

**KARADENİZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY \* INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE**

**MASTER'S PROGRAM IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS**

**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF EUROPEAN  
COMMISSION TURKEY 2021 REPORT**

**MASTER'S THESIS**

**Betül TURGUT**

**MAY - 2022**

**TRABZON**

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**Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Öznur SEMİZ**

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## DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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- This study contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other university or institution,
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25.05.2022

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## ABSTRACT

This research study focuses on the hegemonic discourse in the European Commission Turkey 2021 Report employing Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Grammar. The study reveals ideological and political discourse structures in the target text. The overall methodological nature of this research is a textual examination of the target text's lexical, grammatical, graphological, pragmatic, and semantic manifestations of ideology, hegemony, and politics. Therefore, the study makes educated deductions and interpretations based on the findings of its analysis. The first analytic item is modality, which is a fertile semantic domain in the study of political and ideological discourse for it presents a number of semantic nuances. The study found that the report used deontic modality meaning that an external source exerts power and hegemony over the addressee. The external source is the European Union, and the addressee is Turkey. What makes the use of deontic modality significant for the study is that deontic modals accompany concepts, values and criteria emanating from a source of authority, which is the EU within the context of this study. Graphology was found to be another discursive strategy in the report. The use of 228 bold linguistic structures- including individual words, groups of words, phrases, and sentences (personal names, country names and names of institutions excluded) with negative neighbouring statements meant that the text placed a special emphasis on negativity and degradation. The ideological rhetoric of the text, which employs bold forceful terms and negative words, has the capacity to criticise and undermine Turkey. Such discourse structures in political texts of this kind serve to control and change the minds, attitudes, and postures of the reader. The study included 102 normative sentences with *should*, which reveals the EU's normative power identity at this level of study. Therefore, the study claims that such a discourse is a manifestation of a self-construction process that results in a distinct EU identity over non-EU or non-member countries, which can be defined as follows: EU norms vs. non-EU norms, or self- and others' norms. Political discourse has a general inclination to give greater weight to negative entities, based on both innate predispositions and experience of its producers. Therefore, political, and ideological texts are characterised by their negative potency, suggesting that negative entities are more powerful than equivalent positive entities. The report was no exception with the use of 1208 occurrences of negative words. The use of the quantity word *some* in sentences conveying a positive meaning about Turkey was interpreted as the very existence of a vague language in the text making the meaning and the message in these sentences less precise, valuable, respectable, or appreciable.

**Keywords:** Turkey, European Union, Systemic Functional Grammar, Critical Discourse Analysis, Politics, Ideology.

## ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi ve Sistemik İşlevsel Dilbilgisi' ni hem teori hem de metod olarak kullanarak, Avrupa Komisyonu Türkiye 2021 Raporundaki politik ve ideolojik söylemi incelemektedir. Çalışma, hedef metindeki ideolojik ve politik söylem yapılarını ortaya koymaktadır. Araştırmanın genel metodolojik özelliği, hedef metnin ideoloji, hegemonya ve siyasetin sözlüksel, dilbilgisel, grafolojik, pragmatik ve anlamsal yansımalarının eleştirel bir incelemesidir. Bu nedenle çalışma, analiz bulgularına dayalı olarak akademik çıkarımlar ve yorumlar yapmaktadır. İlk analitik öge, bir dizi anlamsal nüans sunduğu için politik ve ideolojik söylemin incelenmesinde verimli bir anlamsal alan olan *modalite* yani *kiplik* tir. Çalışmada, raporun, harici bir kaynağın alıcı üzerinde dilsel güç ve hegemonya uyguladığı anlamına gelen deontik modaliteyi kullandığı bulundu. Bu dış kaynak Avrupa Birliği, alıcı ise Türkiye'dir. Deontik kip kullanımını çalışma için önemli kılan şey, bu çalışma kapsamında bir otorite kaynağı olan Avrupa Birliği'nin oluşturduğu kavramlara, değerlere ve kriterlere deontik kiplerin eşlik etmesidir. Grafoloji, raporda başka bir söylemsel strateji olarak bulundu. Tek tek kelimeler, kelime grupları, deyimler ve cümleler dahil olmak üzere 228 siyah vurgulu dil yapısının olumsuz bitişik ifadelerle birlikte kullanılması, metnin olumsuzluk ve değersizleştirmeye özel bir vurgu yaptığı anlamına gelmektedir. Metnin cüretkar, sert terimler ve olumsuz kelimeler kullanan ideolojik söylemi, Türkiye'yi eleştirmek ve kötüleme kapasitesini ortaya koymaktadır. Politik metinlerdeki bu tür söylem yapıları, okuyucuların zihinlerini, tutumlarını ve duruşlarını kontrol etmeyi ve değiştirmeyi hedeflemektedir. Raporda, AB'nin normatif güç kimliğini ortaya koyan, 'should' gereklilik kipiyle oluşturulmuş 102 normatif cümle kullanılmıştır. Bu nedenle çalışma, böyle bir söylemin, AB üyesi olmayan ülkeler üzerinde farklı bir AB kimliği ile sonuçlanan bir kendi kendini inşa etme sürecinin dışı vurumu olduğunu iddia ediyor ve şu şekilde tanımlıyor: 'AB normları ve AB dışı normlar', veya 'kendinin ve başkalarının normları'. Politik söylem, hem kendi doğasından gelen yatkinlıklara hem de kullanıcılarının deneyimlerine dayanarak, olumsuz dil unsurlarına daha fazla ağırlık verme yönünde genel bir eğilime sahiptir. Bu nedenle, politik ve ideolojik metinler, negatif dilsel unsurların eşdeğer pozitif olanlardan daha fazla ve güçlü olduğu anlamına gelen negatif etki ile karakterizedir. Çalışmada, Rapor'un, 1208 kez olumsuz kelime kullanımıyla çok güçlü bir 'olumsuz etkili dil' kullandığını bulundu. Türkiye hakkında olumlu bir anlam ifade eden cümlelerde '*some*' (biraz, bazı, birtakım) nicelik kelimesinin kullanılmasıyla, metinde muğlak bir dilin varlığı, bu cümlelerdeki anlamın ve mesajın daha az kesin, daha az değerli, daha az saygın ve takdir edilir hale geldiği şeklinde yorumlanmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Türkiye, Avrupa Birliği, Sistemik Fonksiyonel Gramer, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi, İdeoloji, Politika,



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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

- CDA : Critical Discourse Analysis  
CL : Critical Linguistics  
DA : Discourse Analysis  
EC : European Commission  
EU : European Union  
SFG : Systemic Functional Grammar  
SFL : Systemic Functional Linguistics



## INTRODUCTION

This study deals with uncovering ideological and political discourse structures in the European Union Turkey 2021 Report with a focus on Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Grammar. Therefore, the study is a textual analysis focusing on the lexical, grammatical, graphological, pragmatic and semantic that is to say, the general linguistic manifestations of ideology, hegemony, and politics in the target text. From this perspective, the terms 'text linguistics' (De Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981; Tannen, 1982; Van Dijk, 1972), and 'text grammar' (Van Dijk, 1973) can also be used to characterise the nature of this study.

Approaches in critical linguistics have found various kinds of interrelationships between power, language, and ideology. The goal of critical linguistic analysis is to discover how language plays a crucial role in the formation and shaping of societal identities, relations, issues, and events. Its fundamental goal is to analyse the socio-political character of the texts and discourses that shape social reality, as well as how discourses sustain power through their ideological features (Fairclough, 1989; Fowler, 1987; Hall, 1982). Using a critical linguistic approach, this study aims to elaborate on how the language of the report shapes the relationships between Turkey and the European Union from a European perspective.

Whether the ideologies influence the structure of discourses, or the structure of discourses influences and thus creates ideologies is a longstanding question which has been investigated in scientific circles. For some, without discourse(s) it would be very difficult to construct, reconstruct and express ideologies at all levels: global, national, regional, local, and organisational (Chilton, 2004; Van Dijk, 1997; Wodak, 1989; Van Dijk, 2006a). For some others who refer to some dimensions of interactions between power, language, and ideology, much of the study of Critical Discourse Analysis focuses on the role of language and thus discourses in the production, reproduction and expression of ideologies and power relations (Fairclough, 1989; Fowler 1987; Hall, 1982). On the surface, these two ideas seem to be conflicting with one another, but they share something in common: the mutual and inter-changeable relationships among discourses, ideologies, and power relations. Although this study does not attempt to find a clear and reasonable answer the above longstanding question, it demonstrates how discourse structures, lexico-grammatical items in a political text reveal political power, and how institutional - and political power produce discourse structures. In other words, one can find political and ideological power in discursive structures and discursive structures in political and ideological power.

### **Aim of the study**

This study examines the linguistic structures used in the Commission Staff Working Document Turkey 2021 Report, which was released on October 19, 2021. Critical Linguistic Analysis in combination with Systemic Functional Grammar and Ideological Discourse was employed to analyse the discourses and the framed language used in the communication from the European Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. The analysis serves to illustrate the ideological role of language within the discourses in the EU Turkey reports which construct representations of Turkey as a candidate country, and which establish the social, political, and cultural worlds within the relationships between the EU and Turkey. The present research also aims to reveal some important implications for the awareness of the functional and operational nature of language especially in general, and media discourse, within and outside of academic settings.

### **Significance of the study**

This study analyses the European Commission Turkey 2021 Report with a focus on Critical Discourse Analysis in tandem with Systemic Functional Grammar. The target text has not yet been studied from this perspective and within this context. The venture of this study will be of particular interest for it corresponds with some central tenets of European discourse and hegemony situated in a political text. The study also pushes those who study language to perceive individual words, grammatical and structural patterns as having significance in social, cultural, and political context rather than as abstract units with their literal meanings. Furthermore, the study provides significant contextual, linguistic, and institutional (with regard to the European Union) information regarding the use of language as an apparatus of power and hegemony. Such linguistic, political, and cultural manifestations of European Country Reports in general, and the Turkey 2021 Report in particular may have some significant contributions to the field of applied linguistics and textual studies. The study also provides a theoretical and methodological interconnection of linguistic, cultural, and political studies.

The main premise of the Critical Discourse Analysis is to analyse "the dominant relations, discrimination, power and the vague and transparent controls as seen in the language" (Wodak 1997: 173), which means discourse is artificially shaped and, socially, politically, ideologically, and culturally conditioned. This study aims to uncover the conditioned discourses in the target text. The linguistic patterns, the use of different language functions (with a focus on Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar), and discursive strategies are analysed to reveal the formulation of Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony, and Foucault's (1971) notion of power as language and language as power.

## **Significance of the Target Text**

The discourse produced in the report by European Commission is a strategic tool to codify, systematise and dictate European doctrines and values which must accommodate a long list of considerations and interests, some of which are difficult for some member states and states in the accession process, such as Turkey. The report that this study analyses is of significant value in that it reveals many of reservations, interests, considerations, and drawbacks the European Union holds for Turkey. This study reveals how only some of these one-sided, ideological, cultural, political, and subjective and biased ideas and issues have become barriers in the EU membership process of Turkey.

