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Rally Speeches Delivered by Pro-Turkish and Pro- Kurdish
Leaders**

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Interpersonal Metadiscourse Markers in Turkish Election Rally Speeches Delivered by Pro-Turkish and Pro- Kurdish Leaders

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the use of interpersonal metadiscourse markers in Turkish election rally speeches delivered by two political leaders who pursued differently the ideology of nationalism and also the role of the metadiscourse markers in the reflection of the scope and nature of political parties' nationalist ideologies. In line with the aim of the study, the research has a descriptive survey design, using qualitative and quantitative approaches. The data for the study involves four election rally speeches: Two by Devlet Bahçeli and two by Selahattin Demirtaş in the span of the election year 2015. For the data analysis portion of the study, the finite verbs of the statements from the party leaders are abstracted and entered into the Nooj corpus processing system. Drawing on Dafouz's (2008) classification of interpersonal metadiscourse markers, a data analysis is done. Quantitative and qualitative methods are applied to identify the frequency of the metadiscourse markers used in the data. Moreover, the chi-square test is used to determine if there is meaningful difference between the two political leaders' usage of the metadiscourse markers. Results reveal that although both party leaders use similiar interpersonal metadiscourse markers in their election rally speeches, the metadiscourse markers have different functions due to their ideological viewpoints.

Keywords: Election rally speech, Interpersonal metadiscourse, Kurdish nationalism, Political speech, Turkish nationalism.

Introduction

Metadiscourse or reflexive discourse is broadly defined as the discourse about ongoing discourse (Adel 2006). Metadiscourse investigations have mostly focused on persuasive writings or speech produced in a number of different contexts such as textbooks (e.g. Crismore 1984, Hyland, 1999), academic research articles (e.g. Hyland 1999, Akbas 2012), post-graduate dissertation (e.g. Bunton 1999) and casual conversation (e.g. Schiffrin 1980). Nevertheless, few studies (e.g. Ilie 2006, Ismail 2012) have investigated the function of metadiscourse markers in political speech which is one of the most important examples of persuasive speech genre. Political speech is used to convince voters and party supporters to take action as expected by political party leader or to change or weaken their current attitudes and beliefs (Van Dijk 1997, Kucukali 2014). Interpersonal metadiscourse is recognised as an important mean of facilitating communication between the text, producer and receiver. So it plays a vital role for a political party/leader in interaction with his/her potential audience and persuading them.

This study is concentrated on the election rally speech that is a subgenre of political speech. It is delivered by party leaders focusing on positive self and negative other representation and in this genre there is a close interaction between party leader and audience (Kucukali 2014).

As said by Crismore and Abdollahzade (2010), countries outside Europe and the U.S. have paid little attention to metadiscourse analysis. During the literature survey, studies about such things were not found.

Nowadays the use of corpus linguistics (CL) methodology have become popular in critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Baker et al. 2008). Baker et al. (2008) stated that "CL examine frequencies, or, at least, provide strong indicators of the frequency, of specific phenomena recognized in CDA (e.g., topoi, topics, metaphors), by examining lexical patterns, and can add a quantitative dimension to CDA (p. 296)". During the literature survey, it was realized that the total number of both CL and CDA studies on metadiscourse is considerably limited in proportion to the number of corpus linguistics studies. So the study was framed in both CL and CDA perspectives.

The study aims to analyze the use of interpersonal metadiscourse markers in the Turkish election rally speeches delivered by two political leaders who pursued the ideology of nationalism in different dimensions: one is pro-Turkish and the other is pro-Kurdish. Also the study examines the interpersonal metadiscourse markers' role in the reflection of the scope and nature of political parties' nationalist ideologies.

