

LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF ORAL NARRATIVES IN TURKISH:
WOMEN'S STORIES OF SURVIVAL AND POWER

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LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF ORAL NARRATIVES IN TURKISH:
WOMEN'S STORIES OF SURVIVAL AND POWER

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Merve Özçelik, certify that

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Signature.....

Date

ABSTRACT

Linguistic Construction of Oral Narratives in Turkish: Women's Stories of Survival and Power

This thesis project investigates the linguistic construction of oral narratives recounted by violence survivor women residing in a small city of Central Anatolia in Turkey.

Based on micro-ethnographic analysis of audio-recorded interview data, the study reveals how women construct violence, emancipation, and gender norms within their stories and thereby negotiate and construct power in the realm of patriarchy.

Discussed in line with the poststructuralist and social constructionist perspectives, the findings demonstrate how violence, symbolic power, and empowerment are constructed in the polyphonic and dialogic discourse of Turkish oral narratives.

Furthermore, the findings elucidate the gender-related messages in the oral discourse of survivor women as well as the shifting roles and positions they adopt.

ÖZET

Türkçede Sözlü Hikayelerin Dilbilimsel İnşası: Kadınların Hayatta Kalma ve Güç Hikayeleri

Bu yüksek lisans çalışması Orta Anadolu'daki küçük bir şehirde yaşayan şiddeti yenmiş kadınların sözlü hikayelerinin dilbilimsel inşasını inceler. Ses kaydı alınmış röportaj verisinin mikro-etnografik dil analizi ile incelenmesi sonucunda, bu çalışma kadınların şiddet, kurtuluş ve toplumsal cinsiyet normlarını sözlü hikayelerinde nasıl inşa ettiklerini ve böylece ataerkil bir bağlamda iktidarı nasıl inşa ve müzakere ettiklerini ortaya koymuştur. Post-yapısalcı ve sosyal-inşacı perspektifler doğrultusunda tartışılan bulgular, şiddet, sembolik iktidar ve güçlendirmenin Türkçe sözlü hikayelerinin çok sesli ve söyleşimsel bağlamında nasıl tezahür ettiğini göstermiştir. Ayrıca bu çalışmanın bulguları şiddeti yenmiş kadınların söylemlerindeki toplumsal cinsiyetle ilgili mesajlara ve benimsedikleri değişken rol ve konumlandırmalara ışık tutmuştur.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother Aygöl Yılmaz, those women of Azathisar, and all the Anatolian women whose survival and power stories are yet to be heard.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“Once upon a time when fleas were barbers, camels were criers, and I was shaking my mother’s crib, in a far-far-away land, there was a...” was the formulaic opening of the fairytales my grandmother used to tell me when I was a child. Now that I have grown up, I will now tell a story myself. In doing so, I will not travel in time or to faraway lands as in the abovementioned formulaic story introduction. Instead, I will present stories from my land: survival and power stories of a group of women residing in the heart of Anatolia.

Born and raised in a small city of Central Anatolia, I spent the first eighteen years of my life in a conservative and patriarchal community before I moved to Istanbul for my university education. Therefore, as I grew up, I often faced the sanctions of patriarchal norms in my community, which regulate women’s lives to a great extent from what to wear to what to speak and designate submissive roles to women in family, in the street, at school and at work. As a child, I found the way out by acting like my younger brothers to be validated in my family and ended up being an *erkek fatma* (tomboy) in my teenage years because I perceived the phrase *erkek gibi* (like a boy) as a compliment. It was indeed my secret agenda to ensure my family’s trust and permission to study by myself in a big city like Istanbul. It was my university years when I realized I did not have to act like a boy in order to be validated by the society thanks to my new friend circle, the widespread of women’s movement and social media, which have prompted my transformation as an independent strong woman.

During my visits to my hometown in the school breaks, I realized that I was not the only one who was transforming. For example, divorce, which had been a taboo in my community, was now becoming more common in our neighborhood.

Furthermore, more of my female acquaintances started to work outside home. The most important example of this case was my mother, who got divorced following a 23-year endurance period, resumed her high school education after 24 years and started to work outside home for the first time in her life. Furthermore, after receiving her high school diploma in the summer of 2020, she sat for the national university exam to continue her education in university at the age of 45 and she is now registered at a distance learning program of a public university.

Fascinated by the transformations I have observed in my hometown, I have decided to explore the experiences of survivor women like my mother in the academic realm as an activist researcher. Thanks to the wide range of courses offered in my department, I have had the chance to familiarize myself with sociolinguistic approaches to language such as linguistic ethnography and narrative research alongside the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) oriented cognitive approaches. Also, I have taken two electives on gender, culture, and identity from the Sociology Department to familiarize myself with the social phenomenon that I am interested in. Therefore, motivated by my personal experiences and armed with these academic qualifications, I have set out to conduct a narrative study for this thesis project in order to explore the Anatolian women's survival and power stories with a sociolinguistic approach incorporating theories of language, power, and gender. In the first section below, I will further elaborate on my motivation to conduct this study by discussing its academic and social significance and state my research questions. In the second section below, I will refer to the current state of men's

violence against women in the world and in Turkey. In the third section, I will discuss the socio-political context of Turkey in reference to women's movement and rights. Subsequently in the fourth section, I will establish the terminology and finally provide the plan of this thesis in the fifth section.

1.1 Aim and significance

As a sociolinguistic study, this thesis project has both academic and social significance. Therefore, I will discuss the aim and significance of this study in two separate sub-sections below. In doing so, firstly, I will present my motivation behind undertaking a narrative study; secondly, I will reflect on my motivation for focusing on the survival and power stories. At the end of this section, I will present my research questions.

1.1.1 Personal narratives as linguistic resources

As suggested by Plato's notion of Homo Narrans, which refers to storytelling animal, stories are of great importance to human beings since they provide us with a way of existing in our linguistically encoded society. To be more specific, personal stories are substantial components of human experience as "our life stories are who we are" and "they are our identity" (Gottschall, 2012, p. 120). Sarbin (1986) points out the vital position of stories in our lives as follows:

"The rituals of daily life are organized to tell stories. The pageantry of rites of passage and rites of intensification are storied actions. Our plannings, our rememberings, even our loving and hating, are guided by narrative plots. The claim that the narratory principle facilitates survival must be taken seriously.

Survival in a world of meanings is problematic without the talent to make up and to interpret stories about interweaving lives” (p. 11).

As indicated by these quotations, narratives constitute a highly significant place in our lives as they are quite commonly employed by different individuals for different interlocutors with different purposes via different channels in various contexts. Starting from this point of view, it would be viable to interpret that employing narratives can contribute to the social stance of people by allowing them to construct, convey, and negotiate their own meanings and identities in our linguistically constructed worlds. That is, analyzing narratives might indeed be a powerful tool in the investigation of many social issues and phenomenon in which human beings are involved. Furthermore, narratives can have an emancipatory function when the narratives of marginalized groups are to be discussed since they have the potential to challenge the existing narratives dominating the society.

Due to its abovementioned centrality in human life, narratives have received attention from scholarly circles. The employment of narrative methods and analysis in different fields of social sciences dates back to the 1980s. Touching upon many disciplines, the “narrative turn” has prompted many studies in sociology (Bell, 1999; Richardson, 1992; Riessman, 1993; Somers & Gibson 1994), history (Carr, 1991; White, 1987), psychology (Bruner, 1986; Mishler, 1986; Oatley, 1999; Polkinghorne, 1988; Rosenwald & Ochberg 1992) and anthropology (Mattingly, 1998; Rosaldo, 1993). Providing alternative approaches to quantitative methods of the positivistic research paradigm, narrative-based studies have analyzed many diverse social issues such as health, illness, social exploitation and isolation, migration, and the subordination of women to men (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012).

In addition to the abovementioned disciplines, narratives have also been investigated in sociolinguistics. Narrative research in sociolinguistics has been considerably shaped by Labov's study (1977) relying on Labov and Waletzky (1967). In his study focusing on the Black Vernacular English in New York, narrative is defined as a sequence of minimum two clauses with temporal order. Furthermore, his structuralist approach identifies six elements composing a narrative: abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, and coda. Accordingly, abstract refers to the overview of a story and orientation consists of information regarding the characters, time, and place of the story. Complicating action comprises the events that took place and evaluation is about why the story is told and illustrates the storyteller's position towards the story, which can be found throughout the story. Resolution refers to how the events in the complicating action ended and finally, coda connects the narrated events to present time.

While Labov's structural approach to narrative has inspired many studies undertaking interview methods to elicit autobiographical narratives, it has also received scholarly criticism on the grounds that the proposed narrative structure is greatly shaped by the researcher's questions and ignores the co-construction of meanings between the narrator and the researcher in the interactionally situated narratives (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008). For example, as an alternative to Labov's structural model, a more recent approach by Ochs and Capps (2001) outlines five aspects through which narratives can be analyzed as follows: tellership, tellability, embeddedness, linearity, and moral stance, which enables researchers to focus on naturally occurring narratives rather than responses elicited by a researcher. As this model shifts the focus from structural narratives to narratives in interaction, Georgakopoulou (2006, 2007) and Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) have

coined the term “small stories”, which refers to “a gamut of underrepresented narrative activities, such as tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, and shared (known) events, but it also captures allusions to (previous) tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell” (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 381). Accordingly, they have examined how identity is interactionally produced in small stories. In this way, narratives have started to be scrutinized as discursively informed events.

Narratives have also been investigated within the scope of Turkish linguistics. Early research in Turkish narratives mostly focus on the narrative development of children as in Aksu-Koç (1988), Slobin (1988), Özcan (2005) and Furman and Özyürek (2006). In addition, drawing on the work of Labov and Waletzky (1967), Yemenici (1995, 2002), Akıncı-Oktay (2006, 2010) and Özyıldırım (2009) have conducted structural studies on personal narratives in Turkish. While these studies are mostly based on developmental and structural approaches, very few studies to date have adopted an interactional approach to explore Turkish oral narratives (e.g., Küntay, 2002, 2004; Küntay & Şenay, 2003). Nevertheless, to my knowledge, there are not many studies investigating oral narratives in Turkish with a discourse analytic approach informed by post-structuralist and social constructionist epistemologies.

To this end, aligning itself with the post-structuralist and social constructionist approaches to narratives and presenting a narrative itself, this study presents the survival and power stories of 20 women residing in a small city of Anatolia and thereby aims to fill in a gap in the Turkish linguistics scene at large.

1.1.2 Exploring survival from violence through personal narratives

In Turkey, men have murdered 535 women since I have started working on this thesis, which corresponds to a one-year period. I have not kept a record of these murders myself; femicide has recently increased so much in Turkey that we now have a digital monument called “Anıt Sayaç” (Monument Counter) to commemorate women dying of violence (see below). Other than femicides, men’s violence against women is so prevalent that it is possible to encounter a few violence cases in media coverage on a daily basis. According to a recent study conducted in 78 provinces in Turkey by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies and the Turkish Ministry of Labor, Social Services and Family (2014), 36% of married women in Turkey report having been exposed to physical violence by their male partners. The study also reveals that the rates of the physical violence vary across different regions of Turkey with Central Anatolia having the highest rate, namely 43%. These numbers illustrate the severity of men’s violence against women as a crucial social issue in Turkey, and thereby consolidates the need for scholarly attention on the issue.

The types, possible reasons, and consequences of men’s violence against women have been heavily studied within the scope of social sciences in Turkey, as in Öztürk (2017), Aka (2019), Doğan (2016), and Vural (2018). These studies have illustrated alcohol and drug addiction, low life standards, lack of education, and early childhood traumas as the underlying reasons of men’s violence. However, to get a more precise picture of the issue, it is crucial to investigate the underlying power mechanisms and patriarchal gender norms surrounding individuals because these mechanisms and norms are inherently conveyed through language. In this sense, I aim to bring to the fore this underrepresented group in the field of Turkish linguistics

and analyze how meaning making process and self-transformation are constructed in monolingual Turkish discourse of the participants. In doing so, I aim to bring a novel perspective to the analysis of narrative construction in Turkish, which has been predominantly studied through developmental and structural approaches.

Within the hindsight of theories of language, power, and gender, this study adopts an interdisciplinary approach to explore men's violence against women by attending to the first-hand experience of violence survivors from Central Anatolia, where men's violence is most severe in Turkey. Since narratives constitute fruitful sources of human experience for the investigation of various social issues, this study focuses on the personal stories of 20 participants elicited through in-depth interviews to explore men's violence against women from a sociolinguistic perspective. To be more specific, this study aims to seek answers to the following questions:

1. How do the participants construct violence within their survival and power stories linguistically? In doing so, how do they position themselves and their perpetrators within their stories?
2. How do they construct their emancipations linguistically? In doing so, what kind of positions do they attribute to themselves and others within their stories?
3. How do they construct and challenge gender norms within their survival stories? How do they reflect on the positions assigned to women and men by the society?

In this way, this study intends to contribute to our understanding of the interplay among language, gender, and power and provide a deeper insight into the issue of violence from a sociolinguistic perspective. Addressing a research gap both in Turkish sociolinguistics and men's violence against women, this study aims to

illustrate that sociolinguistics has a lot to offer in the investigation of social issues. Furthermore, it intends to contribute to our understanding of personal oral narratives in Turkish, in which oral tradition is deeply rooted. In addition, as Chase (2005) suggests, one of the main objectives of narrative research is “giving voice to marginalized people and naming silenced lives” (p. 668), this study is significant on the grounds that it raises the voice of the unheard and thereby pursues an emancipatory agenda through the powerful survival stories of the participants. Last but not least, this study intends to fortify the self-confidence and self-perception of the participants as powerful survivors.

1.2 Men’s violence against women in the world and in Turkey

Although men’s violence against women has had a long history, it was only the late 1960s when it was raised as a matter of feminist resistance to patriarchal power mechanisms and male domination. With the emergence of Women’s Aid groups and politicization of violence against women in the West, men’s violence against women received scholarly attention as a result of growing research interest on its different types, reasons and results (Steinmetz & Straus, 1974; Gelles 1976; Eekelaar & Katz, 1978; Dobash & Dobash, 1979).

Men’s violence against women occurs in various forms covering a wide range of abusive behaviors, which can be categorized as physical violence, emotional abuse, and sexual abuse (Mazza et al. 1996, p. 15). According to the WHO report published in 2013, violence against women encircles various types of violence including violence from an intimate partner and rape/sexual assault, other forms of sexual violence from someone other than a partner, female genital mutilation, honor killings and the trafficking of women. Although some of these categorizations and

dubbings are inherently problematic as they reconstruct and/or justify the prevalent patriarchal norms, these issues will be scrutinized in detail in section 1.4.

Establishing the terminology.

Scholars have developed many models and theories to explain the underlying reasons of violence against women. For instance, Gelles (1980) proposes three explanatory models formulated by theories of violence: the “psychiatric model,” which examines the perpetrator’s personality and related factors such as mental illness and alcohol or drug abuse; (2) the “social-psychological model,” which focuses on external environmental factors such as stress, family histories of violence over generations, and family interaction patterns; and (3) the “sociocultural model,” which explains macrolevel structures of inequality, cultural attitudes, and norms (p. 881). Willson et al. (2000) and Johnson (2001) investigate the relationship between alcohol or drug abuse and violence against women and suggest that although there seems to be a correlation between the two, they warn against the oversimplification of this finding as if there is a causal relation. Furthermore, drawing on the data from the first National Violence Survey carried out in the US, Johnson and Ferraro (2000) suggest that the effects of witnessing violence as a child does not necessarily result in future violent behavior, which undermines the effects of cycle-of-violence theories. Feminist researchers have also challenged the so-called explanations of violence against women with attributes to low income, unemployment, and cycle-of-abuse theories. Johnson (1995), for instance, criticizes the adoption of such explanations on the grounds that these indeed socially justify violence against women in some ways and that those exhibiting violent behaviors are neither poor nor deprived.

When it comes to the consequences of men’s violence, women suffer from long lasting consequences often including many psychological and emotional

problems such as depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), self-isolation and even suicide (Campbell, 2002). Even, in some cases, men's violence can go so far as to severely injure or murder women.

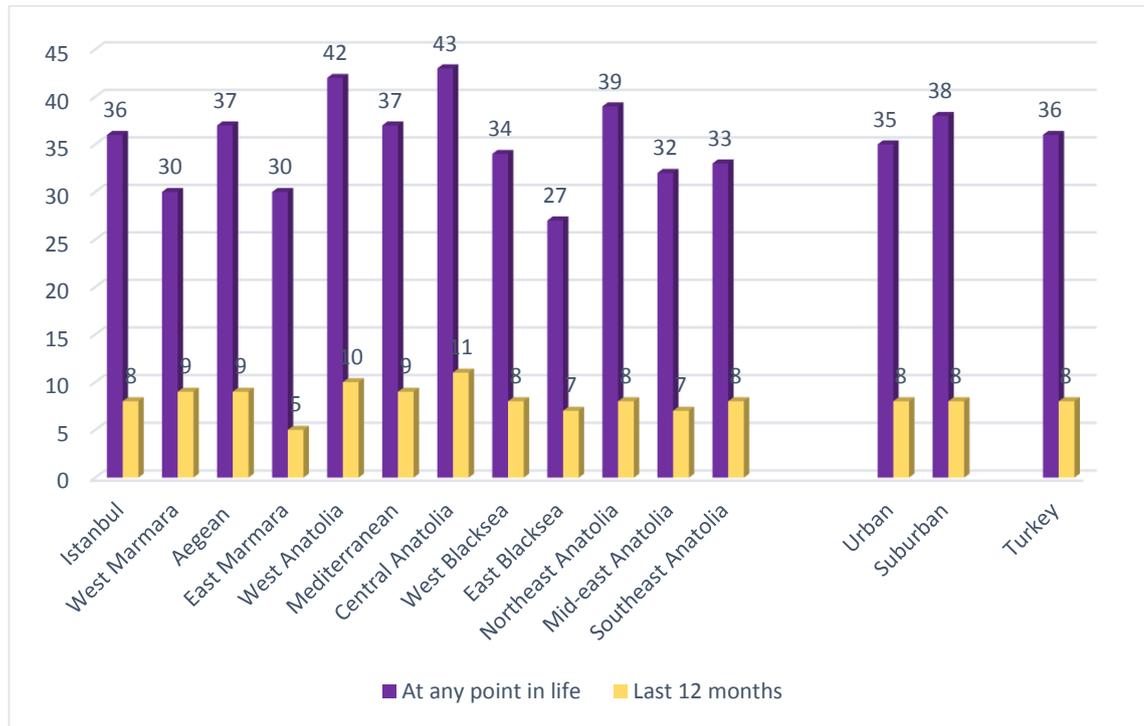
Regarding the global prevalence of violence against women, the World Health Organization (WHO), the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and the South African Medical Research Council have prepared the first global systematic review on the scientific data about two forms of violence against women in 2013: intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence. The results are compelling: 35% of women around the world have experienced either physical and/or sexual violence from an intimate male partner or non-partner male. Furthermore, nearly one in three women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from an intimate male partner in their relationship. Globally, 38% of all femicides are committed by intimate male partners. By region, the highest prevalence of violence against women is encountered in central sub-Saharan Africa where 65.6 % of women have experienced intimate partner violence. This high prevalence is followed by other sub-Saharan regions in Africa, South Asia with 41.7%, Andean Latin America with 40.6%, Middle East with 35.3%, Oceania with 35.2%, Australasia with 28.2% and Central and Eastern Europe with 27.8% and 26.1% respectively.

As in many other parts of the world, violence against women is highly pervasive in Turkey, as well. The study conducted by Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies and the Turkish Ministry of Labor, Social Services and Family (2014) follows a similar path for the categorization of violence against women to that of the WHO report and bisects violence as intimate partner violence and non-partner violence. According to this report, 36% of ever-partnered women in Turkey have

experienced physical violence from their male partners, which corresponds to one in four women approximately. As seen in Figure 1, the percentage of women experiencing physical violence in suburban areas is slightly higher than that of urban areas, which are 35% and 39% respectively. When examined across regions, Central Anatolia is the region with the highest rate, namely 43%, followed closely by other regions of Anatolia.

Different from the WHO report on violence against women, the study conducted in Turkey focuses on emotional and economic violence alongside physical and sexual violence. Accordingly, emotional violence refers to any kind of abusive behavior controlling an individual's emotions by manipulating, criticizing, and blaming while economic violence refers to abusive behaviors causing economic harm to an individual such as limiting access to resources, property damage and not following one's financial responsibilities. The findings of this study indicate that 44% of women in Turkey report having been exposed to emotional violence while 30% of them note having been exposed to economic violence. Drawing on the past studies, this report also presents a comparison of the rates of violence against women in 2008 and 2014. Reportedly, there has been a decline in the percentage of women experiencing different forms of violence since 2008. However, what we have witnessed in mass media and social media during this period points out an increase in violence against women. This contradiction might stem from the discrepancy between official reports and the alternative sources since their approach to categorizing gendered violence might be different.

Figure 1. Percentage of women on whom men have exerted physical violence across different regions of Turkey in 2014

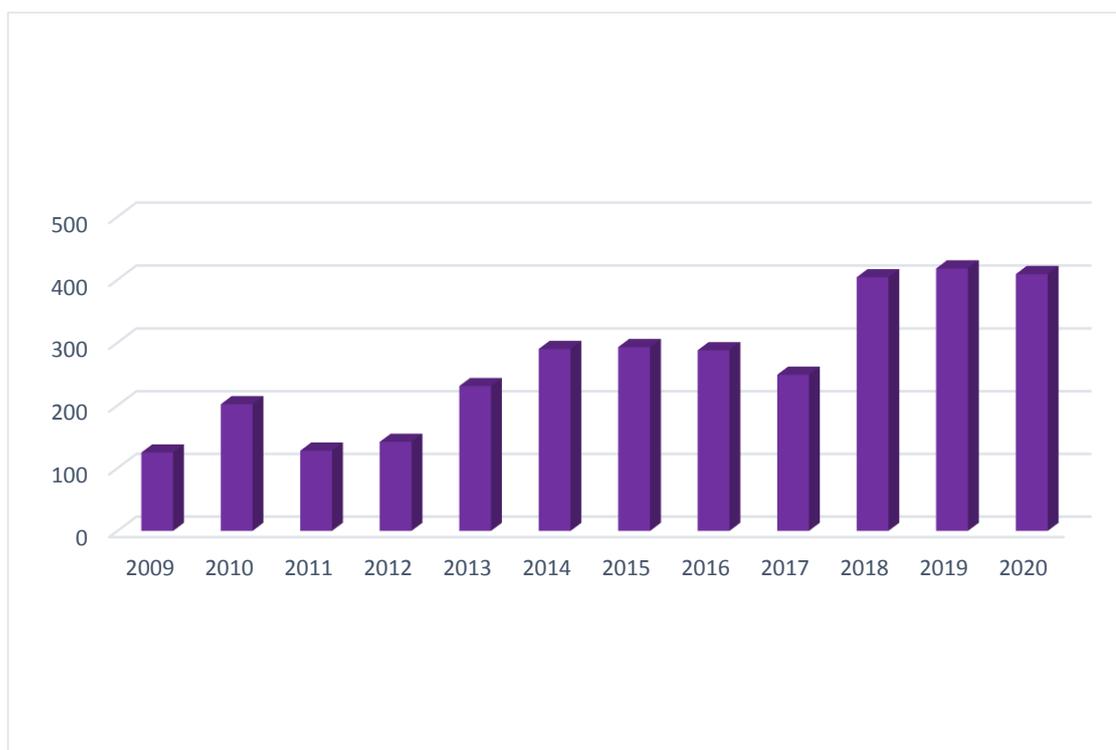


Note. Adapted from the study of Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies and the Turkish Ministry of Labor, Social Services and Family in 2014.

In the past few years, we have been witnessing femicide literally every day in Turkey in the news media coverage and social media sites such as Twitter. As mentioned before, femicide rates have increased so much in Turkey that we now keep record of murdered women through an online monument called “Anıt Sayaç” (Monument Counter). Updated daily, the Monument Counter includes the names of women whom men killed day by day, year by year. By clicking on the name, one is directed to a separate page which presents information about how, why and by whom she was murdered and the news content in the media regarding that specific case, which draws attention to the change in language used over the years by the media in covering this news. As seen in Figure 2, femicide rates have been constantly

increasing since 2009, and the number of women whom men killed have been nearly quadrupled, which proves the opposite of the official reports.

Figure 2. Number of women whom men killed in Turkey in the last 10 years



Note. Adapted from Anıt Savaş (Monument Counter), a digital monument for women dying of men's violence in Turkey (<http://anitsayac.com/>)

Armed with these facts and statistics, it is no doubt that violence against women is a serious problem both around the world and in Turkey. These global and local findings necessitate the need for addressing the social, cultural, economic, and political factors feeding men's violence against women. Having introduced the pervasiveness of men's violence against women both in the global and local arena, I will now discuss the sociopolitical context of Turkey by resorting to the enfranchisement of women, the past and present status of women's movement, and issues of (in)equality in the next section.

1.3 Setting the ideological scene: Sociopolitical context of Turkey

1.3.1 Women's movement in the early Republic

The beginning of women's movement in Turkey corresponds to the parallel evolution of Turkish nationalism and the construction of new modern nation-state following the end of the Ottoman Empire. The second constitutional era (1908) in the Ottoman Empire is a period when solid demands and rights of women were discussed via women's journals and associations. While the Turkish Civil Code provided women with rights regarding family, marriage, and custody in 1926, the newly established Turkish Republic (1923) did not consider entitling women with political rights, which resulted in male-only political arena and parliament in the first decades of the Republic (Sancar, 2020). Deprived of political rights, women decided to establish the Turkish Women's Union (Türk Kadınlar Birliği - TKB) as a political women's party; however, since it was regarded as a threat to the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi - CHP) to be established soon, this organization had to start as a women's association (Toprak, 1988). The members of this organization were quite active and in touch with their counterparts in the western and middle eastern countries by attending their conferences. Since this parallel movement was thought to overshadow the intended Turkish nationalism and the new modern nation-state had to prove its political position in the international arena where the world became polarized with fascist and democrat politics, the Turkish state enfranchised women with rights to vote and to be elected in local elections in 1930 and in general elections in 1934, which is still earlier than many western countries.

Claiming that there was nothing left this women's association would fight for as women gained all their rights now, the Turkish state shut down TKB in 1935, which is a breaking point in women's movement in Turkey. Furthermore, these new

political rights women gained were launched as the rights “bestowed” by the father of nation Atatürk, which caused a social memory loss in the long run based on the claim that women did not fight for their rights in Turkey and created the image of “state supported feminism” (Berktaş, 1995). Although there were new women’s associations established later, their functions were only limited to charity activities. Therefore, the “women issue” was entitled to be only a problem of the ignorant village women living in the Anatolia because the modern urban women was now “free” and ready to “save” and “enlighten” the village women, which has validated the formation of class hierarchies among women in Turkey (Sancar, 2020). Until the late 1980s, “women’s right” discourse was replaced with the new modern Turkish woman profile who dedicates her life to her home, husband, and children, which portrays women as an altruist collective agent who exist for her family and nation. According to Sirman (2005), this new family was a bio-political strategy which creates nationalist power with the construction of housewives, modernization of childcare practices and the regulation of education and sexuality. With this modern conservative family, women in Turkey were now confined to the boundaries of home until the rise of women’s movement in the 1980s.

1.3.2 Re-emergence of women’s movement in Turkey

It is difficult to say that women’s movement emerging in the 1980s in Turkey was an extension of women’s movement in the early years of the Republic since the traces of the latter had been erased within the construction of the new nation-state (Sancar, 2020). Following the military intervention in 1980, Turkish society was de-politicized and free from the polarized and chaotic political climate of the 1970s. While ending this political chaos costed the loss of democracy, it was these silenced

days when women's movement emerged second time in Turkish history (Gündüz, 2004). Tekeli (1995) attributes this emergence to the removal of the ideological barriers of Kemalism since all political activities were forbidden by the military intervention enabling a pluralistic women's movement. Indeed, the first demonstration following the military intervention was a feminist protest that took place in Istanbul in 1988 (Gündüz, 2004). Although women's movement remained loyal to Kemalist principles in the long run, there were positive developments regarding women's rights such as the enactment of the UN Convention for the Elimination of any Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1988, though as an attempt to polish the international reputation of the country after the military intervention.

Feminist politics of the 90s started with the slogans such as "we own our bodies" or "let them hear you scream" by questioning why the streets and nights belong to men. However, there was dispute among the fractions of feminist groups such as modernist secular feminists, who believed the educated modern women would save the ignorant women of Anatolia by confirming the class hierarchies; Islamist feminists, who advocated for the freedom of wearing headscarf in the government institutions; and the radical feminists, who challenged the idea of a certain group of women speaking on behalf of other women with a colonial mindset (Sancar, 2020).

In the early 2000s, when Turkey had the formal EU candidate status, women's movement had its climax since woman activists skillfully seized the opportunity to exploit the Europeanization process as a tool for legislative changes in Turkey (Eslen-Ziya, 2007). Hence, the Turkish state adopted some amendments on the laws regarding women's rights as an initiative to enhance the negotiations for the

European Union access following the EU harmonization packets after 2002 (Gündüz, 2004). In this sense, the articles regarding the status of women were revised by ensuring the equality of women and men in family, divorce, education, and employment (Report on the Status of Woman by the Turkish Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services, 2019). Furthermore, the enactment of Istanbul Convention in 2011 has imposed sanctions on the types of violence against women such as forced marriages and persistent chasing as well as physical, sexual, and emotional violence.

1.3.3 Women's movement in 2010s and citizen journalism

In the second decade of the 2000s, women's movement in Turkey has gained a new shape with the advancement of technology and increasing pervasiveness of social media use. For example, in 2012, the ruling party AKP's (Justice and Development Party) anti-abortion statements received immediate reactions from women activists such as submission of petitions, creation of webpages titled "Abortion can't be banned", the online campaign "My Body My Choice", online concurrent protests in different cities over Skype, and use of Facebook and Twitter to reach international supporters (Eslen-Ziya, 2013). These reactions and protests persisted till the abolishment of the proposed law on abortion by AKP, which ended up with the addition of a new clause stating "the right not to give birth" to the constitution.

It was at the time of the Gezi Protests when power of social media and vibrancy of citizen journalism consolidated its prevalence in Turkey in 2013 against the failure of the mainstream media as an independent information provider. While the TV channels were broadcasting irrelevant shows rather than covering the huge protests in the heart of Istanbul, citizens used Twitter as a tool to spread news,

exchange information among protestors and organize, which resulted with the abrupt increase in the number of tweets from 9 million to 15.2 million over night (Tunç, 2014). Citizen journalism during Gezi Protests has also given rise to women's movement by increasing their visibility on the streets. The number of women joining Feminist Night March, which has been held in Istanbul since 2003 and in Ankara since 2007, has increased and spread to the other cities in Anatolia since Gezi Protests because more women know about it now.

1.3.4 Language and citizen journalism

Moving from the traditional mobilization techniques such as posters, faxes and leaflets, women's movement has recently been using social media to organize protests, initiate discussions and create awareness, (Eslen-Ziya, 2013). In this way, social media brings women's movement before the women in small cities, and even in villages of Anatolia. Inspired by international campaigns such as "He for She", women's movement now creates its own discourse in social media through citizen journalism by paying special attention to sexist language used. *Kadın-bayan* discussion in Turkish would constitute an appropriate example to this situation.

While the word *kadın* corresponds to woman in English, *bayan* is an addressing word equivalent to Ms. or Mrs., which is the remnant of early modernization attempts in the Turkish language and not used to address women anymore except in formal settings. However, *bayan* is still in circulation as a term to refer to women, not to address them, because it is thought to be more polite than using the word *kadın* (woman). This usage has also led many collocations such as *bayan tuvaleti* (ladies' room), *bayan doktor* (female doctor), and *bayanlar voleybol takımı* (ladies' volleyball team). Furthermore, the collocation *bayan yanı* (a seat next to a lady) is

often used to assign seats based on gender on buses and trains. The word *kadın* (woman) is perceived as rude due to its sexual implications stemming from the *kadın-kız* (woman-girl) distinction (Aydın, 2018). Accordingly, *kız* has been long used to refer to unmarried young women (thus virgin) while *kadın* has been used to refer to married and mature women. Therefore, *bayan* (lady) has long been used as a euphemism for *kadın*. However, this logic is problematic since it attributes a negative status to the word *kadın* as rude or inappropriate. Therefore, in the social networking sites, women have been long trying to change this by explaining why saying *kadın* is not rude or wrong and to encourage people using *bayan* to use *kadın* instead.

Another example of employing language to challenge the patriarchal status quo and inequalities in the society could be the recent trend on Twitter that started with the hashtag *Erkek yerini bilsin* (Man should know his place). It all started with a tweet reversing men's discourse about women as a counterattack, which reads as *Kocam isterse çalışabilir* (My husband can work if he wishes). Going viral rapidly, this tweet was cited with thousands of similar reversed comments such as *Bir erkeğin en güzel kariyeri babalıktır* (The best career for a man is fatherhood), *Erkek kendini gelecekteki hanımı için saklamalıdır* (A man should preserve himself [sexually] for his future wife), *Kes sesini, erkek gibi dır dır yapma* (Shut up, don't nag like a man). Drawing on the expressions indeed used by men to women, this wisely reversed discourse has prompted men to question the language they use without paying attention.

The news language covering violence against women has also been reconsidered with the realization of the missing agency of actual perpetrators of violence, who are usually men. To this end, Bianet, (short for Independent Communication Network) an alternative media outlet, has changed its language use

while serving news of femicide. They now publish monthly reports of men's violence using active voice rather than passive, as in, "Erkekler Haziran ayında 21 kadını öldürdü" (Men killed 21 women in June). All these examples indeed prove that people are becoming more aware of the power of language they use and employ language as a tool to create their own discourse and meanings, perform activism, and diminish stigmatization, which proves the necessity of the linguistic analysis of the issue in monolingual Turkish discourse by highlighting the elements of the Turkish lingua culture.

