases ($f=729$; 13%), relative clauses ($f=671$; 12%) and adverbial clauses ($f=609$; 11%), which can be interpreted as their tendency towards using elaborative language in which they give details. Besides, noun phrases ($f=586$; 10%) are encountered in the whole data, which indicates that Turkish politicians make use of descriptions and static language use in their Judgemental evaluations, as well. However, adjective phrases ($f=278$; 5%), complement clauses ($f=229$; 4%) and adverb phrases ($f=185$; 3%) are observed to be the least employed evaluative categories in the data. Based on their frequency, each lexico-grammatical category will be mentioned in the following section.

5.1.1.1.1. Evaluative verb phrases

In general terms, Quirk et al. (1985, p. 62) state that “verb phrases consist of a main verb which either stands alone as the entire verb phrase, or is preceded by up to four verbs in an auxiliary function”. Similarly, Göksel & Kerlake (2005) argue that a verb

phrase is composed of a verb, its complements and adverbials modifying the verb (p. 126).

According to Martin & White (2005), judgemental assessments can be expressed through attitudinal verb phrases such as ‘to lie’, ‘to cheat’, and ‘to deceive’, which are also quite common among Turkish party leaders. It can be argued that politicians tend to emphasize their Judgemental evaluations through verbal expressions so that they can accuse, deny, challenge, threaten, insult, command and do many other things while making politics.

As can be seen in Figure 9 above, in their party group speeches, Turkish leaders tend to employ ‘verb phrases’ ($f=2408$; 42%) most in their Judgemental evaluations ($N=5695$). Such a tendency towards verb phrase category indicates that party leaders focus on events, rather than descriptions or informative occurrences while making evaluations. In other words, the high percentage of evaluative verb phrases can be interpreted as leaders’ preference to action-based evaluations, emphasizing people’s failures and achievements in an action-oriented manner (eg. *öldürmek* – to kill; *sürgün etmek* – to exile; *dövmek* – to beat), and also to praise themselves (eg. *güçlendirmek* – to strengthen; *direnmek* – to resist). As politics is a struggle, politicians tend to be active in this process most of the time.

In the following example, the main opposition party leader Kılıçdaroğlu criticizes the government and states that there is corruption, but the government have ‘put strain on’- (*baskı uyguladı*) the inquiry and hindered the investigation.

1. Bir yolsuzluk var ve bunun ortaya çıkması gerekiyor ama hükümet büyük bir [-j] **baskı uyguladı** (Kılıçdaroğlu).

Similarly, Demirtaş criticizes the government about its Kurdish question policy and the resolution process. He states that they have ‘wasted - (*heba ettiler*)’ the atmosphere that the HDP provided through hard work, and he employs this ‘waste’ verb phrase for his negative judgement.

2. Ne yaptılar? İşte, oluşan bütün bu ortamı [-j] **heba ettiler** (Demirtaş).

While talking about Erdoğan and his actions during Gezi protests, Bahçeli states that the Prime Minister has ‘teased - (*sataştı*)’ the bankers, and ‘humiliated – (*aşağılamıştır*)’ our citizens holding pots and pans to protest him.

3. Bankacılara [-j] **sataşmış**, elinde tencere tava gezdiren vatandaşlarımızı [-j] **aşağılamıştır**. (Bahçeli)

Apart from the opposition leaders, the ruling party leader Erdoğan similarly employs verb phrases in his Judgemental evaluations as can be seen in the following example. While criticizing the Gezi protestors, he claims that they have ‘made a six-month-old baby crawl – (*süründürdüler*)’ with his mother and they have ‘harassed – (*taciz ettiler*)’ them.

4. İşte bu olaylarda bile maalesef çok önemli bir yakınımın gelinin Başbakanlık Ofisinin yakında, yanında 6 aylık çocuğu, yerlerde [-j] **süründürdüler**, kendisini [-j] **taciz ettiler**, çocuğunu [-j] **taciz ettiler** (Erdoğan).

Depending on the findings and the examples provided, it can be argued that verb phrases are the most common category encountered in the evaluative language of Turkish political discourse. Through this category, party leaders make more action-based Judgemental evaluations in their speeches.

5.1.1.1.2. Evaluative postpositional phrases

According to Göksel & Kerlake (2005, p. 192), postpositional phrases generally function as adverbials (eg. *Evdeki durumdan dolayı* – *due to the situation at home*). A postpositional phrase consists of a noun phrase followed by a proposition. The postposition is the head of the phrase, and the noun phrase is the complement, as in ‘*senin için* - (*for you*), *evimizin arkasında* - (*behind our home*), *senin gibi* - (*like you*)’. The most characteristic function of a Turkish postpositional phrase is adverbial, either at the level of a sentence or within the verb phrase (p. 228).

It can be seen from the overall analysis that ‘*postpositional phrases* (f=729; 13%)’ are used in the sample for evaluative purposes (N=5695). With their adverbial functioning, it is obvious that postpositional phrases are employed by politicians to convey their messages in elaborated manner as they can express how, why, where or when they / others do certain things. Although they are the optional categories in a sentence,

postpositional phrases are employed by Turkish politicians to give elaborative details, and they can provide certain insights regarding their ideology-based attitudes.

While criticising Erdoğan and the AKP for their attitude in Gezi Park events, Kılıçdaroğlu argues that Ali İsmail Korkmaz⁷ was killed with sticks on the street. He uses the postpositional phrase '*with sticks - (sopalarla)*' in his negative criticism, and accuses the policemen and indirectly the government of using violence towards the protestors.

5. Ya, Ali İsmail Korkmaz Eskişehir'de [-j] **sopalarla** öldürüldü (Kılıçdaroğlu).

In the following example, Demirtaş expresses his criticism towards the government's justice policy and accuses the AKP members of raising difficulties and obstacles to people who are trying to use their legal rights. He employs postpositional phrases like '*with depressions - (sıkıntılarla)*', '*with difficulties - (zorluklarla)*', and '*with obstacles - (engellerle)*'.

6. Bu yasal hakkın kullandırılması bile maalesef ki çok büyük [-j] **sıkıntılarla**, [-j] **zorluklarla**, [-j] **engellerle** hayata geçirilmek isteniyor (Demirtaş).

Similarly, another opposition leader Bahçeli criticizes Erdoğan and states that the ruling party leader is teasing all judicial bodies '*from the State Council to Judicial Council - (Danıştay'ından Yargıtay'ına kadar)*', in example (7). In the other one, Bahçeli similarly argues that Erdoğan is trying to design the new justice system '*according to his own political objectives - (siyasi hedeflerine göre)*'. These postpositional phrases are used to enhance the negative evaluations towards Erdoğan, and to express his criticism explicitly. It can be seen that Bahçeli employs these items to elaborate the events and provide more detailed information about them.

7. [-j] **Danıştay'ından Yargıtay'ına, HSYK'sından diğer yargı organlarına kadar** sataşmakta ve suçlamaktadır (Bahçeli).
8. İktidar HSYK'yı Anayasa aykırı olacak şekilde ve [-j] **siyasi hedeflerine göre** tasarlamının arayışındadır (Bahçeli).

⁷ On June 3, 2003, Ali İsmail Korkmaz, a 19-year-old student, was killed during an anti-government protest in Eskişehir. He stayed in coma for 38 days before losing his life.

5.1.1.1.3. Evaluative relative clauses

Relative clauses function to give details about individuals or things being talked about and provide a kind of elaborated language through which speakers can define, describe and talk about certain properties of people or entities. Göksel & Kerslake (2005) state that “relative clauses are the most complex form of adjectival constructions, having a sentence-like structure with a participle as their verb” (p. 175), and they modify noun phrases (p. 380).

Although Martin and White (2005, p. 10) introduce ‘adjective phrases’ as an explicit judgemental category, relative clause category is also important while focusing on Turkish political language, as party leaders highly employ this category to make their Judgement-based evaluations in a more elaborated way.

Overall analysis of explicit Judgemental resources indicated that the third most encountered evaluative category within the whole data is evaluative ‘relative clauses’ (f=671; 12% out of N=5695). It can be stated that relative clauses have the function of providing further information or giving details about the noun phrases, and they can be explicitly employed for Judgemental evaluations (eg. *Milleti aşığlayan* - *who is humiliating the public*; *polise taşlı sopalı saldırın unsurlar* – *the ones who attacked the police with stones and sticks*). Party leaders employ relative clauses not only for explanatory purposes to describe the individuals they are talking about, but also to elaborate their evaluations by giving detailed information regarding the individuals they are evaluating. In the following example, Kılıçdaroğlu argues that the Prime Minister has turned into a personality ‘*who is defending the corruption* - (*yolsuzluğu savunan*)’.

9. Öyle bir noktaya geldik ki yolsuzluğu [-j] **savunan** bir Başbakan portresi çıktı karşımıza, yolsuzlukla mücadele değil, yolsuzluğu [-j] **savunan** bir Başbakan portresi çıktı karşımıza (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).

Another opposition leader Bahçeli employs relative clauses as well, in order to make more detailed Judgemental evaluations. While talking about the Prime Minister’s unethical sense of justice, Bahçeli states that ‘*the prosecutors whom the Prime Minister has discredited, defamed and worn away through unimagined accusations*’ – (*Başbakan`ın kötülediği, iftiralar attığı, akla hayale sığmayan ithamlarla yıprattığı savcılar*) will certainly account him ‘*on behalf of the country, the citizens, the orphans,*

the millions whom he made hungry and miserable – (aç ve sefil bıraktığı milyonlar adına), everyone whom he exploited – (istismar ettiği herkes adına)’.

10. Başbakan’ın [-j] **kötülediği**, [-j] **iftiralar attığı**, akla ve hayale sığmayan ithamlarla [-j] **yıprattığı** savcılar kendisine millet adına, devlet adına, “ yetimler adına, [-j] **aç ve sefil bıraktığı** milyonlar adına, [-j] **istismar ettiği** herkes adına hesap soracaktır (Bahçeli).

Similarly, while talking about the Gezi events, Bahçeli criticizes the AKP government for ignoring the MHP’s warnings regarding the stagnation of the country. He employs a relative clause structure and states that their warnings are ignored by the AKP members *‘who have desire for revenge’ – (gözünü intikam bürümüş)’.*

11. Baştan beri Türkiye’nin tıkanma ve tükenme sürecine doğru adım adım gittiğini haber veren; uzlaşma, hoşgörü ve diyalog öneren Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi’nin sesi, [-j] **gözünü intikam bürümüş** AKP tarafından duyulmamış ya da duyulmak istenmemiştir. (Bahçeli).

The HDP leader Demirtaş also relates the unethical environmental policies of the government to the terror issue, and he states that the AKP does not give any importance to the eco-system and nature. Just on the contrary, they are trying to solve any environmental issue through offering money. Demirtaş employs a relative clause and asserts that they had similarly attempted to give money for the ones *‘whom they murdered in Roboski’ –(Roboski’de öldürdükleri için)’.*

12. Çevre anlayışları bu kadar. Bu kadar işte. Yani oradaki ekosistem, oradaki doğal yaşam alanı, orada tahrip olan habitat umurlarında değil. “Yerine” diyor “5 katı dikeriz”. “Parasını veririz”. Çevre anlayışları insana verdikleri değer kadardır. [-j] **Roboski’de öldürdükleri** için de “parasını veririz” dediler ya. Aynı. (Demirtaş).

5.1.1.1.4. Evaluative adverbial clauses

Through adverbial clauses, speakers can elaborate the events they are talking about. According to Göksel & Kerlake (2005, p. 193), adverbial clauses can provide various meanings, from reason and purpose to condition and concession. In this sense, various speech acts can be expressed via adverbial clauses. Besides, they serve an adverbial function (p. 399). Similarly, Biber & Conrad (2001, p. 194) argue that adverbial clauses are used to elaborate information about events and also to mark logical relations in an utterance.

Overall analysis of explicit Judgemental resources indicated that Turkish political leaders employed ‘*adverbial clauses (f=609; 11%)*’ to make Judgemental evaluations in their speeches (N=5695). By employing evaluative adverbial clauses, they make use of complex, elaborative language in their speeches. In other words, like postpositional phrases and relative clauses, adverbial clauses are also preferred by Turkish politicians so that they can give details about how they achieve certain things or elaborate how their rivals failed in their projects or policies (eg. *Milli ve manevi değerleri tahrip ederek - by destroying national and moral values*). In the following example, Bahçeli criticizes the AKP government for their inaccurate reactions during the Gezi protests. He argues that the crowds increased accordingly with the government’s attacks and their being intolerant.

13. AKP hükümeti [-j] **saldırdıkça** kalabalıklar artmış, [-j] **tahammülsüzlük gösterdikçe** olaylar büyümüş ve yurt sathına yayılmıştır (*Bahçeli*).

Similarly, in the following example, Kılıçdaroğlu criticizes the government for the police officers’ attacks, and he states that ‘*if the police officers are using disproportionate force*’ – (*polis orantısız güç kullanıyorsa*), you are supposed to do what is necessary.

14. [-j] **Orantısız güç kullanıyorsa polis**, gereğini yapacaksınız (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).

Another opposition leader Demirtaş uses evaluative adverbial clauses in his negative judgemental evaluations in the following example. While talking about the theme ‘justice’ system in Turkey, he criticizes the government and the AKP as they have accused and condemned many people through certain excuses for years.⁸

15. Kendilerine ittifak olarak seçebilecekleri yıllardır Ergenekon diyerek [-j] **suçlayıp**, [-j] **lanetleyip**, içeri attıkları kesimleri kurtarmaya çalışıyorlar (*Demirtaş*).

In the following example, the ruling party leader Erdoğan is criticizing one of the CHP deputies and states that this deputy is acting like a terrorist militant ‘*in order to start sectarian tension - (mezhep çatışması çıkartmak için)*’.

16. Bir başka milletvekili günlerdir CHP milletvekili değil, sanki terör örgütü militanı gibi kitleleri kışkırtıyor, [-j] **mezhep çatışması çıkarmak için** kitleleri tahrik ediyor, attığı tweetlerle her türlü yalanı söylüyor (*Erdoğan*).

⁸ The Ergenekon trials were a series of trials which took place in Turkey between 2007 and 2015, and many people, including military officers and journalists were arrested.

5.1.1.1.5. Evaluative noun phrases

Quirk et al. (1985) state that “noun phrases consist of a head and other elements which either obligatorily or optionally determine the head and modify the head, or complement another element in the phrase” (p. 62). Similarly, according to Göksel & Kerlake (2005, p. 144), a noun phrase is any sequence of words that can function as the subject of a sentence, or as some kind of complement such as an object. Biber & Conrad (2009) argue that nouns serve to describe or to name people, and if there is an intense use of noun phrases in a speech, it represents that this speech is highly informative. In this respect, noun phrases are employed for explanatory purposes.

Regarding the function of noun phrases in political discourse, it has been observed in literature that they allow politicians to categorize, label and describe the individuals efficiently. Besides, nouns elicit clearer and more definite perceptions of reality. In this sense, the use of noun category enables the construction of stability, categorical perceptions and simple structure. To stress clarity and predictability, nouns are highly preferred in political discourse. It has been emphasized that while describing individuals and groups, the use of nouns can facilitate greater stereotypical and essential inferences (Brundidge et al., 2014; Carnaghi et al., 2008; Cichocka et al., 2016; Eggins, 1994; Jeffries, 2010; Sarnackaite, 2011; Weiss, 2005).

Overall analysis of explicit Judgemental evaluation resources in Turkish party group speeches indicated that Turkish leaders prefer ‘*noun phrases*’ ($f=586$; 10%) for Judgemental evaluative purposes ($N=5695$). The use of noun phrases in their evaluative utterances enables the party leaders to make their Judgements in an informative manner and to express their evaluative meanings through explanations.

While criticizing the AKP, opposition leader Bahçeli employs some evaluative noun phrases, and states that ‘*gossip (dedikodu), gıybet (slander), smear (iftira), defeatism (bozgunculuk) and separatism (bölücülük)*’ are the main principles of that party.

17. [-j] **Dedikodu**, [-j] **gıybet**, [-j] **iftira**, [-j] **bozgunculuk**, [-j] **bölücülük** AKP'nin ana fikri ve mayasıdır (*Bahçeli*).

Similarly, the main opposition leader Kılıçdaroğlu criticizes the Prime Minister then, and argues that Erdoğan is not aware of the system. He accuses Erdoğan because of his ‘*ignorance – (cehalet)*’.

18. 26 Ekim 2010 “Yeni HSYK ile Türkiye’ye Cumhuriyet demokrasi geldi” diyor. 4 Ocak 2014 Dolmabahçe’de topladı ya konu mankeni gazetecileri “Siz oraya milletin iradesiyle gelmediniz. Atamayla geldiniz. Haddinizi bilin” diyor. Bilmiyor, yaptığı değişikliği de bilmiyor. Çoğu seçimle geldi. [-j] **Cehaletin** bu kadarına pes (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).

For the theme ‘justice system’ and Ali İsmail Korkmaz trial, Demirtaş emphasizes that the state has its own ‘*gunmen - (tetikçiler)*’ and they are being protected by the state itself.

19. Dün Kayseri’de Ali İsmail’in ailesi, avukatları Adliye önünde saldırıya uğradı. Sanıklara ve mahkemeye, yargıçlara saldıran kimse oldu mu? Hayır. Demek ki, buradaki dert güvenlik değil. Dosyayı örtmenin, devletin kendi [-j] **tetikçilerinin** kendi eliyle korunması faaliyetidir. (*Demirtaş-other*).

The ruling party leader Erdoğan similarly makes use of noun phrases in his Judgemental evaluations. While talking about the Gezi protests, he defines the demonstrators as ‘*provocateurs - (provokatörler)*’ and ‘*terrorists - (teröristler)*’, which have negative meanings.

20. Sadece bu olayları sonlandırmakta kalmayacak, bu [-j] **provokatörlerin** bu [-j] **teröristlerin** de hukuk çerçevesinde her an enselerinde olacağız (*Erdoğan*).

5.1.1.1.6. Evaluative adjective phrases

Adjective phrases serve to give details about the head nouns while describing things or people. Semantically, they introduce properties. According to Quirk et al. (1985, p. 63), “adjective phrases consist of an adjective as a head, optionally preceded and followed by modifying elements”. Similarly, Göksel & Kerslake (2005, p. 170) argue that adjectives express qualities ascribed to the constructions they modify. In the Cambridge Grammar of the English Language, adjectives are characterized as expressions that change, clarify or adjust the meanings of nouns or noun phrases, so that more detailed meaning constructions can be acquired (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, p. 256).

In semantics, evaluative adjectives represent speakers’/ writers’ attitude, opinions or feelings with regard to entities or propositions they are talking about (Hunston & Thompson, 2000, p. 5). Regarding the function of adjectives in political discourse, it has been argued that adjectives play a significant role in this argumentative and persuasive discourse. In order to convince, reason, or narrate something, adjectives

are usually employed. Besides, as they have a strong interpersonal dimension and they can reveal the speaker's attitude towards the subject matter, adjectives can express subjective evaluations (Marza, 2011). Moreover, adjectives are expressed as key lexical resources for persuasion and manipulation (Ruiz, 2015). Furthermore, adjectives are used by politicians ideologically as subjectivity markers (Ajmi, 2013).

Overall analysis of explicit Judgemental categories within the data indicated that Turkish political party leaders employs restricted number of '*adjective phrases*' (f=278; 5%) for evaluative purposes (N=5695). It can be argued that compared to the use of elaborative relative clauses which similarly have adjectival functions, Turkish politicians do not tend to use adjective phrases as an elaboration strategy in their speeches.

In the following example, about the Gezi park events, Erdoğan defines the attackers in Gezi protests as '*ugly - (çirkin)*' and '*immoral - (ahlaksız)*' individuals, and addresses to the innocent citizens to realize the trick in these protests.

21. Bu kardeşlerimin oyunu göreceklerine, tuzağı göreceklerine, ihaneti göreceklerine ve bu yapıyla aralarına mesafe koyacaklarına, bu [-j] **çirkin** [-j] **ahlaksız** saldırganlarla yollarını ayıracaklarına yürekten inanıyorum (Erdoğan).

Talking about the Middle East theme and evaluating Turkey's condition, Kılıçdaroğlu argues that Turkish Prime Minister has been '*discredited - (itibarsız)*' due to his false policies abroad.

22. Sayın Başbakan, Fas'a gitmeden önce Anadolu Ajansı bir haber verdi "Başbakan Fas Kralıyla da görüşecek." diye. Görüştü mü? Görüşmeyi reddetti. Peki, değerli arkadaşlarım, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanını bu noktaya taşıyan nedir? Fas'taki geziyi yarıda kesmek zorunda kaldı. Korku değil, [-j] **itibarsız** bir Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanı yarattı. İran'da da öyle olmadı mı? Bir gün beklettiler İran'da, nal toplayıp geldi Türkiye'ye (Kılıçdaroğlu).

5.1.1.1.7. Evaluative complement clauses

Göksel & Kerslake (2005, p. 351) argue that noun clauses (for which 'complement clause' term was used, instead) are clausal noun phrases. They are subordinated clauses that perform within the longer sentence (within the main clause or another subordinate clause), but they have the same functions as noun phrases. According to Hyland & Tse (2005), complement clauses are structures that allow a writer to thematize attitudinal meanings and present an explicit statement of evaluation by

presenting a complement clause within a super-ordinate clause. They argue that evaluative ‘*that*’ structure is “a grammatical pattern in which a ‘that- complement’ clause is contained in a superordinate clause to complete its construction and which together project the writer’s attitudes or ideas about something” (p. 40).

Overall analysis of explicit Judgemental categories within the whole data demonstrated that Turkish politicians employ ‘*complement clauses*’ (f=229, 4%) quite less in their evaluations (N=5695). It can be argued that complement clauses are not preferred much for evaluative purposes within leaders’ speeches.

In the following example, Demirtaş states that ‘*threatening the public - (halkı tehdit etmek)*’ and ‘*implying - (ima etmek)*’ that he will lead to a fight between the ones supporting him and the ones who do not’ are completely wrong. Like other leaders, he uses complement clauses functioning like noun phrases and makes criticisms through them.

23. “Bana oy veren % 50 evde sabırsızlanıyor, sokağa çıkmak için bizden izin istiyor” deyip⁹ bununla halkı [-j] **tehdit etmek**, kendisine oy verenlerle oy vermeyenleri karşı karşıya getireceğini [-j] **ima etmek** kelimenin tam anlamıyla bir faciadır (Demirtaş).

In the following example, Kılıçdaroğlu criticizes the security forces’ attitude during Gezi protests and argues that he himself witnessed police violence towards a young girl.

24. Taksim’de otobüste bir polisin, başörtülü bir kıza nasıl [-j] **tokat attığını** ben biliyorum, gördüm, televizyonlar verdi (Kılıçdaroğlu).

5.1.1.1.8. Evaluative adverb phrases

Biber et al. (1999, p. 762) define adverbials as elements of clauses, which add circumstantial information about the proposition in the clause; express speaker / writer stance towards the clause; or link the clause to some other unit of discourse. Similarly, Jullian (2008, p. 141) argues that adverbs typically entail an assessment and convey attitudinal meanings rather than communicating ideational content, thus serving an

⁹ During Gezi Park events, the Prime Minister Erdoğan threatened the protestors by saying that they (the AKP) are holding the 50 percent that voted for them at home.

inherent interpersonal function. Adverbs express attitudinal meaning and serve an interpersonal function in this sense. For Göksel & Kerslake (2005), “adverbials in a verb phrase modify the verb by describing its destination and target, its location, the source of the action, and the manner in which the action takes place” (p. 130).

It has been argued in literature that adverb phrases have great evaluative property to assess individuals. They not only express attitudinal meanings, but they also serve interpersonal functions by representing speakers` commitment towards their propositions. For political discourse, they also function ideologically (Bonami & Godard, 2006; Dickinson, 2009; Jullian, 2008; Kotrc, 2012).

Overall analysis of explicit Judgemental categories within leaders` speeches indicated that ‘*adverb phrases*’ ($f=185$; 3%) are employed least in Turkish politics for evaluative purposes ($N=5695$). It can be stated that compared to elaborative postpositional phrases through which party leaders highly give details regarding their actions, they do not prefer to make detailed evaluations through adverb phrases most of the time.

In the following example, the opposition leader Demirtaş criticizes the government and the AKP. He argues that they are sending trucks to support the ISIS, Al-qa`ida and El Nusra; however, they cannot overpower the citizens there by supporting these groups ‘*indecently (ahlaksızca)*’.

25. Ama böyle [-j] **ahlaksızca**, tırlarla IŞİD`i, El-Kaide`yi, El-Nusra`yı destekleyerek de orada halka boyun eğdiremezsiniz (*Demirtaş*).

General findings regarding the lexico-grammatical Judgemental resources encountered within Turkish political language can be summarized as follows:

1. Some explicit lexico-grammatical resources are preferred more by political party leaders in the sample. At the top, there are evaluative verb phrases, and more tendency towards using verb phrases compared to the noun phrases can be interpreted as politicians` preferences towards evaluating individuals based on their actions, rather than static explanatory purposes.
2. Besides, Turkish politicians in the present study tend to give details through postpositional phrases, relative clauses and adverbial clauses most of the time. In this respect, they make their evaluations more elaborated and detailed.

3. However, evaluative adjective phrases, complement clauses and adverb phrases are among the least encountered categories in evaluative utterances within the data, which means that political party leaders do not have the tendency towards elaborating their evaluations through these categories.

5.1.1.2. Leader-Based Explicit Judgemental Analysis

After the overall analysis of lexico-grammatical Judgemental categories within the whole data, each category was explored in terms of leader-based uses. The aim was to analyse whether party leaders with different political status would employ different lexico-grammatical categories in their evaluations.

The following figure demonstrates the percentages of Judgemental lexico-grammatical categories in leaders' evaluations. It is necessary to emphasize that these percentages were calculated based on the frequencies of each category within leaders' individual usages, and without any correlation analysis. The aim was just to present descriptive statistics so that leaders' tendencies towards certain categories could be provided.

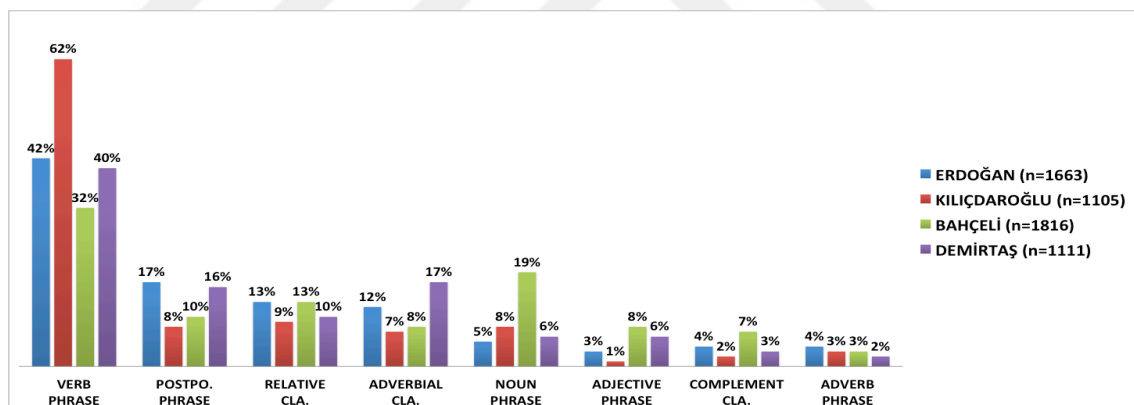


Figure 10. Percentages of Lexico-grammatical categories of Explicit Judgemental expressions employed by party leaders

As can be seen in this Figure above, although certain categories are detected as the most employed and the least employed ones for evaluative purposes in Turkish party group speeches in the former analysis, some of them are preferred more by some leaders, whereas some others are employed less. For a detailed interpretation, each lexico-grammatical category was handled separately in the following section.

5.1.1.2.1. Evaluative verb phrases in leader-based use

Similar to the overall findings in the previous part, it can be seen in Figure 10 that evaluative verb phrases are employed most by all four leaders in their speeches. It indicates that all four leaders highly employ verb phrases in their evaluations while making criticisms or praising themselves.

However, a closer look at the figure above indicates that the main opposition party leader *Kılıçdaroğlu* (62%; *f=694 out of 1105 items*) tends to employ this category most in his speeches. It can be stated that as the main opposition leader, he makes his Judgemental evaluations through emphasizing individuals' actions in a dynamic manner most of the time. Thus, he tends to focus on actions more than other leaders in Turkish Parliament while addressing his own party members. Besides, *Erdoğan* (42%; *f=689 out of 1663 items*) and *Demirtaş* (40%; *f=449 out of 1111 items*) employ evaluative verb phrases in nearly the same percentages in their expressions. It can be stated that although verb phrase forms are the most employed evaluative category in their speeches, the percentages of this category in their utterances are not as high as the main opposition leader. *Bahçeli* (32%; *f=576 out of 1816 items*), on other hand, is the leader whose evaluative verb phrase percentage is the least among the leaders. It indicates that Bahçeli does not prefer to emphasize actions or events as much as other leaders. It can be stated that the evaluations in his speeches are more static, compared to other leaders, as he does not prefer to employ evaluative verb phrases in his assessments.

It is necessary to emphasize here that the evaluative verb phrase identifications in this study were made based on two different categories, as the ones including '*verbal predicates*' in which politicians employed verbs directly such as '*saldırımak-* (*to attack*)' or '*taş atmak-* (*to throw a stone*)'; and '*nominal predicates*' in which certain adjectives and nouns functioned as verbs in the sentences as in '*sorumsuzluktur-* (*This is an irresponsibility*)' or '*diktatörsün-* (*You are a dictator*)'. These verbal and nominal categories were also investigated in this study.

In order to do that, identified verb phrases were analyzed in a more detailed way, and they were grouped as verbal and nominal predicates. In the following Figure, the percentages of verbal and nominal categories in leaders' evaluative verb classifications are provided:

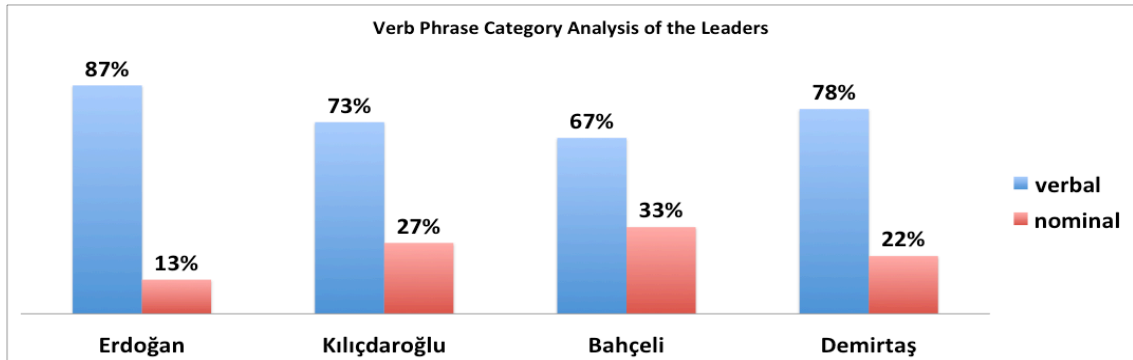


Figure 11. Percentages of Verbal and Nominal predicates in the Verb Phrase category

(notes. Erdoğan/n=689; Kılıçdaroğlu/n=694; Bahçeli/n=576; Demirtaş/n=449)

It is seen that all four leaders tend to employ verbal predicates more than nominal ones in their verbal evaluative expressions. In other words, they prefer to use full verbs to make more active, dynamic and effective sentences in their evaluations. As for the nominal predicates, it can be seen that they are employed quite less, and this can be interpreted as leaders preference to use more dynamic language rather than a static one.

Moreover, it is observed that ruling party leader Erdoğan employs verbal predicates ($f=596$; 87%) most in his verb phrase categories, whereas his nominal predicate percentage is the lowest ($f=89$; 13%). On the other hand, opposition party leader Bahçeli uses nominal predicates more ($f=186$; 33%) in his speeches, compared to other leaders. This can be interpreted as Bahçeli's tendency towards making more descriptive evaluations than other leaders; however, he still employs nearly twice as verbal predicates as the nominal ones in his speeches.

In the following examples, verb phrases including verbal and nominal categories can be seen. In example (26) below, Erdoğan accuses the Gezi park protestors of vandalising the public property and disturbing the civilians, and in his negative Judgemental evaluation, he employs the evaluative verb phrases explicitly, such as 'yakıp yıkmak- (to vandalise)', 'saldırmak- (to attack)', and 'rahatsız etmek- (to disturb)'.

26. Bunların onlarca yıktığı ağaç söz konusu. [-j] **Yaktılar**, [-j] **yıktılar**, [-j] **saldırdılar**, herkesi [-j] **rahatsız ettiler** (Erdoğan-other).

Kılıçdaroğlu, similarly, employs evaluative verb phrases and blames Erdoğan for '*hindering*' (*engellemek*) his son, Bilal Erdoğan¹⁰, to give a deposition about the corruption scandal in the following example:

27. Sen ne yapıyorsun, oğlun gelecek ifade verecek onu [-j] **engelliyorsun** sen (*Kılıçdaroğlu-other*).

Another opposition leader, Bahçeli criticizes Erdoğan for destroying the green area in Gezi Park in order to build a shopping centre. He states that Erdoğan's attempt is a '*disrespect*' - (*saygısızlık*) towards citizens living in İstanbul. Different from the verbal predicate structure, Bahçeli employs a nominal predicate in his evaluative utterance:

28. Başbakan Erdoğan'ın İstanbul'un göbeğindeki yeşil alanı katlederek AVM yapma isteği muhterem İstanbullulara [-j] **saygısızlıktır** (*Bahçeli-other*).

Similarly, Demirtaş states that the government and the AKP deputies are 'responsible - (*sorumlu*)' for the Roboski airstrike¹¹ and the death of 34 civilians in the following example. In this Judgemental evaluation, he employs a nominal predicate functioning as a verb phrase.

29. Roboski katliamından siz [-j] **sorumlusunuz** (*Demirtaş-other*).

It can be claimed that in Turkish political group speeches, verb phrases (*including both verbal and nominal predicates*) really play a significant role to express evaluative meanings and politicians have a high tendency towards using this category in their Judgements. This can be interpreted as their preference to use more active and dynamic language in their speeches while addressing their own party members.

5.1.1.2.2. Evaluative postpositional phrases in leader-based use

In the previous part, it has been stated that postpositional phrases are encountered as the second most frequent evaluative category in Turkish political speeches. The

¹⁰ After the 2013 corruption scandal, Erdoğan's son, Bilal Erdoğan was supposed to give a deposition, as he was also involved in the affair according to the telephone recordings. However, this deposition order was then cancelled.

¹¹ The Roboski airstrike took place on December 28, 2011, near the Turkish–Iraqi border. According to Turkish government sources, 34 smuggling civilians were killed in the incident.

detailed leader-based analysis in this part indicated that Erdoğan (17%; $f=280$ out of 1663 items) and Demirtaş (16%; $f=180$ out of 1111 items) employ more postpositional phrases than other leaders in their Judgemental evaluations. As postpositional phrases function to give details and make elaborations regarding how certain things are fulfilled, it can be argued that Erdoğan and Demirtaş generally tend to elaborate their own and opponents' actions by giving details and emphasizing how they do certain things most of the time.

In the following example, the ruling party leader Erdoğan employs an evaluative postpositional phrase to make criticism. He argues that the demonstrations in Gezi park area were introduced '*as if they were a democratic environmental protest - (demokratik bir çevre eylemi gibi)*', which, according to him, is not the case; because the demonstrators vandalized the public property, destroyed the environment and used violence towards security forces.

30. Taksim'de diğer illerde polise karşı, kamu binalarına, özel mülke sivillere karşı çok ağır şiddet uygulanırken, bu şiddet bu vandallık, bu barbarlık belli süzgeçlerden geçirilip çarpıtılarak masum, demokratik bir [-] **çevre eylemi gibi** lanse edildi (*Erdoğan-other*).

Bahçeli (10%; $f=178$ out of 1816 items) and Kılıçdaroğlu (8%; $f=91$ out of 1105 items), on the other hand, employ less postpositional phrases in their evaluations. It indicates that they do not give much priority to dynamic elaborations regarding individuals' actions most of the time. In the following utterance, Bahçeli states that they have followed the demonstrations '*with care - (dikkatle)*' from the beginning.

31. Biz başından beridir Taksim Gezi Parkı'ndaki olayları [+] **dikkatle** takip ettik, gerekli uyarı ve değerlendirmelerimizi belirli aralıklarla aziz milletimizle paylaştık (*Bahçeli-self*).

5.1.1.2.3. Evaluative relative clauses in leader-based use

It has been argued that relative clauses have evaluative properties in Turkish political discourse, through which politicians give details and make elaborated explanations. The detailed leader-based analysis indicated that an opposition leader Bahçeli (13%; $f=241$ out of 1816 items) and the ruling party leader Erdoğan (13%; $f=217$ out of 1663 items) are the politicians who employ this category slightly more than other leaders in

their evaluative expressions. This can be interpreted as their tendency to give details and explain certain things about the individuals in a more elaborated way.

In the following example below, Erdoğan employs an evaluative relative clause in his negative criticism. While talking about the theme ‘Gezi protests’, ruling party leader Erdoğan criticizes the CHP deputies and describes them as individuals ‘*who are insulting and swearing the police*’ - (*polise hakaret eden, küfür eden*)’ ;

32. Polise [-j] **hakaret eden**, [-j] **küfür eden**, gençlere para veren CHP milletvekilleri ben bu gençleri anlayamıyorum (*Erdoğan-other*).

Bahçeli similarly criticizes Erdoğan and describes him as a politician ‘*who has lost his mind, logic, mercy and foresight*’ - (*aklını, mantığını, merhametini ve basiretini yitiren*)’, and that’s why, he is responsible for the negative condition of the country.

33. Başbakan Erdoğan [-j] **aklını, mantığını, merhametini ve basiretini yitiren** bir siyasetçi olarak bugünkü halimizin, bugünkü yaralayıcı tablonun mimarbaşı pozisyonundadır (*Bahçeli-other*).

However, *Demirtaş* (10%; *f=113 out of 1111 items*) and *Kılıçdaroğlu* (9%; *f=100 out of 1105 items*) are the leaders who employ relative clauses less than other two leaders in their evaluations. It can be stated that they do not prefer to describe individuals through relative clauses that have adjectival functions most of the time.

5.1.1.2.4. Evaluative adverbial clauses in leader-based use

Detailed leader-based analysis indicated that the opposing party leader *Demirtaş* (17%; *f=175 out of 1111 items*) employs adverbial clauses most in his evaluative expressions. This indicates that he prefers to elaborate how he achieves certain things or how other party leaders fail doing certain things in a detailed way through adverbial clauses.

