

**Using an Eclectic Analytical Model
of CDA to Scrutinize Erdogan's
Views on Aya Sofia**

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Abstract

This study focuses on investigating the sociopolitical, sociocultural, and sociolinguistic backgrounds behind Erdogan's views on the church-or-mosque dispute of Aya Sophia. An eclectic analytical model of critical discourse analysis has been proposed on the basis of the assumptions suggested by the three most prominent European figures in this field namely; Norman Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak. The study uses the same three-dimensional model of CDA with some modifications found necessary to deal with the examined discourse: A macrostructural analysis (history of discourse, dominance, ideology and hegemony, the notion of otherness, and means of topoi), a microstructural analysis (interactional structural analysis and semantic and pragmatic analysis) and the difference and resistance analysis.

The study comes up with the conclusion that the ideologies of “we are right and they are wrong” (10.53%) together with the “neo-Ottomanism” (9.21%) are intermingled with that of “open-mindedness and coexistence” (7.99%) at the expense of the principles of “sovereignty” (3.41%) and “Turkish nationalism” (2.06%).

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, Erdogan, Aya Sophia, Fairclough model, dominance, ideology, hegemony.

1. Introduction

In the early 1990s, there were three European scholars gathering in Netherlands in a symposium held by the university of Amsterdam discussing the principles of a different technique in dealing with discourse analysis. Based on the same conceptions of Halliday's functional grammar in dealing with language as a “meaning potential”, the Dutch Teun A. van Dijk, the British Norman Fairclough, and the Austrian Ruth Wodak assumed that the linguistic analysis adopted by the classical discourse analysts is not enough to provide an overall interpretation of the discourse under study. Several historical, sociolinguistic, cultural, and political considerations must be taken into account. They think

that discourse analysis should be confined to special types of discourses; the discourses of decision and opinion makers such as politicians and journalists whose discourse might be analyzed in terms of their own ideology or the ideology adopted by the institution, the school of thought, or the political party they represent.

In order to achieve these purposes, the three scholars had to add the notion of “critique” to come up with the term “critical discourse analysis” (henceforth CDA). Wodak & Meyer (2001:9) assume that their implementation of this notion is based on different schools such as that of Frankfurt, the traditional literary criticism school, and Marx’s notion: “Basically critical is to be understood as having distance to the data, embedding the data on social, taking political stance explicitly”.

The idea of thinking of the discourse mainly as the outcome of the politics of the society is essential in CDA. The linguistic tools of functional grammar such as that of cohesion and coherence, theme and rheme, and the semantic functions of the participants are considered inadequate to deal with discourses that shape the public opinion of the whole society. We are no longer deal with a teacher’s inspiring speech talking to his/her students, or the tweets of a celebrity addressing his fans, but a discourse which concerns the whole members of the society. Accordingly, different aspect of disciplines such as sociolinguistics, cultural anthropology, political sciences, history, geopolitics are used to provide a comprehensive study of the various social backgrounds of the discourse under study.

Another important issue in CAD is the idea of the supreme or dominant discourse adopted by a specific group of people in society such as presidents, parliament members, CEOs of important establishments, journalists etc. The main focus of CDA is to examine the ideology of the dominant discourse in comparison to that of the marginalized or the oppressed people of the society. In order for a discourse to be dominant it should be based on a specific ideology of a predominant social group or individuals armed with the necessary tools of power and authority to impose it on all the members of the society.

Thus, the concepts of ideology, hegemony and power are interwoven in the fabric of the dominant discourse.

As for ideologies, Wenden (2005:93), on the basis of several scholars (Bloomaert and Verschueren, 1998; Fairclough, 1989; Hodge and Kress, 1993; Van Dijk, 1998), introduces them as a collection of systematized dogmas shared by the members of a society. They are used to manipulate all the social performances of the people and they are “unconscious and rarely questioned, and when they are, their common-sense nature is offered as adequate explanation to their existence”.

The hegemony of a powerful discourse is another crucial attribute of a dominant discourse. Almost all those researchers involved in CDA believe that the most important goal of the theory is to focus on the injustice of the political power behind the language used in the dominant discourse hoping to empower the oppressed because “CDA is essentially political in intent with its practitioners acting upon the world in order to transform it and therapy help create a world where people are not discriminated against because of sex, color, creed, age, or social class” (Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard:1996:ix).

Richardson (2007:35), moreover, is more direct in connecting between the hegemony of a powerful discourse with the ruling politicians assuming that “hegemony is the process initiated by ruling class to persuade and convince all other classes to accept and submit to the authority and subordination of the ruling class”.

2. CDA Theories in Literature

Most of those engaged in CDA share a similar three-dimensional analytical framework of macrostructural sociocultural level, microstructural linguistic level, and an intermediate (meso) level of the discursive events of the text itself (see figure 2.1).

Fairclough, R. (1992 & 1995) discusses his three-dimensional framework of the analysis of language texts, discourse practices, and discursive events. In addition to the traditional linguistic micro analysis of the discourse (written or spoken), he assumes that the discourse analyst has to follow the gradual

development of the dominant discourse before it appears to the public through investigating how it has been restructured, produced, distributed, and consumed. The third level is the outer “macro” level in which the discourse is seen as the outcome of the social-cultural practices of its users.

Van Dijk, T. (1998), introduces what he calls a multidisciplinary approach to CDA in which he incorporates discourse with ideologies based on social cognition and social structures: “My approach is essentially multidisciplinary, and combines an analysis of linguistic, cognitive, social and cultural aspects of text and talk in context, and does so from a critical, socio-political perspective” (ibid: 193). Van Dijk, moreover, focuses on the idea of the elite dominant discourse and how they misuse the power of discourse to control the society: “One of the crucial tasks of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is to account for the relationships between discourse and social power. More specifically, such an analysis should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions” (Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996: 84).

Ruth Wodak, on the other hand, presents the framework of discourse historical approach (henceforth DHA) in which she discusses the principal notions of original CDA theory though adding her own conceptualizations here and there. For instance, she assumes that the three concepts of critique, ideology, and power are crucial in the theory. Furthermore, the discourse (oral, written, visual) should be closely related to its context as the language used in the discourse is merely a tool to represent the ideology of the institution behind the discourse: “Thus, we follow the principle of triangulation, which implies taking a whole range of empirical observation, theories and methods as well as background information into account” (Flowerdew, J & Richardson, J, 2017: 89). Accordingly, for an adequate analysis of the discourse, we should investigate the accessible contextual information about the social and political history of the discursive practices implanted in the discourse.