1.3.5 Current state of women's movement and the Istanbul Convention

Based on a human rights framework, the Istanbul Convention (The Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence) has been approved by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 7 April 2011 taking effect as of 1 August 2014 (McQuigg, 2019). Turkey was the first country to ratify the convention with unanimity of votes in the parliament in 2012. Nevertheless, the ratification of the convention has received criticism from the conservative groups on the grounds that the convention promotes divorce and damage traditional family values. Also, that the convention protects individuals regardless of their sexual orientation has disturb the conservatives since it validates LGBTQ+ individuals.

With a midnight decree on 20 March 2021, the president declared Turkey's withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention. The Directorate of Communications announced the reason for the decision arguing that the convention "was hijacked by a group of people attempting to normalize homosexuality", which does not comply with Turkey's traditional family values (Statement regarding Türkiye's withdrawal

from the Istanbul Convention, 2021). Disappointed by the decision, many women poured on to the streets to protest the decision with the slogan *Istanbul Sözleşmesi Yaşatır* (Istanbul Convention Saves Lives). Opposition parties, activists and lawyers have also criticized the withdrawal claiming that the decision has no legal grounds since it was ratified by the parliament in the first place. Nevertheless, the withdrawal decision has not been canceled yet.

In a nutshell, although there are some retrogressions such as withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention, women's movement has yielded many attainments in terms of women's rights. Nevertheless, drawing on the high femicide and violence rates, there is still much progress to be made in order to ensure the safety and equality of women in Turkey.

1.4 Establishing the terminology

I would like to conclude this chapter by establishing the terminology of some concepts to be used throughout this study since naming is crucial in the construction of knowledge. In doing so, I will first refer to the terms to be employed in the narrative of this thesis and subsequently explain the terminology used within the personal narratives of the participants.

1.4.1 Naming violence

According to Klein (2013), "language use, for better or worse, shapes the process of perceiving, interpreting, and responding to abuse. From the phrasing of survey questions to news coverage, police reports, policy directives, and everyday day talk, how things are said is not a matter of 'just words' but of the right words" (p.1).

Men's discrimination and oppression towards women can be mellowed through

euphemisms such as “domestic dispute/disturbance, domestic violence, family violence, violence in the family, violence-ridden families, and family conflicts” (Mogensen, 2013, p. 135). Obscuring the perpetrators, these terms soften violence by degrading it to the private realm of family as well as excluding unmarried women who are exposed to violence. Furthermore, the term “violence against women” is often criticized on the grounds that it blurs the actual perpetrators, men. Therefore, throughout this thesis, I will use the term “men’s violence against women” to refer to the violence cases in which men oppress women physically, sexually, psychologically, emotionally, verbally, and economically.

1.4.2 Emancipating “survivors”

Another point I would like to highlight regarding the terminology in the narrative of this thesis is how I define the participants of this study. Throughout the thesis, the participants will be referred to as “survivors” rather than “victims,” as in Merritt-Gray and Wuest (1995) among others. The main reason is that all participants of this study have managed to stand against men’s violence and gone through an emancipation period from the cocoon of the patriarchy that they were born into. Furthermore, by using the term survivor, I aim to challenge the long-standing unliberated victim narrative surrounding the Anatolian women. To elaborate, there has long been a dichotomy between urban women and the Anatolian women, which creates a hierarchical order among women in Turkey with the former teaching the latter about her rights. Tepe and Bauhn (2017) outline two arguments regarding the Anatolian women in Turkey: “incomplete emancipation of Anatolian women argument” (IEAWA) and “emancipated but unliberated Turkish women argument” (EUTWA) (p. 138). Accordingly, the IEAWA portrays the Anatolian women as a

national figure who contributed to Turkish independence and thus deserves the gratitude of educated urban people, who are expected to help them emancipate in return. According to this argument, the Anatolian women's emancipation is incomplete despite the rights the new Republic entitled women with because people of Anatolia are deprived of modern facilities and services. On the other hand, EUTWA regards the Anatolian women as victims of patriarchal oppression by referring to them implicitly through a wider discussion on the Turkish women in general supported with instances from the suburban areas of Anatolia.

Contrary to the victim portrayal of the Anatolian women in the literature, most of the participants in this study have emancipated from their perpetrators by divorcing following a long endurance period and gaining their financial independency. Also, reportedly, those who have preferred to stay in their abusive relationships do not stay because they are not aware of their rights or they lack power to do so. Instead, most stay because they are better able to follow their own agenda as married women in a society where divorced women are stigmatized. As Mahmood (2001) suggests, agency is the capacity to follow one's own agenda against the traditions, transcendental will and other obstacles; therefore, it is crucial to explore agency within certain expressions and moments of resistance even when we cannot find an explicit feminist agency, which constitutes one of the objectives of this study. In this sense, the term "victim" undermines the agency of women by putting them in a pitiful situation and dramatizes their experiences by reproducing the stigmatization of the Anatolian women as helpless. However, most of the participants of this study are strong women who have emancipated from men's violence, and successfully follow their own agenda by leaving or maintaining their relationships. Therefore,

they will be referred to as “survivors” rather than “victims” throughout the narrative of this thesis.

1.4.3 Defining divorced women

Regarding the terminology used within the personal narratives of the participants, I would like to explain one specific term heavily employed by the participants: *dul* (widow). The word widow in English refers to a woman who lost her husband and has not married again (Longman Online Dictionary). On the other hand, according to the online dictionary of TDK (Turkish Language Association), the gender-neutral term *dul* in Turkish refers to both a divorced person and a person who lost their legal partners and has not married again. However, according to Nişanyan Sözlük (a comprehensive online dictionary with an etymological touch and created by the philologue Sevan Nişanyan), the term *dul* first appears in old Uyghur texts composed before 900 C.E. and originally refers only to women whose husband has died as its English equivalent does. It is probable that the word *dul* referred only to a woman who lost her husband because the divorce concept did not exist at the time, and with the conceptualization of divorce as a social event, the word *dul* has been used to refer to a divorced person since divorce is technically another way of losing a partner.

Nevertheless, the term *dul* has negative connotations since divorce has long been a taboo in the Turkish society. Therefore, divorced women, who are randomly called *dul* (widow) instead of *boşanmış kadın* (divorced women), are often stigmatized. This stigmatization indeed results from the virginity discussion revolving around single women, who are expected not to involve in a pre-marital sexual activity. In this sense, divorced women contradict the prevalent social norms about single women because they are both single and assumably not virgin anymore,

which means their sexual activities cannot be policed. The discussion around singleness and virginity regarding divorced women has also affected government policies as well. For example, *dul* as a marital status category on the national ID cards was changed into *bekar* (single) in 2006 (Aydın, 2018). Although divorced women are regarded as single individuals in the eye of law, they are still stigmatized in the society as “widows”. Therefore, since most of the participants, namely 13, are divorced or in the process of divorce, they employ the term *dul* mostly to refer to a divorced woman instead of a woman who lost her husband.

1.5 Plan of the thesis

This thesis consists of 10 Chapters, and in this section, I will provide the reader with the plan of the thesis. Following this introduction chapter, I will present the epistemological, methodological, and theoretical frameworks of this study in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I will review the key studies in the relevant literature. In Chapter 4, I will inform the reader about the research design and methodological choices of this study such as selecting the research site, gaining access, data collection, approach to data analysis and interpretation, researcher’s reflexivity, and ethical considerations. Chapter 5, 6 and 7 are the analytical chapters which seek answers to the aforementioned research questions respectively. Subsequently in Chapter 8, I will critically discuss the findings of this study in the light of the relevant literature. Finally in Chapter 9, I will reflect on the limitations of this study and possible social implications.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I will present the methodological framework of this study and the main theoretical concepts that will be employed in the discussion of the findings. In the first section, I will discuss active interview concept as the methodological framework of this study. In the second section, I will outline the main theoretical concepts to be employed in the discussion of the interplay among language, gender, and power in the discussion chapter.

2.1 Active interview as a theoretical and methodological framework

Interview practice has recently undergone change with postmodern influences creating “the interview society”, where interviews are employed not only for research and investigation purposes but also within many mundane activities as a very part of life. (Atkinson & Silverman, 1997; Gubrium & Holstein, 2003; Silverman, 1993). In interview research, this change has taken place with the emergence of the “active interview” concept, which reshapes the assignment of position and subjectivity of both the respondent and interviewer. In this sense, Denzin (1997) rejects objectivity and traditional non-involvement strategy of the interviewer and suggests a partnership between respondents and interviewers. Regarding interviews as social encounters, active interview repositions interviewers as animated producers of narrative knowledge rather than repositories of knowledge. As Gubrium (2012) suggests, “the active subject behind the interviewer is a necessary counterpart, a working narrative partner, of the active subject behind the respondent” (p. 33). This also repositions the respondents as constructive partners of

experiential knowledge since “they are repositories or excavators of experiential knowledge” (p. 32). In this respect, the interviewer and the respondent jointly construct the interview narrative in an ongoing way (Mishler, 1986) by collaboratively achieving the respondent’s subjective truth (Douglas, 1985; Kvale, 1996).

Accordingly, suggesting the reconceptualization of interviews as formal occasions where animated subjects co-construct accounts of experience, Holstein and Gubrium (1995) distinguish active interview from the traditional interview model. Indeed, what they suggest is not a new type of interview; rather, they emphasize that the ingrained interpretive activity of all interview situation should be considered analytically as interviews fashion the form and content of the language produced. Therefore, in interview narratives, meaning is strategically co-constructed during interaction rather than only being elicited through questions or conveyed via honest responses. In this sense, it is crucial to analyze the interview process not only as a form of communication yielding results but also as a narrative practice based on co-constructive work.

To this end, this study aligns itself with active interview as its theoretical and methodological framework, which positions both the participants and researcher at the center as active narrative partners by creating a space for “the conversational dance” in Riessman’s terms (2012, p. 376).

2.2 Post-structuralist approach to interview narratives

Poststructuralism refers to a series of interconnected intellectual developments taking place in France from the 1960s on, which has emerged as a response to the prevalent discourse of structuralism (McNamara, 2012). While structuralism relies on binary

oppositions such as speech-writing, male-female to explain concepts, poststructuralism rejects this binary opposition as the structures underlying these concepts are prone to bias. McNamara (2012) outlines the three points poststructuralism deviates from other critical theories. First of all, structural categories such as gender, class, and ethnicity are not sufficient to examine power; poststructuralism provides an alternative approach to explore ideology while acknowledging discourses of class, gender, and ethnicity as primary facets of poststructuralist analysis. Secondly, it rejects progress in a Nietzschean sense regarding the irrationality of social relations and probability and temporariness of powerful discourses. Thirdly, criticizing totalizing systems and modernism, it aligns with postmodernism.

Like many other disciplines of social sciences, applied linguistics has also been influenced by poststructuralist approaches (see McNamara, 2012) such as posthumanism (Pennycook, 2018), new materialism (Toohey et al., 2005), and spatiality (Canagarajah, 2017). Employment of this approach within applied linguistics entails “putting into question of stable truths and the stable structure of the linguistic sign, a critique of the idea of system, and a rejection of belief in the idea of ‘progress’” (McNamara, 2012, p. 477), which are also manifested by the findings of this study. For example, as the participants mostly refer to their violence experience alongside emancipation, it is not plausible to expect them to rely on “the stable structure of the linguistic sign” traditionally assigned to women within their stories. Rather, they are expected to employ more radical linguistic devices in order to consolidate their emancipation. Furthermore, their counter-victim discourse makes a “critique of the idea system” of their patriarchal community.

Research adopting poststructuralist perspectives in applied linguistics focus on a wide range of concepts such as identity in multilingual and immigration contexts, gender and sexuality and critical discourse analysis. In doing so, they often employ the theories of scholars such as Bourdieu, Foucault, Habermas, and Halliday as well as the scholars of social critical theorists of language. In the discussion of my monolingual dataset, I will particularly draw on Butler, Bourdieu, and Bakhtin and will borrow some notions from the studies in applied linguistics with a poststructuralist approach. In the subsections below, I will demonstrate how these apply to my methodological choices in this study.

2.2.1 Poststructuralist approach to language and gender

Since both the participants and researcher of this study are women, the dialogic interaction in the interviews was constructed based on women's positioning in discourse. Furthermore, because the interviews have focused on women's emancipation, which inevitably unfolds men's violence, the discourse constructed in the interviews revolve around gendered discussions. Therefore, the language produced in the interviews are inevitably gender-imbued, which entails a gender perspective to language in the discussion of the co-constructed interview narratives.

To this end, this study aligns with the social-constructionist approach of the feminist scholar Judith Butler in its approach to gender as unfolding in discourse. In their groundbreaking work *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990), Butler argues that gender is a performance rather than a predisposition assigned to subjects and "there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; ... identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results" (p. 25). Therefore, gendered behavior is not a product; rather, it

is a performance whose consistent recurrence constitutes the deception of an underlying essence. In other words, certain performances learned and acted by women and men create the delusion that those performances are innate. In line with the poststructuralist approach I embrace in this study, I adopt Butler's performativity theory as an overarching framework of gender.

When it comes to analyzing gender as a social category, social constructionism challenges the monolithic feature of beliefs rooted in naïve assumptions about the absolute truth of gender difference, and thereby contests the category "woman" (Baxter, 2003). The main reason behind this challenge is the difficulty of generalizing what being a woman is. As suggested by Norton and Pavlenko (2004), there are always differences between women that are influenced by various facets such as age, class, education, ethnicity, and family background. Therefore, social constructionist approach to language and gender entails that gendered roles and positions in interaction are constantly negotiated and contested; therefore, they are multiple and shifting rather than being fixed and static. Furthermore, adopting a post-structuralist approach to language and gender, Baxter (2003) puts forth that interactional practices are ingrained with dominant discourses of "gender differentiation", which can be negotiated, contested, and resisted by speakers. As the survival and power stories of the participants include not only the emancipation accounts but also those of subordination, it is plausible to expect that the positions and roles they take up during the interaction are multiple and shifting. Therefore, it is crucial to discuss their language production with a social constructionist approach of language and gender.

In a nutshell, aligning myself with the abovementioned gender framework and language and gender concept, I will discuss the interview narratives of the survivor

women with a poststructuralist and social constructionist approach to language and gender.

2.2.2 Poststructuralist approach to language and power

As the participants refer to both violence and emancipation accounts within their survival and power stories, their discourses are surely ingrained with power. In my discussion of the interplay between language and power, drawing on Radtke and Stam (1994), who claim that “power is both the source of oppression in its abuse and the source of emancipation in its use.” (p. 1), I will employ two different concepts of power in order to discuss the power constructed within the violence and emancipation accounts of the participants: Bourdieu’s symbolic power and the feminist understanding of empowerment.

Since the personal narratives in this study focus on the survival and power stories of a group of Anatolian women, who have managed to resist men’s violence and to emancipate from it, their stories are engraved with power relations between themselves and their oppressors in micro level and between women and men in societal level. However, what is meant by power in this context refers not only to the coercive power exerted over the participants, that is violence, but also the symbolic power in Bourdieu’s terms. To this end, I will employ Bourdieu’s notions of symbolic power and violence in order to discuss the violence experienced by the participants and investigate the underlying power mechanisms through language.

Furthermore, the personal narratives do not merely focus on the violence accounts of the participants. Indeed, I set out to collect emancipation narratives in the first place, which naturally contained violence episodes from which the participants emancipated. However, it would be insufficient to discuss the emancipatory accounts

only based on symbolic power, which usually denotes power exerted over the dominated. That is, it would be inaccurate to claim that the emancipation in the case of the participants simply corresponds to their seizure of the symbolic power previously belonging to men in their society, because men still preserve the symbolic power they have over women in the patriarchal context of Anatolia. Therefore, it would be more accurate to discuss the power disclosed within the emancipatory accounts of the participants with a different understanding of power. In this sense, I will employ the feminist notion of empowerment, which refers to “power to” rather than “power over”, in order to explore the power that the participants construct within their emancipatory accounts through language (Rowlands, 1998, p. 13). In the sub-sections below, I will elaborate on these different understandings of power.

2.2.2.1 Bourdieu’s notions of symbolic power and violence

Bourdieu’s discusses practices in traditional societies by focusing on the dialectical relationship between habitus, cognitive and behavioral dispositions of agents, and the objective structure of the social sphere where actions took place. Although material resources play a significant role in determining power relations between individuals, it is important to go beyond the material capital in order to understand underlying power mechanisms. Therefore, Bourdieu suggests the concept of symbolic power, which refers to the form of power in which power relations are absorbed through social categories. He explains the imposition of symbolic power with codification, which “normalizes”, “objectifies”, “officializes”, and “formalizes” certain practices to make them public, legitimate, calculable, and predictable (Cronin, 1996, p. 68). However, since cultural competence to acquire these codes are not equally available to all individuals from different social classes, those having access to cultural capital

control what is legitimate, which turns the cultural capital acquired by certain groups into symbolic capital, that is the power to control the legitimate vision of the social world.

Bourdieu further conceptualizes his notion of symbolic power in relation to language, which he considers as “an instrument of power and action” as well as a tool for communication (Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1992, p. 111). In this sense, like Bakhtin, Bourdieu also criticizes structuralist approaches to language conceptualized by Saussure, who considers language as an object of study rather than a practice, on the grounds that Saussure’s approach obscures the physical aspect of communication, that is speech, and thus ignores the individualization of language by certain people in certain contexts. Furthermore, he rejects the Chomskyan approach to language, which is only concerned with the ideal speaker and listener since it neglects the social and economic aspects of language acquisition and competence (Grenfell, 2012). For Bourdieu, language is only meaningful in terms of the contexts within which it is engraved. Therefore, he argues that language can be the source of symbolic violence because it can institute one prevalent view over another (Grenfell, 2012). According to Bourdieu, symbolic violence refers to an unperceived form of oppression unlike the systems force is employed to maintain social hierarchy, and effective form of violence in which those with power spend little energy to maintain their dominance (Schubert, 2014). Although symbolic violence can be perceived to be softer than physical violence, it is indeed as serious as physical violence because symbolic violence constitutes the grounds on which physical violence is built such as social, cultural, and religious norms. Regarding the discrimination against women in patriarchal societies, Bourdieu explains symbolic violence as follows:

“whatever their position in social space, women have in common the fact that they are separated from men by a negative symbolic coefficient which, like skin color for blacks, or any other sign of membership in a stigmatized group, negatively affects everything that they are and do” (Bourdieu 2001, p. 93)”

In this respect, narratives embodying gendered violence contain not only physical violence but also symbolic violence because patriarchal norms play a significant role in the maintenance of power relations between women and men (Udasmoro, 2013). Since one of the aims of this study is to explore the underlying mechanisms men’s violence against women in Central Anatolia, I will employ Bourdieu’s concepts of symbolic power and violence in order to discuss the survival and power narratives containing the participants’ violence accounts.

2.2.2.2 Feminist understanding of power: Empowerment

Bourdieu’s notion of symbolic power is crucial in the investigation of the underlying mechanisms of the physical and symbolic violence that the participants have reportedly suffered from, because it focuses on the power dynamics between agents in the social realm, which is performed through the codified cognitive and behavioral practices. However, it is not sufficient to discuss the power constructed by the participants within their emancipatory accounts due to two main reasons.

First of all, if the emancipatory power constructed by the participants is viewed with symbolic power, it should be interpreted that the participants have dethroned men from their powerful positions by accumulating adequate symbolic capital, and now they are the new holders of symbolic power. Nevertheless, the symbolic power between genders in Central Anatolia continue to be enjoyed by men. However, that does not necessarily mean that the participants of this study are still

subordinated by men, because they have started to accumulate symbolic capital such as earning an educational degree and entering workforce and managed to emancipate from their violent husbands despite the prevalent patriarchal norms. Therefore, symbolic violence does not prove to be a useful concept to discuss the emancipatory accounts of the participants.

Secondly, although Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power allows for possibilities of resisting the symbolic domination, it does not offer conceptual reservations to explain emancipation (Cronin, 1996). The only suggestion he offers to the dominated is to accumulate adequate economic and cultural capital in order to achieve dominance, which suggests an upward mobility through classes, and to challenge the fundamentals of the dominant perception that defines the legitimate. According to Cronin (1996), these proposals, however, suggest what can be achieved through resistance will be a mere replacement of one form of domination by another. To these ends, I will rely on a different understanding of power other than Bourdieu's symbolic power in the discussion of the power constructed within the emancipatory accounts of the participants.

Rowlands (1998) differentiates the feminist understanding of empowerment from the dominant conception of power in the social sciences as "power over". In doing so, she criticizes the "power over" model because it positions power as a finite supply which some have more while others have less. From this understanding of power, women's empowerment can be perceived as inherently threatening because assumably the power relations will be reversed when women gain power over men, which would be translated as the loss of power and the possibility of being subordinated by women for men. Therefore, Rowlands challenges this kind of understanding of power arguing that empowerment of one group does not necessarily

mean loss of power for the others. Instead, she conceptualizes empowerment as a dynamic and process-based power rather than a set of results. Accordingly, power can be understood as “power to”, which is a generative and productive form of power that allows for new possibilities and actions without domination. Therefore, empowerment is not limited to the attainment of “power over” and can be realized via the development of “power to”. To this end, I will employ the feminist concept of empowerment in order to discuss the power constructed within the emancipatory accounts of the participants.

2.2.3 Poststructuralist approach to language: Two Bakhtinian concepts

Although the Russian philosopher Bakhtin initially theorizes his ideas focusing on language and novel, he later shifts his focus from language and the novel to the everyday use of language (Hynes, 2014). In doing so, he criticizes the fundamental assumptions and arguments of traditional linguistics. That is, unlike Saussure, who regards language as an abstract and ready-made system, Bakhtin focuses on the dynamics of living speech. In this sense, rejecting the traditional dichotomy of system and performance, he focuses on communication as the main subject of his examinations rather than language (Alfaro, 1996). Drawing on his poststructuralist approach to language, in this study, I will employ two of Bakhtinian concepts, namely dialogism and polyphony, in order to discuss the multiple meanings and plurality of the participants’ survival and power narratives.

2.2.3.1 Dialogism

Bakhtinian dialogism views life as a dialogic event, which means that living is being in dialogue. As humans engage in life through dialogue, they are expected to provide

a response to that dialogue, which is always contextual due to the uniqueness of the stance, space, and time occupied by humans (Hynes, 2014). In this sense, Bakhtin assumes that our language is imbued with the discourse of other; however, this does not mean that our utterances mirror the past; instead, they are shaped by power, context, and mood. That is, our language is influenced by various facets of life such as gender, occupation, generation, education, context, and time because we are in dialogues not only with others and ourselves but also with the social configurations that forms our worlds.

In a similar vein, the participants in this study construct their survival and power narratives by engaging in a constant dialogue with their past selves, their characters, and the surrounding social discourse in order to make sense of their accounts and contextualize their own meanings. To this end, Bakhtin's dialogism will constitute an effective concept in the investigation of the personal narratives in this study.

2.2.3.2 Polyphony

According to Bakhtin, all utterances are polyphonic, meaning that they include voices of others. However, that does not literally mean including multiple voices in speech; rather, it refers to the collective characteristics of human speech embodying others' views. In this respect, polyphony refers to the capacity of an individual's words to incorporate the words of others while they still belong to the individual.

Park-Fuller (1986) explains polyphony through a reported speech example.

Accordingly, she elaborates that utterances are polyphonic when we quote someone and create a dialogue with that person because we can adjust the speech pattern of an

admired person and identify ourselves with the linguistic-ideologic community of that person, or we can mock a person by dissociating ourselves from him.

Likewise, the participants of this study heavily employ quotations by referring to their characters, their past selves, professionals such as the police and doctors, and more broadly the prevalent social norms in order to contextualize their accounts, attribute positions to themselves and others, and appeal to the audience. To this end, Bakhtin's concept of polyphony will be referred to in the discussion of the personal narratives.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will present the key studies in the relevant literature in five sections. In the first section, I will present a brief review of studies on language and gender. In the second section, I will focus on some recent studies in applied linguistics lying at the intersection of language and gender, specifically those exploring women's discourse in interactional settings with a focus on power and empowerment. The third section will cover the studies exploring the relationship between language, gender, and violence in interactional accounts. The fourth section will review research examining studies in language and gender in Turkish. Finally, in the fifth section, I will focus on reviewing the studies exploring oral narratives in Turkish.

3.1 An overview of language and gender studies

Research at the intersection of language and gender studies has gained popularity since its emergence in the 1970s. Early studies on language and gender gaining prominence during the Second Wave Feminism has been characterized as establishing dominance approach focusing on dominance-related characteristics of language use such as turn-taking and tag questions in the interactions of mixed-gender groups and indicating how men exert power over women via language as in Fishman (1978), Lakoff (1975), and Spender (1980). In the 1980s, some scholars criticizing the dominance approach suggested a new line of research adopting the difference approach, which usually focuses gender-specific linguistic patterns in the interactions of mixed-gender groups, as in Maltz and Borker (1982) and Tannen (1990).

More recent research line on language and gender has been critical of both approaches on the grounds that their stance is too essentialist since they assume that either male dominance or female-male difference always exists (Motschenbacher, 2012). Therefore, with the influence of Butler's (1990) theory of performativity and poststructuralist turn in social sciences, recent research paradigm on language and gender has a social constructionist, discursive, and counter-essentialist agenda. This new research line examines the interplay between language and gender in micro-level interactions in various contexts such as migration (e.g., Bucholtz, 2009; Collier, 2006; Garcia-Sanchez, 2010; Han, 2007; Peréa Flavia, 2011; Vitanova, 2004), education (e.g., Aberi, 2010; Pilar, 2009; Baxter, 2002; Davies, 2004), and workplace (e.g., Holmes, 2009; Ladegaard, 2011; Martín Rojo & Concepción, 2005; Rees & Monrouxe, 2010; Mullany, 2008). Since my focus in this study is the interplay between language, gender, violence, and emancipation/empowerment, I will further elaborate on the relevant literature regarding these topics in the following three sections.

3.2 Language, gender, power, and empowerment

Since one of the corner stones of this study is the interplay between language, gender, and power, in this section, I will provide a review of the relevant literature in this realm of work. The research on language and gender has paid particular attention to relationship, language, gender, the issues of power, and feminist empowerment. Some of these studies have been conducted in institutional settings where the interplay between power relations, empowerment, and language is more apparent. For example, Wanitzek (2002) explores the power of language in the discourse of women's rights drawing on examples from the Tanzanian women's and legal

practitioners' statements in order to see how language is employed as a power tool in legal contexts by reflecting and contributing to gender bias. She criticizes that the expressions such as good wife and good husband are frequently employed as undisputable terms and argues that legal practitioners should pay more attention to their wording since language is essential in the construction of knowledge. Also, she offers implications such as changing legal terminology because it is crucial for the women's rights discourse.

In a similar vein, Talbot (2005) explores the discourse of a women's rights organization in the U.S., namely the American National Rifle Association (NRA). She demonstrates that this organization takes advantage of women's fears of assault and feminist call to resist victim status and thereby promotes the American women's gun ownership by discursively constructing an "empowered" identity. She argues that the discourse of this organization undermines the non-violent nature of feminists' call and suggests an atmosphere of continued fear and violence under the cover of empowering women. Therefore, like Wanitzek (2002), Talbot also consolidates the power of language regarding women's rights discourse in institutional settings.

Employing a different focus, Lakoff (2003) examines the relationship between women and power conducting a discourse analysis of the written texts retrieved from three major American institutions, which are academia (about the approach to gender in Conversation Analysis), arts (about the distribution of talk in plays), and politics proper (about the way women in politics are sexualized and objectified in the print media). She suggests that women's entrance into spheres traditionally occupied by men have changed the traditional patterns of discourse.

Kauppinen (2013) focuses on another written media context revolving around women and power and explores the German edition of the women's magazine *Cosmopolitan*, displays successful stories of women in business life and advocates for women's empowerment in working life. Drawing on linguistically oriented discourse analysis, she examines the discourse of post-feminist self-management. Her analysis suggests that while this discourse promotes an ideology of feminist engagement, it also leads the audience to fashion themselves into being entrepreneurial self-required individuals with the neoliberalized discourse of business life.

In addition to the discourse of printed media, the discourse created in online spheres has also attracted the attention of scholars focusing on women, language, and power in the last two decades. For instance, Herring (2003) explores studies on gender and the Internet published between 1989 and 2002. Although the Internet is regarded as a virtual arena that offers opportunities for less powerful people and, for example, can lead to greater gender equality, she concludes that gender norms are often reproduced by arousing the issues of power relations. Despite this, she also suggests that women have gained grounds in the virtual arena.

Other than institutional and media contexts, the interactions of women in private spheres have also been analyzed in order to investigate the interplay between language, gender, and power. For example, Majstorović and Mandić (2011) presents an ethnographic account of women's discourse in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and examines how they construct identities and subjectivities. Relying on the data collected through focus group discussions of Bosnian women, they analyze how the Bosnian women discursively construct gender roles and how they approach feminism and emancipation despite their backgrounds of patriarchal norms. The authors have

suggested that womanhood in BiH is constructed in reference to sacrifice, victimhood, and patriarchal submission, whereas daily struggles are established as an emancipatory potential for the participants.

Hall (2000) explores how a group of women from the Dominican Republic practice “chismeando” (gossiping in Spanish), which is regarded as a storage of sociocultural knowledge. In her analysis, she focuses on the intonation patterns and demonstrates how these women present and build their shared social history through varied patterns of intonation. The author suggests that the intonation patterns are imbued with locally sensitive interpretations and that gossiping is not only a mere chat among women but also a site of sociopolitical activity.

In addition to the examination of monolingual discourses, the linguistic diversity in women’s discourse has also been investigated in reference to language, gender, and power. For example, Sadiqi (2009) investigates the complex relationship between language, gender, and power focusing women’s strategic employment of four languages, written Arabic, Berber, Moroccan Arabic, and French, in reference to its religious and political meanings. She asserts that since these languages in Morocco constitute power centers and thus are linked to women’s positions in the social arena, women realize the power of language and therefore employ the linguistic resources available to them by manipulating them to their advantage.

Likewise, Rudwick (2006) investigates a language variety called isiTsotsi, which is a part of the linguistic repertoire of South African women in the Nguni language cluster. In her study, she mentions that isiTsotsi is usually correlated with lesbianism in KwaZulu-Natal when it is used by women due to the traditionally masculine conceptualization of this language variety. In her analysis, she demonstrates that isiTsotsi is a context-bound sociolect, rather than a homosexual

register, which African women use to empower themselves in colloquial. Therefore, she argues that female speakers of isiTsoisi represent the emancipated African women who can express their independence and equality with men.

In the context of Turkey, Saygı (2019) explores the daily interaction of local and Iraqi Turkmen refugee women with a linguistic ethnographic approach. She specifically focuses on the interactional processes in domestic spaces in which the women construct and negotiate their identities and stances. She demonstrates how their interactions are imbued with the hegemonic nationalist, religious, and patriarchal discourses. She also concludes that although the refugee women attempt to take advantage of the shared identities, their identities as refugees eclipse other identities they have constructed.

After presenting some studies focusing on the construction of power and empowerment at the intersection of language and gender, in the following section, I will review some language and gender studies focusing on violence.

3.3 Language, gender, and violence

As my data-driven analysis (see Chapter 4) indicates, violence emerges as a major topic within the dataset of this study. Therefore, in this section, I will present studies that focus on the interplay between language, gender, and violence. According to Trinch (2004), although feminist scholarship has focused on social problems such as domestic violence and sexual harassment, the issue of violence has only received superficial attention in language and gender studies.

Suggesting a fundamental interplay between linguistics and material inequities, Ehrlich (2004) focuses on the definitions of sexual harassment and assault, through which she challenges the conventional feminist approach that language is entirely

symbolic constituting no material influences. She argues that limited definitions of rape result in the linguistic positioning of rape victims with inadequate resistance and the ignorance of rape when it is committed by acquaintances and family members. Therefore, she claims that separating language from its material effects can cost women's lives and bodies.

Yang (2007) examines the metapragmatic discourse on domestic violence, which is *zuiqian* "deficient mouth" in a working-class community in Beijing. She claims that the discourse of *zuiqian* renders the domestic violence as an individual problem, obscures the systematic force causing men's violence and thereby blames women's deviant speaking styles. She further argues that this kind of discourse constitutes an organic mode of power as it aims to control women's mouths. Therefore, she concludes that the individuals and body have become the sites for political legitimacy since this anatomic mode of power ignores spaces for constructing subjectivity in the broader political and economic transformations of the globalization process in China.

In another study, Adentunji (2010) focuses on the forms of linguistic violence committed against Nigerian women. Drawing on the data collected from diverse linguistic groups, media and a commercial bank, he suggests that implicit and abusive forms of linguistic violence have been employed to mute and subordinate Nigerian women, which is traced back to the patriarchal norms. Therefore, he recommends a greater awareness towards gender equality in access to language as well as in teaching and learning language.

Apart from macro-level contexts, the interplay between language, gender, and violence has also been scrutinized within interactional contexts. For example, Trinch (2001) examines Latina women's narratives of domestic abuse, which took place in a

legal setting. Focusing on the lexical items employed to discuss sexual violence, she claims that traditional ways of speaking about sensitive topics can contradict with institutional needs. As a result of her analysis employing interactional sociolinguistic approach, she concludes that although the Latina women have the linguistic resources to talk about sexual assault, in some cases, they use ambiguous terms, which risks the accuracy of institutional records.

In another study, Trinch (2007) investigates the violence narratives of U.S. Latina women and legal professionals within the U.S. legal setting. Her analysis demonstrates how Latina women linguistically and discursively make use of their language resources to construct traditional womanhood roles in order to emancipate themselves from abusive relationships. She suggests that the women raise their voice against violence by strategically employing referential and non-referential linguistic devices. Furthermore, she shows that they also resist the victim image the U.S. legal system tries to establish about them by acting as good mothers, wives, and citizens.

Stokoe (2010) focuses on men's accounts of assaulting women in police interrogations. Drawing on the corpus of British police interrogation materials and employing conversation analysis, she examines how the denials of the suspects follow the direct question of police officers and how they are ingrained in extended narratives that do not refer to violence directly. She demonstrates that suspects create different categories of men and resort to one, the category of men who do not beat women, by using the notion of the other, the category of men who beat women.