In the following example, *Demirtaş* is talking about the theme ‘Kurdish question’, and he criticizes Erdoğan’s Diyarbakır meeting. He accuses the government of executing the civils trying to cross the border.

34. Şimdi, Diyarbakır’da böyle ahkam kesmek kolay. Demokrasi, özgürlük mikrofonda konuşurken kolay. Fakat Rojava sınırına duvar örerken, Rojava sınırından 3 tane sivil bu tarafa suçsuz, günahsız geçiyor, silahsız geçiyor diye [-j] **infaz ederken** bunların hesabını vermek zor (*Demirtaş-other*).

Similarly, 12 % of the ruling party leader Erdoğan`s evaluative expressions are in the form of adverbial clauses, which means that he also prefers elaborated language focusing on people`s actions (*f=207 out of 1663 items*). In the following example, Erdoğan uses evaluative adverbial clauses for criticism, in which he accuses the Gezi protestors and states that they have tried to maximize the negative atmosphere during the demonstrations, 'by growing, extending and exaggerating them - (büyüterek, yaygınlaştırarak ve abartarak)'.

35. Taksim'de başlayan bu gösteriler, [-j] **büyütülerek**, [-j] **yaygınlaştırılarak**, [-j] **abartılarak** Türkiye açısından çok tehlikeli bir seviyeye çekilmek istenmiştir. (*Erdoğan-other*).

Compared to these two leaders, the opposition leaders Bahçeli (8%; *f=149 out of 1816 items*) and Kılıçdaroğlu (7%; *f=78 out of 1105 items*) make use of less adverbial clauses to make Judgemental evaluations. This can be interpreted as their tendency towards not using elaborated language regarding individuals` actions most of the time.

5.1.1.2.5. Evaluative noun phrases in leader-based use

Evaluative noun phrases can be used to talk about certain concepts, and it has been indicated in the previous part that noun phrases have an evaluative function in Turkish political discourse. Detailed leader-based analysis indicated that opposition leader Bahçeli (19%; *f=342 out of 1816 items*) employs evaluative noun phrases most in his Judgemental assessments. This shows that he tends to act in an informative way in his evaluations by describing people he is talking about. Moreover, it shows that Bahçeli tends to talk in a more static manner through descriptive noun phrases. In the following example, Bahçeli employs the evaluative noun phrases 'cheat - (aldatma)' and 'cunningness - (kurnazlık)' in order to express how they affected the AKP.

36. Geride kalan yıllar içinde, AKP'nin, milletin ve devletin tüm temel değer ve kurumlarıyla ters düşmesi, bunu da ileri demokrasi kılıfına saklayarak geçiştirmesi [-j] **aldatmanın** ve [-j] **kurnazlığın** bu zihniyet elebaşlarının hücrelerine kadar sirayet ettiğini göstermiştir (*Bahçeli-other*).

However, other opposition leaders employ less evaluative noun phrases in their utterances. 8% of Kılıçdaroğlu`s (*f=88 out of 1105 items*), and 6% of Demirtaş`s (*f=70 out of 1111 items*) explicit evaluative expressions are composed of noun phrases. In the following example, Kılıçdaroğlu employs evaluative noun phrases 'bribe-takers -

(*rüşvetçiler*)' and '*thieves* - (*hırsızlar*)', through which he names or describes the individuals he is talking about, and makes negative Judgemental criticisms. In this example, it is seen that evaluative noun phrases can also function to describe the individuals by naming them directly.

37. [-j] **Rüşvetçilerden**, [-j] **hırsızlardan** da hesap soracağız; bu ülkeye kan kusturmuş derin devlet yapılarından da hesap soracağız (*Kılıçdaroğlu-other*).

The ruling party leader Erdoğan (5%; *f=86 out of 1663 items*) makes use of noun phrases the least among all the leaders in Turkish political setting. It can be stated that different from Bahçeli who tends to emphasize descriptions, Erdoğan does not have such a tendency towards this informative language use.

5.1.1.2.6. Evaluative adjective phrases in leader-based use

It has been argued in the previous part that adjective phrases are one of the least encountered evaluative categories in leaders' political speeches, indicating that it is not a common strategy to give explanatory details regarding individuals through adjective phrase category. The detailed leader-based analysis indicated that the opposition leader Bahçeli (8%; *f=152 out of 1816 items*) employs adjective phrases most in his evaluative expressions. It can be seen that he tends to give details and make more elaborated and subjective evaluations, in his utterances. While criticizing Erdoğan for his wrong attitude regarding the Kurdish question, Bahçeli states that Erdoğan's optimism is '*untrue* - (*asılsız*)' and '*exaggerated* - (*abartılı*)'.

38. Başbakan'ın hayal satıcılığı, [-j] **asılsız** ve [-j] **abartılı** iyimserliği herhangi bir işe yaramamıştır (*Bahçeli-other*).

Similarly, another opposition leader, Demirtaş (6%; *f=67 out of 1111 items*) employs this category more than Erdoğan and Kılıçdaroğlu. While talking about the Kurdish question, Demirtaş accuses the government of being '*massacrist* - (*katliamcı*)' and '*fascistic* - (*faşizan*)'.

39. Bugün Lice % 100 Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi'nin etrafında kenetlenmiş, ama [-j] **katliamcı** zihniyetler halen Lice'ye¹² giremiyorlar. Onlar o gün kendi zihniyetlerini [-j] **faşizan**, [-j] **katliamcı** zihniyetlerini Lice'de yok etmişlerdir (*Demirtaş-other*).

¹² Lice incident occurred in the southeast part of Turkey in 1993, and 12 PKK militants died.

However, the percentages of adjective phrases in the ruling party leader Erdoğan's (3%; *f=53 out of 1663 items*) and the main opposition leader Kılıçdaroğlu's (1%; *f=6 out of 1105 items*) evaluations are quite limited. It indicates that Erdoğan and Kılıçdaroğlu do not prefer to use elaborated language while giving subjective details about individuals and describing them.

5.1.1.2.7. Evaluative complement clauses in leader-based use

Complement clauses were observed as one of the least employed evaluative categories in leaders'speeches. Detailed leader-based analysis indicated that *Bahçeli* (7%; *f=122 out of 1816 items*) employs this category most in his evaluative expressions. It can be argued that he tends to express his Judgemental meanings in longer sentences, since by using complement clauses, he forms more elaborated and more complex sentences. He may be using this evaluative category intentionally to enhance the persuasive power of his evaluations in this way.

While criticising the AKP and the government for their negative attitudes in Gezi events, Bahçeli argues that '*destroying the green places - (yeşili kapamak)*', '*cutting down the trees - (ağaçları kesmek)*' and '*turning the Gezi park area into an ugly place - (Gezi Parkı'nı gezilemez yer haline getirmek)*' have stimulated the protests.

40. Şüphesiz Taksim'de yeşili [-j] **kapatmak**, ağaçları [-j] **kesmek** ve Gezi Parkı'nı gezilemez yer haline [-j] **getirmek** olayları tetiklemiştir (*Bahçeli-other*).

However, the other leaders prefer to use less complement clauses in their speeches (*Erdoğan, f=60, 4%; Demirtaş, f=33, 3%; Kılıçdaroğlu, f=14, 2%*). In the following example, ruling party leader Erdoğan accuses the opposition leaders and states that '*ignoring the election results - (seçim sonuçlarını hiçe saymak)*' is the habit of the past governments.

41. Seçilmiş hükümetleri devirmek, [-j] **sandık sonuçlarını hiçe saymak**, geçmişe ait bir alışkanlıktır (*Erdoğan-other*).

5.1.1.2.8. Evaluative adverb phrases in leader-based use

Overall analysis has indicated that adverb phrases are the least employed category for evaluative purposes in Turkish political discourse. Detailed leader-based analysis

showed that all four party leaders tend to employ evaluative adverb phrases quite less (*Erdoğan, 4%; Kılıçdaroğlu, 3%; Bahçeli, 3%; Demirtaş, 2%*). It can be argued that Turkish political party leaders do not tend to elaborate their evaluations through adverb phrases generally in their group speeches. In the following example, the ruling party leader Erdoğan states that during the Gezi protests, the international media were misinformed '*wrongly – (yanlış)*' by some illegal structures so that they could achieve their objectives.

42. Türkiye'nin uluslar arası güç ve itibarı yine bu süreçte hedef alınmıştır. Uluslar arası basın, uluslar arası çevreler sistematik olarak [-j] yanlış bilgilendirilmiş, art niyetli bazı uluslar arası medya kuruluşlarının da devreye girmesiyle Türkiye'ye yönelik kapsamlı bir saldırı yürütülmüştür (*Erdoğan-other*).

To conclude this part, major findings regarding the lexico-grammatical categories preferred by party leaders can be summarized as:

- (1) Kılıçdaroğlu, Erdoğan and Demirtaş tend to make their Judgemental evaluations through verbal constructions, including verb phrases, postpositional phrases and adverbial clauses. This can be interpreted as their rhetorical style, using more dynamic language. Closer examination revealed that while Kılıçdaroğlu makes use of evaluative verb phrases, Erdoğan and Demirtaş prefer to employ postpositional phrases and adverbial clauses. They not only express their evaluations in a dynamic and active manner, but also speak in a more elaborated style.
- (2) Bahçeli, on the other hand, is different from these three leaders, because he mainly prefers more nominal structures in his evaluations, including noun phrases, relative clauses and adjective phrases. This can be interpreted as his rhetorical strategy as he uses more static and informative language. It can be argued that he tends to use an elaborated language, as he prefers giving details and making subjective elaborations through these devices in his evaluations.

5.1.1.3. Detailed Analysis of Lexico-grammatical Resources based on Leaders' Self and Other Evaluations

In this section, each Judgemental lexico-grammatical category was analysed separately, together with their percentages in leaders' self versus other-based evaluations. According to van Dijk (1997), to achieve positive self-presentation and

negative other-presentation, there is a wide range of semantic, syntactic and lexical linguistic choices that a politician can use (p. 31).

In this sense, the aim was to investigate whether certain evaluative lexico-grammatical categories would be employed more in leaders' praises, while others would be encountered more in their negative other criticisms. In the following section, percentages of each Judgemental lexico-grammatical category within leaders' self and other-based evaluations are presented.

5.1.1.3.1. Verb phrases in leaders' self-vs-other evaluations

The detailed analysis started with verb phrases, as it was the evaluative category employed most by the leaders in the data. In the following figure, the percentages of leaders' verb phrases in their self and other-based evaluations are presented:

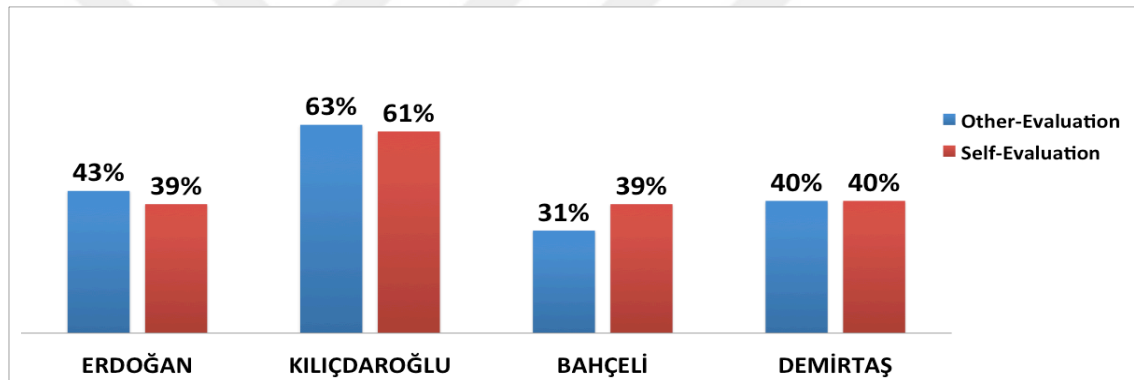


Figure 12. Percentages of Verb Phrases employed in Other- versus Self-Evaluations

(notes. Erdoğan / $f=420$ out of 983 other-evaluative items / $f=269$ out of 681 self-evaluative items, Kılıçdaroğlu / $f=557$ out of 882 other-evaluative items / $f=137$ out of 223 self-evaluative items, Bahçeli / $f=501$ out of 1623 other-evaluative items / $f=75$ out of 193 self-evaluative items, Demirtaş / $f=348$ out of 862 other-evaluative items / $f=101$ out of 249 self-evaluative items)

It has been observed that evaluative verb phrases take place in the sample, for both self- and other-evaluative purposes as the percentages of evaluative verb phrases in leaders' praises and criticisms are similar. This can be interpreted as leaders' tendency to evaluate people's actions. They not only emphasize their own achievements, but they also criticize others' failures, mistakes or inefficacy, through evaluative verb phrases.

As the leader employing evaluative verb phrases most in his utterances, Kılıçdaroğlu strategically uses this category both in his other-evaluations (63%; $f=557$) and self-evaluations (61%; $f=137$). In the following examples, he accuses Erdoğan of 'ruining -

(*perişan etmek*)' Turkish youth in Gezi protests; whereas, in the other one, he talks about his party's democracy perception and states that they have always '*defended* - (*savunmak*)' democracy.

43. Gencecik çocuklarımızı [-j] **perişan ettin** (*Kılıçdaroğlu-other*).
 44. Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi olarak biz demokrasiyi [+j] **savunduk** özgürlüğü [+j] **savunduk** (*Kılıçdaroğlu-self*).

Similarly, ruling party leader Erdoğan and the opposition leader Demirtaş use evaluative verb phrases in similar percentages both in their negative criticisms and positive evaluations. It can be argued that like Kılıçdaroğlu, these two leaders make use of dynamic evaluations both in their self and other-based evaluations. While talking about the Gezi park events, Erdoğan accuses the protestors of '*committing hate crime* - (*nefret suçu işlemek*)' and '*terrorizing* - (*terrorize etmek*)' the big portion of a society as in the following example:

45. Kin ve öfkeyle hareket eden bu insanlar, sorumsuz bir şekilde nefret suçu [-j] **işlediler**, toplumun büyük bir kesimini [-j] **terörize ettiler** (*Erdoğan-other*).

When it comes to Bahçeli, on the other hand, it can be seen that he is the leader employing evaluative verb phrases more for self-evaluative purposes (39%, *f=75 out of 193 items*) compared to its percentage in his negative criticisms (31%, *f=501 out of 1623 items*). It can be argued that Bahçeli make use of this lexical category, mainly while praising himself and his party.

5.1.1.3.2. Postpositional phrases in leaders' self-vs-other evaluations

As stated in the previous part, postpositional phrases are employed to express detailed information with regard to how certain things have been achieved or not, and the frequent use of this category in Turkish party group speeches indicates that party leaders prefer to express their event-based evaluations in an elaborated manner. In the following figure, the percentages of postpositional phrases employed by party leaders in their self versus other-evaluations are provided:

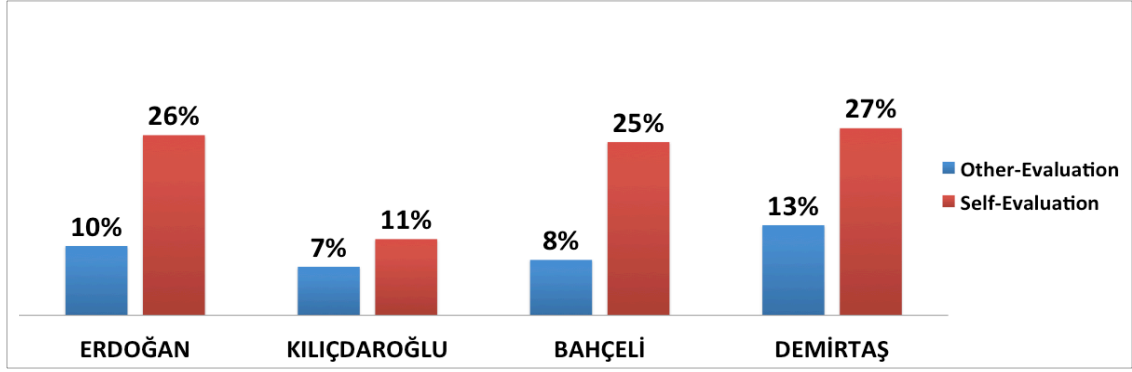


Figure 13. Percentages of Postpositional Phrases employed in Other- versus Self-Evaluations

(notes. Erdoğan / $f=101$ out of 983 other-evaluative items / $f=179$ out of 681 self-evaluative items, Kılıçdaroğlu / $f=66$ out of 882 other-evaluative items / $f=25$ out of 223 self-evaluative items, Bahçeli / $f=129$ out of 1623 other-evaluative items / $f=49$ out of 193 self-evaluative items, Demirtaş / $f=113$ out of 862 other-evaluative items / $f=67$ out of 249 self-evaluative items)

The analysis of this lexico-grammatical category indicated that party leaders employ postpositional phrases mainly for self-evaluative purposes. In other words, postpositional phrases are used strategically as an evaluative tool in Turkish political context, mainly for positively-connotated self-evaluations. Such a finding shows that Turkish politicians tend to elaborate their achievements or their future plans in a detailed manner while addressing their own party community.

More detailed examination of the Figure above indicates that Demirtaş employs evaluative postpositional phrases most (27%) in his positively associated evaluations, whereas the percentage of this category in his negative criticisms is less (13%). It can be argued that he uses this lexico-grammatical category, mainly for self-evaluative purposes as in the following example. He uses the postpositional phrase '*devotedly* - (*özveriyle*)' in order to express his positive judgemental evaluation regarding his party's good work on the budget regulations under the theme of economy.

46. Değerli arkadaşlar, bütçe çalışmaları önümüzdeki haftadan itibaren Genel Kurul'a da gelmeye başlayacak. Komisyondaki tartışmalar büyük bir **[+j] özveriyle** sürdürülüyor. BDP'nin temsilcileri görüşlerimizi orada aktarıyor (Demirtaş-self).

Similarly, Erdoğan (26%) and Bahçeli (25%) employ postpositional phrases, particularly for positive self-evaluations, compared to the percentages on their negative criticisms (Erdoğan-10%; Bahçeli-8%). It can be argued that these two leaders tend to praise themselves through detailed evaluations.

While talking about his party's reaction towards Gezi protests, ruling party leader Erdoğan appreciates his party, and states that they are analysing these protests '*in detail - (tüm detaylarıyla)*', trying to interpret them '*up to the marks - (en ince noktasına kadar)*'. While making such a positive evaluation, he makes use of postpositional phrases to modify his verbal expressions, and also to express praise for himself and his party.

47. İnsanımızı bu gösterilere sevk eden saiklerin neler olduğunu, sokağın ne dediğini, bazı gençlerin neden bu tepkiyi verdiğini **[+j] tüm detaylarıyla [+j] en ince noktalarına kadar** tabii ki araştırıyoruz (Erdoğan-self).

The main opposition Kılıçdaroğlu, on the other hand, employs this category least both in his self-evaluations (11%; *f=25 out of 223 items*) and negative evaluations (7%; *f=66 out of 882 items*). It can be argued that he does not prefer to express how or why they do certain things or why they act in a certain way in an elaborated manner through postpositional phrases.

5.1.1.3.3. Relative clauses in leaders' self-vs-other evaluations

As stated before, relative clauses are employed by political party leaders to give descriptive details regarding individuals in their Judgemental evaluations. In this respect, the detailed analysis of this category within leaders' self versus other-based evaluations are provided in the following Figure:

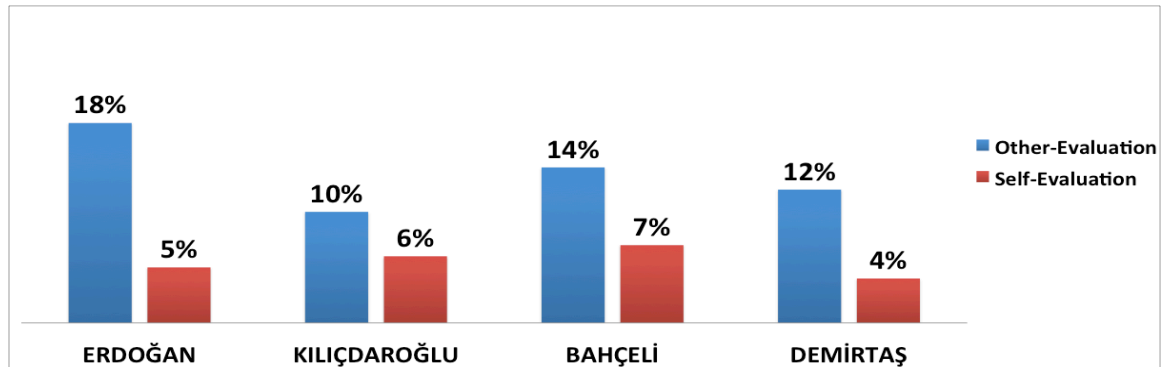


Figure 14. Percentages of Relative Clauses employed in Other- versus Self-Evaluations

(notes. Erdoğan / *f=179 out of 983 other-evaluative items / f=38 out of 681 self-evaluative items*, Kılıçdaroğlu / *f=85 out of 882 other-evaluative items / f=15 out of 223 self-evaluative items*, Bahçeli / *f=228 out of 1623 other-evaluative items / f=13 out of 193 self-evaluative items*, Demirtaş / *f=104 out of 862 other-evaluative items / f=9 out of 249 self-evaluative items*)

Detailed analysis of Turkish party leaders' self versus other-based evaluations indicated that relative clauses are highly employed in order to make negative other

criticism by Turkish party leaders. In other words, all party leaders prefer to use relative clauses while making negative assessments towards other leaders. This can be interpreted as a rhetorical strategy; i.e., party leaders make use of elaborative language in their criticisms via relative clauses.

Closer examination of the Figure above indicates that Erdoğan employs this category most in his negative evaluations (18%; $f=179$ out of 983 items), whereas the percentage of evaluative relative clauses in his self-Judgements is quite less (5%; $f=38$ out of 681 items). It can be argued that Erdoğan tends to use a more elaborated language and describe the individuals he is talking about in a more detailed way, particularly in his negative other-evaluations. In the following example below, Erdoğan criticizes the Gezi protestors and states that the ones '*who uses violence and who accepts violence as a means* -(*Şiddeti kullanan ve araç olarak benimseyen*)' won't be tolerated.

48. Şimdi bu aşamadan itibaren [-j] **şiddet kullanan**, şiddeti bir araç olarak [-j] **benimseyen** hiç kimseye, hiçbir örgüte müsamaha gösterilmesi söz konusu değildir (*Erdoğan-other*).

Similarly, two opposition leaders Bahçeli (14%; $f=228$ out of 1623 items) and Demirtaş (12%; $f=104$ out of 862 items) tend to employ more relative clauses in their negative criticisms, when compared to their use of this category in their self-evaluations. Like the ruling party leader, they prefer this evaluative category, particularly for other evaluative purposes or for criticism. In the following example below, Bahçeli argues that during the Gezi park events, there are some groups '*who are trying to terrorize each social movement* - (*terrorize etmeye çalışan*).

49. Bunlar ki, her toplumsal hareketlenmeyi [-j] **terörize etmeye çalışan** gerçek çapulcu ve çıbanbaşlarıdır (*Bahçeli-other*).

The main opposition leader Kılıçdaroğlu employs evaluative relative clauses slightly less than other leaders in his negative criticisms (10%; $f=85$ out of 882 items). When the percentage of evaluative relative clauses in his self-evaluations are explored, it is seen that he uses this category in nearly the same number as the other leaders (6%; $f=15$ out of 223 items).

5.1.1.3.4. Adverbial clauses in leaders' self-vs-other evaluations

As stated in the previous part, adverbial clauses can be used evaluatively in order to express Judgemental assessments in an elaborated manner. In this respect, they are employed by Turkish political party leaders in order to enhance their evaluations and the persuasive power of their claims as they express their Judgements in an elaborated way. In the following Figure below, the percentages of evaluative adverbial clauses in party leaders' self versus other-based evaluations can be seen:

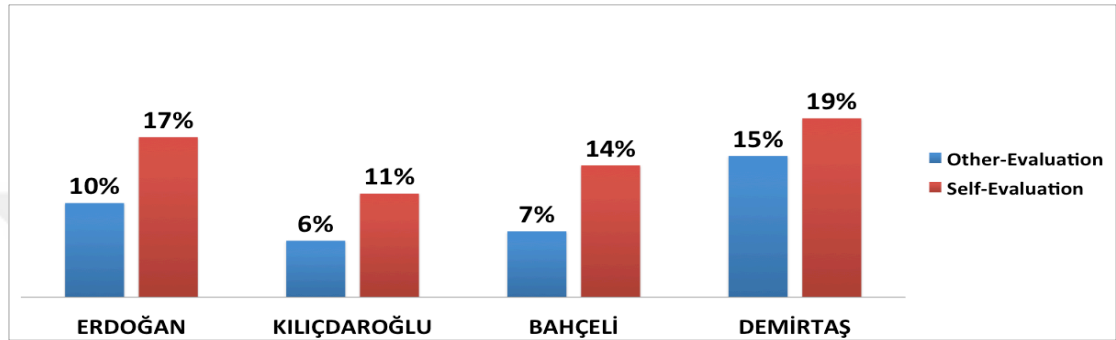


Figure 15. Percentages of Adverbial Clauses employed in Other- versus Self-Evaluations

(notes. Erdoğan / $f=94$ out of 983 other-evaluative items / $f=113$ out of 681 self-evaluative items, Kılıçdaroğlu / $f=54$ out of 882 other-evaluative items / $f=24$ out of 223 self-evaluative items, Bahçeli / $f=122$ out of 1623 other-evaluative items / $f=27$ out of 193 self-evaluative items, Demirtaş / $f=128$ out of 862 other-evaluative items / $f=47$ out of 249 self-evaluative items)

Detailed analysis of this lexico-grammatical category within leaders' self- and other-based evaluations indicated that Turkish party group leaders particularly employ adverbial clauses for positive self-evaluation. However, the use of this evaluative category in leaders' negative criticisms is less.

Closer examination of the figure indicated that Demirtaş employs evaluative adverbial clauses most both in his self-evaluations (19%) and negative criticisms (15%). It can be claimed that he prefers to make elaborations and give details regarding how they have managed or will manage to do certain things as a party. While talking about the Kurdish question, he emphasizes his party's ambition to deal with this problem earnestly and their being determined to solve this problem, by employing evaluative adverbial clauses:

50. Şimdi, yüz yıllık bir meselenin, Kürt sorununun çözümüyle ilgili bizler bu kadar ciddi yaklaşacağız, 16 defa İmralı'ya¹³, bilmem kaç defa Kandil'e gideceğiz, Avrupa'ya gideceğiz, defalarca hükümetle görüşeceğiz, parti içerisinde gece gündüz bu meselenin ciddiyetiyle **[+j] yaklaşip** tartışacağız, 40,000 insanın öldüğü asırlık bir meseleyi **[+j] çözmek için** uğraşacağız bunların yaklaşımı da böyle olacak (*Demirtaş-self*).

Similar to Demirtaş, ruling party leader Erdoğan and the opposition leader Bahçeli tend to employ more adverbial clauses in their positive self evaluations (17%-14%), when compared to the ones in their negative other criticisms (10%-7%). They rhetorically employ evaluative adverbial clauses in order to give details about themselves and their parties, and in this way, they express how they have succeeded to fulfil certain things.

Talking about the theme 'democracy', Bahçeli provides the ways for a better country, including '*by staying as a unitary state - (tek millet halinde kalarak)*', '*by protecting our independence - (bağımsızlığımızı koruyarak)*', '*by running democracy - (demokrasimizi çalıştırarak)*', '*by improving conditions - (şartları daha iyi yaparak)*' and '*by showing respect to the liberty of speech - (ifade hürriyetine saygı göstererek)*'. All these ways are mentioned in the form of adverbial clauses.

51. Biz bu aziz vatan coğrafyasında, tek millet halinde **[+j] kalarak**, bağımsızlığımızı **[+j] koruyarak**, demokrasimizi **[+j] çalıştırarak**, mevcut şartları daha iyi **[+j] yaparak**, ifade hürriyetine azami saygı ve riayet **[+j] göstererek** sorunlarımızı çözeriz (*Bahçeli-self*).

Although being the leader using verb phrase category most in his speeches, Kılıçdaroğlu employs evaluative adverbial clauses least among the leaders both in his positive self-evaluations (11%; *f=24 out of 223 items*) and negative criticisms (6%; *f=54 out of 882 items*). It can be argued that Kılıçdaroğlu does not prefer to give details and elaborations in his evaluations through this lexicogrammatical category. In other words, Kılıçdaroğlu prefers making judgements in an active manner through evaluative verbs; however, he does not have the tendency to give details by elaborating his verbal structures.

¹³ İmralı Island is the place where Kurdish leader Abdullah Ocalan is kept. He was arrested in 1999 and sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. During the negotiations between the Turkish government and the Kurdish groups, a committee composed of BDP members visited the island regularly.

5.1.1.3.5. Noun phrases in leaders` self-vs-other evaluations

As stated in the previous part, noun phrases function to name and describe people, and in this process, they represent that there is a static use of language if noun phrases are employed. In the following Figure, leaders` use of evaluative noun phrases in their self versus other-based evaluations are provided:

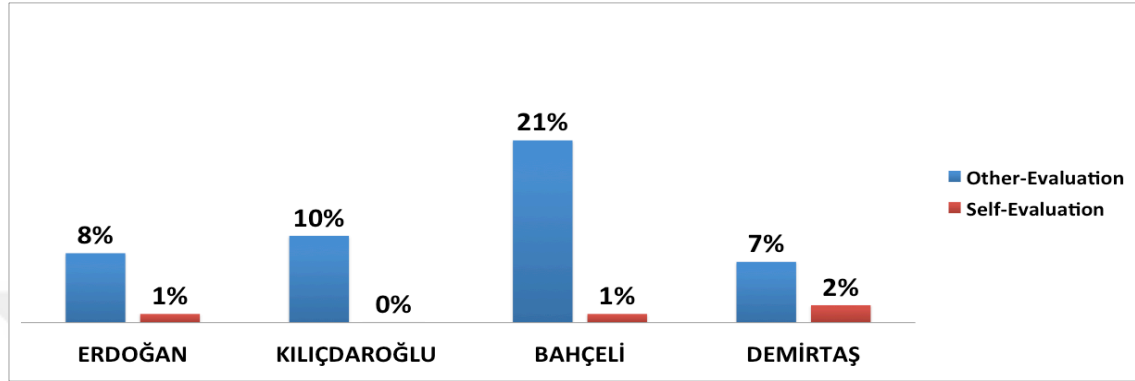


Figure 16. Percentages of Noun Phrases employed in Other- versus Self-Evaluations

(notes. Erdoğan / f=79 out of 983 other-evaluative items / f=7 out of 681 self-evaluative items, Kılıçdaroğlu / f=88 out of 882 other-evaluative items / f=0 out of 223 self-evaluative items, Bahçeli / f=340 out of 1623 other-evaluative items / f=2 out of 193 self-evaluative items, Demirtaş / f=64 out of 862 other-evaluative items / f=6 out of 249 self-evaluative items)

It is seen that evaluative noun phrases are preferred particularly for negative evaluations by party leaders. It can be claimed that as a rhetorical strategy, noun phrases are employed in party group speeches while criticising others by enabling politicians to make very informative and descriptive evaluations. However, noun phrase category is rarely used in self-evaluations, meaning that leaders do not give detailed information through this category while talking about themselves.

Closer examination of this Figure indicated that Bahçeli is the party leader who employs evaluative noun phrases most in his negative criticisms (21%). When compared to other leaders, it can be stated that Bahçeli tends to name his opponents and make criticisms by giving descriptions. Besides, such a finding shows that different from other leaders, he tends to use more static language in his evaluative expressions, as he employs informative noun phrases more than the other leaders. While talking about the theme 'Kurdish question', Bahçeli states that Erdoğan`s ethnic origin 'abuses - (tacizleri)' have disturbed the citizens.

52. Etnik ve mezhep temelli [-j] **tacizleri** milletimizin huzurunu kaçırmış, süreç ihanetine muhalif duranları kandan geçinmekle suçlaması bardağı taşırmıştır. (*Bahçeli-other*).

Similarly, other leaders employ this category, mostly in their criticisms (*Kılıçdaroğlu, 10%; Erdoğan-8%; Demirtaş-7%*). In the following example, while talking about the 'corruption scandal', main opposition party leader Kılıçdaroğlu defines Erdoğan as the '*main thief*-(*başçalan*)' in this process.

53. Çete var, doğru, Bakanlar Kurulunda var, reisi de sensin zaten, onun için sana da [-j] **başçalan** diyorum (*Kılıçdaroğlu-other*).

5.1.1.3.6. Adjective phrases in leaders` self-vs-other evaluations

As stated in the previous part, adjective phrases have an evaluative function and they are employed to express criticisms or appreciations in a more detailed and elaborated manner. In the following Figure below, the percentages of evaluative adjective phrases in leaders` self versus other-based evaluations are provided:

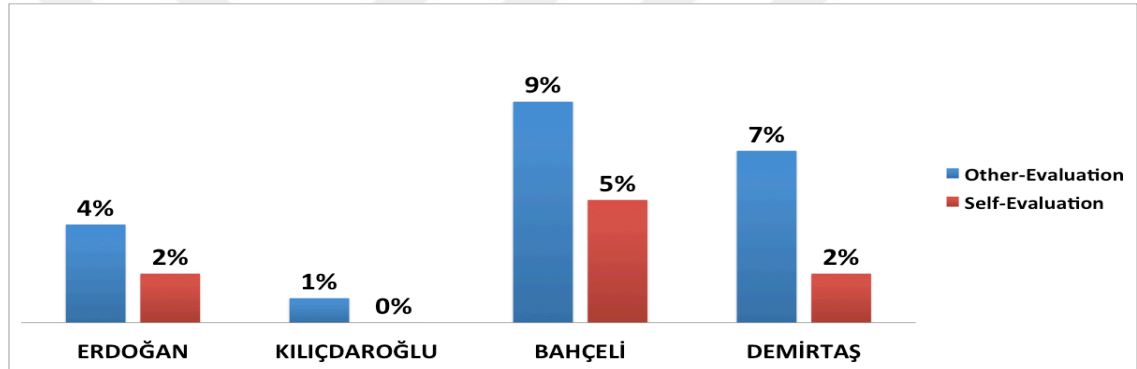


Figure 17. Percentages of Adjective Phrases employed in Other- versus Self-Evaluations

(notes. Erdoğan / f=40 out of 983 other-evaluative items / f=13 out of 681 self-evaluative items, Kılıçdaroğlu / f=6 out of 882 other-evaluative items / f=0 out of 223 self-evaluative items, Bahçeli / f=142 out of 1623 other-evaluative items / f=10 out of 193 self-evaluative items, Demirtaş / f=61 out of 862 other-evaluative items / f=6 out of 249 self-evaluative items)

It was observed that among Turkish political party leaders, adjective phrases are employed, particularly for negative criticisms. It can be interpreted as leaders` preferences to evaluate the third parties they are talking about by giving extra information and details regarding these individuals.

More detailed examination of this Figure indicated that Bahçeli employs this category most in his negative evaluations (9%), when compared to other politicians. This indicates that he has a tendency to elaborate his judgemental evaluations regarding other politicians in Turkish political life, by giving additional information about them. Besides, the percentage of adjective phrases in his negative criticisms (5%) is also the

highest among the leaders. In the following example, he states that Erdoğan has turned into an '*arrogant - (kibirli)*' person.

54. Bir dediği diğerini tutmayan, sürekli görüş ve fikir değiştiren Başbakan Erdoğan milletimizin büyük bir çoğunluğuyla gönül bağı koparmıştır. Dilinin ayarı kaçmış, önüne gelene rest çeken, önüne gelene diklenen ve hemen hemen herkese üstün bakan [-j] **kibirli** birisi olmuştur (*Bahçeli-other*).

Other opposition party leader Demirtaş also employs adjective phrases mostly for negative criticism (7%), compared to its percentage in his self evaluations (2%). It indicates that like Bahçeli, he makes use of elaborated language in his criticisms most of the time. In the following example, Demirtaş states that there are '*fascist - (faşist)*' gangs and they are trying to make our youth breathless and disorganised.

55. Bir yandan güvenlik güçlerinin, bir yandan sivil [-j] **faşist** çetelerin gençlerimizi soluksuz, nefessiz, örgütsüz bırakma girişimlerinin altında yatan neden budur işte (*Demirtaş-other*).

The percentage of adjective phrases in Erdoğan's negative evaluations is 4% ($f=40$), and Kılıçdaroğlu employs this lexico-grammatical category least (1%; $f=6$). It can be stated that Kılıçdaroğlu does not prefer to express his evaluations in an elaborated manner by using adjective phrases.

5.1.1.3.7. Complement clauses in leaders' self-vs-other evaluations

As stated in the previous part, complement clauses, as a category added to the Appraisal model in this study, can function evaluatively in Turkish political discourse. In the Figure below, the percentages of the evaluative complement clauses in party leaders' self versus other-based assessments are provided:

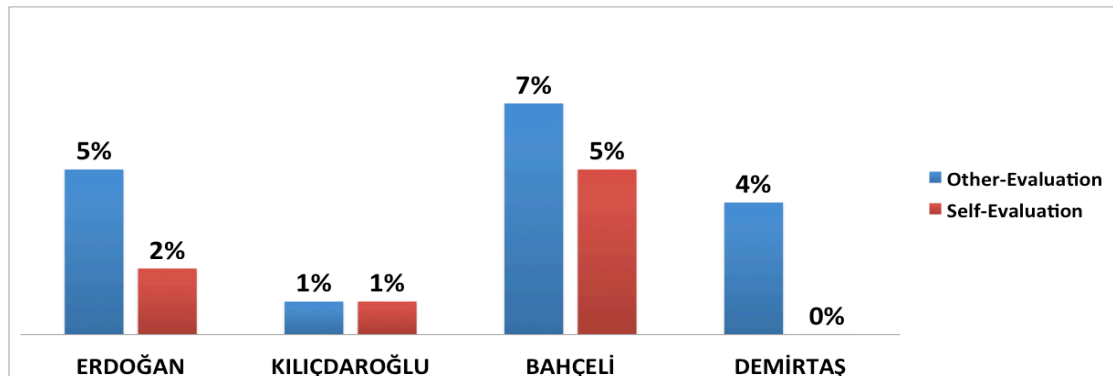


Figure 18. Percentages of Complement Clauses employed in Other- versus Self-Evaluations

(notes. Erdoğan / $f=48$ out of 983 other-evaluative items / $f=12$ out of 681 self-evaluative items, Kılıçdaroğlu / $f=12$ out of 882 other-evaluative items / $f=2$ out of 223 self-evaluative items, Bahçeli / $f=112$ out of 1623 other-evaluative items / $f=10$ out of 193 self-evaluative items, Demirtaş / $f=33$ out of 862 other-evaluative items / $f=0$ out of 249 self-evaluative items)

As can be seen in this Figure, in Turkish political speeches, party leaders generally tend to express complement clauses in their negative criticisms. In other words, this category is particularly used to make negative evaluations.