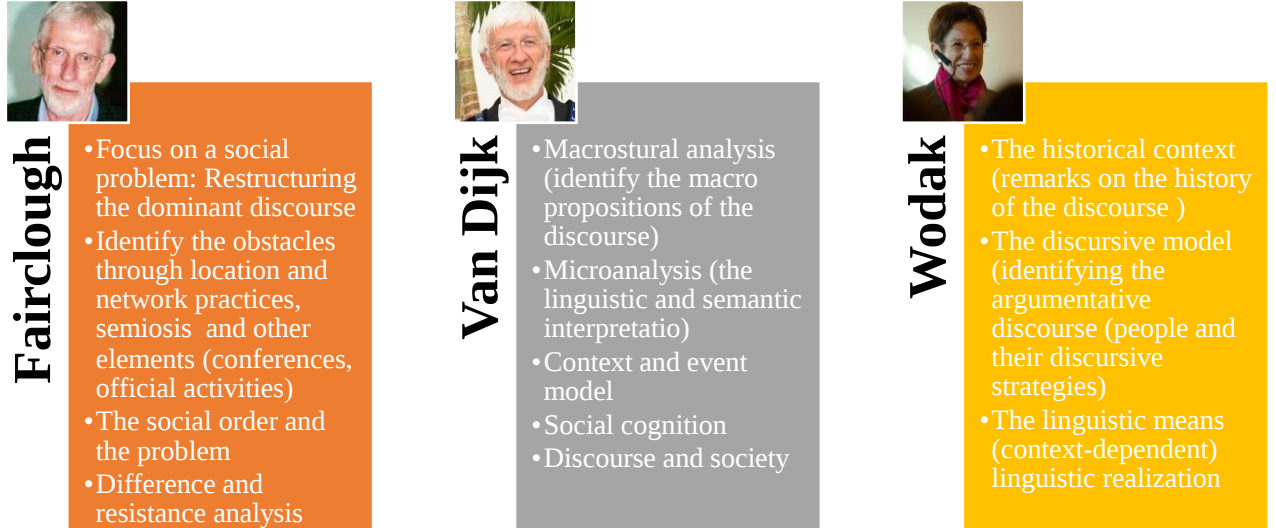


Figure (2.1.)
Three-dimensional analytical framework of CDA
Based on Wodak, R. & Meyer, M (2001)

An important point to be mentioned here is that the illustrative discourses investigated by the three scholars to explain the notions used in their CDA framework and the procedure used in the analysis have some similar characteristics:

1. Elite argumentative discourses that represent a specific group of people in the society with a dominant power and ideology.
2. This group of people is organized in a specific institution or association with a clear-cut political, cultural, and economical strategies based on a long-term history.
3. They have their representatives in the ruling authority.
4. They have their own media with an army of broadcasters, reporters, journalists etc.
5. They represent the oppressor social group as opposed to the oppressed groups.

For instance, in Wodak, R. & Meyer, M (2001), Wodak analyzed a petition called “Austria first” which is an anti-foreigner petition with a racist tone proposed by the Austrian freedom party during the war in Bosnia (1992-1993). Van Dijk, on the other hand, investigated another petition proposed against the persecution of Microsoft in which he discusses the struggle between the governments’ regulations and the successful businesses, whereas, Fairclough

discusses Margaret Thatcher's notion of TINA "there is no alternative" a phrase used by her to refer to the idea that her ideology of the free market economy based on the globalized capitalism concept is the only alternative available.

Thus, all the papers found in the literature of CDA selected argumentative discourses of politicians that share in one way or another the same five characteristics mentioned above.

In Iran, CDA papers such as (Behnam, B. & Mahmoudy, B. 2013; Rashidi, N. & Rasti, A. 2012; Youssefi, K., Kanani, A. & Shojaei, A. 2013) investigated the discourses of the international Atomic Energy Agency about Iran's nuclear program, the western newspapers' reports about Iran's Nuclear activities, and the western printed media about Iran sanctions respectively.

In South Africa, Janks, H. (1997) investigated the discourse of maid and white madams in a bank advertisement of "Domestic Promise Plan" in which "the narrator, presumably the (black) woman in the visual text who is named as "domestic" in the linguistic text, is wondering what will happen to her when she is old and the baby, baby Jay, does not need her anymore" (ibid: 333).

Wenden, A. (2005), the director of peace education and research in New York, selected the discourse of twelve articles in Aljazeera's English website talking about Al-Aqsa Intifada exploring the main themes and the ideology behind them, the description of the actions and events, and how these actions are attributed.

Sipra, M. & Rashid, A. (2013) from Pakistan, used the CDA analysis to investigate the first part of Martin Luther's speech "When I Have a Dream" in what they call socio-political context. The researchers tried to answer questions related to the strategies used by the Afro-American community and to what extent is Luther's ideology reflected in their linguistic choices (ibid:28).

In Egypt, Hussein, I. (2016) explored the ideology in the political speech of the Egyptian president at the new Suez Canal summarizing the components of the speech into "thanking...Egypt's fallen heroes who sacrificed their souls in

order for their homeland to establish stability”, “declaring strength and confrontation”, and “expressing self-confidence” (ibid:100).

Many of research papers have been written about Erdogan's argumentative political speeches in Turkey. Bayram, F. (2010) investigated the discursive strategies of Erdogan's debate with the Israeli prime minster in the World Economic Forum in Davos 2009 focusing on the ideological, cultural and language background coming up with the conclusion that Erdogan attitude in Davos debate was simply a “reflection of a particular social group” that he belongs to (ibid:39). Gulel, D. (2020), on the other hand, emphasized on the “logic of Misogyny” in a series of Erdogan's speeches between August 2014 and August 2019 at specific women's celebration days. She considers Erdogan's views about the role of woman in the Turkish society as an integral part to the overall ideology of the conservative ideology of the AKP (Justice and Development Party).