Literature Review

The term "metadiscourse" coined by Zellig S. Harris (1959) has been investigated by a number of researchers (e.g. Adel 2006, Crismore 1984, Hyland 1998, 2004, 2005, Dafouz 2003, 2008). Many metadiscourse studies

make use of Hallidayan distinction between the textual and interpersonal macro-functions of language. According to these studies there are two levels of metadiscourse: the textual metadiscourse and interpersonal metadiscourse. Textual metadiscourse deals with the organization of discourse, i.e. how different pieces of information in a text are connected in a coherent way. As for interpersonal metadiscourse, it is recognised as an important means of facilitating communication between the text, producer and receiver. Interpersonal metadiscourse helps a text producer code his/her attitude towards both text content and text receiver (reader/audience) so it renders the text more reader/audience friendly. In other words, text producer uses metadiscourse to express his/her professional personality and also guides or directs his/her readers through the text in order to persuade them.

Dafouz (2003, 2008) states although these levels fulfill similar persuasive aims, their degree of persuasion is not the same. According to her, interpersonal metadiscourse holds a more persuasive function than the textual one. She developed a classification of interpersonal metadiscourse markers based on Crismore et al. (1993) categorization. The classification is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. *Dafouz's (2008) Classification of Interpersonal Metadiscourse Markers*

| Macro-category Hedges | Subcategory | Examples |
|--|--------------------------|---|
| Express partial commitment to the truth-value of the text | Epistemic verbs | May / might / it must be 2 o'clock |
| | Probability adverbs | Probably / perhaps / maybe |
| | Epistemic expressions | It is likely |
| Certainty markers | | |
| Express total commitment to the truth-value of the text | | Undoubtedly / clearly / certainly |
| Attributors | | |
| Refer to the source of information | | 'x' claims that.../ |
| | | As the Prime Minister remarked |
| Attitude markers | | |
| Express writers' affective values towards text and readers | Deontic verbs | Have to / we must understand / needs to |
| | Attitudinal adverbs | Unfortunately / remarkably |
| | Attitudinal adjectives | It is absurd |
| | Cognitive verbs | I feel / I think / I believe |
| Commentaries | | |
| Help to establish reader-writer rapport through the text | Rhetorical questions | What is the future of Europe? |
| | Direct address to reader | You must understand, dear reader |
| | Inclusive expressions | We all believe / let us summarise |
| | Personalizations | What the polls are telling me |
| | | I do not want |
| | Asides | Diana (ironically for a Spencer) was not of the Establishment |

As seen in the Table 1, Dafouz (2008) classification of interpersonal metadiscourse has five main categories that have particular functions: hedges, certainty markers, attributors, attitude markers and commentaries. Hedges and certainty markers act to strengthen or weaken the force of the text producer's statement. Hedges realized by epistemic verbs, probability adverbs and epistemic expressions weaken the strength of the text producer's statement while certainty markers expressed by adverbs of certainty strengthen the statement. As for attributors they are used by the text producer to support his/her statements. Attitude markers indicate the text producers affective values towards the receiver and the content of the text. These markers have four subcategory: deontic verbs, attitudinal adverbs, attitudinal adjectives, and cognitive verbs. The use of deontic verbs showing possibility and obligation positions the text producers as knowledgeable agents. Attitudinal adverbs and adjectives denote the producer's influence on the information. Cognitive verbs are used for the declaration of difference of opinion or criticism of another's ideas. Finally, commentaries realized by rhetorical questions, direct address to reader, inclusive expressions, personalizations and asides help build close relationship between the text producer and the receiver. According to Thompson (2001 cited in Dafouz 2008), "rhetorical questions" enable the text producer to encourage the receivers to accept his/her stance. As for the marker "direct address to the reader", the text producer uses it to involve his/her receivers by relating the subject presented in the text to their lives. "Inclusive we" is used to shorten the distance between the producer and the receiver. In this way it shows solidarity with the receiver. "Personalization" refers to the explicit text producer's presence in the text. The use of the marker increases the producer's commitment to the statement and also the receiver (Mauranen 2002). Asides are generally presented in the brackets or parantheses in the written text. They are used by the text producers to insert his/her comments on the subject. Thus, they emphasize their point of views and shape their receiver's opinion (Temmerman 2013).