Some studies focus on the accounts of both women and men about men's violence against women. For example, Robertson and Murachver (2006) compare the linguistic behavior of women and men, especially focusing on facilitative and nonfacilitative language features, relying on their accounts of intimate partner

violence. They put forth that both women and men employed fewer facilitative and polite linguistic devices and that men tend to use more non-facilitative linguistic devices. Overall, they demonstrate that the participants adjusted their language use to the manipulated styles.

After providing the reader with a short overview of the construction of violence in language and gender studies, in the next section, I will review the language and gender studies in Turkish applied linguistics.

3.4 Language and gender in Turkish

Since this study relies on the personal narratives of 20 women living in Central Anatolia, the data collected comprise monolingual Turkish accounts. Therefore, in this section, I will present studies that focus on language and gender by mostly comparing the data from women and men and employing both qualitative and quantitative methods in Turkish applied linguistics.

Hatipoğlu (2012) explores the relationship between apologies and gender by using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Relying on Wenger's (1998) notion of Communities of Practice (CoP), and Politeness Theory of Brown and Levinson (1987), she examines data collected via Discourse Completion Tests from 195 female and 219 male Turkish and British university students. She concludes that the relationship between language and gender is non-exclusive, multidimensional, and dynamic. She also suggests that language use of women and men within the same CoP is context-dependent and thus may vary from one culture to another.

Ruhi (2002) examines gender identity in complimenting in Turkish discourse by focusing on the topic selection, social distance, and stylistic choices. She suggests that complimenting might work as a concealed form of performing gender. She

further claims that it can also generate a sense of out-groupness since the interlocuters use language differently depending on their gender. Therefore, she concludes that while complimenting as an ingroup behavior fosters relationships, it can also highlight differences between genders.

Meanwhile, Bağ et al. (2016) examines language and gender in an educational context. Employing Classroom Discourse Analysis Model, they analyze the data collected in two English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classrooms in the preparatory school of a state university in Turkey by focusing on a female and male teacher. They conclude that both teachers' academic practices are not equally distributed to female and male students in either classroom. Furthermore, they show that their non-academic practices do not address to female and male students equally either.

Osam (2006) compares the attitudes of Turkish Cypriot women and men to using foreign words in Turkish Cypriot dialect. The results show women approach their mother tongue very sensitively while men were indifferent to the use of foreign words. Moreover, he suggests that women tend to use the Standard Turkish, which refers to the elimination of foreign words. He further claims that women are psychologically conditioned to resist against foreign words while men do not display any awareness about their mother tongue.

In the context of online language use, Akkaya (2011) focuses on women's language practices exclusively and explores young US-based Turkish women's identity practices in their photo comments on Facebook by focusing on their indexical and iconic use of vernacular lengthening practices. Drawing on the data collected through digital ethnography, she investigates the relationship between the use of vernacular lengthening practices and identity construction adopting a semiotic approach. She demonstrates that, by employing lengthening practices in their

community of practice, the young Turkish women index their solidarity with each other and thereby their group identity. She concludes that while they do not follow the conventions of English or Turkish in their lengthening practices, the regular stress pattern of Turkish seems to influence their choices of emphasizing the final syllable. Therefore, she argues that they mark their Turkish identity by utilizing the stress pattern in Turkish for both English and Turkish words.

Following this short review of language and gender studies in Turkish, in the next section, I will present some oral narrative studies in Turkish.

3.5 Oral narratives in Turkish

Since this study relies on the interview narratives of the participants as its data, it is important to explore the oral narrative studies in Turkish discourse. Although oral tradition is deeply rooted in Turkish culture, oral narratives have received scholarly attention only in the last two decades from different fields such as applied linguistics (e.g., Akıncı-Oktay, 2006; Aksu-Koç, 1988; Furman & Özyürek, 2006, Özcan, 2005; Özyıldırım, 2009; Slobin, 1988; Yemenici, 1995; 2002;), history (e.g., Akal, 2003; Bora, 2005; Çakır, 2006; Durakbaşa & İlyasoğlu, 2001), and sociology (e.g., Ahıska & Yenal, 2004; 2005).

In Turkish applied linguistics, narratives have been examined mostly with a developmental and structural approach. For example, Aksu-Koç (1988) examined the narratives of children and adults focusing on the development of temporal elements in Turkish. Using a child book to elicit narratives from the participants, she found that while three-year old children do not produce narratives, most of the five-year-old children can do. Furthermore, she demonstrates that while nine-year-old children can

construct coherent narratives, adults can produce more complex and cohesive narratives.

Aksu-Koç (1992; 2005) also explores the relationship between education level and narrative structure. She concludes that while adults with a high educational degree construct their narratives more objectively, those with a low educational level are more subjective in narrative construction.

Adopting a developmental perspective, Slobin (1988) investigates the development of syntax in children and concludes that children who are over 9 gain full command of narrative organization and syntactic organization. Özcan (2005) also focuses on narrative development and compares the narratives of children and adults based on the use of temporal elements to construct the macro temporal structure of narratives. He concludes that the employment of temporal elements varies based on age groups.

Furman and Özyürek (2006) investigate the development of discourse markers children and adults employ in their oral narratives. They conclude that children master using discourse markers in oral narrative after the age of 9. Furthermore, they demonstrate that children and adults employ discourse markers for different functions. Küntay and Nakamura (2004) also compare the narratives of Japanese and Turkish speaker children and adults focusing on the use of evaluative devices such as character speech, hedges, causal connectors, enrichment expressions and intensifiers, proving Bamberg and Damrad-Frye (1991) with four additional evaluative devices.

In addition to the developmental approach, narratives in Turkish have also been studied with a structural approach. For instance, Yemenici (1995) examined oral narratives in Turkish applying the Labovian narrative structure. In another study (2002), she examines what categories of repetition are used at syntactic and

discursive levels and how they function in Turkish oral personal narratives. She concludes that repetition is used as a strategy to avoid ambiguity, clarify their points, emphasize their views, and persuade the audience.

Adopting a structural approach, Özyıldırım (2009) compares the structure of oral and written narratives of Turkish university students focusing on the narrative structure suggested by Labov and evaluative language use. She concludes that the structure of written and oral narratives of the university students are similar while evaluative expressions are found to be more frequent in the written narratives.

Akinci-Oktay (2006) investigates the structure of nine- and ten-year-old children's fright narratives. Also, she examines the relationship between children's narratives and the education level of their parents. She demonstrates that there is a positive correlation between the education level of the parents and the length of the children's narratives and thus concludes that the educational level of their parents has an effect on the children's narrative structure.

There are also a few studies that examine conversation narratives in Turkish. For instance, Küntay (2002) investigates the conversational narratives of preschool children with a developmental perspective focusing on the conversational situations that result in the inclusion or omission of the problem resolution structure within narratives. She concludes that the conversational narratives of children are organized based on a problem-resolution structure due to conversational factors rather than their age-related competence. Also, Küntay and Şenay (2003) examine the rounds of children's narratives in multi-party talk-in-interaction with a focus on peer co-participation. They demonstrate that story rounds contribute to children's conversational skills and provide them with opportunities with practice of interactionally managed topic progression and turn-taking. Kökpınar-Kaya (2014)

also examines the structure of conversationally produced narratives in Turkish. Drawing on the narrative structure suggested by Labov, she analyzes single and complex narratives that are audio-recorded in natural conversations. She concludes that the structure of conversational narratives is prone to the influences of the flow of conversation.

Although oral narratives in Turkish have been mostly examined through structural and developmental approaches in the field of Turkish applied linguistics as illustrated above, there are also some studies that explore the discursive construction of oral narratives produced in interview contexts in Turkish. For example, Akar (2011) examines the violence narrative of 12 women residing in a women's shelter in Turkey focusing on the passivized and nominalized syntactic structures, semantic role assignment and reference patterns. She concludes that the women distance themselves from their traumatic experiences and perpetrators through linguistics choices rather than positioning themselves constantly as helpless victims. She further suggests that the women are likely to attribute themselves agency, thereby power, when talking about their moments of resistance.

İkizoğlu (2010) explores how narrators construct relational identities in Turkish by employing different reporting strategies. Analyzing the data consisting of life story interviews and naturally occurring conversations, she concludes that there are three main categories of direct reported speech (DRS), namely event description, theatrical representation, and character assertion. She further suggests that narrators are conscious of the representation and positioning effects of different strategies of DRS and make choices accordingly.

In a similar vein, focusing on the interplay between language, gender, and power as in the abovementioned body of work, I aim to investigate the discursive

construction of the violence and emancipation narratives of 20 survivor women,
adopting a post-structuralist and social constructionist approach to oral narratives in
Turkish.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

This chapter aims to present the research design and methodological choices in data collection and analysis. The chapter will begin by stating the rationale behind selecting this specific research site to conduct interviews. Then, I will explain how I gained access to the participants. In the following section, I will introduce the participants in detail. The next section will focus on how the interview questions were designed, which will be followed by a section explaining how the interviews were conducted. Then, I will explain how I transcribed, analyzed, and interpreted the data. In the subsequent section, the ethical issues surrounding the research will be examined. I will conclude the chapter by discussing how my background and gender had an impact on the data collected and my relationship with the participants.

4.1. Selecting the research site

Central Anatolia is the region of Turkey with the highest rate of violence against women. Furthermore, compared to the western regions of Turkey, Central Anatolia is a more conservative and traditional region. Embodying the capital city Ankara, Central Anatolia ranks the fourth in terms of socio-economic development with 46,9% labor force participation rate and 10.7 % unemployment rate (Albayrak et al., 2015). In Central Anatolia, where the main source of income has been agriculture and only recently industry, 11 provinces out of 14 fall under the country's average for socio-economic development. On the other hand, there is a state university founded in every Anatolian city as of 2010, which has resulted in a mass mobility affecting the dynamics of social life in these cities (Yılmaz, 2011). In other words,

the “studentification of Anatolian cities” in Yılmaz’s terms have accelerated the urbanization and modernization of these cities to some extent with many young people coming from other regions of Turkey by introducing their own cultural values and life practices. However, as stated in the European Stability Initiative (2005), although most Anatolians currently enjoy some form of modern life with the introduction of industrial capitalism, urbanization and increased education, the region still continues to be home to a religious and conservative society with remnants of “a patriarchal, Islamic culture rooted deeply in the unchanging rhythms of village life” (p. 60). Therefore, being conservative at its best with the highest rate of violence, Central Anatolia deserves a closer look for the investigation of men’s violence against women in Turkey.

Another strong motivation for choosing Central Anatolia as the research site is my Anatolian origins. Born and raised in a small city of Anatolia, I stepped out of the region for the first time to attend university in Istanbul when I turned 18. Since then, I have been visiting my hometown a few times every year to meet my family and spend religious holidays with them, which is highly important for the Anatolian families. Having spent most of my life in Anatolia, being raised within its culture and still maintaining my ties with it, I am quite familiar with the Anatolian people, their culture and life practices, which allows me to position myself as an “insider” at times rather than an “outsider” as discussed in Hammersley and Atkinson (1995). Due to the intimate nature of the issue I aim to investigate and the interview research design of the study, expectedly, conducting this research somewhere I can “become” an “insider” as a researcher has proven beneficial in building good relationships during my fieldwork and eliciting fruitful interview data from my participants. Aware of the

challenges and advantages it brings along, I will further discuss my positionality as an insider and outsider in detail in the reflexivity section.

Due to the aforementioned reasons, I have selected a mid-size city in Central Anatolia as the research site of this study. Yet, the name of the city will not be mentioned for the confidentiality and security of the participants. Throughout this thesis, the city will be referred to as Azathisar, which is made up by the researcher as a pseudonym. Azathisar is a compound noun, which consists of words *azat* (liberation) and *hisar* (castle). I have come up with this made-up city name on purpose to highlight the survival stories of the women being told in the realm of patriarchy in Central Anatolia by creating an analogy. To be more specific, I have used the word *hisar* (castle) as a physical entity captivating women to refer to patriarchy and *azat* (liberation) as an indication of women's liberation from this castle to refer to women's emancipation from men's violence in the survival stories.

4.2. Gaining access

Feldman et al. (2003) suggest that gaining access is a crucial step in conducting qualitative research since the process of gaining access influences the information available to the researcher. Also, the authors outline three important qualities for researchers to gain access: flexibility, persistence, and luck. Because I did my fieldwork in summer, when people have relatively more free time, in a city that I have initial contacts, I could make use of these three qualities to gain access to the participants.

Before I set out to Azathisar to conduct my fieldwork in the summer of 2020, I had a few phone calls with my relatives there to explain my study and ask them whether I could use their personal network to reach participants. They were quite

willing to help me find participants for my “homework”. Seeing that my relatives were enthusiastic to host me and help me with my research, I went to Azathisar in the middle of June. When I went there, I found out that they had already found some participants and arranged meetings with them for me. Since these participants were mostly friends and neighbors of my relatives, these meetings usually took place in my relative’s home in a quite informal atmosphere as in Altın Günü (Gold Day), a special type of Turkish women’s gathering where they meet on regular basis at each other’s place, eat together and exchange gold or money in a rotative order so that each host of Altın Günü can get money from every member to make savings and to return it later in small amounts as she visits other members. Through these meetings, I met my prospective participants, had the chance to explain the study to them, and how we would conduct the interview, and asked them whether they could suggest any other participant who would like to join the study. All the participants I met through these meetings willingly accepted to cooperate with me “to let their negative past experience to serve a useful purpose at least so that they would not have gone through all of these in vain,” in their terms. Furthermore, when I asked them to help me reach more participants, some of them immediately took out their mobile phones, scrolled down through their contact lists and made phone calls for me. During these conversations, I witnessed that they tried to convince their hesitant friends to participate in the study by highlighting their own participation and my being a student, a person who always needs to be assisted in Turkish culture. Thanks to my relatives, my initial participants and their network, I reached 13 participants in a very short time and started arranging interviews with them immediately. As I proceeded through interviews, I reached 7 more participants through the network of my participants.

In general, gaining access was not as difficult as I imagined although COVID-19 outbreak coincided with my data collection period. Mostly, the participants willingly agreed to cooperate with me because I was the niece or cousin of their friends. Furthermore, they did not consider sharing their intimate stories with me as a big deal probably because they did not take me very seriously as I was just a student, not somebody from their social circle. Furthermore, since these women were aware of their achievement in surviving men's violence, reportedly one of their motivations for sharing their stories was to inspire other women who hesitate to stand up against men's violence. Also, when I told them that I would translate their stories into English within my thesis, some of them got very excited because their stories would go beyond the borders of the country. Regarding COVID-19, it did not affect the gaining access process much since the people in Anatolia generally did not take the virus very seriously either due to the low number of reported cases at the time. I observed that they continued to socialize by organizing gatherings such as Altın Günü and joining weddings as usual. COVID-19 affected only the way they greeted me when we met for the interview: they welcomed me by nodding their head and saying hello instead of hugging and kissing my cheeks, which is the usual way of greeting among women in Anatolia.

4.3. Participants

The participants of this study consist of 20 women¹ who resisted and survived men's violence (see Table 1). Most of the participants are from Azathisar while few are from surrounding Anatolian cities. The average age of the participants is 44.1, with

¹ In my analysis and discussion, I employ extracts from 13 participants. See Appendix A for more details about the specific participants.

the youngest participant being 22 and oldest one being 76. Most of the participants are in their late 30s or early 40s. 13 of the participants got married when they were very young, which means younger than the lawful age 18 in Turkey. 18 of them are divorced or separated from their violent male partners. Married ones either chastened their partners or they are in the phase of their second marriage with a new partner. All of the participants have children, usually one or two.

Table 1. Demographic Information about the Participants

Participant	Age	Education	Marital Status	Occupation
Başak	45	High school	Divorced	Cook
Sevgi	41	Middle school	Separated	Cleaner
Emel	73	None	Widow	Tailor
Balım	34	Primary school	Divorced	Cleaner
Zehra	76	Primary school	Widow	None
Zeliha	74	None	Separated	None
Özgür	28	High school	Divorce in progress	Security Personnel
Fatma	38	Primary school	Divorce in progress	A small farm owner
Ayfer	38	High school	Married	Manufacturer
Zeynep	35	Primary school	Married	Janitor
Meliha	60	Middle school	Married	Pastry shop owner
Sema	22	Middle school	Divorced	Waitress
Çağla	25	Middle school	Living together	B-girl
Hatice	43	Master's degree	Divorced	Mechanical engineer & academician
Ey-hayat	46	Primary school	Divorced	Turkish handcraft trainer
Ayşenur	35	High school	Divorced	Accountant
Güneş	40	Bachelor's degree	Divorced	Government officer
Bahar	50	High school	Divorced	Secretary
Güzel	33	High school	Divorced	Beauty center owner
Kudret	47	High school	Separated	Dry-cleaner shop owner

Regarding their educational background, the two of the participants are illiterate whereas five of them attended only primary school. Others mostly completed middle school or high school. Only two of the participants are university graduates, one having pursued an M.A. and PhD. One participant is currently enrolled in a distance learning program of a university. 15 of the participants are currently working while few are either too old to work or currently looking for a job. They work in various occupations as cook, cleaner, tailor, security personnel, government officer, faculty member at a mechanical engineering department, accountant, B-girl, janitor, and waitress. Five of them set up their own business. One of the participants run a small farm producing and selling dairy products. Another one has a workshop for manufacturing special design bags. Others have their own shops such as beauty center, dry cleaner, and pastry shop.

4.4. Preparing interview questions

Before I move onto explaining how the interviews were conducted, I will explain how I prepared the interview questions prior to my fieldwork in this section since questions are vital speech acts directing an interview (Wang & Yan, 2012).

According to Gubrium and Holstein (1998), since interviewing yields narratives providing meaning, connections, and coherence, and question-answer order is a common way to maintain narrative coherence, the questions and answers prompts conversational unity and topical relevance. Therefore, in order to elicit coherent narrative accounts from my participants, I prepared the interview questions under the following topics: background, problem, description of violence, response to violence, action, and reflection (See Appendix B). While forming questions under these topics, I paid attention to which type of questions to start with, proceed and conclude. Since

asking Wh- questions presupposes certain things about the participant (Wang & Yan, 2012), I refrained from using Wh-questions at the beginning and resorted to Yes/No questions instead such as “Are you married?”. After forming some Yes/No questions regarding the background of the participant and collecting some data regarding their life, I started forming Wh- questions with the interrogative pronouns such as which, where, who, and when to get new factual details such as “How long were you married to him?”. Subsequently, to give the floor to the participants so that they could narrate, I adopted the interrogative pronouns such as why and how to ask broader Wh- questions such as “Why did you divorce?”.

During the interview, some participants did not need to be directed with questions so much as they provided quite coherent accounts from their lives. Therefore, except for the initial background questions, I did not have to ask many of the rest of the questions because the participants were already providing the answers. However, some participants, especially elderly ones, needed to be guided through my questions. Thus, for these participants, I followed the exact order of questions I prepared beforehand. Apart from the questions prepared in advance, I asked some spontaneous questions to clarify and/or ask for more details on the new topic. Furthermore, I sometimes asked questions irrelevant to my focus topics just to ask such as asking the name of her dog when she mentioned having one, because I wanted them to know that I was interested in not only the topics relevant to my research but also other things they wanted to mention.

4.5. Interviews

In this section, I will explain how I conducted the interviews and provide the rationale in doing so. Drawing on the postmodernist and constructionist traditions of

interviewing, I considered myself as an active party who cooperates with the participants to generate knowledge. In the first place, I adopted a “conversational style” during the interviews as in Tim (2012) to maintain an intimate and comfortable atmosphere so that the participants could open up more easily. Therefore, I followed the conventions of the “visiting” practices in Turkey in each encounter from the very beginning. We carried out the interviews in a place where the participants preferred. Some of them invited me to their home or workplace while some of them suggested to meet at my place or a mutual friend’s place. When we conducted the interview at my place, I prepared tea and some snacks because this is how you should host a guest in Turkish culture. When I visited their place, I bought a small gift such as a box of cookies or chocolate as expected from a guest in our culture. In these ways, I consolidated my position as a friend rather than as a researcher.

When I met them, I never jumped to the interview immediately. Instead, I took the time to have a small daily conversation about mundane things and waited for them to ask me to start. Prior to the interview, I informed the participants about that they were free to eat, drink, smoke, cry, laugh, and swear during the interview so that they would feel comfortable and natural as much as possible. I am aware that the narratives elicited during the interview were not completely natural since the participants gave their accounts in the presence of a recording device and researcher they had known only for few weeks. However, it is not a reason to regard interview narratives “as artificial and contrived” (Narayan & George, 2012, p. 515) since they are still worthy of analysis as culturally negotiated events (Briggs, 1986). Therefore, although my presence as an active narrative partner and my questions in the

interviews influenced the flow of the conversations in most cases, this does not mean that the interview narratives were artificial in any sense.

When we started to interview, I did not have the question sheets or any other papers with me as I did not want to be regarded as an interviewer per se. I placed the audio-recording device next to the participants, not between us or in front of them so that they would not be distracted or feel uncomfortable seeing it all the time. The interviews started with my simple Yes/No questions about their background. With most of my participants, I did not have to ask questions so much following the background questions as Narayan and George (2012) points out that some participants might be enthusiastic and exploit the interview as “a welcome occasion to spin stories” (p. 515). Then, my only job was to listen to them attentively, ask for clarification and details when needed and redirect the stories to our focus topic when necessary. However, not all participants were so practiced narrators for whom I had to ask most of the questions myself. In both cases, I did not hesitate to show my interest in what they were talking by using gestures, rhetorical questions, extralinguistic means of communication such as lighting their cigarette and saying, “and then?”.

Throughout the interview, I addressed them as we negotiated in advance. Most of the participants aging between 30 and 50 wanted me to call them “X abla”, which means “elder sister” in Turkey and is also used to address female acquaintances close and old enough to be your sister. Only one participant asked me to call her by name, which I found challenging since I had never addressed a person 20 years older than me by her name. Regarding the rest, the participants younger than 30 preferred me to call them by their name while those older than 60 wanted me to call them “X teyze”, which means “maternal aunt” and is also used to address

women who are close and old enough to be your aunt or grandmother. This kind of addressing helped me to maintain my conversational style with them as it felt like I was just having casual conversations with my neighbors.

More than half of the participants were smokers and all of them smoked throughout the interview. Smoking is quite popular in Turkey across nearly all social classes and ages. Moreover, it is sometimes seen as a way of socializing with people. For example, it is common that people bond with their new colleagues or new classmates when they chitchat and smoke in front of the building. Turkish coffee and cigarettes or tea and cigarettes are popularly consumed in gatherings with close people. Therefore, I took the chance of smoking with them to create an atmosphere of a friend gathering during the interviews. However, I did not smoke during the interviews with the non-smoker participants. Regarding alcohol, I did not expect that any participant would drink since drinking alcohol is rare among women in Anatolia due to religious and cultural reasons. However, one participant came to my place with a bag of beers for the interview and offered me to drink with her during the interview. I did not want to drink to be completely alert and attentive during the interview. What was surprising about that participant was that she was wearing a hijab, which is usually a sign of religious dedication in Islam, which strictly prohibits alcohol. I did not ask her about it not wanting to offend her unintentionally; however, I think she felt that she had to explain this “controversy” and said that she was wearing hijab not because of religious reasons but because of social reasons. She further explained that now that she was a widow with children with the same height as her, she did not want to be regarded as an “open door”, which is a phrase used in Anatolia to refer to widows meaning that they are vulnerable to men’s sexual desires since they now are without a husband.

During the interviews, some of the participants cried as they got too emotional. At those times, I offered them to take a break, which was rejected by all of them. They insisted that they wanted to continue, and they cried because it was over now. As a person who can easily empathize with others, I did not hold my tears when I wanted to cry. Interestingly, some of the participants expressed their emotions by laughing when they were talking about their negative experiences, which I thought was a defensive strategy and/or irony. In general, I accompanied them when they cried or laughed.

I concluded the interviews by asking whether they had any concluding remarks. Most of the participants reported that they felt relieved, and the interview was like a therapy session while few participants stated they felt tired. Considering the interview time, it was expected that they would feel tired since the interviews usually lasted for a long time without any break with the longest being 3 hours and 20 minutes and the shortest being 42 minutes, which resulted in a total of 35,6 hours of recording (See Table 2). The average interview time is nearly 2 hours, 108 minutes to be specific. When the interviews were done, most participants suggested to meet again so that we could hang out together. Therefore, before I left the city, I met some of them for a coffee and had the chance to thank them once again. I was happy to find out that I could establish good field relationships and gain their trust before I left Azathisar at the beginning of August.

4.6 Transcriptions

The interviews with the 20 women in Azathisar yielded a total of 36 hours of recording. Following Blommaert and Jie (2010), instead of transcribing everything, I decided to create an outline of each interview on a word document. This practice

both saved me time and helped me to view my data as a whole. Furthermore, since my interview questions were in a topical order, parsing the content into these general topics and then creating subtopics under these helped me navigate the relevant parts I would focus on for the analysis. For instance, following the autobiographical questions, I usually asked the participants how their marriages are/were, which elicited the problems including husband violence, which helped me navigate myself in my dataset to analyze violence episodes.

Table 2. List of the Audio-recorded Interview Data

Participant	Date	Length of interview
Başak	23 June 2020	194 minutes
Sevgi	24 June 2020	108 minutes
Emel	24 June 2020	74 minutes
Balım	25 June 2020	104 minutes
Zehra	27 June 2020	50 minutes
Zeliha	27 June 2020	42 minutes
Özgür	27 June 2020	107 minutes
Fatma	27 June 2020	130 minutes
Ayfer	29 June 2020	103 minutes
Zeynep	29 June 2020	75 minutes
Meliha	29 June 2020	42 minutes
Sema	29 June 2020	64 minutes
Çağla	30 June 2020	72 minutes
Hatice	30 June 2020	94 minutes
Ey-hayat	1 July 2020	199 minutes
Ayşenur	1 July 2020	194 minutes
Güneş	3 July 2020	176 minutes
Bahar	6 July 2020	83 minutes
Güzel	16 July 2020	147 minutes
Kudret	30 July 2020	80 minutes
Total		2138 minutes / 35,6 hours

Having parsed the recordings into topics and subtopics by forming an outline, I started to transcribe the relevant parts of the data for the analysis. While I made “interpretive decisions”, in Green et al.’s terms (1997), by deciding what to transcribe, I also made some “representational decisions” when deciding how to transcribe. I preferred to transcribe the data as it sounded in the vernacular language of Azathisar to maintain the authenticity of the language data. However, I found this quite challenging because some sounds the local women articulated do not have correspondents in the Turkish alphabet. As a result, I had to adopt some conventions to standardize particular sounds. In doing so, when the word articulated by both the researcher and participants deviated greatly from its equivalent in the standard, I provided the latter in parenthesis. In this way, the originality of the way the researcher and the participants speak were represented partially in the transcriptions. Finally, when transcribing the data, I adopted the transcription conventions of Hutchby and Wooffitt’s (2008).

In a nutshell, transcribing language data is challenging as a practice both taking a long time and effort and entailing certain subjective decisions. That is, transcribing data is subjective allowing the researcher to make specific interpretations, highlighting certain interests and putting some speakers under the spotlight (Bucholtz, 2000). As a result, it is plausible for a researcher to make specific subjective decisions on a scholarly ground aligned with the purpose of the study.

4.7. Approach to analyzing and interpreting language data

To start with, this study aligns itself with perspectives of post structural interview research as the methodological tool, which attributes active positions to both the researcher and the participants collaborating to create knowledge as narrative

partners as suggested by Holstein and Gubrium (1995). This alignment entails the analysis of the personal narratives yielded in this study not only referring to what the participant said but also acknowledging the presence of an active narrative partner guiding the participant with questions.

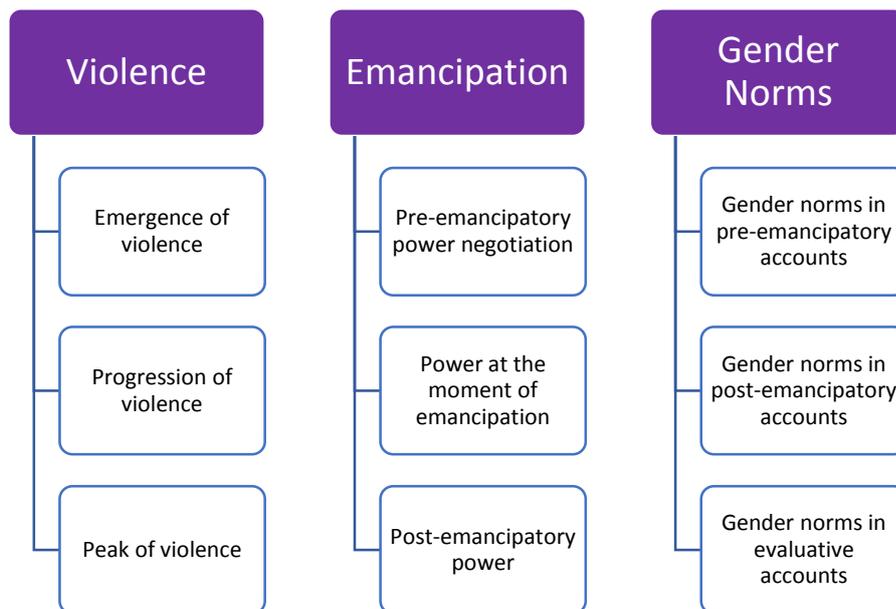
Personal narratives have been examined structurally (Gee, 1986; Labov, 1982), conversationally (Polanyi, 1985), culturally (Rosalda, 1989; Mattingly & Garro, 2000), politically (Mumby, 1993; White, 1987), and performatively (Langellier, 1989), as Reissman (2013) elaborately outlined. Nevertheless, this study does not reside to one single method of analysis or adopt a method of analysis wholly due to its authentic and contextual nature as De Fina (2009) suggests that it is crucial to consider how the contexts enclosed within the narratives shape the way narratives are produced. That is to say, the analysis of different narratives produced by different individuals in different contexts and cultures is grounded on the data collected. Therefore, although I had some research questions at the beginning, I revisited and revised them during and after the data collection due to the data-driven nature of this study.

When the data collection was over, I started to code the data manually by listening to the recordings. In doing so, I adopted Saldaña's (2016) combination of First and Second Cycle coding as suggested for data-driven qualitative studies. Among the many methods suggested for the First Cycle coding, I employed holistic and descriptive coding. My main motivation in using holistic coding was to get an overview of my data set. By employing descriptive coding, in which I labeled the pieces of data with topics, I aimed to reveal the major emergent topics. At the end of the "grand tour overview" (Saldaña, 2016, p. 64) through First Cycle coding, I ended up with three emergent topics: violence, emancipation, and gender norms.

Subsequently, in order to get a more precise picture of the data, I employed focused coding as my Second Cycle method. In doing so, I could develop the most salient subtopics under each major topic and thus get a more detailed overview of the data.

In order to organize the data by the emergent topics and subtopics for further analysis, I transferred my notes to Obsidian Beta version 0.11.0, a notetaking application which allows users to connect ideas and notes and presents these in graph and map formats. After the organization of all the topics and subtopics across all the interviews, I finally get the overall picture of my data with all topics and subtopics that will constitute my analytical units. (See Figure 3 for the summary).

Figure 3. Summary of the analytical units emerging in the data



4.7.1 Violence

Regarding the topic of violence, since the participants of this study are women who survived violence, the personal narratives yielded contain the accounts of dramatic events involving violence episodes, perpetrators, and coping strategies. When the

participants narrated different kinds of violence episodes such as physical, sexual, psychological, economic, etc., they did this in a chronological order partially due to my questions (See Appendix B). To be more specific, when narrating, they mostly mentioned how and when the violence first emerged in their marriages. Then, they continued to report how violence was repeated in different cases until their exact moment of emancipation, which means the point at which they could not endure it anymore. To this end, the emergence, progression, and peak of violence will be presented as the emergent subtopics of the topic of violence.

4.7.2 Emancipation

Since the narrators are individuals who went through power struggles and managed to emancipate from these dramatic events, how they narrated is certainly shaped by the power they wanted to disclose, and the survival struggle they had gone through. As Reissman (1990, 2012) suggests, personal narratives create a space to give accounts in an attempt to repair identities damaged by the negative experiences that participants have gone through; therefore, the participants accommodate their accounts based on how they want their interlocuter to know within their stories. In a similar vein, the participants of this story narrated their stories of survival and power in a way that could illustrate how they struggled to survive from violence as women living in a patriarchal society by referring to their power struggles in their pre- and post- emancipatory violence accounts. To be more specific, they often mention certain moments of resistance as violence progresses in order to position themselves as resistant subjects who do not comply with violent behaviors; therefore, pre-emancipatory power negotiation will constitute a subtopic under power topic. Moreover, sometimes prompted by my questions, the participants often emphasize

the exact moment and/or event that made them mobilize for change in order to index the beginning of their emancipation within their stories after all the violence they endured; therefore, the moment of emancipation will be analyzed as a subtopic of the emancipation topic. Finally, as an indication of closure, the participants usually mention their post-emancipatory life, and in doing so, they often contrast their past and present selves and/or lives and use this contrast as a sign of their empowerment and transformation, which will be another subtopic under the topic of emancipation.

4.7.3 Gender norms

As another major topic emerging in the data, I found gender norms to be reproduced, negotiated, and challenged by the participants during the interviews. To be more specific, the participants often mention the patriarchal struggles they have gone through to account for why they experienced violence as women and how challenging it was to emancipate from it. In doing so, they often refer to gender norms to contextualize their long endurance prior to their emancipation. Therefore, pre-emancipatory gender norms will be one of the subtopics that I will analyze. Furthermore, as they narrate the aftermath of their emancipation, which is usually divorce in the case of the participants, they often refer to gender norms, especially the stigmatization of divorced women in the society to illustrate the challenges they face following their emancipation. Therefore, post-emancipatory gender norms will constitute another subtopic. Finally, they often attend to genders norms, especially the double standard the society applies to women and men in their responses to the researcher's evaluative questions at the end of the interview. Therefore, gender norms in evaluative accounts will be the last subtopic to be scrutinized under the gender norms topic.