3. Political Discourse

The current CDA theory is political in nature as it mainly concerns with the supreme discourse presented by decision makers (groups or individuals) in a society who participate whether directly or indirectly in the politics of the state. Fairclough (1995) & Van Dijk (1993b) propose the term “critical-political discourse” as an alternative assuming that the contemporary CDA theory should deal with the abuse of political power through the supreme discourse of politicians associated with various types of discursive circumstances that dominate the socioeconomic life of citizens. It should also deal with the resistance discourse with its discursive events fighting to stop the injustice of this dominant supreme political discourse: “The interest of PDA (political discourse analysis) is not restricted to political action of politicians such as governing, ruling, legislations, protesting, or voting, but it includes the functions and implications of politics in people's social life” (Van Dijk, 1997:14).

In his book “Media Discourse”, Fairclough (1995: 177-200) discusses what he calls the “mediated political discourse” referring to the association between the

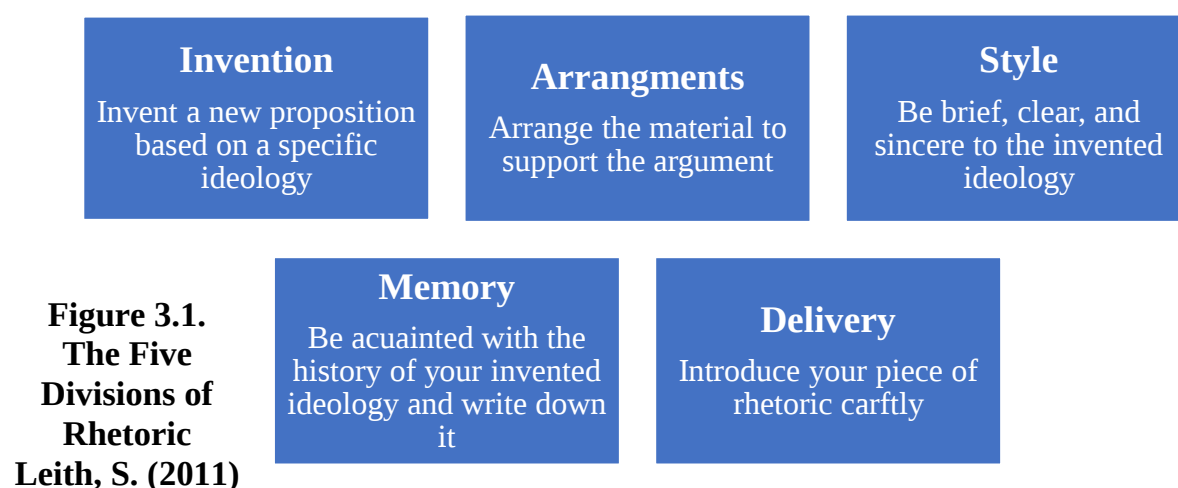
political discourse and the media. Based on Pierre Bourdieu's (1930-2002) concepts of the dynamics of power in the society, Fairclough assumes that any new politician has to establish a political groundwork with a specific group of supporters who are ready to accept his/her political discourse and begin to restructure their political views accordingly (ibid: 179). The restructuring process of the public political views is "doubly determined" as it is cultivated on two different bases as "it is internally determined by its position in the increasingly autonomous and rarefied field of politics, on the other hand it is extremely determined by its relationship to the world outside politics" (ibid: 182). This certainly explains the different discourses that many politicians may produce to the media and in their meetings behind the closed doors.

An important question to be answered here is how are these political public views structured in the minds of the politicians' supporters. A good illustration in this reference is what Ole Holsti and James M. Rosenau (1979) call the "Almond- Lippmann consensus" in their terms of discussing the participation of the American citizens in shaping the foreign policy of their state before the Vietnam War. Gabriel Abraham Almond (1911 –2002) who was a political scientist and Walter Lippmann (1889 –1974) a political reporter proposed the following:

- Public opinion is highly volatile and thus it provides very dubious foundations for a sound foreign policy.
- Public attitudes on foreign affairs are so lacking in structure and coherence that they might best be described as "non-attitudes."
- At the end of the day, however, public opinion has a very limited impact on the conduct of foreign policy
(Holsit, O., 1992: 55)

Despite the fact that these propositions were challenged and refuted by several scholars, they might shed some light on how politicians usually implant their political ideology through the rhetoric of the discourse they use. In fact, politicians are experts in making a good use of rhetoric to manipulate the public opinion. In this reference, Laith, S. (2011: 6) states that rhetoric which is an essential tool in any spoken or written political discourse "causes criminals to be convicted and then frees those criminals on appeal. It causes governments

to rise and fall, best men to be ever after shunned by their friends' brides and perfectly sensible adults to march with steady purpose towards machine guns". According to Leith (ibid), rhetoric is structured through five different divisions (see figure 3.1).



In terms of his discussion of Erdogan's political speech, Bayram. F. (2010: 23-40), refers to a TV interview (February 2009) with Erdogan questioning his angry character in which he states that "anger is an art of rhetoric". Thus, Erdogan, similar to all other politicians, has his own rhetoric implied in the dominant political discourse to be imposed on both his supporters and opponents making a good use of his political power. The Turkish journalist Hasan Puler (died 2015) clarified this point in Al Hurriyet Daily News (30/01/2009) cited in Bayram (ibid). Puler assumed that the social and political environment of Erdogan's birthplace is so obvious in his political attitude: "This is an issue of style, an issue of perception. This style of the PM has not been constructed recently; on the contrary, he grew up in this way, he has lived in this way, and has made the people around accept it".

Accordingly, Erdogan with the help of his party has invented his own rhetoric to deliver his dominant political discourse. The supporting media (TV channels, press and social media) have adopted the discourse to publicize it in

order to arrive at the level of a commonsense consensus in the public mind. Interestingly, after a while, an army of supporters appear to create a kind of protection wall to contribute in changing a single political discourse to an undebatable situation leaving the resistance discourse filling the streets with their survival anthems (see figure 3.2).