Closer examination of the Figure above indicated that Bahçeli employs this category most, both in his criticisms (7%; *f=112 out of 1623 items*) and positive self evaluations (5%; *f=10 out of 193 items*). It can be stated that he prefers to use more complex linguistic structures through the use of evaluative complement clauses, and this may be interpreted as his rhetorical strategy. In the following example, Bahçeli criticizes Erdoğan and the government. He states that AKP's 'armament - (silahlandırma)' of Syrian opponents and their 'being mocked - (maskare edilmek)' influence the prestige of our country badly.

56. AKP'nin Suriye muhalefetini [-j] **silahlandırması**, iki de bir otoyollarda önünün kesilerek [-j] **maskara edilmesi**, ülkemizin uluslararası alandaki prestijini olumsuz etkilemektedir (*Bahçeli-other*)

Erdoğan (5%; *f=48 out of 983 items*) and Demirtaş (4%; *f=33 out of 862 items*) employ complement clauses, particularly for negative criticisms in their expressions compared to their self-evaluations. Additionally, Demirtaş does not employ any complement clause structures in his positive evaluations. It shows that these two leaders prefer making negative judgements by using this elaborated linguistic category so that they can express their criticisms in a more detailed manner. Similarly, the main opposition leader Kılıçdaroğlu employs complement clauses quite less both in his self-evaluations and other evaluations (1%). It can be interpreted as his tendency towards not using this elaborated complex category in his evaluations.

5.1.1.3.8. Adverb phrases in leaders' self-vs-other evaluations

Adverb phrases have evaluative functions, as they express how certain actions are fulfilled in a detailed manner. In the following Figure, the percentages of evaluative adverb phrases in party leaders' self versus other-based evaluations are provided:

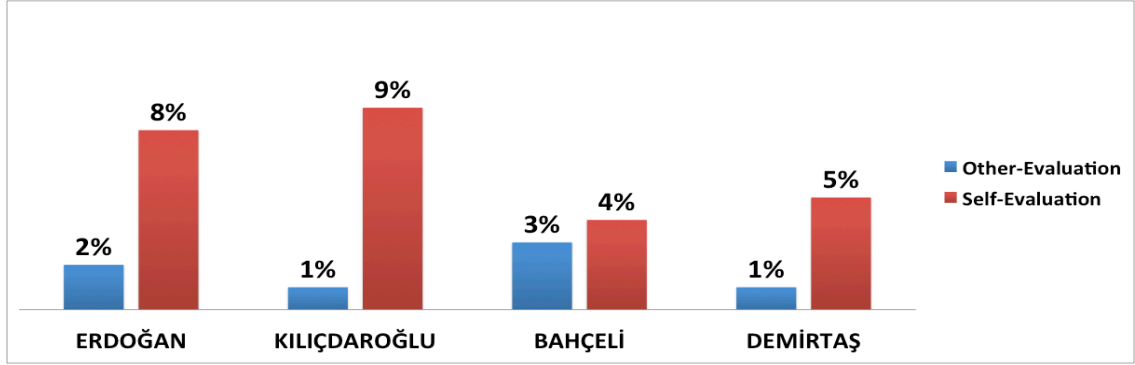


Figure 19. Percentages of Adverb Phrases employed in Other- versus Self-Evaluations

(notes. Erdoğan / $f=21$ out of 983 other-evaluative items / $f=50$ out of 681 self-evaluative items, Kılıçdaroğlu / $f=14$ out of 882 other-evaluative items / $f=20$ out of 223 self-evaluative items, Bahçeli / $f=49$ out of 1623 other-evaluative items / $f=7$ out of 193 self-evaluative items, Demirtaş / $f=11$ out of 862 other-evaluative items / $f=13$ out of 249 self-evaluative items)

It is clear that adverb phrases are particularly employed for positive appreciation or self evaluation by the party leaders. In other words, although detailed analysis of adverb phrase category indicated the low percentage of adverb phrases in the whole data, more detailed analysis showed that this category is mainly employed for positive self evaluation in Turkish political context. It can be argued that party leaders tend to express their successful projects and achievements in a more elaborated manner. While criticising others through evaluative adjective and noun phrases in an informative manner, Turkish party leaders tend to elaborate their accomplishments through adverb phrases. In other words, they rhetorically make use of elaborated adverb phrases while praising themselves.

Closer examination of this Figure indicates that Kılıçdaroğlu (9%) and Erdoğan (8%) employ adverb phrases more than the other leaders in their self evaluations. However, the percentages of adverb phrases in their negative criticisms are quite less. In the following example, Erdoğan talks about the theme '30 March elections', and he expresses that his party will act '*discreetly*' (*sağduyulu*) and '*responsibly*' (*sorumlu*).

57. Seçimler öncesinde başta Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi olmak üzere her ortamda gerilim siyasetine başvuracak muhalefet karşısında her zaman olduğu gibi [+j] **sağduyulu** ve [+j] **sorumlu** davranacağız, tahriklere gelmeyeceğiz, tahriklere boğun eğmeyeceğiz, gerilim siyaseti tuzağına biz düşmeyeceğiz (Erdoğan-self).

Demirtaş (5%) and Bahçeli (4%) similarly employ more evaluative adverb phrases while making positive Judgemental evaluations about themselves, compared to their negative criticisms (Demirtaş-1%; Bahçeli-3%).

To conclude this section, some important findings regarding the evaluative properties of lexico-grammatical categories can be summarised below:

- (1) While expressing Judgemental evaluations in their in-group speeches, Turkish party leaders tend to employ evaluative verb phrases most. Moreover, the percentages of this lexico-grammatical category in leaders self and other-based evaluations are quite similar, which shows that as an evaluative category, verb phrases are used strategically both in self and other-based evaluations by all the party leaders. Thus, it is a common strategy in Turkish political speeches to employ dynamic language in evaluations.
- (2) More detailed analysis shows that other verbal constructions, including evaluative postpositional phrases, adverb phrases and adverbial clauses are preferred more for self-evaluative purposes in Turkish political speeches. In other words, Turkish party leaders praise themselves and express their achievements in an elaborated manner through the use of these lexico-grammatical categories. This can be considered as their rhetorical style. It also indicates that especially in their self evaluations, politicians prefer a more dynamic language.
- (3) As for negative criticisms, it has been observed that nominal constructions, including evaluative noun phrases, adjective phrases, relative clauses and complement clauses are employed, mainly for other-evaluation in Turkish party group speeches. It can be argued that Turkish politicians rhetorically speak in a more descriptive, static and informative manner while accusing others.

5.1.2. Implicit Judgemental Categories

Another major sub-category under Appraisal model is implicit Judgemental evaluations. These evaluations are expressed in two ways, either through metaphorical expressions or through invoked Judgemental expressions. For the analysis of these implicit Judgemental categories, first of all, overall analysis was carried out in order to examine how implicitness occurs in Turkish political discourse. Then, leader-based analysis was conducted to investigate whether there were any preferences towards certain categories among party leaders. Finally, the percentages of these categories in leaders` self versus other-based evaluations were explored in order to examine whether political party leaders would employ different implicit categories for their different evaluative expressions.

5.1.2.1. Overall Analysis of Implicit Judgemental Expressions

According to the Appraisal framework, implicitness has some degrees, and metaphors are less implicit than invoked judgements in that scale. For instance, in a statement like ‘*Kusura bakma [metaphor-j] baş aktörlerinden birisisin* - (*I beg your pardon, but you are one of the actors*)’, there is a negative evaluation through metaphorical expression; whereas in an utterance like ‘*[i-j] Sonra, bir bakan. Kolunda bir saat var. 700 bin lira, eski parayla söylüyorum, adalet ve kalkınma partisine oy veren vatandaşlarım 700 milyar lira o saat. Kim Verdi* - (*A minister. He has a watch on his wrist. Its price is seven hundred thousand Turkish Liras. I am stating based on the old money, my dear AKP voters, that watch is seven hundred thousand Turkish Liras. Who gave it to him?*)’, there is an evaluation made through invoked-judgement category, since there are not any explicit judgemental expressions or metaphors, but the negatively-connotated judgemental evaluation can still be inferred based on some culturally-shared elements in a society.

In total, there were ‘5327’ implicitly stated Judgemental items in the whole data, and as the first step, the percentages of implicit Judgemental categories encountered within the whole data were calculated. Findings are provided in the following Figure:

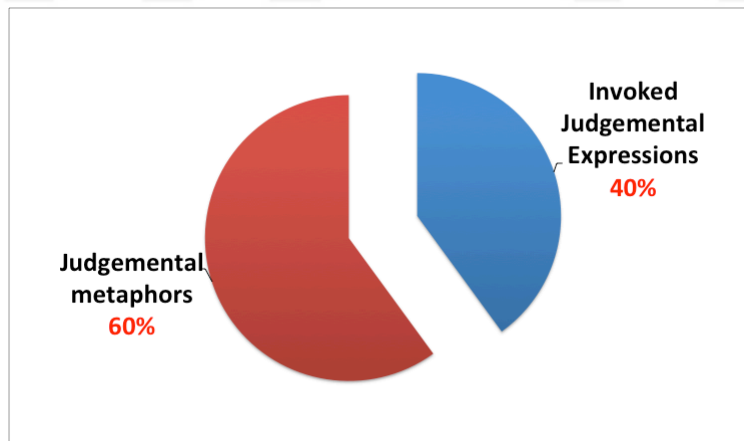


Figure 20. Percentages of Implicit Judgemental Expressions in Turkish Political discourse

For the implicit Judgemental expressions encountered in Turkish party leaders` political speeches, it has been found out that party leaders tend to employ ‘*metaphorical structures*’ (60%) more in their speeches while making judgemental evaluations covertly when compared to the percentage of ‘*invoked-judgements*’ (40%) in the sample. It can be accepted that in-group speeches, implicit judgemental evaluation usually occurs via metaphorical expressions more than invoked judgements.

5.1.2.1.1. Evaluative metaphorical structures

Metaphor is defined as explaining something in terms of another thing. It is known that metaphors play a decisive role in shaping public opinion. Social and political problems gain wide public attention through the use of metaphors. Metaphors help people to visualize problems that otherwise may remain invisible (Arcimaviciene, 2014, p. 47).

In literature, regarding the metaphor use and its evaluative functioning in political discourse, it has been argued that metaphors are highly persuasive, and as a result, evaluative in political discourse. Besides, metaphors enable the realisation of ideological status of the politicians. In this sense, they are employed by the politicians in order to promote their opinions and also to criticize their opponents. Moreover, metaphors function as a means for hidden messages, and therefore the rhetorical use of metaphors not only function to provide the complex political issues in simpler terms, but also to influence the relationships between the speakers and the listeners. In this respect, they enable the speakers to express their evaluations covertly (Cammaerts, 2012; Fadda, 2006; Garcia, 2008; Moreno, 2008; Penninck, 2014; Rozina & Karapetjana, 2009).

Dung (2010, p. 3) states that as the goal of a political speech is persuasion, politicians try to make their audience agree with them or share their ideas through certain stylistic devices, including metaphors. He argues that metaphors enable politicians to create images in their speeches by emphasizing the subject matter or creating a vivid picture in the minds of the listeners, and emphasizing the social aspect of discourse (p. 10).

As presented in Figure 20 above, the analysis of implicit Judgemental evaluations indicated the frequent use of metaphorical categories (60%; $f=3179$ out of 5327 implicit items) in the data. It can be argued that metaphorical categories are quite common in Turkish evaluative language and politicians highly make use of these resources in order to judge themselves and their rivals effectively. Besides, they express their political realities indirectly within these metaphors most of the time.

In the following example, Bahçeli criticizes Erdoğan and the AKP government, and he likens them to a lumberjack that is '*pruning the national being - (milli varlığı budamak)*', '*axing the national unity - (milli bütünlüğü baltalamak)*' and also to a terrorist that is

'bombing the national identity - (milli kimliği bombalamak)', 'destroying the national peace - (milli huzuru bozmak)' and 'fanning the fire - (fitne ateşini körüklemek). In all these negative criticisms, it is seen that he employs metaphorical expressions.

58. Başbakan Erdoğan ve hükümeti [metaphor-j] **milli varlığı budamak**, [metaphor-j] **milli bütünlüğü baltalamak**, [metaphor-j] **milli kimliği bombalamak** ve [metaphor-j] **milli huzuru bozmak** için [metaphor-j] **fitne ateşini körüklemiştir** (Bahçeli).

Similarly, Kılıçdaroğlu employs metaphorical Judgemental evaluations, such as 'they want to capture Turkey - (Türkiye'yi esir almak istiyorlar)' and 'they want to make Turkey their own captives - (Türkiye'yi kendi tutsakları haline getirmek istiyorlar)'.

59. Baskıcı bir yönetim anlayışı var. [metaphor-j] **Türkiye'yi esir almak istiyorlar**. [metaphor-j] **Türkiye'yi kendi tutsakları hâline getirmek istiyorlar** (Kılıçdaroğlu).

Making use of a metaphorical item, Demirtaş criticizes the AKP government for their new regulations in the justice system and he argues that they are trying to build their own parallel structures through these new regulations.

60. Yeni HSYK tasarısıyla, bir kez daha, [metaphor-j] **cemaat yapıları yerine AKP yapılarını, AKP paralel devletini inşa etmeye çalıştıklarını** görüyoruz (Demirtaş).

Finally, the ruling party leader Erdoğan employs metaphorical items in his Judgemental evaluations. In the following example, he likens the CHP to a motor vehicle and states that they are trying to correct the misunderstanding by 'reversing-(geri vitese takarak)'.

61. Değerli kardeşlerim, tabi yine bu arada Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi her zaman yaptığı şeyi tekrar yapmak istemiş, ancak bu kez elini yüzüne bulaştırmış. [metaphor-j] **Artık şimdi geri vitese takmak suretiyle toplama gayreti içerisine girmiştir** (Erdoğan).

5.1.2.1.2. Evaluative invoked Judgemental structures

Apart from the metaphorical items, implicit Judgemental expressions can also occur in the form of invoked categories, which are more implicit and the implied meaning can be grabbed only through sharing culture-specific life experiences. In other words, the speaker makes an evaluation, but the listener can understand it if s/he is aware of the

event and knows the background. In this respect, it is directly related to social construction of meaning and shared experiences.

Reality, experiences and meanings are socially constructed through cultural and historical interaction within a community. In this process, language plays a significant role (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Krauss & Chiu, 1998). Regarding these implicit Judgemental categories, Shi-xu (2005) emphasizes the notion of 'intersubjective context', referring to the concepts or knowledge individuals bring with them on a particular discourse. This knowledge may contain personal, social or cultural origins; and with the help of them, the participants can get the indirect, implicit and incomplete but implied messages (p. 38). This intersubjective context is quite similar to Martin & White's invoked Judgemental categories.

As presented in Figure 20 above, 40% of implicit Judgemental evaluations are composed of invoked resources in Turkish political speeches ($f=2148$ out of 5327 *implicit items*). In the following example, Kılıçdaroğlu criticizes Erdoğan during the Corruption scandal and states that Erdoğan has appointed Aksaray Governor as the new security director in İstanbul. He considers that this is the part of a secret plan that Erdoğan has thought in order to be acquitted from the corruption case. Although Kılıçdaroğlu does not employ any explicitly stated Judgemental expressions or metaphorical structures, the listeners can understand that he is criticising Erdoğan through this invoked Judgemental resource.

62. [i-j] **Aksaray Valisini getirdi, hemen İstanbul emniyet müdürü yaptı.** (Kılıçdaroğlu).

Similarly, Bahçeli criticizes Erdoğan and accuses him of meeting Barzani¹⁴ in Diyarbakır. In this utterance, there are not any explicitly stated evaluative categories or negative metaphors. However, the listeners can easily understand the covert criticism behind this utterance, as it is known that Bahçeli considers that such a meeting is not ethical and should not have been done.

63. [i-j] **Başbakanla dostu ve kardeşi Barzani, sözde Kürdistan beyanları altında Diyarbakır'da kavuşmuş, kucaklaşmış ve kaynaşmıştır** (Bahçeli).

¹⁴ Masoud Barzani is an Iraqi Kurdish politician who has been President of the Iraqi Kurdistan Region since 2005, as well as the leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) since 1979.

In the following example, Erdoğan criticizes the protestors within the Gezi park events and states that they entered the mosque without taking off their shoes and they drank there. Although there are not any explicitly stated evaluation items, one can get the conveyed message as it is disrespect not to take off the shoes while entering such a religious place and to drink there.

64. [i-j] **Dolmabahçe Camii, Bezmialem Valide Sultan, ayakkabılarla caminin içine gireceksiniz, [i-j] orada içeceksiniz** ve bu ülkenin dini mabetlerine karşı bu saygısızlığı yapacaksınız. Ne adına? Çevre adına (Erdoğan).

Finally, Demirtaş makes a criticism regarding the justice system in Turkey. He refers to the relationship between the justice system and the appointments made based on the references taken from the Gülen community. Although he does not directly employ any explicit Judgemental items, the listeners can get the implied meaning and the accusation in these propositions as the individuals living in the same society and sharing the common knowledge.

65. [i-j] **12 yıldır da hakim, savcılık sınavına giren bütün gençlerden referans istenmiştir. [i-j] Cemaatin referansı var mı, ona bakmışlardır** (Demirtaş).

5.1.2.2. Leader-based Implicit Judgemental Analysis

The second part of the Implicit Judgemental analysis included detailed, leader-based analysis. Although metaphorical evaluative categories are encountered more in the whole data compared to invoked judgemental structures, detailed analysis was necessary in order to investigate whether political party leaders would employ certain implicit categories more, compared to their opponents.

5.1.2.2.1. Evaluative metaphorical structures in leader-based use

In this part, the percentages of evaluative metaphorical structures encountered in Turkish party leaders` speeches were analyzed in a detailed way, and findings were presented below:

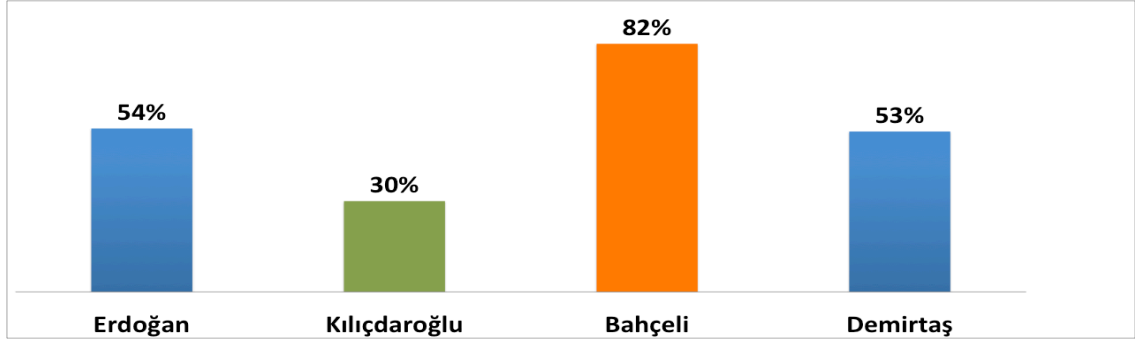


Figure 21. Percentages of Judgemental Metaphor Categories in Leaders' Speeches

(notes. Erdoğan > f=552 metaphors out of 1019;
 Kılıçdaroğlu > f=333 metaphors out of 1098;
 Bahçeli > f=1658 metaphors out of 2015;
 Demirtaş > f=636 metaphors out of 1195 implicit Judgemental items).

It is seen that Bahçeli employs metaphors to make Judgemental evaluations most (82%; f=1658 out of 2015 items). As metaphors include a linguistic processing in which one word is used to refer to another thing (Miller, 1979, p. 156), and as they are discursive instruments for the expression of certain views, ideas or opinions (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 156), its use is highly important for the study of evaluative language. Such a finding shows that Bahçeli employs metaphorical categories rhetorically, and he tends to express his assessments in a less implicit manner when compared to the other leaders.

In this sense, such a high percentage can be interpreted as Bahçeli's strategic maneuvering of becoming less implicit in his indirect evaluations. By using metaphors, Bahçeli implies Judgements that can be easily understood by the listeners, but also considered as indirect means of evaluations as listeners need to interpret the message being conveyed. In the following example, Bahçeli criticizes Erdoğan about his reaction during the Gezi protests. He likens Erdoğan to a 'victorious commander-(*muzaffer komutan*)' and states that he has 'roared like a lion-(*aslan gibi kükremiştir*)'.

66. Zannedersiniz ki Türkiye savaşa girmiş ve **[metaphor-j] muzaffer komutan edasıyla [metaphor-j] Recep Tayyip Erdoğan meydanda kükremiştir (Bahçeli).**

Apart from Bahçeli, it was observed that nearly half of the implicit Judgemental resources encountered in the speeches of ruling party leader Erdoğan (54%; f=552) and the opposition leader Demirtaş (53%; f=636) were composed of metaphorical expressions. It can be argued that they do not employ metaphorical items as frequent as Bahçeli. However, their use of metaphors is not low.

Kılıçdaroğlu, on the other hand, was observed to employ metaphorical items least among all the politicians (30%; $f=333$). It can be argued that quite different from Bahçeli, he does not employ metaphorical items rhetorically in his evaluations. In other words, he does not rhetorically make use of metaphors to express his indirect Judgemental evaluations.

5.1.2.2.2. Evaluative invoked Judgemental structures in leader-based use

In the figure below, the percentages of invoked Judgemental expressions encountered in Turkish political party leaders' speeches are provided:

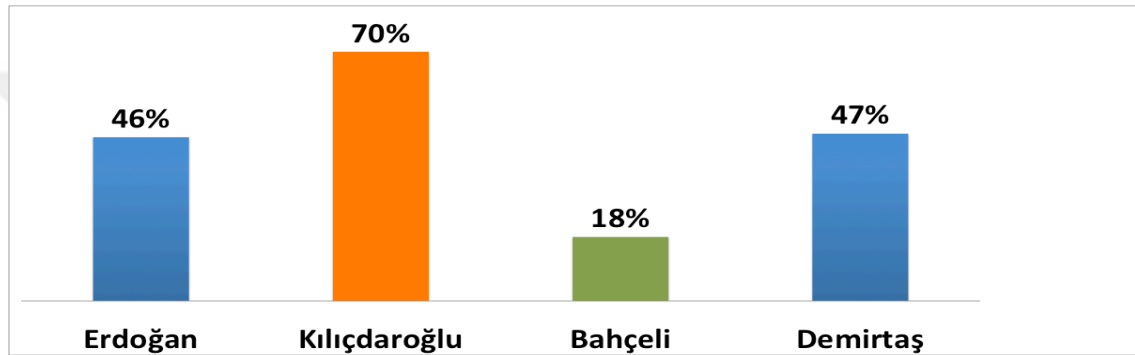


Figure 22. Percentages of Invoked Judgement Categories in Leaders' Speeches
 (notes. Erdoğan > $f=467$ invoked Judgements out of 1019;
 Kılıçdaroğlu > $f=765$ invoked Judgements out of 1098;
 Bahçeli > $f=357$ invoked Judgements out of 2015;
 Demirtaş > $f=559$ invoked Judgements out of 1195 implicit Judgemental items).

It can be seen that among leaders, Kılıçdaroğlu employs invoked Judgemental categories most (70%), which can be seen as his rhetorical strategy. In other words, while making covert evaluations, he tends to make use of more implicit items most of the time. Based on Appraisal model, it can be argued that in his indirect evaluations, he strategically hides his implied meaning and expresses it in a quite implicit manner. In the following example, Kılıçdaroğlu criticizes the ruling party leader Erdoğan, and he states that in the Parliament, they have done many regulations to enable him to be a deputy and even the Prime Minister. Although there are not any explicitly stated Judgemental resources, the conveyed critical meaning can still be inferred.

67. [i-j] **Senin mağduriyetini gidermek için Anayasa'yı değiştirdik, yeni seçim yaptık, Siirt'ten milletvekili seçildin, geldin Başbakan oldun** hâlâ "Ben mağdurum da mağdurum (Kılıçdaroğlu).

Bahçeli, on the contrary, employs invoked items least in his evaluations, as only 18% of his implicit Judgemental evaluations are in the form of invoked items. It can be argued that different from Kılıçdaroğlu, Bahçeli does not rhetorically make use of quite implicit invoked categories. The percentages of invoked Judgemental items in Erdoğan and Demirtaş's speeches, on the other hand, do not demonstrate any strategical use as their use of this category is quite similar to the one in their metaphorical usages.

5.1.2.3. Detailed Analysis of Implicit Judgemental Resources based on Leaders' Self and Other Evaluations

After the analysis of implicit judgemental resources in leaders' speeches, they were grouped under 'self' and 'other' evaluation categories and their percentages were calculated. The aim was to explore whether metaphorical and invoked Judgemental expressions would be employed more in negative criticisms or positive praises of Turkish politicians.

5.1.2.3.1. Metaphors in leaders' self-vs-other evaluations

As stated before, metaphorical items expressing Judgemental evaluation are classified under implicit evaluation categories as they indirectly convey the intended meaning within a proposition. In this section, the numbers of metaphorical items encountered in leaders' covert evaluations were divided into the total number of implicit items within their speeches so that the accurate percentage of each category could be obtained. The findings can be seen in the following figure:

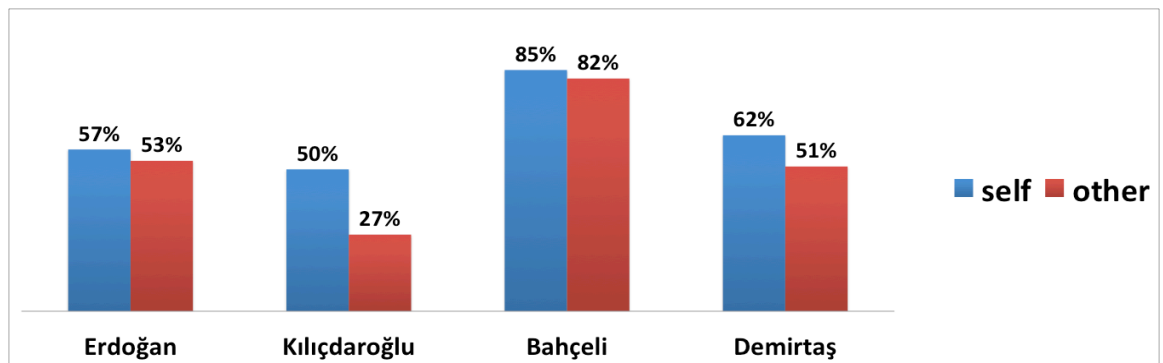


Figure 23. Percentages of Judgemental Metaphor Categories in Leaders' self-versus-other evaluations

(notes. Erdoğan / $f=245$ out of 434 self-evaluative items / $f=307$ out of 585 other-evaluative items, Kılıçdaroğlu / $f=90$ out of 179 self-evaluative items / $f=243$ out of 919 other-evaluative items, Bahçeli / $f=132$ out of 153 self-evaluative items / $f=1526$ out of 1862 other-evaluative items, Demirtaş / $f=135$ out of 217 self-evaluative items / $f=501$ out of 978 other-evaluative items)

It has been observed that in general, metaphorical evaluative expressions are preferred for self-evaluative purposes more in leaders' group speeches. In other words, all leaders tend to employ metaphorical categories; i.e., less covert linguistic devices, particularly while making self-evaluations.

Closer examination of the Figure above indicated that Bahçeli rhetorically makes use of metaphorical categories in his Judgemental evaluations most. It was observed that he employs these categories both in his criticisms (82%) and praises (85%). For instance, Bahçeli likens his party (MHP) to a building and states that it is the '*mortar of national unity and fellowship - (milli birliğin ve kardeşliğin temel harcı)*'. Besides, he expresses that MHP is also the '*eternal insurance - (ebedi sigortasıdır)*'.

68. [metaphor+] **Milliyetçi Hareket, Türkiye'nin milli birliğinin ve kardeşliğinin temel harcı** ve [metaphor+] **ebedi sigortasıdır** (Bahçeli-self).

In the following example, on the other hand, Bahçeli criticizes the AKP government by likening it to a building and states that this party is about to collapse.

69. Kimse umudunu yitirmesin; [metaphor-] **AKP'nin çöküşü yakındır** (Bahçeli-other)

Another opposition leader Demirtaş (62%; *f=135 out of 217 items*) and the ruling party leader Erdoğan (57%; *f=245 out of 434 items*) similarly employ Judgemental metaphors more for self-evaluative purposes in their speeches than for negative criticisms. In the following example, Demirtaş promises that they will '*build a powerful democracy under their rulership - (HDP-BDP iktidarında güçlü demokrasi inşa edilecek)*' and he expresses this positive evaluation through a metaphorical structure.

70. [metaphor+] **HDP-BDP iktidarında güçlü demokrasi inşa edilecek** (Demirtaş-self).

The main opposition leader Kılıçdaroğlu, on the other hand, strategically makes use of metaphorical resources more for self-evaluations (50%; *f=90 out of 179 items*); whereas the percentage of these items in his criticisms is quite low (27%; *f=243 out of 919 implicit items*). It can be argued that while accusing others and criticising them, he does not make use of metaphorical items frequently, which can be interpreted as his tendency towards being more implicit in his negative criticisms (*through invoked items*).

To conclude this Judgemental metaphor part, it can be stated that although all four leaders employ metaphorical expressions in their party group speeches, particularly for self-evaluative purposes, Bahçeli employs this category most both in his positive evaluations and negative criticisms. Kılıçdaroğlu, on the other hand, tends to employ less metaphorical structures while criticising others. Apart from these two leaders, Demirtaş and Erdoğan make use of metaphorical expressions slightly more in their positive self-evaluations.

5.1.2.3.2. Invoked Judgements in leaders` self-vs-other evaluations

As introduced within the Appraisal model, Invoked judgemental items convey the intended meaning in a quite covert manner, and listeners can get the message only if they share the common life experiences and they are aware of the history of the events being talked about. In the following figure, the percentages of invoked Judgemental categories encountered within leaders` self and other evaluative sentences are provided:

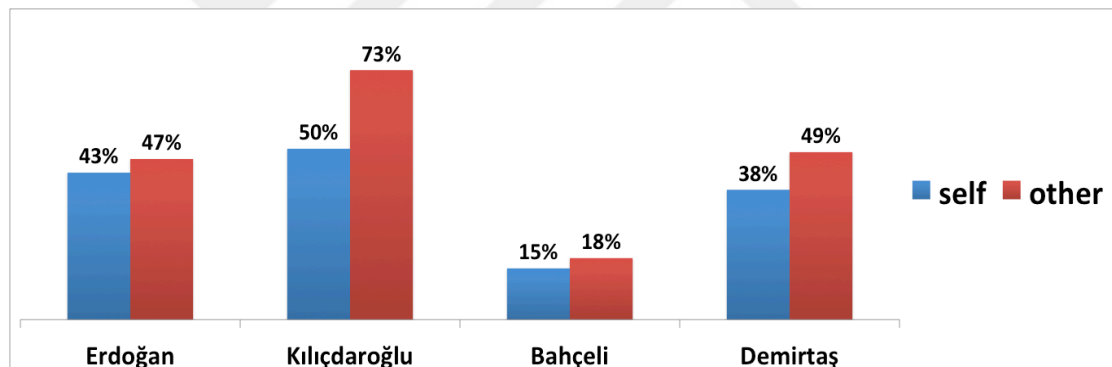


Figure 24. Percentages of Invoked Judgement Categories in Leaders` self-versus-other evaluations

(notes. Erdoğan / $f=189$ out of 434 self-evaluative items / $f=278$ out of 585 other-evaluative items, Kılıçdaroğlu / $f=89$ out of 179 self-evaluative items / $f=676$ out of 919 other-evaluative items, Bahçeli / $f=21$ out of 153 self-evaluative items / $f=336$ out of 1862 other-evaluative items, Demirtaş / $f=82$ out of 217 self-evaluative items / $f=477$ out of 978 other-evaluative items)

It is seen that invoked Judgemental expressions are mainly preferred for other evaluative purposes by party leaders in the sample. This finding can be interpreted as their using more covert expressions, particularly while making negative criticisms and accusations. This tendency may stem from their lack of power (*for opposition leaders*) or their desire of talking in a less offensive manner.

The findings indicate that Kılıçdaroğlu employs this category in his negative criticisms most (73%) among the leaders. This shows that he speaks in a quite covert manner

while accusing his opponents and blaming them for their actions. This can be his strategy to criticize the government in a more implicit way so that he won't take the responsibility of his criticism and expresses his negative evaluation covertly. However, the percentage of his invoked items in his self-evaluations is also the highest (50%), indicating that using invoked expressions is his rhetorical strategy.

In the following example, Kılıçdaroğlu criticizes a businessman whom he calls '*charitable businessman*' and accuses him of giving a very expensive watch to a minister. Although there are not any explicitly stated evaluative items in this utterance, listeners can still grab the negative criticism of the leader towards this businessman.

71. [i-j] **Hayırsever iş adamı bakana 700 bin liralık kol saati veriyor**¹⁵
(Kılıçdaroğlu-other).

Kılıçdaroğlu also employs this category within his self-evaluations. While talking about the justice system and expressing their projects regarding certain trials, he states that his party is offering a new law proposal to the Parliament in order to stop an unfair practice as a result of which many people are affected badly. In order to understand his positive evaluation in the following utterance, one should know his perspective regarding the need of a new law in this sense.

72. Davanın ve benzeri davaların bundan sonra güvenlik gerekçesiyle nakledilmemesi için [i+j] **bugün arkadaşlarımız bir yasa teklifini parlamentoya sunuyorlar** (Kılıçdaroğlu-self).

Another opposition leader Demirtaş also employs invoked Judgemental expressions more in his negative criticisms (49%; *f=477 out of 978 items*) than his positive self-evaluations (38%; *f=82 out of 217 items*). It can be argued that Demirtaş similarly makes use of this covert evaluation category, mainly in his accusations, and this can be considered as his strategy of hiding behind these implicit items, particularly while accusing the government. In the following example, he criticizes the AKP government for *their* wrong appointments. He states that the ones who were on duty in the eventful periods were assigned to high ranks. Although there are not any explicitly stated

¹⁵ Former Economy Minister Zafer Çağlayan was accused of accepting a bribe from Reza Zarrab of a watch worth of 700,000 liras (around \$300,000). Çağlayan said that he paid for the watch himself.

Judgemental resources, one can get the conveyed criticisms if he shares the certain background or experience within the country.

73. [t-j] **Dönemin yetkilileri, Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğü`nde üst görevlere, rütbelere getirildi.** (Demirtaş-other).

The ruling party leader Erdoğan, on the other hand, employs invoked Judgemental resources both in his negative criticisms (47%; *f=278 out of 585 items*) and self-evaluations (43%; *f=189 out of 434 items*). In the following example, he talks about the corruption scandal and evaluates the opposition parties` leaders for their reactions. He states that they are asking him about the foreign forces behind the corruption scandal. Although he does not employ any explicit lexico-grammatical items for negative criticism, the listeners can understand that he is making a negative evaluation in these utterances.

74. [t-j] **Şimdi çıkıyorlar bize dış mihrakları soruyorlar.** [t-j] **Bu operasyonda dış mihrak nerede diye istihza ediyorlar** (Erdoğan-other).

Finally, it was observed that Bahçeli employs quite limited number of invoked Judgemental expressions in both his negative evaluations (18%; *f=336 out of 1862 items*) and self evaluations (15%; *f=21 out of 153 items*) i.e., he does not have a tendency towards using this more implicit category. It can be argued that he does not prefer to express his indirect messages through this covert method.

To conclude this Invoked Judgemental evaluation part, it can be stated that although these expressions are employed by all four leaders in their party group speeches, they are employed slightly more in their negative criticisms. Besides, Kılıçdaroğlu employs this category most, particularly in his other evaluations. This can be interpreted as his tendency towards criticising others in a more covert way by hiding his claims behind this implicit category. Bahçeli, on the other hand, tends to employ invoked Judgemental structures least while criticising others, which can be seen as his rhetorical strategy to speak less implicit in his evaluations (*through metaphorical expressions as discussed in the previous part*). Erdoğan and Demirtaş tend to employ similar number of invoked Judgemental categories in both their self and other evaluations, although the percentages of this category are slightly more in their negative other evaluations.

5.1.3. Comparison of Explicit and Implicit Judgemental Expressions

In the final section of Judgemental analysis, leaders' explicit and implicit evaluative resources were compared. The aim was to examine the explicitness and implicitness percentages of Judgemental expressions employed in Turkish political party group speeches. First of all, the percentages of explicit and implicit Judgemental categories in the sample are calculated. In the following Figure, a general framework within Turkish political party group speeches in the sample is provided:

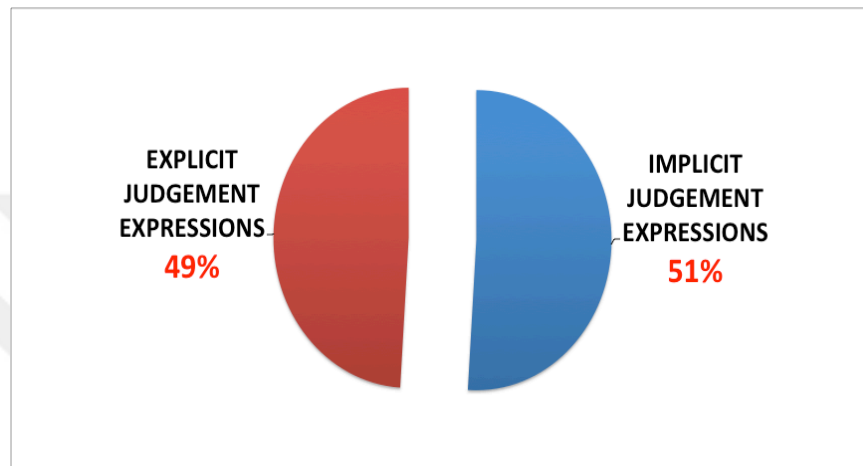


Figure 25. *Judgemental Expressions in Turkish Political Discourse (n=11,022)*

Analysis of Turkish party leaders' explicit and implicit Judgemental expressions in the data indicates that 49% ($f=5695$) of Judgemental evaluative expressions are composed of explicit categories, and 51% ($f=5327$) of them are stated through more implicit categories. It can be argued that both overt and covert judgemental expressions are highly common in the data.