As outlined above, the data reveal that the personal narratives in this study revolve around three emergent major topics, namely violence, emancipation, and gender norms. The participants employ these topics as tools to empower their stories, negotiate their positions, draw meanings from their world of experience and guide their audience towards a certain understanding of their accounts. However, these three components do not reveal in a linear order such that they narrate a violence episode first, then refer to their emancipations and finally reflect on gender norms. Instead, as the data indicate, these emerge in a recurring manner without a fixed order throughout the stories. For instance, it is possible to encounter the reproduction of gender norms or power negotiation in the account of a violence episode. In order to present the topics and subtopics coherently within the narrative of this thesis, I organized them as in Figure X. In doing so, since one of the aims of this study is to establish a survivor narrative about the Anatolian women, I wanted to present how their narratives proceeded to emancipation and thus based the organization of my analytical chapters and sub-sections on the emancipation topic.

When it comes to the close examination of the extracts in my analytical chapters, I will analyze the narrated events as part of the conversation drawing on Young's (1987) distinction of tale world and story realm. Her ontological approach defines tale world as "a realm of events not present to the storytelling occasion at all but conjured up for the occasion by the story" (p. 211). Story realm, on the other hand, refers to conversational sphere that is built by the links between elements within the story. In my analysis, I will focus on the latter.

Regarding my analytical tool, I will employ Erickson's (1995) ethnographic microanalysis, which is concerned with the immediate situations of interaction and micropolitics among speakers. This kind of analysis entails the close examination of

naturally occurring data not only based on dominant social discourse affecting language production but also the improvised language performance by speakers because although social interactions are shaped by various social dimensions such as race, ethnicity, religion, and gender as well as social processes such as economy and labor market, these facets are not the only determiners of what is at stake in a social situation. In this sense, ethnographic microanalysis constitutes an effective tool in the examination of linguistic performance as well as “culturally learned competence” (Erickson, 1995, p. 284), which provides implications for the discussions of intelligibility, appropriateness, and effectiveness of language use. To this end, I will examine the survival and power narratives of the participants using ethnographic microanalysis.

4.8. Ethical considerations

Upon receiving ethical approval from the Boğaziçi University Ethics Committee (SOBETİK) at the end of June 2020, I started conducting interviews immediately. During the gaining access process, I had already informed the participants about the aim and content of the study before getting their verbal consent. Prior to the interviews, I informed my participants in detail about audio recordings, and issues related to their privacy and confidentiality, and asked them to sign a consent form, in which they could also find the information provided to them orally. I explained them that they had right to withdraw from the study at any point and I would delete all their data in that case.

In order to ensure the privacy and confidentiality of the participants, as mentioned in section 4.1., I informed the participants that the name of the city where the study was conducted would not be shared and would be referred to with the

pseudonym “Azathisar” when necessary. Furthermore, following the interviews, I asked the participants to choose a pseudonym for themselves and explained that I would use those names in the study. Some of them insisted using their real names. Although I accepted not to turn them down at that moment, I later gave them pseudonyms myself due to security concerns and the pledge I made to the Ethical Committee. Furthermore, while transcribing the data, I paid close attention to the details which could reveal their identity. Therefore, I also gave a pseudonym to every person they mentioned during the interview such as their children, close friend, ex-husband, etc. so that their identity could remain secret. In addition, I also changed the location names such as neighborhood, street, park, or café names to keep the city name confidential. Knowing that they shared highly private information about their lives, I have acted quite responsibly to protect their anonymity and ensure their security and privacy.

As suggested by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), ethical issues do not revolve merely around the informed consent and protection of privacy since exploitation and compensation constitute a crucial place within the ethical considerations. In other words, the question of what the participants gain in return of the data they provided should be considered. Referring to the concluding remarks of my participants, I can say that they felt relieved after telling all their negative experiences in our interviews. Besides, they reported feeling proud and self-confident because their stories were listened to and would reach many people who do not speak Turkish. They seemed satisfied on the grounds that their stories could inspire other women to fight against men’s violence and some of them even suggested me to write a book in Turkish based on the collection of stories from the interviews.

Before I conclude, I would like to mention that this study still has impacts on the lives of the participants. Keeping in touch with them through social media channels, I often see them reflecting on the current news coverage about women who suffer from men's violence and perform citizen journalism, which indicates an increased awareness about the issue. Besides they still sometimes get in touch with me to chitchat. One of the participants has recently called me to ask about a friend of hers who is seeking shelter from her husband's violence. I shared the contact number of the local institution Şiddeti Önleme ve İzleme Merkezi (ŞÖNİM, Violence Prevention and Monitoring Center), and called my friend working there to see what we could do about it. As an activist researcher, I feel the responsibility to assist women to fight against men's violence of any kind and to disseminate the stories of the women of Azathisar as survivors, challenge the status quo of men, raise awareness about men's violence and inspire other women who are in process of emancipation. To this end, this work is expected to serve as a tool to highlight the power of women in Anatolia and to create a counter-patriarchal discourse.

4.9. Reflexivity

As Blommaert and Jie (2010) suggests drawing on Bourdieu (2005), it is crucial for researchers to acknowledge their subjectivity and reflect on their stance in research in order to ensure objectivity in social sciences. To this end, I will reflect on my positionality in this study by referring to my position as an insider and outsider in the field, my sociocultural biases, and my relationship with the participants. In doing so, I will reside to contextual-discursive reflexivity, one of the five reflexivity lenses proposed by Finlay (2012), which focuses on the socio-culturally and situationally informed interview contexts. Finlay suggests the interrogation of the contextual-

discursive reflexivity in two domains which are the “proximal research situation” and the “broader structural (sociocultural) domain” (p. 321).

Accordingly, reflexivity in interview data would recognize the collaborative nature of the data and distinguish between the data produced during interviews and published versions. For example, my methodological preference as an active narrative partner facilitated my field relationships. To illustrate, some of the participants reported being nervous prior to the interview thinking that they would only be answering questions as if they were interrogated by the police. However, my subjective reactions and caring questions regarding their accounts as an active narrative partner helped me to change their prejudgments about the interview situation from an “interrogation” situation to a “heart-to-heart” talk. In this way, I managed to convey my sincerity and build good field relationships while the participants comfortably told their intimate stories as if they were talking to a friend.

According to Finaly’s (2012) sociocultural dimensions, our identities and interaction during interviews are shaped by our gender, age, religion, language, class, nationality and discourse. Subsequently, I will present my sociocultural background and reflect on my positionality based on the aforementioned sociocultural dimensions.

I was born and raised in a traditional and conservative Sunni-Muslim Turkish family living in a small city of Central Anatolia. I stepped out of my hometown in Anatolia in 2012 for the first time in order to attend university in Istanbul. Since then, I have spent the last 8 years of my life living in metropolitan cities such as Istanbul and Seoul, where I lived for nearly two years in pursuit of a graduate degree. Having friends from all over the world and having familiarized with anti-sexist, feminist and radical discourses, I have always felt that I have two lives: my life in

Istanbul and my life in Anatolia. The distinction between the two becomes crystal clear whenever I give a visit to my hometown since I mostly feel like I am stuck between two different life practices. Therefore, spending two months, my longest stay since I left permanently, in Anatolia for my fieldwork was a highly challenging and instructive experience as I journeyed through my roots, during which I felt like both a stranger and a local at the same time. I was a local by appearance since I was not dressed as I did in Istanbul and by accent, which I could easily switch to. Yet, I was a stranger by mindset, which I had to restrain most of the time. With all these stranger and local features, I managed to ride with the tide and build good relationships with the participants in time.

As suggested by Carter and Bolden (2012), the topic and the perception of the participants about the researcher determines the significance of gaining “insider” or “outsider” status for the researcher. Since this study focuses on the sensitive and intimate accounts of the participants regarding their marriage, violence exposed etc., obtaining an “insider” status at least to some extent proved beneficial for building good rapport with the participants and eliciting rich stories. I use the expression “to some extent” on purpose since being a full insider or full outsider is not achievable as this dichotomy is problematic, as suggested by Labaree (2002). Instead, my status as insider and outsider was constantly negotiated during the interviews based on my age, origins, gender, job, marital status and that of my participants’. For example, when it comes to my gender and Anatolian origins, I was an insider. To be more specific, because I am a woman, the participants were relatively comfortable while talking about their intimate experiences such as sexual practices or marriage issues. Furthermore, my Anatolian accent helped me to remind them of my Anatolian origins, which accelerated our relationship building on the grounds that I was one of

them. On the other hand, I was an outsider due to my job, marital status and age for most of the participants. For example, since I was a single woman without any children, and all the participants are/were married with children, they thought that I did not know what it meant to be married or have a child, which assigns them a position of authority when talking about such things. At times, they felt the need to explain what it meant to be a mother or be involved in a marriage. Furthermore, since I am single, some of the participants refrained to talk about sexuality as they thought it would be inappropriate for me to hear and thus riddled their words. When it comes to age, since I was younger than most of my participants, those who are older mostly viewed me as an unexperienced person who still had a long way to go and a lot to see. Especially my being student reinforced their perception of me as an unexperienced person. Thus, I found myself listening to life and relationship advice from some of the participants at times.

In a nutshell, my sociocultural and autobiographical history certainly had impacts on the data and the relationship with the participants. Although I made efforts to position myself as a researcher in a particular way during the fieldwork, my intersubjectivity and status were mostly contextual and emergent, which indicates they were out of control to some extent by the very nature of the interview situations.

CHAPTER 5

CONSTRUCTION OF VIOLENCE IN THE STORIES

As outlined by De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012), theories of positioning approach identity as a social construct emerging in the interaction based on three main perspectives: first, the conception of self is grounded in social discourse; second, positioning is a practice-based concept since it is achieved through social practice; third, positions might not yield a coherent self and thus they are potentially inconsistent as they are discursively informed. From an interaction-focused perspective as in Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann (2000) or Wortham (2000), since speakers assign, contest and revisit positions in an indeterministic way independent of external structures, their speech is marked with discursive elements, which provides us with an analytical floor for the examination of narrative selves. Drawing on this, this chapter examines how the participants construct violence accounts as a process starting from their emergence in the personal stories to their peak including various coping strategies they have employed within this process, and in doing so, how they attribute positions to themselves and others during the course of interaction. In this way, I will explore the linguistic devices that are employed by the participants in order to assign positions to themselves and the characters in their stories of chaotic violence experiences, which will allow us to discover how selves and others are positioned linguistically in Turkish narrative discourse.

5.1 Emergence of violence

As this study focuses on a group of women's stories of survival and power, violence, from which the participants have struggled to emancipate, surfaces as one of the major topic grounded in the data. While all of the participants report having experienced violence of different kinds such as physical, sexual, psychological, verbal, and economic, 17 out of 20 participants report having suffered from physical violence mostly from their partners within marriage. In doing so, some prompted by the researcher's question, half of the participants index the emergence of this physical violence within their life stories. To this end, I will discuss their accounts in reference to the positions they attribute to themselves and others in the first phase of violence as it emerges in their narratives.

The extract below is taken from the interview with Ey-Hayat, who was forced to get married to a man 13 years her senior by her parents when she was 14. She did not resist this marriage because she regarded marriage as an escape from her family, who were quite harsh on her. Right after explaining how she got married, she starts her violence narrative by connecting this story to her first violence episode, which occurred on the third day of their marriage:

Extract 5.1

- 1 Ey-hayat: ben ilk dayağımı üç günlük evliyken yedim (.) üç günlük evliyedik=
2 Merve: = sebep
3 Ey-hayat: (.) sebep sadece yengem bana şunu söylemişti (.) şimdi evleniyosun bak evlendiğin zaman bi bi
4 birliktelik denir bak açılımını falan söylemiyordu bi birlikte olcaksın soyunacaksın falan bişeyler
5 olduktan sonra banyoya gitceksin böyle böyle abdes alcaksın benim aklımda o kaldı başka bişey
6 söylemedi dini boyutunu söyledi abdes almak zorundasın ilk üç günlük evliyiz bişeyler yaşandı
7 işte birlikte olduk tab- ben istemiyorum onu istemiyorum onu yaşamak (.)
8 Merve: zorladı mı seni
9 Ey-hayat: ço:k {crying} ben çok zorlandım o konuda ve hemen gidip yengemin o dediği abdes alcaksın
10 banyoya gitceksin (.) gitt- gittim banyoya banyonun kapısını kitliyodum korkuyodum çünkü
11 adamdı çünkü o ada:mdı eş değil adamdı ya hala benim için adam o (.) işte o gün gittim banyoya
12 banyo yapıyorum yengemin tarif ettiği gibi abdes alıyorum bedenimi yıkıyorum falan banyonun
13 kapısını tıklattı aç kapıyı dedi dedim çıkcam birazdan tamam şimdi açacaksın dedim ben çıplaam
14 aç diyorum dedi açmadım (.) kapıya yükleni açtı girdi ben tabi mahrem yerlerimi elimden
15 ellerimle kapatmaya çalıştım (.) bizim bi çamaşır makinamız vardı merdaneli mini boy onun
16 hortumunu aldı içinin suyunu boşaltmak için bi hortumu vardı tepeden düş akıyor ben on beş
17 yaşındayım {crying} yani ocakta mayıs haziranda evlendim ocakta on beşimi bitirdim on beş
18 buçuk ben aylara takıntılıyım on altı değil ben küçüktüm o hortumu aldı tepemden düş akıyo (.)
19 harbi beni benzete benzete dövdü benden on üç yaş büyüktü (.) sebep?

- 20 Merve: kapıyı açmadın
 21 Ey-hayat: çıplak beni görmesini istemiyodum . çıplak görmesini istemiyodum (.) ilk dayağım oydu benim
- 1 Ey-hayat: *I had my first beating when I was married for three days (.) we were married for three days=*
 2
 3 Merve: *= because?*
 4 Ey-hayat: *(.) because my brother's wife just told me this (.) now you are getting married when you get married it is called sleeping together look she wasn't even telling me what it means just sleeping together and getting naked etc. after these things happen you'll go to bathroom and perform ablution like this only this remained in my mind she didn't say anything else just the religious aspect you have to perform ablution we are married for three days some things happened I mean we slept together of course I don't want him I don't want to experience it (.)*
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10 Merve: *did he force you?*
 11 Ey-hayat: *a lot {crying} I had so much difficulty and just like my brother's wife said you'll perform ablution you will go to bath (.) I went to bath I locked the door because I was scared because he was a man not a spouse he was a man still he is a man for me (.) then I went to bath that day I am having a bath as my brother's wife described I am performing ablution, washing my body etc. he knocked on the door and said open the door I said I will get out soon okay you will open now I said I am naked he said I say open it I didn't (.) he pressed against the door and entered the bath of course I tried to cover my intimate parts with my hands (.) we had a washing machine, old-style, little size he grabbed its hose it was a hose to remove the water in the machine it is showering on me I am fifteen {crying} I mean in January May in June I got married In January I became sixteen fifteen and a half I am obsessed with months not sixteen I was young he grabbed that hose It is showering on me (.) really he clobbered me he was thirteen years older than me (.) because?*
 12
 13
 14
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23 Merve: *you didn't open the door*
 24 Ey-hayat: *I didn't want him to see me naked I didn't want him to see me naked (.) that was my first beating*
 25

Interview, 1 July 2020

At the beginning of the extract, Ey-hayat refers to the first violence episode in her marriage saying that “ben ilk dayağımı üç günlük evliyken yedim / *I had my first beating when I was married for three days*” (line 1). By mentioning the exact day of their marriage with the adjective phrase *üç günlük* (three-day), she indexes the emergence of violence temporally within her story; in doing so, she implies how early it started, which positions Ey-Hayat as a hapless woman and her husband as a violent man. By using the phrase *dayak yemek* (to get beaten), she positions herself as the agent in the sentence while removing agency from the actual perpetrator of the action, her husband. Also, by inflecting the noun *dayak* (beating) with the first-person possessive, she demonstrates how she has internalized the action of beating.

Responding to the researcher's question regarding the reason of violence, Ey-hayat immediately quotes her brother's wife (lines 3, 4, 5 & 6), who explained her what to do after having a sexual intercourse. In doing so, she draws the researcher's attention to the implicitness of this explanation as evident in her statement “bak

açılımını falan söylemiyordu / *Look she wasn't even telling me what it means*" (line 4) and thereby implies that even her sister-in-law was aware that she was too young to be in that situation. Next, the predication of necessity in her quotation "abdes almak zorundasın / *you have to perform ablution*" (line 6) indicates the emphasis on performing ablution and explains why she particularly focused on this part of the advice. Also, this quotation explains why she rushed into bathroom to perform ablution just like she was instructed, which she reminds by quoting her sister-in-law one more time (line 9). By quoting her sister-in-law teaching her what to do following a sexual intercourse, Ey-hayat positions herself as a young vulnerable woman who was too young to have an idea about sexual intercourse because someone had to explain this to her. Also, her insistence about performing ablution right after the intercourse positionally accounts for her being too young to get married because all this talk was about ablution for her and she did not get the gist as sexuality was just implied to her, not clearly explained.

After positioning herself in her narrative through this quotation, Ey-hayat continues to contextualize her account referring to her husband and states, "adamdı çünkü o adamdı eş değil adamdı ya / *because he was a man, not a spouse. He was a man*" (line 11). In this statement, she explicitly positions her husband as a random adult man, not her partner, by repeating and stressing the word *adam* (man). In this way, she also bolsters her position as a young vulnerable woman who was not supposed to be with him. Then, she continues her story by quoting him using imperative predication to insist on her opening the bathroom door (lines 13 & 14) and herself to tell him she was naked. This conversation is positionally crucial in two ways. First, he is portrayed as an authoritative and violent man who insists until he gets what he wants. Second, she is again positioned as a young vulnerable woman

who does not want to be seen naked although she has just had sexual intercourse with him, which also implicitly assigns further positions to both.

Towards the end of her violence account, she intervenes her own narration of how he beat her in the bathroom by reminding us how old she was at that moment and pauses the violence episode to calculate her exact age (line 17), which is also the exact moment she starts crying. This repeated reference to age and her cry make her position explicit as a young vulnerable woman who was forced to get married (lines 16, 17, 18 & 19). Finally, when she makes closure to the violence episode, this time she refers to his age. However, she does not directly mention his age; instead, she tells us how much older he was than her right after saying how he clobbered her. Her reference to his age in relation to hers creates a deeper contrast between the two, which again reassures her vulnerable position. Moreover, inserting her age into his beating, she indeed further positions her husband as a violent cruel man who beats a young woman just about fifteen years old.

After she finishes telling the first violence experience, Ey-Hayat refers back to the researcher's question regarding the reason (line 19) and answers this question briefly by saying "çıplak beni görmesini istemiyodum / *I didn't want him to see me naked*" (line 21). In this way, she implies that there was not any valid reason for her to get beaten up, by which she positions her husband as a randomly violent and cruel man who beats her for no reason and herself as an innocent woman who has done nothing wrong to deserve that treatment. Indeed, the focus on this so-called reason within this story illustrates how randomly the violence has emerged, which is also evident in the accounts of some other participants' narration of their first violence experience.

Like Ey-Hayat, Sevgi also starts telling how she got married and then connects this story to her first violence experience by indexing the emergence of violence within her life story. Sevgi got married when she was around 15, and started living with her husband's parents, two married brothers and their wives, and four single siblings in the same house. Living with family after marriage was a common practice across Turkey until recently and is still prevalent in some suburban areas. In the extract below, Sevgi begins recounting the first violence experience in her story as follows:

Extract 5.2

- 21 Sevgi: tabi evlendik daha askere gitmemişti o yirmi üç yaşındaydı ben de işte on altı on beş yaşındayım
22 işte doksan beşte evlendik ben evlenir evlenmez hemen hamile kalmışım zaten eylülde hamile
23 kalmışım haziran on dörtte meral oldu (.) ama ilk daha el öpmeye gitmeden sopam başladı benim
24 kırk kırkbeş günde el öpmeye gittim buralarda adet var ya bi aileye ilk gidiş benim kırkbeş gün
25 sonra falan oldu annemgile daha ona gitmeden sopam başladı (.) sopa sebebi ne? sadece eşime
26 sarılmam ya da dokunmam
27 Merve: başbaşayken mi
28 Sevgi: tabi yataamızda (.)
29 Merve: bana /neden sarıldın/
30 Sevgi: /tabi bana neden/ darıldı neden küstü bilmiyorum şimdi hatırlamıyorum o gün de hatırlamıyorum
31 arkasından sarıldım elimi yitti ben tekrar sarıldım (.) sebebini bilmiyorum ama hani benim de
32 aslında ona (.) geri çevirmez diye düşündüğümünden ısrar ettim belki de sadece masumca bi sevgi
33 yani başka türlü bi istek de değil=
34 Merve: = aslında baya da severek evlendiniz=
35 Sevgi: = tabii ki=
36 Merve: = yıllarca çocukluk aşkınız siz
37 Sevgi: ya aslında sırasını o evlenme sırasını bile kardeşine verdi benimle evlenebilmek için iki yaş
38 küçüğü bizden önce evlendi anadoluda aslında öyle olmaz (.) büyüklerden önce küçükler
39 evlenmez (.) ama ben küçük olduğum için o ben evlenmiyem dedi ondan iki yaş küçüğü bizden
40 önce bir buçuk iki yıl önce evlendiler (.) yatak odasından dışarıya attı beni kapının önüne koydu
41 koridora e odalar dolu üç gelin yaşıyoz salonda dört yatak var iki erkek kardeşi iki kız kardeşi
42 yatıyor yatacak yer bile yok tabi ben kapının önünde olunca hani açmasını istedim sinirlendim
43 ondan sona içeriye aldı beni o kadar çok dövdü ki hamile olduğumu da biliyo üstelik meral
44 karnımda
45 Merve: nasıl dövdü yani eliyle mi dövdü /yoksa başka bişeyle/
46 Sevgi: /tekme:: toka::t tekme:: toka::t/ o an tekma tokat alet yok o an elinde ama ne kadar çok dövdü
47 gözüme kadar morardı
48 Merve: bu arada senin sesini bu olanların sesini ev ahalisinden herhangi birisi /duyuyo mu/
49 Sevgi: /kimse müdahale et/ duyuyosa da müdahale eden yok (.) karı koca odamızda yedim tabi sopayı (.)
50 bu böyle hep eften püften şeylerle devam etti hep kavgalarımız ya da sopaların sebebi hiç
51 kaydadeğer dikkate alınacak şeyler değildi aslında
- 21 Sevgi: *of course we got married he hadn't gone for military service yet he was twenty-three and I was
22 sixteen fifteen I mean we got married in ninety-five I got pregnant as soon as we got married I
23 got pregnant in September I gave birth to Meral on June fifteen (.) but my beating started even
24 before we had hand-kissing visits I had hand-kissing visits after forty forty-five days you know we
25 have tradition here like visiting family for the first time I had my first visit after forty five days or
26 something my beating started before I did it (.) what is the reason of beating? just my hugging or
27 touching my husband
28 Merve: was that when you were alone?
29 Sevgi: of course in our bed (.)
30 Merve: why did /you hug me/
31 Sevgi: /of course why did he/ resent why was he offended I don't know I don't remember now I don't*

32 remember that day either. I just hugged him from back, and he pushed my hand. I hugged him
 33 again (.) I don't know the reason I mean I actually (.) maybe I insisted because I thought he
 34 wouldn't turn me down it was just innocent love I mean it wasn't any other kind of desire=
 35 Merve: = indeed it was a love marriage=
 36 Sevgi: = of course=
 37 Merve: = you have been childhood crush for years
 38 Sevgi: actually he even gave his marriage turn to his brother to be able to marry me his two-year-
 39 younger brother got married before us it is not usually like that in Anatolia (.) younger ones do
 40 not get married before the older ones do (.) but because I was too young he said I will not get
 41 married, so his two-year-younger brother got married one and a half year before us (.) he kicked
 42 me out of the bedroom, he put me in front of the door in the hall I mean all rooms are full we
 43 three brides live together and there are for beds in the living room his two brothers and two
 44 sisters sleep there there is not even a place to sleep of course when I found myself in front of the
 45 door I asked him to open it I got angry then he took me inside he beat me up so much although
 46 he knows that I am pregnant Meral is in my belly
 47 Merve: how did he do that? with his bare hands? /or with something else?/
 48 Sevgi: /kick slap, kick slap/ at that moment kick slap he has no other tool at that time but how much he
 49 beat me even my eyes were bruised
 50 Merve: meanwhile does anyone from the household /hear you?/
 51 Sevgi: /no one interferes/ even if they hear no one interferes (.) husband and wife in our room of course I
 52 got beaten (.) this always continued like this with trivial things the reason of these fights or these
 53 beatings were not indeed noteworthy things

Interview, 24 June 2020

As soon as Sevgi starts talking about her marriage, she refers to her husband's and her age respectively (line 21), which positions Sevgi as a younger, thus more vulnerable character and her husband as an adult in her story. Then, she immediately states how early the violence emerged in her marriage by saying "ama ilk daha el öpmiye gitmeden sopam başladı benim / but my beating started even before we had hand-kissing visits" (line 23). As in the case of Ey-hayat, Sevgi inflects the noun *sopa* (beating) with the first-person possessive marker and thus puts herself and her husband out of the action since she uses the word *sopa* (beating) as the theme, which obscures the actual perpetrator. Subsequently, she refers to an Anatolian tradition, hand-kissing visit, in order to temporally index the emergence of violence. To elaborate, hand-kissing is a traditional gesture to demonstrate respect for the elderly in the Turkish culture, in which a newlywed couple visit their families for the first time shortly after wedding. By referring to this tradition and explaining what it is to the researcher in case she might not know, Sevgi implies how early the violence occurred in her marriage. Right after setting the time, she continues with the reason of the first violence episode by asking a rhetorical question and answering it

subsequently by saying “sadece eşime sarılmam ya da dokunmam/ *just my hugging or touching my husband* (lines 25 & 26). The word choice in her answer is positionally crucial since the choice of adverb *sadece* (just) implies that it was not a reason for violence as it minimizes the action it defines. Also, she enhances this implication by referring to her husband as *eşim* (my spouse) instead of using a pronoun for him because she wants to emphasize that he is her husband and thus her touching or hugging him is quite normal. In this way, she trivializes the so-called reason of violence through a rhetorical question and specific word choice, which positions her as an innocent married woman who behaves accordingly and her husband as a violent man who beats her over trivial things even at the beginning of their marriage.

The positions assigned by Sevgi are supported by the researcher’s intervention in line 29, where she quotes Sevgi’s husband saying “bana neden sarıldın / *why did you hug me?*”. The researcher’s quoting the so-called reason of violence is indeed an attempt to agree with Sevgi by saying the reason out loud to confirm how trivial it sounds. This intervention by the researcher is an indication of her collaboration with the participant to contribute to the positioning she is adopting at the moment of interaction. Sevgi responds to this collaborative intervention by strengthening her position as an innocent wife through the repetition of her motivation to hug him in lines 32 and 33 by saying “sadece masumca bi sevgi / *it was just innocent love*”. Again, the choice of the adjective *masumca* (innocent) and the noun *sevgi* (love) confirms that her intention was sincere and innocent, which strengthens her position as an innocent wife who did nothing else but showed love.

Upon this focus on love, the researcher continues to collaborate with the participant to contribute to her construction of positions by referring to her marriage

story she shared earlier in the interview, and states “aslında baya da severek evlendiniz/ *indeed it was a love marriage*” (line 34), which is immediately embraced by the participant in line 35. The researcher’s reference to their marriage as “love marriage” positions Sevgi and her husband as a loving couple who got married by their own will in a culture where arranged marriage was quite popular at the time. To elaborate, as opposed to “arranged marriage”, which is still prevalent in some suburban areas in Turkey, “love marriage” refers to the marriage that two loving people conduct independent of their families or any external reason. Therefore, the researcher’s highlighting love marriage ideally positions Sevgi and her husband as a loving couple and thus points out that the violence at the beginning of a marriage motivated by love is quite contradictory. Upon this intervention, Sevgi resumes her account by sharing a small side story to illustrate that it was really a love marriage (lines 37, 38, 39 & 40). Within this side story, Sevgi again refers to an Anatolian tradition regarding the order of marriage among siblings. Accordingly, siblings marry based on age order, which means older siblings marry before younger ones, and in case a younger sibling wants to marry before their older siblings, they should get permission from the older ones to be able to get married. Sevgi reports that her husband gave his turn to his younger brother to wait until Sevgi was old enough for marriage. By alluding to this tradition and telling this side story, Sevgi positions her husband as a man who was so in love with her that he broke the age order tradition and confirms the researcher’s point regarding their marriage.

Subsequently, Sevgi resumes her first violence episode in line 40, and continues by saying “beni o kadar çok dövdi ki hamile olduğumu da biliyo üstelik/ *He beat me up so much although he knows that I am pregnant*” (line 43), which is positionally rich in two ways. First, the degree adverbs she uses to describe the

magnitude of the violence position her husband as a cruel villain who uses violence severely against a vulnerable woman whose only purpose was to hug him. Second, her reference to her pregnancy and emphasis on his awareness of the situation feed the image of the cruel villain she has just built with an additional layer: a cruel villain who does not have mercy even for his own child. Besides, her reference to her pregnancy bolsters her position as an innocent vulnerable woman. Finally, she moves to the closure with the evaluation of the so-called reasons of violence emerging in the later stages of her marriage (line 50 & 51). The adjectives she uses to refer to these reasons such as *eften püften* (trivial), *kaydadeğer* (significant), and *dikkate alınacak* (noteworthy) again contribute to her position as an innocent wife who did nothing wrong, and his position as a troublesome husband who overreacts so far as to beat his wife severely.

As the extracts from *Ey-Hayat* and *Sevgi* indicate, violence can emerge on the very first days of marriage due to some trivial so-called reasons. There is even one participant whose husband beat her literally for no so-called reason other than pleasing his parents, which I turn to next. *Başak* starts her life story by telling us about her childhood and school years and how she met her husband, with whom she got married soon. After the marriage, *Başak* starts living with her husband's family consisting of his parents and two single sisters. She reports that since it was a love marriage, she and her husband got along well with each other until the intervention of her in-laws, which caused *Başak* to experience violence for the first time in her marriage:

Extract 5.3

52 *Başak*: ondan sona işte (.) sürekli işte haftasonları ee biraz senlen gezelim diye oğlum diye gayınbabam
53 dışarı çıkariyo eşimi geziyolar oğlum! hani böyle sevgi gösteriyon ediyon tamam iyi hoş! evleneli
54 oldu bir iki ay! cık! bu böyle olmaz! böyle gitmez yarın bu başına çıkar senin böyle giderse
55 senden korksun! sen bunu bi arada süpürgeye soğuk geçti yapıp dövecen! bu böyle olmaz!
56 *Merve*: süpürgeye soğuk geçti ne
57 *Başak*: süpürgeye soğuk geçer mi süpürge hastalınır mı çalı süpürgesi hastalınır mı üşür mü üşümez ama

- 58 üşür üşür sen üşür diyece:n sen hasta edece:n yani bi bahane bulaca:n
59 Merve: hmmm
60 Başak: ondan sona neyse eşim geldi o görüşmeden sonra onlar dışarda konuşmuşlar benim aklıma bile
61 gelmiyor dedi ki güldü ne konuştunuz naptınız neriye gittiniz dedim o zaman da daha yaşı küçük
62 ya bana her şeyi ötüyo babam dedi böyle böyle dedi bana dedi söyledi anlattı dedi işte sen yüz
63 verirsen başına çıkar sen bunu dövmelisin biraz dedi senden korkmalı şunu yapmalı dedi ki
64 yanlarında dedi şöyle bi tane vuruyum da dedi hani dedi seni dövmüş oluyum da dedi gönülleri
65 ossun dedi halbuki şimdiki olsa giyemeti kopartırım ne demek sen bana benim ne suçum var da
66 sen şakadan da olsa bana vuramazsın! tabi o zaman hiçbirşey yok e vur dedim bari dedim e
67 kapansın olay ben sandım ki o kadarla kapanacak bişey
68 Merve: numaradan yani ilk sana vuruşu yani numaradan oldu
69 Başak: numaradan ilk vuruşu numaradan oldu o da güldü vururken ben gülmedim o güldü hani aha
70 yaptık gibisinden onlar da zaten güldüğünü anladılar ondan sona he böyle mi dövüyön! felan diye
71 şey yapmadılar
72 Merve: bi de dövme beğenmiyolar
73 Başak: hee dövme de beğenmediler
74 Merve: allam ya
75 Başak: sonra bunun üzerine ciddi sorunlar çıkarmaya başladı kaynana neyse
- 52 Başak: *then you know (.) constantly during the weekends my father-in-law take my husband out saying*
53 *son let's hang out together son! now you show love ok! it's been a few months since you got*
54 *married! tczık! this can't be! this can't go on like this! She'll get spoiled if it goes like this! make*
55 *her scared of you! occasionally beat her saying the broom has caught cold! this can't be like this!*
56 Merve: *what does the broom has caught cold mean?*
57 Başak: *can a broom catch cold? can it be ill? no it can't can it feel cold? no it can't but you will say it*
58 *does you will make it ill that is, you will find an excuse.*
59 Merve: *hmmm*
60 Başak: *then my husband came after that meeting apparently they talked outside but I don't even think*
61 *about it he said he smiled I asked what did you talk about where did you go at that time he is*
62 *young so he spills the beans he told me everything he said my father said this and this he said if*
63 *you show love she'll be spoiled you must beat her a little she should be scared of you and he said*
64 *I'll hit you just once when they're around I mean just to look like I beat you just to make them*
65 *happy however if it were now I would ramp and rage! how come you hit me! what's my fault*
66 *guilt? you can't even pretend to hit me! of course then nothing I said okay hit me so that the case*
67 *is closed I thought the case would be closed with that*
68 Merve: *pretend I mean his first hitting was pretend*
69 Başak: *pretend his first hitting was pretend he smiled when he hit I didn't he smiled like saying look I did*
70 *it they also saw him smiling, then they said is this how you beat?*
71 Merve: *now they don't appreciate his beating*
72 Başak: *exactly they don't*
73 Merve: *my god*
74 Başak: *then upon this the mother-in-law started creating problems whatever*

Interview, 23 June 2020

In this extract, Başak talks about a day out that her father-in-law had with her husband to imbue him about his marriage. Interestingly, Başak starts quoting her father-in-law notifying us that these words belong to him by imitating his voice (lines 53, 54 & 55). In this vivid quotation, she cites how her father-in-law imbued her husband to occasionally beat her so that she would not get spoiled. In doing so, she employs a formulaic expression to refer to the so-called excuse of this casual violence by saying “sen bunu bi arada süpürgeye soğuk geçti yapıp dövecen/occasionally beat her saying the broom has caught cold” (line 55). Başak

clarifies the meaning of this formulaic expression upon the researcher's question (line 57 & 58) by explaining that men can always find a so-called reason to beat women even by excusing that a broom has caught cold, which is something impossible to happen. Therefore, this metaphor in her quotation illustrates how randomly violence took place even without a so-called reason during her marriage. In this way, Başak positions her father-in-law as an ill-minded man who thinks wives should be beaten occasionally so that they do not get spoiled, and herself as an innocent woman who were treated with random violence undeservedly.