## **Theoretical and Analytical Framework**

Perspectives of Critical Linguistics (van Dijk, 1985, 2015; Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995; Fowler, 1991; Halliday, 1985; Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Kress, 1989; Thompson, 1984), those of Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Hart, 2014) and Political and Ideological Discourse Analysis (van Dijk, 1995, 2000, 2004) constitute the theoretical framework of this study. The focal analytical frameworks include what van Dijk (2007) and Wodak (2008) describe as dimensions in discourse studies: text analysis and description, interpretation, and explanation. One focal point of analysis which this study uses is the evolution of linguistics above sentence grammar towards a study of action and interaction (van Dijk, 2007; Wodak, 2008). Consistent with the above theoretical sources, the study uses the method of systematic textual analysis with a focus on Fairclough's three stages of critical linguistic analysis (1989):

- description of the text or the level of textual analysis;
- interpretation of the contact between the text and interaction;
- explanation of how interaction and social context are interrelated.

The text in the study is a report released by the EU Commission in 2021. The text aims to evaluate the progress that Turkey made during its membership preparation. However, the text, when analysed through ideological discourse analytical perspective, is framed by a language of power, dominance, eurocentrism, elitism, and othering. This language reveals how the political, ideological, and cultural interests underlying the participation process of Turkey are linguistically constructed in the report. Out of the contact between text and interaction and social context comes the conclusion that meaning is a social construct negotiated by writer and reader through the medium of text. Thus, such an analysis seeks to establish connections and points of contact between the properties of the texts, discourse structures and their socio-political, socio-cultural context (Fairclough, 1995).

## **Research Questions**

Within the Critical Discourse Analysis of the EC Turkey 2021 Report, the present study seeks to find answers to the following questions:

1. How does the language of the target text shape the relationships between Turkey and the European Union from a European perspective?
2. How do discourse structures, lexico-grammatical items in the target text reveal political power?
3. How do institutional - and political power produce discourse structures?
4. How are the political, ideological, and cultural interests underlying the participation process of Turkey linguistically constructed in the report?
5. How was emotion infused with linguistic units in the EC Turkey 2021 Report?
6. How were negative emotion/sentiment/affect infused with biased information in the EC Turkey 2021 Report?

## **Pedagogical Implications**

Researchers propose some pedagogical implications of Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Linguistics. According to Rogers (2016), researchers using CDA, and CL are able to uncover, define and clarify the relation between language and other pedagogical issues. The inclusion of CDA in language classes may not require any drastic changes in teaching techniques, methods and strategies but may offer a novel perspective on language for it takes language as questionable, problematic, manipulative, reflective of social/political/ideological/cultural processes and capable of affecting all these processes (van Dijk, 1993; Pennycook, 1990). CDA and CL studies may help increase the level of critical language awareness among language teachers and learners (Fairclough, 1992, 1995). The study of CDA incorporates into the existing language teaching curricula and practices the fact that language has a social, political, and ideological nature. According to Rogers (2016), CDA studies in educational circles contribute to the understanding of texts, talks and social environments which are fundamental constituents of learning environments. Luke (2002) argues that CDA can be a functional instrument in the microanalysis of texts, both literary and non-literary, for it uses a number of linguistic, semiotic and literary tools, which can be stimulating and informative in academic reading and writing. Wodak and Meyer (2008) refer to the inductive, abductive and transductive nature of CDA for it focuses both on language structure and language action, which can also be helpful in language teaching and learning environments.

Developed by Michael Halliday and his colleagues as interrelated sets of options that manifest critical meanings and relationships between functions and grammatical systems (Halliday, 1994), Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) is used to analyse texts, written and spoken, from a functional perspective, which make language not a matter of vocabulary and grammar but a means

in which meanings are created coherently and transformed into strategic and purposeful structures called texts (Butt et al., 2000). Using this perspective, SFG makes language a social action just by shifting the emphasis from language structure to language function. This is also a distinction between how a language is composed (structure) and what it is used for (function). In ELT circles, SFG brings a new perspective to the debates around how grammar should be taught which have often been framed by two main terms: traditional vs. functional (Derewianka & Jones, 2010). This new perspective enables learners of English:

- To uncover how language can be used in different ways in different discourse communities just by critically analysing how language choices are influenced by values and beliefs, which is in line with socio-cultural implications of language.
- to see how texts are created based on some social purposes,
- to understand what role grammatical patterns, play in the meaning of text, text-grammar.
- to see the relationship between several different elements in the context and how they affect the choices of the language system.
- to examine the differences between texts that represent the same issue but are produced for various groups; that is to say, the texts in which the field and mode remain consistent, yet tenor differs.
- to see how language shapes identities and how identities influence structural, lexical and grammatical choices (Derewianka & Jones, 2010).

This study has been one of the first critical linguistic responses to European Union Turkey reports. EU country reports aim to communicate the ideas of institutions to member and candidate nations. Therefore, they are political and ideological texts by their genre. This study has been an extension of textual analysis, and become a generic analysis. It includes useful information about such generally so-called vague terms and concepts as text structure, discursive strategies, discourse structures, mode. Linguistic functions and makes them clearer to those who are interested and involved in textual studies.

### **Contextual Characterisation of the Target Text**

In recent years, researchers in the discipline of linguistics have focused on context as a fundamental theme. The reason for this is that most texts are context-sensitive texts, especially in literature, media, and politics. In Critical Discourse Studies, Textual Studies and Media Studies, text vs context relations are of vital importance. This importance is due to the fact that without them, any critical piece of idea or opinion would remain vague or unsupported by relevant context models and representations of communicative events or situations for context models and communicative events and situations control discursive structures (van Dijk, 2008). The following contextual characterisation of the target text was adapted from van Dijk (1997).



GENRE : Political, Ideological and Cultural Text

DOMAIN : Politics, Culture, Ideology, and International Relations

GLOBAL/ CONTINENTAL ACTION : Reporting

SETTING, DATE : OCTOBER 19, 2021.

LOCATIONS : European Commission, the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions

LOCAL ACTION: : Commission Staff Working Document/Report

COMMUNICATIVE : The EU Commission as the publisher, Turkey as the recipient

INTERACTIONAL : The EU Member States vs. Candidate States (Turkey)

SOCIAL : Members of the EU Commission vs. Turkish Government

COGNITION : Reporting, Criticising and Over-viewing relations of Turkey with the EU

AIM : Debating policies of Turkey in general from a European Perspective

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 1.1. Discourse Analysis

##### 1.1.1. The Definition of Discourse

Discourse has been defined in many ways since the late 20th century when it gradually became a field of interest in language studies. Therefore, there is not one static and true definition, and different interpretations of discourse emerged from linguists. According to Stubbs (1983:1), discourse is “language above the sentence or above the clause”. Stubbs pointed out the importance of text in language analysis rather than a sentence which was considered as the ultimate linguistic unit and the focal point in linguistic analysis. Fairclough (1992: 28) noted that “discourse is, for me, more than just language use: it is language use, whether speech or writing, seen as a type of social practice”. He did not limit discourse to spoken or written language since discourse is included in any means of social practice. Fairclough (1993) also considered discourse as “the kind of language used within a specific field, such as political or scientific discourse”. In another definition, Fairclough (1993) explained discourse in a concrete way as a countable noun such as a discourse, the discourse and discourses and in this respect, discourse refers to a method of speech that lends meaning to experiences from a specific perspective. In this last sense, the concept refers to any discourse that can be distinguished from other discourses such as a feminist discourse, a neoliberal discourse, a Marxist discourse (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 67). Kress (1985: 6) viewed discourse in a similar way and defined it as “a systematically organised set of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution”. This definition can best be applied to the context of this study for the target report reveals the ideological, political, and cultural values of the institution that created the report. In this respect, discourse is viewed as the core element which gives meaning to words or expressions in a specific field; therefore discourse may function as a guide regarding the issue of interpreting the meaning.

##### 1.1.2. “Discourse” and “discourse”

According to Gee (1996), language use is effected by such criteria as *whos* and *whats*. *Whos* essentially question who you are when you are using language, whether it is written or spoken language, since a different version of “you” is reflected every time you use language in different

actions or circumstances. Therefore, the language in use changes depending *who* you are in a certain circumstance and *whos* changes as well regarding the circumstances. *Whats* highlight what you are doing when you use language, in other words, it is about for what purpose you are using language. “An oral or written “utterance” has meaning, then, only if and when it communicates a *who* and *what*” (Gee, 1996: 22). Thus *whos* and *whats* are two important criteria for choosing the language to use and for giving meaning to that language. Within the context of this present study, the *whos* are European Union and Turkey, and the *whats* can be explained as the creation of a hegemonic discourse with the use of language.

Gee (1996) introduced two kinds of discourse: little “d” discourse and capital “D” Discourse, and *whos* and *whats* are also important in order to differentiate between “discourse” and “Discourse”.

Little “d” refers to language bits or the grammar of what is said. “D” refers to the ways of representing, believing, valuing, and participating with the language bits. Big Discourse includes language bits, but it also includes the identities and meanings that go along with such ways of speaking. This distinction helps us see that the form of language cannot exist independent of the function of language and the intention of speakers (Rogers, 2004: 5).

Big Discourse can be used as a countable noun as there are numerous Discourses such as a Feminist Discourse, a medical Discourse. Expressions have specific meanings in big Discourse; therefore, meaning is attained based on the Discourse it is used. Big Discourse has a certain and/or appropriate way of language and it reflects the beliefs and values of a certain field, thereby it requires deeper understanding. Gee (1996: 26) emphasises this as follows: “Big D” Discourses are always language *plus* “other stuff”. On the other hand, little discourse deals with language use in terms of solely linguistics by the help of grammar, semantic, syntax. Little d discourse is related to the specific use of grammar in a certain situation or context.

### **1.1.3. The Nature of Discourse Analysis**

It was Harris (1952) who first introduced Discourse Analysis to examine connected speech and writing. Harris remarked upon two problems, which made discourse analysis essential for linguistics field. First, language was required to be analysed beyond the level of the sentence and it was necessary to study the correlation between culture and language, namely non-linguistic and linguistic behaviour. Through discourse analysis, what Harris aimed to do was to show how language elements are used and combined in different types of texts. “We may not know just WHAT a text is saying, but we can discover HOW it is saying- what are the patterns of recurrence of its chief morphemes” (Harris, 1952: 1). Harris concluded that it is possible to find out the meaning of a text by applying discourse analysis as it helps to uncover specific patterns used in different texts or subject-matters. According to Harris, discourses do not just have shared

meanings, they also have specific linguistic features; thus, people can understand what a text says by analysing how it says.