As the percentages of explicit and implicit judgemental evaluations were nearly the same in overall data, detailed leader-based analysis was conducted in order to see whether there were any preferences of party leaders' towards using explicit and implicit strategies. In the following Figure, percentages of explicit and implicit Judgemental resources in leaders' overall evaluations are provided:

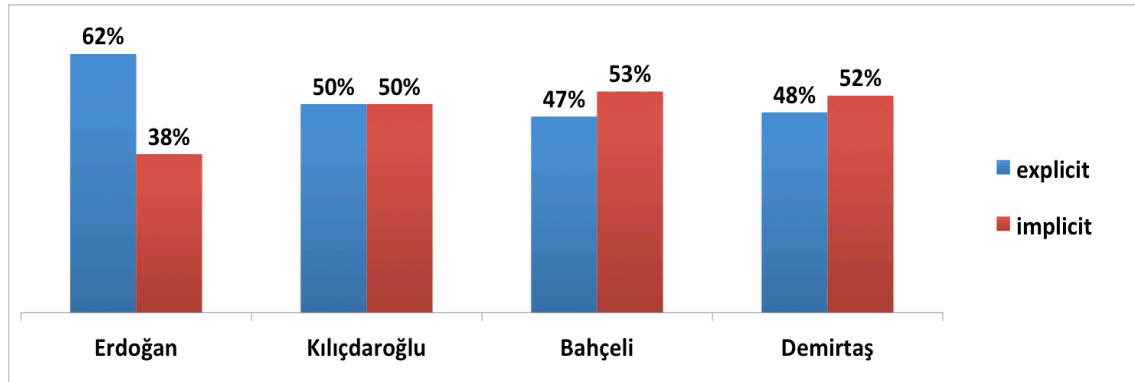


Figure 26. *Explicit versus Implicit Judgemental Expressions employed by party leaders* (notes. Erdoğan / n=2683; Kılıçdaroğlu / n=2203; Bahçeli / n=3831; Demirtaş / n=2306 Judgemental items)

Leader-based Judgemental analysis indicated that ruling party leader Erdoğan (62%; $f=1663$ out of 2683 items) tends to employ explicit judgemental expressions most in his speeches among other leaders, as the leader having the power and ruling status in Turkish politics on the dates the speeches were given. This can be interpreted as the reflection of his political status and authority in his linguistic choices. In other words, explicitness or doing Judgemental evaluations overtly is a strategy particularly preferred by Erdoğan as the politician who is holding the power and who governs the country. It can also be argued that he does not hesitate to make evaluations through explicit or direct resources.

Main opposition leader Kılıçdaroğlu employs the explicit and implicit Judgemental expressions in the same percentages (50%). It can be argued that in his evaluations, he does not have a priority to employ explicit Judgemental categories or implicit ones more than the other. Other two opposition leaders, Bahçeli (53%, $f=2015$ out of 3831 items) and Demirtaş (52%; $f=1195$ out of 2306 items), on the other hand, tend to employ slightly more implicit categories in their evaluations, compared to their explicit evaluations.

After the analysis of explicit and implicit judgemental ratios, leaders' judgemental resources were analyzed in terms of their being 'explicit' and 'implicit' in their 'self' and 'other' evaluations. The aim was to find out whether there was a difference between party leaders' self and other evaluations in terms of their expressions of judgemental positionings directly (explicit) or indirectly (implicit).

In the following Figure, the distribution of explicit and implicit judgemental resources employed by all four party leaders for self-evaluation and other-evaluation are provided.

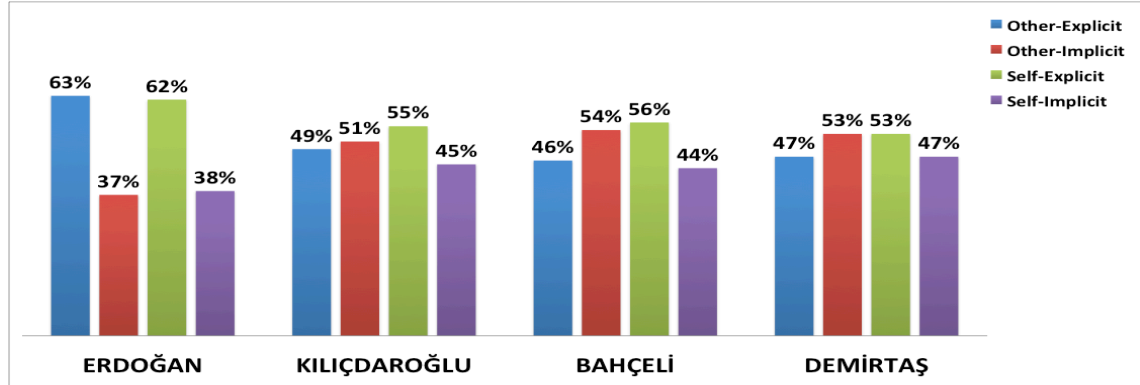


Figure 27. *Explicit versus Implicit Judgemental Expressions in Self versus Other – Evaluations*

(notes. Erdoğan / $f=982$ explicit and $f=585$ implicit items while evaluating others – total N:1567; Erdoğan / $f=681$ explicit and $f=434$ implicit items while evaluating self – total N:1115; Kılıçdaroğlu / $f=882$ explicit and $f=919$ implicit items while evaluating others – total N: 1801; Kılıçdaroğlu / $f=223$ explicit and $f=179$ implicit items while evaluating self – total N: 402; Bahçeli / $f=1623$ explicit and $f=1862$ implicit items while evaluating others – total N: 3485; Bahçeli / $f=193$ explicit and $f=153$ implicit items while evaluating self – total N: 346; Demirtaş / $f=862$ explicit and $f=978$ implicit items while evaluating others – total N: 1840; Demirtaş / $f=249$ explicit and $f=217$ implicit items while evaluating self – total N: 466).

It can be seen that as the ruling party leader, Erdoğan tends to employ explicit Judgemental expressions more both in his negative criticisms (63%) and self-evaluations (62%) compared to his invoked Judgemental resources. This finding can be interpreted as Erdoğan's preference of using a more direct language not only while evaluating himself and his party, but also while judging the others. In other words, this is his strategy to be more direct and explicit while making evaluations, either positively or negatively. It shows once again that as the ruling party leader with the power, Erdoğan tends to express his praises and his criticisms explicitly, and while doing this, he can easily accuse his opponents without any hesitation. It can be argued that as the power party leader, Erdoğan tends to reflect his authority in his linguistic choices most of the time, through using more overt evaluative expressions, both in his self evaluations and negative evaluations.

However, for the opposition parties' leaders, it was observed that explicitness and implicitness ratios in their positive and negative evaluations are quite similar. While they tend to employ more explicit Judgemental categories in evaluating themselves, they prefer more implicit structures to criticize others. This shows us that unequal

power distribution influences the evaluative strategies of the leaders. It can be argued that opposition party leaders tend to use implicitness or being covert as a maneuvering strategy while making criticisms towards the government, the ruling party and its leader. This finding is in line with van Dijk's (1997) argument, pointing out that a political actor can prefer making propositions explicitly rather than implicitly; or direct rather than an indirect manner, based on his/her political authority. (p. 31).

5.2. FINDINGS OF ENGAGEMENT ANALYSIS

The second part of the analysis is related to the identification of engagement resources, which is about the '*sources of evaluation*'. While studying evaluative language, Judgemental analysis may provide some insights regarding Judgemental evaluation preferences of the leaders; but it is also necessary to examine the source of these judgemental expressions, since such an analysis may indicate the relationships among leaders' heteroglossic strategies, their political positioning and the distinction between self and other evaluations. In other words, leaders' commitment strategies to their propositions should also be analysed in order to examine evaluative language properly.

This part included with the identification of 'dialogic contraction' (*contracting the dialogic space and excluding other viewpoints or alternatives*) and 'dialogic expansion' (*opening up the dialogic space and allowing other voices / viewpoints to include*) tools of Engagement category within party leaders' evaluations. After this identification, the percentages of these resources were calculated in order to reveal whether politicians would prefer certain categories to others. Then, leaders' uses of these categories within their self and other evaluations were examined. Finally, overall assessment of these categories was explored regarding their occurrence in Turkish political discourse.

5.2.1. Analysis of Dialogic Contraction Resources

Engagement analysis starts with the categorization of 'dialogic contraction' resources in party leaders' evaluative expressions. Through dialogic contraction categories, alternative voices in the evaluation process are restricted, the speaker takes the full responsibility of the evaluation s/he is making and prevents others from influencing his / her judgement or from expressing another point of view, and as a result, s/he shows her/his strong commitment to the proposition uttered evaluatively.

According to Coffin (2000, p. 310), in dialogic contraction categories, heteroglossic diversity is prevented by the speaker or the writer, because s/he explicitly indicates and strengthens a preference for one utterance over its possible alternatives, as in the cases of ‘because’ linker or ‘not’ negation, which restricts other alternative voices and indicates the proposition as the only valid truth.

5.2.1.1. Overall Analysis of Dialogic Contraction Resources

In Appraisal model, dialogic contraction categories are named as ‘deny’, ‘counter’, ‘pronounce’, ‘concur’ and ‘endorse’. Firstly, the data consisting 216,151 words were scanned and dialogic contraction resources were detected. In total, there were ‘4801’ contraction items in all speeches. The percentages of dialogic contraction categories are provided in the following figure. The capital ‘E’ letter given in front of each category symbolizes ‘Engagement’, representing that they are all sub-categories of Engagement framework.

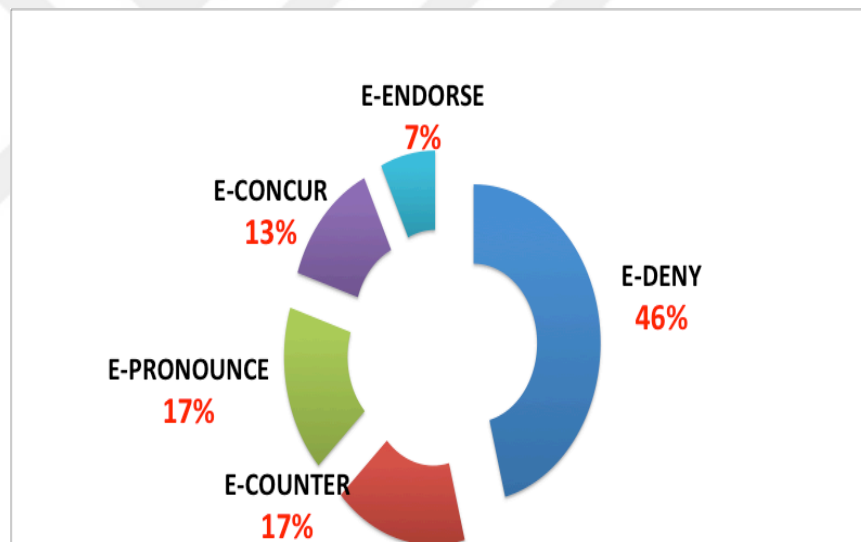


Figure 28. Dialogic Contraction resources employed in Turkish Political Discourse (n=4801)

It was observed that in Turkish party group speeches in the sample, party leaders employ ‘deny’ resources (46%; $f=2191$) including negation expressions most in order to close down the dialogic space for other alternatives and express their full subjectivity. Additionally, ‘counter’ (17%; $f=815$), ‘pronounce’ (17%; $f=844$) and ‘concur’ (13%; $f=634$) resources are used effectively. However, it was observed that ‘endorse’ category (7%; $f=317$) is employed least, in which some external sources are provided for the claims. It can be argued that while expressing full subjectivity and strong commitment, endorsement items are not preferred very frequently by Turkish party leaders.

5.2.1.1.1. Deny category

In Appraisal model, under Engagement category, linguistic structures expressing ‘deny’ or negation are considered as dialogically contracting devices through which other voices are restricted and the speakers’ strong commitment to the proposition is guaranteed. In this sense, deny functions to express the subjective evaluation of the speaker.

In literature, it has been argued that negative expressions are always evaluative as they claim that certain expected things are not here. Therefore, by using negative expressions in their speeches, politicians can evaluate people or actions. Additionally, it has been pointed out that negations ideologically function to persuade the listeners (Jeffries, 2010; Jullian, 2008). According to Labov (1972), negative sentences serve to represent a cognitive background hidden behind the expressed utterances, and by using negation categories, speakers can make evaluations concerning the point of their speeches (p. 380). Lagonikos (2005) similarly argues that the extensive use of negations enable the speakers “to contract opinions from the out-group and support their own point of view” (p. 185).

Overall analysis of deny category in the sample indicated that negation sources (46%, *f=2191 out of 4801 items*) are employed most to express politicians’ strong commitment to their propositions. As a dialogic contraction category, ‘deny’ invokes a contrary position by rejecting the proposition directly, and it gives very little dialogic space for other alternative voices. In this sense, Turkish politicians not only attempt to indicate their subjectivity, but also reject the alternative positions associated with the utterance by using expressions, such as ‘*hayır (no)*’, ‘*değil (not)*’, ‘*yok (no)*’, and ‘*-mA negation suffix*’ in their group speeches. In other words, while taking the full responsibility of their propositions and expressing strong commitment to what they are talking about, Turkish politicians rhetorically make use of negation expressions to a great extent.

In the following example, the main opposition leader Kılıçdaroğlu expresses his strong commitment while criticizing Erdoğan’s ‘*coup attempt*’ claim. By using a negated expression, he argues that there is ‘*not*’ such a coup, and the Prime Minister has just got into panic, as his corruptions have been uncovered through 17 December operations.

75. Bir de çıkmış şimdi “Bize karşı darbe yapıldı” diyor. Kimsenin darbe filan yaptığı [e-deny] **yok**. Yolsuzluklar ortaya çıktı sen de panik içindesin (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).

Similarly, the ruling party leader employs deny resources in his speeches. For instance, while criticizing the Gezi protestors, he argues that their demonstrations are ‘not’ related to the trees cut down. He tries to give the message that these demonstrators are not, in fact, protesting against the cutting down of trees, but rather for the sake of other secret aims.

76. Yoksa olay 15 tane ağacın o yayalaştırma projesiyle alakalı sökülmesi [e-deny] **değil** (*Erdoğan*).

During the Gezi event weeks, another opposition leader Demirtaş addresses to the Prime Minister who was protested by the demonstrators due to his unethical reactions. He argues that Erdoğan should understand the young. As a criticism, he states that Erdoğan is ‘not’ the most powerful leader in the world. Using a deny category, he tries to enhance the persuasiveness of his claim and make his listeners agree with him.

77. Biraz mütevazi ol, biraz bu gençleri anla. Dünyaya gelmiş en güçlü lider [e-deny] **değilsin**. Senden sonra da liderler gelecek, Başbakanlar gelecek. (*Demirtaş*).

Similarly, another opposition leader Bahçeli criticizes the ruling party leader and by using negated expressions like ‘not taking any notice’ of public desires and ‘not paying attention’ to the warnings, he closes down the dialogic space for his claims. In this way, he expresses his claim in a subjective and effective way so that he can get public support.

78. Başbakan’ın her sözü olay olmaktadır. Her beyanı toplum huzurunu baltalamaktadır. - Her icraatı memnuniyetsizler bloğunu tahkim etmektedir. Kimseyi [e-deny] **dikkate almamaktadır**. İkazlara [e-deny] **dikkat etmemektedir** (*Bahçeli*).

5.2.1.1.2. Pronounce category

‘Pronounce’ resources serve to represent the assertive and confident identity of the speaker through the particular use of ‘I’ or ‘we’ pronouns. They are highly contractive tools, and they dialogically close down the space for a debate by taking the listener’s attention to the speaker’s point of view. Thus, pronounce items function to express strong commitment of the speaker and to limit other alternative voices in the evaluation. In this respect, they demonstrate the speaker’s subjectivity clearly.

Searle (1995) takes attention to pronounce categories and argues that speakers can represent their community-oriented beliefs in a collective manner through the use of 'we' pronoun, and they can express their group-ideologies in this way (p. 24). Regarding the use of this pronoun in political discourse, it has been argued in literature that its repeated use is highly persuasive as it establishes and conveys solidarity; i.e., it invokes a sense of collectivity, and results in the distancing from the others (Al-Faki, 2014; Fairclough, 2002; Wodak, 2009a; Wodak et al., 1999, p. 160). Similarly, Lagonikos (2005) argues that in politics, 'us' pronoun indicates politicians' in-group properties and ideological stances; and this stance is usually achieved by positively evaluating the 'us' group, its ideologies and encouraging the listeners to align with this group (p. 183).

Findings regarding the use of Pronounce items in Turkish political speeches in the sample showed that 17% of the dialogically contracted expressions employed by the party leaders are in this group (*f=844 out of 4801 items*). It can be argued that Turkish political party leaders tend to express their own points of view by closing down the dialogic space, limiting the alternative voices and indicating their subjectivity through expressions like '*dedik / ifade ettik (We said)*', '*iddia ettik (we stated)*', '*soruyorum (I am asking)*' and '*açıkladık (we explained)*'. By using such expressions, party leaders directly express their subjectivity and make their listeners agree with them without questioning.

For instance, while criticising the opposition parties and expressing that they are acting insufficiently and not fulfilling their duties, Erdoğan employs a pronounce category 'we stated' (*ifade ettik*), through which he enhances the effect of his utterance and indicates his subjective positioning.

79. Biz doğrusu böyle bir Genel Başkandan, böyle bir Genel Müdürden memnunuz siyasette. Fakat, Türkiye'de muhalefet boşluğu olmasını bir talihsizlik olarak görüyoruz, bunu defalarca [e-pronounce] ***ifade ettik***. (Erdoğan).

Similarly, the main opposition leader Kılıçdaroğlu employs pronounce items in order to indicate his party's authority and subjectivity. In the following example, he is talking about the democracy and justice system in Turkey, and he criticizes the government for their wrong policies regarding '*sledgehammer case (balyoz davası)*'. He employs '*I said (söyledim)*' pronouncement tool to get the listeners' attention to his claim.

80. 2 Mart 2011'de Balyoz tutukluluğu “yaşananlar demokrasinin hukukunun sözde değil özde hayata geçmesidir” diyor. Senin en yakınındaki adam milli orduya kumpas kuruldu derken suratın kızardı mı acaba? [e-pronounce] **Şunu söyledim** Bartın'da, kendi milli ordusuna kumpas kuran halkına da kumpas kurar (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).

Other opposition leaders make use of pronouncement resources, as well. For instance, Bahçeli gives some advice to the Prime Minister Erdoğan in the following example. At the very beginning of his advice, he explicitly states that ‘*my advice to him will be that*’, in which he employs a pronoun item and expresses his subjectivity.

81. [e-pronounce] **Bu aşamada Başbakan Erdoğan'a önerim şu olacaktır**: “Söz biliyorsan söyle inansınlar, bilmiyorsan sus da seni adam sansınlar.” (*Bahçeli*).

5.2.1.1.3. Counter category

Similar to pronoun resources, ‘counter’ items serve to replace the denied expectation with an alternative, through adverbials such as ‘*rağmen-although*’, ‘*yine de-however*’ or conjunctions like ‘*ama, fakat - yet, but*’. The use of counter resources is accepted as a rhetorical move the politicians employ for constructing a dialogic stance by making the listeners accept their own points of view.

Quirk et al. (1985, p. 935) argue that the state of unexpectedness expressed by ‘*but*’ mainly depends on people’s presuppositions and experiences of the world. Similarly, Bednarek (2006b, p. 2) states that with a pragmatic-evaluative function, propositions including ‘*but*’ can be subjective or intersubjective, stereotypical or factual. Through this Engagement resource, speakers can introduce other voices to challenge them, ultimately strengthening their own positions.

Overall analysis of dialogic contraction resources in the data indicated that 17% of the expressions employed within the speeches of Turkish political party leaders are in the form of counter structures (*f=815 out of 4801 items*). It shows that Turkish party leaders in the sample tend to employ these counter resources frequently so that they can reflect their own stance and enhance the persuasive effect of their speeches by focusing on the contrasts and taking the listeners’ attention to the mistakes or failures of other leaders most of the time.

In the following example, the main opposition leader Kılıçdaroğlu criticizes the government and the AKP. He argues that although the AKP claims to fight against corruption, inequality, and racism as stated in their regulations, they are doing just the opposite. In order to close down the dialogic space for the interference of other ideas and to enhance the effectiveness of his claim, Kılıçdaroğlu makes use of ‘*on the contrary (tam tersine)*’ counter argument device.

82. Şöyle diyor: giriş bölümü sayfa 8. “Toplumları tahrip eden yozlaşma yolsuzluk çıkarıcılık hukuk önünde fırsat açısından eşitsizlik, ırkçılık gibi olumsuzluklar partimizin en yoğun mücadele alanlarıdır” diyor. İnanıyor musunuz? [e-counter] **Tam tersine**, asıl işgal konuları bu (Kılıçdaroğlu).

The ruling party leader Erdoğan similarly employs counter arguments in his speeches. While talking about the ones who have organized 17 and 25 December corruption operations, he states that they planned to eliminate the government, divide the AKP and seize the control of the country. He then adds that although they had such plans, they went wrong. In order to enhance the effectiveness of his claim and express his subjectivity, he employs ‘*but (ama)*’ counter device.

83. 17 Aralık, ardından 25 Aralık saldırısıyla Hükümeti saf dışı bırakacak, AK Parti’yi bölecek, siyaseti yeniden tanzim edecek ve bir kez daha yönetime el koyacaklardı, hesap buydu, bütün planlarını bunun üzerine yapmışlardı; [e-counter] **ama** bu hesaplar tutmadı (Erdoğan).

Another opposition leader Demirtaş makes use of counter arguments in his evaluations, as well. While talking about the democracy issue, and more particularly the new constitution planning, he argues that although they, as the HDP, have made many offers, other parties have not proposed any articles of agreement. In order to close down the dialogic space to prevent the inclusion of other opinions or thoughts, he employs the ‘*rağmen (although)*’ counter argument in his utterance.

84. Biz 15 yeni öneri yaparak uzlaşma madde sayısını 65 den 75 e çıkarmayı teklif etmiş olmamıza [e-counter] **rağmen** diğer partiler tek bir uzlaşma maddesi dahi önermemişlerdir. (Demirtaş).

5.2.1.1.4. Concur category

Concur resources like ‘*çünkü*’ (because), ‘*bunun için*’ (because of that), ‘*bundan dolayı*’ (due to)’ are used as an effective strategy in political discourse for persuading the

listeners to believe in the accuracy of the speakers' evaluation. In the nature of concur resources, there is a natural agreement with the truth-value of a certain proposition, and the speaker expresses a strong level of commitment to the proposition in his/her utterance, which as a result leaves little room for a dispute or disagreement.

Overall analysis of dialogic contraction devices in the data indicated that 13% of these are composed of concur expressions ($f=634$ out of 4801 items). In this respect, it can be stated that Turkish party leaders in this study employ concur resources in their speeches so that they can give justification for their claims and increase the persuasive effect of their criticisms or praises in general. In the following example, Kılıçdaroğlu employs concur resources through which he gives justifications for his criticism. At the very beginning, he quotes from Erdoğan's speech and then argues that what Erdoğan claims is 'correct' (*doğru*), which is a concur device. Besides, he argues that 'that's why' (*onun için*) he is calling Erdoğan as the main thief.

85. Konuşmuyor "çete var" diyor. Çete var, [e-concur] **doğru**, Bakanlar Kurulunda var, reisi de sensin zaten, [e-concur] **onun için** sana da başçalan diyorum (Kılıçdaroğlu).

The ruling party leader Erdoğan similarly employs concur devices and increases the persuasive effect of his claims. In the following example, he argues that as a party, they are organizing really effective public meetings in big cities and it is quite normal for his opponents to ignore the support they are taking from the public. Rather than just saying 'our opponents are ignoring the citizens support towards us' (*birileri vatandaşın bize olan desteğini görmezden geliyor*), he also employs 'it is quite normal' (*son derece tabidir*) in front of his claim in order to enhance the persuasive power of his statement.

86. Birilerinin Ankara ve İstanbul'daki bu muhteşem kalabalığı, bu muhteşem coşkuyu görmemesi, görmezden gelmesi son derece [e-concur] **tabidir** (Erdoğan).

Other opposition leaders make use of concur categories effectively in their speeches. In the following example, Bahçeli is talking about the Gezi Park protests and he argues that the events and demonstrations taking place in Taksim are different from the other protests organized so far. In order to elaborate his criticism, he employs 'that is a reality' (*bir gerçektir*) concur item, through which he also makes his listeners agree with him.

87. Ancak Taksim'de yaşanan ve ülkemizin geneline yayılan olay ve protestoların diğerlerinden farklı özellikler gösterdiği de [e-concur] **bir gerçektir**. Başbakan ve partisi bu defa zora girmiş, bu kez köşeye sıkışmış ve tökezlemiştir (Bahçeli).

5.2.1.1.5. Endorse category

Endorse tools are similar to reported speech; however, they are mainly expressed through certain expressions like ‘-e göre’ (*according to*), ‘kanıtla-’ (*to prove*), ‘belirt-’ (*to show*), ‘göster-’ (*to demonstrate, to indicate*) through which speakers guarantee the evaluative value of their expressions and state that no one can claim the opposite. In this way, they restrict the dialogic space for other voices and ask the listener to believe in the exactness of the information they are providing. In other words, endorsements contract dialogic space by expressing the speaker’s alignment with an attributed proposition, through which the dialogic space is narrowed (White, 2003).

The findings regarding the use of endorsement resources in party group speeches indicated that in Turkish political discourse, the least employed contraction category is endorsements (7%; $f=317$ out of 4801 items). It can be argued that political party leaders in the present data do not have a tendency to base their evaluations on some other external resources as they decrease the subjectivity and the strength of their claims. In other words, while expressing subjectivity and closing down the dialogic space for other opinions, making use of external sources is not employed frequently in Turkish politics.

While talking about the 2014 National Intelligence Organisation (MİT) event¹⁶, Erdoğan criticizes the Gendarmerie staff for stopping the lorries as if they were enemies and for beating the staff on duty. In order to enhance his criticism and increase the authoritative effect of this evaluation, he employs endorsement devices, such as ‘*a newspaper has published the photos displaying the violence towards MİT staff and these photos indicate how serious the case is*’ (*bir gazete MİT mensuplarına yapılan saldırının görüntülerini yayınladı ve bu görüntüler meselenin ciddiyetini ortaya koyuyor*). Instead of directly stating the violence, he attributes his criticism into an outer source, a newspaper, in this evaluative statement.

88. Bakın arkadaşlar, [e-endorse] ***bir gazete Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatımızın tırlarına, MİT mensuplarına yapılan saldırının görüntülerini yayınladı.*** Tırları

¹⁶ On 1 January, 2014, MİT (National Intelligence Organisation) lorries going to Syria were stopped for search in Adana. Erdoğan claimed that they had been carrying humanitarian aid to the Turkmen population in Syria.

sanki düşman tırlarıymış gibi durduruyorlar, MİT mensuplarının aracını durduruyor, içindeki yüzbaşığı, üsteğmeni çıkarıp darp ediyor, kelepçe takıyorlar. Meselenin ne kadar ciddi olduğunu, hangi boyutlara vardığını işte bu görüntüler tartışmaya yer bırakmayacak şekilde [e-endorse] **ortaya koyuyor** (Erdoğan).

The main opposition leader Kılıçdaroğlu makes use of endorsement categories, as well. He criticizes the TRT (*Turkish Radio and Television Association*) for stopping the broadcast while he is talking about the corruptions. Instead of directly stating, he provides an external source, which is a 'note card' in this utterance. In order to make his claim more effective and persuasive, he employs this endorsement strategy.

89. Efendim, not geldi [e-endorse] "**Yolsuzluklardan bahsedilirken TRT yayını kesmiş" diyor.** TRT zaten bunları yayınlamaz ki. O da Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın bir başka yayın kuruluşu ne fark eder, bunları biliyoruz (Kılıçdaroğlu).

Another opposition leader Bahçeli similarly employs endorsement strategy in his evaluations. He claims that the Prime Minister was informed about the 17 December operation months ago through a MIT report; and he bases this claim on the news broadcast in the media. It can be argued that Bahçeli provides an external source 'according to the news on the media (*medyaya yansıdığı kadarıyla*)'.

90. [e-endorse] **Medyaya yansıdığı kadarıyla,** Başbakan, 17 Aralık'ta İstanbul Cumhuriyet Başsavcılığı bünyesinde başlatılan operasyondan sekiz ay önce, yani 18 Nisan 2013 tarihli MİT Raporu vasıtasıyla çok şeyden haberdar edilmiştir (Bahçeli).

To conclude this dialogic contraction resources section, it is obvious that in Turkish political speeches, most employed dialogic contraction category to indicate the strong commitment of the politicians to their claims is 'deny', through which they express their subjectivity in a persuasive manner and try to make their listeners agree with them without questioning. However, 'endorse' category in which the evaluation is based on some external source is preferred least by the politicians, and this shows that they do not prefer to present a different source while showing their commitment to their claims.

Besides, analysis of these dialogic contraction resources indicated that all four party leaders have the same tendency towards using these devices; i.e., all of them employ the deny categories most frequently, while the endorsement tools least. Thus, in the

following section, leaders' use of these items in their self and other-based evaluations will be analysed.

5.2.1.2. Detailed Analysis of Dialogic Contraction Resources based on Leaders' Self and Other Evaluations

In this part, the aim is to discuss whether there are any dialogic contraction categories, particularly employed by leaders for their different evaluative purposes.

5.2.1.2.1. Deny category in leaders' self-vs-other evaluations

Certain negations in language, such as 'no', 'not', 'never' are considered as deny resources according to Appraisal model. In this sense, expressions like '(-mA) negation suffix', 'yok / hayır (no)', and 'değil (no)' are grouped under this category while analysing Turkish politicians' speeches.

In order to analyze the function of deny resources in Turkish political party group speeches in more detail, their percentages in leaders' self and other evaluations were calculated. The aim was to explore whether there was a particular tendency among Turkish politicians towards using this category more in self or other-based evaluations. Percentages of deny category in leaders' self and other-based evaluations were calculated based on their overall use of dialogic contraction resources, and findings of this analysis are provided in the following Figure below:

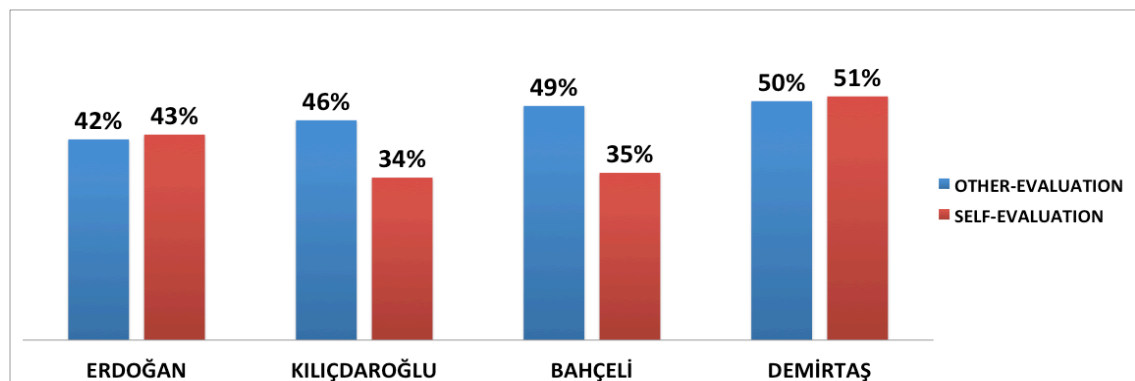


Figure 29. Percentages of 'Deny' category in self-versus-other evaluations of party leader (notes:

Erdoğan > $f=307$ out of 729 other-evaluative / $f=242$ out of 556 self-evaluative contraction resources
 Kılıçdaroğlu > $f=577$ out of 1248 other-evaluative / $f=100$ out of 292 self-evaluative contraction resources
 Bahçeli > $f=333$ out of 681 other-evaluative / $f=54$ out of 152 self-evaluative contraction resources
 Demirtaş > $f=475$ out of 943 other-evaluative / $f=103$ out of 200 self-evaluative contraction resources)

It has been observed that in the sample of this study, negation expressions are employed for both positive evaluations and negative criticisms. In other words, all party leaders rhetorically make use of negated expressions in their speeches. Especially, the opposition leader Demirtaş and the ruling party leader Erdoğan make use of negated expressions while praising themselves and also criticizing others. Closer examination of the figure above demonstrates that Demirtaş employs this category more than other leaders, both in his self (51%) and other evaluations (50%). Similarly, the ruling party leader Erdoğan employs this category for both self-evaluative (43%) and other evaluative (42%) purposes.

During Gezi protests, the Prime Minister made a press statement and expressed that 50% of Turkish citizens were in their homes, waiting silently upon his request and not counter-attacking the protestors. In the following example below, Demirtaş accuses Erdoğan of not remaining silent even he is not in Turkey and criticizes him for talking too much during Gezi events. By using ‘*yok (no)*’ resource, he dialogically closes down the interference of other voices and makes the public agree with him.

91. Gittin, bari sussaydın. **[e-deny]** **Yok** (*Demirtaş-other*).

As stated, Demirtaş also employs negated expressions in his self-evaluations frequently. While talking about his party, he addresses to the government and states that the HDP members have ‘*not*’ come to these days by the courtesy of the government, and they are ‘*neither*’ the appointed officers ‘*nor*’ the supporters of the AKP. In order to close down the dialogic space and get the public approval directly, he makes use of denial resources as in the following example:

92. Biz, lütfen, sizin hediyeniz, armağanınız üzerine bu noktalara **[e-deny]** **gelmedik**. Halkımızın alın teriyle, ödediği bedellerle, emeğiyle bu noktalara geldik. Atanmış memurlarınız **[e-deny]** **değiliz**. Balkonlardan size tezahürat yapan şakşakçılardan da **[e-deny]** **değiliz** (*Demirtaş-self*).

Another important finding regarding the use of denials in leaders` self versus other-based evaluations is that negation is mainly preferred for other evaluation, i.e., to make negative criticisms and accusations by two opposition party leaders, Bahçeli (49%; *f=333 out of 681 items*) and Kılıçdaroğlu (46%; *f=577 out of 1248 items*). These leaders strategically employ negated expressions more in their criticisms. In that way, they express their direct restrictions towards other opinions or points of view.

5.2.1.2.2. Pronounce category in leaders` self-vs-other evaluations

Certain expressions in language, particularly the ones accompanied with 'I' or 'We' pronouns as in 'I claim, We say, I stated' are considered as 'pronounce' tools and they represent a totally subjective opinion. In the following Figure below, the percentages of pronounce category in party leaders` self and other evaluations are provided:

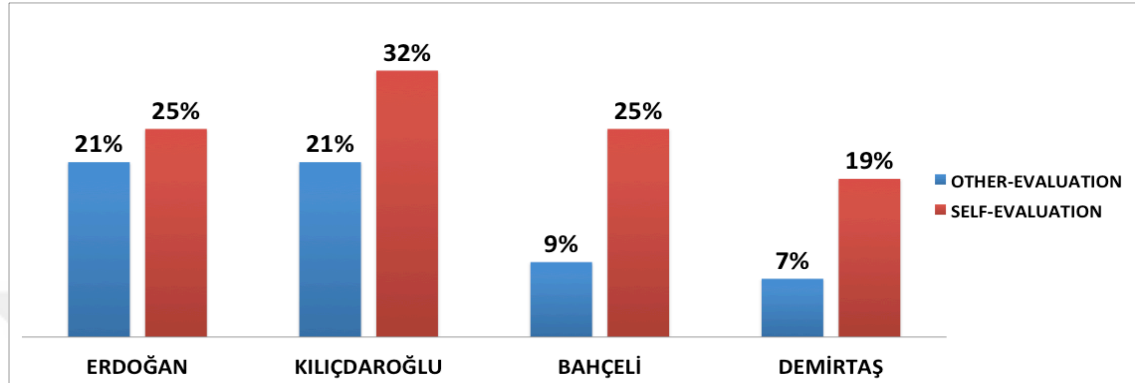


Figure 30. Percentages of 'Pronounce' category in self-versus-other evaluations of party leaders (notes:

Erdoğan > f=151 out of 729 other-evaluative / f=139 out of 556 self-evaluative contraction resources
 Kılıçdaroğlu > f=257 out of 1248 other-evaluative / f=93 out of 292 self-evaluative contraction resources
 Bahçeli > f=62 out of 681 other-evaluative / f=38 out of 152 self-evaluative contraction resources
 Demirtaş > f=67 out of 943 other-evaluative / f=37 out of 200 self-evaluative contraction resources)

Detailed analyses of this category indicate that leaders in the sample employ pronounce resources, mainly for self-evaluative purposes. This can be interpreted as their rhetorical tendency to express their high responsibility and strong commitment particularly while making self-praises in Turkish context. In addition, it can be argued that they tend to emphasize their achievements and future projects by using pronounce expressions frequently. Besides, pronounce devices play a significant role, especially in opposition party leaders` speeches as the percentages of these devices in opposition leaders` positive evaluations are more than the ones in their criticisms. It shows that as opposition leaders lack authority and power, they do not prefer to accuse the government directly and take the full responsibility of their negative criticisms. However, the ruling party leader Erdoğan employs nearly the same number of pronounce items both in his self and other evaluations.

Closer examination of the Figure above also shows that the main opposition party leader Kılıçdaroğlu uses this category most (32%) in his self-evaluations; whereas the percentage of this category in his negative criticisms is less (21%). It can be argued that he rhetorically states his strong commitment through pronounce tools more in his

positive evaluations. In the following example below, Kılıçdaroğlu argues that as a party, they are aware of the need of a new structure in which citizens can have more contemporary, liberal, democratic, and more strengthening laws. He employs 'we stated (*dedik*)' pronounce device through which he not only expresses his party-based ideas as a community, but he also closes down the dialogic space for other opinions. In this way, he makes his listeners agree with him.

93. Anayasa görüşmelerine de samimi olarak oturduk, **[e-pronounce] *dedik ki*** Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin çağdaş bir anayasaya ihtiyacı vardır, özgürlükçü bir anayasaya ihtiyacı vardır, demokratik bir anayasaya ihtiyacı vardır, sosyal devleti güçlendiren bir anayasaya ihtiyacı vardır, örgütlü toplumu ayağa kaldıran, toplumu örgütlü hâle getirecek bir anayasaya ihtiyaç vardır (*Kılıçdaroğlu-self*).

However, while talking about the new justice system and the government's projects, Kılıçdaroğlu asks the questions in his mind and before questioning, he uses the pronounce category again in order to enhance the persuasive effect of his criticisms and take the listeners' attention more.

94. Sayın Cumhurbaşkanı'na **[e-pronounce] *soruyorum***. Yürütme olarak yargının karşısına dikiliriz sözüne katılıyor musunuz, katılmıyor musunuz? Dikilecekseniz eyvallah, dikilmeyecekseniz siz kalkıp konuşmak zorundasınız, yargıya müdahale etmeyin diye (*Kılıçdaroğlu-other*).

Like Kılıçdaroğlu, other opposition parties' leaders employ pronounce devices, particularly while evaluating themselves, whereas the percentages of these items in their negative criticisms are quite low (*Bahçeli 9%; Demirtaş 7%*). It is clear that as these leaders do not have the same authority and power as the ruling party leader, they may hesitate to criticize the government or accuse them directly by using pronounce items like 'as we stated' or 'as I said'. Instead, they employ these categories while praising themselves.