Methodology

Research Design

The study used the descriptive survey model that enables the researcher to identify the characteristics of the observed phenomenon as is (Baskarada 2014). Also in the study quantitative and qualitative methods were applied using the methodologies both CL and CDA. CDA provides the qualitative research tools, while corpus linguistics provides the quantitative research tools for the study of discourse.

Data and Analysis

The data for the study consists of four election rally speeches produced in the span of the election year 2015: Two by Devlet Bahçeli who is the leader of Nationalist Movement Party and two by Selahattin Demirtaş who is the leader of Peoples' Democratic Party.

The Nationalist Movement Party (Turkish: Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, MHP), is a Turkish far-right political party that adheres to Turkish nationalism and Euroscepticism. As to The Peoples' Democratic Party or Democratic Party of the Peoples (Turkish: Halkların Demokratik Partisi (HDP)), it is a pro-Kurdish and pro-minority political party in Turkey.

Data Analysis was done based on Dafouz's (2008) classification of interpersonal metadiscourse markers that was explained above. Firstly in the study frequency analysis was conducted to identify the metadiscourse markers used in both sets of data. Then chi-square test was used to determine whether there was a significant difference between the two political leaders' usage of the metadiscourse markers.

The corpus was examined using the NooJ linguistic engine module, which allows NooJ users to sort the words and perform a morphological analysis on Turkish texts (Demirhan and Aksan 2011, Bisazzsa 2009).

Findings and Discussion

The quantitative analysis revealed that both party leaders employed the same metadiscourse markers and also their frequency order was quite similar. As seen in Table 2, the results of the chi-square analysis showed that the value of observed chi-square was not significant ($p= 0.557 < .05$), indicating that there was not a significant difference between pro-Turkish and pro-Kurdish leaders in their use of total interactional metadiscourse markers.

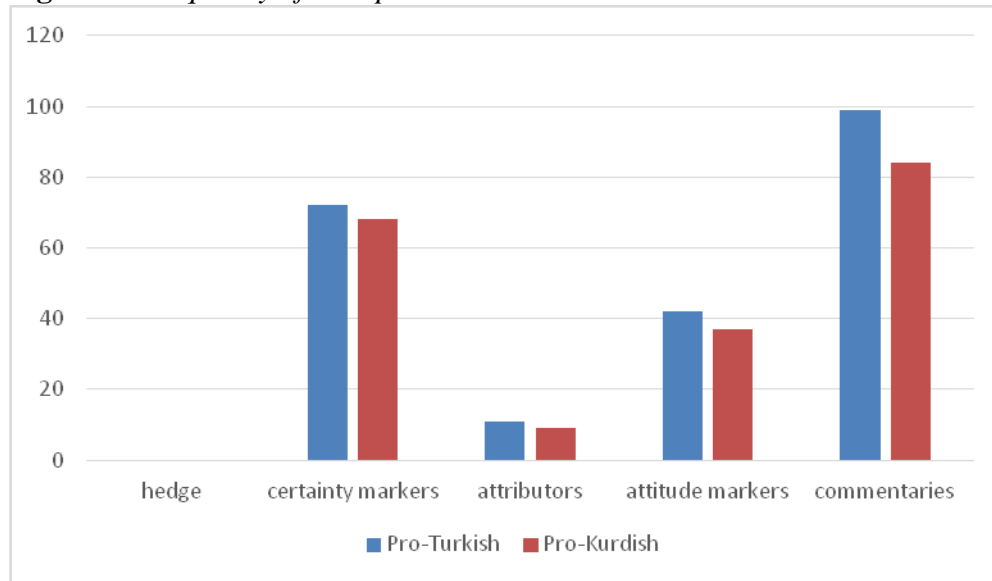
Table 2. *Results for Interpersonal Metadiscourse Categories and Subcategories*