Wodak and Meyer (2008) defined discourse analysis as the study of language on larger units as texts are the focal point of discourse analysis rather than isolated words or sentences. Instead of sentences or words, they introduced new components of analysis such as texts, discourses, conversations, speech acts, or communicative events. They considered discourse analysis as “the extension of linguistics beyond grammar towards a study of action and interaction” (2008: 2). It is an action and interaction as discourse analysis includes the context or setting where language is used. Discourse analysis deals with both written and spoken language. Chimombo and Roseberry (1988) noted that the primary aim of discourse analysis is to present a better understanding of texts and how they are interpreted by language users. Discourses have different ways of using language; therefore, every discourse reflects a different understanding and considers the issue from a different angle. In this respect, discourse analysis aims to show how discourses shape and reflect understanding by using language in a specific way. Based on Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) discourse theory, discourse shapes the social world in terms of meaning and due to the fundamental instability of language, there is not one fixed meaning. On the contrary, there are a range of ways to interpret texts or actions due to the variety of discourses. Laclau and Mouffe argued that discourses aim to fix the meaning in their own ways; therefore, there is an eternal conflict between which discourses will prevail. On the other hand, van Dijk (2011) argued that meaning is subject to language users and different interpretations can be made by different language users based on the same discourse. So, meaning can change even among the same discourse based on the understanding of language users with different cultures and perspectives. Johnstone (2008: 10) explains “Discourse is shaped by the participants, and discourse shapes the participants. Discourse is shaped by the world, and discourse shapes the world”. Thus, discourse is a part of society, and it cannot be considered apart from the society where language is used. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), discourse both constructs society and it is constructed by society, thus discourse analysis is based on the relationship between society and discourse. It mainly deals with the investigation of the relationship between discourse and society or setting where language is used. According to Brown and Yule (1983: 1), “the analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve human affairs”. As stated above, discourse analysis cannot be merely based on the linguistic forms of language, it also includes functional use of language, since linguistic forms are chosen and used in order to serve a purpose. According to van Dijk (2009), there is an indirect relation between society and discourse, and language users take an active role during the emergence of discourses. “[i]t is not the social situation that influences (or is influenced by) discourse, but the way the participants define the situation in which the discourse occurs” (van Dijk, 2008: 3). Considering van Dijk’s view, it can be said that discourses do not have any direct effect on language users’ interpretations, yet language

users deduce meaning from the context where language is used. Therefore, the same discourse can have different meanings upon being used in different contexts and discourse analysis dwells on the investigation of the relation between the specific use of language in discourses and the meaning they imply.

## **1.2. Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Linguistics**

Critical Discourse Analysis is rooted in Critical Linguistics, which is an approach dealing with the study of language based on the relation between language and society. Critical linguistics is a relatively new approach, and it was first introduced in Fowler et al. (1979). Their approach is mainly based on the fact that 'language' and 'society' are two inseparable terms and thus should be analysed together. Additionally, the main aim of critical linguistics is to contribute to the creation of an awareness of language use specifically for ideological purposes. Critical linguistics regards that social meanings are a part of any language and they can be seen in its phonology, vocabulary, grammar and discursal structure, which is exactly what this study attempts to do: based on lexicogrammatical items, uncovering the social, cultural, political, and ideological meanings embedded in its target text. "Critical linguistics shows the processes of how one party may be by another through the use of language and how another party may "pull the wool over the other party's eyes "(Chew, 1992: 38). In other words, the focus of critical linguistics is to shed light on how language is used for such purposes as manipulating or dominating other people or social environment. Therefore, language is never considered neutral because it always represents specific beliefs or objectives to be in control.

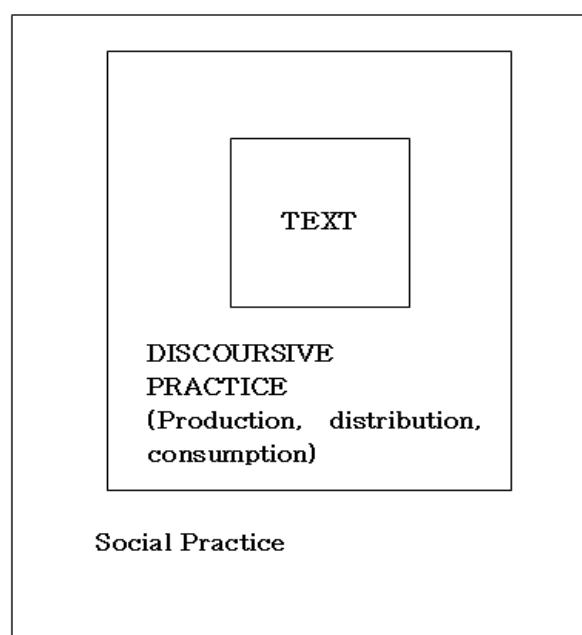
The original approach first introduced by Fowler et al. was further developed by scholars like Hodge & Kress (1988) and Kress (1993), but it was criticised by some other scholars (e.g., Threadgold, 1986; Wodak, 1989) for a lack of reflection on the relationship between language, power, and ideology. Thus, a new kind of analysis was required to delve into this relationship. As a response to such criticism, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was introduced in 1990s by such scholars as van Dijk, Fairclough, Kress, van Leeuwen, and Wodak. Van Dijk (1995b) considered CDA as the general label for a specific approach, which originally derived from critical linguistics, critical semiotics and can be used in analysis of both text and speech. Additionally, van Dijk (1995b) regarded the centre of this approach as socio-political and oppositional analysis of language, discourse, and communication. In CDA, discourse analysts assume that language use is always social, thus it both contributes to the process of shaping society, and it reflects the society. Thus, Wodak and Meyer (2008) pointed to the need for multidisciplinary study so that language users can get a proper understanding of language functions in such cases as constituting and disseminating knowledge, establishing social institutions, or wielding power. In line with this view, CDA plays a key role for language users in order to make social practices meaningful. Also, it is among the goals of CDA to illuminate the linguistic discursive dimension of late-modern social and

cultural phenomena and change processes (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). CDA is both a theory and a method that can be used by researchers interested in the relation between language and society to define, understand, and clarify such relations. It differs from previous methods of discourse analysis in that it includes both a description and interpretation of discourse in context, as well as an explanation of why and how discourses work (Rogers, 2004). As Fairclough (1992a) noted, before CDA there was a lack of approach in linguistics which studied language use considering social and political changes in time. Moreover, he regarded Critical Linguistics as inadequate in that there was an instability between the synthesis of the social and linguistic elements as critical linguists did not sufficiently allow for social theory and the concepts of power, hegemony, politics, culture, and ideology. CDA is, thus, required in that language needs to be investigated considering the social changes in time and to see how these changes affect and reflect the language use.

The focus of Critical Discourse Analysis is on a text-oriented form of discourse analysis and discourse, which is a significant type of social practice that recreates and alters knowledge, identities, and social interactions, including power relations, besides shaping other social practices and structures (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Therefore, the aim seems to develop a form of analysis which is different from the other approaches in that it would equally study language considering both linguistic and social perspectives (Fairclough, 1992a). “[...] so, producing their world, members' practices are shaped in ways of which they are usually unaware by social structures, relations of power, and the nature of the social practice they are engaged in whose stakes always go beyond producing meanings” (Fairclough, 1992a: 72). Fairclough’s argument is that the interaction between society and language is not always conscious as language users can be unconsciously impressed by social changes and this impression reflects on their language. Thereby, he combined textual and social analysis in order to show how discursive processes function in specific texts and the fact that discourse shapes and is shaped by the relationship between language and society is at the centre of Fairclough’s discourse analysis approach. For this purpose, he introduced *three-dimensional conception of discourse* (see Figure 1) by which he clearly demonstrated the connection between how texts are used together and how they are produced, distributed, and consumed regarding the social structures. Fairclough named it as an attempt to combine three indispensable elements for discourse analysis: textual and linguistic analysis, analysis of social practices regarding the social structures as social practice is actively produced by people and becomes meaningful based on shared common-sense procedures. Textual and linguistic analysis aims to define and explain the textual and linguistic functions structures the messages embedded in the target text (Frey et al., 1999). Discourse practice are the ways by which the intended message is sent to the target audience such as lecturing, published materials, news reports, articles and interviews. Within the context of this research, the discourse practice is a political country report written published by the EU. Social practice is what is done by the use of discourse. Ideological effects, power and hegemony, gender, racial and economic inequality which are infused in the text are some examples of social practices (Fairclough, 1992a).

For Fairclough (1992b) every discursive instance has three dimensions: *text* which refers to written and spoken language text, *discourse practice* which involves the text production, distribution, and consumption and *social practice*. Discourse practice refers to the interaction between people and social practice, thus discourse practices are social and need to be considered in light of the specific economic, political, and institutional settings in which discourse is constituted. Fairclough (1992b) noted that similarly CDA itself has also three dimensions such as the characterisation of the text, analysis of discourse practice and its connection to the text; and the relation between discourse practice and social action. ‘Text’ dimension can be called ‘description’ as it aims to describe the text with its formal features and ‘discourse practice’ is ‘interpretation’ phase of analysis which focuses on determining the type of conventions that are used and how they are used. Several genres (interview, advertising, lecture) and discourse types (medical, media, scientific) are included as both dominant and alternative conventions. Upon combining and utilising these resources, two ways are widely in use: standard and normative ways. However, creative and innovative ways can be also seen in this process, so interpretational analysis is crucial at this point to specify how the conventions are used. In the last dimension, there is the ‘explanation’ phase of analysis which aims itself at the interaction regarding social context and evaluates the contribution of the discourse to the social action and its efficacy in establishing or helping the reconstitution of many facets of social action. It is also highly important in that it reveals political and ideological objectives of conventions and how they are combined and used for political and ideological purposes which are indispensable for the ‘critical’ aspect of discourse analysis.

**Figure 1: Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Conception of Discourse**



**Source:** Fairclough, 1992a: 73

### 1.2.1. What is 'Critical' in CDA?

In CDA, the term 'critical' mostly relates to the examination of power relations in text and speech, since the issues of power, domination and social inequality are the focal points of analysis. van Dijk (1995) named CDA as an inter or multidisciplinary field of study that concentrates on the relation between discourse and society with a focus on politics and culture. The 'critical' part of CDA also refers to trying to identify the connection between the form and function of language (Rogers, 2004). The form of language includes such elements as grammar, morphology, semantics, syntax, and pragmatics while the function of language deals with the way people use language in various circumstances to achieve a goal. Another 'critical' part of CDA is that it explicitly deals with social problems and strives to define, describe, explain, and find a solution to social problems with the help of analysis along with social and political action (Rogers, 2004). In this respect, the essential role of the analyst is to identify social problems and study how discourse has an impact on these issues and how it is historically affected by them. Based on this view of the critical nature of DA, it can be argued that it is not sufficient for analysts to merely analyse a text with a special emphasis on power because the text cannot be considered apart from the social and political contexts in which it is constructed. This explains that Critical Discourse Analysis takes texts as being 'context sensitive'.

According to Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) CDA is 'critical' considering its aim to reveal the role of discourse practices in the conservation of the social world which involves the social relations with inequality in power relations. Therefore, it is critical to achieve the social change by promoting more equal power relations in processes of communication and society in general.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 258) defined CDA as "analysing different modes of discourse with critical attitudes" with a focus on "actual and extended social interaction that take a linguistic form". For Fairclough (1992a) 'critical' means indicating connections and causes which are hidden in texts whether it be written or spoken. Weiss and Wodak (2003) noted that it means decoding the processes of ideology as its discursive patterns may disguise the aspects of social environment. Then, CDA appears to be "an analysis of not only what is said, but what is left out not only what is present in the text, but what is absent" (Rogers, 2004: 7). Based on this approach, CDA does not just evaluate texts in terms of political and social ideologies, but the analyst is also responsible for finding and identifying the relations between texts and ways of being, as well as why particular people adopt various views in respect to contextual uses of language (Rogers, 2004). Another definition of 'critical' by Fairclough (1995: 132) is as follows:

By 'critical' discourse analysis I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by



relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

Considering how Fairclough defines and describes Critical Discourse Analysis, the issue of power and social struggles arising from power can be seen to occupy a central position in the process of analysis. Wodak and Meyer (2008) explain this issue by asserting that language alone is not powerful because what makes it powerful is when people in power use it. For this reason, CDA adopts the perspective of those who suffer and principally examines the language used by those in positions of power, who are both accountable and responsible for social inequality and have the resources and chance to improve them. In a similar way, power elites become the target of CDA, so it is considered as the criticism of the social order as well (van Dijk, 1993). Within the context of this present study, the writers of the target text play the role of power elites. Corson (2000: 95) noted that "the aim of critical analysts is to explore hidden power relations between a piece of discourse and wider social and cultural formations" and have an interest in "uncovering inequality, power relationships, injustices, discrimination, bias".