Başak finds out about this conversation when her husband comes home and tells her everything (lines 60, 61, 62 & 63). In doing so, she refers to her husband's age to explain why he told everything about this conversation by saying "o zaman da daha yaşı küçük ya bana her şeyi ötüyo/ *at that time he is young, so he spills the beans*" (lines 61 & 62). In this statement, by referring to his young age and choosing the verb *ötmek* (to spill the beans), she positions her husband as a young naïve husband who shares everything with his wife. Then, Başak continues saying that her husband offered to pretend to hit her when his parents were around in order to please them (lines 64 & 65). At this point, before she continues to tell us how she reacted to his offer, Başak presents an imagined reaction that her present self would give upon such an offer by quoting her present self (lines 65 & 66). Citing her present self, she says that she would ramp and rage upon such an offer. This imagined reaction is positionally crucial in two ways: first, she acknowledges that her past self was submissive and vulnerable; second, she tries to repair this image by quoting her present self. In this way, she positions herself as an empowered woman who would not accept any kind of assault now. Following this imagined reaction, she mentions her actual reaction by saying that she accepted his offer relentlessly only to drop the

subject (lines 66 & 67), which positions Başak as an obedient self-sacrificing wife who accepted even such unreasonable offers for the sake of her marriage.

When she talks about how her husband pretended to hit her in the presence of his parents (lines 69 & 70), she emphasizes that he smiled while he was doing it and that she did not. By referring to his smile, she positions her husband both as a well-intentioned man who did not really aim to hurt her and a malleable man who could not stand up to his parents. Meanwhile, referring to her not smiling confirms her position as a self-sacrificing woman who relentlessly accepted such an unreasonable offer. Subsequently, she mentions the reactions of his parents to this pretended beating by quoting them saying “böyle mi dövüyon/*is this how you beat*” (line 70). This reaction implies that her in-laws were not content with the way she was beaten, which is voiced by the researcher in line 72 and embraced by Başak in line 73. In this way, they co-construct the position of Başak’s in-laws as cruel and ill-intentioned people who aimed to break up a couple. Then, Başak concludes her first violence episode by giving us clues that her marriage continued to experience problems initiated by her mother-in-law in the aftermath of this pretend beating.

As noticeable from Başak’s account, violence is initiated not only by the intimate partner but also by in-laws, especially mothers-in-law. Indeed, mother-in-law intervention is a social reality often causing problems in marriages in the Turkish culture. Therefore, the struggle between mothers-in-law and brides is also embossed within the personal narratives of the participants in this study. 11 of the participants report having experienced psychological and verbal violence from their mothers-in-law while one participant reported having physical violence from her mother-in-law. However, as in the case of Başak, although mothers-in-law do not often resort to violence themselves, they sometimes provoke their sons to use violence against their

brides. The extract below constitutes as an example of this case, in which the participant is exposed to violence from her husband for the first time as a result of the jealousy of her mother-in-law. Bahar starts her personal story by talking about her family and her marriage, which was arranged by her family, and connects this story to her first violence experience in her marriage:

Extract 5.4

76 Merve: e::: sonra
 77 Bahar: sonra evlendik (.) ee iki aylık evliyken bana vurdu (.)
 78 Merve: sebep
 79 Bahar: sebep ney=
 80 Merve: = nasıl oldu
 81 Bahar: ee eşim çiçekler getirmeyi severdi ama kayınvaldemın evine gelin gittim ya ben
 82 Merve: hı hı
 83 Bahar: kayınvaldem onbir yaşından bu yanna ee çocuğuyınan büyüdüğü için ee kıskandı getirdi çiçeği
 84 verdi böyle verirken şey verdi ben de uykulu kalktım (.) geri kayınvalidem bi olay oldu orda bi
 85 bağrışma oldu kayınvalidem sofrayı terk etti=
 86 Merve: = sana çiçek verdi diye=
 87 Bahar: hah üstünü başını giyindi gitmeye kalktı o sırada ben bişey mi dedim ne yaptım eşim bana bi tane
 88 vurdu (.) ilk dayağı orda yedim

76 Merve: *and then?*
 77 Bahar: *then we got married (.) he hit me when we were married for two months (.)*
 78 Merve: *because*
 79 Bahar: *it is because*
 80 Merve: *= how did it happen*
 81 Bahar: *well my husband used to like bringing flowers to me but you know I married into my mother-in-law's house*
 82 *hı hı*
 83 Merve: *because my mother-in-law have lived with her child since she? was eleven she got jealous he gave me the flowers he gave and I had just woken up (.) then something happened there some shouting happened and my mother-in-law left the meal table=*
 84 Bahar: *= because he gave you flowers=*
 85 *exactly she attempted to get dressed and leave and meanwhile I think I said something or what and my husband hit me (.) that was my first beating*
 86
 87 Merve: *and then?*
 88 Bahar: *then we got married (.) he hit me when we were married for two months (.)*
 89

Interview, 6 July 2020

When Bahar starts talking about her marriage, she immediately mentions that her husband used violence against her by saying “iki aylık evliyken bana vurdu/ *he hit me when we were married for two months*” (line 77). In this statement, as Ey-Hayat and Sevgi do, she temporally marks the emergence of violence within her marriage by referring to the length of their marriage with the adjective phrase *iki aylık* (two-month). By including the duration within her statement, she implies how early violence emerged in her marriage, which positions her as a hapless vulnerable woman. Upon the researcher’s question regarding the reason and other details of the

violence episode, Bahar says, “eşim çiçekler getirmeyi severdi / *my husband used to like bringing flowers*” (line 81), by which she positions her husband as a considerate man. Then, by using a contrasting conjunction, she continues to talk about her mother-in-law by saying “ama kayınvalidemin evine gelin gittim ya ben / *but you know I married into my mother-in-law’s house*”. In this way, she signals that there is a contradictory reaction from her mother-in-law. In line 83, she explains that her mother-in-law was jealous of her son’s bringing flowers to her bride and thereby positions her as a selfish and envious woman who is extremely keen on her son.

Subsequently, Bahar mentions that her mother-in-law left the meal table (line 85) and by using the verb *terk etmek* (to leave), she demonstrates how outrageous she was. The researcher intervenes saying “sana çiçek verdi diye / *because he gave you flowers*” (line 86), by which she emphasizes the so-called reason. In this way, the researcher collaborates with Bahar in order to position her mother-in-law as a jealous woman who overreacts to things, which is welcomed by Bahar as evident from the interjection *hah* (an exclamation for approval in Turkish) she uses (line 87). Then Bahar resumes her story by saying that he hit her upon her mother-in-law’s reaction (line 87) and concludes the episode by saying “ilk dayağı orda yedim/*that was my first beating*” (line 88). In doing so, she implies that this violence was provoked by her mother-in-law. This implication positions her as a hapless and vulnerable woman while it positions her husband as a non-agentive man who is attached to his mother. Also, she confirms the position she assigned to her mother-in-law earlier as a jealous woman who is attached to her son. Finally, the adjective *ilk* (first) modifying the noun *dayak* (beating) in her last statement remarks the emergence of violence within her personal story.

When brought together, in this section, I have discussed the emergence of violence within the personal stories of the participants. I have demonstrated how they index the emergence of violence temporally within their marriage stories and contextualize their accounts by referring to the so-called reasons of violence. In addition, I have examined the cases where the sole perpetrators are not their male partners. Indeed, mother-in-law violence turns out to be interwoven with male partner violence, which emerges as a result of mother-in-law intervention in some cases. In my analysis, I have discussed how the participants position themselves and others linguistically and how the researcher collaborates with the participants in order to contribute to the positions they assign. Accordingly, I have demonstrated that the participants often start by referring to the age of the characters in their stories and alluding to cultural and religious norms such as ablution and hand-kissing visits to contextualize their accounts. Moreover, they heavily employ quotations to cite their characters, themselves, and even their present selves. Also, they use certain words to refer to themselves, their characters and actions. By employing all these linguistic devices (see Table 3 for the summary), they attribute positions to themselves and others, which is also contributed by the researcher through occasional interventions.

Table 3. List of the Linguistic Devices Used in the Emergence of Violence in the Stories

Linguistic Level of Analysis	Linguistic Device	Example
Phonology	Stress & Repetition	“ <u>adamdı</u> çünkü o <u>ada:mdı</u> eş değil adamdı ya hala benim için adam o / <i>because he was a <u>man</u>, not a spouse. He was a <u>man</u>, still he is a man for me</i> ” (lines 10 & 11)
Morphology	First-person possessive	“ben ilk dayacağımı üç günlük evliyken yedim / <i>I had my first beating when I was married for three days</i> ” (line 1)
Syntax	Quotation	“yengem bana şunu söylemişti (.) şimdi evleniyosun bak / <i>my brother’s wife just told me this (.) now you are getting married</i> ” (line 3)
Semantics	Word choice	“bu böyle hep eften püften şeylerle devam etti / <i>this always continued like this with trivial</i> ” (line 50)
	Reference to age and time	“ben ilk dayacağımı üç günlük evliyken yedim / <i>I had my first beating when I was married for three days</i> ” (line 1)
	Formulaic expression	“sen bunu bi arada süpürgeye soğuk geçti yapıp dövecen / <i>occasionally beat her saying the broom has caught cold</i> ” (line 55)
Pragmatics /Discourse	Rhetorical question	“sopa sebebi ne? / <i>what is the reason of beating?</i> ” (line 25)
	Allusion to tradition	“buralarda adet var ya bi aileye ilk gidiş / <i>you know we have tradition here like visiting family for the first time</i> ” (line 24)

5.2 Progression of violence

As violence constitutes a major topic in the personal narratives of the 20 Anatolian women, violence episodes emerge within their life stories at a certain point, which is usually marked temporally as indicated in the previous section and keep surfacing in a recurring manner since violence is not a one-time problem in most of the cases. Therefore, once the participants construct the first violence episode, they continue constructing the progression of violence by recounting some of the major violence episodes as they proceed with their life stories. In doing so, they often equip these episodes with the strategies they employed in order to avoid and cope with violence

as it continued getting more severe. Therefore, in this section, I will discuss how they construct and situate the progression of violence within their stories and in doing so, how they assign positions to themselves and others.

In the extract below, Çağla narrates one of the major violence episodes with her boyfriend, who beat her severely. Çağla starts her personal story highlighting that she has had a harsh life. Reportedly, she was raped when she was a teenager and got pregnant. Not having parents, she had to leave the house where she lived with her grandparents and sought shelter in an orphanage. However, when she found out that she was pregnant, she was transferred to a women's shelter, where she gave birth. Later, upon the suggestion of a friend she made in the women's shelter, she started working in a *pavyon*² (a kind of night club) as a *konsomatris*³ (bar girl) and left the shelter. After a while, she started dating one of her customers from the *pavyon*, who turned out to be married. Since he promised her to divorce his wife, she continued her relationship with him; however, when she found out that he was also cheating on her with some other women, she wanted to break up. Upon this, he committed violence against her several times, one of which she narrates as follows:

Extract 5.5

- 89 Çağla: bir gün ee otelin kapısının orda beni yakaladı (.) saçımdan tuttu otele dedi gircez dedi tehdit ediyö
90 beni (.) iyi dedim otele girdik bunla (.) otelde bu beni bir dövü bir /dövü/
91 Merve: /odada mı?/
92 Çağla: tabii odada bir dövü ama ne biçim hala kafamda o yarık vardır mesela (.) kafam yarıldı
93 Merve: hi::
94 Çağla: böyle şey vardı ee pavyonda müşterilerin bana getirdiği işte aylar getirirlerdi mesela işte kutunun
95 içinde güller çikolatalar şöyle cam bi kavanoz vardı renkli böyle onun içinde jelibonlar vardı (.) o
96 kavanozu kafama vurdu o yardı kafamı ağzım burnum pert böyle görsen halimi (.) dövü dövü
97 gitti telefonumu kırdı (.) sonra resepsiyondan tabi ben aradım ettim ve kimse sesimi duymuyor
98 ağzımı kapatıyo bir taraftan sesimi kimseye duyuramıyorum otelin içinde
99 Merve: ne diyo peki yani derdi ne bunu yapması
100 Çağla: ya hani ben onu istemiyorum ya ben evi terk ettim ben evi terk ettiğim için ben onu istemediğim
101 için çünkü o beni aldattı ben onu yakaladım ben seni istemiyorum dedim terk ettim susmamı

² According to the dictionary of Türk Dil Kurumu (TDK: the Turkish Language Association), *pavyon* refers to an entertainment venue that is open till late and serves alcohol. However, it is a crucial part of the male-only entertainment culture in Turkey. *Pavyon* is a place where only men go to have fun drinking, dancing and chatting with bar girls.

³ The dictionary of TDK defines *konsomatris* as women who earns money by eating and drinking with the customers in night clubs.

- 102 bekliyodu aynı karısının yaptığı gibi (.) karısı nasıl sustu (.) benim de susmamı bekliyodu ben de
 103 susmadım niye susuyum ki (.) en son dövdü etti tabi ben arkadaşımı çağırdım ondan sonra
 104 arkadaşım geldi neyse biz hastaneye gittik hastaneden ee rapor falan aldım
 105 Merve: şikayetçi oldun mu
 106 Çağla: şikayetçi oldum
 107 Merve: hıh
 108 Çağla: ondan şikayetçi oldum neyse davamız falan mahkememiz ıvır zıvır oldu para cezası falan kesildi
 109 ona ee bu adli para cezası mı ödüyorlar öyle bişey ödüyo her ödüyo ya o şekilde bir ceza oldu
 110 neyse ondan bağı kopardım tamamen
- 89 Çağla: *one day he caught me in front of the hotel gate (.) he grabbed my hair and said we will enter the*
 90 *hotel he is threatening me (.) I said okay and we entered the hotel (.) in the hotel he beat me so so*
 91 */so much/*
 92 Merve: */in the room?/*
 93 Çağla: *of course in the room he beat me so much that I still have that scar on my head for instance (.) my*
 94 *head was cracked open*
 95 Merve: *oh:::*
 96 Çağla: *there was this thing that the customers brought to me in the pavyon I mean they used to bring*
 97 *teddy bears for example chocolate and roses in a box and there was a glass jar full of jelly tots (.)*
 98 *he hit my head with that jar I mean that cracked my head open my mouth my nose were ripped*
 99 *you should have seen me (.) he beat and he beat and then left he broke my phone (.) then I made*
 100 *phone calls in the reception and no one hears my voice {because}he is covering my mouth in the*
 101 *meantime I cannot make my voice heard to anyone in the hotel*
 102 Merve: *what does he say I mean what's his problem doing this?*
 103 Çağla: *you know I don't want him and I left the house and because I left the house and I don't want him*
 104 *because he cheated on me and I caught him I said I don't want you and left him he expected me*
 105 *to keep quiet just like his wife did (.) how quiet she kept (.) he expected me to keep quiet too but I*
 106 *didn't why would I? (.) at last he beat and of course I called my friend then my friend came*
 107 *anyway we went to the hospital I got report from the hospital*
 108 Merve: *did you press charges*
 109 Çağla: *I pressed charges*
 110 Merve: *huh*
 111 Çağla: *I pressed charges on him anyway the lawsuit and trial and the like happened he was charged with*
 112 *with fine what do they call it judicial fine or something like that he pays that anyway I broke the*
 113 *bond with him completely*

Interview, 30 June 2020

Çağla starts this episode by situating the incident temporally within her personal story with the phrase “bir gün / one day” (line 89), which implies that this is one of the emergent violent events. Subsequently, she sets the place with the locative phrase *otelin kapısında* (in front of the hotel). Right after setting the time and place, as she narrates the details of the episode about how her boyfriend beat her, the active construction she uses highlights her boyfriend’s position as the perpetrator. This kind of positioning is also supported by her word choice in lines 89 and 90, such as *yakaladı* (caught), *saçımdan tuttu* (grabbed my hair), *tehdit ediyö* (threatening), *dövdü* (beat), which portrays him as the perpetrator. Meanwhile, she assigns herself a passive role and thus positions herself as a vulnerable woman who could not stop him. Next, she continues to mention the details of his beating; in doing so, she refers

to her present body in order to express the magnitude of this violence episode stating that “hala kafamda o yarık vardır mesela/ *I still have that scar on my head for instance*” (line 92). This reference to present time positions her boyfriend as a cruel violent man who does not abstain from committing violence in a harsh way and herself as a hapless vulnerable woman who still carries the traces of her past.

As Çağla narrates the details of her head trauma, she describes the jar he used to hit her head in detail in lines 94 and 95. In this rich description, she states that it was one of the many gifts she received from her customers in the *pavyon*. In this way, she attempts to repair her identity as a woman who got beaten and positions herself as a popular woman who attracts intensive attention from others. She continues this identity repair in lines 97 and 98 by accounting for not being able to stop him, which mentions that he broke her phone and covered her mouth so that she could not ask for help. In this way, Çağla positions herself as a woman who would resist against violence and try to avoid it and her boyfriend as a brutal villain who wants to continue his violence.

With the intervention of the researcher seeking the so-called reason of this violent behavior (line 99), Çağla summarizes the so-called reasons stating that he could not accept her breaking up with him in lines 100 and 101. Subsequently, she evaluates his reasoning with the following remarks “susmamı bekliyodu aynı karısının yaptığı gibi (.) karısı nası sustu (.) benim de susmamı bekliyodu ben de susmadım niye susuyum ki / *He expected me to keep quiet just like his wife did (.) how quiet she kept (.) he expected me to keep quiet, too but I didn't why would I?*” (lines 101, 102 & 103). In this strong evaluation, she employs comparative post-position *gibi* (like), and rhetorical questions such as “niye susuyum ki / *why would I (keep quiet)?*” and thereby compares her reaction to that of her boyfriend's wife by

emphasizing that his wife remained silent for his cheating. In this way, she assigns positions to herself, her boyfriend, and his wife. Accordingly, she positions herself as a strong woman who would not accept unfair treatment of any kind to herself, his wife as a submissive vulnerable woman who could not stand up against her husband, and her boyfriend as a patriarchal man who thinks he can subordinate women.

As she draws conclusion to this violence episode, she mentions the afterwards of the incident, in which she called a friend to help her and the two went to the hospital together (lines 103 & 104). Upon the question of the researcher regarding the legal action she took, she mentions that she pressed charges against him and refers to the legal punishment he received. In her description of the legal punishment, she states that he received a legal fine by employing the discourse particle *falan* (like) and indefinite noun phrases such as “öyle bişey / *something like that*” and “o şekilde bir ceza / *punishment like that*”. In this way, Çağla implies that the punishment he received is trivial as opposed to the harm she received.

As evident in Çağla’s case, violence is not a one-time occurrence in this data set. Rather, it keeps surfacing in a recurring manner in the accounts of the participants, who choose and refer to the major violence episodes within their personal stories. Likewise, Kudret narrates a recurring violence episode among many others. She starts her personal story by mentioning how she got married and how her husband started committing violence against her. As she recounts, her husband is an alcoholic who violently beats her over trivial reasons since the beginning of their marriage. Owning her own business, a dry-cleaning store, Kudret endured his violent acts for 28 years until he finally stabbed her with a knife. As she proceeds in her story towards the moment she got stabbed, she narrates one of the major violence events that she experienced as follows:

Extract 5.6

- 110 Kudret: unutamadığım (.) belki binlerce kez ee şiddet gördüm unutamadığım bi o var (.) birinde de
111 Azathisar'ı sel basmıştı çok yağmur yağmıştı (.) mangal yakıcam dedi ben de dedimki o zaman
112 da biri hayırına bize bi böyle bi yer verdi küçük kötü bi yer verdi aynı böyleydi ee mangal dışarı
113 çıkarttı yağmur da başladı ben dedim ki ne biçirecez mangalda (.) bişey yok üstüne goycak (.) sen
114 bana mı soruyon! dedi ne biçireceğimizi! dedi (.) sen dedi benim mangal yakmamı istemiyon dedi
115 (.) yani cık {an interjection used for condemning or regretting} gerçekten ss evet sebep sadece
116 buydu ya yani hani (.) gerçekten diyom ki başka sebep yoktu hani hayatındaki bazı tıramvalar
117 vardır onları unutamazsın çok haksızlığa uğramışındır hani belki biraz kendi payın olsa dersin ki
118 evet ben de şurda şunu yaptım! kendi payımın olduğu zamanları da anlaticam size (.) beni çok
119 dövdü ilk defa hani gözümde yıldızlar uçuşuyo diyollar ya kafam demir kapıya değdiğinde böyle
120 gözümde beyaz bi ışık saçıldı (.) o ışığı gördüm ben (.) sonra ben o yere yatmışım ee yani
121 bayılmışım daha doğrusu bu sarhoş gidiyo içerde yatıyo (.) o ne kadar yağmur varsa üs üzerime
122 yağıyo çocuklar çekemiyolar beni (.) gece ayıktığımda çocuklar başımda ağlıyodu (.) o gün çok
123 dövmüştü beni böyle hiç etlerim falan çok acıyodu tekme: falan: çok vurmuştu (.) sonra hastaneyeye
124 gittik o zaman kadın hakları bu kadar yoktu yani doktor bile daha beni görür görmez merdivenden
125 düşme vaka:sl! yazdı=
126 Merve: = şaka yapıyosu:n
127 Kudret: aynen öyle o zaman yoktu yani o zama polis çağırıyoduk şey diyodu aile kavgası neye gelelim!
128 şimdi öyle deyil şimdi devlet ee gerçekten kadınları çok korumaya çalışıyo lakin ee eksik kaldığı
129 devletin şu (.) kadınlara eğitim veriyon kadınları deyil kadınlar zaten nası zopa yememesini
130 öğrenecek deyil burda eğitim erkeklerle verilmeli yani ya onlara bi hayvan barınağı /yapıp/
131 Merve: /hahaha/
132 Kudret: gerçekten diyom ya bi barınak yapıp orda hadi siz birbirinizi yiyin hepiniz şiddet eğilimsiniz ee
133 hani /aynı kafadansınız/
134 Merve: /toplayıp hepsini/ bi araya
135 Kudret: demek var bi de yani kadınları eğitmek kadınlar zaten biliyo haklarını yani bi kere bizim dinimiz
136 de kadına çok değer veren bi din (.) Atatürk de çok değer vermiş yani aslında hani bize önder olan
137 insanlar zaten kadının varlığını hissettirmişler ama anlamak isteyenler anlamış anlamak
138 istemeyenler anlamamış

- 110 Kudret: *something I can't forget (.) I've experienced e:h violence maybe thousands of times there's only
111 that one that I can not forget (.) and once Azathisar was flooded, it rained heavily (.) he said I'll
112 make a barbecue and at that time someone gave us a place like this for charity they gave a small
113 place it was exactly like this he took out the barbecue and it started raining I said what are we
114 going to cook on barbecue (.) there is nothing to put on it (.) he said are you asking me! what to
115 cook! (.) he said you don't want me to make a barbecue (.) I mean tczik really yes that was the
116 reason I mean (.) really I tell myself there was no other reason I mean there're some traumas that
117 you can't forget because you're not treated fairly I mean if you had a share in this, you'd say yes
118 I did that at that time! I will also tell you about the times I had a share (.) he beat me so badly you
119 know they say I see stars when my head touched the iron door I saw lights sparkling (.) I saw the
120 light (.) then I lied down on the floor I mean I fainted to be exact and he is drunken and goes to
121 sleep inside (.) it rains all over me children cannot pull me (.) when I get conscious at night
122 children were crying beside me (.) that day he beated me so so much like my flesh was hurting a
123 lot he kicked a lot (.) then we went to the hospital at that time there were not much about women's
124 rights I mean even when the doctor saw me he recorded as falling off the stairs case!=
125 Merve: = you are kidding
126 Kudret: exactly at that time there wasn't anything like that I mean we used to call the police, they used to
127 say it is a family matter why should we come! now it is not like that now the state is trying to
128 protect women a lot however what the state is missing is this (.) they are educating women not
129 women it is not that women will learn how not to get beaten up here education should be given
130 to men I mean either building an animal shelter /for them/
131 Merve: /hahaha/
132 Kudret: seriously talking either they will build an animal shelter and say okay now go at each other tooth
133 and nail you all are violent you have /the same mindset/
134 Merve: /gathering all/ together
135 Kudret: and educating women, women already know their rights. I mean first of all our religion is a
136 religion that values women a lot (.) Atatürk also valued women a lot I mean people who lead us
137 already made understand the presence of women but those wanting to understand understood but
138 those not wanting to understand didn't understand*

Interview, 30 July 2020

Kudret starts this episode by saying “unutamadığım (.) belki binlerce kez ee şiddet gördüm / *something I can't forget (.) I've experienced violence maybe thousands of times*” (line 110), through which she emphasizes that violence is not a one-time occurrence in her marriage. By stressing the hyperbole *binlerce kez* (thousands of times) and employing the relative clause *unutamadığım* (that I could not forget), she indeed implies that violence is a serious, recurring issue in her marriage.

Subsequently, she continues to recount one of the major violence episodes she cannot forget by setting the time and place (lines 110 & 111). In doing so, she uses the time phrase *birinde* (once) in order to indicate that she is referring to one among many other violence cases. After she sets the time and place, she provides the so-called reasons of this violent case by quoting her husband (lines 113 & 114). Subsequently, she evaluates these so-called reasons by saying “gerçekten ss evet sebep sadece buydu / *really yes that was the reason*” (lines 115 & 116). By using adverbs *gerçekten* (really) and *sadece* (just), she underlines how trivial these so-called reasons were. In addition, by using the pragmatic marker *evet* (yes), she answers an imagined question which she expects to be asked upon this kind of so-called reasons. Next, she continues her evaluation by negotiating the case with herself and questioning if she had any share in his violent behavior (lines 116, 117 & 118). She finalizes her evaluation by not finding any wrong action from her side and says “kendi payımın olduğu zamanları da anlaticam size / *I will also tell you about the times I had a share*”. With this statement, she implies that she is being honest, fair and objective with her accounts. In this way, she positions herself as a fair innocent woman who experienced violence undeservedly and her husband as a cruel violent man who overreacts to trivial things and beats her.

Following this rich evaluation, she narrates how harshly he beat her saying “beni çok dövdü / *he beat me so badly*” (lines 118 & 119). The active construction in this statement places her husband as the perpetrator and Kudret as the patient of the violent action. In order to demonstrate the magnitude of violence, Kudret refers to an idiomatic expression used for head traumas (gözünde yıldızlar uçuşmak / *to see the stars*) and describes the moment she literally saw a light after her husband hit her head. Next, she narrates the aftermath of the violence episode saying that “sonra ben o yere yatmışım ee yani bayılmışım daha doğrusu / *then I lied down on the floor I mean I fainted to be exact*” (lines 120 & 121), which is another indicator of the magnitude of the violence. In this way, Kudret positions her husband as a villain who beat her so severely as to make her faint and herself as a sufferer who ended up fainting.

In the following lines, Kudret continues saying that “bu sarhoş gidiyo içerde yatıyo (.) o ne kadar yağmur varsa üs üzerime yağıyo / *he is drunken and goes to sleep inside (.) it rains all over me*” (line 121 & 122). Through these lines, Kudret points out to her husband’s drunkenness and carelessness, which positions him as a senseless indifferent man who beat and left a vulnerable woman to her fate. Next, Kudret revisits the violence episode in lines 122 and 123. Her word choice again indicates that the episode she is narrating is one of the major violent events in her story. For example, she emphasizes *o gün* (that day) to demonstrate that day was significant. Furthermore, the adverb *çok* (very much), the nouns *etlerim* (my flesh) and *tekme* (kick), and the verb *acıyodu* (it hurt) indicates the magnitude of the violence she experienced. In this way, she positions herself as a woman who suffered from harsh violence and her husband as a merciless villain who beat her severely.

Subsequently, Kudret continues to narrate how she was hospitalized following her husband's violence. In doing so, she refers to the women's rights back then saying that "o zaman kadın hakları bu kadar yoktu / *at that time there were not much about women's rights*" (line 124). In order to contextualize better, she refers to the doctor who examined her by saying that "doktor bile daha beni görür görmez merdivenden düşme vaka:sı! yazdı / *even when the doctor saw me, he recorded as falling off the stairs case!*" (lines 124 & 125). Since husband violence was long regarded as a part of marriage in the past and domestic violence was considered only as a matter of private realm, women were forced to conceal the violence they experienced. Moreover, falling off the stairs and bumping into the door were two stereotyped reasons that women used to cover violence from husband. By quoting the stereotyped record that the doctor kept without asking her what happened through animated speech, Kudret indeed criticizes this understanding of violence and positions the doctor as an expert who feeds the patriarchy. With the researcher's intervention showing her surprise in line 126, Kudret gives further examples by referring to the usual reaction of the police in the case of violence by saying "o zama polis çağırıyoduk şey diyodu aile kavgası neye gelelim! / *we used to call the police, they used to say it is a family matter why should we come!*" (line 127). Again, by quoting the police through animated speech, Kudret demonstrates how normal violence was considered within family, and how experts such as doctors and police contributed to patriarchy and the subordination of women. Through these examples, she indeed accounts for why her husband could easily get away with beating her so severely and why she could not do anything about it, which positions her as a helpless woman who could not receive any support even from the authorities.

Following these instances, Kudret evaluates the current situation of violence against women and state policy about it (lines 128 & 129). Accordingly, she states that the state is more attentive towards this issue by protecting women now; however, she criticizes its policy saying that “kadınlara eğitim veriyö kadınları deyil kadınlar zaten nası zopa yememesini öğrenecek deyil burda eğitim erkeklere verilmeli / *They are educating women. Not women, it is not that women will learn how not to get beaten up. Here education should be given to men*” (lines 183 & 184). By this statement, Kudret positions men as the root cause of the problem, women as innocent beings who are aware of their rights, and the state as a protective figure of authority whose approach is not quite effective. As Kudret continues, she brings about an ironic solution to the problem by suggesting building an animal shelter for men who beat their wives (lines 130, 132 & 133). By using this ironic animal metaphor for men, she positions men as primitive beings who need to be tamed to overcome their violent instincts. Finally, as she concludes her evaluation, she alludes to the authority by referring to Islam and Atatürk as figures who value women (lines 135, 136 & 137) to support her position.

As can be seen from the extracts above, violence is not a one-time occurrence within the marriages of the participants. Rather, it is reported as a recurring problem whose major instances are recounted by the participants; therefore, they usually seek and follow certain strategies to avoid and cope with violence as it progresses to get more severe, which is also reflected through the dataset. To be more specific, while there is no mention of coping and avoidance strategies in the first violence episodes narrated, the participants start referring to certain strategies as they proceed with their violence accounts. Indeed, because they do not want to portray themselves as docile agents who accept violence and live with it, they expectedly highlight their strategies

to avoid and cope with violence as self-identified survivors. These strategies usually include resorting to figures of authority such as the police, women's shelter, psychologists, and religion.

As the personal narratives of the participants abound in these strategies emerging during the progression stage of violence, I will present some extracts below to exemplify some of them, which will also shed light on the participants' path towards the emancipation.