| Macro-category Hedges | Subcategory | Pro-Turkish (f) | Pro-Kurdish(f) | Chi-Square |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| | Epistemic verbs | | | |
| | Probability adverbs | | | |
| | Epistemic expressions | | | |
| Certainty markers | | 72 | 68 | 0.0537 |
| Attributors | | 11 | 9 | 0.0721 |
| Attitude markers | Deontic verbs | | | |
| | Attitudinal adverbs | 0 | 2 | 0.0876 |
| | Attitudinal adjectives | 3 | 3 | 0.0732 |
| | Cognitive verbs | 1 | 0 | 0.0751 |
| Commentaries | Rhetorical questions | 32 | 27 | 0.0528 |
| | Direct address to reader | 32 | 27 | 0.0528 |
| | Inclusive expressions | 34 | 28 | 0.0644 |
| | Personalizations | 11 | 8 | 0.0726 |
| | Asides | | | |
| Total no. of interpersonal markers | | 172 | 191 | 0.0557 * |

* The difference is significant at the 0.05 level ($p < .05$).

The qualitative analysis of the corpus revealed that both leaders generally employed the same metadiscourse markers but the markers' functions were different throughout the corpus.

Hedges are mitigating words or phrases such as *sort of*, *probably*. They are used to diminish the force of an utterance as well as save a speaker's face. According to Holtgraves and Lasky (1999) who studied on political speech, "A speaker who uses powerless language will be perceived as less assertive [or] competent... than a speaker who uses powerful language (p.196)". Parallel with this research, there is no hedge in the data. It can be explained by the fact that the party leaders concentrated predominantly on strengthening their position in front of their audience so they did not use hedges during their speech. The attributors were least frequently used in the both set of data (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. *Frequency of Interpersonal Metadiscourse Markers*

As seen in the following examples, both the leaders used attributors to criticize the opponents, especially the ruling party.

Pro-Turkish

Example 1

Erdoğan 4 yıl için milli uçağımız göklerde, Davutoğlu bugünlerde milli uçağımız yapılıyor dedi, ikisi birden yalan söylediler. [Erdoğan said that our civil plane would be on the sky in the next four years, Davutoğlu said that our civil plane was being built. Both of them told a lie].

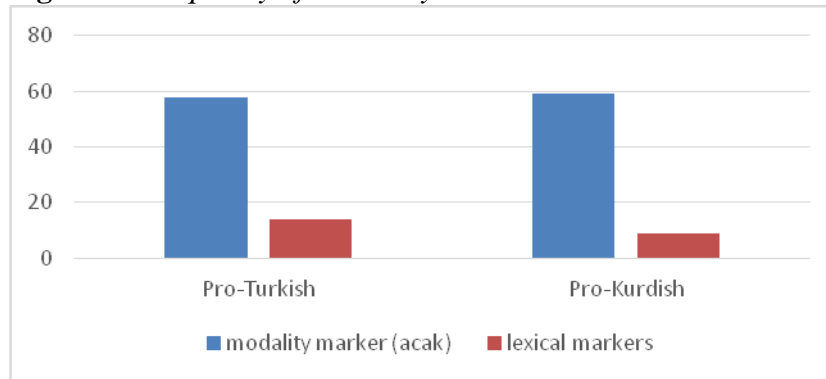
Pro-Kurdish

Example 2

Cumhurbaşkanı başbakan olduğu dönemde "barajı biz koymadık ki biz kaldıralım" dedi. Ortada üst akıl falan yok. Hatırlarsan sen bize demiştin. "Baraj korkunuz yoksa parti olarak gir" demiştin, o akli sen bize vermiştin. [when he was the prime minister the president said "We did not set the election threshold so we cannot remove it].

The certainty and attitude markers were used frequently in both election rally speeches and occupied a high position in the data (see Figure 1). The heavy use of these markers in the speeches indicated that the political leaders tend to more clearly express their personal feelings, concern and commitment in regard to the country's well being.