### **1.3. Ideological and Political Discourses**

#### **1.3.1. Ideological Discourses**

Ideology has been defined in many different ways by several scholars as it is a multidisciplinary term; thus, it eludes a fixed definition. In order to show the variety of its meaning, Eagleton (1991: 1) listed the definitions of ideology as follows;

- The process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life;
- a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class;
- ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;
- false ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power;
- the medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world;
- action-oriented sets of beliefs.

Simpson (1993: 5) defined ideology as "conventions, beliefs, value- systems that are commonly shared by certain social groups". Ideologies are not personal, and they are shared by a group of people, but they cannot be restricted to socially shared beliefs. For van Dijk (2006a), ideologies express who we are, manifest our values and demonstrate what we stand for and explain how we interact with our groups within the same or distinct cultures. Therefore, ideologies are not only socially shared, but they are also of significance in that they organise social relations by designating the attitudes of people. Fowler (1991: 10) emphasises that "anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position". As Kress wrote (1993: 174) "all signs are equally subject to critical reading for no sign is innocent". Similarly, Barker and

Galasinski (2001: 22) noted that “knowledge is never a neutral or objective phenomenon but a matter of the place from which one speaks, to whom, and for what purposes”. In other words, ideologies affect the way people use language based on their intentions. Van Dijk (2006a) pointed out the relation between ideology and discourse and viewed ideology as “the ultimate basis of discourses”. It is also highlighted by Johnstone (2008) as she noted that the way that language is used to produce and reproduce ways of thinking and ways of thinking can be controlled by choices of syntax, style, phrase, and other linguistic features. Ideology and discourse are inevitably interrelated because texts and speech affect people in terms of the acquisition, expression, and reproduction of ideologies. Upon the production and consumption of texts and speech, language users make linguistic choices in accordance with the ideologies they adopt. According to Johnstone (2008), discourse producers make deliberate choices concerning the portrayal of acts, actors, and events, description of knowledge, status and choices about naming and wording. Choices about the actions, actors and events are mainly about the use of active and passive voice and this choice relates to the questions of *Who or what is presented as agents?* and *Who or what is acted on?* It is known that passive voice is mostly used when the agent (doer) of an action is unknown or unimportant, however in ideological discourses it is intentionally used to disguise a known agent or mitigate the involvement of the agent. Nevertheless, rather than considering it in isolation, it should be interpreted based on its discourse as passive voice is also used when the subject is just mentioned and not to overly repeat or when the focus is on other participants.

In the representation of knowledge, discourse producers make use of certain adverbials and verbs to show to what extent they are certain about the claims they make. For instance, Johnstone (2008) named adverbials like *clearly* and *without a doubt* as ‘evidential’ or ‘epistemic’ since they indicate high level of certainty while such adverbials as *may be* or *possibly* are signs of being uncertain. The use of the verb ‘*be*’ in present simple similarly implies that the claim is universally accepted, and such verbs as *know*, *suspect*, *claim* and *think* are among the words used to show the knowledge status of a speaker. In another choice, which is the choice of naming and wording, discourse producers make a decision about how to call or name something or the intentional use of specific words among others. Johnstone (2008) discusses two common ways of rewording: euphemism and dysphemism. In the case of euphemism, for instance, the word ‘casualties’ is used instead of ‘deaths’ to avoid a negative connotation or similarly the words ‘tests and examinations’ are replaced by ‘evaluations and skill assessments. However, in dysphemism, words with negative connotations can be favoured if they serve purposes of the dominant ideology of discourse such as the intentional use of the words ‘ethnic cleansing’ and ‘genocide’ in some cases. These choices show the ways how discourses are loaded to promote or downplay specific ideologies.

Van Dijk (2006a) argued that ideologies are mostly shown and acquired by discourse in texts. Talks and discourse includes various types of ideologies which are adopted by different kinds of groups like political parties, social movements, and professions. In ideological discourses, group

members act in accordance with the motivation of their ideology and therefore ideologies consist of polarised structures. Considering that there are multiple possible ideologies in which discourse can be rooted, van Dijk (2006a) made a few assumptions to understand the discourse production process and identify the 'biased' discourses. Among these assumptions which are based on cognitive psychology, there are context models, mental models, knowledge, group beliefs and strategic processing. Discourse production and comprehension are controlled by the context models in that they determine whether discourse is socially appropriate. Additionally, the context model can be ideologically biased and thus may include biased discourses such as using more or less polite tone or by making lexical choices. Another assumption is the mental model, which is mainly about language users' subjective interpretations of the event or situation that the discourse is about. Mental models enable language users to understand a discourse, so they cannot understand a discourse for which they cannot construct a model. They are partial representations of information, situations, and events implicitly or explicitly created in the minds of the readers while they are reading the text (Garnham, 1981). Event models in discourses can also be ideologically biased and they create ideological discourses as in the case of context models. Thus, ideological discourses are produced considering the subjective mental models of their consumers and producers. As a result, events and actors are described positively or negatively based on the mental models of ideological discourses (van Dijk, 2006a). In comparison with context and event models which are personal and subjective, there are also shared general social beliefs by member of groups such as knowledge, attitudes, and ideology. They have an impact on the emergence of certain models and hence indirectly on discourse production or comprehension. It is taken for granted that all the members of a group belonging to a culture, nation or organisation share and adopt knowledge of the group and discourse is produced based on this presupposed knowledge. In other words, knowledge is what allows for mutual understanding in discourses and communication among ideological groups. However, in communities groups may have different aims, goals, and practices along with shared beliefs like ideologies and knowledge. For instance, racists may have a belief of white superiority which they acquire and share as knowledge (van Dijk, 2006a). Besides, group beliefs are typically ideological in that underlying ideas control and organise them. When group members speak, their context and event models are influenced, and thus the discourse structures are indirectly constructed by these biased models. Based on the ideologically biased models and shared beliefs introduced above, language users strategically construct and understand speech and text, word by word, sentence by sentence, turn by turn. The underlying representations determine all variable phonological, lexical, and syntactic forms (van Dijk, 2006a). Intonation, pronouns, nominalisations, topic choice and change, implicitness, turn taking, interruptions, politeness, arguments, narrative structures are among the discourse structures which may strategically index the ideology of the speaker or writer.

Discursive structures and strategies are crucial to identify if discourse is ideologically produced because discourse may be ideologically ambiguous and in this case discourse analysis

does not necessarily reveal the ideologies of people. For instance, pronouns are used to control in-group – out-group polarisation of ideologies; while “we” refers to the in-group of discourse producer, “they” shows that out-group is mentioned. “Our good things and Their bad things will tend to be emphasised, as is the case for the mitigation of Our bad things and Their good things” (van Dijk, 2006a: 124). If discourse is verbally produced, the use of specific intonation, stress or volume of a word or phrase can be ideologically interpreted. It is important to note that ideologies can only be traced on the discourse structures that are contextually variable. In other words, one cannot ideologically mark obligatory grammatical structures because they are shared by all language users and thus considered to be ideologically neutral. Variable structures like syntactic structures and rhetorical figures, on the other hand, can be ideologically biased. For instance, ideological implications are emphasized or de-emphasised by using syntax and rhetorical figures such as metaphors, hyperboles, and euphemisms. With the help of all these structures and strategies, ideological discourses are based on positive self-presentation (boasting) and negative other - presentation by groups, thus CDA uses them as tools in the analysis of ideological discourses.

### **1.3.2. Political Discourses**

The penetrable relationship between Discourse, ideology and politics is evident in that the field of politics is inherently ideological, and ideology is discursively produced and reproduced by text and talk. Ideologies have an important role in the justification of power abuse by dominant groups and they are named as political ideologies when they function in the field of politics such as socialism, communism, and liberalism. Political practices and discourses produced in these practices are also ideological. Political groups benefit from ideological discourses to struggle with opposed groups, to gain power and to surpass, so they need to be ideologically conscious. Van Dijk (2006b) asserts that discourses make ideologies visible and as in the case of ideologies, political ideologies can be expressed, formulated, propagated, and contested only through discourse.

The relations between discourse and political ideologies are usually studied in terms of the structures of political discourse, such as the use of biased lexical items, syntactic structures such as actives and passives, pronouns such as us and them, metaphors or topoi, arguments, implications, and many other properties of discourse (van Dijk, 2006b: 732).

The pronoun “we” is prioritised in political discourse based on political situations such as who is speaking to/with whom, when and where. Also, context models affect political discourses in that they determine the interpretation and representations of for-them viewpoints of political situations. Furthermore, political discourses may have political functions only upon enacting political activities or procedures such as ruling or legislating with very definite political goals like defending or opposing a law or being elected (van Dijk, 2006b). Therefore, along with political ideologies, political actors are required to have political knowledge and share norms, values, and

beliefs. In this respect, contextualisation is used to associate the participants' ideas with their ideologies (Gumperz, 1982). Political discourses are similar to ideological discourses as they can be identified thanks to the use of contextually variable syntactic structures. In other words, to identify the underlying political ideology of discourse, variable structures should be taken into consideration such as the use of pronouns. On the other hand, the use of syntactic structures, which are grammatically invariable, are not of service to identify political ideologies. Van Dijk (2006b) suggests that different political ideologies can be basically identified by what people say instead of the way they say it.

The strategies of ideological discourses are also applicable in political discourses. In political speeches, interviews and propagandas in-group, out-group polarisation is carried out by choosing preferable topics of "our" group or party and by laying stress on negative aspects of the out-group: political opponents (van Dijk, 2006b). For instance, political discourse usually associates immigrants and minorities with problems and perpetration. Besides, meaning can be enhanced by intonation or stress, visual or graphical means, word order, heading and topicalisation and repetition. Political groups effectively benefit media for their propaganda and thus traces of political discourse can be seen in media. For example, the villainy of opponent groups will be on display on the front page with harsh headlines and huge visuals. In conclusion, political discourse is highly similar to ideological discourse as it is fundamentally based on the fact that the intention of discourse producers can be analysed by the help of aforementioned structures and strategies, and they tend to associate good things within groups while they negatively position out-groups.

#### **1.4. Systemic Functional Grammar and Critical Discourse Analysis as Research Methods**

What Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) or Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) brings forward in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Linguistics is a theory of language which is highly based on purpose and choice (Halliday, 1973; 1978; 1994). Systemic Functional Grammar is a self-described functionalist approach to language, and it is likely the most developed functionalist method. SFG clearly aims to mix strictly structural information with obviously social variables in a single integrated description, in contrast to most other techniques. SFL is profoundly related to the objectives of language use, as are other functionalist frameworks. Systemic Functional Linguists are continually asking themselves, "What is this writer's (or speaker's) goal?" What kind of language tools do exist that will assist them, and in what way do they make their decisions? (Trask & Stockwell, 2007). In functional tradition, three levels or strata of a language are included to describe the stages in coding meaning from expressions: semantics, grammar, and phonology. Syntax is replaced with grammar in this tradition, since it is thought that language is regarded as a set of forms with then meanings attached. It is seen that in the early periods of western linguistics, language was first studied in word forms (morphology), then in sentence forms

(syntax) and finally these established forms were investigated with the question 'what do these forms mean?' (Halliday, 1994). However, in functional tradition, language is regarded as a set of meanings along with forms and the raising question is 'how are these meanings expressed' (Halliday, 1994). In this respect, language forms are considered as tools to achieve the intended meanings. On the other hand, it is functional in that it aims to show how language is used as it evolved to meet human needs. According to Halliday (1994), a functional grammar is 'natural grammar' as everything in it can be explained by the way language is used. Thus, the basic components of language meaning are functional components, and a language has three types of functions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual (Hart, 2014). The ideational function allows language users to comment on the world, so it enables them to construct reality while the interpersonal function allows language users to comment about the world (Hart, 2014). Therefore, it is the interpersonal function which enables language users to reflect on their personal attitudes or judgements about specific context situations and they benefit from this function to influence the attitudes or judgements of others (Halliday, 2007). Textual function fulfils the ideational and interpersonal meaning and along with context it organises it into coherent discourse strands. Each linguistic element can be explained in terms of its overall linguistic function and therefore, a functional grammar views all linguistic units– clauses, phrases – as organic symbols of functions, so each component is interpreted as functional to the whole.