Seeking help from the police is a major strategy to avoid violence and is mostly adopted by the participants who have suffered from physical violence. Being one of those participants Özgür starts her personal story by talking about how she met her husband and how they got married. Starting to live with her husband's family in the suburb after the wedding, she mentions problems like heavy workload at home and physical violence from her husband, who is extremely jealous. As a high school dropout, she completes her high school degree and attends a course to work as a security personnel after getting married. When she finds a job in the city center, she moves into her father's apartment and wants to divorce her husband. Nevertheless, although they are separated, her husband continues to stalk and physically harass her, so far as to attempt to stab her with knife at one point, because he does not want to divorce. Indeed, she reports having experienced violence even 10 days before our interview. Moreover, during the interview, as Özgür showed me through the window, her husband was waiting in the corner of the street. Although she has pressed charges against him many times in order to avoid his violence, she is still not safe obviously. I ask her whether she has considered going to a women's shelter, to which she responds as follows:

Extract 5.7

- 139 Merve: hiç sığınma evine falan gitmeyi düşündün mü sen=
140 Özgür: = düşündüm geçenki olayda: düşündüm (.) ordaki: sosyal hizmetlerden falan da geldiler hatta (.)
141 dediler çok iyi bi yer tamam harçlığın da veriliyo disiplinli bi yer belli saatler giriş çıkış ama:
142 çocukları gördüler evde çocukların böyle rahat olamaz dediler ya (.) ev gibisi olmaz (.) yani
143 disiplinli bi yer olduğu için sen yapamazsın dediler (.) o yüzden geri vazgeçtim (.) dedim
144 çocuklarım için çalışayım onların düzenini bozmayım dedim onların çünkü bi yuvası var:ı bi evi
145 var:ı bi düzeni var:ı orda onları bi odaya hapsedmek istemedim aslında düşündüm babama da
146 söyledim dedim sizin dedim şanınız artsın millet derse ki dedim ya onun kızı sığınma evine gitmiş
147 babası varken! derse dedim siz mutlu olun dedim bunu da düşündüm görüştüm de hatta geri
148 baktım dediği gibi çocuklarımı bi odaya hapsedmek istemedim orda da
149 Merve: sosyal hizmetlere mi gittin ordan mı sordun
150 Özgür: yok darptan dolayı geliyolar zaten uzaklaştırma aldı ya denetim için eve gelip görüşüyolar /yine
151 sıkıntın var mı/
152 Merve: /kim nerden geliyolar/
153 Özgür: sosyal hizmetlerden ee kadın destek hattı var
154 Merve: hıı
155 Özgür: hatta dün de görüştük Kades diye de bi program var dediler
156 Merve: /hı hı/
157 Özgür: onu da indirin bişi olduğu zaman direk biz sizi buluruz nerde /olduğunuzu/
158 Merve: /aynen/
159 Özgür: şu an kira /derdim yok/
160 Merve: /indirdin mi onu/
161 Özgür: hıhı telefonumda var (.) yani kadın destek hatları var yine sosyal hizmetler ilgileniyo ama dediğim
162 gibi (.) polismiş emniyetmiş her şey boş bu ülkede çünkü ben adama açık açığa söylediğimi
163 bilirim komşularım da şahit (.) yapıcak bişi yok dedi biz adamın ifadesini alıp gönderecek dedi
164 bura dedi onun evi sonuçta dedim babamın evi dedim ya ben babamın evinde kalıyorum bu adam
165 bana sıkıntı yapıyo nasıl gönderiyosunuz dedim eve gelmesin dedim bu adam bizim yapacağımız bi
166 şey yok dedi ertesi gün gidersiniz dedi şikayette bulunursunuz dedi şu an dedi karakola gideriz
167 ifade veririz buyrun gitmek istiyosanız dedi gidin o zaman dedim ya (.) inan var ya onları
168 gönderdiğimi bilirim siz dedi haklısınız bize tepkilisiniz bize sinirlendiniz ama dedi tamam gidin
169 dedim
170 Merve: /cık cık cık/
171 Özgür: /imza attım onlara da/ kendilerine de şey çıharmak için bi de imza attırdılar güya geldik bi şey
172 yapmadık denmesin diye tamam dedim ben karakola da gitmiyorum şikayet de etmiyorum dedim
173 (.) siz gödebilirsiniz illa benim ölmem lazım demek ki sizin bi şey yapmanız için dedim (.) karşı
174 komşumun kızı on sekiz yaşında o ağladı dedi abla dedi senin bu lafın benim çok zoruma gitti
175 dedi (.) böyle bi ülkede yaşıyoruz

- 139 Merve: *have you ever considered going to a women's shelter?=
140 Özgür: =I have I did in the last incident (.) and people there from the social services visited me (.) they
141 said it's a very nice place okay you also get allowance and it's a disciplined place there's curfew
142 but they saw the kids and they said your children can't be comfortable like this (.) it can't be like
143 home (.) they said you can't live there because it's a disciplined place (.) so I gave up on the idea
144 (.) I said I'll work for my children and I won't unsettle them because they have home they have a
145 house and they have a settlement here I didn't want to imprison them in a room I actually
146 considered it and told my father I said your fame'll thrive if people say his daughter went to
147 women's shelter when she has her father you should be happy so I thought about it but then I
148 thought like they said I didn't want to jail my children in a room there
149 Merve: *did you go to the social services and ask in person
150 Özgür: not they already visit me due to physical violence you know he got restraining order so they visit
151 homes for inspection like /do you still have problems/
152 Merve: /where do they come from/
153 Özgür: from social services I mean there is the women's helpline
154 Merve: I see
155 Özgür: I even talked to them yesterday they said there is a program called Kades {a mobile application
156 for women to call the police in an emergency}
157 Merve: /hı hı/
158 Özgür: download it so that we can find you wherever you are or your whereabouts when something
159 /wrong happens/
160 Merve: /exactly/
161 Özgür: now I don't have to worry /about rent/
162 Merve: /so have you downloaded it/
163 Özgür: yes I have it on my phone (.) I mean there're women helplines and social services pay attention
164 but like I said (.) police and safeguarding it's all useless in this country because I know the times**

165 I made myself quite clear to the police and my neighbors witnessed this (.) he said there is nothing
 166 to do, we will just take his statement and release him this is his home eventually I said it is my
 167 father's home I stay at my father's place and this man makes trouble how can you release him I
 168 said I don't want this man to come home and he said there is nothing we can do next day you can
 169 go and press charges against him he said now we can only go to the precinct and take statements
 170 now if you want, here we go and I said it is okay then (.) believe me there are times that I sent the
 171 police like this he said okay you are right you are reacting and you are angry with us but I said
 172 okay please go
 173 Merve: / tezık tezık tezık /
 174 Özgür: /and I signed for them/ they made me sign something in order to clear themselves like we don't
 175 complain about them for doing nothing I said okay I neither go to the precinct nor press charges
 176 (.) you can leave I said I see that I have to die so that you can do something about it (.) my next
 177 door neighbor's daughter is eighteen and she cried and said sister your words hurt my heart (.)
 178 we live in a country like this.

Interview, 27 June 2020

Upon the researcher's question about the women's shelter (line 139), Özgür refers to her conversation with the social services personnel who came to visit her upon the last violence event (lines 140, 141, 142 & 143). By quoting them, Özgür describes women's shelter by employing certain descriptors such as *disiplinli* (disciplined), *giriş çıkış saati* (curfew), and *ev gibi olmayan* (not like home). In addition, she emphasizes having children; therefore, she does not consider women's shelter as a viable option for her children. In lines 144 and 145, she further explains that she does not want to unsettle and jail them in a room. Again, her word choice portrays women's shelter as a jail-like place which restricts people. Through this description and reference to her children, she positions herself as a considerate brave mother who cares for her children at the risk of her life.

Since she cannot consider women's shelter as an option because of her children, Özgür talks about other avoidance strategies by quoting the social services personnel. In doing so, she refers to a mobile application called KADES, short for Kadın Destek Hattı (Women's Help Line), in line 155. Ideally, women can easily call the police on this application, which notifies the police about the location of the user. Nevertheless, Özgür evaluates this application as an ineffective solution by referring to her experience with the police who came upon her call during one of the violence events. In doing so, she quotes the police officer saying that “yapıcah bişi yok dedi

biz adamın ifadesini alıp gönderecez dedi bura dedi onun evi sonuçta / *He said there is nothing to do, we will just take his statement and release him. This is his home eventually*” (lines 163 & 164). Next, Özgür quotes herself saying that “babamın evi dedim ya ben babamın evinde kalıyorum bu adam bana sıkıntı yapıyo / *I said it is my father’s home I stay at my father’s place and this man makes trouble*” (lines 164 & 165). In this quotation, Özgür stresses the word *babamın* (my father’s) in order to emphasize that her husband was not supposed to be there and refers to him as *bu adam* (this man). In the following lines, Özgür continues quoting the police officer, who insists there is nothing he could do about it (lines 165, 166 & 167). Through these consecutive quotations, Özgür creates an animated conversation between herself and the police officer. In doing so, she positions herself as a helpless woman whom even the authorities cannot help and the police officer as an ineffective authority figure who cannot go beyond showing up. Özgür concludes this animated conversation by quoting herself saying to the officer that “*siz gidebilirsiniz illa benim ölmem lazım demek ki sizin bi şey yapmanız için dedim / I said you can leave I see that I have to die so that you can do something about it*” (line 173). In this quotation, Özgür portrays the seriousness of her situation by referring to her death and demonstrates her despair by telling them to go. In this way, she positions herself as a desperately helpless woman who is left to her own fate by the authorities, and the police as an ineffective figure of authority.

As the comparison Kudret made in the extract 5.7 (lines 127, 128 & 129), women’s rights are more recognized today than they were in the past thanks to the rise of women’s movement. Nevertheless, as in the case of Özgür, seeking help from the police might not always prevent violence as their scope of authority is limited. Therefore, women who experience violence might not always go to the police.

Instead, they follow alternative strategies to avoid violence such as resorting to religion. Accordingly, as the data indicate, cursing and praying are among the most common coping and avoidance strategies. For instance, as Kudret narrates one of the major violence events, she mentions cursing her husband as she could not do anything else:

Extract 5.8

176 Kudret: o gün beni çok dövmüştü (.) ee su böreğini yetiştiremedim diye (.) o kadar içim yanmıştı ki o gün
177 yani kadınlığımdan utandı::m çok hastayı:m insanlar hasta olunca daha çok duygusal olabiliyo (.)
178 çok ağlamıştım ertesi gün sabah galktım dedim kine sadece o gün karşısında konuşabildim
179 konuşduğum da şuydu (.) sen bana vurdun allah da sana vursun dedim (.) yani benim hiçbi suçum
180 yoktu (.) sen bana vurdun ben (.) o gün hastalandı o ona da bi üşütme tuttu ha tabi o zaman
181 korona falan yoktu da mevsimsel bi üşütmeydi demek ki (.) biz bi eczaneye gittik buna iyne
182 [iğne]? vurdurucuz iyneyi vurdu:klarıyla şey bi oldu ee alerji yaptığı bi oldu bu ağaz aşşa {ağzı
183 aşşağı} düştü tabi bunun ağzı burnu burnu hala kırıktır burnu kırıldı /gözleri morardı/
184 Merve: /aaa/
185 Kudret: ee o gün o kadar çok /sevinmişim ki/ {smiling}
186 Merve: /haha/
187 Kudret: gerçekten (.) yani dedimkine allahım sen ne kadar büyükün o bana vurdu sen de ona vurdun
188 böyle içimden çok seviniyorum

176 Kudret: *that day he beat me so much (.) e:h because I couldn't cook the pastry in time (.) I was so*
177 *emotionally hurt that day I mean I was ashamed of my womanhood and I was so sick people can*
178 *be too emotional when they are sick (.) I cried so much I woke up next morning and said, I*
179 *could take a word against him only that day and my word was this (.) you hit me may Allah also*
180 *hit you (.) I mean I had no guilt (.) you hit me (.) that day he got sick he also caught cold of course*
181 *back then there was no corona in sight probably it was a seasonal cold (.) we went to pharmacy*
182 *together to get injection for him as soon as he was injected he got allergies and fell down on his*
183 *face of course his mouth and nose even now his nose is broken /his eyes got bruised/*
184 Merve: /ohhh/
185 Kudret: *that day I felt /so happy/ {smiling}*
186 Merve: /haha/
187 Kudret: *really (.) I said my Allah how great you are he hit me and you hit him I felt so happy inside*

Interview, 30 July 2020

Kudret starts indicating that the violence episode she is narrating is one of the major ones by saying “o gün beni çok dövmüştü / *that day he beat me so much*” (line 230). Also, the active construction she uses positions her husband as the perpetrator while it assigns a patient theme to Kudret. Next, she mentions the so-called reason stating that “su böreğini yetiştiremedim diye / *because I could not cook the pastry in time*”. By mentioning his extreme beating and this trivial so-called reason consecutively, Kudret juxtaposes his reaction to his reasoning and thereby positions him as a violent man who can use anything as an excuse for beating her and herself as an unlucky

woman who experiences violence randomly and undeservedly. Subsequently, she refers to her emotional reaction through predication. Her word choice in the predication, such as *içim yanmıştı* (I was emotionally hurt), *utandım* (I was ashamed), *hastayım* (I am sick), and *ağlamıştım* (I cried) in lines 176, 177 and 178, indicates how deeply she was hurt from that violence episode and positions Kudret as an aggrieved woman who got beaten when she was sick.

After portraying herself emotionally, Kudret mentions how she takes action for the first time by taking a word against him (line 178). Then, she quotes herself saying that “sen bana vurdun allah da sana vursun dedim / *I said you hit me may Allah also hit you*” (line 179). In doing so, she employs cursing as a coping strategy since she does not have anything else to do about it and appeals to god as a figure of authority. She continues quoting herself to justify her cursing saying that “yani benim hiçbir suçum yoktu (.) sen bana vurdun / *I mean I had no guilt (.) you hit me*” (line 179 & 180). In this way, Kudret juxtaposes her innocence to her husband’s violent reaction, which positions her as an innocent woman who got beaten undeservedly and her husband as an irrational and violent man.

After referring to her cursing through quotation, Kudret mentions her husband’s catching cold all of a sudden and their visit to pharmacy (lines 180 & 181). Then, she sets up how her husband ended up the way she cursed him by saying “iyneyi vurdu:klarıyla şey bi oldu ee alerji yaptığı bi oldu bu ağaz aşşa {ağzı aşağı} düştü / *As soon as he was injected, he got allergies and fell down on his face*” (lines 182 & 183). The conjunction *ile bir oldu* (as soon as) she employs to conjugate the verbs *iğne vurmak* (to inject) and *alerji yapmak* (to cause allergy) implies how quickly these two actions happen one after the other. Also, her reference to the way he fell down after the injection gives clues about how he will end up the way he was

cursed. Next, Kudret mentions his physical state by referring to his mouth, nose, and eyes (line 183). In this way, Kudret illustrates how her cursing is realized and refers to her reaction to this by quoting herself stating that “allahım sen ne kadar büyüksün o bana vurdu sen de ona vurdun / *my Allah how great you are. He hit me and you hit him” (line 187). In doing so, she positions herself as a rightful and innocent person whose voice is heard by god and her husband as a villain who is punished by god.*

Similar to Kudret, there are five other participants who report employing cursing as a coping strategy as violence continues within their marriage. In doing so, all of them highlight that their curses come true and thereby position themselves as innocent and rightful characters in their stories. Apart from cursing, there are also three participants who employ praying as a coping mechanism. Similarly, all of them refer to the aftermath of their praying and position themselves as pure-hearted and innocent beings whose prayers come true.

The participants do not adopt coping and avoidance strategies only when they are physically harassed. Most of the participants report having experienced psychological and economic violence and refer to their coping strategies as well. For instance, Fatma, who is reportedly an economic violence survivor, starts her story by telling how she got married and started to have problems with her husband. She reports that her husband was a gambler who was deep in debt; therefore, she had to live in extreme poverty and had difficulty even in feeding herself and her children. When telling one of the episodes he deceived her to get her money, Fatma mentions seeing a psychologist for advice about her husband as follows:

Extract 5.9

189 Fatma: çarşının içinde allahım dedim ben napacam napıyım ben bu adamı sen işinden olmasın diye
190 gidiyon bi de ailenden öndüç para alıyon adam o parayı senden dolandırıyo (.) kafamı kaldırdım
191 orda şey yazıyor bi özel hastane vardı ismi neydi bilmiyorum (.) çarşının içinde
192 Merve: Hayat vardı eskiden
193 Fatma: sanırım Hayat’tı Hisar tıp merkezi
194 Merve: aaa evet Hisar tıp vardı

195 Fatma: Hisar tıptı sanırım kafamı kaldırdığımda orayı gördüm baktım piskolog yazıyor oraya gittim ama
196 nasıl ağlıyom yirmi lira da para var üzerimde o zaman da özel hastaneye şey veriyon para veriyon
197 girişe verdim fişi aldım gittim ağlıyom dedim ki hocam ben napacamı bilmiyom o kadar çaresiz
198 kaldım ki iki tane dedim çocuğum var eşim sürekli yalan söylüyor sürekli beni kandırıyor ama
199 sürekli dedim hani bir değil hani basit şeye de yalan söylüyor mesela şu yoğurdu görmedim
200 {pointing at the home-made yogurt she served me} gördüm dese bi sıkıntı olmayacak ama
201 görmedim diye yalan söyliyö öyle bi alışkanlık ki adamda böyle dedim alışkanlıklar var dedim
202 bana böyle yapıyor napacamı bilemiyom hiç konuşmadı iki seçeneğin var dedi ya kabul edecen
203 hayatını devam ettircen bu adam böyle diyecen ya da dedi boşanacan başka seçeneğin yok dedi
204 bağımlı insanların bile tedavisi var senin eşininki dedi karakter bozukluğu kişilik bozukluğu
205 kişilik bozukluğunun dedi tedavisi yok ona yapacağımız hiçbirşey yok bağımlıların bile tedavisi
206 var ama bunun yok dedi (.) ordan da kör pişman çıktım eve geldim dedim napıyım (.) yapacak
207 bişey yok kabul edecez

189 Fatma: *in the middle of downtown I said my god what should I do what am I going to do with this man*
190 *you borrow money from your family so that he doesn't lose his job and he steals that money from*
191 *you (.) I looked up and there was a private hospital I don't know the name (.) it was in downtown*
192 *there used to be Hayat*
193 Merve: *I think it was Hayat it was Hisar hospital*
194 Merve: *oh yes there used to be Hisar*
194 Fatma: *it was Hisar hospital I think when I looked up I saw it and the plate reads as psychologist so I*
195 *went in but how much I'm crying and I have only twenty liras on me then you needed to pay at the*
196 *entrance and I did and took my serial number I said crying sir I am so helpless that I don't know*
197 *what I am going to do I said I have two kids and my husband is constantly lying he is constantly*
198 *cheating me but constantly I mean it is not just once I mean he even lies about simple things for*
199 *example I did not see this yogurt {pointing at the home-made yogurt she served me} there would*
200 *not be any problem if he said I saw it but he lies saying that I didn't see it it's such a habit with*
201 *the man that I said he had such habits I said he's doing this to me and I don't know what to do*
202 *s/he said nothing but this you have two options either you will accept and continue your life and*
203 *say this is the way he is or you will divorce s/he said you have no other option s/he said there is*
204 *cure even for addicts but your husband's problem is personality disorder and personality*
205 *disorder has no cure so there is nothing we can do s/he said there is even cure for addicts but not*
206 *for him (.) I left regretting and came home I said what can I do (.) there is nothing to do we will*
207 *accept.*

Interview, 27 June 2020

Fatma starts by portraying herself in the middle of downtown after finding out her husband's fraud. In doing so, she quotes her self-talk stating that "allahım dedim ben napacam napıyım ben bu adamı / *I said my god what should I do what am I going to do with this man*" (line 189). In this quotation, she resorts to god by asking questions about how to deal with her husband. In this way, she positions herself as a helpless woman who pleads god for solution. Also, she refers to her husband as *bu adam* (this man), which implies her annoyance with her husband and positions him as the problematic character in her story. Next, she summarizes the situation that makes her so helpless saying that "sen işinden olmasın diye gidiyon bi de ailenden öndüç para alıyon adam o parayı senden dolandırıyor / *You borrow money from your family so that he doesn't lose his job and he steals that money from you*" (lines 189 & 190). In this statement, Fatma refers to herself by second person singular *sen* (you) and

isolates herself from the story to sound more objective. Also, she refers to her husband as *adam* (the man) in order to display her antipathy for him. Furthermore, Fatma juxtaposes her and her husband's actions within this statement. Right after mentioning her borrowing money from her family for her husband, she refers to her husband's stealing that money from her. In this way, Fatma first positions herself as a good-hearted woman who wants to help her husband when he is in difficult times and then her husband as an ungrateful cheater who abuses her good intentions.

Subsequently, Fatma mentions her encounter with the sign of a private hospital at that moment of helplessness, but she cannot remember the name of the hospital in the first place. After negotiating the name with the researcher (lines 192 - 195), she resumes referring to that encounter saying that “*kafamı kaldırığında orayı gördüm baktım piskolog yazıyor oraya gittim / when I looked up, I saw it and the plate reads as psychologist so I went in*” (line 195). Through this statement, Fatma implies that it was a coincidence that she encountered the sign of a psychologist. By referring to this coincidence right after her pleading to god for solution, she implicitly maintains that she was heard and helped by god and positions herself as a pure-hearted helpless woman whose voice is heard by god. Then, she describes her situation stating that “*ama nasıl ağlıyom yirmi lira da para var üzerimde / But how much I am crying and I have only twenty liras*” (line 196). By using the verb *ağlamak* (to cry) and describing the exact amount of money she has with the adverb *sadece* (only), she continues positioning herself as a helpless woman who has little money even to see a doctor.

Next, Fatma narrates her encounter with the psychologist by quoting herself and the doctor. First, she quotes herself talking about her situation to the doctor as follows, “*ağlıyom dedim ki hocam ben napacamı bilmiyom o kadar çaresiz kaldım ki / I said crying sir I am so helpless that I don't know what I am going to do*” (lines

197 & 198). In her quotation, Fatma employs verbs such as *ağlamak* (to cry), *bilmemek* (not to know), and *çaresiz kalmak* (to become helpless) in order to illustrate her helpless and pathetic position. To describe more, she continues quoting herself stating that “iki tane dedim çocuğum var eşim sürekli yalan söylüyor sürekli beni kandırıyor / *I said I have two kids and my husband is constantly lying and constantly cheating me*” (line 198), which includes both self and other positioning. First of all, by referring to her children, she highlights her position as a mother, which constitutes as one of the main reasons why she cannot just leave this abusive relationship. In doing so, she portrays herself as a selfless mother who has to think of her children. Secondly, the verbs she uses for her husband such as *yalan söylemek* (to lie) and *kandırmak* (to cheat) alongside the adverb *sürekli* (constantly) portrays her husband as an unreliable man.

Fatma continues employing quotations by citing the doctor’s response, who gave her two options: to divorce or to accept him (lines 202 & 203). Next, she quotes the doctor’s diagnosis regarding her husband’s personality stating that, “bağamli insanların bile tedavisi var senin eşininki dedi karakter bozukluğu kişilik bozukluğu kişilik bozukluğunun dedi tedavisi yok / *S/he said there is cure even for addicts but your husband’s problem is personality disorder and personality disorder has no cure*” (lines 204 & 205). The doctor’s quoted statement maintains that her husband has personality disorder. Also, by comparing Fatma’s husband with addicts and saying that the former has no cure, s/he implies that the case of Fatma’s husband is a serious one. By citing the doctor’s diagnosis and cure for her husband, Fatma strengthens her position as a helpless woman who is in a quite difficult situation. Furthermore, she also consolidates her husband’s position as a liar through the expert’s words. Finally, she concludes this episode stating that “ordan da kör pişman

çıktım eve geldim dedim napıyım / *I left regretting and came home I said what can I do*” (line 206). In this way, Fatma implies that consulting with an expert did not help either, implying the persistence of her helplessness.

In this section, I have demonstrated that violence is not a one-time occurrence; rather, it is a recurring problem within the relationships of the participants.

Therefore, they keep referring to some of the major violence episodes as they tell their personal stories. In doing so, they use adverbs of time such as *birinde* (once) to start the episode to illustrate that the episode they are narrating is only one among many others. Also, they mention the relevant details regarding time and space to contextualize their accounts. In addition, they often refer to the so-called reasons of the violence episodes through quoting their partners. As they narrate how they experience violence, they illustrate the severeness of the episode through word choice. In this way, they usually position both themselves as innocent women who have long suffered from violence of their intimate partners and their partners as violent men who commit violence constantly over trivial reasons.

Since this study focus on the survival and power stories of the participants, they usually refer to their reactions in the aftermath of violence episodes in order to position themselves as active and resistant agents. In doing so, they often report adopting certain coping and avoidance strategies in order to highlight that they are not submissive subjects who accept violence and do nothing about it. That is, as they proceed within their survival stories, they often illustrate their resistance against violent acts and thus mention their coping and avoidance strategies such as calling the police, pressing charges against the perpetrator, cursing, and praying, and consulting with an expert such as a psychologist. Accordingly, they often cite the reactions of the police officers, the advice and diagnosis of the experts, and/or

themselves through quotation. In this way, they position themselves as helpless women who do not receive support or solutions from others.

As participants construct the progression of violence within their stories by positioning their characters, they employ a wide range of linguistics devices such as quotation, word choice, allusion to authority, stress, and repetition. Table 4 below presents a summary of linguistic devices across different levels of linguistic analysis.

Table 4. List of the Linguistic Devices Used in the Construction of Progression of Violence

Linguistic Level of Analysis	Linguistic Device	Example
Phonology	Stress & Repetition	“ <u>babamın</u> evi dedim ya ben <u>babamın</u> evinde kalıyorum bu adam bana sıkıntı yapıyo / <i>I said it is <u>my father's</u> home I stay at <u>my father's</u> place and this man makes trouble</i> ” (lines 164 & 165)
Morphology		
Syntax	Quotation	“o zama polis çağırıyoduk şey diyodu aile kavgası neye gelelim! / <i>we used to call the police, they used to say it is a family matter why should we come!</i> ” (line 127)
Semantics	Word choice	“beni yakaladı (.) saçımdan tuttu otele dedi gircez dedi tehdit ediyo / <i>he caught me (.) he grabbed my hair and said we will enter the hotel she is threatening me</i> ” (line 89)
	Reference to time	“birinde de Azathisar’ı sel basmıştı çok yağmur yağmıştı / <i>and once Azathisar was flooded, it rained heavily</i> ” (lines 110 & 111)
	Formulaic expression	“hani gözümde yıldızlar uçuşuyo diyollar ya / <i>you know they say I see stars</i> (line 119)
Pragmatics /Discourse	Rhetorical question	“niye susuyum ki / <i>why would I keep quiet?</i> ” (line 103)
	Hyperbole	“belki binlerce kez ee şiddet gördüm / <i>I've experienced violence maybe thousands of times</i> ” (line 110)
	Allusion to religion	“allahım sen ne kadar büyüksün o bana vurdu sen de ona vurdun / <i>my Allah how great you are. He hit me and you hit him</i> ” (line 187)
	Allusion to authority	“bağamlı insanların bile tedavisi var senin eşininki dedi karakter bozukluğu kişilik bozukluğu kişilik bozukluğunun dedi tedavisi yok / <i>S/he said there is cure even for addicts but your husband's problem is personality disorder and personality disorder has no cure</i> ” (lines 204 & 205, doctor)

5.3 Peak of violence

Most of the participants in this study, namely 17, report having experienced physical violence and situate the emergence of violence within their personal narratives as demonstrated in section 5.1. Furthermore, since violence is a recurring topic in their personal narratives, they refer to some major violence episodes in order to illustrate how violence progresses as in section 5.2 as they proceed with their personal stories. In addition, they mostly recount the episodes where violence reaches its peak as the last stage of violence prior to their emancipation. Therefore, in this section, I will discuss how they construct the peak of violence within their stories and in doing so, how they attribute positions to themselves and others.

In the extract below, Bahar narrates the peak moment of violence as follows:

Extract 5.10

208 Bahar: bana bi inat geldi ben son zamanlarda hani böyle kolumu koyup da- bana onu da dedi eski Bahar'ı
209 arıyorum dedi eskiden dedi dövdiğümde dedi karşılık- veriyodum verdim son zamanlarda
210 yakasını paçasını yırttım (.) çünkü artık buraya kadar geliyorsunuz (.) tost makinesi bile sizin
211 sırtınızda kırılır mı ee yazıcı sizin sırtınızda kırılır mı sandalye sizin sırtınızda kırılır mı (.)
212 çocuğuna bi- hadi ben elim ben yabancıyım hani ee az buçuk komşularıma mesela
213 konuşabilirsiniz şu an beni bu işe aldırın müdürüm Fatih bey (.) Azatşehir'de çalışıyorum
214 biyotikte Semih beyi bilirsin belki şeyden ondan sora kendisi o da profesör burda onun özel
215 eğitiminde çalışıyordum (.) söylemesi ayıp adam müdür göndermiyodu ezan okunur bir gün
216 önceden yemeklerini neyin yapıyordum salatama varana kadar tabaklarımı neyim hazırlıyordum
217 üstlerini de örtü sadece ocaan altı yanacak yemek ısınacak sofraya da öte beriler bunu bile
218 yapmadı (.) koştura koştura geliyordum hepsini böyle yapıyordum (.) iki gün önceden yayla
219 çorbasını pişirdim gerisini de dolaba attım tam top patladı getirdim Merve iki gün önce içtik ya
220 ondan sonra (.) çorbayı koydu::m bu kaç günlük çorba! dedi iki gün önce yaptığım- ben sana
221 demedim mi! dedi ee taze taze yemek istiyorum taze çorba! sana bunu ben yapmadım YALLAH
222 dedi bana bi vurdu balkondayız fabrika lojmanlarının balkonlarını biliyo musun
223 Merve: hı hı
224 Bahar: herkes balkonda (.) bana bi yapıstırdı tencereyi aldı balkondan aşşa attı /kepçeylen/
225 Merve: /ha:::/
226 Bahar: saçım benim daha uzundu şurdaydı belik de şunundan kalındı o zaman sapsarı saçlar (.) böyle
227 saçımı doladı öteki nerde! dedi sallıyo beni mutfağa gittik buzdolabını açtık o tencereyi de ordan
228 aldı kaldırdı aşşa attı beni bi güzel dövdü oturdu o çorbayı içti yemeği yedi çıktı gitti sebep bu bak

208 Bahar: *I started to be stubborn lately Lwas I mean- he told me that too he said I miss the old Bahar he
209 said when I beat you you didn't use to res- I did I responded I battered him lately (.) because you
210 can't take it anymore (.) can a toast machine be broken on your back? can a printer be broken on
211 your back? can a chair be broken on your back? even his child- let's say I am a stranger I come
212 from another family you can make my neighbors talk Mr. Fatih who helped me get this job now
213 (.) I'm working in Azatşehir in biotics maybe you know Mr. Semih from I mean he's also a
214 professor here I used to work in his special education center (.) in all modesty the manager didn't
215 use to let us go early and it's praying time so I used to prepare dinner a day earlier even the
216 salad I used to prepare the plates and everything and cover them just the cooker'll be turned on
217 and the food'll be heated up and they'll be taken to table he didn't even do this (.) I used to come
218 home out of my breath and do all of this (.) two days before I made yogurt soup and I put the
219 remaining in the fridge just as the cannonball was fired I brought it Merve you know we ate it
220 two days before as well (.) I put the soup on the table and he said how old is this soup! I made it*

221 two days- what did I tell you! he said I want to eat fresh food fresh soup! I didn't do BOOM he hit
 222 me we are in the balcony do you know the balcony of the factory lodgings?
 223 Merve: yes
 224 Bahar: everyone is in the balcony (.) he hit me once, grabbed the pot and threw it /with the ladle/
 225 Merve: /ohhhh/
 226 Bahar: my hair used to be long it was here and my braid was thicker than this at that time and blonde
 227 hair (.) he grabbed my hair and said where is the other one! he is shaking me and we went to the
 228 kitchen and opened the fridge he also grabbed that pot and threw it away as well and he beat me,
 229 then he sat and ate that soup and the food, then he left home look that was the reason

Interview, 6 July 2020

Bahar starts narrating the peak moment of violence in her story by setting the time with the adverb *son zamanlarda* (lately) to refer to the last stages of her relationship (line 208) and points out that she was different from her past situation. Subsequently, she cites her husband in order to illustrate her changing attitudes saying that “*eski Bahar’ı arıyorum dedi eskiden dedi dövduğümde dedi karşılık- / he said I miss the old Bahar he said when I beat you, you didn’t use to res-*” (lines 208 & 209). The adjective *eski* (old) used to refer to Bahar and the verb *aramak* (to miss) indicates that she is now different from her past state. Also, the adverb *eskiden* (in the past) indicates that Bahar’s husband admit beating her in the past and she did not respond by any means. However, Bahar interrupts this quotation by referring to her actions through her own voice as follows “*veriyodum verdim son zamanlarda yakasını paçasını yırttım / I did I responded I battered him lately*” (lines 209 & 210). By stressing the predication after interrupting her husband’s voice, Bahar illustrates how she challenged her husband as he committed violence. Also, by using the adverb *son zamanlarda* (lately) again and *yakasını paçasını yırtmak* (to batter by tearing clothes), she demonstrates how differently she responded to violence lately. In these ways, Bahar illustrates how she has transformed from her old obedient self and thereby positions herself as a rebellious woman who is no longer submissive in the case of violence.

Bahar accounts for her rebellious position by explaining as follows, “*çünkü artık buraya kadar geliyorsunuz / because you can’t take it anymore*” (line 210).

Through this statement, she implies how severe and unendurable violence was. Next, she exemplifies violence in order to contextualize her account by employing rhetorical questions and thereby referring to the home appliances her husband used to hit her such as toast machine, printer, and chair. In this way, Bahar consolidates the severity of violence and attributes positions to herself and her husband. Accordingly, she positions herself as a woman who long suffered from severe violence and cannot stand it anymore and her husband as a violent man who severely beat her for a long time.

Subsequently, Bahar employ self-positioning by referring to her network. In doing so, she refers to her neighbors, her manager, and a professor who owns her workplace (lines 212, 213 & 214). In this way, she constructs a self that is loved and supported by others. Also, as the people she refers to are people with high status such as a manager and professor, Bahar constructs a self that is associated with reputable people and thereby positions herself as a respectable and successful businesswoman. Then, she continues to position herself in reference to her duties at home. Accordingly, she mentions that her job does not hinder her duties at home as she prepares dinner in advance and makes sure even the plates are ready for the dinner (lines 216 & 217), through which she positions herself as a responsible housewife. After mentioning the remaining steps to set the table, Bahar refers to her husband saying that “*bunu bile yapmadı / he didn’t even do this*” (lines 217 & 218). With the adverb *bile* (even), she positions her husband as an unsupportive selfish man who expects to be served all the time.

Bahar proceeds to narrate the specific violence event by setting the dinner time saying that “*tam top patladı getirdim Merve / just as the cannonball was fired, I brought it Merve*” (line 219). At this point, it is important to explain the cannonball.

Firing a cannonball is a traditional way of announcing breaking the Ramadan fast. In Ramadan, Muslims break their fast when the evening prayer and the firing of Ramadan cannonball are heard. Therefore, Bahar implies that this event takes place in a Ramadan day. Also, the adverb *tam* (just) to describe the cannonball fire and her bringing the food to the table in line 219 illustrates that the dinner was ready in time. Then, in order to make her account vivid, Bahar relies on phonetics by saying “çorbayı koydu:::m / *I put the soup*” (line 220). By prolonging the vowel u, she illustrates the promptness of her husband’s reaction to the soup. In doing so, she interrupts her action and starts quoting her husband and herself as follows, “bu kaç günlük çorba! dedi / *he said how old is this soup!*”. Next, she quotes her respond saying that “iki gün önce yaptığım- / *I made it two days-*”, which she interrupts to cite her husband again. In this way, Bahar implies that her husband was dominating the conversation by interrupting her. Then, she switches to her husband’s voice saying that “ben sana demedim mi! dedi ee taze taze yemek istiyorum taze çorba! / *what did I tell you! He said I want to eat fresh food fresh soup!*” (lines 220 & 221), which is supposed to account for his frustration. In the following statement, Bahar employs the interjection *YALLAH* (BOOM) by raising her voice in order to make her account vivid and states that he hit her. In this way, Bahar positions herself as a responsible woman who performed her tasks expectedly although she works outside home and her husband as a lazy, selfish and violent man who takes her labor granted and overreacts to trivial things by beating her.