The most frequent certainty marker employed in the data was the modality suffix *-AcAk* (will). The lexical certainty markers such as *asla* (never), *kesinlikle* (certainly), *mutlaka* (absolutely) occupied the second place in terms of frequency of occurrence (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. *Frequency of Certainty Markers*

As seen in the following examples, the certainty markers were used to express certainty, strong intentions, determination and promise. This way the political leaders clearly expressed their parties' political targets and stance to win the elections.

Pro-Turkish

Example 3

Büyük Türk milletini şaha kaldıracacağız ..bölücülüğün ve terörün kökünü kazıyacağız... Mukaddesatımızı, tarihimizi, milli değerlerimizi maskaraya çeviren iç ve dış sürfelere *asla* fırsat vermeyeceğiz. [We will *rise* the great Turkish nation up ... We will end the separatism and terror... We will *never give an opportunity* to the inner and foreign forces who ridicule our sacred values, our history, and our national values.]

Pro-Kurdish

Example 4

Yenikapıda bir araya gelen halk bizim düşmanımız değildir 8 haziranda da dostumuzdur kardeşimizdir beraber yaşayacağız. Bunu unutmadan siyaset yapacağız buna uygun bir yaşamı inşa edeceğiz ..Bu ülkede *asla* diktatörlüğe izin vermeyeceğiz. [People gathering in Yenikapı are not our enemies but our friends even on 8th of June, and we will live together. We will do politics without forgetting it, and we will build a life which is suitable for this. We will never allow dictatorship in this country].

In the example 3, Bahçeli promised with certainty that they would reproduce Turkish nationalism and destroy the illegal activities against Turkishness in accordance with his party's nationalist stance. Also he stated that they welcomed the other ethnic groups that are loyal to the Turkish state. However, in the example 4, in accordance with his party's pluralist stance Demirtaş promised with certainty that they would live in peace with the other people, that is, Turkish people, and also they would create a decentralized

pluralist, democratic administrative and political system based on the self-government of different groups and identities.

The attitude markers expressed the party leaders' affective values towards their audience and the content presented in the text. This way the party leaders tried to create solidarity between themselves and their audience. Attitudinal Adjectives were the most frequent resource in both groups. Attitudinal adverbs were the second most frequently used marker. Deontic and cognitive verbs occupied the lowest position in the data (see Figure 3).

Conclusion

The analysis of the corpus revealed that although both the leaders employed the same metadiscourse markers, the markers appeared to function differently throughout the corpus due to the leaders' ideological viewpoints. This finding supports Oktar's (2001) view "ideology is an important "determining factor in the organization of discourse in terms of social representation of us versus them (p.344) ".

Nationalism is the political and public expression of national identity (Huysseune 2002). National identity is one's identity or sense of belonging to one state or to one nation. It is psychologically seen as "an awareness of difference", a "feeling and recognition of 'we' and 'they'" (Lee, 2012). All elements and values in culture such as language, religion, flag, history, homeland, government, lifestyle determine one's national identity (Eker 2009 cited in Gelisli 2014). Therefore, national identities are subject to constant change. According to De Cillia et al. (1999), "national identities – conceived as specific forms of social identities – are discursively, by means of language and other semiotic systems, produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed (p. 153)". The findings obtained in the study disclosed that with the help of the interpersonal metadiscourse markers, Bahçeli tried to reproduce their audiences' national identities while Demirtaş tried to transform them. In other words, Bahçeli used the metadiscourse markers to show his party's less-interest in ethnicity and emphasize Turkishness more broadly and inclusively based on his party's nationalist ideology that centres on belief in the prestige of the Turkish state. This way he tried to evoke a sense of patriotism and restore the national values. As for Demirtaş, he used these markers to show his party's less interested in nationalism and emphasize the party's pluralist political system that unify and represent all groups, especially the Kurdish one, in terms of ethnicity and nation. This way he tried to unite and reconstitute the nation on the behalf of the Kurdish people.

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