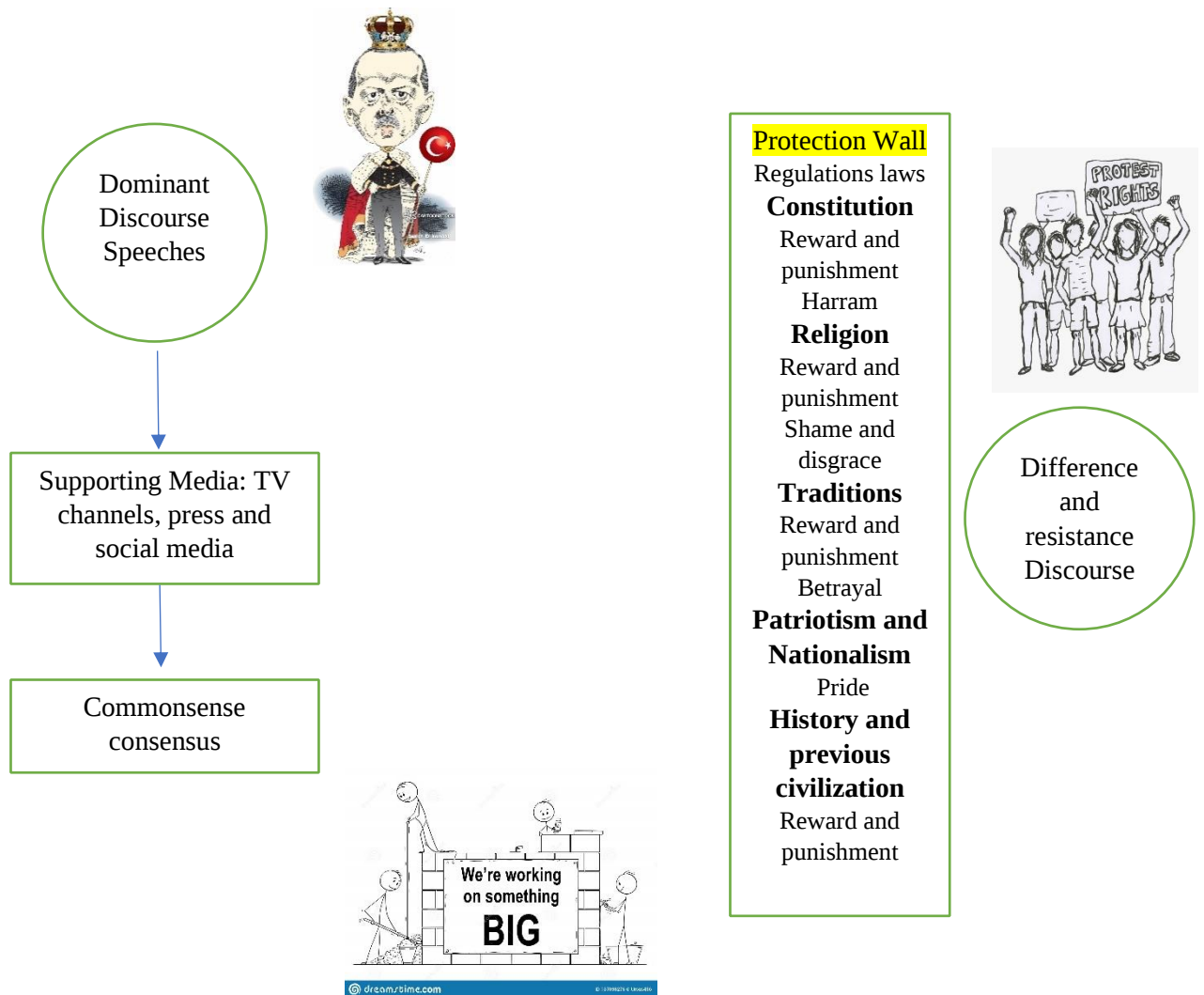


Figure 3.2
Erdogan's Political Discourse

4. The study

The CDA model of analysis used in this paper share the major three-dimensional levels of analysis found in most CDA studies which has been proposed on the basis of the three main scholars' concepts (see figure 2.1.) to whom the theory is accredited. Before discussing his multidisciplinary CDA

model, Van Dijk (cited in Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. 2001: 95-191) states that a “good scholarship, and especially good CDA, should integrate the best work of many people, famous or not, from different disciplines, countries, cultures and directions of research. In other words, CDA should be essentially diverse and multidisciplinary”. Accordingly, an eclectic model has been designed (see figure 4.1.) to analyze both the Arabic Translation of Erdogan speech on 11.07.2020 published in the official TRT Arabic and the English subtitling translation of the speech published by the same channel on YouTube¹.

First: The Macrostructural Analysis

4.1. History of discourse

All the three CDA theorists, especially Ruth Wodak, emphasize on the historical background of the discourse under discussion considering it as the tip of the iceberg of massive covered information needed to be revealed. The Hagia Sophia building (Turkish Aya Sophia) was built as a cathedral at the sixth century (537 CE) by the Roman emperor Constantias the second, and it continued as a symbol to the Eastern Orthodox Christianity for 880 years (573-1453 CE) till the Ottoman conquest headed by sultan Mohammed the second in the fifteenth century when it was converted to a mosque adding some necessary Islamic facilities. The building was subject to the secularization process similar to all aspects of life in Turkey during the reign of president Kemal Ataturk who changed it into a museum (1934-35) (Britannica.com).

In 2016 a non-governmental organization filed a lawsuit for converting the building into a mosque according to an original document dated to 1462 which states that the building is enlisted as a mosque².