For instance, while talking about the 'education' theme, and more specifically the headscarf usage, Bahçeli states that it was possible to solve this headscarf ban¹⁷ in education. In order to emphasize his party's authority and subjectivity within the

¹⁷ When Mustafa Kemal Atatürk founded the Republic of Turkey in 1923, he gave importance to secularism and he introduced some reforms. One of these reforms was about the ban of headscarf use in public places. Erdoğan campaigned with a promise of lifting this ban on headscarves in public institutions, and in 2013, the headscarf ban in the institutional settings was lifted.

solution process, he employs a pronounce category '*we had declared*'. The use of 'we' pronoun and the '*declare*' verb close the space for other alternative voices.

95. 2008 yılında İspanya'da yaptığı bir açıklamadan sonra partimizin girişimi ile başörtüsü meselesinin kalıcı ve bütünüyle çözülmesi için harekete geçildiği henüz hafızalardadır. Anayasa'nın 10 ve 42'nci maddeleri ve YÖK Kanununun geçici 17 maddesindeki değişikliklerle başörtüsü sorunun biteceğini yıllar önce **[e-pronounce] ifade etmiştik** (*Bahçeli-self*).

However, the ruling party leader Erdoğan employs pronounce items in similar percentages both in his self-evaluations (25%; *f=139 out of 556 items*) and negative criticisms (21%; *f=151 out of 729 items*).

5.2.1.2.3. Counter category in leaders' self-vs-other evaluations

For the counter analysis in Turkish political party leaders' speeches, linguistic resources like '*ama - (but), rağmen - (despite), ancak - (but), fakat - (but), hala - (still), tam tersine - (on the contrary)*' are considered as counter resources. In the following figure below, the percentages of counter categories in leaders self and other evaluations are provided:

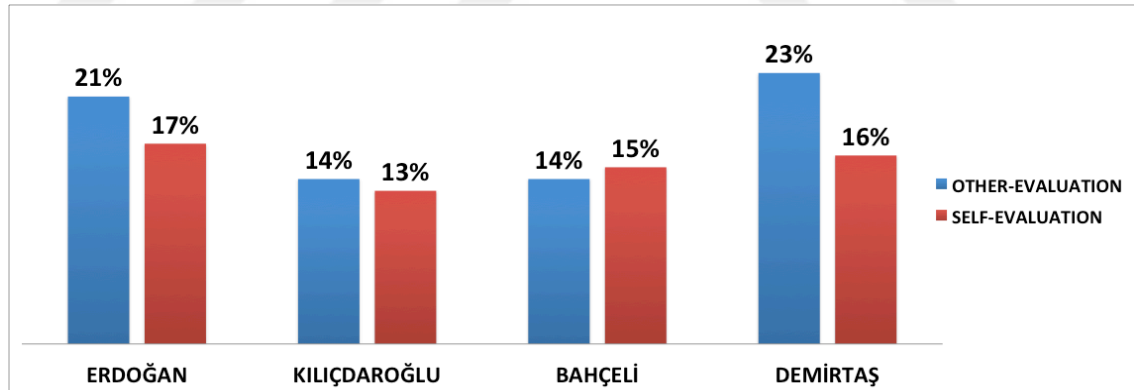


Figure 31. Percentages of 'Counter' category in self-versus-other evaluations of party leaders (notes:

Erdoğan > *f=151 out of 729 other-evaluative / f=93 out of 556 self-evaluative contraction resources*
 Kılıçdaroğlu > *f=174 out of 1248 other-evaluative / f=37 out of 292 self-evaluative contraction resources*
 Bahçeli > *f=97 out of 681 other-evaluative / f=22 out of 152 self-evaluative contraction resources*
 Demirtaş > *f=208 out of 943 other-evaluative / f=33 in 200 self-evaluative contraction resources*)

Detailed analysis of counter items has revealed that these resources are highly preferred for both self and other evaluative purposes by the politicians in the sample. Thus, it can be argued that they tend to narrow down the dialogic space for alternative

voices by countering the proposition and making their listeners directly accept the truth of the proposition without allowing the other voices to interfere with the proposition, in their both self and other evaluations.

However, closer examination of the Figure indicates that opposition leader Demirtaş (23%) and the ruling party leader Erdoğan (21%) tend to employ more counter resources, especially in their negative criticisms. By putting forward counter arguments, they tend to persuade their listeners about their rivals' misbehaviors.

In the following example, Demirtaş criticizes the government and its deputies because of their reactions during Gezi protests. During the demonstrations, some HDP deputies requested to meet the ministers, governors and the security department, 'but' their response was just a reflection of their arrogance. Here, Demirtaş closes the dialogic space by using a counter resource and attracts listeners' attention to this fact.

96. Sayın milletvekilimiz defalarca bakanlarla, İstanbul Valisi ile, İstanbul Emniyeti ile görüşme yapmıştır, defalarca. **[e-counter]** **Ancak** kendisine verilen cevapların tamamı büyük bir kibirin ifadesinden başka bir şey olmamıştır (*Demirtaş-other*).

Similarly, the ruling party leader Erdoğan employs a counter argument to express his subjectivity, and he states that some police officers got injured during the Gezi protests, 'but' they did not react to the protestors in this same violent manner.

97. Mecidiyeköy'de bir komiserimiz silahlı, maalesef mermi neticesinde midesinde yaralandı, bir diğer kardeşimiz ayağından yaralandı, iki polisimiz yaralandı **[e-counter]** **Ama** buna benzer bir olayı bizim polisimiz uygulamadı, böyle bir şey yapmadı. Ve böyle davranan bir polise biber gazı kullandı diye yapılmayan kalmadı (*Erdoğan-other*).

Kılıçdaroğlu and Bahçeli, on the other hand, employ nearly the same number of counter categories both in their self and other evaluations. It can be argued that they make use of counter arguments effectively both to make criticisms and positive evaluations.

5.2.1.2.4. Concur category in leaders` self-vs-other evaluations

Expressions like ‘*elbette (naturally)*’, ‘*o nedenle (therefore)*’, ‘*bu sebeple (because of this)*’, ‘*bunun için-onun için (for that)*’, ‘*açık (obvious)*’, ‘*doğru (true)*’, ‘*netleşmiştir (it became clear)*’, ‘*çünkü (because)*’, ‘*bir gerçektir (it is a fact)*’, and ‘*tabidir (it is natural)*’ were considered as some of the items expressing concur category in Turkish data. The percentages of concur resources in party leaders` self and other evaluations can be seen in the following Figure below:

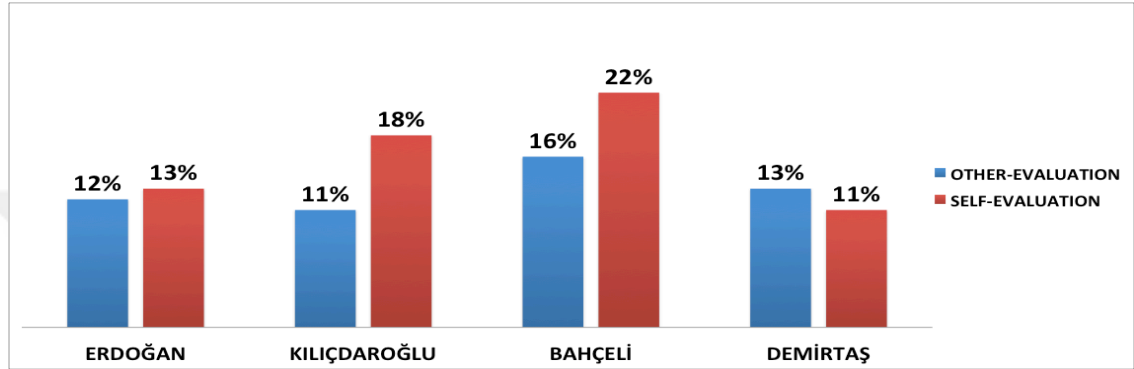


Figure 32. Percentages of ‘Concur’ category in self-versus-other evaluations of party leaders (notes:

Erdoğan > f=93 out of 729 other-evaluative / f=70 out of 556 self-evaluative contraction resources
 Kılıçdaroğlu > f=133 out of 1248 other-evaluative / f=54 out of 292 self-evaluative contraction resources
 Bahçeli > f=106 out of 681 other-evaluative / f=33 out of 152 self-evaluative contraction resources
 Demirtaş > f=124 out of 943 other-evaluative / f=21 out of 200 self-evaluative contraction resources)

Detailed analysis of concur category indicated that opposition leaders Bahçeli (22%) and Kılıçdaroğlu (18%) tend to employ this category, particularly for self-evaluation. It can be argued that these two leaders rhetorically prefer to persuade their listeners regarding the truth-value of ‘*their own achievements or plans*’ by using this agreement strategy through linguistic expressions like ‘*of course - (tabi ki)*, ‘*therefore - (bu yüzden)*, ‘*naturally - (doğal olarak)*’. Additionally, Bahçeli employs this strategy more than the other leaders in his negative criticisms (16%).

In the following example, Bahçeli states that since no effective results can be gained through violence and protests on the streets, as a party, they have given priority to politics and elections. In order to make his statement more authoritative and convincing, he makes use of cause-effect explanation through a concur resource ‘*therefore*’ (*bu sebeple*).

98. Biz [e-concur] **bu sebeple** bakımımızı sokaklara değil, siyasetin er meydanına çevirdik (*Bahçeli-self*).

Moreover, while talking about the Gezi protests, Bahçeli accuses Erdoğan and his deputies of ignoring people`s demands and states that they are acting so because such behaviour serves their purposes. In this utterance, the concur device *'because'* (*çünkü*) functions to present a cause-effect relationship, and therefore it enhances the persuasive power of the statement.

99. Başbakan Erdoğan ve yol arkadaşları Taksim Gezi Parkı'ndan yükselen sesleri duymak yerine, toplumsal tepkileri iyice germekle ve dönülmez noktalara taşımakla uğraşmaktadır. [e-concur] **Çünkü** işlerine gelen budur (*Bahçeli-other*).

However, the ruling party leader Erdoğan and another opposition leader Demirtaş employ nearly the same number of concur items both in their self evaluations (13%-11%) and negative criticisms (12%-13%). It can be argued that they use concur categories frequently both for praising and accusations.

5.2.1.2.5. Endorse category in leaders` self-vs-other evaluations

Endorse category provides an external source for the evaluation in order to prove the truth of the claim, as in the expressions like *'the report shows - (the report indicates)*, *'fikir vermektedir - (provide insight)'*, *'demektir - (it means)'*, *'belirtilmiştir - (it is stated that)'*, or *'raporda şöyle diyor - (in this report, it is stated that)'*. In the following Figure, the percentages of endorse items in leaders` self and other evaluations are provided:

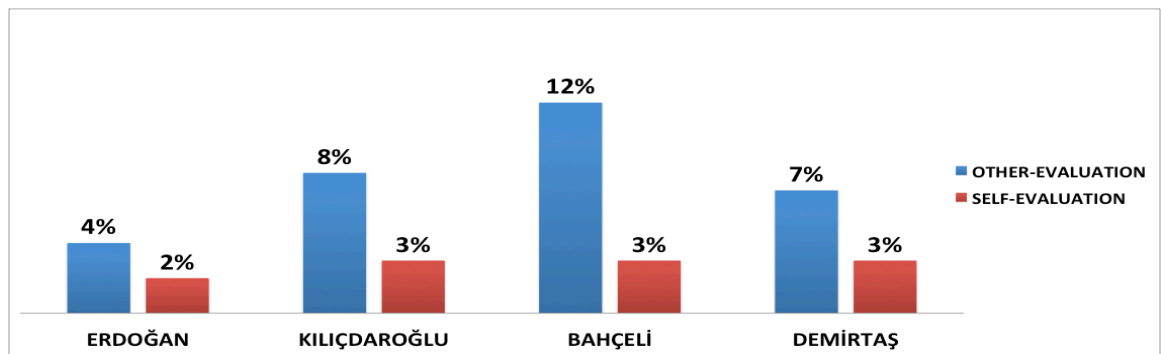


Figure 33. Percentages of 'Endorse' category in self-versus-other evaluations of party leaders (notes:

Erdoğan > f=27 out of 729 other-evaluative / f=12 out of 556 self-evaluative contraction resources
 Kılıçdaroğlu > f=107 in 1248 other-evaluative / f=8 out of 292 self-evaluative contraction resources
 Bahçeli > f=83 out of 681 other-evaluative / f=5 out of 152 self-evaluative contraction resources
 Demirtaş > f=69 out of 943 other-evaluative / f=6 out of 200 self-evaluative contraction resources)

It is seen that endorse resources are particularly preferred in criticisms by all leaders. It can be stated that for Turkish political speeches in the sample, such categories are strategically employed for negative other evaluation, accusations or warnings.

Closer examination of the Figure indicates that opposition party leader Bahçeli (12%) employs this category most in his negative evaluations. However, the percentage of endorse items in his self evaluations is quite low (3%). It can be argued that Bahçeli rhetorically tends to base his negative criticisms to some external sources so that he can share the responsibility of his criticisms.

In the following example, Bahçeli criticizes the government for its Middle East policy, and in order to prove his criticism, he indicates some comments and evaluations published in two American newspapers as evidence. It is obvious that he rhetorically attributes his criticism to an outer source so that he can strengthen the evaluative meaning in his proposition.

100. ABD’de yayımlanan tirajı yüksek iki gazetede yapılan bazı yorum ve değerlendirmeler bu bürokrati ister istemez ön plana çıkarmış, polemiklerin içine çekmiştir. Bu kapsamda; [e-endorse] Türkiye’nin Suriyeli muhaliflere verdiği desteğin ABD’nin çıkarlarına ters düştüğü, bu stratejinin mimarının da MİT Müsteşarı olduğu, Türkiye’nin izlediği Ortadoğu ve güvenlik stratejisinin ABD ve müttefiklerin menfaatleriyle çeliştiği, Üç yıl evvel İsrail ve ABD tarafından toplanan ve hassasiyet düzeyi yüksek bir istihbarat bilgisinin İran’a bu şahıs tarafından sızdırıldığı belirtilmiştir (Bahçeli-other).

Other opposition leaders similarly employ endorsement devices, particularly in their negative other evaluations. 8% of Kılıçdaroğlu’s ($f=107$ out of 1248 items) and 7% of Demirtaş’s ($f=69$ out of 943 items) dialogic contraction resources encountered in their negative criticisms are composed of endorsement tools.

In the following example, Kılıçdaroğlu harshly criticizes the government and accuses them of not providing enough legal regulations, and while doing this, he indicates a report published in 2002 as an authoritative figure and attributes his criticism to it. In this way, he tends to close down the dialogic space and make the audience believe in his claims, as there is such a report shown to prove the reality or a fact.

101. 2002’de yayınlandı. [e-endorse] Şöyle diyor: giriş bölümü sayfa 8. “Toplumları tahrip eden yozlaşma yolsuzluk çıkarıcılık hukuk önünde fırsat açısından eşitsizlik, ırkçılık gibi olumsuzluklar partimizin en yoğun mücadele alanlarıdır” diyor. İnanıyor musunuz? Tam tersine, asıl iştiğal konuları bu. [e-endorse] Şöyle söylüyor devam ediyor: “Siyasetin kirlenmesini önleyen yasal düzenlemeler yapılacaktır”. Nerede bu düzenleme paketi? Yok (Kılıçdaroğlu-other).

Ruling party leader Erdoğan, on the other hand, employs less endorsement devices (*self evaluation-2%; other evaluation-4%*) when compared to opposition leaders, which may indicate that as the leader holding the power and authority, he may have preferred to express his own claims directly rather than attributing them to some external sources.

To conclude this self and other-based dialogic contraction resources section, findings can be summarised as follows:

- (1) Some dialogic contraction devices, namely 'deny', 'counter' and 'endorse', are employed mainly for negative criticism by Turkish political party leaders while addressing their in-group members. By using these resources, they tend to express their subjectivity and take the full responsibility for their criticisms towards other leaders.
- (2) Some contraction devices, on the contrary, have been realised to be employed, particularly for self-evaluative purposes, including 'pronounce' and 'concur' categories. It shows that while praising themselves and talking about their achievements, Turkish leaders tend to use the declarative resources within pronounce category, and also natural agreement devices within the concur category most of the time.
- (3) Findings also indicated certain preferences of opposition leaders and the ruling party leader. It was realised that some devices are employed strategically more by the opposition leaders. Kılıçdaroğlu and Bahçeli employ 'deny' categories distinctively more in their negative criticisms; and 'concur' categories more in their positive self-evaluations. These usages demonstrate their rhetorical linguistic preferences.
- (4) Besides, all opposition leaders employ 'pronounce' categories strategically in their self-evaluations. It shows that they hesitate using structures like '*I state*' or '*as we said*' which express high degree of subjectivity and enable the speaker to take full responsibility for their criticisms. In this respect, while criticising the government and the ruling party leader, opposition leaders make use of these categories less. However, the ruling party leader Erdoğan does not have such a hesitation as he employs this category in similar percentages while evaluating himself and the others.

5.2.2. Analysis of Dialogic Expansion Resources

The second part of the Engagement analysis was concerned with the 'dialogic expansion' categories. The aim was to explore how Turkish political party leaders open up the dialogic space for other alternatives and how they share the responsibility of their claims / evaluations with their listeners.

Similar to the previous part, the findings are provided in two main steps. First of all, overall analysis of dialogic expansion categories are given in order to discuss whether certain expansion categories are employed more by Turkish political party leaders and to provide a general framework for Turkish political group speeches in this respect. Then, the percentages of each expansion category are provided within leaders' self and other evaluations. The aim is to discuss whether certain dialogic expansion tools are preferred more for self-evaluative purposes or vice versa.

5.2.2.1. Overall Analysis of Dialogic Expansion Resources

As the first step, expansion resources within the whole data were identified and their percentages were calculated. Under the Dialogic Expansion part, there are two basic resources, namely 'Entertainment' and 'Attribution'. '*Entertainment*' categories show that an evaluation is subjective, as the speakers ground their evaluations on their own subjectivity. In other words, they express their own voice. Martin and White (2005, p. 98) argue that although evaluations are expressed subjectively, they are considered as one of a range of possible alternatives, and dialogic space is opened up for alternative voices. In other words, the subjective evaluations are left open to the listeners to agree or disagree; and in this way, they entertain dialogic alternatives. This category includes linguistic devices, such as epistemic modality, evidentials, rhetorical questions, and deontic modality.

'*Attribution*', on the other hand, requires the existence of an external voice or some outer source that takes over the responsibility for the evaluative meaning in a proposition. It is most commonly achieved through the use of reporting verbs (e.g., *report, state, say, announce, inform, describe, declare*), and some mental verbs like (e.g., *It is thought / suggested / believed / As you know*), in which the evaluators are considered as some external individuals. By attributing the evaluation to these outer sources, speakers' own subjectivity or personal stance is obscured, and a kind of

neutrality or objectivity is acquired. However, due to this intended neutrality, especially in political discourse or any other ideologically-biased genres, attribution can be considered as a strategic impersonalization employed by speakers or writers, so that their subjective roles are backgrounded.

Firstly, the data consisting 216,151 words were scanned and dialogic expansion resources were detected. In total, there were '7242' expansion items in all speeches. In the following Figure, the percentages of 'entertain' and 'attribute' categories encountered within the whole data are provided. The capital 'E' in front of each category represents 'Engagement' under the Appraisal theory.

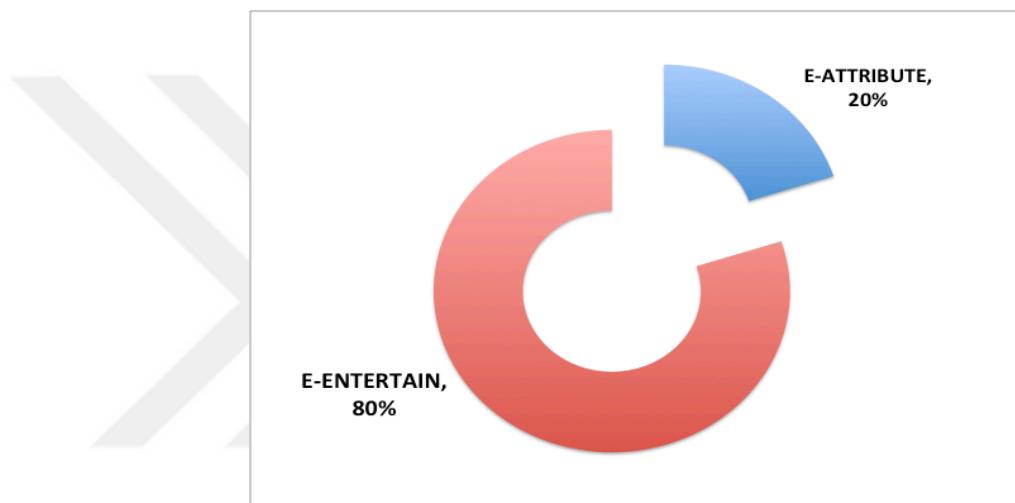


Figure 34. Percentages of Dialogic Expansion resources employed in Party Group Speeches

It is seen that Entertain categories are employed frequently (80%; $f=5822$) in the present data. It can be argued that in Turkish political party group speeches limited to this study, heteroglossic diversity or opening up the dialogic space is provided, particularly through 'Entertain' categories frequently. This finding shows that Turkish politicians tend to express their subjectivity themselves rather than making use of some external resources. Attribution categories (20%; $f=1420$), on the other hand, are not commonly preferred by the leaders in the sample. In other words, they do not tend to attribute their evaluations to some outer resources.

5.2.2.2. Closer Look at Dialogic Expansion Categories

After getting the percentages of these two main expansion categories (*entertainment and attribution*), more detailed analysis was carried out, particularly to explore the

categories of ‘Entertainment’, including ‘epistemic modality’, ‘evidentials’, ‘deontic phrases’ and ‘rhetorical questions’, within Turkish political party group speeches. The aim was to examine whether some entertain categories are employed more or vice versa in political speeches. In the following Figure below, the percentages of detailed Entertain categories and also the Attribution in the whole data are presented.

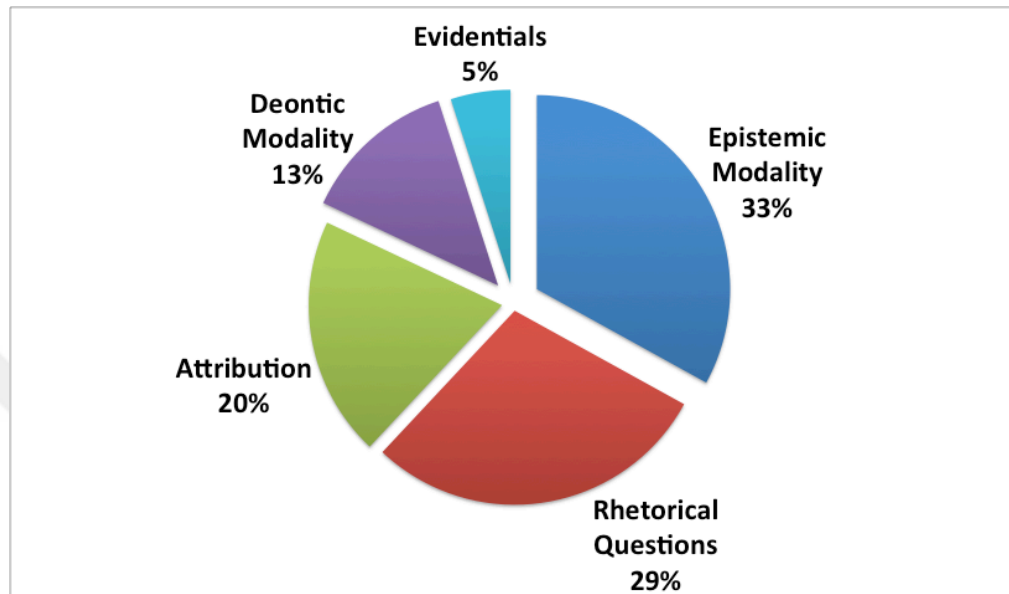


Figure 35. Detailed Analysis of Expansion categories in the whole data (n=7242)

Findings indicated that party leaders mainly prefer getting responsibility of their evaluative propositions and express their subjectivity through the high use of ‘*epistemic modality*’ (33%; $f=2384$) and rhetorical questions (29%; $f=2105$) in their speeches. Besides, they tend to attribute their evaluations to some outer resources through ‘attributions’ (20%; $f=1420$), as well. Though not so frequent, party leaders also express their deontic necessities in their speeches (13%; $f=954$). Unlike these resources, findings also reveal that the least employed category is evidentials (5%; $f=379$), which shows that Turkish politicians do not prefer providing the evidence for their propositions and distancing themselves from their evaluations.

5.2.2.2.1. Epistemic modality

Biber et al. (1999, p. 972) argue that epistemic stance devices enable the speakers / writers to express certainty (or doubt), actuality, precision, or limitation. In literature focusing on the function of epistemic modality in political discourse, it has been argued that epistemic expressions are resources that provide the subjectivity of the politicians representing their (lack of) commitment to the truth-value of their propositions. In other

words, using epistemic resources, politicians can distinguish between the points they are most certain and least certain. In this respect, epistemic modality markers serve to convince the audience and make the discourse of the politicians argumentatively stronger (Al-Rashady, 2012; Hyland, 1995; Nartey & Yankson, 2014; Thu, 2010; Vukovic, 2014).

Besides, epistemic expressions are considered to provide insights regarding the ideology of the politicians, as they function to reveal the underlying ideologies within political discourse. As epistemic resources function as persuasive tools, they express the power of the politicians. In this respect, politicians tend to use modals not only to communicate their political opinions and gain approval from their listeners, but also to reinforce their individual political ideologies. Therefore, modals can be thought as linguistic structures serving ideological purposes as a result of which social realities are constructed by members of the same political group (Badran, 2002; Barasa et al., 2016; Chen, 2009; Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2010; Hart, 2014; Healy, 2011; Kress & Hodge, 1988; Simon-Vanderbergen, 1997).

Overall analysis of dialogic expansion resources in the sample indicated that Turkish political party leaders employ epistemically modalised expressions most (33%; $f=2384$ out of 7242 items) in their speeches while they are opening up the dialogic space for other alternatives and making their listeners get involved in the decision-making process. In this way, they share the responsibility of their claims with the public. Besides, Turkish politicians frequently employ epistemic markers in their speeches so that they can express their certainty or doubts, and while doing this, they can try to persuade the listeners and gain their approval on certain issues.

In the following example, the use of epistemically modalized expressions in Erdoğan's negative criticisms can be seen. While talking about the Gezi park protests, he states that among the protestors, there may be individuals from the AKP, and they may have voted for the AKP in the past. He argues that voting or supporting the AKP in the past does not make them innocent. By using expressions like 'may be' (*olabilir*) and 'may have voted' (*oy vermiş olabilirler*), Erdoğan tends to open a dialogic space and mentions a possibility through which he shares the responsibility of his proposition with the audience.

102. Efendim, ama orada işte çevreci gençler de var, hatta hatta bunların içinde AK Partililer de var. [e-epistemic] **Olabilir**, AK Parti'ye geçmişte [e-epistemic] **oy vermiş de olabilir**. Onun geçmişte AK Parti'ye oy vermiş olması eğer böyle bir şiddetin içerisindeyse onu temize çıkarmıyor ki (*Erdoğan*).

Kılıçdaroğlu similarly employs epistemic categories in his criticisms. While talking about the 2014 National Intelligence Organization event, he argues that if this organization smuggles weapons illegally to Syria, this may put the country's legitimacy into doubt. He employs '-AcAk-Dlr' inflection ('may') attached to the verb so that he can express his certainty about his claim, but at the same time he can open up the dialogic space and invite the listeners to think on this issue.

103. Efendim MİT'e aitmiş bu. MİT yasasını çıkarttık. MİT'in böyle bir görevi yok. MİT'in silah kaçakçılığı yapma görevi yoktur. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ni uluslararası alanda meşruiyet tartışması içine [e-epistemic] **sokacaktır bu** (*Kılıçdaroğlu*)

Another opposition leader Bahçeli also employs epistemic expressions while making negative evaluations about the ruling party leader. He criticizes Erdoğan's opera-house plans and states that he will probably add the tenor title to his present position. By employing 'probably' modal and '-AcAk+Dlr' inflectional suffix expressing possibility, Bahçeli opens up the dialogic space in which the listeners can get involved and either agree or disagree with that claim.

104. Arkasından da, Taksim Meydanı'ndaki Atatürk Kültür Merkezi'ni yıkarak yerli-yabancı turistlerin gurur duyacağı bir opera binası yapacaklarını ilan etmiştir. Başbakan Erdoğan'ın birden bire yeşeren bu opera merakı gözümüzden kaçmamıştır. [e-epistemic] **Herhalde** kendisinin eşbaşkanlık unvanının yanına tenor sıfatını ilâştirmesi de yakında **gündeme gelecektir**. (*Bahçeli*).

Epistemically modalized expressions can also be observed within leaders' positive self-evaluations. In the following example, Demirtaş states that he is sure they will gain a victory in every area in 30 March elections. Instead of just uttering 'we will gain a victory in 30 March elections', he also adds 'I'm sure (eminim)' epistemic category and opens a dialogic space for the audience. In this way, he not only enhances the persuasive power of his claim, but he also gets his listeners involved in his evaluation through maintaining solidarity and making them agree with his utterance.

105. Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi de kendi adaylarının bulunduğu her yerde, [e-epistemic] **eminim ki**, en yüksek oylarla büyük bir seçim zaferi ortaya koyacaklar (*Demirtaş*).

5.2.2.2.2. Rhetorical questions

According to Quirk et al. (1985), although they have an interrogative structure syntactically, rhetorical questions function like strong assertions, and therefore, they are semantically statements (p. 825). They argue that, rhetorical questions are employed to make criticisms or to make a challenge.

Regarding the functions of rhetorical questions in political discourse, it has been argued that politicians tend to use rhetorical questions in their speeches, and while they are doing this, they are aware of the fact that the audience cannot answer these questions. However, the intention is to engage them into the evaluation. Rhetorical questions are usually employed to make the listener agree with the speaker. Therefore, rhetorical questions function as a rhetorical tactic and an effective persuasive device (Frank, 1990).

Besides, it is considered that rhetorical questions are used to influence the listeners' attitude, emotion and psychology so that the politicians can get their listeners' approval and support. Rhetorical questions establish a kind of connection with the listeners, so politicians can form fake dialogues with their listeners and they can get confirmation from them. As politicians employ rhetorical questions in order to assert or deny certain things implicitly, they are highly encountered in their speeches. It is also argued in literature that rhetorical questions have more impact than conventional statements as they allow the audience to participate in the argument by questioning their opinion. All in all, rhetorical questions are accepted as a strategy enhancing the persuasiveness of political speeches (Abioye, 2011; Dung, 2010; Reyes, 2011a; Wong & Yap, 2015), and it is also the case in Turkish political discourse, particularly in negative criticisms.

The findings regarding the use of rhetorical questions in the sample indicated that the second most frequent category employed by Turkish politicians are rhetorical questions (29%; $f=2105$ out of 7242 items). This high percentage shows that Turkish politicians tend to enhance the persuasive effect of their speeches by using rhetorical questions. In this way, they try to get approval from their listeners and get them involved in the evaluation process. Besides, they employ questions as a rhetorical tactic through which they maintain solidarity with their listeners, they express their evaluations in an argumentative manner and they make their listeners agree with their criticisms or praises.

In the following example, the main opposition leader Kılıçdaroğlu employs rhetorical questions to express his criticisms. While talking about the bribery crime related to the corruption scandal, he brings into question the watch worth of 700 thousand Turkish liras. In order to make his criticism more persuasive, he asks rhetorical questions like ‘Who gave that watch (saati kim verdi?)’, ‘why aren’t they giving that watch to a bagel seller or a grocery (neden simitçiye, bakkala vermiyorlar?)’, and ‘Why are they giving that watch to your minister (Neden senin bakanına veriyorlar?)’. In this way, he not only tries to get public approval, but he also enhances the effectiveness of his accusation regarding the bribe taking scandal.

106. Sonra, bir bakan. Kolunda bir saat var. 700 bin lira, [e-pronounce] eski parayla söylüyorum, adalet ve kalkınma partisine oy veren vatandaşlarım 700 milyar lira o saat. [e-RQ] **Kim verdi?** [e-RQ] **Niye simitçiye bu saati vermiyorlar, bakkala vermiyorlar?** [e-RQ] **Neden senin bakanına 700 milyarlık saati veriyorlar?** (Kılıçdaroğlu).

Bahçeli similarly employs rhetorical questions in order to criticize the democratization package announced by the Prime Minister. He asks some rhetorical questions regarding the content of this package. For instance, he asks ‘PKK’ye verilen ödünler işsizler ordumuza nasıl bir fayda sağlayacak? - (What kind of a benefit will the compromises given to the Kurdish militant group (PKK) provide to our unemployed citizens?)’ or ‘PKK paketi dış borç problemimizi çözecek mi? - (Will this package prepared for the PKK solve our foreign debt problem)?’

107. [e-RQ] **Başbakan’ın PKK’ya verdiği ödünler, gerçekte sayıları 4 milyon 591 kişi olan işsizler ordusuna nasıl bir fayda sağlayacak, nasıl bir çare olacaktır?** [e-RQ] **Bu ödünler ekmeği mi, yoksa PKK’yı mı büyütecektir?** [e-RQ] **Bu kabus paketi, ekonomiyi mi çatlatacak, PKK’yı mı canlandıracaktır?** [e-RQ] **PKK paketi, dış borcu 252,3 milyar dolara fırlayan girişimcilerimize ne getirecek mesela borçlarından kurtaracak mıdır?** (Bahçeli)

Rhetorical questions are also employed for positive self-evaluation, through which politicians try to take the public attention to their achievements and get their approval most of the time. In the following example, the ruling party leader Erdoğan boasts about their environmental activities, and asks if they are not environmental investments. By asking such a rhetorical question, he tries to gain approval from the listeners, and he also hides his harsh criticisms; i.e., he employs a rhetorical questions as a politeness strategy, as well.

108. Gerçekten gayet güzel tesisler oluştu ve çevre adına da yüzlerce, binlerce ağaçlar dikiliyor, yollar tamamen yeşillendirildi. [e-RQ] **Ya bunlar çevre yatırımı değil mi?** (Erdoğan).

5.2.2.2.3. Attribution

Within Appraisal model, it is claimed that external voices within Attribution are almost always included strategically in order to improve an argument and to enhance the persuasive power of a claim. The main category considered as Attribution is reported speech. It has been considered as a universal and fundamental device for people to communicate and represent the world.

Regarding the functions of attributed categories in political discourse, it has been argued in literature that politicians make their listeners get involved in their evaluative communication, and they distance themselves from the evaluation by acknowledging some external voices (Hart, 2014; Johansson, 2007; Johnson et al., 2006; Markus, 2006). Besides, parliamentary members directly quote their opponents' original words as a strategy to argue against them and promote their own rightness (Antaki & Leudar, 2001; Kuo, 2001, 2007), and do it in a so-called manner (Jullian, 2011).

In Turkish data, certain expressions like *'he says (söylüyor), bu sözler O'na ait (These claims belong to him), biliyorsunuz (you know-addressing the audience), ifade edilmiştir (it is stated), dediler (they said)'* were categorized as attributed items, as there is (so-called) objectivity and politicians tend to provide an external source for their evaluations.

Overall analysis of dialogically expanded items in the sample indicated that Turkish political party leaders frequently employ attributed expressions (20%; $f=1420$ out of 7242 items) in order to open up the dialogic space for other opinions. In other words, Turkish politicians frequently make use of quoted expressions in their speeches. In this way, they can either criticize their opponents' claims by providing a counter-argument, or enhance their rightness and power by getting approval from their listeners through attributing their claims to some external sources.

In the following example, the ruling party leader Erdoğan employs attributed expressions to criticize the opposition parties' members. While talking about the new constitution meetings and the opposition parties' attitudes in this process, he claims

that the opposition leaders are reluctant to vote for the changes and the establishment of the new items in the new constitution. In order to prove his claims, he quotes directly from their representatives' statements as in the following example.

109. Arkadaşlarıma dedim gidin ziyaret edin. Ziyaret ettiler, [e-attribute] **dediler ki değerlendirelim**. Bir hafta sonra geldiler, [e-attribute] **hayır dediler**. (Erdoğan).

The opposition leader Demirtaş similarly makes use of quoted expressions for negative evaluation. He criticizes Erdoğan for his wrong Middle East and ISIS policies. He argues that even though the Prime Minister claims to struggle with ISIS and PYD (*Kurdish Democratic Union Party in Syria*), they are supporting these violent groups in reality, by giving weapon and medical aid.

110. IŞİD de Türkiye sınırında şimdi belli bir bölgenin kontrolünü ele geçirdi. IŞİD de Türkiye'nin komşusu şu anda. Döfakto olarak Türkiye'nin şu anda güneyde iki komşusu var. IŞİD ve PYD. [e-attribute] **Başbakan "PYD'yle mücadele edeceğiz" diyor**, uluslar arası destek istiyor. IŞİD'e de destek vermek için tırları göndermeye devam ediyor (Demirtaş)

Another opposition leader Bahçeli rhetorically employs attribution categories in his criticisms, as well. In the following example, he uses some claims of the Prime Minister, like his 'two drunkards (*iki ayyaş*)', 'drinking people are all alcoholic (*içen herkes alkoliktir*)', 'I don't want destroyed generations (*kafası kıyak nesiller istemiyorum*)'; and he adds their negative effects on the country.

111. Bu zihniyetin [e-attribute] **"iki ayyaş" sözü** kurşun gibi herkesi vurmuştur. [e-attribute] **"içen herkes alkoliktir" sözü** bomba etkisi yaratmıştır. [e-attribute] **"Kafası kıyak nesiller istemiyorum" açıklamasının** yanında kindar nesil tavsiyesi korkuları ve olumsuzlukları beslemiştir (Bahçeli).

5.2.2.2.4. Deontic modality

Deontic modality expresses whether the conveyed meaning expressed by a sentence is obligatory or permissible based on certain norms, laws or principles. In this way, speakers can give permissions, talk about obligations or achieve certain acts like promises or threats. Searle (1995) argues that deontic powers regulate relations among people, as certain rights, responsibilities, obligations, duties, authorizations, permissions and other phenomena are imposed through deontic expressions. In this respect, the use of deontics is directly related to power (p. 100).

Regarding the functions of deontic expressions in political discourse, it has been argued in literature that deontic modals enable the politicians to express their strong obligation or commitment (Boicu, 2007; Chilton, 2004; Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2010; Nartey & Yankson, 2014; Matic, 2012). Arguing the role of deontic modality in the expression of morality and legality within political discourse, Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) concludes that deontic modality has a key role in the construction of an ideologically-biased discourse world in terms of 'right' and 'wrong' (p. 21). Besides, analysing the use of modal auxiliaries in two different political texts, Lillian (2008) concludes that while one text emphasizes the persuasion through deontic markers, the other one constitutes manipulation. In this respect, different functions of deontically-modalized expressions can also be handled within political discourse.