Functional grammar is based on the systemic theory and this theory interprets language or any other semiotic system as a network in which all options are combined to one another. Halliday (1994: 40) comments on these options as follows:

Applied to the description of a language, it means starting with the most general features and proceeding step by step so as to become ever more specific: 'a message is either about doing, or about thinking, or about being: if acting on something it is either creating or plain action or action on something: if action on something it is either creating or dealing with something already created', and so on.

A language is therefore a system to produce meanings through various forms. Thus, SFG prominently deals with meaning rather than form and it is "specifically geared to relating structure to communicative function" (Fowler, 1991:5). While the Generative Grammar of Chomsky would claim that there is no difference between the sentences 'the police forced the rioters back' and 'the protestors were repelled by the police' based on syntax-oriented analysis, Functional Grammar would reveal the difference in meaning arising from the choice of passive and active voices (Fowler, 1991). Thus, functional grammar examines "what speakers are doing when they use language and why on particular occasions of use, they formulate their utterances in the way they do" (Hart, 2014: 20). Due to this functionalist emphasis, SFG is an effective tool for CDA, which is why this present study uses CDA both as a theory and as a method for it deals with what the

producers of the target text are doing with the language units they use in the construction of the text.

SFG is a natural framework for CDA as language is a major social source for both of them, and both consider language forms (at all levels) as well as content to be significant. According to Hart (2014), the two fields understand the dialectical relations between language and social environment as one in which linguistic choices are dictated by the communicative situation (setting) while also defining the communicative event (genre) and the interpersonal relations between participants. Besides, by introducing the three functions of language, Halliday (1994) urges on the discursive use of language to serve several purposes and thus views functions as “language capacity” of using language related to culture and society. Similarly for Fairclough (1995:134), language use is always simultaneously "constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and belief". Considering this textured and multi-layered nature of discourse, the analysis of different dimensions and aspects are required. In this respect, CDA benefits from SFG in the phase of analysis to reveal misrepresentations and discriminations attained by the use of different grammatical structures. CDA makes use of grammar choices in discourse specifically for Transitivity analysis, Social actor analysis and Mystification analysis.

In CDA, Transitivity refers to the quantity of complements required by the semantics of a verb, and it relates to the type of procedure defined in the clause and its implications for the categories of participants. Thus, it provides a system of resources to refer to entities in the world and, more importantly, how they interact with or relate to each other, and it entails speakers' categorising various situations and happenings. According to Fowler (1991), transitivity is a powerful notion for CDA as it enables the analysis of the same events from different perspectives. Besides, transitivity offers a wide range of possible choices and the choice made and neglected is directly related to ideological positions. Social actor analysis, on the other hand, is about the choices made on the representation of social actor as *activated* for *agents* or *passivated* for *patients*. Social actors can also be ideologically defined by generalisation and collectivism to impersonalize and maintain social stereotypes. For instance, speakers may use the plural form ‘immigrants’ or mass nouns to refer to a specific group of social actors as ‘immigrant community’ (Hart, 2014). Another representation of social actors is done by indetermination which makes individuals or groups anonymous or unspecified. The reader is prevented from making a critical judgement on the authenticity or appropriateness of the personalised actors since indetermination strategies consider their identification as irrelevant (Hart, 2011). Individuals or groups can be nominated or classified once they are identified, and proper nouns are the most common form of nomination. Nomination can be formal (with surname only), semi-formal (name and surname) and informal (just name) so it is not common for strong actors to be mentioned in informal nomination. Nominations can also be applied by adding titles like ‘Dr.’ or by affiliating with a certain institution, which often specifies a functional role. Mystification analysis, lastly, is a part of CDA in that it evaluates the potential of

the clause to defocus or completely conceal parts of realities described in discourse to distinct ideological consequences. The passive voice and nominalisation are two grammatical structures described as ideologically loaded. The choice of voice affects the organisation of message, while the actor is the subject of the clause and the Goal is the complement in the active voice, it is vice versa in the passive voice. Thus, the ideational and textual functions of language can clearly be seen in the system of voice. In all three models, analysts focus on the strategies of linguistic representation.

### **1.5. The Textual Nature of European Union Reports for Turkey as Text**

Since 1998, the European Commission has published annual reports measuring the progress made by candidate nations in meeting the Copenhagen criteria. The reports were previously known as “Progress Reports” until 2016, when they were changed to “Country Reports”. While preparing the annual Country Reports, the European Commission draws on information provided by the Turkish government, European parliament reports and decisions, European Council evaluations, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe and international financial organisations, international organisations and non-governmental organisations. The public welfare, economic growth, the functioning of jurisdiction and democratic institutions, freedom of speech and press, green agenda and agriculture are among the issues of reports, Country reports are one-sided papers that only present the Commission’s opinion and assessment and Turkey has responded by making public declarations and providing feedback to the European Commission.

In his lecture on Turkey and the EU relations, Kramer (2006) provided a detailed analysis of the EU accession negotiations process of Turkey as a candidate country which started at October 2005. Turkey is both a candidate country and in a negotiation process to be a member of the EU and this makes relations between Turkey and the EU and accession process of Turkey distinctive for both sides. Though Kramer gave this lecture years ago, it is still of significance as he underlined the firm criteria which are still valid for both sides. Kramer defined the relations between the EU and Turkey in terms of both and showed what it means to be a part of the EU for Turkey and what it is for the EU to have Turkey as a member. According to Kramer (2006), most EU member states view Turkey as an “outsider” to Europe and thus do not consider the EU-Turkey relations to be an integral part of the European integration process. Besides, the majority of Turkish people consider the EU and Europe to be a political entity who cannot be trusted. However, there are also groups of people on both sides who regard this accession process on behalf of Turkey and the EU. With regard to the EU member states, it would only be possible for Turkey to be a member if she develops a stable “embedded democracy” and financial stability for the welfare of her people. Thus, the European Commission observes and keeps track of the political, economic, and societal changes which are necessary for Turkey in this accession process.



The EU member states which support the accession of Turkey mainly regard the strategic advantages of Turkish membership. One of these advantages is the geo-strategic importance of Turkey to create secure and prosperous surroundings. Furthermore, if this process leads to success, the EU would benefit in two cases: first it would show the Middle East that Western-style democracy and economic prosperity is possible for a Muslim-majority country and second Turkey would function as a stabilising force in its politically volatile neighbourhood (Kramer, 2006). Moreover, with this membership, rather than being known as a “Christian club”, the EU can show that its values are open to everyone who wants to adopt them, including large secular Muslim democracies (Kramer, 2006). This may also help other Muslim societies that closely follow the EU aspirations of Turkey to modernise their political and economic systems. Additionally, by including nearly 80 million Turkish Muslims as the EU citizens, the emergence of a true “Euro Islam” could help overcome the risk for Islamist radicalisation in some member states. Above all, the membership of Turkey would enhance capacity of the EU as a global actor in the global competition about the ways to form a stable and peaceful global order in the twenty-first century.

On the other side, it is also possible to see the opposing views of some EU member states and these views mainly have political-ideological or socio-economic origins. The majority of these opposing views are based on the idea that Turkey is too large, too poor, and too Muslim to become a member of the EU (Kramer, 2006). Also, it is argued that Turkey is not geographically a European country, so it is not eligible to join the EU. Another opposition arises from the argument that the membership is impossible due to the political, cultural, ideological history of Turkey as it is not the same as the history of European civilisation and therefore is seen as “the other” for the EU community (Kramer, 2006). Thus, it is claimed that its distinct political culture may cause issues in EU decision-making and implementation among an overwhelmingly Muslim population. Considering that in case of accession Turkey would be the largest member state with great influence in institutions and decision-making process, it is a concern for the EU that Turkish national interests may dominate the EU agenda. According to these countries that oppose the membership of Turkey, the human right records of Turkey with its treatment of minorities like the “Kurdish minority” and the claim of “Armenian Genocide”, Turkey is not considered to meet the requirements set forth by the European Council of Copenhagen in 1993 (Kramer, 2006).

Within the light of these arguments for and against the accession of Turkey, Critical Discourse Analysis of the annual “Country Report” is important in that it reveals the political ideologies which have been predominantly adopted by the European Commission. As Wodak (2008) expressed, discourse analysis can be highly useful in understanding social, political, cultural, and ideological discursive practices which add extra meaning to discourses employed in the field of foreign policy, through both argument and communicative activity. The study of European Integration in relation to and with a focus on DA and CDA allows for the identification of the formation, reproduction, and diffusion of discourses of inclusion and exclusion, as well as

the systematic application of imposed policies and methods (Wodak & Fairclough, 2010). Because culture is linked to the processes that produced Europe, identity is directed to the discursive level, where people construct a "Europe" that they recognise consciously or unconsciously (Krzyanowski, 2010). However, Aydın-Düzgit (2015) reported that given the discourse of debates on Turkey, rather than culture, the issues concerning security and democracy are among the discourse topics which are in use to construct different European identities. Considering that the EU member states share the same history and culture through the discursive practices it is seen that Turkey is bound to be reflected as “the other”.



## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This study uses Critical Discourse Analysis as a method by means of exploring and highlighting power, dominance, hegemony and dominance as projections of cultural, political and ideological biases in the EU Turkey 2021 Report. It also uses Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar analysis whose results are employed as a mirror image of social structures or practices with the help of linguistic practices. Therefore, the study finds this combination beneficial for the research topic. CDA has been widely employed in many genres of applied linguistics as it aims to analyse crucial processes that lead to the creation of ideology, relationships, and the dominance of particular forces within a domain. The particular force here is the European Union, and the domain is politics. The most crucial instruments by which dominance and power are exercised are the EU country reports. For a long period of time, the EU has been using membership negotiations as an instrument of hegemony and power towards the regional countries. Through these negotiations and country reports, the EU has been trying to Europeanise the candidate countries without accession. It can be argued that the target report produces meanings in terms of political, cultural and ideological power and hegemony. To decode such meanings requires the use of Critical Discourse Analysis since it brings the field of linguistics and politics together in a crossroad.