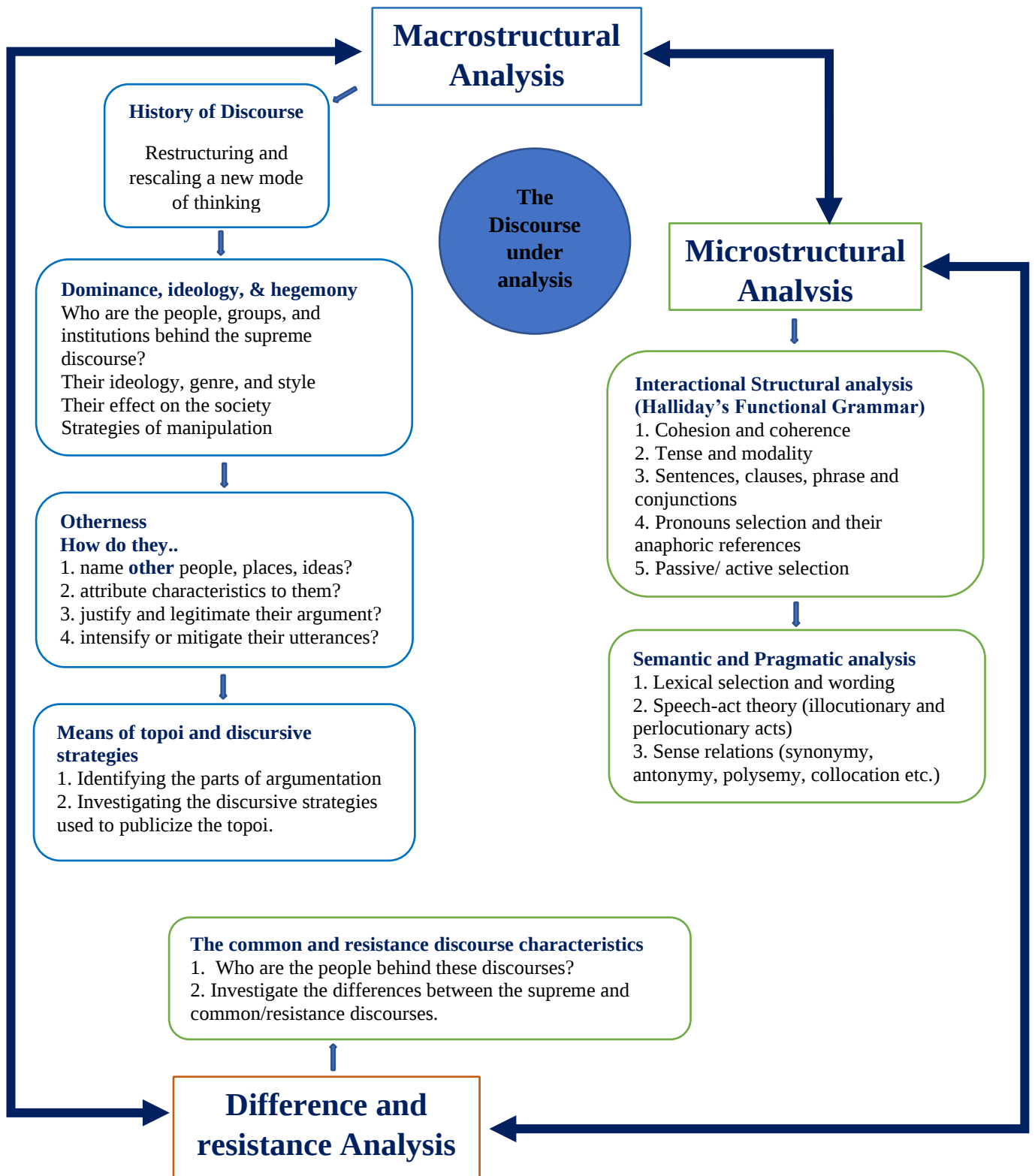


Figure 4.1.
An Eclectic CDA Model
Based on Wodak & Meyer (2001)

President Erdogan has been referring to Aya Sophia conversion in several TV and press interviews and tweets since 2019 and usually associate this issue with several political messages addressed to both the western and Arab worlds. Interestingly, it has been noticed that the political messages addressed to the western world in English have mainly been associated with concepts such as “open-mindedness and coexistence”, whereas those addressed to the Arab world are associated with different concepts of “New-Ottomanism and Islam”. For instance, the following Erdogan's tweets (quote 4.1.1) in English and its Arabic counterpart have been published in the Turkish presidency official twitter page on Saturday 11th June 2020:

QUOTE 4.1.1

Hagia Sophia's door will be, as in the case with all our mosques, wide open to all, whether they be foreign or local, Muslim or non-Muslim. With its new status, Hagia Sophia, the shared heritage of humanity, will continue to embrace all in much more sincere and original way.	احياء آيا صوفيا من جديد هي بشارة نحو عودة الحرية للمسجد الأقصى احياء آيا صوفيا هو بداية جديدة للمسلمين في كافة أنحاء العالم من أجل الخروج من العصور المظلمة احياء آيا صوفيا هو سلام مرسل من أعماق قلوبنا الى كافة المدن التي ترمز لحضارتنا بدءا من بخارى وصولا الى الأندلس Aya Sophia's revival is the tiding that paves the way to free Al Aqsa Mosque; it is a new beginning to Muslims in all around the world to be outside the dark ages; it is a message from the bottom of our hearts to all those cities that stand as symbols to our civilizations from Bukhara to Andalusia. (My translation)
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4.2. Dominance, ideology, and hegemony

After discussing Marx/Engels notion of ideology as “the prevailing ideas of an age” proposed by the dominant ruling class, Van Dijk (1998:3) defines ideology as “political or social system of ideas, values or prescriptions of groups or other collectives, and have the function of organizing or legitimating the actions of groups”. A dominant elite or ruling class happens to adopt a specific ideology that is usually extracted from the ideas and values of a specific social group and start to persuade all other social groups and legitimate the ideology by using a specific political discourse: “For specific groups, thus, ideologies provide the foundation of judgment and action, and hence also the basis for group-related legitimation” (ibid: 257).

Accordingly, the notions of ideology, power, and hegemony are crucial in analyzing any dominant political discourse. Eagleton (1991:30) associates distortion and manipulation in his definition to the ideology of a dominant social group: “Ideas and beliefs which help to legitimate the interest of a ruling group or class by distortion or dissimulation”. This is because when ruling, individuals or groups, start to believe in a specific ideology, they would naturally try to persuade their opponent individuals or groups to accept it using all available tools including distortion of facts. In this reference, Richardson (2007:35) (cited in Youssefi, K. et. al (2013) presents the notion of the hegemony of the dominant discourse as “the process initiated by ruling class to persuade and convince all other classes to accept and submit to the authority and subordination of the ruling class”.