The linguistic expressions like '*gerek (necessary), lazım (necessary), gerekmek (require), zorundayız (we have to), benim görevim (my duty), engel olmalıyız (we have to prevent) (-mAll inflection), sorumluluktur (my responsibility), gereğidir (as required), zorundadır (he has to), zorundasınız (you have to)*' are categorized under deontic modality. These categories both reveal the subjectivity of the speaker and enable the expansion of the dialogic space in an utterance.

The analysis of deontic expressions in this dissertation indicated that 13% of the dialogically expanded expressions employed by Turkish politicians are in the form of deontic modality (*f=954 out of 7242 items*). It shows that Turkish politicians express their subjectivity through deontic items. In this way, they mention certain obligations, necessities or prohibitions.

In the following example, an opposition party leader Bahçeli states that all people including them '*have to*' prevent the country from facing new threats and dangers towards violence and terror.

- 112.** Yeterince kavgadan çekmiş, yeterince düşmanlıklar yaşamış ve yeterince kötülöklere muhatap kalmış Türk milletinin, yeni bir bataklığa saplanmasına, yeni bir felaketle karşılaşmasına hep birlikte [e-deontic] **engel olmalıyız** (Bahçeli)

The ruling party leader Erdoğan employs deontic expressions, as well. While criticizing the demonstrations and the protestors, he states that the ones protesting the government '*should*' evaluate themselves first, and they should be aware of the fact

that the air pollution or the noise nuisance they are causing are also harmful for the environment .

113. Bize çevrecilik dersi vermeye kalkanlar, hava kirliliğinin de, gürültü kirliliğinin de, görüntü kirliliğinin de çevrecilik olduğunu, çevreye karşı bir tavır olduğunu bilmeleri [e-deontic] **gerekir** (Erdoğan).

While Erdoğan criticizes the Gezi park protestors for making noise and bothering people, an opposition leader Demirtaş criticizes Erdoğan for his unkind explanations. During these demonstrations, Erdoğan declared that 50% of the citizens were impatient waiting for his command in their homes. Demirtaş states that this is such an incautious explanation and ‘has to’ be corrected immediately.

114. Sabırsızlanıyormuş bunlar, bir an önce sokağa çıkıp göstericileri durduracak bir isteği varmış bunların. Böyle bir şey olabilir mi değerli arkadaşlar? Bu sözün de derhal düzeltilmesi [e-deontic] **lazım**. (Demirtaş).

5.2.2.2.5. Evidentials

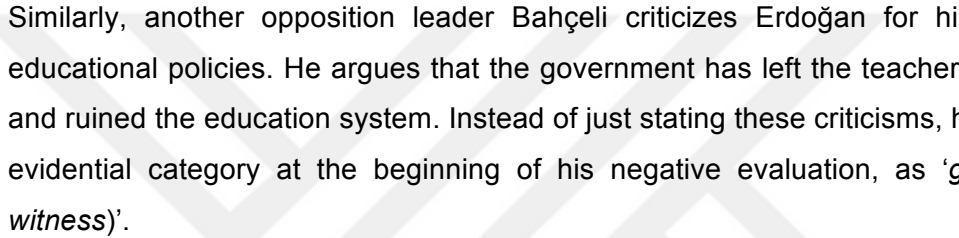
Evidentiality can be accepted as a linguistic function that serves to refer to the source and reliability of knowledge. In the Longman Grammar, evidential verbs are described as “characterizing the subject predicative as a perception that is not necessarily accurate” (Biber et al., 1999, p. 447), and having a “probability meaning” (p. 693). de Haan (1999) argues that evidentiality is different from epistemic modality, in that while epistemic modals evaluate the speaker’s commitment for the statement, evidentials assert the nature of evidence for the information in the sentence (p. 83). In her typological study of evidential systems, Aikhenvald (2004, p. 3) similarly argues that “Evidentiality is a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of information”.

In Turkish, ‘-miş’ and ‘-(l)miş’ suffix and some evidential verbs like ‘gör (see); duy (hear)’ and also expressions like ‘öyle görünüyor (It seems / It appears so)’ are grouped under this evidential category (Benzer, 2009; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Johanson, 2003).

Overall analysis of evidentials in this dissertation indicated that the least encountered entertaining category in leaders’ speeches is ‘evidentials’ (5%; $f=379$ out of 7242 items). Such a finding shows that in Turkish political speeches, leaders do not prefer providing the source and reliability of their knowledge and evaluations. In the following

example, Demirtaş accuses Erdoğan of not having responsibility for the resolution of Kurdish question. Referring to Şivan Perwer¹⁸ who has been in exile for 38 years and claimed to turn back to country through government's efforts by Erdoğan, Demirtaş argues that Erdoğan is miscalculating. Using '-m/ş' evidential suffix, he states that one third of this exile period corresponds to Erdoğan's leadership.

115. Şimdi, 37 yıl sonra ülkesine dönen Kürt sanatçılar, biraz önce Sayın Başbakan ya hesap hatası yapıyor, ya Matematik bilgisi zayıf ama, "38 yıldır" diyor "ülkesine, vatanına bunu hasret koyanlar, bunun hesabını nasıl verecek" diyor. Fakat şunu unutuyor ki bu 38 yılın 12 yılı AKP iktidarı döneminde geçmiş, üçte biri kendi dönemi. Bu nasıl bir hesap anlamadık. Üçte birinin hesabını bari sen ver. Üçte biri en azından senin iktidarın döneminde [e-evidential] **geçmiş** (Demirtaş-other).

Similarly, another opposition leader Bahçeli criticizes Erdoğan for his problematic educational policies. He argues that the government has left the teachers to their fate, and ruined the education system. Instead of just stating these criticisms, he employs an evidential category at the beginning of his negative evaluation, as 'görüyoruz (we witness)'.


116. [e-evidential] **Görüyoruz ki, öğretmeni kaderine terk eden hükümet, eğitim hayatını laçkalaştırmış, cilkını çıkarmış ve her tarafını düğümlemiştir** (Bahçeli-other).

The analysis of dialogic expansion resources in the data indicated that all four party leaders have the same tendency towards using these devices; i.e., all of them employ the epistemically modalized categories most frequently, while the evidentials least. Thus, in the following section, leaders' use of these items in their self and other-based evaluations will be analysed.

5.2.2.3. Detailed Analysis of Dialogic Expansion Resources based on Leaders' Self and Other Evaluations

In this part, each dialogic expansion category was explored within leaders' self and other-evaluative utterances. The aim was to analyse whether there was a tendency among party leaders to employ them more in their positive and negative evaluations.

¹⁸ Şivan Perwer is a Kurdish poet, writer, musical teacher, singer, and performer. He fled Turkey in 1976 due to political reasons, and he has lived in exile until his return to Diyarbakir on November 16, 2013.

5.2.2.3.1. Epistemic modality in leaders' self-vs-other evaluations

As the most frequent expansion category encountered within the data, this part starts with the analysis of epistemically modalized expressions and their functions in leaders' self versus other-based evaluations. The aim is to explore whether Turkish politicians in the sample have certain preferences regarding the use of this category in their speeches. The percentages of epistemic categories in leaders' self and other evaluations are provided in the following Figure:

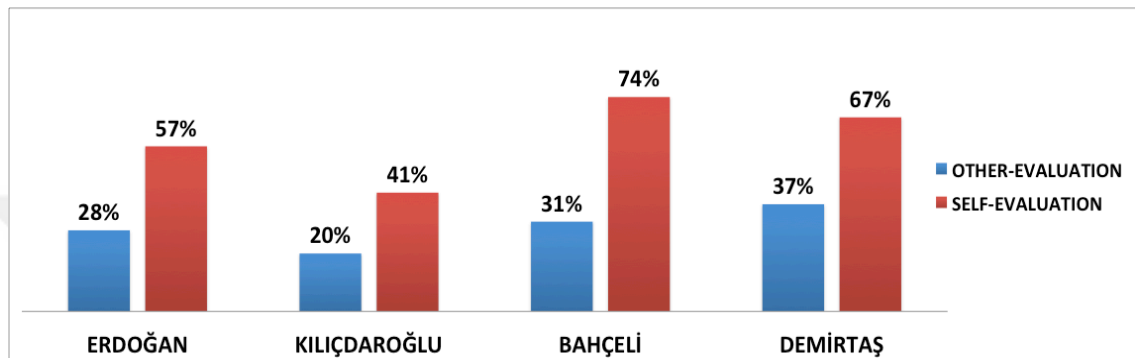


Figure 36. Percentages of 'Epistemic modality' categories in self-versus-other evaluations of party leaders (notes:

Erdoğan > $f=234$ out of 826 other-evaluative / $f=239$ out of 418 self-evaluative expansion resources
 Kılıçdaroğlu > $f=467$ out of 2297 other-evaluative / $f=146$ out of 352 self-evaluative expansion resources
 Bahçeli > $f=398$ out of 1283 other-evaluative / $f=131$ out of 178 self-evaluative expansion resources
 Demirtaş > $f=601$ out of 1635 other-evaluative / $f=168$ out of 253 self-evaluative expansion resources)

Findings indicated that in the sample, epistemically modalized expressions are mainly preferred for self-evaluative purposes by the leaders. Such a finding can be interpreted as leaders' preference of employing highly subjective epistemic expressions while making positive evaluations. Closer examination also demonstrated that the opposition party leader Bahçeli employs epistemically modalised structures most in his positive evaluations (74%). It is obvious that while praising himself and his party members' behaviors, he tends to open the dialogic space, so he makes his listeners agree with his evaluations. In this way, he enhances the effectiveness of his claims. Besides, he expresses his subjectivity and strong commitment to his propositions, but at the same time, shares the responsibility with the audience. However, the percentage of epistemic categories in his negative criticisms is lower (31%), and it can be considered as his tendency towards not taking much responsibility while criticising the government.

In the following example, Bahçeli employs the epistemic inflection '-AcAk+dİR' and states that the MHP government will solve every problem on its own. It can be argued

that by employing such an epistemic resource, he tries to grab the attention of the listeners and make them agree with him.

117. Tek başına MHP iktidarı her meseleyi kökünden çözecek ve tümüyle [e-epistemic] **bitirecektir.** (*Bahçeli-self*).

Bahçeli also employs epistemically modalized expressions in his negative evaluations, though not as frequent as the ones in his positive evaluations. In the following example, while criticising Erdoğan about his Kurdish question policy, he makes a deduction using an epistemic morpho-syntactic category at the end. He states that Erdoğan ‘*must have needed*’ (*ihtiyaç duymuş olmalı ki*) to contact Öcalan (*terrorist leader kept in prison in İmralı*) about the marginalisation of Gezi park.

118. Başbakan Erdoğan İmralı canisiyle Gezi Parkı’nı marjinalleştirme konusunda fikir alışverişine [e-epistemic] **ihtiyaç duymuş olmalı ki,** altıncı BDP heyetini iki gediklisinin iştirakiyle, Taksim sabıkalı bir üyesinin eksiğiyle İmralı yoluna yeni haberleri getirmek üzere görevlendirmiştir (*Bahçeli-other*).

Another opposition leader Demirtaş similarly employs more epistemic expressions in his self-evaluations (67%; *f=168 out of 253 items*), when compared to the percentage of this category in his negative criticisms (37%; *f=601 out of 1635 items*). It can be understood that he tends to use more epistemic categories rhetorically for praising his party and their own achievements or projects, rather than making criticisms towards others.

In the following example, an epistemically modalised expressions used by Demirtaş for criticisms can be seen. While accusing the Prime Minister Erdoğan of his reactions during the Gezi park protests, Demirtaş makes a deduction and states that the command Erdoğan gave to the security forces ‘*may not have satisfied him*’ (*tatmin etmiş olmayacak ki*) since he implies to take his supporters to the streets against the demonstrators.

119. Emrindeki güvenlik güçlerine verdiği talimat kendisini [e-epistemic] **tatmin etmiş olmayacak ki** bir de “bana oy verenleri sokağa dökerim, birbirinize kıldırım” demeye getiriyor (*Demirtaş-other*)

As the ruling party leader, Erdoğan similarly employs epistemic categories more in his self-evaluations (57%; *f=239 out of 418 items*), when compared to their occurrence in his other evaluations (28%; *f=234 out of 826 items*), as well. This finding indicates that

in spite of being the ruler party leader, he still tends to open up a dialogic space for the audience and share the responsibility of his claims with them, particularly while praising himself and his party. However, his lower use of epistemic categories while criticizing his opponents indicates that he does not prefer taking a subjective stance in that respect.

While talking about the theme 'economy' and his party's policies, for instance, Erdoğan argues that within the following 5 years, they hope to generate additional employment in the industry and service sectors. Instead of directly expressing 'we will generate employment', he employs an epistemic category 'we predict' (*öngörüyoruz*), through which he not only expresses his subjective stance, but he also maintains negotiation with his listeners so that they can agree with his claim.

120. Önümüzdeki 5 yıl içinde toplam 4 milyon yeni istihdam hedefliyoruz. İlave istihdamın ağırlıklı olarak sanayi ve hizmet sektörlerinde yoğunlaşmasını [e-epistemic] **öngörüyoruz** (Erdoğan-self)

However, the main opposition leader Kılıçdaroğlu employs epistemic devices least both in his self-evaluative and other evaluative utterances. Like other leaders, the percentage of epistemic resources in his positive self-evaluations (41%; *f=146 out of 352 items*) is twice as high as the ones in his negative criticisms (20%; *f=467 out of 2297 items*). It can be stated that similar to other leaders, he employs this category mainly for self-evaluations.

5.2.2.3.2 Rhetorical questions in leaders' self-vs-other evaluations

Rhetorical questions are categorized under the Entertain sub-category of dialogic expansion, because they are considered to open up the dialogic space by grabbing the listeners' attention, trying to get their approval and making them think about the evaluation. Using rhetorical questions, politicians can maintain solidarity with their listeners. Although politicians do not wait for an answer most of the time, they employ rhetorical questions strategically to engage the audience in their arguments in a confrontational manner. The percentages of rhetorical questions in leaders' self and other evaluations are provided in the following Figure.

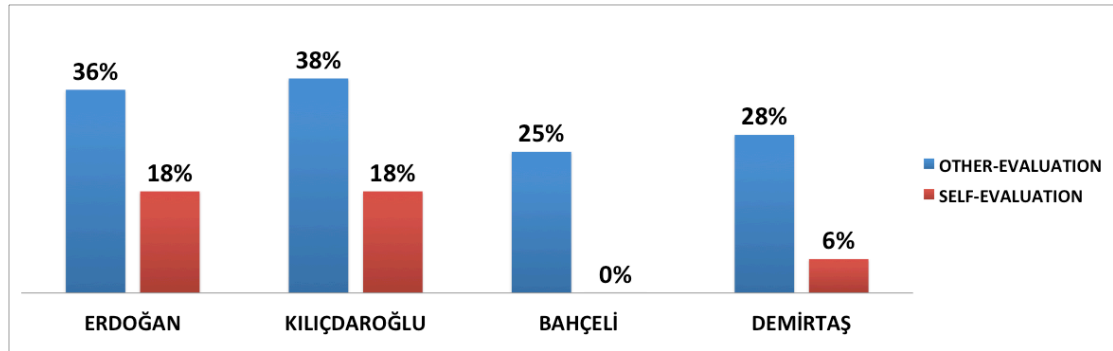


Figure 37. Percentages of 'Rhetorical question' category in self-versus-other evaluations of party leaders (notes:

Erdoğan > $f=294$ out of 826 other-evaluative / $f=75$ out of 418 self-evaluative expansion resources
 Kılıçdaroğlu > $f=883$ out of 2297 other-evaluative / $f=65$ out of 352 self-evaluative expansion resources
 Bahçeli > $f=319$ out of 1283 other-evaluative / $f=0$ out of 178 self-evaluative expansion resources
 Demirtaş > $f=453$ out of 1635 other-evaluative / $f=16$ out of 253 self-evaluative expansion resources)

Detailed analysis of rhetorical questions in leaders' speeches indicated that they are preferred, particularly to make negative criticisms. In other words, Turkish party leaders in the sample tend to make criticisms and express their accusations towards other leaders by using rhetorical questions so that they can not only get the approval of the listeners, but they can also share the responsibility of their evaluations with their audience in that way. Besides, such a finding may stem from the fact that questions are asked to others, and therefore it is normal to acquire more rhetorical questions in leaders' criticisms, rather than their self-praises.

Closer investigation of the results indicated that the main opposition party leader Kılıçdaroğlu (38%; $f=883$) and the ruling party leader Erdoğan (36%; $f=294$) employ rhetorical questions, particularly in their negative criticisms as a strategy to express their negative judgemental ideas and accusations. It can be stated that while criticising others and making negative evaluations, they rhetorically employ questions. Especially for Erdoğan, it can be argued that even if he is the ruling party leader, he tends to get approval from his listeners and maintain negotiation with them in his criticisms. However, the percentages of rhetorical questions in these two leaders' positive self-evaluations are nearly as half as the ones in their criticisms.

While criticizing the government and Erdoğan for his false and ideologically-biased declarations during the Gezi park events, Kılıçdaroğlu states that Erdoğan is lying in public and in the media to legitimate the death. During the Gezi protests, many people lost their lives and Erdoğan commented that it was normal as such events had also occurred, even in developed countries. Besides, he (Erdoğan) likened these protests to

the ones that took place during the ‘Occupy Wall Street’¹⁹ event and he stated that 17 people had lost their lives in those events. After this declaration, the USA Ambassador refuted his claim and accused Erdoğan of lying. Taking the audience’s attention to this refutation, Kılıçdaroğlu employs rhetorical questioning strategy and asks the listeners ‘*Have you ever heard an ambassador refuting our Prime Minister?*’ (*Siz hiç başka bir ülkenin büyükelçisinin Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanını yalancılıkla suçladığını duydunuz mu?*). Although this utterance is in the interrogative form, in fact, the aim is not questioning but criticizing the Prime Minister himself.

121. Kalktı ölümü meşrulaştırmak için, bakın ölümü meşrulaştırmak için, gencecik çocuklarımız hayatını kaybetmiş, ölümü meşrulaştırmak için “Efendim, bunlar Amerika’da da oluyor. Bakın Wall Street’te 17 kişi öldü.” dedi. Daha ağzını kapattı, Amerikan Büyükelçisi “Yok öyle bir şey, yalan söylüyorsun sen.” dedi. Yalan söylüyorsun, Sayın Başbakan yalan söylüyorsun.” dedi. [e-RQ] ***Siz hiç başka bir ülkenin büyükelçisinin Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanı yalancılıkla suçladığını duydunuz mu?*** (Kılıçdaroğlu-other)

Some rhetorical questions in the data directly address to the individuals being criticized; whereas some others are asked to the audience to get their approval or reaction. In the following example, Kılıçdaroğlu employs a rhetorical question to take the listeners’ attention to their own policies this time. While talking about their economic plans, he reminds their ‘family insurance’ arrangement, and he argues that they would be able provide financial support to families in need. He addresses directly to the audience and utters a rhetorical question ‘*Do you know? (biliyor musunuz?)*’, through which he not only increases the persuasive power of his claim, but he also gets public approval by getting them involved in the decision-making process in a communicative manner.

122. Aile sigortasının bir yıllık maliyeti 7,5 milyar lira idi, eski parayla 7,5 katrilyonu. Bunların hortumladığı parayla bu aile sigortasına kaç lira verecektik [e-RQ] ***biliyor musunuz?*** 32 yıl bu para ödenebilecekti (Kılıçdaroğlu-self).

Though less than the leaders stated above, Demirtaş (28%; *f=453 out of 1635 items*) and Bahçeli (25%; *f=319 out of 1283 items*) similarly employ rhetorical questions in

¹⁹ Occupy Wall Street (OWS) is the name given to a movement protesting the social and economic inequality and corruption of the government. It began on September 17, 2011, in New York.

negative other evaluations, which can be interpreted as their tendency towards getting approval from their listeners. However, Demirtaş employs quite limited number of rhetorical questions for self evaluative purposes. Additionally, one of the important findings regarding this dialogic expansion category is the absence of rhetorical questions in Bahçeli's self-evaluations. This indicates that he uses this linguistic category strategically only to criticize the others in his speeches.

In the following example, Demirtaş criticizes the government, the AKP and the National Intelligence Organization (MİT). In order to get the approval of the audience, to make them persuaded about the accuracy of his claims and to share the responsibility of his claims with the listeners, he employs rhetorical questions. He asks if the AKP members were really not aware of the parallel state and their works.

123. [e-RQ] Haberleri yok muydu gerçekten? [e-RQ] Yani AKP'nin bütün bu olup bitenlerden, MİT'in, emniyet istihbaratın, jandarma, genel kurmay istihbaratının haberi yok muydu? Allah billah aşkına, ben akşam ne yiyeceğimi bilmiyorum ama MİT biliyor. [e-RQ] Bundan mı haberi yok? (Demirtaş-other).

5.2.2.3.3. Attribution in leaders' self-vs-other evaluations

Under the Dialogic Expansion category, there are also 'attribution' resources, through which the evaluation is attributed to some external source. It is generally fulfilled through the use of direct / indirect quotations or statements like 'As you know', 'as everybody knows' or 'as it is known'. In this way, the subjectivity level can be decreased and the evaluations generally seem more objective. The percentages of attribution items in leaders' self and other evaluations can be seen in the following figure:

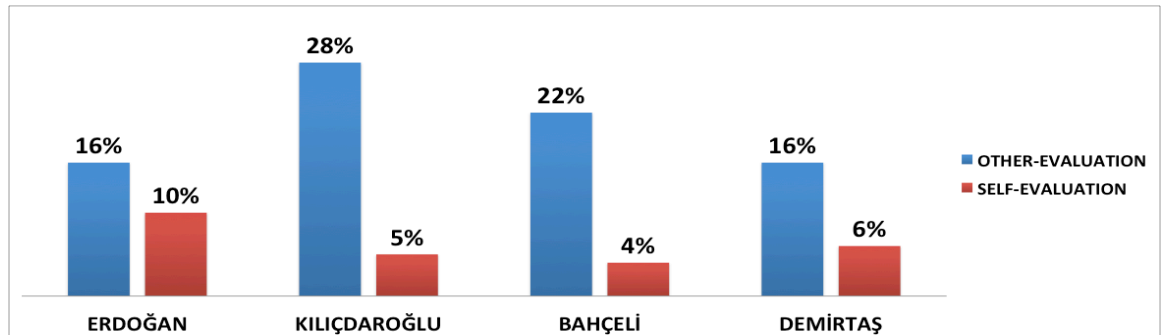


Figure 38. Percentages of 'Attribution' categories in self-versus-other evaluations of party leaders (notes:

Erdoğan > f=130 out of 826 other-evaluative / f=42 out of 418 self-evaluative expansion resources

Kılıçdaroğlu > f=643 out of 2297 other-evaluative / f=17 out of 352 self-evaluative expansion resources

Bahçeli > f=285 out of 1283 other-evaluative / f=7 out of 178 self-evaluative expansion resources

Demirtaş > f=282 out of 1635 other-evaluative / f=14 out of 253 self-evaluative expansion resources)

Detailed analysis of attribution categories in the sample indicated that they are generally employed for negative criticisms. In other words, all leaders employ direct / indirect quoted expressions and also have the strategy of addressing the responsibility to the audience (eg. *sizin de bildiğiniz gibi / insanımız olan bitenin farkında - (as you also know / public is aware of what is going on)*, particularly while making negative other evaluation as a rhetorical maneuvering. It is clear that politicians tend to include some external voices to their evaluations, particularly criticisms, and in this way, they seem to decrease the subjectivity of their evaluations. Therefore, Turkish politicians in this study tend to distance themselves from their evaluations by attributing them to an unnamed or outside source, often to the criticized person himself or to the public.

Closer examination of the findings indicated that opposition leaders Kılıçdaroğlu (28%) and Bahçeli (22%) use this category more than other leaders, particularly in their negative criticisms. It can be observed that while accusing the government and especially the Prime Minister, they tend to attribute their criticisms to some outer sources. However, the use of these devices in their self-evaluations is quite limited. It can be argued that they make use of these devices strategically in their accusations.

As can be seen in the following example, Kılıçdaroğlu criticizes Erdoğan for his declarations regarding the education theme and accuses him of abolishing the national oath in Turkish elementary schools. In order to demonstrate his criticism objectively and to share the responsibility, he uses a direct quotation from the Prime Minister's own speech.

124. E, o zaman [e-attribute] **"1933'lerden kaldı bu" diyor**. İstiklal Marşı ne zamandan kaldı? 1921'lerden. E, çocuklarımızı bıraktık, hepimiz İstiklal Marşı okuyoruz, yani şimdi biz toplumu mu formatlıyoruz? Ne ilgisi var bunların? (Kılıçdaroğlu-other).

The ruling party leader Erdoğan (16%; *f=130 out of 826 items*) and the other opposition leader Demirtaş (16%; *f=282 out of 1635 items*), on the other hand, employ less attribution categories in their criticisms. However, when the percentage of attributed expressions in their self-evaluations are explored, it is seen that Erdoğan makes use of this category more than the opposition leaders in his self-praises (10%; *f=42 out of 418 items*).

In the following example, while making self evaluation, the ruling party leader Erdoğan argues that for the new constitution arrangements, they have given their positive feedback and it is known by the public. By employing this ‘you know’ (*biliyorsunuz*) attribution device, he tries to make his listeners participate in the evaluation process.

125. Sadece 60 madde üzerinde mutabakat sağlandı, [e-attribute] **biliyorsunuz** o 60 maddeye bile olumlu baktık. Dedik ki; olumluysanız gelin bunu beraber birlikte Meclis’ten çıkaralım..Yeni bir anayasa yapılmasını en çok biz istedik, en samimi gayreti biz gösterdik (*Erdoğan-self*).

5.2.2.3.4. Deontic modality in leaders` self-vs-other evaluations

Deontically modalised expressions play a significant role in expressing leaders` opinions about obligations, necessities and prohibitions. The percentages of deontic modality expressions in Turkish politicians` self and other evaluations can be seen in the following Figure:

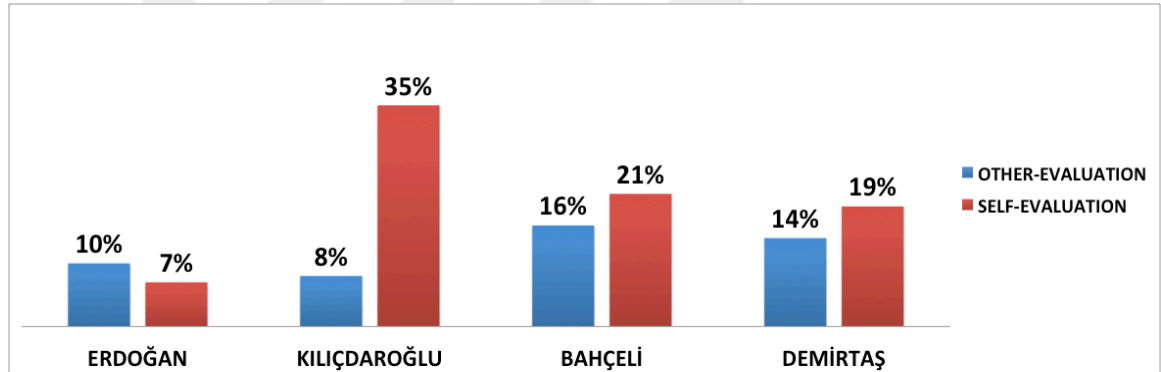


Figure 39. Percentages of ‘Deontic modality’ categories in self-versus-other evaluations of party leaders (notes:

Erdoğan > f=88 out of 826 other-evaluative / f=30 out of 418 self-evaluative expansion resources
 Kılıçdaroğlu > f=194 out of 2297 other-evaluative / f=122 out of 352 self-evaluative expansion resources
 Bahçeli > f=209 out of 1283 other-evaluative / f=38 out of 178 self-evaluative expansion resources
 Demirtaş > f=224 out of 1635 other-evaluative / f=49 out of 253 self-evaluative expansion resources)

Findings revealed that this category is highly preferred as a strategic device for self-evaluation by the opposition party leaders; whereas the ruling party leader employs more deontic expressions in his negative criticisms (10%) when compared to the percentage of this category in his self evaluations (7%). It can be argued that as the leaders not holding the same power as the ruling party leader, opposition parties` leaders, especially Kılıçdaroğlu, tend to use deontically modalized structures while talking about himself and his own party, and they hesitate to criticize the government directly by using these necessity or obligation categories. However, the ruling party leader does not have such a hesitation.

The main opposition leader Kılıçdaroğlu employs deontic phrases most in his self evaluations (35%); whereas the number of deontic categories in his criticisms is quite low (8%). It is obvious that Kılıçdaroğlu uses deontic expressions as a rhetorical strategy to enhance the effectiveness of his claims in his positive self-evaluations; whereas he does not prefer to employ this category so much in his criticisms

In the following example, Kılıçdaroğlu talks about his and his party's own duties or responsibilities as the main opposition in the Parliament. He argues that it is '*gerekiyor* - (*necessary*)' to struggle with the corruption and it is '*benim görevim* - (*his duty*)' to bring the ones who got involved in this scandal into justice.

126. Bunun mücadelesini yapmamız [e-deontic] *gerekiyor*.....Demokratik bir ülkede rüşvet ve yolsuzluğa adı bulaşanların hesap verdiği yer yargıdır. [e-deontic] *Benim görevim* de seni o yargının karşısına çıkarmaktır (*Kılıçdaroğlu-self*)

Similarly, other opposition parties' leaders tend to use this category more in their positive self evaluations (*Bahçeli-21%; Demirtaş-19%*), compared to the percentages in their negative criticisms (*Bahçeli-16%; Demirtaş-14%*).

The ruling party leader Erdoğan, on the other hand, employs more deontic expressions in his criticisms (10%; *f=88 out of 826 items*) than in his self evaluations (7%; *f=30 out of 418 items*). This may have been due to the fact that as the leader holding the power and authority, and being more direct in his evaluations, he may have expressed his deontic logic towards other leaders in his criticisms with less hesitation. Investigating the role of deontic modality in reflecting underlying ideologies in political discourse, Badran (2002) argues that deontic modality is directly related to the speaker's level of power, and the strong use of deontic modality can be considered to reflect the strong authoritarian position of the speaker regarding what he believes (pp. 191-192). In this respect, it can be argued that the higher use of deontic expressions in Erdoğan's speeches can be the reflection of his political power.

While criticizing the opposition parties, Erdoğan states that the ones who are trying to get some rights by hiding behind the youngs' protests should put an end to all these activities. By employing the obligation expression, he expresses his authority and also political opinion.

127. Gençlerin arkasına saklanarak imtiyazları için mücadele verenler, bu çirkin oyunlarına derhal [e-deontic] *son vermeliler* (*Erdoğan-other*).

5.2.2.3.5. Evidentials in leaders` self-vs-other evaluations

Evidentials enable the speakers to provide the source of their propositions. In this respect, by using evidential categories like '*gördük -(we saw)*', or '*-miş*' evidential suffix in Turkish, party leaders can not only enhance the reliability of their claims, but they can also provide evidence for the truth condition of these claims. In the following Figure, the percentages of evidentials in leaders` self and other evaluations can be seen:

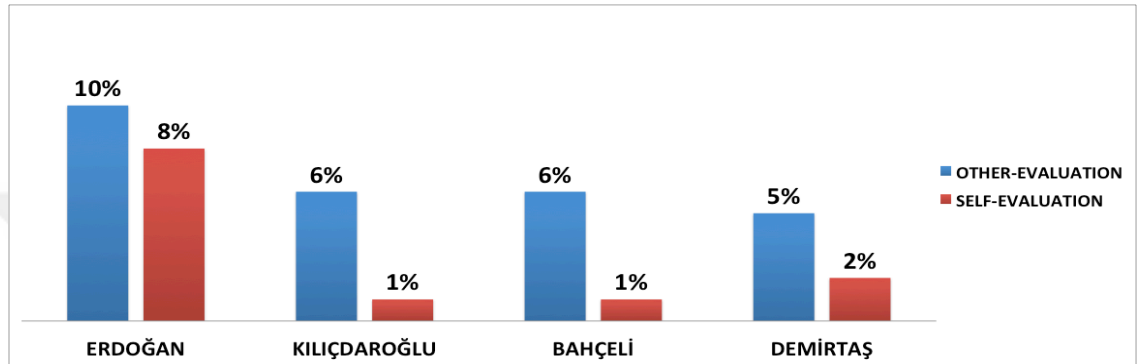


Figure 40. Percentages of 'Evidentiality' categories in self-versus-other evaluations of party leaders (notes:

Erdoğan > f=80 out of 826 other-evaluative / f=32 out of 418 self-evaluative expansion resources
 Kılıçdaroğlu > f=110 out of 2297 other-evaluative / f=2 out of 352 self-evaluative expansion resources
 Bahçeli > f=72 out of 1283 other-evaluative / f=2 out of 178 self-evaluative expansion resources
 Demirtaş > f=75 out of 1635 other-evaluative / f=6 out of 253 self-evaluative expansion resources)

Detailed analysis of evidentials in leaders` evaluations indicated that this category is mainly preferred for making negative criticisms. This can be due to the fact that, via evidentials, speakers can indirectly make certain evaluations by hiding their own subjectivity in a strategic manner. As they express the sources of their propositions and talk as if they have heard the accusations from an external source, they pretend to be objective and share the responsibility of their criticisms with the external sources.

As can be seen in the Figure above, ruling party leader Erdoğan employs this category most both in his negative evaluations (10%) and positive ones (8%). It can be argued that he provides an outer source for his evaluations, not only to accuse others through which he can express his criticisms as if they belong to some other people; but also to talk about his own achievements.

In the following example, Erdoğan employs the '*-miş*' inflectional suffixes added to the verb phrases, functioning as evidential resources in the data. He states that the parallel

state has made some illegal recordings of all political parties, but rather than stating them directly, he expresses them as if he had heard them from an outer source. In this sense, he opens a dialogic space for other alternative voices and shares the responsibility of his criticism.

128. Mersin'de Validen Belediye Başkanına, AK Parti İl Başkanlığından CHP'ye, MHP'den BDP'ye kadar bütün partiler [e-evidential] **dinlenmiş** ve bunlar [e-evidential] **kaydedilmiş**. Sadece benim değil, sadece Cumhurbaşkanımızın değil, bakanların, milletvekillerinin, bürokratların, siyasetçilerin, sanatçıların, gazetecilerin görüşmeleri [e-evidential] **dinlenmiş**, bunlar şantaj amacıyla [e-evidential] **kullanılmış** (Erdoğan-other).

While talking about the projects and reforms they have done, he expresses that they have built many universities and spread all over the country. While praising about his party, he uses '-miş' evidential suffix, as well so that he can leave space for the listeners who can judge the truth of the proposition.

129. Bu ülkede 81 vilayetin tamamında üniversiteler [e-evidential] **inşa etmişiz**, her yere [e-evidential] **yayılmışız**. Niye? Hem göçü engelleyelim, hem de gencimiz kendi memleketinde, annesinin, babasının yanında yüksek tahsilini yapma imkanını da bulabilsin (Erdoğan-self).

Opposition party leaders, on the other hand, strategically employ much more evidentials in their negative criticisms than their self-praises. Kılıçdaroğlu (6%; *f=10 out of 2297 items*), Bahçeli (6%; *f=72 out of 1283 items*) and Demirtaş (5%; *f=75 out of 1635 items*) rhetorically make use of evidential markers in their accusations so that they can relate their criticisms to some external sources and seem as if they were not criticizing the government themselves. Besides, they use almost no evidential resources in their self-evaluations. This can be interpreted as their tendency towards proving some evidence regarding the truth-value of their propositions, mainly in their criticisms.

In the following example, the main opposition leader Kılıçdaroğlu criticizes Bilal Erdoğan for not giving a deposition. He states that he was in the same car with his father the other day. By using an evidential '-miş' suffix, he tends to look as if he heard about Bilal Erdoğan from someone else, and in this way, he reduces the subjectivity of his criticism.

130. Uzun süre saklandı. Geçen gün babasıyla beraber aynı arabaya [e-evidential] **binmiş**. Ne demek bu biliyor musunuz? (Kılıçdaroğlu-other).

Detailed analysis of Dialogic expansion categories based on leaders' self and other evaluations has demonstrated that:

- (1) Turkish political party leaders in the sample use '*rhetorical questions*' and '*attributed expressions*' strategically in their negative criticisms while addressing their party members. They invite the audience to the decision-making process, and try to get their approval by using rhetorical questions. Besides, they enhance the power of their criticisms, as they do not take the full responsibility of their criticisms by using quoted expressions; i.e., attributions.
- (2) '*Evidentials*' are employed for negative criticism, as well. However, mainly opposition parties' leaders prefer to mention the sources of their criticisms so that they can share the responsibility of their accusations with some external voices. However, this is not the case for the ruling party leader. It can be interpreted as the reflection of his political authority on his linguistic preferences, as he does not need to entertain his criticisms to some external sources most of the time.
- (3) Besides, all leaders employ '*epistemic markers*' particularly for self-evaluation. It can be argued that while appreciating themselves and making positive evaluations, party leaders tend to use epistemic categories so that they can invite their listeners to agree with them and make them get involved in the decision making process.
- (4) Finally, '*deontic markers*' are employed for self-evaluation by the opposition leaders, whereas for negative criticisms by the ruling party leader. This indicates the effect of political authority in the linguistic choices of the leaders. As the ruling party leader has a certain political power, he does not hesitate criticizing the other parties' leaders using certain necessity and obligation markers, while opposition leaders have such a hesitation and avoid criticizing the government strictly through these devices.

5.2.3. Comparison of Dialogic Contraction and Dialogic Expansion Resources

At the last step of Engagement analysis, frequencies of '*dialogic contraction*' and '*dialogic expansion*' categories in the sample were analysed. The aim was to indicate whether Turkish politicians in this study would prefer to contract their evaluative expressions; or they would tend to employ expansion devices through which they allow the involvement of other voices and alternatives in their evaluative expressions.