Critical Discourse Analysis is a methodological technique to examine the constitutive function of discourses in various discourse societies (within the context of the present study, the European Union is taken as a discourse society). CDA was developed by such scholars as Fairclough, van Dijk, van Leeuwen, and Wodak, having its roots in applied linguistics. Recent years have seen a variety of its uses in the social and human sciences. In spite of having different epistemological assumptions, CDA has been interconnected with critical linguistics, social semiotics, textual analysis, and reading-analysis in terms of theory and method. Therefore, different methodological traditions exist in CDA rather than a cohesive methodological totality and unity. By its nature, it analyses, critically describes, interprets, and explains how discursive structures and strategies build, maintain, legitimise, and normalise social inequalities (Wodak & Meyer, 2008). Critical Discourse Analysis is a qualitative approach. The critical discursive approach that this study uses can be characterised by the following:

- The idea that linguistic expressions and units in a text are not neutral;
- Power relations between groups, institutions and countries are first and foremost discursive;

- The analysis is systematic, interpretive, explanatory, descriptive and critical (van Dijk, 1993; Wodak & Meyer, 2008).

There is no typical CDA method of data collection, which makes it clearer than ever that CDA is not a clearly defined empirical method but rather a collection of methods with a shared theoretical underpinning and research concerns. While some authors heavily rely on customs that are not related to sociolinguistics, others hardly ever disclose the methodology used to acquire the data. In any case, data collection is not seen as a specific stage that must be finished before analysis begins, similar to grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1999). Instead, after the initial exercise in data collection, the first analyses are carried out, indicators for specific concepts are found, concepts are expanded into categories. In practice, the focus of a CDA study will be on those features that can change depending on social power if the research is on the manner in which some speakers or writers exert power in or through their discourse. Therefore, research should focus on those properties in a written or spoken text that can vary as a function of social power; stress and intonation, word order, lexical style, coherence, local semantic moves such as disclaimers, topic choice, speech acts, schematic organization, rhetorical figures, syntactic structures, propositional structures, turn takings, repairs, hesitation (van Dijk, 1993). Of these, this study focuses mainly on word order, lexical style, syntactic structure, and schematic organization.

Literature in CDA does not provide specific and clear analytic frameworks for CDA research. Therefore, researchers do not use some pre-defined data collection and analytic methods. They place CDA in terms of its methodology in the hermeneutic tradition rather than the analytical-deduction tradition, which means a difficulty in drawing a distinction between data collecting and analysis (Wodak, 2001; Weiss & Wodak, 2003). Very often, it is left to the researchers, and they make their own choices and decisions. However, the study takes some clear steps in the application of its analytic framework. The first step was to identify the linguistic and discursive features: modality, graphological features, emotive words, negative words, words for norm fixation. Then, the whole report was carefully read, and the above features were found and then they were analysed and interpreted.

This study is a qualitative study of textual analysis in combination with the technicalities of Critical Discourse Analysis, which are considered to be ‘cousins’ in social sciences. Over time, many in the field of CDA who were interested in analysing media content and that of political texts have considered textual analysis as an exploitable method and an approach for this type of methodological design gives the researcher the advantage of uncovering crucial textual information required in the explanation and interpretation of the potential depths of meanings in the target text. Having some critical research questions, the study used four exclusive approaches to the target text. Considering van Dijk’s (1998) argument that it is possible to interpret ideologies by analysing

discursive components in a text, the first one looks at how ideologies are embedded in the text. The second one is actor-based approach claiming that it is possible to explore the discursive strategies the actors or the producers of the text use to devalue or overvalue some cultures, people, nations, races and values etc. (Wodak, 2001). The third one is document-based approach which is based on the idea that some documents play very crucial roles in the construction of social meanings (Fairclough, 1993). The fourth is functional linguistic and structural approach which seeks to uncover some hidden ideologies and meanings behind the use of some specific lexico-grammatical features in the target text (Halliday, 1994).

As conclusion, this study takes Critical Discourse Analysis as a useful method revealing linguistic patterns in a text that uncover social, cultural and ideological meanings and messages inherent in the text.



## CHAPTER THREE

### 3. ANALYSIS

#### 3.1. Modality

In Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (1994), three main functions of language are mentioned: *the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual*. According to Halliday, *the ideational meta function* considers language a tool to organise, understand, and present the speaker and writer's apprehensions of the world and of their consciousness. Language in the interpersonal function enables the speaker and the writer to share acts of communication with others, to play roles and to expose and misconceive feelings, attitudes, and judgments. The textual function means that language is used to relate what is said or written to the real world and to other linguistic events. According to Halliday, these functions operate concurrently with the formation and expression of meaning, since certain components of language achieve the ideational function, other elements achieve the interpersonal function, and others achieve the textual function. Modality is one of the characteristics of these three meta-functions of language.

The use of modality, though it is a slippery issue in the field of linguistics, is a fertile semantic domain in the study of political and ideological discourse for it presents several semantic nuances. In linguistics there several types of modalities, but this study identifies and analyses one presented by Palmer (2001): *deontic modality*. *Deontic modality* can be defined as one in which obligation and permission is embedded by the user. Conditions in deontic modality are determined or created by an external source. In the case of the present study, this external source is European Union. With deontic modality, this external source becomes the actual speaker exerting some degree of control and hegemony over the addressee- Turkey. The study analyses deontic modality in four categories: *deontic verbs, deontic adjectives, deontic adverbs, and deontic nouns*.

The meaning or message intended to be created by the speaker and the writer implies that a given proposition in a command is obligatory, advisable, or permissible. The degree of obligation, advisability or permissibility is determined by or according to some normative background. Within the case of this present study, this normative background in the report is built by European values, European cultural and ideological notions and premises and the EU laws and conventions.

### 3.1.1. Deontic Modal Nouns

Nouns are rarely mentioned or referred to with a focus on their modality. Some nouns can replace modal auxiliaries when they are used with verbs. The most used deontic modal nouns are *obligation, need, necessity*.

The study explored 'obligation' and 'need' as the most used deontic modal nouns. The list of tokens is as follows:

“The country did not establish anti-corruption bodies in line with **Turkey’s international obligations**” (5)

“The relative share of the EU in Turkey’s foreign trade slightly increased, despite extensive deviations by Turkey from its **obligations** under the EU-Turkey Customs Union” (8)

“Regarding its ability to assume the **obligations** of membership, Turkey’s alignment with the EU *acquis* was very limited and pursued on a rather ad hoc basis” (8)

“Turkey’s deviations from its **obligations** under the EU-Turkey Customs Union continue, contributing to a high number of trade irritants” (9)

“The new human rights action plan foresees changes to the legislation on political parties and elections, which provides an opportunity to bring Turkish legislation in line with international **obligations** and standards for conducting democratic elections. Turkey needs to take steps to improve the broader environment for elections” (10)

“In the coming year, Turkey should in particular: effectively implement its international **obligations** in relation to the fight against corruption, including adhering to the United Nations Convention against Corruption and the Council of Europe Conventions” (25)

“Complaints, reports and any indications of torture or ill-treatment need to be investigated swiftly, effectively, and impartially; perpetrators must be prosecuted and convicted in line with Turkey’s international **obligations**, in particular with the ECHR and the UNCAT” (31)

“Any measures taken to counter terrorism must comply with Turkey’s other **obligations** under international law, including in the area of human rights” (6)

“It is paramount that any measures taken to counter terrorism are in line with Turkey’s obligations under international law, and in particular international human rights law” (46)

“Turkey has committed to remove all anti-personnel landmines by 31 March 2022, in order to fulfil its obligations under the Ottawa Treaty” (51)

“The relative share of the EU in Turkey’s foreign trade slightly increased, despite extensive deviations by Turkey from its obligations under the EU-Turkey Customs Union” (61)

“Despite repeated calls by the Council and the Commission, Turkey has still not complied with its **obligations** as outlined in the Declaration of the European Community and its Member States of 21 September 2005 and in Council Conclusions, including those of December 2006 and December 2015” (71)

“As highlighted by the Council, and stemming from **obligations** under the Negotiating Framework, Turkey is expected to unequivocally commit to good neighbourly relations, international agreements and the peaceful settlement of disputes having recourse, if necessary, to the International Court of Justice” (72)

“Requirements discriminating against EU products remained, violating Turkey’s **obligations** under the Customs Union” (74)

“Turkey should eliminate non-tariff barriers to the free movement of goods that are in breach of Customs Union **obligation**” (74)

“A range of non-tariff barriers to the free movement of goods that are in breach of Customs Union obligations are still in place and some were introduced in the reporting period” (74)

“Given the importance of the law and clear indications that some of its aspects threaten the very existence of NGOs, it is important that any measures taken to counter terrorism are in line with Turkey’s **obligations** under international law, and in international human rights law” (78)

“Turkey’s deviations from its obligations under the EU-Turkey Customs Union continue, contributing to a high number of trade irritants” (86)

“This is not compatible with Turkey’s **obligations** under the Customs Union either. The recommendations from last year were implemented to a limited degree” (99)

“Turkey is yet to fully implement its **obligations** under the EU-Turkey trade agreement for agricultural products, by opening quotas for beef and live animals on a lasting basis” (109)

“The EU has repeatedly stressed the **need** for Turkey to respect the sovereign rights of EU Member States” (7)

“However, in both areas, there is a **need** to strengthen administrative capacity, consultations and coordination among stakeholders” (8)

“On taxation, while Turkey is moderately prepared, there is a **need** for a clear strategy, avoiding frequent changes in tax rates and enabling tax information exchange with all EU Member States” (9)

“Major issues identified in previous reports were not addressed, in particular the systemic lack of independence of the judiciary and the urgent **need** to improve the human rights situation” (21)

“Particularly in terrorism-related cases, there is a **need** to eliminate the concerns that evidence extracted coercively may be used to convict people” (24)” (European Commission Turkey 2021 Report, 2021).

### 3.1.2. Deontic Modal Verbs

It would not be wrong to claim that deontic modal verbs are pervasive in political texts for they are mostly indicative of stance. When compared to other deontic modal forms, deontic modal verbs are semantically stronger in that they accompany concepts, values and criteria emanating from a source of authority. Within the context of this study, this source of authority is the European Union or European Commission. The list of *deontic modal verbs* is as follows:

#### a. has to and have to

“However, the independence and accountability of the justice system **has to** be substantially strengthened for a smooth application of the principle of mutual recognition of judgements and court decisions in criminal matters” (52)

“The State Supervisory Council (SSC) was designated as the anti-fraud coordination service (AFCOS), but an AFCOS network, involving other relevant authorities, **has to** be re-established” (70)

“On **hydrocarbons**, Turkey is at an advanced stage of alignment with the EU legislation, but it **has to** further align with Directive 2013/30/EU on the Safety of Offshore Oil and Gas Operations” (103)

“It still **has to** submit the summary of the assessment of risk management capability and information on priority prevention and preparedness measures for certain types of disaster risks, as required by the revised EU civil protection legislation” (107), (European Commission Turkey 2021 Report, 2021).

#### b. need

“Anti-terror measures **need** to be proportionate” (4)

“The accountability and transparency of public institutions **need** to be improved” (5)

“The legal framework includes general guarantees of respect for human and fundamental rights, but the legislation and practice still **need** to be brought into line with the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) case-law” (5)

“The rights of the most disadvantaged groups and of persons belonging to minorities **need** better protection” (6)

“The recommendations of the Council of Europe Venice Commission on the presidential regime still **need** to be addressed” (12)



“Systematic and inclusive mechanisms for consulting a wide spectrum of rights based civil society organisations, notably on new legislation and policies **need** to be in place” (13)  
 “Provisions restricting registration, procedures for obtaining required permits and the functioning of associations **need** to be revised, including facilitating the activities of international and national NGOs working with refugees and migrants in Turkey” (15)  
 “Anti-terror measures **need** to be proportionate” (15)  
 “The parliamentary and judicial follow-up to audit reports **need** to be improved. (19)  
 “Mechanisms to detect breaches of the integrity rules and enforce disciplinary penalties **need** to be made effective and free from political interference” (23)  
 “” The accountability and transparency of public institutions **need** to be improved”” (25)  
 “Corruption-related sentences **need** to be more dissuasive” (25)  
 “The legal framework includes general guarantees of respect for human and fundamental rights, but the legislation and practice still **need** to be brought into line with the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) case-law” (27)  
 “The authorities **need** to take urgent measures to align this legislation with the ECtHR case-law and standards” (30), (European Commission Turkey 2021 Report, 2021).