In this part of analyzing Erdogan’s political discourse on Aya Sophia, the following questions needed to be answered:

- Who are the people, groups, and institutions behind the ideology of Erdogan’s discourse?
- What are the facets of this ideology? How does it affect the society?
- What are the strategies of distortion and manipulation used by Erdogan to legitimate his ideology?

Erdogan was born in 1954 in a middle-class area in Istanbul called Kasımpaşa. The society in this district similar to many other ones in the city is known of its conservative Islamic background: “Kasımpaşa men are known to be quick to show anger, painfully proud and dull in word” and “are known to be a bit of a Kabadayi- a blusterer or hothead” (Gulel, D. 2020).

After the widely-known debate³ between Erdogan and Shimon Peres in Davos annual meeting 2019, Radikal Daily⁴ (30th Jan 2009) published an article with the headline “A Kasimpasa tune in Davos” (see quote 4.2.1) (Bayram, F. 2010: 23-40).

QUOTE 4.2.1

Erdogan: [In English] One minute... one minute [touching Ignatius’s arm]
Mr. Peres, you are older than I am. The volume of your voice is too high. And I know this is because of the guilt of psychology. My voice will not be that loud. When it is time to kill, you know how to kill well. I know well how you kill children on beaches, how you shoot them.

Erdogan supposedly uses the political discourse of his party; Justice and Development Party (AKP) which was founded in 2001 and since then it has enjoyed the authority of imposing its dominant discourse due to winning the last six legislative elections.

Despite the fact that the leaders of the party including Erdogan have always introduced themselves to the Turkish society and to the world as conservative men with a moderate Islamic background, they have been accused by their opponents as a threat to the long-established secular principles of the Turkish state and its constitution. Tait, Robert (2008) published an article in the Guardian under the head “Turkey’s governing party avoids being shut down for anti-secularism” in which he discussed how the leaders of the ruling AKP escaped the closure verdict of the Turkish constitutional court: “The case was the latest in an ongoing war of nerves between the party, which has roots in political Islam, and the secular establishment, which has sworn to keep religion out of public life in accordance with the presumed philosophy of Ataturk, modern Turkey's founding father”.

Tekinalp, S. (2018: 4312-4331) tries to shed some light on how Erdogan uses his political dominant discourse not only to win over the voters’ minds, but also to establish an anti-secular and anti-democratic views in his excessive use of “Islamic values, holy figures, God, Islamic martyrdom, the respectability of religious school, head scarves on women, and a personal interpretation of women’s place in Islam”. The following two quotes mentioned in Gulel, D. (2020).

QUOTE 4.2.2

Democracy is like a bus ride. Once you reach your destination, you get off.⁵

QUOTE 4.2.3

What women need is not equality, but rather equity... it is against their *fitrat* [purpose of creation] because women’s *fitrat*, nature and constitution are different.⁶

4.3. Otherness

The concept of “self and other” has been discussed in different fields of knowledge such as philosophy, psychology, post-colonial studies, racism and

gender discrimination. For instance, Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) in his book “Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology” (1966) assumed that the whole universe is constructed according to the concept of “other” which is a psychological mode of thinking based on a personal experience rather than a danger to his existence of the “self”. In the same reference, Rieder, J. (2008:76) discusses the ideas of Michel Foucault who places the whole idea of “othering” in creating “hierarchies of domination” that support the sociopolitical power in the domain of European xenophobia.

In this part of the analysis, the following questions are needed to be answered:

- How does the discourse define the “self and other” concept?
- How does the discourse name the others, attribute characteristics to them, justify and legitimate their argument? Wodak & Meyer (2001:72)

In order to answer these questions let’s check the following quote:

QUOTE 4.3.1

The decision taken today has allowed **us** to get rid of the heavy curse that Fatih has put forth over his foundation then again, the same mentality let alone eliminating Hagia Sophia's sorrow still proposes to turn the sultan Ahmet , Istanbul's most famous mosque , into a museum in the past , this mentality had thought of utilizing the sultan Ahmet mosque as a picture gallery, Yildiz palace as a casino , and the Hagia Sophia as a jazz club of which some have already been done as in every period.

It is clear the “other” in (quote 4.3.1) is the secular regime of the Turkish state attached with the date 1934 when Kemal Ataturk secularized the building. Erdogan uses the term “single-party reign” to indicate that the secular period was authoritarian and hence “us”, referring to whoever stands against this mentality, represent democracy. Moreover, the use of words like “picture gallery”, “casino”, and “jazz club” are simply attributes that distinguish his conservative Islamic ideology against what he considers anti-Islamic secular western ideology.

4.4. Means of topoi and discursive strategies

Based on Kienpointner (1992: 194) cited in Wodak & Meyer (2001:74), the discourse has been considered in this part of analysis as a coherent argument which is divided into a group of “topos” which might be “either explicit or inferable premises”; each one of these topos is associated with specific discursive strategies very-well identified by those addressed in the discourse.

Twenty explicit premises have been identified and calculated with reference to the number of wordcount used to express them to arrive at their percentages in the speech (see table 4.4.1). Ideas like “we’re right and they’re wrong” and “new-Ottomanism” represent almost 20 percentage of the whole speech which support clearly the general conservative Islamic views of Erdogan and his AKP party. These two conservative premises have been mitigated by being intermingled with the liberal ones of “open-mindedness”, “co-existence” and the “officiality of the decision”. This might be a good example to what Fairclough calls “doubly determined” strategy mentioned in section 3 above. Moreover, disregarding concepts like “Turkish nationalism” in the speech might indicate that the decision of Aya Sophia’s conversion imply an outside religious message more than an inside national one.