In relation to that, White (2003, p. 259) emphasizes that dialogically contracted utterances represent the power of the speaker making evaluations, whereas dialogically expanded utterances reflect that the speaker tends to share the responsibility for the proposition with the listener. In this sense, such an analysis can provide significant insights, because by using dialogic contraction devices, politicians indicate strong commitment to their propositions; while through dialogic expansion tools, they express weaker commitment as they open up the dialogic space and share the responsibility of their propositions with the listeners and some outer sources, and this is thought to be directly related to political positions of the leaders. In the following figure, the percentages of these Engagement categories within the whole data are presented:

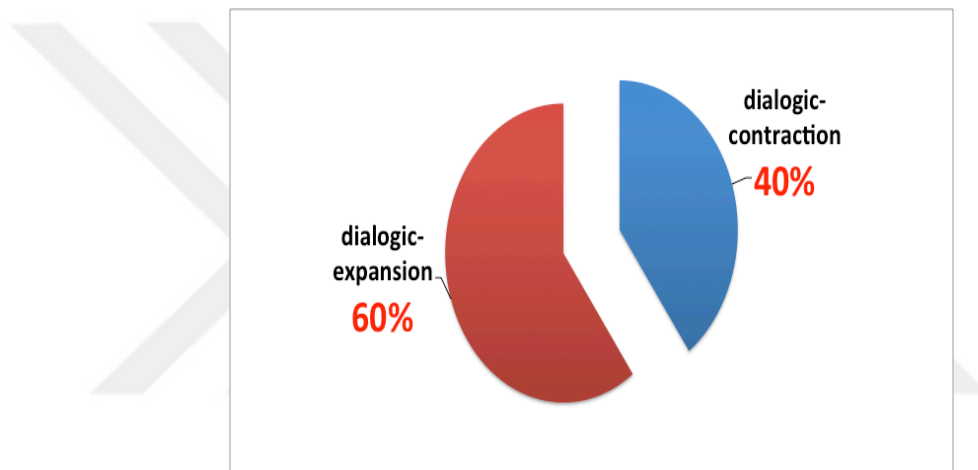


Figure 41. Percentages of Engagement Expressions in the sample ($n=12,043$)

Party group speeches in the sample are mainly composed of dialogically ‘expanded resources’ (60%; $f=7242$); i.e., party leaders tend to engage other voices in their evaluations. Instead of expressing their strong commitment in their speeches, party leaders prefer to make use of weaker expressions, such as epistemic categories, attributions, deontics, evidentials, rhetorical questions, which enable the politicians to open up the dialogic space and the listeners can also get involved in the decision-making process.

Dialogically ‘contracted devices’ form 40% of evaluations in leaders’ speeches ($f=4801$). As these resources (*deny*; ‘not’, *counter*: ‘but, although’, *concur*: ‘of course, naturally’, *endorse*: ‘the report of the EU showed that’ and *pronounce*: ‘I claim/I pronounce’) are directly related to getting the whole responsibility of the evaluation,

when compared to the dialogic expansion resources, Turkish political leaders tend to employ these devices less in their speeches.

5.2.3.1. Leader-based Analysis of Dialogic Contraction and Dialogic Expansion Categories

Although the overall analysis within the whole data has revealed the superiority of dialogically expanded categories over the dialogically contracted ones, leader-based analysis was also necessary, especially to examine whether the political power or status of the leaders would influence their use of Engagement resources and their responsibility-taking strategies. In the following Figure, the percentages of contraction and expansion items in leaders' speeches can be seen:

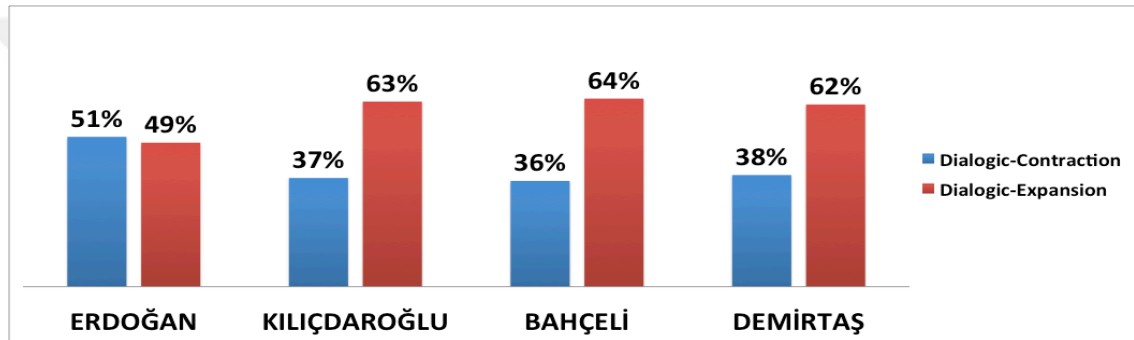


Figure 42. Leaders' Use of Dialogic Contraction and Dialogic Expansion resources in their speeches

(notes. Erdoğan > f=1285 dialogic contraction / f=1244 dialogic expansion> total N= 2529;
 Kılıçdaroğlu > f=1540 dialogic contraction / f=2649 dialogic expansion > total N=4189;
 Bahçeli > f=833 dialogic contraction / f=1461 dialogic expansion > total N=2294;
 Demirtaş > f=1143 dialogic contraction / f=1888 dialogic expansion > total N=3031

Findings showed that all opposition parties' leaders employ much more dialogically 'expansion devices' in their evaluations compared to the percentages of dialogically contracted devices. It can be argued that as opposition leaders, they do not have the same political power as the ruling party leader, and therefore, they strategically prefer to express their evaluative arguments either through entertain (*dialogically entertaining other voices*) or attribution (*attributing it to some external sources*) devices. In this way, they not only express their subjectivity, but also maintain solidarity with their audience and make them get involved in the evaluation process.

The ruling party leader Erdoğan, on the other hand, uses contraction and expansion resources in similar percentages, which can be interpreted as the reflection of his authority and political status in his linguistic choices. That is, as the leader holding the power and more political control, he may have felt comfortable while expressing his

evaluations, and in this process, he may have made use of dialogic contraction resources more than opposition leaders.

5.2.3.2. Detailed Analysis of Dialogic Contraction and Dialogic Expansion Resources based on Leaders` Self and Other Evaluations

In this part, the aim was to explore whether Turkish politicians tend to employ certain Engagement categories, particularly more in their positive evaluations or vice versa. First of all, the percentages of dialogic contraction resources were explored in leaders` positive and negative evaluations, and then the same process was repeated for the dialogic expansion resources in the data.

5.2.3.2.1. Dialogic Contraction resources in leaders` self-vs-other evaluations

In order to analyze the dialogically contracted devices in leaders` self versus other-based evaluations, the number of these devices within leaders` self and other evaluations was divided into the total number of Engagement devices encountered within the leaders` speeches. In the following Figure, the percentages of these resources encountered in leaders` self and other evaluations can be seen:

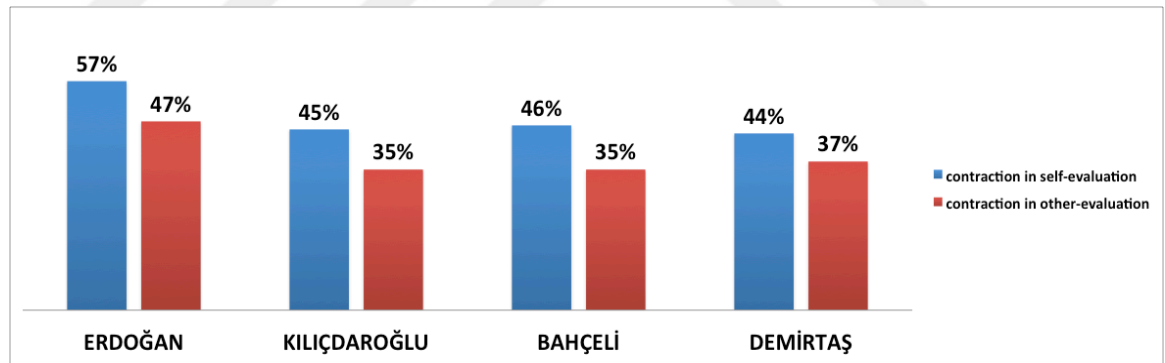


Figure 43. Leaders` use of dialogic contraction categories in their self versus other evaluations

(notes. Erdoğan > f=556 out of 974 self-evaluative / f=729 out of 1555 other-evaluative resources
 Kılıçdaroğlu > f=292 out of 644 self-evaluative / f=1248 out of 3545 other-evaluative resources
 Bahçeli > f=152 out of 330 self-evaluative / f=681 out of 1964 other-evaluative resources
 Demirtaş > f=200 out of 453 self-evaluative / f=943 out of 2578 other-evaluative resources)

It has been observed that dialogic contraction resources (*expressing stronger commitment & high subjectivity, and restricting the inclusion of alternative viewpoints into the evaluation*) are employed, particularly more in leaders` self evaluations. In other words, in party group speeches, leaders generally tend to express their self evaluations in more contracted ways. They use these resources in their criticisms, as

well, though the percentages in these negative evaluations are lower. It can be argued that in Turkish political party group speeches in the sample, dialogic contraction tools are rhetorically preferred for self-evaluative purposes. This may stem from the fact that politicians may have felt more comfortable in expressing their strong subjectivity in the evaluations regarding themselves; whereas they may have felt less comfortable to do that in their criticisms.

Closer examination of the Figure above demonstrated that ruling party leader Erdoğan makes use of contraction resources most, both in his self evaluations (57%; $f=556$) and in his negative criticisms (47%; $f=729$ out of 1555 items). As the politician holding the power, there seems to be the effect of his political status on his linguistic choices. As dialogic contraction devices include a high level of subjectivity in which leaders restrict the inclusion of other voices and take the full responsibility of their claims, it is obvious that Erdoğan makes use of these categories not only in his appreciations but also in his accusations.

Similarly, all opposition parties' leaders tend to employ dialogically contraction categories more in their self evaluations (*Bahçeli-46%; Kılıçdaroğlu-45%; Demirtaş-44%*), when compared to their percentages in their negative criticisms (*Bahçeli-35%; Kılıçdaroğlu-35%; Demirtaş-37%*). However, detailed analysis indicated that the percentages of these categories in their negative criticisms are lower than the ruling party leader. It can also be considered as the influence of their political status on their linguistic choices. In other words, they may have felt less comfortable to take the full responsibility of their claims while criticising the government and the ruling party leader.

5.2.3.2.2. Dialogic Expansion resources in leaders' self-vs-other evaluations

In this section, dialogic expansion categories employed by the leaders in their self and other-based evaluations were explored. In order to analyze the use of dialogically expanded devices in leaders' self versus other-based evaluations, the number of these devices within leaders' self and other evaluations was divided into the total number of Engagement devices encountered within the leaders' speeches separately. The percentages of these categories are given in the Figure:

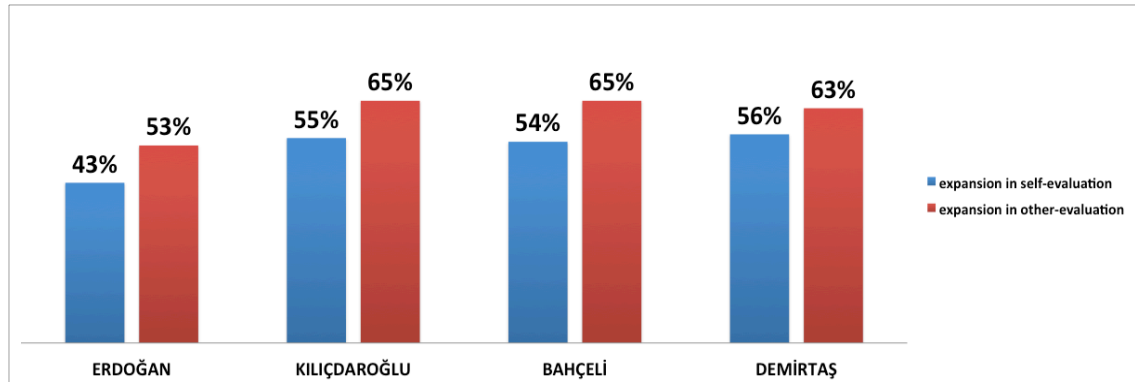


Figure 44. Leaders` use of dialogic expansion categories in their self versus other evaluations

(notes. Erdoğan > $f=418$ out of 974 self-evaluative / $f=826$ out of 1555 other-evaluative resources
 Kılıçdaroğlu > $f=352$ out of 644 self-evaluative / $f=2297$ out of 3545 other-evaluative resources
 Bahçeli > $f=178$ out of 330 self-evaluative / $f=1283$ out of 1964 other-evaluative resources
 Demirtaş > $f=253$ out of 453 self-evaluative / $f=253$ out of 2578 other-evaluative resources)

The analysis indicated that dialogic expansion resources (*expressing subjectivity, but at the same time opening up the dialogic space through modals, rhetorical questions, deontic items, evidentials, and also attributing the evaluations to some outer sources*) are preferred more in leaders` negative evaluations. In other words, in party group speeches analyzed in this study, leaders generally tend to express their criticisms in more expanded ways, so that they can share the responsibility of their accusations with their listeners and they can include their audience to the decision-making process. As all leaders tend to express weaker subjectivity and commitment to their propositions in their accusations, it can be argued that for the sample in this study, dialogic expansion tools are rhetorically preferred more for criticism. Politicians may have felt less comfortable in expressing their strong subjectivity in the evaluations regarding their opponents. They use expansion resources in their self evaluations, as well; however, their percentages are lower than the ones in their criticisms.

Closer examination of the Figure above demonstrates that all opposition leaders tend to employ more expansion categories than the ruling party leader, both in their criticisms (*Kılıçdaroğlu-65%; Bahçeli-65%; Demirtaş-63%; Erdoğan-53%*) and self-evaluations (*Kılıçdaroğlu-55%; Bahçeli-54%; Demirtaş-56%; Erdoğan-43%*) It was observed that as the opposition leaders do not have the same political authority, they employ expansion categories more than the ruling party leader; i.e., there is the effect of political status on their linguistic choices. As dialogic expansion devices express weaker commitment and subjectivity of the leaders, by employing them, opposition leaders open up the dialogic space and make their listeners get involved in the

decision-making process. In this respect, opposition leaders generally share the responsibility of their claims with their audience.

However, ruling party leader Erdoğan tends to employ expansion resources less than opposition leaders, both in his negative criticisms (53%; *f=826 out of 1555 items*) and self-praises (43%; *f=418 out of 974 items*). It can be argued that as the leader with the ruling authority, he does not hesitate to accuse his opponents through dialogically contracted categories mentioned in the previous section, and therefore he employs less expansion categories.

Findings regarding the general use of dialogic contraction and dialogic expansion resources of Turkish politicians can be summarised as follows:

1. Dialogic contraction devices are much more preferred by the ruling party leader, since he tends to express his strong commitment to the propositions that he is uttering more than the other leaders; whereas opposition leaders tend to employ less contraction categories in their criticisms.
2. The case is just the opposite for the dialogic expansion resources, as opposition leaders tend to employ more expansion devices in their criticisms. It can be claimed that opposition leaders do not tend to take the whole responsibility in their evaluations, especially in their negative criticisms towards the government, and therefore they prefer to use expansion categories more in their evaluations, through which they share the propositional responsibility with other alternative voices.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to highlight the ways in which evaluation phenomenon takes place in Turkish political party group speeches. As evaluative language has in-group ideological orientations, it was believed that its exploration in this genre would provide significant insights regarding the construction of social realities within Turkish political parties. Besides, the analysis of different politicians would allow for the comparative analysis of evaluative strategies of political leaders from various ideological, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and this was expected to contribute to a better understanding of the use of evaluative language by political actors in Turkish setting.

In this sense, the motivation for the study was three-fold: (1) to describe in a comparative manner the Judgemental evaluative strategies of four main party leaders, all represented in Turkish Parliament on the dates of data collection, namely 'Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (AKP)', 'Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu (CHP)', 'Devlet Bahçeli (MHP)' and 'Selahattin Demirtaş (HDP)'; (2) to identify their Engagement (*source of evaluation*) strategies through which political leaders express their commitment to their propositions, maintain solidarity and negotiation with their listeners, and achieve dialogic communication; and (3) to explore the reality construction strategies of Turkish political party leaders under the influence of their in-group ideologies and present political status while they are addressing their own party members.

'Appraisal model', by Martin & White (2005), was employed as the main theoretical framework for the analysis, as this model is concerned with how individuals convey their evaluative meanings. More specifically, the central concerns of this dissertation were the analysis of Judgemental evaluation and Engagement strategies. While giving political speeches, politicians tend to evaluate both themselves and their opponents, and they use certain linguistic resources intentionally to express their ideologies and party-based realities, enhance the effectiveness of their conveyed messages and gain public approval. Besides, Engagement strategies could reflect how politicians interact

with their audience while presenting their opinions and criticisms; i.e., how they maintain solidarity with their listeners, to what extent they express their subjectivity, and how their ideological and political positioning can be realized through their linguistic choices.

It was anticipated that a comparison among politicians from different political orientations would enable us to understand not only the evaluative functioning of linguistic strategies in Turkish political discourse, but also the role of these strategies in the construction and expression of ideological realities within political speeches. In this sense, the main research questions guiding this dissertation were:

1. What kinds of language strategies (*explicit-lexicogrammatical items & implicit resources*) do Turkish political party leaders employ to construct and maintain their political realities while they are making Judgemental evaluations (*self/other*) in their weekly-held group speeches?
2. In this reality construction process, how do Turkish political party leaders make use of Engagement strategies in order to maintain solidarity and also opposition to persuade their listeners?
3. What insights do evaluation and reality construction strategies of Turkish politicians provide regarding the influence of their status and positionings in Turkish political life?

To answer these research questions, 57 party group speeches given by four different party leaders on the dates from October 8th, 2013 to February 25th, 2014 were analyzed. The speeches covering significant political events within Turkish political life (*Gezi events, economy, democracy, justice, corruption, terror & Kurdish question, Middle East, 30 March elections, education, and religion*) were selected intentionally as politicians evaluated both themselves and others while talking about these issues.

The analysis was specifically interested in the use of explicitly stated Judgemental expressions through '*explicitly stated*' evaluative resources; i.e., lexico-grammatical patterns, and the '*implicitly stated*' ones, including metaphorical expressions and more covert invoked Judgemental resources. Besides, this study aimed to explore the Engagement strategies of Turkish politicians, through which they express their commitment to their claims and negotiate solidarity with their listeners (Bakhtin, 1981; Martin & White, 2005). These strategies are composed of the expressions that either reduce the dialogic space (*dialogic contraction*) and prevent the inclusion of other opinions; or the ones that open up that space and invite heteroglossic diversity

(*dialogic expansion*). Under the dialogic contraction category, certain linguistic structures restricting the inclusion of other voices, and therefore closing down the dialogic space between the speaker and the listeners were explored, including ‘*deny*’, ‘*counter*’, ‘*concur*’, ‘*pronounce*’ and ‘*endorse*’ groups.

6.1. SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS

The first research question, ‘***What kinds of language strategies (explicit-lexicogrammatical items & implicit resources) do Turkish political party leaders employ to construct and maintain their political realities while they are making Judgemental evaluations (self/other) in their weekly-held group speeches?***’, could be answered by exploring both overt and covert linguistic resources encountered within leaders’ evaluations in the sample.

Firstly, analysis of explicitly stated lexico-grammatical Judgemental resources indicated that lexical choice was an important element of evaluative language. When previous claims regarding the effect of lexical items in the persuasiveness of the conveyed messages in politics are taken into consideration (Fairclough, 1995; Malcolm, 2010; Page, 2003; Reyes, 2011a; van Dijk, 1998), it is obvious that Turkish political actors similarly have a tendency towards using certain lexico-grammatical evaluative categories more than others. The use of ‘*verb phrases*’ as the major evaluative category in the sample can be interpreted as leaders’ strategy of expressing their Judgements, both praises and criticisms, in a more dynamic and action-based manner. As verb phrases give importance to events and actions (Biber & Conrad, 2001; 2009; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002; Hunston & Thompson, 2000; Jullian, 2008; Quirk et al., 1985; Wodak, 2009a), high percentage of this category in Turkish evaluative political discourse can be interpreted as leaders’ tendency towards making dynamic Judgemental evaluations.

Besides, the high frequency of ‘*postpositional phrases*’, ‘*relative clauses*’ and ‘*adverb phrases*’ lead us to the conclusion that politicians in the sample tend to give details about the individuals they are evaluating. As these categories are associated with elaborative language, it can be argued that party leaders prefer making detailed evaluations in their speeches most of the time. In this respect, limited use of ‘*adjective phrases*’, ‘*complement clauses*’ and ‘*adverb phrases*’ can be interpreted as

leaders' rhetorical tendencies, as well. They may have preferred to employ relative clauses rather than adjective phrases, or postpositional phrases instead of adverb phrases, so that they could not only make more elaborated Judgements, but also form longer sentences and express their meanings in detail.

Apart from the overall lexico-grammatical categories, the analysis of leader-based evaluative expressions revealed certain rhetorical preferences of the leaders. The ruling party leader Erdoğan and two opposition leaders, Kılıçdaroğlu and Demirtaş, generally tend to express their Judgemental meanings via *verbal* categories, including verb phrases, postpositional phrases and adverbial clauses, which can be considered as their rhetorical preference of a more dynamic language. However, Bahçeli was observed to employ more *nominal* categories, including noun phrases, relative clauses and adjective phrases; i.e., he prefers more static, descriptive and informative language in his evaluations. Different percentages of verbal and nominal structures within leaders' evaluative utterances have provided their rhetorical tendencies while addressing their audience.

Additionally, some preferences were observed regarding the use of lexico-grammatical categories within leaders' self- and other-based evaluations in the sample. It was observed that as elaborative devices, postpositional phrases, adverb phrases and adverbial clauses are preferred particularly for '*self-evaluative purposes*'; whereas, more static and descriptive constructions, like noun phrases, adjective phrases, relative clauses and complement clauses are employed especially for '*other presentation*'. In this sense, high frequencies of verbal constructions in praises, but nominal patterns in criticisms are distinctive, and they lead us to the conclusion that out-group evaluations are usually expressed within a more static, informative manner in party group speeches in Turkish setting.

Judgemental evaluations can also be implicitly expressed by using Judgemental metaphors and more covert invoked Judgements. It was deduced from the findings that metaphorical expressions were preferred more in the data. Such a finding indicates that Turkish political party leaders in this study tend to express their indirect evaluations generally through metaphors, and in this way they manipulate their abstract ideas and party-based ideological thoughts and realities in a simplified manner. This finding is in line with the previous findings in literature (Charteris-Black, 2004; Chilton, 2004; Hart,

2014), indicating that the use of metaphors as a simplifying device is quite common in evaluative political discourse, as well. Additionally, high percentage of metaphorical resources in politicians' covert evaluations can be interpreted as their tendency towards being clearer even in their implicit Judgements.

Besides, leader-based analysis of implicit Judgemental items pointed out certain preferences among leaders. It has been observed that some leaders employed metaphorical expressions more while making Judgemental evaluations covertly. In this way, they express their in-group party-based realities louder and clearer. However, some others made use of invoked judgements more in their covert evaluations; i.e., they benefited from presuppositions and taken-for-grantedness strategy, since invoked appraisal is reliant on the audience's prior knowledge and is directly related to the ideological backgrop which politicians take for granted.

As they are highly socio-cultural since their meanings can be realized through certain cultural sharings and values, it can be argued that invoked Judgemental evaluations are constituted in Turkish politicians' minds as a result of community effect. Thus, it is possible to come up with certain socio-cultural, party-based linguistic structures or rhetorical strategies in leaders' utterances, which can be considered as the reflections of their party-shaped in-group ideological perspectives. Although findings regarding invoked Judgemental items are limited to a number of party group speeches in the sample, they can construct motivation for further generalization in Turkish political discourse, in this sense.

One of the most important findings regarding Judgemental evaluations in Turkish political party group speeches has been observed within leaders' explicitness versus implicitness levels. Overall analysis of Judgemental evaluations demonstrated differences between the ruling party leader and the opposition parties' leaders in this respect, more particularly within their in- and out-group evaluations. It can be interpreted as the effect of political authority on language patterns of the politicians. More clearly, as opposition parties' leaders, Kılıçdaroğlu and Demirtaş tend to make their negative criticisms and accusations in a more implicit manner through invoked items, which can be considered as their maneuvering strategy while making out-group evaluations towards others; i.e., the government, the ruling party and its leader; whereas they prefer less implicit metaphorical devices while talking about themselves

and their achievements; i.e., in-group evaluations. In this respect, as implicit evaluative categories are preferred for the “acts of blaming...attacking the moral character of some individual of group” (Chilton, 2004, p. 47), it can be interpreted that these two leaders strategically employ more covert items in their accusations. However, the ruling party leader Erdoğan tends to use less covert metaphorical expressions both in his self-presentations and other-presentations. Thus, the influence of his political authority on his rhetorical style can be seen, particularly in his evaluative language. This finding is in line with previous claims in literature (Kotrc, 2012; van Dijk, 1998). All in all, it is obvious that leaders’ political status, authority and ideological stances can be reflected through the percentages of explicit and implicit evaluative strategies in their speeches. Despite being an opposition leader, Bahçeli does not have the same tendency as other opposition leaders, as he employs metaphorical expressions more both in his self-evaluations and criticisms.

In order to answer the second research question, ‘***In this reality construction process, how do Turkish political party leaders make use of Engagement strategies in order to maintain solidarity and also opposition to persuade their listeners?***’, Turkish politicians’ Engagement strategies were explored.

To start with, overall analysis of dialogic contraction strategies within the whole data indicated that Turkish political party leaders in the sample frequently employ ‘*deny*’ categories while closing down the space for other alternative voices, so that they can express their full subjectivity and try to manipulate their party-oriented thoughts to the public, particularly while making negative criticisms. Taking into account Labov’s (1972) claim regarding cognitive backgrounds hidden behind negated utterances, such a finding can be interpreted as the negative evaluative function of denial resources in the data, through which party leaders make other-presentations in their speeches. Besides, the high frequency of these items in leaders’ negative criticisms makes it clear that they tend to prevent the interference of others, to make their listeners agree with their own realities without questioning the truth, and to speak in a more persuasive manner.

Apart from negated expressions, findings indicated that Turkish political party leaders also make use of ‘*pronounce*’ categories in order to take the full responsibility of their claims and close down the dialogic space for negotiation in their speeches. Through

pronounce items with 'I' and 'we' pronouns in the sample, politicians express their claims in a more assertive, contracted and close-to-debate manner. Besides, the high percentage of this category in the overall data is remarkable, in that it can be considered as a category enhancing the persuasiveness of political speeches by expressing ideas in a collective manner and maintaining solidarity with the listeners, as argued in literature (Al-Faki, 2014; Fairclough, 2002; Searle, 1995; Wodak, 2009a; Wodak et al., 1999). Besides, detailed analysis of this category in the sample indicated that pronounce items are strategically employed for self-evaluative purposes, showing that Turkish politicians tend to express their in-group ideologies in a collective manner more in their positive self-presentations so that they can share their group culture with the public.

'Counter' items like *'rağmen-although'*, *'yine de-however'*, or *'ama, fakat - yet, but'* were also found to be employed strategically by Turkish party leaders in the sample, particularly in their negative criticisms. Such a finding can provide certain insights regarding the effect of counter arguments on the persuasiveness of politicians' expressions. As counter resources are related to unexpectedness (Quirk et al., 1985), and subjectivity (Bednarek, 2006b), high frequency of these expressions in leaders' accusations demonstrates that aforementioned leaders express their subjectivity and close the dialogic space for other voices in their criticisms most of the time. Similarly, 'concur' resources like *'çünkü-because'*, *'bunun için-because of that'* or *'bundan dolayı-due to'* were observed to be employed by Turkish political leaders in the study as a rhetorical strategy to persuade the public regarding their rightness by giving a justification for their claims. Detailed analysis indicated that leaders rhetorically provide justifications more in their self-evaluations, showing that in order to prove their rightness and the exactness of the information they are providing, they strategically make use of concur resources most of the time.

However, 'endorsement' resources, referring to linguistic structures such as *'-e göre' (according to)*, *'kanıtla-' (to prove)*, *'belirt-' (to show)*, and *'göster-' (to demonstrate, to indicate)*, were observed to be the least employed category in the sample. Such a restricted use of endorsement categories can lead us to the conclusion that Turkish political party leaders do not prefer to present a different source while showing their full commitment to their claims in the data. Besides, detailed analysis indicated that endorsement tools are particularly employed for negative evaluations within

leaders' speeches, particularly in the criticisms of opposition leaders. It shows that as opposition leaders lack power, they tend to make use of external resources more in their criticisms so that they can shift off the responsibility of their accusations.

Detailed analysis of dialogic expansion categories demonstrated that Turkish party leaders in this study employ '*epistemically modalized*' resources most, so that they can express their certainty or doubts, and gain support from their listeners. Frequent use of these resources in Turkish data provides traces for linguists, since by using them, Turkish political party leaders not only express their subjectivity and political ideologies as argued in literature (Badran, 2001; Hart, 2014; Healy, 2011; Vukovic, 2014), but they also convey their party-oriented realities and community-based perspectives (Chen, 2009; Kress & Hodge, 1988). Moreover, detailed analysis indicated that epistemically modalized expressions are mainly preferred for self-presentations by the leaders in the sample, which takes us to the conclusion that while talking about their achievements, party leaders tend to open up the dialogic space and negotiate solidarity with their listeners in that way.

Apart from the epistemically modalized expressions, it was also observed that '*rhetorical questions*' are frequently employed in the sample, especially for negative criticism. Through these questions, Turkish party leaders create a group identity. As rhetorical questions enable the negotiation of socially constructed ideologies and realities in an interactive manner (Dickinson, 2009; Reyes, 2011a), the high frequency of this category in the sample can be interpreted as leaders' tendency towards gaining approval from the public for their accusations and warnings. Besides, they make use of some rhetorical questions as face-saving strategies, through which they tend to be polite in their criticisms.

As for the '*attribution category*', it was observed that Turkish politicians in this study employ direct / indirect expressions, particularly in their other-evaluations. In this way, they provide some external sources and speak as if these criticisms belong to others. By quoting from others' claims in their negative criticisms, Turkish politicians show the others' wrongness strategically. As argued by Johansson (2007) and observed in this dissertation, politicians frequently quote their rivals and make use of their statements in order to argue against them. Besides, it has been argued in literature that attributed expressions function to express ideology-oriented meanings through other people's

words (Bakhtin, 1981; Johnson et al., 2006; Markus, 2006), in order to promote their own rightness (Antaki & Leudar, 2001; Kuo, 2001, 2007), or to distance themselves from their accusations by acknowledging some external voices (Coffin, 2000; Hart, 2014; Jullian, 2011). Taking into account these claims in literature, high frequency of quoted expressions in the sample, particularly within the leaders' out-group evaluations, can be interpreted as a maneuvering strategy of the politicians, through which they hide their accusations behind others' words.

It was also observed in this study that ruling party leader and the opposition leaders had different tendencies towards using '*deontic expressions*' in their speeches. Expressing necessity and prohibition, deontic categories are mainly preferred for negative criticisms by the ruling party leader; whereas the opposition leaders employ these expressions mainly for self-presentation. Such a finding can be interpreted as the reflection of the political authority of Turkish political party leaders. Due to their lack of political power, opposition leaders may have hesitated to accuse the government and its leader through deontic expressions; while the ruling party leader does not have such a hesitation in general. As deontically modalised expressions enable politicians to express their power, persuasiveness and strong commitment to their claims (Boicu, 2007; Chilton, 2004; Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2010; Nartey & Yankson, 2014; Matic, 2012), and to manipulate their party-based realities to the public (Lillian, 2008), high frequency of this category in negative criticisms of the ruling party leader is remarkable as it shows the effect of political authority on evaluative expressions.

'*Evidentials*' were observed to be the least employed category in the sample, which indicates that Turkish party leaders do not prefer to lessen the persuasive effect of their dialogically expanded claims by providing some external evidence for them. Besides, evidentials were found to be employed more, particularly by opposition parties' leaders in their criticisms, and such a finding can be interpreted as their strategic maneuvering. While accusing others and especially the government, opposition leaders tend to provide some external sources so that they can share the responsibility of their accusations with these sources. However, the ruling party leader in this study does not have such a preference. With more political authority and power, he does not need to base his criticisms or warnings on some evidential categories.

Detailed leader-based analysis regarding the use of dialogic contraction and dialogic expansion categories indicated that all opposition party leaders highly employ dialogically expansion devices more in their criticisms. Such a finding can be interpreted as the influence of their political status on their linguistic strategies. As a rhetorical strategy, opposition leaders in the sample hesitate to evaluate the government directly through dialogic contraction resources, as they do not want to get the full responsibility. Instead, they tend to employ more expansion resources in their criticisms so that they can share the responsibility of their claims with the third parties, or their listeners in this respect. The ruling party leader, on the other hand, uses nearly the same number of contraction and expansion devices; indicating that as the leader with higher political status and authority, he employs both strategies without any hesitation. Taking into consideration the previous claims of Fairclough (1989) and Sarfo & Krampa (2013), stressing the controlling power of language among people, such a finding in our study indicates that even in such a restricted sample, the political power and authority of the speaker can be observed, and this can motivate further studies in this respect.

In order to demonstrate the hidden ideological stances of Turkish political party leaders, linguists should be aware of critical evaluative resources through which they can detect the party-oriented beliefs, thoughts and realities. Thus, the third research question, '***What insights do evaluation and reality construction strategies of Turkish politicians provide regarding the influence of their status and positionings in Turkish political life?***', can lead us to realize these phenomena through the linguistic analysis of evaluative resources.

Regarding Judgemental expressions of the leaders in the sample, and more particularly their explicitness and implicitness strategies, it was found out that with more power and authority in Turkish Parliament, the ruling party leader tends to speak more explicit both in his criticisms, accusations, warnings; and also in his self-presentations including praises, achievements and successful points. However, opposition party leaders are not so explicit, especially in their accusations and criticisms towards the ruling party. Thus, they prefer hiding behind implicit categories most of the time. It is evident that the political status and power can influence the linguistic choices in political discourse.

Additionally, Engagement findings have provided certain insights for the properties of evaluative language, negotiation and solidarity strategies of the politicians and their reality-construction ways for the group speeches in the sample. Even in such a restricted sample, it was observed that if a leader is holding the political power and controlling everything, he tends to employ much more dialogic contraction strategies, as he does not need to share the responsibility of his claims and therefore presents his claims as if they are definitely true. However, opposition parties' leaders tend to act more strategically and share the responsibility of their negative criticisms with their audience so that they can not only take support from the public, but also negotiate solidarity and as a result share the responsibility of their criticisms with their listeners. Such a finding indicates the importance of evaluative language in expressing ideology-oriented realities and in-group attitudes within different political parties.

In line with Hasan's (1996) argument regarding the role of evaluative language in defending political realities, findings in this dissertation indicated how Turkish politicians defended their in-group perspectives and ideologies, and also how they conveyed them to the public in their speeches. In other words, in party-based reality construction process, leaders' rhetorical tendencies demonstrated the influence of their authority, power and ideological stances on their language strategies. It is necessary to emphasize here that reality construction is a subjective phenomenon, and in political setting, it is related to group-based subjectivity. In this respect, it can be argued that political reality is constructed through parties' ideology-based statements or evaluations.

To conclude, this dissertation contributed to the exploration of evaluative language in a Turkish setting. Although the findings in this study depend on limited type of data that is not enough to make generalizations for Turkish political discourse, at least, such findings restricted to political party group speeches of the leaders can set up a substructure for making a hypothesis regarding the characteristics of evaluative Turkish political language in the future. Even from these limited findings, certain assumptions can be deduced for the relationship among language, Turkish politics, power and party-based realities.

As evaluative language can demonstrate how people's attitudes are verbally expressed (Hunston, 2011), its analysis in Turkish political discourse indicated Turkish politicians' ideology-based evaluations and in relation to that, their persuasion and

reality-construction strategies. More important than the descriptive findings, this dissertation also presented how, through the resources of evaluative language, different Turkish political party leaders rhetorically reflect their party-based realities in their speeches. In this respect, this study revealed both ‘generalizations’ (general evaluative strategies encountered within the sample) and ‘variations’ (preferences among different political party leaders with different ideological perspectives, realities and attitudes).

As evaluative language enables politicians to achieve their certain goals (Al-Faki, 2014; Fetzer, 2006; Fetzer & Bull, 2006; Wenden, 2005), linguistic resources employed by Turkish politicians in this study not only revealed their ideological stances, but they also indicated the ways in which they perform certain communicative speech acts, like stating opinions, requesting approval, or warning their rivals strategically. Thus, findings in this dissertation indicated these goal-oriented strategies of the party leaders, as well, since they not only expressed their in-group ideologies in their Judgemental evaluations and Engagement strategies, but they also fulfilled their political objectives as they criticized others, talked about certain prohibitions, warned others or praised themselves on certain issues.

It is clear that evaluation in Turkish political party leaders’ speeches in the sample follows a certain trend based on the political ideologies, political status and authority of the leaders; i.e., there are certain patterns within leaders’ evaluative expressions. Additionally, the expressions of attitude and solidarity are interpersonal strategies employed frequently within their speeches. In this way, politicians can express their attitudinal meanings, position individuals in their speeches, and reveal their commitment to their propositions. In this respect, it is believed that the use of Appraisal model in this dissertation provided an innovative approach to explaining the construction of evaluative stance in Turkish political language studies, and a functional alternative to pragmatics-oriented analyses of interpersonal meaning, in general.

6.2. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Findings in this dissertation have contributed to the field of evaluative language analysis in Turkish political discourse to a great extent; however, a lot of work remains to be done in understanding the complexities of interpersonal meaning, evaluation and its

role in the construction of political reality in Turkish setting. In this sense, several issues that require further exploration have been identified as follows:

1. A study with a larger sample of political speeches, not restricted to written party group speeches only, but taken from political interviews, press meetings, TV programmes, public declarations and even spontaneous speeches of the leaders may provide different findings regarding leaders' evaluative strategies. Party leaders' ways of reality construction may be reflecting the people's ways of reality construction; i.e., politicians speak as people demand. Politicians' evaluative patterns and strategies can change based on the discourses, and therefore, in further studies, the same leaders' evaluative strategies within different genres can be explored.
2. Besides, leaders' accommodation can be linked with other socio-psychological facts in that way, so, we can investigate whether they are talking with their own voice, or they are under the effect of a political voice. In other words, it can be explored whether there is a culture-based political discourse construction in Turkish setting.
3. Besides, a corpora-based analysis method can be followed for further studies. In this sense, certain evaluative lexico-grammatical elements can be explored together with their surrounding structures and linguistic resources.
4. Another aspect that can be analyzed within such an evaluative study is the exploration of whether leaders' preferences in their interpersonal expressions have certain effects on their supporters. As the power of a politician is linked to the strength of his wordings (Hyward, 2011; Wodak, 1999), this phenomenon can be explored in further studies together with Turkish political parties' vote ratios or election results.
5. As evaluation is a broad phenomenon present in every part of discourse, including the word choice, the intonation that accompanies it in speech, the syntactic categories, the choice of genre and even the form of language (Munday, 2012a), it can be explored within politicians' body movements, their facial expressions, and even in their tone and the speed of voice. In this sense, except for the linguistic choices, other non-verbal resources of politicians can also be explored in further studies.
6. A comparative study between Turkish and other countries' political party leaders' stances can be studied, as well. In this way, common evaluative

patterns can be detected worldwide, if there are any. Actually, this also helps us see if certain cultures have their culture-specific political strategies in discourse, in terms of both similarities and differences.