### c. **must**

“As a long-standing member of the Council of Europe and a candidate country, Turkey **must** safeguard its democratic system, including the freedom of political association” (16)  
 “Complaints, reports and any indications of torture or ill-treatment need to be investigated swiftly, effectively and impartially; perpetrators **must** be prosecuted and convicted” (31)  
 “A comprehensive legal framework in line with European standards needs to be put in place, and appropriate attention **must** be paid to implementing the ECtHR judgments on compulsory religion and ethics classes and Alevi worship places” (32)  
 “Any measures taken to counter terrorism **must** comply with Turkey’s other obligations under international law, including in the area of human rights” (36)  
 “Related to Varosha, Turkey **must** immediately reverse the unilateral actions announced on 20 July 2021 and all steps taken on Varosha since October 2020 that run contrary to relevant UN Security Council resolutions” (71)  
 “Turkey **must** avoid threats and actions that damage good neighbourly relations, normalise its relations with the Republic of Cyprus and respect the sovereignty of all EU Member States over their territorial sea and airspace as well as all their sovereign rights, including inter alia the right to explore and exploit natural resources, in accordance with EU and international law, in particular the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)” (72)  
 “However, capacities **must** be further strengthened, on-the-spot checks monitoring activities improved, and reporting at outcome level enhanced” (112), (European Commission Turkey 2021 Report, 2021).

### 3.1.3. Deontic Modal Adjectives

Deontic modal adjectives seem to be weaker in meaning and function of encoding obligation. However, this does not mean that they are divorced from semantic extensions towards dynamic and active meanings of deontic modal verbs *like need, must, and have to*. Deontic modal adjectives are found to be among the most pervading discourse strategies in political texts. The study found the following deontic modal adjectives in the target text.

### **a. necessary**

“The Parliament continued to lack the necessary means to hold the government accountable” (3)  
“Efficient integration measures are necessary to address the extended presence of refugees in the country” (6)

“The Parliament lacks the necessary means to hold the government to account” (11)

“The presidential system remained characterised by a lack of the necessary checks and balances” (12)

“It underlined that the introduced measures go beyond what is necessary and proportional, and some of them will have a chilling effect on NGOs” (14)

“Turkey should prepare and present an inter-institutional public administration reform plan in line with EU principles and values, and with the **necessary** political ownership and support” (18)

“According to the Constitutional Court, a court ruling is necessary even for a temporary closure, thus, the direct closure of media outlets constitutes the severest interference in fundamental rights and freedoms” (35)

“Significant efforts are **necessary** to implement waste management plans at local and regional level” (106)

“Implementation of the legislation concerning animal welfare during transport was not launched and further structural and administrative work is necessary to fully implement the EU acquis in this area” (110), (European Commission Turkey 2021 Report, 2021).

### **b. essential**

“The EU unambiguously condemned the PKK’s attacks and expressed solidarity with the families of the victims. While the government has a legitimate right to fight terrorism, it is essential that it does so in accordance with the rule of law, human rights and fundamental freedoms” (4)

“While the government has a legitimate right to fight terrorism, it is essential that it does so in accordance with the rule of law, human rights and fundamental freedoms” (15)

“Amending the Anti-Terror Law and practices in line with EU standards and the EU acquis remains an essential step” (45), (European Commission Turkey 2021 Report, 2021).

The analysis of modality gave the present study a functional-pragmatic nature in that it revealed the dominant ideologies communicated in the text. The use of each of these modals can be seen as strong emphasis on the so-called European values and membership criteria.

## **3.2. Graphology as Discursive Structures: Bold Expressions**

Teun van Dijk (1995) argues that discourse structures which are used to reveal positive and negative judgements, values and ideas about others apply to different levels and dimensions of text. One of these structures is graphology of the text, or graphical structures in the text. Graphology in textual analysis deals with graphic aspects of the language used in a text. It is considered to be a linguistic level of analysis. Van Dijk identifies graphical structures-namely headlines and bold characters as a way of emphasising or de-emphasising information and values, which reveals ideologically controlled opinions. This study took "bold characters" in the report as discourse structures that express ideological positions. These ideological positions, according to van Dijk (1995), have a vital role in the persuasive and receptive dimensions of a political text.

The report uses 288 bold characters. These include individual words, groups of words, phrases, and sentences. Private names, country names and names of institutions were not included in the list. One common characteristic of these discourse structures is that either they themselves are negative or there are other structures neighbouring them making the meaning negative. It can be seen that the text includes polarised structures which are the products of ideological discourse (van Dijk, 2006). These bold structures represent two corners of the ideological square- emphasise their bad things and de-emphasise their good things (van Dijk, 2006). Some examples are shown in Table 1.

**Table 1. Bold Discourse Structures and Neighbouring Words**

<b>Bold Discourse Structures</b>	<b>Neighbouring Words</b>
<b>democratic institutions</b>	serious deficiencies in the functioning (6)
<b>situation in the south-east</b>	very worrying (4)
<b>civil society issues</b>	serious backsliding continued (4)
<b>civilian oversight of the security forces</b>	reinforced (4)
<b>public administration reform</b>	moderately prepared (4)
<b>judicial system</b>	at an early stage of preparation (4)
<b>fight against corruption</b>	at an early stage of preparations and ... no progress in the reporting period (5)
<b>fight against organised crime</b>	some level of preparation, and limited progress (5)
<b>human and fundamental rights</b>	deterioration (5)
<b>migration and asylum policy</b>	some progress (6)
<b>foreign policy</b>	assertive, ... colliding with EU priorities (6)
<b>ability to assume the obligations of membership</b>	very limited (8)
<b>parliament's legislative function</b>	weakened (11)
<b>parliamentary oversight of the executive</b>	very weak (11)
<b>legal framework for elections and political parties</b>	problematic (12)

The ideological discourse in the text through the use of bold expressions accompanied by negative statements holds the power to criticise and attack Turkey. Such statements in a text of this kind are able to manipulate and change the reader' minds, attitudes and stances.

### **3.3. Norm Fixation**

Embedded in ideologies are normative and prescriptive beliefs blurring the distinction between what is and what should be revealing a powerful emotional or affective character as a means of expressing hopes, fear, sympathies, and hatred (Heywood, 2003). As an effective, active, and manipulative force, language turns out to be a powerful means by which one can uncover the above-mentioned characteristics of ideologies. Imaginations, emotions, beliefs, ideas, reshaping of truths, biases, prejudices, and power struggles are all embedded in words, groups of words, phrases, clauses, and sentences. Therefore, language in politics and ideology becomes a weapon.

A fundamental characteristic of language is that it is normative, which means linguistic structure in a political and ideological text refer to normative expectations which are indicative of norms, rules, desires, intentions, and propositional attitudes of the language user (Silk, 2017). This study aims to find fixed norms in the target text which are used as means of control or power display over Turkey.

The number of the modal *should* in the report was found to be 102 meaning that there are 102 sentences and/or statements that include norm fixation. This can be taken as the expression of linguistic means of ideology allowing the EU to establish and maintain some sort of in-group or institutional dominance over Turkey. Therefore, norms become obligations, permissions and prohibitions representing a corporate or an institutional approach to declarative behaviour specification in a group or multi agents system. In the target text, the norm sentences attempt to specify Turkey's behaviour and role even though it is not a member state. According to van Dijk (1995), in ideological discourse norm and value descriptions are of vital importance for they put an emphasis on the norm-givers' own perception of truth, factuality, credibility and reliability. Such an emphasis will make the Other(s) undemocratic, intolerant, inefficient, impolite and uncompromisable. Some of the norm sentences found in the text and their implications are as follows:

“Turkey should significantly strengthen its **cooperation with the European Commission** during investigations and continue to report irregularities and suspected fraud cases to the Commission” (European Commission Turkey 2021 Report, 2021: 112).

**Implication:** Turkey's cooperation with the European Union is weak.

“The authorities should increase access to public health for migrants and refugees in the country  
“(European Commission Turkey 2021 Report, 2021: 7).

**Implication:** Immigrants and refugees do not have easy or enough access to public health in Turkey.

“An empowered and diverse civil society is a crucial component of any democratic system and should be recognised and treated as such by the state institutions” (European Commission Turkey 2021 Report, 2021: 14).

**Implication:** Civil society in Turkey is weak.

“Turkey should improve its track record on dismantling criminal networks and confiscating criminal assets” (European Commission Turkey 2021 Report, 2021: 6).

**Implication:** Turkey has a bad track record on criminal networks.

“Turkey should in particular: →prepare and present an inter-institutional public administration reform plan in line with EU principles and values, and with the necessary political ownership and support; →ensure that the Inquiry Commission on the State of Emergency Measures provides for an effective remedy, which safeguards the right of every individual to a fair administrative process; →introduce merit-based appointments and promotions for the senior managerial positions of the civil service” (European Commission Turkey 2021 Report, 2021: 18).

**Implications:** Turkey has no inter-institutional public administration reform plan in line with EU principles and values. State of Emergency Measures do not safeguard people's rights. Appointments in Turkey are not merit-based.

This point of analysis reveals the EU's normative power identity. The normative power identity has been built on the concept and the common notion of Normative Power Europe (NPE), which claims that the EU is a discursive power as a normative force (Sjursen, 2006; Manners, 2008; Hyde-Price, 2006). This claim leads to a process of self-construction that produces a distinct EU identity over other non-European or non-member countries which can be explained as follows: the EU norms vs. non-EU norms, or the norm of the *self* and those of *the others*.

### 3.4. Negative Affective Language

The concept of 'negative affective language' was first coined by Stephen M. Utych (2017). Utych states that most words used to discuss political problems and conditions are 'strong and affect-laden' (1). This makes, according to Utych, political discourse loaded with affective components. He bases this assertion on the claim raised by Pratto and John (1991) and Baumeister et al. (2001). They contend that bad and negative information is processed more thoroughly than positive and good information, making reference to various case studies conducted by psychologists and members of other related scientific fields. To support his ideas, Utych refers to the process as 'Affect Infusion Model' developed by Forgas (1995). According to this paradigm, the use of emotive language in political communication should influence both political judgments and how political information is processed. Affect will influence judgment in several ways based on the processing style: directly through affect or indirectly through how new information is recorded in memory and how old information is retrieved (Forgas, 1995). Therefore, this study will offer a fresh, more nuanced look at how emotion was infused with information in the EC Turkey Report. The research will look at individual negative words or groups of words that instill in the text negative mood and emotion. The effect created by the negative affective language or negative affect infusion controls the mood of those who will consume political information through the language in the report and thus will lead to biases and prejudgements in Turkey- European Union relations.

The researcher of this study fixed all negative words in the text. The study did not use a computer programme to find the words with negative meaning. It was done by hand. Instead of using all negative words in the analysis, only those with high frequency of use in the text were used. The lowest frequency was fixed at 3 times. The study found following negative words with their frequencies as in Table 2.