Topoi	Wordcount	Percentage %
1. We’re right and they’re wrong	407	10.53
2. New Ottomanism	356	9.21
3. Open-mindedness and coexistence	309	7.99
4. Using history to support officiality of the supreme decision	300	7.76
5. Ottomanism	296	7.65
6. Anti-secularism	274	7.08
7. Historical events with religious (Islamic) connotation	243	6.28
8. Religious (Islamic) ideology	201	5.20
9. Poetry with religious connotation	193	4.99
10. Anti-Ataturkism (kemalism)	179	4.63
11. Nationalism connected to Ottomanism	147	3.80
12. Poetry with historical implications	142	3.67
13. Officiality: Supreme decision	133	3.44
14. Sovereignty	132	3.41
15. Historical events	124	3.20
16. Ottomanism and Islam	99	2.56
17. Turkish Nationalism with Islamic connotation	84	2.17
18. Turkish Nationalism	80	2.06
19. History and coexistence	29	0.75
20. Islamophobia and xenophobia	26	0.67

Table 4.4.1
Means of topoi and discursive strategies in Erdogan’s speech

Second: Microstructural Analysis

4.5. Interactional structural analysis

Following the three CDA prominent scholars mentioned above, the interactional analysis is based mainly on Halliday's school of functional grammar (2013). Additionally, some semantic and pragmatic theories have been used to shed some light on Erdogan's political speech. In this part of analysis, the official English subtitling translation attached to the speech in TRT⁷ World has been investigated.

4.5.1. Personal pronouns and speech-act theory

The personal pronoun "we" has been used 22 times in the speech in comparison to "I" and "my" with only 9 times. The "I and my" personal pronouns have been used in the opening and closing associated either with the behavitive illocutionary act through which he welcomes and thanks those institutions and individuals supporting the decision of converting Aya Sophia to a mosque or with the expositive illocutionary act through which he explains his argument.

QUOTE 4.5.1.1

My dear nation: **I** extend to you **my** most heartfelt greetings and affection; the council of state today annulled the 1934 cabinet decree which had enabled the Hagia Sophia's conversion from a mosque into a museum.

On the other hand, the personal pronoun "we" has been used along the whole parts of the speech associated with more varied types of illocutionary acts such as verdictive, commissive, behavitive, and expositive.

QUOTE 4.5.1.2

- **We** have issued a presidential decree to facilitate the reopening of the Hagia Sophia as a mosque. (**verdictive**)
- **We** plan to open the Hagia Sophia to worship on Friday, July 24, 2020 with the Friday prayer service. (**commissive**)
- **We** will welcome all kinds of views voiced on this matter in the international arena. (**behavitive**)
- As for ourselves, **we** have also had a love of Hagia Sofia in our hearts since **we** were young, **we** believe that we have provided an important service to our nation by reopening this mosque. (**expositive**)

The variety and comprehensiveness of the use of the personal pronoun "we" associated with several types of illocutionary acts indicate clearly that Erdogan

tries to address the world on behalf of not only his AKP party but also the whole Muslim world.

4.5.2. Tenses and speech-act theory

The usage percentage of the present tenses in the speech is (31.48%) and that of past tenses is (56.94%), whereas that of future tenses is only (8.59%)⁸.

Generally speaking, the present tenses which are associated with the expositive illocutionary act are used either in the introduction or whenever he tries to compare between the past “bad examples” and the present good ones.

QUOTE 4.5.2.1

We **do not take** any of these bad examples into consideration ... Today, besides our mosques in every corner of our country, there **are** thousands of historical shrines of every faith. In addition, churches and synagogues **operate** wherever there **are** congratulations. There **are** currently 435 churches and synagogues open for worship in our country.

Another way of using the present tense indicates how Erdogan has played the role of a preacher rather than a politician cursing the previous secular reign through using the behavitive illocutionary act.

QUOTE 4.5.2.2

The decision taken today **has allowed** us to get rid of the heavy curse that Fatih **has put forth** over his foundation. Then again, the same mentality let alone eliminating Hagia Sophia's sorrow still **proposes** to turn the sultan Ahmet, Istanbul's most famous mosque, into a museum in the past. This mentality had thought of utilizing the sultan Ahmet mosque as a picture gallery Yildiz palace as a casino, and the Hagia Sophia as a jazz club.

The past tense, on the other hand, is the mostly used tense in the speech as Erdogan is more concerned with the historical background of the event. It is regularly associated with the expositive illocutionary act to illustrate the magnificence of the Ottoman Empire supporting the idea of “We’re right and they’re wrong” mentioned above. Interestingly, the use of the future tense associated with the commissive illocutionary act in the speech is mostly used in a quotation that Erdogan⁹ uses to express his future vision of the “second conquest” in the new-Ottoman period.

QUOTE 4.5.2.3

"... the grandchildren of faith **will overthrow** all the idols and convert you into a mosque they **will perform** ablution with their tears and prostrate Tahlils and Takbirs **will replenish** your empty domes and **there will be** a second conquest the bards **will write** the epic of this, and the adhan **will declare** that the Takbirs rising from the silent and orphaned minarets **will be echoed** in the skies of your minaret."

4.5.3. Metaphor as a cohesive device

Different types of metaphors associated with prose and poetic language have been used along the whole parts of the speech to achieve cohesion and coherence.

The most obvious example of allegory in the speech is the way Aya Sophia has been referred to as "Istanbul pearl", "Istanbul gem" and "a property of trust" repeatedly. The recurrence of these allegorical references has been used to imply a message of commitment to the decision that Erdogan and his supporters have taken which is the main theme in the speech.

Antithesis, on the other hand, has been used constantly to show the difference between how bad the others were and how good Erdogan and his supporters are.

QUOTE 4.5.3.1

- Istanbul, which had been **devastated** by earthquakes, fire, looting and neglect for centuries, was once again brought back on its feet ...every sultan strived to make Istanbul and the Hagia Sophia even more **beautiful**.
- While the Conquest was the **minor struggle (Jihad)** the development construction and charity activities of the Hagia Sophia where the **greater struggle (Jihad)**.
- Meanwhile the single - party era government **closed** the Hagia Sophia to worship ... The Hagia Sophia was instated as a museum and **opened** to visitors during the years.

The main use of catachresis in the speech appears in Erdogan's description of Aya Sophia during the previous secular reign as a "picture gallery", a "jazz club", and a "casino" referring to the conventional Islamic doctrine that has a suspectable attitude against art, music and gambling. Such description complies with the main ideas (see table 4.4.1.) interwoven in the whole speech.

In order to arouse strong bad feelings against the other and attaching good feelings to the self (mostly with religious connotations), Erdogan has exaggerated repetitively in the wording of his speech making a good use hyperbole.