7. Finally, some frequencies regarding structural categories took our attention in the sample. For instance, '-An' suffix forming relative clauses, or '-ArAk' suffix forming adverbial clauses were observed to be quite common, compared to other suffix categories. As it was not the focus of the study, such kind of structural analysis was not carried out. Such structural frequencies can provide motivation for further studies in this respect.



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APPENDIX I. ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF LEADERS' UTTERANCES

CHAPTER 4

1. (p. 71) They have [-j] **deceived** you. They are [-j] **deceiving** you.
2. (p. 71) Sorry for using this phrase, but this man is [-j] **'ignorant'**
3. (p. 71) He [-j] **mis**understood that, as well
4. (p. 71) CHP, the party seducing the belief diversity [-j] **nefariously** around Turkey
5. (p. 71) He is off-kilter, and he has turned into an [-j] **arrogant** personality who is staking others, glowering at them and looking down on almost everyone.
6. (p. 71) That is the underlying reason behind the attempts of both the security forces and the [-j] **fascist** gangs to make our youth out of breath, breathless, and disorganised.
7. (p. 72) That much [-j] **boldness**. It is a bit much.
8. (p. 72) Most particularly, the [-j] **lies**, [-j] **rumours** and [-j] **accusations** of the ones who have looked at the nationalist idealist movement with an evil eye all their lives are just empty talk for us.
9. (p. 72) Why are you swaying? Why are you stating that there are not any other alternatives? How do you account for? Again, [-j] **according to his own favor**.
10. (p. 72) The debates in the commission are being carried on [-j] **devotedly**.
11. (p. 72) We have reached to such a point that there is a portrait of a Prime Minister [-j] **who is defending the corruption but not struggling with it**.
12. (p. 72) You have tried to build your own state instead of strenghtening democracy. Rather than giving an account of the young [-j] **whom you tortured** and [-j] **killed** in Gezi Gezi resistance, you have attempted to bring them to account.
13. (p. 72) You are filling your pockets with grant aid, you are performing tasks using money obtained from the public taxes and you are terrorizing our party [-j] **by causing pressure**.
14. (p. 72) The crowds increased [-j] **as the AKP government attacked**, the events expanded and spread all over the country [-j] **as the AKP government became intolerant**.
15. (p. 72) [-j] **Threatening** the public by saying "50% of citizens voting for me are waiting for my permission to go to streets", and [-j] **implying** that he will put the ones voting for him against the ones not voting are literally disastrous.
16. (p. 72) We will never forget and let others forget [-j] **how you have oppressed** us with the parallel state for years.
17. (p. 73) [i-j] **The governor is writing an official instruction and withdrawing the police and the gendarmerie**.
18. (p. 73) [i-j] **The Intelligence Service officers of that period were appointed to top positions in the General Directorate of Security**.
19. (p. 73) [i-j] **They have changed the regulations**. The High Council of Judges and Prosecutors has announced that it is not true.
20. (p. 73) [i-j] **20-decare parcel has been given to Bilal**.
21. (p. 74) I beg your pardon! [metaphor-j] **You are one of the leading actors**.
22. (p. 74) As it can be understood, [metaphor-j] **Turkey has been besieged by terror**.
23. (p. 74) [metaphor+j] **We will build Turkey together**.
24. (p. 74) The MHP is the [metaphor+j] **main mortar** and the [metaphor+j] **eternal insurance** of national unity and brotherhood.

25. (p. 75) They [e-deny] **have done nothing** so far.
26. (p. 75) They [e-deny] **don't have** a problem of freedom.
27. (p. 75) [e-pronounce] **I am emphasizing** here that it was not only the state, not only the supporters of the status quo politics that made us face these problems. We have always been treated like that by some artists, some media organizations, and some non-governmental organizations of this country.
28. (p. 75) There was the parallel state behind this event, as well. [e-pronounce] **I am declaring** this here.
29. (p. 75) Why have you taken the defence of these cases? He is [e-counter] **still** doing poor-mouth.
30. (p. 75) The Prime Minister Erdoğan underestimated the reactions at first, and thought that the crisis would be good for him. [e-counter] **However**, it was realized days after that he was mistaken.
31. (p. 75) What did he use to say? "I have never seen a father learning theft from his son". [e-concur] **This is correct**. He says "I have not seen nor heard a father learning theft from his son. Theft descends from the father to his son, not from the son to the father".
32. (p. 75) There is complexity in Taksim Gezi Park and also in many places in our country, The Prime Minister Erdoğan is cruelly suppressing the democratic reactions and protests. [e-concur] **Therefore**, he increased the anger directed towards him.
33. (p. 75) 18 April 2013, long before this event, National Intelligence Service has provided a three-page report to the Prime Minister. I am reading the final part of threport: [e-endorse] **"It was reported that the aforementioned matters may be used against the government in case the relations between Reza Zarrab, the one in prison, and Zafer Çağlayan, Minister of Economy and Muammer Güler, Minister of International Affairs come up.**
34. (p. 76) [e-endorse] **According to the research of Turkish Community Confederation, 97% of our officers are in debt, 62% of them are far beyond paying their debt.**
35. (p. 76) There [e-epistemic] **may be** provokers in each society, they [e-epistemic] **may penetrate** among the young, they [e-epistemic] **may penetrate** into the neighbourhood, they [e-epistemic] **may penetrate** everywhere.
36. (p. 76) They [e-epistemic] **will definitely make** pockets on the shrouds, they [e-epistemic] **will definitely** do that.
37. (p. 76) I do not feel sorry for Erdoğan. Whom I feel sorry for is his children. [e-RQ] **Isn't it a shame, isn't it a sin?** You are associating your children to your theft. [e-RQ] **How can you do that?**
38. (p. 76) [e-RQ] **Have you understood the suppression in Taksim Square?**
39. (p. 76) In 1994, when he appeared in public, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said [e-attribute] **"I have never seen nor heard a father learning theft from his son. The theft descends from the father to his son, not from the son to his father. In managements, the theft descends from the managerial positions to the ones in lower-positions, and finally reflects to the public."** He exactly described the current climate. The Prime Minister's Office made a declaration and said [e-attribute] **"This is all montage, not real."**
40. (p. 76) On 11th January 2014, while coming back from the Far East Asia, he was cheated once again and demonstrated how master he was in stealing within his statements [e-attribute] **"They are talking about black money. Relative to what? You can not call it black money if it is processed in a bank"**.

41. (p. 76) You can not walk on the streets blamelessly like a normal citizen. You **[e-deontic] have to** look at the front.
42. (p. 76) The Prime Minister Erdoğan, whom we are not sure exactly whether he picks up the math problems, **[e-deontic] should** give an answer to this question. Dear Erdoğan, how many shoeboxes will the billions in the bank accounts fit into, how many little vessels will they fill, how many villas will they overthrow?
43. (p. 76) These firms **[e-evidential] have been given** a 87-billion-832-million dollar-tender. It is 87 quadrillion in old money.
44. (p. 76) **[e-evidential] As far as it is seen, Turkey has got within the range of Al-Qaeda terrorist organization.** **[e-evidential] As can be understood, Turkey has been sieged of terror.**

CHAPTER 5

1. (p. 84) There is corruption and it has to be clarified, but the government have **[-j] put strain on** it (*Kılıçdaroğlu*)
2. (p. 84) What did they do? They **[-j] wasted** the atmosphere prepared (*Demirtaş*)
3. (p. 85) He has **[-j] teased** the bankers, and he has **[-j] humiliated** our citizens who have carried pots and pans (*Bahçeli*)
4. (p. 85) During these events, unfortunately one of my acquaintance`s daughter-in-law was **[-j] pulled on the ground** with her six-month-old baby. They **[-j] bothered** her, they **[-j] bothered** her child (*Erdoğan*)
5. (p. 86) Ali İsmail Korkmaz was killed **[-j] with sticks** in Eskişehir (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
6. (p. 86) Unfortunately, even this legal right is let to be practiced **[-j] through many oppressions, [-j] difficulties** and **[-j] obstructions** (*Demirtaş*).
7. (p. 86) He is teasing all judicial bodies **[-j] from the State Council to the Judicial Council, from the HSYK to other judicial parts**, and he is accusing them (*Bahçeli*)
8. (p. 86) The government is in search of designing the HSYK noncompliantly to the Constitution and **[-j] according to its own political objectives** (*Bahçeli*).
9. (p. 87) We are at such a point that we have a Prime Minister **[-j] who is supporting the corruption**. We have the portrait of a Prime Minister **[-j] who is supporting the corruption** instead of fighting against it.
10. (p. 88) The prosecutors **[-j] whom the Prime Minister has discredited, [-j] defamed** and **[-j] worn away** through unimagined accusations will certainly account him on behalf of the country, the citizens, the orphans, the millions **[-j] whom he made hungry and miserable**, everyone **[-j] whom he exploited** (*Bahçeli*).
11. (p. 88) From the beginning, the voice of the Nationalist Movement Party, which has been informing that Turkey is going to the period of stagnation step-by-step, and offering reconciliation, tolerance and dialogue, has not been heard or not wanted to be heard by the AKP members **[-j] who have desire for revenge** (*Bahçeli*).
12. (p. 88) Their sense of environment is just this. That`s it. That`s to say, they don`t care about the eco-system, natural habitat, or the habitat being damaged there. He says `We will plant five times, we will give money`. That is their sense of environment and their value given to people. They similarly offered to give money for the ones **[-j] whom they had murdered in Roboski**. The same (*Demirtaş*).
13. (p. 89) The crowds increased accordingly **[-j] as the AKP government attacked**, the events grew and spread all around the country **[-j] as the government acted intolerantly** (*Bahçeli*).
14. (p. 89) **[-j] If the police is using disproportionate force**, you have to do what is necessary (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).

15. (p. 89) They are trying to save the ones whom they have arrested for years [-j] **by accusing** and [-j] **cursing** so that they can make an alliance with them (Demirtaş).
16. (p. 89) Another CHP deputy has been provoking the masses for days as if he was a militant of a terrorist organisation. He has been provoking the masses [-j] **in order to cause sectarian tension**, and telling all kinds of lies through his tweet messages (Erdoğan).
17. (p. 90) [-j] **Gossip**, [-j] **slander**, [-j] **smear**, [-j] **defeatism** and [-j] **separatism** are the main governing ideas of the AKP (Bahçeli).
18. (p. 91) 26 October 2010, he says 'with the new justice law, democracy has come to Turkey'. 4 January 2014, he gathered the journalists at Dolmabahçe and he said 'You have not come to these positions with public will. You were assigned there. Know your place'. He does not, he doesn't not know the change he has made. Most of them came through election. So much [-j] **ignorance!** (Kılıçdaroğlu).
19. (p. 91) Ali İsmail's family and their lawyers were attacked in front of the courthouse in Kayseri yesterday. Did anyone attack the defendants or the judges? No. It means that security is not the issue here. The matter is to close the file and protecting the [-j] **gunmen** of the government itself with its own hand (Demirtaş).
20. (p. 91) We will not only stop these events, but we will also be on the backs of these [-j] **provocateurs** and [-j] **terrorists** based on the legal regulations (Erdoğan).
21. (p. 92) I wholeheartedly believe that my citizens will realize the trick, they will realize the betrayal, and they will keep aloof, they will part ways with these [-j] **ugly, [-j] immoralist** violators (Erdoğan).
22. (p. 92) Before the Prime Minister's trip to Morocco, Anatolian News Agency reported "the Prime Minister will meet the Morocco King" Did he meet him? He rejected the meeting. Now, my dear friends, what brought the Prime Minister of Turkey to that point? He had to abort the trip. Not the fear, but it created a [-j] **discredited** Turkish Republic Prime Minister. Didn't the same thing happen in Iran, as well? They kept him waiting in Iran, and he lag behind and came back to Turkey (Kılıçdaroğlu).
23. (p. 93) Stating that "50% of citizens who have voted for me are impatient in their homes and they are asking for my permission to go out" and [-j] **threatening** the public with that; [-j] **implying that** "he will lead to a fight between the ones supporting him and the ones who do not" are literally disaster (Demirtaş).
24. (p. 93) I know [-j] **how a police officer slapped a girl** wearing a headscarf in a bus in Taksim, I saw that, the media broadcast that (Kılıçdaroğlu).
25. (p. 94) However, you cannot overpower the citizens there by supporting the ISIS, Al-Qaeda, El Nusra by trucks [-j] **indecently** (Demirtaş).
26. (p. 97) There are tens of trees they have cut down. They have [-j] **vandalised**, [-j] **attacked** and they have [-j] **bothered** everyone (Erdoğan).
27. (p. 98) What are you doing? Your son is supposed to come and give a deposition. You are [-j] **hindering** that (Kılıçdaroğlu).
28. (p. 98) The Prime Minister Erdoğan's desire to build a shopping mall by destroying the green area in İstanbul city centre is [-j] **disrespect** to worthy residents of this city (Bahçeli).
29. (p. 98) You are [-j] **responsible** for the Roboski air strike (Demirtaş).
30. (p. 99) While using violence towards the police, public buildings, private properties and the civilians in Taksim and other cities; these vandal and barbarous actions were strained and shown [-j] **as if they were democratic environmental protests** (Erdoğan).
31. (p. 99) We have followed the events in Taksim Gezi Park [-j] **with care** from the beginning, and we have regularly shared our warnings and assessments with our nation (Bahçeli).

32. (p. 100) They are the CHP deputies [-j] **insulting the police**, [-j] **swearing them** and paying the youth. I cannot understand these young people (*Erdoğan*).
33. (p. 100) As a politician [-j] **who has lost his mind, logic, mercy and foresight**, the Prime Minister Erdoğan is the chief architect of the current state and the hurtful picture we are in (*Bahçeli*).
34. (p. 100) Now, it is easy to make judgements without any hesitation in Diyarbakır. Democracy, freedom are easy while speaking into microphone. However, giving the account of certain things is difficult [-j] **while executing** 3 innocent unarmed civilians passing the Rojava border and while drawing the line in Rojava (*Demirtaş*).
35. (p. 101) It was intended to take the demonstrations starting in Taksim to hazardous level in terms of Turkey [-j] **by overrating**, [-j] **extending** and [-j] **exaggerating** these events (*Erdoğan*).
36. (p. 101) Within the past years, the AKP's conflicts with the country's main values and institutions, and its passing off that by disguising through advanced democracy claims have indicated that [-j] **deception** and [-j] **cunningness** have spread into all these leaders gathered under the same mentality (*Bahçeli*).
37. (p. 102) We will call the [-j] **bribe takers** and [-j] **thieves** to account. We will call the deep state members to account (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
38. (p. 102) The Prime Minister's phantasy, his [-j] **ungrounded** and [-j] **exaggerated** optimism have been no good (*Bahçeli*).
39. (p. 102) Today, Lice has close ranks around the BDP 100 %; however, [-j] **massacrist** mindset still cannot come to Lice. They have wiped out their [-j] **fascistic**, [-j] **massacrist** mindsets in Lice on that day (*Demirtaş*).
40. (p. 103) There is no doubt that [-j] **closing down the green area** in Taksim, [-j] **cutting down the tress** and [-j] **turning the Gezi Park into an area that people cannot spend time** have triggered the events (*Bahçeli*).
41. (p. 103) Overthrowing the elected governments, and [-j] **ignoring the selection results** are the customs of the past (*Erdoğan*).
42. (p. 104) Turkey's international power and reputation were targeted at this process. International media and international structures were systematically [-j] **misinformed**, an diverse attack was organized towards Turkey with the inclusion of some evil-minded international media (*Erdoğan*).
43. (p. 106) You [-j] **ruined** our youth (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
44. (p. 106) As CHP, we [+j] **supported democracy**, we [+j] **supported freedom** (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
45. (p. 106) These people acting with rage and anger have irresponsibly [-j] **committed hate crime** and they have [-j] **terrorized** the big part of the society (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
46. (p. 107) My dear friends, budget policies will start to be shared in the General Assembly next week. The discussions within the committee are being held [+j] **devotedly**. The BDP delegates are sharing our opinions there (*Demirtaş*).
47. (p. 108) We are exploring [+j] **in detail** and [+j] **hook-line-and-sinker** what the motives that prompted our people to these protests are, what the people on the streets are expressing, why some young people gave this reaction (*Erdoğan*).
48. (p. 109) Now from here on out, it is out of question to tolerate the ones or the organizations [-j] **who use violence** and [-j] **accept it as a tool** (*Erdoğan*).
49. (p. 109) They are the real looters and troublemakers [-j] **who are trying to terrorize** each social movement (*Bahçeli*).
50. (p. 111) Now, we will approach this centennial Kurdish question so seriously, go to İmralı 16 times, go to Kandil many times, go to Europe, have negotiations with the government many times, [+j] **approach the question seriously** within the party itself night and day, work hard [+j] **to solve** this centennial problem because of which 40,000 people died; and their attitude will be like this (*Demirtaş*).

51. (p. 111) In this sacred homeland, we solve our problems **[+j] by living as a nation, [+j] protecting our independence, [+j] running our democracy, [+j] improving present conditions, and [+j] respecting freedom of speech** in maximum levels (*Bahçeli*).
52. (p. 112) His ethnicity- and communion-based **[-j] harrasments** have disturbed the nation, and his accusing the process betrayal opponents of leaning on the blood has been the limit (*Bahçeli*).
53. (p. 113) There is a gang, right, it is in the Council of Ministers, you are the leader of the gang. That's why, I call you the **[-j] main thief** (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
54. (p. 114) Being mealy-mouthed, and changing his mind continually, Erdoğan has broken his connections with a high portion of the nation. He is off-kilter, and he has turned into an **[-j] arrogant** personality who is staking others, glowering at them and looking down on almost everyone (*Bahçeli*).
55. (p. 114) That is the underlying reason behind the attempts of both the security forces and the **[-j] fascist** gangs to make our youth out of breath, breathless, and disorganised (*Demirtaş*).
56. (p. 115) AKP's **[-j] arming** the Syrian opposition, and its constantly **[-j] being mocked** on the highways through interruptions are influencing the prestige of our country negatively (*Bahçeli*).
57. (p. 116) We will behave **[+j] foresighted** and **[+j] responsible** as usual against the opposition who will adopt the tension policy in each occasion, particularly in the Turkish Grand National Assembly before the elections. We will not let ourselves be provoked. We will not give way to provocations. We will not fall into the trap of tension policy (*Erdoğan*).
58. (p. 120) The Prime Minister Erdoğan and his government **[metaphor-j] fanned the fire** in order to **[metaphor-j] prune the national being, [metaphor-j] axe the national unity, [metaphor-j] bomb the national identity,** and **[metaphor-j] destroy the national peace** (*Bahçeli*).
59. (p. 120) There is an oppressive mode of ruling. **[metaphor-j]** They want to capture Turkey. **[metaphor-j] They want to captivate Turkey as their own captive** (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
60. (p. 120) We see once again that through new Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors Law, **[metaphor-j] they are trying to build** AKP forms and AKP parallel state instead of community forms (*Demirtaş*).
61. (p. 120) My dear brothers, the CHP wanted to do the same thing again as usual, but this time they messed it up. Now, **[metaphor-j] they are trying to correct it by reversing** (*Erdoğan*).
62. (p. 121) **[i-j] He has appointed the Aksaray Governor to the position of İstanbul's Security Director** (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
63. (p. 121) **[i-j] The Prime Minister and his friend Barzani met in Diyarbakır and hugged each other under the so-called Kurdistan declarations** (*Bahçeli*).
64. (p. 122) **[i-j] You will enter the Dolmabahçe Mosque, Bezmialem Valide Sultan places without taking off your shoes, [i-j] you will drink there** and you will disrespect the religious places of this country like that. For what? For the environment (*Erdoğan*).
65. (p. 122) **[i-j] All the young people taking the judge-prosecutor exam have been asked for a reference for 12 years. [i-j] They have looked at whether they had the community reference** (*Demirtaş*).
66. (p. 123) It looks as if Turkey went to a war and **[metaphor-j] Recep Tayyip Erdoğan roared [metaphor-j] like a victorious commander on the fields.**
67. (p. 124) **[i-j] In order to compensate your victimization, we changed the Constitution, we made new election, you were chosen a deputy from Siirt, and you became a Prime Minister.** You are still complaining about that victimization (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).

68. (p. 126) [metaphor+] **The Nationalist Movement Party is the main mortar** and [metaphor+] **eternal insurance** of Turkey's national unity and brotherhood (Bahçeli).
69. (p. 126) Do not lose your hope. [metaphor-j] **AKP's collapse is soon** (Bahçeli)
70. (p. 126) [metaphor+] **Stong democracy will be built** under the rulership of HDP-BDP (Demirtaş).
71. (p. 128) [i-j] **So-called charitable businessman is giving a watch worth of 700 thousand Turkish liras to the minister** (Kılıçdaroğlu).
72. (p. 128) [i+j] **Our friends are offering a new law to the Parliament today** in order not to transfer this case and similar cases for security reasons from now on (Kılıçdaroğlu).
73. (p. 129) [t-j] **The officers of that period have been assigned to top positions in the Security General Directorate** (Demirtaş).
74. (p. 129) [t-j] **Now they are asking us about foreign powers. [t-j] They want explanations regarding where these foreign forces are located in this operation** (Erdoğan).
75. (p. 136) Now he says 'A coup was organized to us'. There is [e-deny] **no** such a coup attempt. The corruptions have come into existence and you have got in panic (Kılıçdaroğlu).
76. (p. 136) It is [e-deny] **not** about uprooting 15 trees in relation with the pedestrianization project (Erdoğan).
77. (p. 136) Try to be modest a little bit, understand these young people. You are [e-deny] **not** the most powerful leader in the world. There will be other leaders, other Prime Ministers after you (Demirtaş).
78. (p. 136) Each expression of the Prime Minister creates a tension. His every claim is sabotaging the national peace. His every action is strengthening the dissatisfied. He is [e-deny] **not** paying attention to anyone. He is [e-deny] **not** taking account the warning (Bahçeli).
79. (p. 137) To be honest, we are pleased with such a Chair Person, such a General Manager in politics. However, we think that it is unfortunate to have an empty opposition in Turkey, and [e-pronounce] **we have stated** that many times (Erdoğan).
80. (p. 138) On 2 March 2011, he states that the Balyoz arrests 'are the practice of demonracy and law in real life'. Did you feel ashamed when the man next to you stated that the nationa army was conspired? In Bartın, [e-pronounce] **I stated that** the one conspiring the national army can also conspire its citizens (Kılıçdaroğlu).
81. (p. 138) At this stage, [e-pronounce] **my advice to the Prime Minister Erdoğan will be that**: If you know anything, say it so people believe, but if you don't know anything, stay silent so that people can think you are a honest man (Bahçeli)
82. (p. 139) It states in the Introductory Part, on page 8; "Negativities like degeneracy, corruption, self-interest that destroy the societies; inequality of opportunity in laws, and racism are the main concerns of our party". Do you believe that? [e-counter] **Just the contrary**, these are their activity subjects (Kılıçdaroğlu).
83. (p. 139) With 17 December and 25 December attacks, they were planning to take down the government, divide the AKP, regulate the politics again and seizing the control once again. These were their plans, they had arranged all their plans based on these intentions; [e-counter] **however**, things did not go as planned (Erdoğan).
84. (p. 139) [e-counter] **Although** we offered to increase the negotiated item number from 65 to 75 by proposing 15 new items, other parties did not offer even one negotiation article (Demirtaş).
85. (p. 140) He is not talking. He is saying 'there is a gang'. [e-concur] **It is correct**, there is a gang. It is in the Council of Ministers, and you are the leader. [e-concur] **That's why**, I call you the main thief (Kılıçdaroğlu).




86. (p. 140) It is quite **[e-concur] natural** that some do not realize the amazing crowd, the amazing enthusiasm, and ignore them in Ankara and İstanbul (*Erdoğan*).
87. (p. 140) But **[e-concur] it is the fact** that the events and protests starting in Taksim and spreading to our country are different from other events. The Prime Minister and his party have got into difficulty, they have been stalemated and stumbled this time (*Bahçeli*).
88. (p. 141) Look my friends; **[e-endorse] a newspaper published the images of the attacks towards the lorries of our National Intelligence Organization, and towards its members**. They are stopping the lorries as if they were the enemies` vehicles. He is stopping the vehicles of NIO members, beating the lieutenant inside, and handcuffing him. **[e-endorse] These images peremptorily display how serious the case is** (*Erdoğan*).
89. (p. 142) There is a note, **[e-endorse] saying that 'TRT is cutting the broadcast while we are talking about the corruptions'**. TRT cannot broadcast us. It is one of the media channels of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, we know that (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
90. (p. 142) **[e-endorse] As far as broadcast on the media**, the Prime Minister had been informed about many things on 18 April 2013, eight months before the 17 December Corruption operation organized by the Office of Chief Public Prosecutor in İstanbul (*Bahçeli*).
91. (p. 144) You went, then, you would remain silent. **[e-deney] No** (*Demirtaş*).
92. (p. 144) We **[e-deney] have not come** to these days by the courtesy of the government. We are herewith our public`s great effort. **[e-deney] We are not** your appointed officers. **[e-deney] We are not** the supporters clapping for you from balconies (*Demirtaş*).
93. (p. 146) During the new Constitution negotiations, **[e-pronounce] we honestly stated that** Republic of Turkey needs a contemporary constitution, it needs a liberal constitution, it needs a democratic constitution, it needs a constitution that will strengthen the country, it needs a constitution that will rise up the organised society and make the society into an organised community (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
94. (p. 146) **[e-pronounce] I am asking** the President. Do you agree with the statement 'as the executive power, we will stand against the judiciary'? If you stand against it, it is OK; but if not, you have to speak and command not to intervene the judiciary system (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
95. (p. 147) It is still in the minds that after a declaration in Spain in 2008, an action was taken for the permanent and total solution of the headscarf matter with the attempts of our party. **[e-pronounce] We had stated** years ago that it was possible to end the headscarf issue through changes in the 10th and 42nd items of the constitution and also the change in temporary 17th item of the Higher Education Institution (*Bahçeli*).
96. (p. 148) Our deputies had negotiations with the ministers, the İstanbul Governor and the İstanbul Security Director many times. **[e-counter] However**, the replies given to them were nothing but an expression of deep arrogance (*Demirtaş*).
97. (p. 148) Unfortunately, one of our commissars was wounded as a result of shooting in the stomach, another one was shot in the foot, our two police officers also got injured. **[e-counter] However**, our police did not practice such a reaction, they did not do such a thing. And because of using a tear gas, nothing was got away with him (*Erdoğan*).
98. (p. 149) **[e-concur] Because of that**, we have turned our head to the field of contest in politics, not to the streets (*Bahçeli*).
99. (p. 150) The Prime Minister and his friends are trying to expand the social tensions and carry them to irreversible points, instead of hearing the rising voices coming in Taksim Gezi Park. **[e-concur] Because** this is what suits their book (*Bahçeli*).
100. (p. 151) Some comments and assessments published by two popular newspapers in the USA have unavoidably brought that bureaucrat into the forefront and drawn him into polemics. Within this scope, **[e-endorse] it was stated that Turkey`s support given to Syrian oppositions has gone against the USA`s advantage; that the architect of this strategy is the Secretary of the**

- National Intelligence Organisation; that Turkey`s Middle East and security policy is in contradiction with the benefits of the USA and its allies; that the high-level sensitivity security intelligence gathered by Israel and the USA three years ago was leaked to Iran by that person** (Bahçeli).
101. (p. 151) It was published in 2002. [e-endorse] **It states in the Introductory Part, on page 8; “Negativities like degeneracy, corruption, self-interest that destroy the societies; inequality of opportunity in laws, and racism are the main concerns of our party”**. Do you believe that? Just the contrary, these are their activity subjects. [e-endorse] **It continues and adds that “legal regulations will be done to prevent the dirtiness in politics?”** Where is that regulatory package? Nowhere (Kılıçdaroğlu).
102. (p. 157) Yes, but there are environmentalist young people, and there are even AKP supporters among them. [e-epistemic] **It may be.** [e-epistemic] **They may have voted** for the AKP in the past. Their voting for the AKP in the past does not justify them if they get involved in such a violence (Erdoğan).
103. (p. 157) These lorries are said to belong to the National Intelligence Organization. We have looked at its law. This organization does not have such a duty. It does not have the duty of arms smuggling. This [e-epistemic] **will put** the legitimacy of Turkey into question in the international arena (Kılıçdaroğlu).
104. (p. 157) Then, he announced that by destroying the Atatürk Cultural Center in Taksim Square, they would build an opera house about which all tourists will be proud of. The Prime Minister Erdoğan`s sudden interest in opera has taken our attention. [e-epistemic] **Most probably, his adding the tenor title to his present chairman position will come to the fore in the near future** (Bahçeli).
105. (p. 157) [e-epistemic] **I am sure that** the Peace and Democracy Party will gain a great election victory with high vote rates in every area it has members (Demirtaş).
106. (p. 159) Besides, there is a minister wearing a watch that is worth of 700 thousand Turkish liras. I am addressing my citizens who have voted for the AKP, this watch is 700 billion liras in the old money. [e-RQ] **Who gave that watch?** [e-RQ] **Why aren`t they giving that watch to a bagel seller or to a grocery?** [e-RQ] **Why are they giving that 700- thousand-lira watch to your minister?** (Kılıçdaroğlu).
107. (p. 159) [e-RQ] **What kind of benefits will the compromises given to the PKK by the Prime Minister provide and what will they remediate to the ranks of the unemployed whose number is 4 million 591 thousand in reality?** [e-RQ] **Will these compromises increase the income or the PKK?** [e-RQ] **Will this nightmare package crack the economy or will it freshen the PKK?** [e-RQ] **What will this PKK package provide to our entrepreneurs whose foreign debt is 252,3 billion dollars? For example, will this package save them from this debt?** (Bahçeli).
108. (p. 160) There occurred really good facilities and for the sake of environment, hundreds and thousand of trees were planted. The roads were all planted. [e-RQ] **Aren`t they environmental investments?** (Erdoğan).
109. (p. 161) I asked my friends to go and meet. They met them and [e-attribute] **they said “let us evaluate”**. They came back one week later and [e-attribute] **said “No”** (Erdoğan).
110. (p. 161) ISIS has taken the control of a specific region in Turkish border, as well. ISIS is Turkey`s neighbour now. In de facto, Turkey has two neighbors in the south now. ISIS and PYD (Democratic Union Party). [e-attribute] **The Prime Minister says “We are fighting against the PYD”**, but he supports it internationally. He also continues to send lorries to support the ISIS meanwhile (Demirtaş).
111. (p. 161) [e-attribute] **This man`s ‘two drunkards’ claim** shot everyone like a bullet. [e-attribute] **His ‘drinking people are all alcoholic’ utterance** came like a bombshell. Beside [e-attribute] **his ‘I don`t want destroyed generations’ declaration**, his ‘revengeful generation’ advice fed the fears and the negativeness (Bahçeli).



112. (p. 162) Together, [e-deontic] **we have to** prevent Turkish nation, who have suffered from the fights, faced hostility and dealt with misdeed enough, from foundering again and facing to a new disaster (*Bahçeli*).
113. (p. 163) The ones who are trying to teach environmental issues to us [e-deontic] **should** know that the air pollution and the noise nuisance are also environmental matters, and they also indicate an attitudinal stance towards the environment (*Erdoğan*).
114. (p. 163) They are claimed to be getting impatient. They are claimed to have the desire to go to the streets and stop the protestors. Is such a thing possible my friends? [e-deontic] **It is necessary** to correct this utterance as soon as possible (*Demirtaş*).
115. (p. 164) Now, Kurdish artists are coming back to their country after 37 years. The Prime Minister is either miscalculating or his Math is weak, but he says “for 38 years”, “how will the ones forcing these artists to live far away from their countries give the account of that?”. However, he is forgetting the fact that 12 of these 38 years passed under his own rulership. We could not understand that calculation. Give the account of at least that period of time. One third of this period [e-evidential] **passed** under your rulership (*Demirtaş*).
116. (p. 164) [e-evidential] **We see that** the government leaving the teachers to their fate slacked the education system, degenerated it and knotted all parts of it (*Bahçeli*).
117. (p. 166) The MHP government [e-epistemic] **will** solve the problem completely and end it (*Bahçeli*).
118. (p. 166) The Prime Minister Erdoğan [e-epistemic] **must have needed** to exchange opinions with Imralı murderer about the marginalization of Gezi Park that he charged the sixth BDP committee to bring the news from the island, together with the participation of two regular officers and except the Taksim ex-convict (*Bahçeli*).
119. (p. 166) The command he has given to his security forces [e-epistemic] **may not have satisfied** him that he is implying “I can order my voters to go out and cause tension” (*Demirtaş*).
120. (p. 167) We are targeting totally 4 million new employment in the following five years. [e-epistemic] **We predict that** the additional employment will become intense in trade and service industries (*Erdoğan*).
121. (p. 169) In order to legitimate the deaths – our very young children lost their lives – in order to legitimate the deaths, he said “Such things take place in the USA, as well. Look at the Occupy Wall Street event. 17 people died during these protests”. No sooner than this claim, did the USA Ambassador say “there did not occur such a thing, you are lying”. He said “you are lying dear Prime Minister, you are lying”. [e-RQ] **Have you ever heard that an ambassador of a country blamed the Prime Minister of Turkey for telling a lie?** (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
122. (p. 169) The total yearly cost of the family insurance was 7,5 billion Turkish liras, it was 7,5 quadrillion in the old money. [e-RQ] **Do you know how much we would give with the money that they have laundered?** This money would be given in 32 years (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
123. (p. 170) [e-RQ] **Weren't they really informed?** [e-RQ] **Weren't the AKP, the National Intelligence Organization, the Security Organization, the Military Police Department and the General Staff informed of all these events?** For God's sake, I don't know what to eat in the evening, but the NIO knows. [e-RQ] **Isn't it informed of that?** (*Demirtaş*).
124. (p. 171) Then, [e-attribute] **he says “This regulation comes from 1933s”**. How ancient is the national anthem? From the 1921s. Put the kids away, we all sing the national anthem. Are we formatting the society? How are they related? (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
125. (p. 172) We could come to an agreement on only 60 items. [e-attribute] **You know** we thought positively about these 60 items. We said that if you are positive, let's

- legislate a new law from the Parliament. We wanted to make a new law most. We made the biggest effort (*Erdoğan*).
126. (p. 173) We **[e-deontic] have to** struggle for that...In a democratic country, it is the justice where all people involved in the bribery and corruption scandals give account. **[e-deontic] It is my duty** to bring you to justice (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).
127. (p. 173) The ones who are fighting for their compromises by hiding behind the young people **[e-deontic] have to** stop their ugly traps immediately (*Erdoğan*).
128. (p. 175) In Mersin, all party members, from the Governor to the Mayor, from the AKP Provincial Chairman to the members of CHP, MHP and BDP, **[e-evidential] have been overheard** and **[e-evidential] these have been recorded**. Not only mine, not only our President's, but also the ministers`, the deputies`, the bureaucrats`, the politicians`, the artists`, the journalists` talks **[e-evidential] have been overheard**, and **[e-evidential] they have been used** for blackmailing (*Erdoğan*).
129. (p. 175) **[e-evidential] We have built** universities in all 81 cities within this country, **[e-evidential] we have spread** everywhere. Why? In order to prevent migration, and also to enable the young people to have higher education in their own hometowns, together with their families (*Erdoğan*).
130. (p. 175) He hid away for a long time. **[e-evidential] He got in the car** with his father the other day. Do you know what it means? (*Kılıçdaroğlu*).

APPENDIX II. ORIGINALITY REPORT

 <p>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES THESIS/DISSERTATION ORIGINALITY REPORT</p>
<p>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LINGUISTICS</p>
Date: 03/07/2017
<p>Thesis Title / Topic: Evaluation and Construction of Political Reality in the Speeches of Turkish Political Party Leaders: 'Judgement' and 'Engagement' Analysis</p> <p>According to the originality report obtained by myself by using the Turnitin plagiarism detection software and by applying the filtering options stated below on 02/07/2017 for the total of 197 pages including the a) Title Page, b) Introduction, c) Main Chapters, and d) Conclusion sections of my thesis entitled as above, the similarity index of my thesis is 12 %.</p> <p>Filtering options applied:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Approval and Declaration sections excluded 2. Bibliography/Works Cited excluded 3. Quotes included 4. Match size up to 5 words excluded <p>I declare that I have carefully read Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences Guidelines for Obtaining and Using Thesis Originality Reports; that according to the maximum similarity index values specified in the Guidelines, my thesis does not include any form of plagiarism; that in any future detection of possible infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility; and that all the information I have provided is correct to the best of my knowledge.</p> <p>I respectfully submit this for approval.</p>
 03/07/2017
<p>Name Surname: Ayşe Dilek DEMİRTAŞ</p> <p>Student No: N10144632</p> <p>Department: İngiliz Dilbilimi</p> <p>Program: İngiliz Dilbilimi - Doktora</p> <p>Status: <input type="checkbox"/> Masters <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ph.D. <input type="checkbox"/> Integrated Ph.D.</p>
<p><u>ADVISOR APPROVAL</u></p> <p>APPROVED.</p>  Prof. Dr. Işıl ÖZYILDIRIM

APPENDIX III. ETHICS BOARD WAIWER FORM

 <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; text-align: center;"> <p>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES ETHICS BOARD WAIWER FORM FOR THESIS WORK</p> </div>
<p>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES ENGLISH LINGUISTICS TO THE DEPARTMENT PRESIDENCY</p>
<p>Date: 03/07/2017</p>
<p>Thesis Title: Evaluation and Construction of Political Reality in the Speeches of Turkish Political Party Leaders: 'Judgement' and 'Engagement' Analysis</p> <p>My thesis work related to the title/topic above:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people. 2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.). 3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity. 4. Is not based on observational and descriptive research (survey, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development). <p>I declare, I have carefully read Hacettepe University's Ethics Regulations and the Commission's Guidelines, and in order to proceed with my thesis according to these regulations I do not have to get permission from the Ethics Board for anything; in any infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility and I declare that all the information I have provided is true.</p> <p>I respectfully submit this for approval.</p> <div style="text-align: right; margin-top: 20px;">  <p>03/07/2017</p> </div> <p>Name Surname: Ayşe Dilek Demirtaş</p> <p>Student No: N10144632</p> <p>Department: English Linguistics</p> <p>Program: English Linguistics</p> <p>Status: <input type="checkbox"/> Masters <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ph.D. <input type="checkbox"/> Integrated Ph.D.</p>
<p><u>ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL</u></p> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 50px;">  <p>(Prof. Dr. Işıl Özyıldırım)</p> </div>