**Table 2: Negative Words and Frequencies**

arbitrary (7 times)	informal (25 times)
backsliding (33 times)	interfere/interference (11 times)
ban (26 times)	infringement (7 times)
challenge (19 times)	instable/instability (7 times)
charge (26 times)	lack (65 times)
chilling effect (2 times)	limit/limited/limitation (107) times
collide (4 times)	low (26 times)
contradict (11 times)	mismatch (4 times)
corruption (50 times)	obstacle (10 times)
curtail/ment (4 times)	organised crime (14 times)
deficiencies (8 times)	negative/ly (25 times)
deviation (7 times)	no (135 times)
discourage/d (5 times)	not (268 times)
discriminate/discriminated/discriminatory (33 times)	poverty (15 times)
dismiss (42 times)	precarious (3 times)
disproportionate (7 times)	pressure (37 times)
diverge (6 times)	restrict/restricted/restriction/restrictive (63 times)
excessive (15 times)	serious (42 times)
extraordinary powers /budget (4 times)	severe (4 times)
hamper (6 times)	unauthorised (7 times)
harassment (5 times)	unchanged (4 times)
illegal (10 times)	undermine (21 times)
imbalance (10 times)	undue (8 times)
impunity (3 times)	unilateral (14 times)
incompatible (6 times)	violate/ion (38 times)
inadequate (5 times)	weak/en (39 times)
ineffective (6 times)	worrying (4 times)

The study found 1208 occurrences of negative words. The text included 70.053 items. The study excluded all numbers, punctuations mark and others counted as items and found a total number of 66.098 words. Then, in order to identify the approximate and average number of words in one single sentence in the text, the researcher selected every one out of ten paragraphs in the text and every second sentence in these paragraphs. 710 paragraphs and 71 sentences were chosen from these paragraphs. The total number of items in these 71 sentences was found to be 1874. The study

omitted all numbers, mathematical items and punctuation items from the sentences and the total number of words was found to be 1796. The use of 1796 words in 71 sentences means that the average number of words used in each sentence is 25.2. Considering that one single negative word instils negative sentiment into a sentence of 25.2 words, 1376 times use of negative words affect 34675 words, which makes 52.4% of the text. The conclusion is that 52.4% of the text was infused by negative sentiment. In other words, the amount of negative affect infusion in the target text is 52.4%.

Additionally, the report used the word *however* 80 times, *but* 68 times, *nevertheless* 3 times, and *notwithstanding* 2 times. These are discourse markers of contrast, and they are used in the report in sentences that follow a positive statement about Turkey, which neutralises or negates the positive meaning in the preceding statement. Some examples are as follows:

1. Turkey wants to see a stable and prosperous Syria, an objective it shares with the EU. **However**, Turkey pursued its own military action in northern Syria, including through Turkish-backed militias. (6)
2. It has reached a good level of preparation in terms of the legislative alignment of consumer and health protection, as exemplified by Turkey's strong vaccination campaign against COVID-19. **However**, in both areas, there is a need to strengthen administrative capacity, consultations, and coordination among stakeholders. Turkey has some level of preparation in the area of competition policy. (8)
3. On the cluster covering resources, agriculture and cohesion, Turkey reached some level of preparation in the area of agriculture and rural development. **However**, there was backsliding over the reporting period, as its agricultural policy diverged from the main principles of the EU common agricultural policy (9)
4. Turkey made sustained significant efforts to provide support for refugees and ensure wider access to healthcare and schooling, with 768 839 children enrolled in formal education by December 2020, compared to 684 728 children in 2019. **However**, more than 400 000 school aged refugee children were still out-of-school and did not have any access to education opportunities (17).
5. The Code of Procedures in general is free of formalism and does provide adequate tools in cases of urgency. **Nevertheless**, abusive delays are not sanctioned (25).
6. The new human rights action plan envisages certain positive measures, **but** it does not address any of the key shortcomings related to the independence of the judiciary (4).
7. Regarding the economic criteria, the Turkish economy is well advanced, **but** made no progress over the reporting period and serious concerns persist over its functioning.
8. The legal framework includes general guarantees of respect for human and fundamental rights, **but** the legislation and practice still need to be brought into line with the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) case-law.
9. The general government deficit declined from 3.2 % of GDP in 2019 to 2.8 % of GDP in 2020, notwithstanding a sharp increase in interest payments and lower revenue from the central bank (57).
10. The Government has a legitimate right and responsibility to fight terrorism, but efforts need to be undertaken in accordance with the rule of law, human rights, and fundamental freedoms (45).

Excessive uses of contrastive discourse markers in the text cloud positive atmosphere and mood, suspend the realities and truths about Turkey and dissuade readers from a positive

perception of Turkey. Considered from this perspective, the EC 20121 report for Turkey can be taken as a good example of perception operation.

### 3.5. De-emphasize Their Good Things: Vague Language

Used mainly in political spheres to avoid emphasis and declaratory statements for especially the bad things of the in-group members and the good things, vague language refers to the use of lexico-grammatical items to make the meaning and the message less precise, valuable, respectable or appreciable (McGee, 2018). There are several reasons why vague language is employed by speakers and writers in the political spheres (Crystal & Davy, 1975; Ullmann, 1962). One of them is that the speakers and writers employ it deliberately to maintain the mood and atmosphere they have created in the text. The subject of vague language has been integrated to Linguistic Studies in many other English grammar reference books as a unique feature of the spoken and written English. Some examples are as follows: the Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English (Biber et al., 1999), Cambridge Grammar of English (Carter & McCarthy, 2006). According to Critical Discourse Analysis, lexico-grammatical or linguistic items used in vague language mean much more than simply grammatical meanings. Wodak (1996) claims that vague language creates divided barriers between the insiders and outsiders in a political text. According to Carter (1998), vague language in a text identifies or determine levels of being ideological, political and cultural. All these assertions are applicable to the text the present study analyses. The study used a discourse analytical approach to the vague language used in the EC Turkey 2021 Report. The study took *some* as discourse structures that denote the use of vague language in the report. Some examples are as follows:

“Turkey has **some** level of preparation/is moderately prepared in the field of public administration reform” (4)

“Turkey has **some** level of preparation in the fight against organised crime and made limited progress” (5)

“On migration and asylum policy, Turkey made **some** progress” (6)

“**Some** progress was made on strengthening surveillance and protection capacity of the eastern land border” (6)

“**Some** progress made in improving access to education, the mismatch between the education system and labour market needs persists” (8)

“Turkey has **some** level of preparation in the area of competition policy” (8)

“There was some progress, in particular in the area of migration and asylum policy” (41)

“**Some** progress was made on strengthening surveillance and protection capacity of the eastern land border” (41)

“The TWF (Turkish Welfare Fund) made **some** progress towards meeting the Santiago principles on transparency and accountability by publishing its activity reports and consolidated financial statements for the years 2018 and 2019, but there is still room for improving transparency” (59)

“Turkey has made **some** progress in terms of improving access to education” (61)

“Turkey made **some** progress in further aligning with the EU acquis and in improving the compliance level with respect to annual national accounts and the Excessive Deficit Procedure” (66)



“Turkey has **some** level of preparation in the area of information society and media” (European Commission Turkey 2021 Report, 2021: 86)

Positive self-representation and negative other- representation are two semantic macro-strategies. Positive self-representation, which is not the subject of this study, is used for the purpose of face keeping while negative other representation serves to derogate out-groups (van Dijk, 1995). Such a derogation of Turkey is one of the most significant discursive characteristics of the target text.



## CONCLUSION

Modality in political texts gives indications regarding the dependability of messages, assisting receivers in judging whether what is seen or heard is "true, factual, real, or [...] a deception, a fabrication, something beyond reality" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 154). Modality "refers to the status, authority, and reality of a message, or to its ontological position, or to its value as truth or fact" (Hodge & Kress, 1988: 124). Since it "seeks human action, but also seeks commitment to bringing that action about" (McKenna & Waddell, 2007: 394) - the core notions underlying and making politics – deontic modality is significant in the analysis of politic language. When compared to other genres, this study suggests a significant presence of deontic modality throughout the target text. The intended meaning or message implies that a certain proposition in a command is mandatory, advisable, or lawful. Some normative background determines or governs the degree of obligation, advisability, or permissibility. This normative background of the report is founded on European values, European cultural and ideological conceptions and premises, and the EU legislation and norms in the context of this study.

The study of the use of *some* as a discursive structure in the target text with a discourse analytical approach examined vague language. This approach specifically focused on three types of vague expressions: (a) vague categories, (b) approximations and (c) hedging. It was clear that they serve to communicate international ties between the producers of the text and their foreign partners, showing assumed or shared knowledge and marking in-group membership.

The study offered a fresh, more nuanced look at how negative emotion/sentiment/affect was infused with biased information in the EC Turkey 2021 Report. The research looked at individual negative words or group of words that instil in the text negative mood and emotion. The study concluded that the effect exerted by the negative affective language or negative affect infusion controlled the mood of those who would consume political information through language in the report and thus would lead to biases and prejudgements in Turkey- European Union relations.

Normative and prescriptive views are embedded in ideologies, blurring the line between what is and what should be and exhibiting a strong emotive or affective character as a means of expressing hopes, fears, sympathies, and hatred (Heywood, 2003). Language, as an effective, active, and manipulative force, proves to be a potent tool for uncovering the above-mentioned qualities of ideologies. Words, sets of words, phrases, clauses, and sentences contain imaginations, emotions, beliefs, ideas, bending of truths, biases, prejudices, and power conflicts. As a result,

language becomes a weapon in politics and ideology. Language is normative by nature, which means that linguistic structure in political and ideological texts refers to normative expectations that are indicative of norms. The study found the existence of a normative discourse in the text, which can be seen as a fundamental characteristic of hegemonic discourses.

The hegemonic discourse used in the text serve to legitimise a socio-politico and cultural order that specific power relations become naturalised and regarded as the inevitable end of a historical development. The discourse employed in the report is a linguistic practice and manifestation of European institutional hegemony over Turkey for ideology, hegemony and axiology were three common phenomena manifest in the report. The study argues that the excessive discursual embeddedness of the report complement the formation of hegemonic norms which play a crucial role in the creation of a set European culture and values that can be classified as being rigid, discriminative, and dissociative, ideological, exclusionist and dismissive.

This study views 'hegemony' through the prism of political and ideological discourse in the EU Turkey 2021 Report by examining linguistic dimensions of hegemony with a focus on the claim that language is both an element in the exercise of power and a metaphor for how power works (Ives, 2004). Above all else, it uncovers how a Eurocentric discourse is shaped and situated in an official policy document released by European Union. The biased language of Eurocentric institutionalism that manifests itself in EU-Turkey membership relations is another conclusion the study finds. The study also reveals how one-sided European norms and values are smuggled into the discourse(s), is the manifestation of Turkey's cultural, political, and ideological otherness in the eyes of European Union institutions.

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## **CURRICULUM VITAE**

Betül TURGUT graduated from Ticaret Primary School in 2010; Yavuz Sultan Selim Anatolian High School in 2014; Department of English Language and Literature- KTÜ, Faculty of Letters - 2019. Later, she was accepted by MA program in Applied Linguistics at Karadeniz Technical University. She has been currently working for Karadeniz Technical University – School of Foreign Languages as a part time lecturer.