Subsequently, Bahar interrupts performing the violence event in order to contextualize her account and thereby refers to the balcony where the event took place. In doing so, she describes the balcony as a factory lodging’s balcony and asks the researcher whether she is familiar with it (line 222). Upon the researcher’s

confirmation, she explains what is specific about the factory lodgings saying that “*herkes balkonda / everyone is in the balcony*” (line 224). With this detail, Bahar maintains that all this happens before the eyes of others. Then, she resumes the violent action by describing her husband’s actions in the same line. Yet again, she pauses the violent act in order to describe her hair in an attempt to contextualize the event more and says, “*saçım benim daha uzundu şurdaydı belik de şunundan kalındı o zaman sapsarı saçlar / my hair used to be long it was here and my braid was thicker than this at that time and blonde hair*” (line 226), which consolidates her beauty. Then, Bahar resumes to narrate her husband’s violent action with the verbs *saç dolamak* (to grab hair), *sallamak* (to shake) *atmak* (to throw), and *dövmek* (to beat) in lines 227, 228, and 229. Finally, she concludes this episode by highlighting the reason with the statement “*sebebu bu bak / look that was the reason*” (line 228). By employing all these descriptive adjectives and adverbs, action verbs, reference nouns and quotation, Bahar presents a vivid depiction of the violent event; in doing so, she positions herself as an innocent woman who got beaten undeservedly and her husband as a violent man who finds excuses to beat her harshly.

As can be seen in Bahar’s case, women can become more resistant to violence as it gets more severe and unendurable in time. However, this resistance can take different shapes when avoidance and coping strategies applied do not work. To illustrate, Kudret reports having pressed charges against her alcoholic husband many times who frequently committed violence against her. Also, she mentions taking her husband to rehabilitation centers a few times. Nevertheless, none of these coping and avoidance strategies do not work in Kudret’s case. Therefore, Kudret employs acceptance as a survival strategy by risking her life when she foresees that her husband will try to kill her. To be more specific, although she knows that her

husband will stab her, she takes a risk and confronts her husband just to get it over

with. Kudret shares this tough experience, where violence reaches its peak, as

follows:

Extract 5.11

- 229 Kudret: o gün ben bi rüya gördüm rüyadan çok ekilendim ve sabah çok erken uyandım
230 Merve: ne gördün
231 Kudret: işte (.) bizim köyün mezarlığında bi tane boş tabut gidiyo onun arkasından annesiyle babası ağlıyo
232 ben de diyom ki ağlamayın tabutun içi boş diyorum (.) böyle tabut falan görünce de çok korktum
233 ee sabah dükkana gelcem (.) aşşa indim böyle topuklu ayakkabılarım var (.) etek giydim (.) işte
234 böyle giyindim kuşandım indim dükkana gelcem çık aşşa bi indim bi baktım ee yolun kenarında
235 bira içiyo bu
236 Merve: saba:n köründe
237 Kudret: saba:n köründe zaten hep saba:n köründe içerdi o goşarak geri yukarı çıktım (.) dedim ki büyük
238 oğluma baban aşşada dedim bira içiyo dedim dur bi dakika dedim ben şu ayakkabıları bi
239 çıkartıyım şimdi dedim o beni bıçaklarsa ben goşar goşamam dedim ayakkabıları çıkarttım eteği
240 çıkarttım pantolon giydim ondan sonra düz taban bi ayakkabı giydim o ayağımı biraz sıkır gibi
241 yaptı {smiling} gerçekten bunlar yani olan şeyler
242 Merve: Kudret abla beni /şoklara sokuyosun şu an yani/
243 Kudret: /normal spor ayakkabısı/
244 Merve: çık çık
245 Kudret: giydim ee küçük oğluma /dedim ki/
246 Merve: /kız hiç çıkmasaydın/ evden ya madem böyle /bişey sezdin/
247 Kudret: çıkmam /gerekiyodu/
248 Merve: /a a:::/
249 Kudret: yani o gün çıkmasam yarın yine çıkıcaktım ve böyle bişey ertesi gün yine olcaktı ben sadece
250 uzatmak istemedim (.) ve ben /bir gün öncesinde/
251 Merve: çık çık çık
252 Kudret: gelinim ve yiğenime dedim ki karnım o kadar acıyo ki sanki bıçak yicem /ben dedim/
253 Merve: /ha:::/
254 Kudret: benim altıncı hisselerim hep oldu bitti çok kuvvetliydi
(...)
255 Kudret: aşşa indik büyük oğlumla ee yaklaşık bi otuz otuz beş metre yürüdük bu yanımıza geldi (.)
256 dedikine ee akşam dedi neden kapıyı açmadın dedi ben torunları sevecektim dedi ben de
257 dedimkine bak dedim akşam ben o kapıyı açmış olsaydım sen sarhoştun dedim belki sen bana
258 bağarcaktın belki ben sana bağarcaktım dedim (.) onun için dedim çocuklar etkilenecek yani
259 bizim kendi çocuklarımızın hayatlarını maffettik dedim torunlarınıkini de maffetmeyelim onun
260 için açmadım kapıyı dedim
261 Merve: hıh
262 Kudret: büyük oğlum da dedi ki bak dedi yolun ortasında bağırma dedi babasına dükkana gidelim neyse
263 orda konuşursun dedi ben de dedim ki ben seni görmek istemiyorum dedim
264 Merve: hıh
265 Kudret: böyle dediğimde ee benim sağ kolumu tuttu sol eliyle sağ kolumu tuttu karnıma bişey vurdu yani
266 ben önce yumruk zannettim sonra ben yere düştüm yani düşmeme gibi bi lüksün yok adam zaten
267 dediğim gibi hani
268 Merve: babayığit
269 Kudret: ha babayığit bi adam yere düştüm böyle elimden tuttu hani elini çektiğimizde beraber çektik elini
270 böyle bıçaktan bi kan damlıyodu yani on santim girmiş zaten hani hastane şeylerinde de öyle
271 uzunca bi bıçak ve bıçağın sonuna kadar sokuyo çünkü şey kolunu çekti vurdu o kolunu çekmesi
272 benim hafızamdan heralde ölene kadar silinmez hani normal vursaydı derdim ki belki çaresiz her
273 şeyini kaybetmiş bir insandan çok bişey beklemeyin ama o kolunu çekiyo da hız alıyo ya orda
274 aslında seni öldürmek istiyo o ruh hali
- 229 Kudret: *that day I had a dream I was affected by the dream and woke up very early*
230 Merve: *what did you dream about*
231 Kudret: *well (.) there was an empty coffin the cemetery of our village and his parents're crying after it I*
232 *say don't cry the coffin is empty (.) I got scared as I dreamt of a coffin and I'd come to the shop*
233 *(.) I went down I am on high heels (.) I'm wearing a skirt (.) I was dressed like this and went down*
234 *I will go to the shop tczık when I went down I saw him drinking beer on the sidewalk*
235 Merve: *early in the morning*
236 Kudret: *early in the morning he always used to drink early in the morning (.) I went back home running (.)*

237 I told my elder son your father's drinking beer down there wait a minute I'll take off these shoes
 238 I said if he stabs me I can't run I took off the shoes and the skirt I wore pants and flat shoes they
 239 were a bit tight {smiling} really this is what happened
 240 Merve: Kudret sister you are /shocking me right now /
 241 Kudret: /normal sneakers/
 242 Merve: *tczik tczik*
 243 Kudret: I wore them and e:h told / my younger son /
 244 Merve: /girl you shouldn't have left/ home I mean if you /sense something/
 245 Kudret: I needed /to leave/
 246 Merve: /o::h/
 247 Kudret: I mean if I hadn't left that day I would have done so the next day and something like this would
 248 happen again the next day I just didn't want to prolong it (.) and the day before /I had told/
 249 Merve: *tczik tczik tczik*
 250 Kudret: my daughter in-law and my niece my stomach hurts so much that it feels /I will get stabbed/
 251 Merve: /wow/
 252 Kudret: my sixth sense has always been quite strong
 (...)

253 Kudret: I went down with my elder son e::h walked about thirty thirty-five meters he came to us (.) he said
 254 why didn't you open the door last night I would see my grandchildren I said look if I had opened
 255 the door you were drunken maybe you would have shouted at me or maybe I would have shouted
 256 at you (.) I said therefore the children'll be affected I mean we ruined our children's lives already
 257 and we shouldn't ruin our grandchildren's lives that's why I didn't open the door
 258 Merve: *hıh* {interjection for approval}
 259 Kudret: my elder son said to his father look don't shout in the middle of the road let's go to the shop and
 260 talk there and I said I don't want to see you
 261 Merve: *hıh*
 262 Kudret: when I said this he grabbed my right arm with his left hand and hit something on my stomach I
 263 mean I first supposed it was a fist then I fell down I mean you don't have luxury not to fall down
 264 as I said he is like a
 265 Merve: *giant*
 266 Kudret: yes he is a giant man I fell down and he grabbed my hand I mean when we pulled back his hand
 267 we pulled it together blood was dripping off the knife I mean it was ten centimeters inside it was
 268 recorded in the hospital records it is a long knife and he is stabbing till the end because he
 269 stabbed it after pulling his arm back I think his pulling his arm back will not be erased from my
 270 memory till I die I mean if he had stabbed normally, I would have thought maybe he is helpless
 271 you can't expect much from a man who lost everything but when he pulls his arm back and gains
 272 speed he actually wants to kill you at that moment it is that state of mind

Interview, 30 July 2020

Kudret starts narrating the day her husband stabbed her by referring to the dream she had. Upon the researcher's question (lines 230), she recounts her dream by using nouns such as *mezarlık* (cemetery), and *tabut* (coffin) in lines 231 and 232, which illustrates that it was indeed a nightmare. Mentioning that she was scared due to this dream, she continues to mention her going to work as follows “aşşa indim böyle topuklu ayakkabılarım var (.) etek giydim (.) işte böyle giyindim kuşandım indim dükkana gelcem / I went down I am on high heels (.) I'm wearing a skirt (.) I was dressed like this and went down I will go to the shop” (lines 233 & 234). In this statement, Kudret describes her outfit in order to contextualize her account. After seeing her husband in front of her apartment, she returns home running and talks to

her sons. In doing so, she quotes herself as follows “dur bi dakika dedim ben şu ayakkabıları bi çıkartıyım şimdi dedim o beni bıçaklarsa ben goşar goşamam dedim / *wait a minute I will take off these shoes I said if he stabs me, I can't run*” (lines 238 & 239). In this statement, the conditional predicate *bıçaklarsa* (if he stabs) suggests that Kudret predicts that her husband will stab her and her taking off her shoes in order to run better indicates that she will not try to avoid this. Next, she refers to her outfit change in lines 239 and 240. All these suggest that Kudret predicts that her husband will seriously assault her, and she has nothing to do except confronting him. In this way, she positions herself a helpless but brave woman who resigns to her fate at the risk of her life.

Appalled by the position Kudret adopts (line 242), the researcher intervenes in order to suggest an alternative solution saying that “kız hiç çıkmasaydın evden ya madem böyle bişey sezdin / *girl you shouldn't have left home I mean if you sense something*” (line 246). With this statement, the researcher empathizes with Kudret and tries to understand her point in not running away. Kudret interrupts the researcher saying that “çıkمام gerekiyodu / *I needed to leave*” (line 247), through which she implies that she has no other way out. Next, she explains the reason why by saying “yani o gün çıkmasam yarın yine çıkıcaktım ve böyle bişey ertesi gün yine olcaktı ben sadece uzatmak istemedim / *I mean if I hadn't left that day, I would have done so the next day and something like this would happen again the next day. I just didn't want to prolong it*” (lines 249 & 250). The conditional construction she employs provides an evaluation of the situation by assuming the reversed case, and the verb *uzatmak* (to prolong) implies the inevitability of the situation. In this way, Kudret consolidates how helpless she was and positions herself a desperate woman who takes the courage to confront the inevitable.

After constructing her helplessness and acceptance, Kudret continues to narrate what happened after she went down again. In doing so, she cites her conversation with her husband in front of the apartment in order to contextualize their argument (lines 256 – 260). Then, Kudret finalizes this conversation by quoting herself saying that “ben de dedim ki ben seni görmek istemiyorum dedim / *I said I don't want to see you*” (line 263). With this statement, she positions herself as a resistant woman who confronts her husband despite her foresight about being stabbed. Then, she describes the moment her husband stabbed her in detail saying that “böyle dediğimde ee benim sağ kolumu tuttu sol eliyle / *when I said this, he grabbed my right arm with his left hand*” (line 265). In this way, she implies that he took action to stab her following her resistant remark. Also, her reference to the exact arm he used and held creates a slow-motion description of that moment and indicates that she remembers every second of the incident, which implies that the incident has profound effects on her. Kudret continues saying that “karnıma bişey vurdu yani ben önce yumruk zannettim sonra ben yere düştüm / *he hit something to my stomach I mean I first supposed it was a fist then I fell down* (line 265 & 266). By using the indefinite pronoun *bişey* (something) and the verb *zannetmek* (to suppose), Kudret implies that she did not realize what was happening at that moment, which demonstrates how chaotic that moment was. Next, she attempts to describe the physical power of her husband with an adjective she used earlier, which is reminded by the researcher and confirmed by Kudret (lines 267, 268 & 269). With the adjective *babayiğit* (giant), she implies that she is physically disadvantaged, and it is difficult to resist him. In these ways, Kudret positions herself as a vulnerable yet resistant woman and her husband as a raving villain who assaults a physically disadvantaged woman.

Kudret continues to describe the moment her husband stabbed her by saying “beraber çektik elini böyle bıçaktan bi kan damlıyodu yani on santim girmiş / *we pulled it together. Blood was dripping off the knife I mean it was ten centimeters inside* (lines 269 & 270). In this statement, the adverb *beraber* (together) and the first-person plural inflection on the verb *çekmek* (to pull) demonstrate that she tried to resist by holding his hand. Also, the reference to blood and the present progressive inflection on the verb *damlamak* (to drip) again creates a slow-motion effect in her narration. In addition, her reference to the exact measure (ten centimeters) of the stabbed part of the knife demonstrates the severity of her injury. Kudret further focuses on the stabbed part of the knife in order to illustrate the feloniousness of her husband by saying that “uzunca bi bıçak ve bıçağın sonuna kadar sokuyo çünkü şey kolunu çekti / *It is a long knife and he is stabbing till the end because he stabbed it after pulling his arm back* (line 271). In this statement, she describes the knife with the adjective *uzun* (long). Also, the active construction of the verbs *sokmak* (to stab) and *çekmek* (to pull back) places Kudret’s husband as the perpetrator of the violence episode. In addition, the adverb *sonuna kadar* (till the end) and the emphasis on his pulling his arm back illustrates the felonious intentions of Kudret’s husband. In this way, she implies that it was not an accidental or spontaneous action and her husband deliberately tried to kill her, which positions him as a felonious murderer.

Subsequently, Kudret evaluates her husband’s feloniousness saying that “o kolunu çekmesi benim hafızamdan heralde ölene kadar silinmez / *I think his pulling his arm back will not be erased from my memory till I die*” (271 & 272). By emphasizing his pulling his arm, she demonstrates the profound psychological impact of his murder attempt. She further evaluates his action saying that “hani normal vursaydı derdim ki belki çaresiz her şeyini kaybetmiş bir insandan çok bişey

beklemeyin / *I mean if he had stabbed normally, I would have thought maybe he is helpless you can't expect much from a man who lost everything* (272 & 273). The conditional construction she employs illustrates that her interpretation of his violent act could have been different, which positions her as an empathetic and forgiving woman. Also, the adjective *çaresiz* (helpless) and the relative clause she uses to describe him *her şeyini kaybetmiş bir insan* (a person who lost everything) position her husband as a man out of control due to his helplessness. Kudret concludes this episode with these remarks, “ama o kolunu çekiyo da hız alıyo ya orda aslında seni öldürmek istiyio / *but when he pulls his arm back and gains speed, he actually wants to kill you at that moment* (273 & 274). In this statement, Kudret explains his pulling his arm back before stabbing her as a murder attempt. She reveals his true intentions with the adverb *aslında* (actually) and the verb *istemek* (to want) and consolidates his position as a murderer.

Fortunately, Kudret survives this felonious murder attempt after staying in the intensive care unit for 11 days. Her dangerous survival strategy has worked as she is alive, and her husband is currently imprisoned although she needed to almost die in order to avoid her violent husband, against whom she had pressed charges many times. As in this example, violence can sometimes reach its peak with severe results and the participants seek various ways to avoid it until they finally emancipate from it.

Following the emergence of violence and major violence episodes, the participants of this study often refer to the peak of violence in order to contextualize their upcoming emancipation, and thereby assign positions to their characters. In doing so, they employ a wide range of linguistic devices such as quotation, interjection, stress, and word choice (see Table 5 for summary).

Table 5. List of the Linguistic Devices Used in the Construction of Peak of Violence

Linguistic Level of Analysis	Linguistic Device	Example
Phonology	Stress & Repetition	“ <u>veriyodum verdim</u> son zamanlarda yakasını paçasını yırttım / <i>I did I responded I battered him lately</i> ” (lines 209 & 210)
	Vowel lengthening	“çorbayı koydu::m / <i>I put the soup</i> ” (line 220)
Morphology		
Syntax	Quotation	“ben de dedim ki ben seni görmek istemiyorum dedim / <i>I said I don't want to see you</i> ” (line 263)
Semantics	Word choice	“uzunca bi bıçak ve bıçağın sonuna kadar sokuyo çünkü şey kolunu çekti / <i>It is a long knife and he is stabbing till the end because he stabbed it after pulling his arm back</i> (line 271)
	Formulaic expression	“veriyodum verdim son zamanlarda yakasını paçasını yırttım / <i>I did I responded I battered him lately</i> ” (lines 209 & 210)
Pragmatics /Discourse	Interjection	“YALLAH dedi bana bi vurdu / <i>BOOM he hit me</i> (lines 221 & 222)

Taking all these together, since this study focuses on the survival and power stories of a group women who were long oppressed by their intimate male partners, violence surfaces as a recurring topic in the stories. Therefore, in this chapter, I have examined the topic of violence as a process from emergence to peak within the personal narratives of the participants. In doing so, I have discussed how violence emerges, progresses, and reaches its peak by focusing on the linguistic devices employed by the participants. In the next chapter, I will focus on how the participants negotiate power and construct their emancipation from violence within their stories.

CHAPTER 6

CONSTRUCTION OF EMANCIPATION IN THE STORIES

In Chapter 5, I have demonstrated how violence, as an emergent main topic, is constructed as a process from emergence to peak within the personal stories of the participants. Likewise, emerging as one of the main topics in this data set, emancipation is constructed as a process within the dramatic yet inspirational survival stories of the participants. To be more specific, since this study relies on the survival and power stories of the participants, they often refer to their emancipatory attempts, moments of emancipation and post-emancipatory conditions and in the meantime establish and contest their power in the interactional realm of the interviews. Research on narrative and power concentrates on how power is constructed and negotiated within storytelling processes based on detailed interactional accounts. Power within this tradition is considered as a phenomenon established and negotiated via solid and vernacular devices of discursive communication rather than as an abstract overlapping concept (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012). To this end, in this chapter, I will explore how the participants construct their emancipation and thereby negotiate power within the different stages of their emancipatory accounts from pre-emancipation to post-emancipation, and how they assign positions to themselves and others during the interaction. In doing so, I will examine the linguistic devices used to construct emancipation and position the characters accordingly, which is expected to shed light on how selves are linguistically produced and reproduced in reference to empowerment in Turkish oral narrative discourse.

6.1 Pre-emancipatory power negotiation

As the participants narrate their violence accounts as a process from emergence to peak as demonstrated in Chapter 5, they often refer to their pre-emancipatory attempts of negotiating power and positioning themselves as powerful agents rather than mere victims. Therefore, in this section, I will discuss their pre-emancipatory accounts in reference to power negotiation and examine the positions assigned.

In the extract below, Başak refers to an episode where she challenges her in-laws, who constantly oppress her, prior to her emancipation. She explains how she is oppressed and how she reacts as follows:

Extract 6.1

- 1 Başak: ama bu gaynanamın şiddeti böyle bu evde baskısı hakareti bit- ha bu ara bi de şey diyolar ben
2 anneme gidemiyom (.) beni anneme göndermiyolar niye? ee biz seni parayla satın aldık
3 Merve: hi::
4 Başak: biz seni parayla satın aldık kesinlikle biz ne dersek o biz istersek gönder gönderme yani
5 gidemezsin biz göndermezsek senin gitme hakkın yok biz götürürsek gönderirsek gideceksin
6 götürmezsek gidemezsin o bizim isteğimize kalmış çünkü biz seni parayla satın aldık
7 (...)
8 bi gün dedim ki (.) artık ee demek ki insanın şartları zorlayınca gafa çalışmaya başlıyo yani artık
9 şartlar zorlamıyınca kafa basmıyo heralde onu anladım (.) dedim ki oturdum annemgil bunlara
10 beş bin lira para verdi o zamanın parası beş bin lira beş bilezik ediyodu (.) kolumda da on sekiz
11 tane bileziğim var (.) gayınbabama dedim ki ikisi de oturuyo gaynanamnan yan yana ben size
12 bişey söyleyicem dedim söyle dediler (.) anneme dedim bu kadar para verdiniz o para da o zaman
13 beş bilezik ediyodu değil mi dedim evet dedi annemgil tarafından dedim bana beş bilezik takıldı
14 yüz dolar amcam vermişti ona alınmıştı bi bilezik babaannem takmıştı bi ona alındı bi bilezik
15 annem taktı babam taktı derken beş bileziği tamamladım annemgil gelen tarafından altınları evet
16 dediler beş bilezik parası geldi dedi ben dedim bu bilezik beş bileziği size verirsem bi daha bu lafı
17 bana konuşur musunuz dedim seni satın aldık şöyle böyle der misin- yok demek dediler tamam
18 dedim çıkarttım verdim beş bileziği bi daha bana bu lafı konuşmayın dedim tamam sadece o
19 kelimeyi konuşmadılar ama şiddet bitmedi
- 1 Başak: *but the violence of my mother-in-law I mean her pressure and insult at home contin- by the way*
2 *they also say this I can't visit my mother (.) they don't let me visit my mother why not? we bought*
3 *you with money*
4 Merve: *oh:::*
5 Başak: *we bought you with money absolutely you have to do whatever we say if we want you can go if*
6 *not you don't have right to go if we take you there or let you go you will go if not you can't it*
7 *depends on our will because we bought you with money*
8 (...)
9 *one day I said (.) e:h I guess your brain works when you push the limits I mean I learnt that it*
10 *doesn't work when you don't push the limits (.) I sat and said my parents paid five thousand liras*
11 *for this them?at that time five thousand liras're worth five bracelets (.) and I have eighteen*
12 *bracelets on my wrist (.) I told my father-in-law they're both sitting with my mother-in-law I have*
13 *money was worth five bracelets at that time, wasn't it? he said yes I said I was given five*
14 *bracelets by my parents and my uncle gave a hundred dollars and it was also exchanged with a*
15 *bracelet my grandmother gave one bracelet and one bracelet from my mother and one from my*
16 *father just then I reached five bracelets I mean the gold that came from my parents' side they said*
17 *yes money worth of five bracelets came from them I said if I give you these five bracelets will you*
18 *use these words to me again like we bought you and so on they said no we won't I said okay took*
19 *off and gave those five bracelets I said do not use these words to me again okay they just didn't*

Başak starts by referring to forms of oppression her mother-in-law exerted on her by using the words *şiddet* (violence), *baskı* (oppression) and *hakaret* (insult) in line 1. Next, by interrupting herself, she exemplifies their oppression saying that “ben anneme gidemiyom (.) beni anneme göndermiyorlar / *I can't visit my mother (.) they don't let me visit my mother*” (line 1 & 2). In her first sentence, she marks herself as the subject of the action and by using the negative ability aspect on the action verb *gitmek* (to go), she illustrates that she is deprived of the control of the action. In the next sentence, she illustrates who controls her actions by marking herself as the object and using the verb *göndermek* (to let go) in third person plural to refer to her in-laws. In this way, she positions herself as an oppressed subject who lacks power while she positions her in-laws as oppressors that exert power on her.

As she continues, Başak employs the rhetorical question *niye* (why) in order to account for the so-called reason of this oppression and answers her own question by quoting her in-laws as follows, “biz seni parayla satın aldık / we bought you with money” (line 2). At this point, it is crucial to explain what she means by “buying her with money” in order to contextualize this account. Bride wealth was a common practice in Turkey until recently, in which the groom's family pays a negotiated price for the bride to the bride's family in order to compensate her expenses covered by her family from birth till marriage. Accordingly, the expression “buying her with money” refers to the bride wealth paid for Başak to her family. In this quotation, Başak, who is the addressee of the quoted sentence, is referred to with the object pronoun *seni* (you) whereas second-person plural marking on the verb *satın almak* (to buy) refers to her in-laws. Also, the stress on the verb and emphasis of the action via the adverb phrase *parayla* (with money) dehumanize Başak as a commodity that

can be purchased and sold. In this way, Başak illustrates how she is regarded by her in-laws and thereby positions herself a powerless person who is objectified and her in-laws as the oppressors who own power on her. In the following lines (4, 5 & 6), she consolidates these positions by quoting her in-laws. Accordingly, the verbs she employs such as *satın almak* (to buy), *göndermek* (to let something go / to send), *götürmek* (to take someone somewhere) demonstrates how she is objectified and deprived of her agency, which again positions her as an oppressed woman who lacks power over her actions and her in-laws as the figures of authority who claim power over her.

Subsequently, Başak refers to an episode when she could not stand the attitude of her in-laws, which she marks temporally with the adverb *bi gün* (one day) in line 7. She continues explaining her reaction by providing an evaluation of her state saying that “demek ki insanın şartları zorlayınca gafa çalışmaya başlıyo / *I guess your brain works when you push the limits*”. Through the verb *şartları zorlamak* (to push the limits), Başak illustrates how unbearable the situation is for her. Next, she refers to the amount of money paid her family as bride wealth and the gold bracelets that have been given her as wedding gifts in lines 8 and 9. Then, she animates the conversation between her and her in-laws from line 10 to 17 by quoting herself and her in-laws in turns. After specifying the wedding gifts given by her own family, she quotes herself stating that “ben dedim bu bilezik beş bileziği size verirsem bi daha bu lafi bana konuşur musunuz dedim seni satın aldık şöyle böyle der misi- / *I said if I give you these five bracelets, will you use these words to me again like we bought you and so on*” (lines 15 & 16). In this quotation, the conditional construction she employs suggests that she tries to make sure if their oppression will end when she pays them her bride wealth back. Following her in-

laws' response approving her, she mentions that she gave some of her bracelets to her in-laws and quotes herself stating that "bi daha bana bu lafı konuşmayın dedim / I said do not use these words to me again" (line 17). Using the negative imperative construction, she implies how direct she was in her demand. In these ways, Başak negotiates power with her in-laws and tries to prevent them from oppressing her and thereby positions herself as a resistant person who does not accept being oppressed. Nevertheless, she concludes this episode saying that this resistant action has not stopped violence.

Similarly, in the extract below, Güneş narrates challenging her husband by refusing to give him her salary as follows:

Extract 6.2

- 19 Güneş: dedim benim paramdan sana ne dedi nası dedi ya! napıcan sen o kadar parayı dedi (.) Selim
20 dedim benim paramdan sana ne bunu seni ne ilgilendiriyoyani ondan sona sen şöylesin de! sen o
21 kadar parayı görünce şımarıdın! o kadar para dediği de on bin lira ya yani şu anın parasıyla o
22 zaman üç bin lira mı beş bin lira mı yalan olmasın öyle bi şey yani (.) benim kafa çat etti böyle
23 ama hani evi ayıracak yuva düzelecek kız ortada kalmıycak ya ben yine seslenmiyom ama parayı
24 vermemekte diretiyorum vermedim (.) bu tiriplerde aramıyo sormuyo hani bana şeyi o yakıt
25 parasını gönderecekti ya o da yok öyle mi dedim ben de bir yedim orda gittim kendime bi güzel
26 telefon aldım mı bana kendine android telefon aldı bana tuşlu telefon dedim bana da ondan alsana
27 sen onu gullanamazsın çünkü Güneş salak hiçbi şeyi beceremez lisans mezunuyum lan ben (.)
28 üniversite mezunuyum sen lise mezunuydun (.) sen muhtarın verdiği bi kağıdı bile dolduramayan
29 bi adamdın ama benim android telefon kullanamayacağı mı düşünen bir adamdı (.) öyle mi öyle
30 gittim sıfır bir telefon aldım mı
(...)
- 31 Güneş: yedim içtim velhasıl teleferiğe bindim işte orda gezilecek yerleri gezdim kıyafetler aldım
32 kardeşlerime harcadım (.) yedim yani
33 Merve: afiyet olsun
34 Güneş: çünkü yemedim hiç yemedim biliyo musun ben sinemaya gitmedim para harcanmasın ev aldım (.)
35 kayınvaldemın üstüne aldılar evi emekliye şu olmazmış bu olmazmış ben bilmiyorum ki (.) benim
36 yarım kiloya yakın altınım vardı hepsini verdim o eve (.) kredi çektik yemedim giyemedim
37 gezmedim o evi ödedim yemedim giyemedim gezmedim araba aldım ben hastayken arabayı
38 satmışlar ev de kaynananın üstüne zaten satış göstermişler daha doğrusu
39 Merve: a a:: bunlar senin hem evinin hem arabanın üzerine kondu bi de
40 Güneş: kondular artı ben bir pijamayla babamın evine geldim atlet dahi vermediler çünkü orda benim
41 hiçbi şeyde hakkım yokmuş el kızıymışım babamın evinden mi getirmişim ne hak talep
42 edebilirmişim kız bile benim değilmiş eşim dedi ki kola makinası para atıyosun ya! kola düşünce
43 makinanın mı olur senin mi olur!
44 Merve: ne!
45 Güneş: kız da benim değilmiş (.) hiçtim ya ben bi hiçtim

- 19 Güneş: I said my money is none of your business he said how on earth! He said what are you going to do
20 with all that money! (.) I said Selim my money is none of your business I mean I said what is it to
21 you? and then he was like you are like this! you got spoiled after having that much money! and
22 that much money is ten thousand liras with current money I mean that time was it three thousand
23 or five thousand I don't want to lie something like that (.) a light dawned but I kept quite because
24 you know he will separate our house our family will recover and my daughter will not be down
25 but also I resisted not to give the money I didn't give it (.) he cops an attitude I mean he doesn't
26 call or anything he would also send me the fuel money and he didn't I said okay and spent the
27 money freely I bought myself a nice mobile phone he had bought himself a smartphone and a

28 push-button one for me I said will you buy me that one too he said you are not able to use that
 29 because Güneş is stupid and can't accomplish anything boy I have a B.A. degree (.) I'm a
 30 university graduate you're a high school graduate (.) you're a man who could not fill in even a
 31 document given by the neighborhood chief but he was a man who thought I wasn't able to use a
 32 smartphone (.) is this the case? good I bought myself a brand-new phone.
 (...)
 33 Güneş: in short I ate and drank. I got on cable car and visited the see-sighting places I bought clothes I
 34 spent for my sisters (.) I mean I spent it freely
 35 Merve: bon appetite
 36 Güneş: because you know what I had never spent it I didn't even go to the cinema to save money and I
 37 bought a house (.) but they registered it on my mother-in-law's name saying that it will not be this
 38 and that for the retired I didn't know (.) I had almost half kilograms of gold and I gave it all for
 39 that house (.) we obtained loan and I didn't eat or wear or hang out but paid it I didn't eat or
 40 wear or hang out but bought a car late I found out that they had sold the car when I was ill and
 41 the house was registered on the mother-in-law and they registered it as sold
 42 Merve: o:h so they also conned you out of your house and car
 43 Güneş: they did plus I came to my father's house with my pajamas and they didn't even give me an
 44 undershirt because they said I had no rights there I was a stranger it wasn't that I brought those
 45 from my father's house what on earth could I have made a claim? even the daughter wasn't
 46 mine my husband said you know you insert a coin into a vending machine! when the coke is
 47 down is it the machine's or yours?
 48 Merve: what!
 49 Güneş: the daughter wasn't mine either (.) I was nothing I mean nothing

Interview, 3 July 2020

The extract starts with the self-quotation of Güneş as follows, “dedim benim paramdan sana ne / I said my money is none of your business” (line 19). The formulaic expression *sana ne* (none of your business) used in this self-quotation illustrates Güneş's resistant position towards her husband. Next, she quotes her husband's reaction saying that “dedi nasıl dedi ya! napıcan sen o kadar parayı! dedi / he said how on earth! He said what are you going to do with all that money!”. The rhetorical question *nasıl ya* (how on earth) illustrates the confusion of her husband. Also, the inverted interrogative sentence structure puts the emphasis on the money. By presenting her husband's reaction in this way, Güneş implies that she does not behave like that usually, which fosters her resistant position towards her husband. As she continues to quote herself, she consolidates her rebellious position with the formulaic expressions *sana ne* (none of your business) and *seni ne ilgilendiriyo* (what is it to you) in line 20. Then, she quotes her husband again saying that “sen o kadar parayı görünce şımarydın! / You got spoiled after having that much money!” (line 20 & 21). In this way, she demonstrates the emphasis on the amount of money with the phrase *o kadar para* (that much money) and the accusation of her husband

of herself with the verb *şımarmak* (to get spoiled). Next, Güneş refers to the current equivalent of the money and implies that it is not that much indeed. Upon this contextualization, she refers to her moment of awakening saying that “benim kafa çat etti böyle / *a light dawned*” (line 22). Through this onomatopoeic expression, she illustrates her brisk realization of her husband’s underlying intentions. Upon this moment of awakening, she refers to her reaction saying that “ama hani evi ayıracak yuva düzelecek kız ortada kalmıyacak ya ben yine seslenmiyom / but I kept quite because you know he will separate our house, our family will recover, and my daughter will not be down” (lines 22 & 23). In this statement, the adverb *yine* (again) and the negative marking on the verb *seslenmek* (to raise one’s voice) shows that Güneş still does not take any action despite her realization. She accounts for her passive attitude by referring to her home and her daughter. In this way, she positions herself as a self-sacrificing and enduring wife and mother. Yet, she continues to display how she negotiates power saying that “ama parayı vermemekte diretiyorum vermedim / *but also I resisted not to give the money I didn’t give it*” (lines 23 & 24). The conjunction *ama* (but), the verb *diretmek* (to resist) and negative marking on the verb *vermek* (to give) demonstrates how she keeps challenging her husband. In this way, she positions herself as an altruistic yet resistant woman who does not accept her husband’s intervention to her financial issues, and her husband as a man who tries to control her by making claim over her money.