QUOTE 4.5.3.2

- For the first Friday prayer, Fatih, who entered the mosque with leading statesmen and soldiers were welcomed with praise and salutations that **resonated from the domes**.
- ... the adhan will declare that the Takbirs rising from the **silent and orphaned minarets** will be **echoed in the skies your minaret balconies will light up in honor of Allah** and his Prophet Mohammed the whole world will think that Fatih has resurrected this will be Hagia Sophia, this will be a **second conquest**.

Finally, Erdogan has used different quotations of sultan Mehmed himself and some other Turkish poets and writers to illustrate some instructive lessons of different parables. All of which move around the idea of the precious positions that Aya Sophia has in the hearts of the Turks and the whole Muslims.

QUOTE 4.5.3.3

- "Oh great temple, why are you covered with sorrow like this? tell us about the age of Fatih even a little bit we were lined up five times a day under your calming dome with your adhans" (Arif Nihat)
- "once upon a time, judging by your geometry, I thought you were only a monument. Now, while looking at this public under your dome I feel like I have entered the enchanting climate of this ancestors" (Yahya Kemal)

Third: Difference and resistance Analysis

4.6. The common and resistance discourse characteristics

The last stage in the proposed model used in this paper is to identify the resistance discourse following Fairclough's idea explained in Wodak, R. & Meyer, M (2001: 134) in which he proposes the movement "from the dominant to the difference and resistance" in order to have a better explanation to the discourse under analysis.

Three types of resistance discourse might be identified with reference to Aya Sophia: A political discourse of the opposition parties, the Turkish liberal elite and non-Muslim minorities, and the outside discourse of the western world. These three different discourses have been surveyed in a news coverage made by DW News channel¹⁰.

Apart from the outside western discourse which consider the decree "regrettable and disappointing", and the unheard voices of the Christian minorities in Istanbul and the opposition political parties, let's investigate the speech delivered by the prominent Nobel prize winning Turkish novelist Ferit Orhan Pamuk.

The following ideas might summarize the characteristic of the resistance discourse in comparison to Erdogan's dominant one:

1. As far as Aya Sophia is concerned, history, in Pamuk's discourse, started and ended with Kemal Ataturk reign 1923-1938. There's no mention to the historical struggle between the Ottoman empire and the Byzantines, nor to the magnificent role that Aya Sophia has in hearts of the Turks and Muslims.
2. Pamuk belongs to the liberal secular Istanbul elite. He won the Noble Prize in literature for his book "Istanbul: Memories and the city" (2003). He has been famous for his opposition political views concerning issues like the "Kurdish problem" and the "Armenian Genocide". Stephen Kinzer (1998) wrote an article in The New York Times¹¹ describing how Pamuk refused to be honored by the Turkish government stating: "For years I have been criticizing this society for its approach to the Kurdish problem, for its failure to move toward real democracy, for its violations of human rights and banning of books".
3. The most prominent premises in his discourse is pro-secularism, pro-Ataturkism, and Turkish nationalism. There is nothing in his speech related to historical events, Ottomanism and Islam or New Ottomanism.
4. Pamuk makes use of the present tense (86.11%) far more than the past tense (13.88%). His use of the present tense is mainly associate with the expositive illocutionary act: "This **is** important in the sense that Turkish nation **is** different from other Muslim nation by the fact that we **are** secular and the rest of the world **knows** this".
5. The wording of Pamuk's discourse is clearly different from that of Erdogan particularly with the reference to Aya Sophia which he calls "Saint Sophia or Aya Sophia" and "used to be a Greek Cathedral" reflecting his acceptance to the Christian and Muslim perspectives. He also uses the words like the "popular Islam" as opposed to the secular Islam: "Now, they are taking away that pride of being both Muslim and secular simultaneously that was Kemal Ataturk's project".
6. Despite the fact that he is a man of letters, he hasn't used any kind of poetic or prose language in comparison to Erdogan's discourse.

5. Conclusion

This paper is based on an eclectic model of analysis which has been deduced from the theories proposed by three prominent scholars of CDA. First, Erdogan's speech on Aya Sophia has been investigated macrostructurally by placing it in its historical domain to see how it has restructured a new mode of thinking and the strategies of manipulation he has used to change such a new

mode into a dominant discourse. Second, the speech has been analyzed microstructurally using an interactional structural analysis investigating the relation between the use of tenses and speech-act theory and how metaphor has been used as cohesive device in the discourse. Third, a resistance discourse of Orhan Pamuk has been investigated following the same procedures of analysis to show the difference between Erdogan's Islamist dominant discourse and the secular discourse of the "other".

The struggle between the secular perspectives of all aspects of life in Turkey during the previous reign of Kemal Ataturk and the Islamist interpretations of the current AKP period lie at the bottom of Erdogan's dominant speech on Aya Sophia. Despite the fact that there's no mention to the name of Ataturk in the speech, his ideas have been repeatedly criticized and mocked. Erdogan's deliberate ignorance to Ataturk's name in the speech might be ascribed to the fact that the majority of the Turks have always introduced themselves to the other Muslims of the world as secular Muslims as Orhan Pamuk has claimed. Erdogan has mingled the premises of "we're right and they're wrong" and new-Ottomanism in his speech to impose his dominant political discourse making a good use of distortion and manipulation.

The excessive reference to the Ottoman glorious history in talking about a current debatable issue using a poetic language full of religious connotations has introduced him as a preacher rather than a politician.

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¹ <https://www.trtarabi.com/> & <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0x-ROvVnPXU> (English version)

² <https://www.yenisafak.com/ar/video-gallery/news/2193984>

³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OrbQsHkVQ_4

⁴ A daily liberal newspaper published in Turkish by Aydin Dogan's group.

⁵ *Milliyet Newspaper* (July 1996) P.20.

⁶ *Cumhuriyet Newspaper* (20th July 2010)

⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0x-ROvVnPXU>

⁸ Tenses here includes simple, progressive, and perfect aspects excluding the infinitive, gerund, and passive voice for the sake of simplicity and clarity of explanation.

⁹ This quotation was written by Osman Yuksel Serdengeçti; an Islamist politician died 1983.

¹⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t4U30h0852M>

¹¹ <https://www.nytimes.com/1998/12/15/books/arts-abroad-a-novelist-sees-dishonor-in-an-honor-from-the-state.html>