Subsequently, Güneş mentions her husband’s taking stand against her by not calling her. She accepts his challenge by saying that “öyle mi dedim ben de bir yedim orda / *I said okay and spent the money freely*” (line 25). By using the verb *yemek* (to spend money freely), she illustrates her challenging attitude. In doing so, she first reports purchasing a mobile phone by referring to an episode when her

husband bought himself a smartphone saying that “kendine android telefon aldı bana tuşlu telefon / *He had bought himself a smartphone and a push-button one for me*” (line 26). In this statement, by comparing their mobile phones, she illustrates how unequally he treated her. Next, in order to account for his reasoning, she quotes her husband saying that “sen onu kullanamazsın çünkü Güneş salak hiçbir şeyi beceremez / *you are not able to use that because Güneş is stupid and can't accomplish anything*” (lines 26 & 27). In the first sentence, the subject pronoun *sen* (you) and the second-person singular marking on the verb *kullanmak* (to use) illustrates that the sentence belongs to her husband. Also, the negative ability aspect on the verb demonstrates her husband’s perception of her as an incapable person. In the second sentence, Güneş puts herself in the subject position by referring to herself with her name and marking the verb in third-person singular. In this way, she ironically implies that this sentence does not belong to his husband, yet it is an interpretation she deduced from his statement. Therefore, by using irony, she illustrates her position in the eyes of her husband as an ignorant and incapable woman.

In her following remarks, Güneş challenges this perception saying that “lisans mezunuyum lan ben / *mate I have a B.A. degree*” (line 27). By referring to her B.A. degree, she juxtaposes her husband’s perception with her academic qualification; and in doing so, she positions herself as an educated person who is superior to her husband. Also, by using the interjection *lan* (boy), she sounds more aggressive and bolsters her resistant position. Then, she compares the academic qualifications of hers and her husband’s saying that “üniverste mezunuyum sen lise mezunuydun / *I am a university graduate you were a high school graduate*” (lines 27 & 28). By this comparison, she positions herself as superior to her husband and challenges his oppressive power he exerts over her. Güneş maintains this position by further

defining him as an inferior man in terms of capacity and says that “sen muhtarın verdiği bi kağıdı bile dolduramayan bi adamdın / *you were a man who could not fill in even a document given by the neighborhood chief*” (line 28). The adverb *bile* (even) and the negative ability marking on the verbal adjective *dolduramayan* (who could not fill in) demonstrates how low her husband’s capacity is and supports her superior position over him.

In lines 31 and 32, Güneş specifies how she spent her money as she wishes, and accounts for this by explaining she has never spent it to support her family in lines 34, 35, 36 & 37. The negated verbs such as *yemedim* (I didn’t spend), *sinemaya gitmedim* (I didn’t go to the cinema), *giymedim* (I didn’t wear), *gezmedim* (I didn’t hang out) illustrates how much she has sacrificed to buy a house and car for her family. Furthermore, by mentioning the house was registered on her mother-in-law (line 35) and the car was sold when she was ill (lines 37 & 38), she demonstrates how her husband and mother-in-law cheated her. At this point, the researcher intervenes to contribute to her positioning by saying that “*a a:: bunlar senin hem evinin hem arabanın üzerine kondu bi de / oh::: so they also conned you out of your house and car*” (line 39). The interjection *a a:::* (oh:::) shows how shocking this situation is. Also, the conjunction *hem ... hem...* (both... and ...) and the verb *üzerine konmak* (con someone out of something) illustrates how much the researcher realizes that Güneş was cheated. Moreover, the adverb *bi de* (also) implies that this is not the first time Güneş’s husband and mother-in-law did this to her. In these ways, the researcher displays her sympathy with Güneş by positioning husband and mother-in-law as money grubbers. Welcoming the researcher’s intervention, Güney continues to maintain the positions she constructs with the researcher saying that “*kondular artı ben bir pijamayla babamın evine geldim atlet dahi vermediler / they*

did plus I came to my father's house with my pajamas and they didn't even give me an undershirt" (line 40). Her repetition of the verb *kondular* (they conned) confirms the researcher's interpretation. Also, the adverb *artı* (plus) implies that there is more to come about this situation. Her reference to *pijama* (pajamas) and *atlet* (undershirt) indicates how little she took with her to her father's home, which fortifies the positions she has assigned to her husband and mother-in-law as money grubbers who cheat her of her rights.

Following this, Güneş refers to her husband and mother-in-law's reasoning for not giving her anything by quoting them in lines 40, 41, 42, 43 and 45. In her quotation, she does not employ the formulaic expression *dediler* (they said); instead, she implies that these statements belong to them by inflecting the verbs with past tense affix -miş, which works with the hearsay function in this context. Also, she stresses these verbs to add an ironic effect as follows: *hakkım yokmuş* (I had no right), *el kızıymışım* (I was a stranger), *benim değilmiş* (wasn't mine). Moreover, the rhetorical question forms "babamın evinden mi getirmişim / *did I bring them from my father's house?*" and "ne hak talep edebilirmişim / *What on earth could I have made a claim?*" contributes to her ironic position regarding their explanations and illustrates how unacceptable their reasoning is. Next, she specifically quotes her husband saying that "eşim dedi ki kola makinası para atıyosun ya! kola düşünce makinanın mı olur senin mi olur! / *My husband said you know you insert a coin into a vending machine! When the coke is down, is it the machine's or yours?*". In this quotation, the allegory of vending machine assigns a non-agentive position to Güneş, who is compared to the vending machine, and attributes an active position to her husband as the person using the vending machine. Relying on these positions, this allegory assigns the ownership of their child to her husband. However, by animating

his words through ironic intonation, Güneş challenges his ownership claim over their daughter. Furthermore, the researcher's emphatic reaction "ne! / *what!*" (line 48) contributes to Güneş's positioning by implying how ridiculous the allegory is. Finally, Güneş concludes by evaluating their reasoning saying that "hiçtim ya ben bi hiçtim / *I was nothing I mean nothing*" (line 45). By repeating and stressing the indefinite pronoun *hiç* (nothing), she keeps challenging the non-agentive position assigned to her. In all these ways, Güneş narrates how she has negotiated power with her husband and mother-in-law and displays her power in contrast to their oppression on her.

Since this study focuses on the survival and power stories of the participants, they constantly visit, negotiate, and reconstruct power as a process within their stories. In doing so, they often refer to their pre-emancipatory accounts in order to position themselves as resistant agents. Therefore, in this section, I have demonstrated that the participants disclose their power by challenging their oppressors in their pre-emancipatory accounts. In my analysis, I have shown that they heavily employ quotation, irony, allegory, formulaic expressions, rhetorical questions, stress, word choice and reference to their qualifications and possessions. By using these linguistic devices (see Table 6 below), they position themselves as resistant agents who take action when they face oppression rather than remaining silent.

Table 6. List of the Linguistic Devices Used in the Construction of Pre-emancipatory Power

Linguistic Level of Analysis	Linguistic Device	Example
Phonology	Stress	“biz seni parayla <u>satın aldık</u> / <i>we bought you with money</i> ” (line 2)
	Onomatopoeia	“benim kafa çat etti / <i>a light dawned</i> ” (line 22)
Morphology	Past tense affix -miş	“hakkım yokmuş / <i>I had no right</i> , el kızımışım / <i>I was a stranger</i> ” (line 41)
Syntax	Quotation	“napıcan sen o kadar parayı! dedi / <i>he said what are you going to do with that much money!</i> ” (line 19)
Semantics	Word choice	“bu gaynanamın şiddeti böyle bu evde baskısı hakareti / <i>the violence of my mother-in-law I mean her pressure and insult at home</i> ” (line 1)
	Formulaic expression	“benim paramdan sana ne / <i>my money is none of your business</i> ” (line 19)
Pragmatics /Discourse	Allegory	“kola makinasına para atıyorsun ya! kola düşünce makinanın mı olur senin mi olur! / <i>you know you insert a coin into a vending machine! when the coke is down, is it the machine's or yours?</i> ” (lines 42 & 43)
	Rhetorical question	“babamın evinden mi getirmişim / <i>did I bring them from my father's house?</i> ” (lines 41 & 42)
	Irony	“çünkü Güneş salak hiçbi şeyi beceremez / <i>because Güneş is stupid and she can't do anything</i> ” (lines 27)
	Interjection	“lisans mezunuyum lan ben / <i>mate I have a B.A. degree</i> ” (line 27)

6.2 Power at the moment of emancipation

Having narrated their emancipatory attempts as violence proceeds, the participants often refer to the point where they cannot take it anymore and the emancipatory action they take. In doing so, they narrate how they struggle to leave their abusive relationships. Therefore, the moment of emancipation is one of the points where power manifests itself explicitly in the survival and power stories of the participants. To this end, in this section, I will explore how the participants negotiate and construct power at the moment of emancipation in reference to the positions they assign to themselves and others relying on linguistic devices.

In the extract below, Fatma refers to her moment of emancipation and narrates

how she has left her abusive relationship as follows:

Extract 6.3

46 Fatma: dedim napıyım kabul edecez kabul ettik işte öyle böyle öyle böyle /inekler/
47 Merve: /daha bi de/ bunun üstüne sen kabul ettin devam ettin=
48 Fatma: = devam ettim=
49 Merve: = ne sabır varmış sende fatma abla valla=
50 Fatma: = ama yapacak bi şey yo:k (.) sabır yo:k yapacak bi şey yok işte ne zaman ki sabır yok (.) artık
51 ineklerden para kazanmaya başladım çocuklarım büyüdü artık kafama koydum ben babamın
52 evine gitmem ben ayrı bi ev tutarım çocuklarıma kendim bakırım /dedim/
53 Merve: /onu gözün kesince/
54 Fatma: ablama dedim ki abla ben bu adamdan ayrılacam (.) adam eve gelmiyo: içiyo: danayı satmıya
55 kalkıyo: erkek kardeşimi aradım dedim ki ya dedim benim ölümü bulacaksınız tehdit ediyö
56 öldürecez diye bu inek için yapıyo para için beni öldürecek çünkü bi boğazımı sıktı onun üstüne
57 bi sene daha devam ettik biz o benim boğazımı sıkıp dövdüğünden sonra bi sene daha devam ettik
58 onun üzerine çatal gösteriyo şunu işte dürterim bıçak gösteriyo işte yaparım ee anladım ki artık
59 aslında sustuğum için dövmüyümü ben konuşmaya başlayıp da hayır deyince işte para istiyö yok
60 diyom vermem diyom işte ineği satalım diyo sattırımıyom (.) onun üzerine adam iyice çıldırmaya
61 başladı (.) içiyo daha çok böyle aleni yapıyo artık önce gizli yapıyodu artık onu da aleni yapmaya
62 başladı (.) öyle yapmaya başlayınca erkek kardeşimi aradım (.) ya dedim benim ölümü
63 bulacaksınız bu mal için ya malımdan olacam ya canımdan olacam ikisinden biri ben dedim
64 ayrılacam babama söyle dedim bana karşı çıkmasın dedim babamla konuş ablama dedim ablam
65 yalvarmaya başladı dedi ki napacan nasıl ayrılacan ayrılırsan neriye gidecen abla dedim ben
66 ayrılacam ayrı ev tutacam dedim nereyi tutacan dedi işte iki üç tane ev gözüme kestirdim
67 mahallede (.) dedim ki bu evler boş dedim bu evlere çıkacam ben dedim verirse iki kanepemi alıp
68 çıkarım vermezse çocuklarımlı alıp çıkacam dedim
69 Merve: hıh
70 Fatma: ablam dedi ki iyi düşün dedi tamam dedim fatma nolur dedi iki üç gün daha düşün tamam abla
71 düşünecem dedim iki üç gün evde duruyom ama fikrim değişmiyo eşimle kavga etmiyom
72 kayıvaldemgile hiçbi şey demiyom kafama koydum artık çünkü çıkacam kimseye de bişey
73 demiyom iki üç gün daha durdum ablam dur diyo ya ısrarla /durdum/
74 Merve: /hıh/
75 Fatma: ama benim fikrim değişmedi ben dedim çıkacam ablam dedi ki ya nası geçinecen ben geçinirim
76 abla evi ben geçindiriyom dedim elektriği ben yatırıyom suyu ben yatırıyom üstüne üslük bi de
77 onu besliyom ben
78 Merve: aynen öyle
79 Fatma: bi de onu besliyom niye besliyom ben bu adamı

46 Fatma: *I thought there was nothing to do but to accept so I did thus and so /the cows/*
47 Merve: */upon this/ you accepted and moved on=*
48 Fatma: *= I moved on=*
49 Merve: *= how much patience you have Fatma sister=*
50 Fatma: *= but there is nothing to do (.) there is no patience and there is nothing to do once there is no*
51 *patience (.) I started to make money from the cows and my kids were grown up then I made up my*
52 *mind I thought I won't go to my father's house. I can rent a separate house and I can look after*
53 *myself and /my kids/*
54 Merve: */when you ventured on it/*
55 Fatma: *I told my sister I will break up with this man sister (.) the man doesn't come home he is drinking*
56 *and attempting to sell the calf I called my brother and said either you'll find my dead body- he is*
57 *threatening to kill me he is doing it for the cow he will kill me for money because once he*
58 *strangled me upon that we continued for one more year after he strangled and beat me we*
59 *continued one more year and he is showing fork saying that I will stab this he is showing knife*
60 *then I understood that he indeed hadn't beaten me because I remained silent when I started to*
61 *speak up and say no I mean he asks for money and I say no and then he says let's sell the cow but*
62 *I don't let him (.) upon this the man started to lose his mind (.) he is drinking and doing it*
63 *explicitly formerly he used to do it secretly and he started to do it explicitly (.) when he started*
64 *doing this I called my brother (.) I said either you will find my dead body I will lose my life for*
65 *the property I mean either I will lose my property or my life it will be one of them I said I will*
66 *break up I said tell my father I said talk to my father so that he doesn't object to this I told my*
67 *sister and she started to beg she said what will you do how will you break up if you break up*
68 *where will you go I said sister I will break up. I said I will rent a separate house. She said what*
69 *will you rent and I had laid eye on a few houses in the neighborhood (.) I said these houses are*

70 empty I said I will move into one of these I said I will take my two sofas with me if he gives them
 71 if not I will take my kids with me and leave
 72 Merve: good
 73 Fatma: my sister said think carefully I said okay she said Fatma please think for a few more days I said
 74 okay sister I will think I have been staying at home for a few days but my mind doesn't change I
 75 don't argue with my husband. I don't say anything to my in-laws. I made up my mind because I
 76 will leave I don't say anything to anyone I waited for a few days more because my sister insists
 77 that I wait so I /waited/
 78 Merve: /good/
 79 Fatma: but my mind didn't change I said I will leave my sister said how will you make a living I said I
 80 will make a living sister I look after the house I pay the electricity bill I pay the water bill and on
 81 top of it I feed him as well
 82 Merve: exactly
 83 Fatma: also I feed him why do I feed this man

Interview, 27 June 2020

At the beginning of the extract, Fatma refers to the aftermath of her consultation with a psychologist about her husband's lying and her helpless acceptance. Upon the researcher's intervention to position Fatma as a patient person in line 49, Fatma rejects this positioning saying that "ama yapacak bi şey yo:k (.) sabır yo:k yapacak bi şey yok / but there is nothing to do (.) there is no patience and there is nothing to do" (line 50). The stress on the negative predication helps Fatma position herself as a helpless person rather than a patient person. Subsequently, she mentions the moment when the circumstances allow her to leave this abusive relationship in lines 50, 51 and 52. Accordingly, she refers to her making money on her cows and the growth of her children and then states that "artık kafama koydum ben babamın evine gitmem ben ayrı bi ev tutarım çocuklarıma kendim bakarım dedim / then I made up my mind I thought I won't go to my father's house. I can rent a separate house and I can look after myself and my kids". The formulaic expression *kafama koydum* (I made up my mind) illustrates her power and decisiveness about leaving her husband. Also, the stress on the predication that explains her emancipation plans fortifies her powerful and decisive position.

Next, Fatma reports sharing her decision with her sister and brother by explaining them the reasons why in lines 54 to 61. In doing so, she specifically utilizes negative words to refer to her husband such as *tehdit etmek* (to threaten),

öldürmek (to kill), *boğazını sıkmak* (to strangle), *dövmek* (to beat), *çıldırmaq* (to go crazy), and *içmek* (to drink alcohol). Through negative word choice, she portrays her husband as a felonious villain in the eyes of her siblings and thereby justifies her decision to leave him. Then, she quotes her sister's concerns about her decision saying that "ablam yalvarmaya başladı dedi ki napacan nasıl ayrılacan ayrılırsan neriye gidecen / *she started to beg. She said what will you do how will you break up if you break up, where will you go*" (line 65). The verb *yalvarmak* (to beg) implies that her sister is seriously worried about decision. Also, the questions *napacan* (what will you do), *nasıl* (how) and *neriye* (where) illustrates the magnitude of her decision. Thus, Fatma continues specifying her action plan to move into another house in lines 66 and 67. The formulaic expression *gözüne kestirmek* (to lay eye on) implies that she has long thought about her decision and action plan. She further demonstrates her decisiveness saying that "verirse iki kanepemi alıp çıkarım vermezse çocuklarımı alıp çıkacam dedim / *I said I will take my two sofas with me if he gives them, if not, I will take my kids with me and leave.*" (lines 67 & 68). In this statement, her giving up on her furniture suggests that she is so certain about her decision that she does not care about anything else. Also, her reference to her children positions her as the mother that she is, fond of her children.

In all these ways, Fatma positions herself as a strong and decisive woman who is about to leave her relationship.

However, Fatma's action plan does not convince her sister, who insists on her thinking about this further in line 70; therefore, she reports waiting for a little while and keeping silent towards her husband and mother-in-law in lines 71 and 72. Then, she continues saying that "ama benim fikrim değişmedi ben dedim çıkacam / *but my mind didn't change I said I will leave*" (line 75). The conjunction *ama* (but) and the

reference to her idea not changing in this statement shows how decisive she is. After quoting her sister's persistent questions about her decision, she illustrates how she convinces her quoting herself as follows, "ben geçinirim abla evi ben geçindiriyom dedim elektriği ben yatırıyor suyu ben yatırıyor üstüne üslük bi de onu besliyorum / *I said I will make a living sister I look after the house. I pay the electricity bill. I pay the water bill and on top of it I feed him as well*" (lines 75, 76 & 77). Her reference to paying the bills illustrates that she is financially in charge at home. Also, although Turkish allows null subjects, her repetitive use of the stressed overt subject pronouns *ben* (I) emphasizes her financial control over the household. In addition, the verb *beslemek* (to feed) she uses to refer to husband illustrates how powerful she is as opposed to her husband's being irresponsible. In these ways, Fatma positions herself as a financially independent woman and her husband as a powerless man who cannot look after her family. At this point, the researcher intervenes in order to contribute to her positioning and displays her support saying that "aynen öyle / *exactly*" (line 78). Following the researcher's intervention, Fatma further fortifies these positions by repeating that "bi de onu besliyorum niye besliyorum ben bu adamı / *also I feed him why do I feed this man*" (line 83). By repeating and stressing the verb *beslemek* (to feed) and using a rhetorical question, Fatma constructs her power as a strong and financially independent woman who is ready to emancipate from abusive relationship.

As can be seen, Fatma's emancipation has finally taken place after enduring for a long while and waiting for the circumstances to allow her. Also, the emancipation itself has been a long process during which she has had to convince not only herself but her family members as well. While the moment of emancipation may expand over days as in this case, it can also occur all of a sudden as in Ayşenur's case. In the

extract below, Ayşenur narrates her moment of emancipation from her abusive relationship as follows:

Extract 6.4

- 80 Ayşenur: ama her şeyini toparlamış (.) her şeyini (.) her şey üst baş atlet kilot şu bu dedim napıyosun dedim
81 (.) °gidicem ben dedi istemiyom° BANA BAK BANA dedim BENİ Mİ İSTEMİYON LAN
82 dedim benim istemeyeni ben hiç istemem DEFOL GİT LAN dedim
83 Merve: hah
84 Ayşenur: BU EV DE BENİM HER ŞEY DE BENİM dedim bi anda bi parladım ne diyon ya sen dedim bu
85 zamana gadar dedim bir anda (.) bir anda bak borcunu ödüyösün harcını ödüyösün veriyösün
86 ediyösün senin iki aylık hesabındaki maaşını almış arabayın satışını başkasına verdiğini söyleyip
87 edince ben yıkıldım orda zaten (.) bi celsede dedi anlaşmalı olarak boşanalım dedim boşanalım
88 dedi o arada annem geldi (.) tam ben ne diyösün sen falan derken annem hemen geldi dedim ki
89 niye geldin anne ya dedim özel konuşuyörüz ya ARTIK RAHAT BIRAKIN dedim böyle
90 bağırđım annem hemen kapıyı örttü içeri girdi o da dedi ki °annen geldi giderim dedi°
91 GİTMİYON OTUR SIRA BENDE GONUŞMA SIRASI dedim
92 Merve: hıh
93 Ayşenur: annem dedi ki tek ben balkona çılıyım dedi kız sus apartmanın içinde birileri var duymasın
94 DUYARSA DUYSUN YA dedim BU NE ARTIK YA dedim aldım hazırladıđı poşetleri
95 gıyafetleri koridorun önüne attım
96 Merve: hıh
97 Ayşenur: annem yalvarıyo yalvarıyo bohuna yeyim gitmesin işte dedim ki NE YALVARIYON GİZ dedim
98 O SENİN BOHUNU YESİN ya dedim o sıçtıđını yesin yeter artık ya dedim benim de bir arım
99 namusum şerefim var kahbeliđim mi var orosbuluđum mu var beni istemiyeni ben hiç istemiyom
100 DEFOL GİT BU EVDEN DEFOL GİT dedim BEN SENİ İSTEMİYOM LAN dedim
101 İSTEMİYOM SENİ dedim ondan sona sümsük sümsük aldı gitti annem ađlıyo sızlıyo tabi bana
102 bi güç geldi yaktım sigaramı bu arada annemgil sigaramı içtiđimi bile bilmiyo yahtım sigaramı
103 ettim sen sihgara mı içiyon içiyom dedim sigara da içiyom ne var dedim kahbelik mi orosbuluk
104 mu dedim yeter artık ya içime ata ata bitti artıđ dedim aç mezarı mı var dedim
- 80 Ayşenur: *but he packed everything (.) everything (.) everything clothes and underwear this and that I said
81 what are you doing (.) °he said I will go I don't want this° I said LOOK AT ME I said YOU
82 DON'T WANT ME? I said I don't want the one who doesn't want me I said GET OUT OF HERE*
83 Merve: *yes*
84 Ayşenur: *I said THIS HOUSE BELONGS TO ME AND EVERYTHING BELONGS TO ME I flamed up all
85 of a sudden I said what are you saying I said all this time all of a sudden (.) look all of a sudden
86 you pay his debts you give and give he says he got your salary from your account and sold the car
87 to someone else I had break down at that point (.) he said let's get uncontested divorce in one
88 session I said let's get divorced at that moment my mother showed up (.) when I was saying what
89 are you saying and so on my mother showed up I said why did you come mom we are talking in
90 private GIVE ME A BREAK I screamed my mother closed the door and came in immediately he
91 said °your mom is here I will leave° I said YOU WON'T LEAVE SIT IT IS MY TURN TO TALK*
92 Merve: *yes*
93 Ayşenur: *my mother said okay I will go to balcony but there are people in the building you keep it down so
94 that they don't hear. I said I DON'T CARE IF THEY HEAR. I said WHAT THE HELL. I took the
95 bags and clothes he prepared and threw them in front the door*
96 Merve: *yes*
97 Ayşenur: *my moter is begging I will eat your shit please don't let him go I said WHY THE HELL ARE YOU
98 BEGGING I said HE SHOULD EAT YOUR SHIT I said enough is enough I also have an honor
99 and dignity do I have bitchiness or prostitution? I don't want the one who doesn't want me I said
100 GET OUT OF THIS HOUSE GET OUT I said I DON'T WANT YOU I said I DON'T WANT YOU
101 then he left sluggishly my mother is crying of course I felt power I lit a cigarette
102 meanwhile my parents don't even know that I am a smoker I lit my cigarette are you
103 smoking? I am smoking I said I am also a smoker now what is this bitchiness or prostitution? I
104 said enough is enough I have bottled up now it is over I said nobody dies of hunger.*

Interview, 1 July 2020

In line 80, Ayşenur refers to her husband's action saying that “ama her şeyini toparlamış (.) her şeyini (.) her şey üst baş atlet kilot şu bu / *but he packed everything*

(.) everything (.) everything clothes and underwear this and that". In this statement, she emphasizes her husband's leaving by repeating and stressing the indefinite pronoun *her şey* (everything) consecutively and referring to the specific pieces of clothes such as underwear. Next, she quotes her husband saying that "°gidicem ben dedi istemiyom° / °he said I will go I don't want this°" (line 81). What is significant in this quotation is that she quotes her husband by lowering her voice. In this way, she portrays him as a withdrawn man who reservedly brings about his leaving home. Following this quotation, Ayşenur presents her reaction by quoting herself as follows, "BANA BAK BANA dedim / I said LOOK AT ME". Contrary to her lower voice when quoting her husband, she starts shouting when quoting herself. Also, the interjection *bana bak bana* (look at me) indicates her aggression towards her husband. She maintains this style saying that "BENİ Mİ İSTEMİYON LAN dedim / I said YOU DON'T WANT ME?". As Ayşenur keeps shouting in her self-quotation, she employs the masculine interjection *lan* (mate) in order to sound more aggressive. Also, the rhetorical question and the stress on the object pronoun *beni* (me) illustrates her frustration about her husband's decision to leave home. She continues to quote herself and states that "benim istemeyeni ben hiç istemem DEFOL GİT LAN dedim / I said I don't want the one who doesn't want me I said GET OUT OF HERE" (line 82). In this quotation, she employs the formulaic expression *beni istemeyeni ben hiç istemem* (I don't want the one who doesn't want me) in order to show that she does not want to maintain their relationship either. Also, by using the adverb *hiç* (never), she highlights her decisiveness about this. Then, she starts shouting again to dismiss her husband and thereby employs the masculine interjection *lan* (mate) again. Ayşenur further quotes herself shouting that "BU EV DE BENİM HER ŞEY DE BENİM dedim / I said THIS HOUSE BELONGS TO ME AND EVERYTHING

BELONGS TO ME” (line 84). In this statement, she claims ownership over everything including the house, and thereby constructs her power over the relationship. Also, by raising her voice in self-quotations and employing interjections and formulaic expressions, Ayşenur positions herself as a strong and brave woman who faces up to their break-up while she positions her husband as a withdrawn man who cannot speak up for his decisions.

Subsequently, Ayşenur refers to her shouting saying that “*bi anda bi parlamdım ... bir anda (.) bir anda bak / I flamed up all of a sudden ... all of a sudden (.) look all of a sudden” (lines 84 & 85). The verb *parlamak* (to flame up) implies that she did not behave in this way before. Furthermore, by repeating and stressing the adverb *bi anda* (all of a sudden), she emphasizes her the abruptness of her reaction. In these ways, she indeed illustrates that she has long endured but lost her patience in this episode. In her following remarks, she specifies what she has done for him saying that “*borcunu ödüyösün harcını ödüyösün veriyösün ediyösün / you pay his debts you give and give*”. The reduplication *borç harç* (debts) and *veriyösün ediyösün* (you give and give) implies that her financial aid for him was constant, which positions her as a self-sacrificing and giving person. Next, she refers to her husband’s actions saying that “*senin iki aylık hesabındaki maaşını almış arabayın satışını başkasına verdiğini söyleyip edince ben yıkıldım orda zaten / he says he got your salary from your account and sold the car to someone else I had break down at that point*” (lines 86 & 87). By mentioning his withdrawing her salary and selling her car, she positions her husband as an ungrateful man who cheats her behind her back despite her financial support for him. Also, the word *yıkılmak* (to have break down) illustrates the extent of her disappointment and frustration about his actions, accounts for her flaming up and shouting throughout the extract. In this way, she positions*

herself as a disappointed and self-sacrificing woman who gets nothing but treachery in return.

As Ayşenur reports agreeing on divorce through quotations in line 87, she mentions her mother's visit and presents her reaction to her mother quoting herself as follows "niye geldin anne ya dedim özel konuşuyoruz ya ARTIK RAHAT BIRAKIN dedim böyle bağırdım / *I said why did you come mom we are talking in private GIVE ME A BREAK I screamed*" (line 89). By questioning her mother's visit and using the phrase *özel konuşmak* (to talk in private), she demonstrates her disturbance from her mother's visit. Also, she implies that she does not want anyone to interfere into her relationship. Furthermore, by shouting the imperative interjection *artık rahat bırakın* (give me break), she hints at the previous intervention of her parents into her relationship. Next, she points out to her husband's reaction to her mother's arrival and quotes him as follows, "dedi ki °annen geldi giderim dedi° / *he said °your mom is here I will leave°*" (line 90). Again, by lowering her voice when quoting him, Ayşenur portrays her husband as a sluggish man as opposed to her strong and aggressive position. She presents her response by quoting herself and states that "GİTMİYON OTUR SIRA BENDE GONUŞMA SIRASI dedim / *I said YOU WON'T LEAVE SIT IT IS MY TURN TO TALK*" (lines 90 & 91). By shouting and using the verbs *gitmek* (to go) and *oturmak* (to sit) in imperative form, Ayşenur illustrates how she dominates their argument and thereby positions herself as the dominant character within the story. Also, her reference to her turn in the talk indicates that she is breaking her long silence at this moment. In this way, she negotiates power with her husband and positions herself as a powerful woman who dethrones her husband from his dominant position by raising her voice. Upon her mother's attempt to silence her so that the neighbors do not hear their argument in

line 93, Aşyenur keeps quoting herself shouting that “DUYARSA DUYSUN YA dedim BU NE ARTIK YA dedim / *I said I DON'T CARE IF THEY HEAR. I said WHAT THE HELL*” (line 94). While she keeps her dominant and aggressive position by shouting and using a rhetorical question, she also displays her disgust about worrying about others' gaze on her relationship. In all these ways, she positions herself as a strong and intolerant woman who breaks her silence towards her family and the society.

Revisiting her husband's decision, Aşyenur evaluates her situation by quoting herself and states that “benim de bir arım namusum şerefim var kahbeliğim mi var orosbuluğum mu var / *I also have an honor and dignity. Do I have bitchiness or prostitution?*” (lines 98 & 99). In this statement, by referring to her *ar* (shyness), *namus* (honor) and *şeref* (dignity), she portrays herself as a respectable person who has done nothing morally wrong. Also, the words *kahpelik* (bitchiness) and *orospuluk* (prostitution) in her rhetorical question fortifies her self-construction as an ethical and respectable person. In these ways, she indeed challenges her husband's decision to leave her and implies that she has not ethically wronged him. After repeating her telling him to leave and her not wanting him through self-quotation in lines 99, 100 and 101, she describes his leaving using the reduplicated adjective *sümsük* (sluggish), and thereby strengthens his powerless and defeated position. Then, Aşyenur evaluates her state saying that “tabi bana bi güç geldi / *I felt power*” (lines 101 & 102). Through this statement, she explicitly positions herself as a powerful woman who has gained strength by raising her voice. Then, she mentions lighting a cigarette although she has been hiding it from her parents. Responding to her mother's question about her smoking, she quotes herself saying that “içiyom dedim sigara da içiyom ne var dedim kahbelik mi orosbuluk mu / *I am smoking. I*

said I am also a smoker now what. Is this bitchiness or prostitution?" (line 103). By admitting her smoking, she implies that she does not beware of anything, and maintains her powerful position. Also, by comparing smoking to *kahpelik* (bitchiness) and *orospuluk* (prostitution) in her rhetorical question, she indicates that women's smoking is ethical, and she has not done anything unmoral. She continues to quote herself and states that "içime ata ata bitti artih dedim / *I have bottled up now it is over*" (line 104). Repeating the phrase *içine atmak* (to bottle up), she demonstrates how long she has been enduring. Moreover, the verb *bitmek* (to be over) indicates that she will behave differently from then on, thereby consolidates her empowerment process. Finally, she quotes herself again saying that "aç mezarı mı var dedim / *I said nobody dies of hunger*". In this statement, she employs the formulaic expression *aç mezarı* (literally translated as "hungry person's grave") in order to explain that people can always find a way to feed themselves. Indeed, through this statement, she implies that she is not worried about the financial consequences of her divorce and positions herself as a strong woman who is capable of earning her crust by herself.

In all these ways, Ayşenur constructs her powerful position by heavily quoting herself and in doing so by raising her voice throughout her account of emancipation. As in Fatma's case, her emancipation occurs following a long endurance period, yet hers emerges instantaneously. Like Fatma and Ayşenur, Kudret also has a long endurance period prior to her emancipation. Indeed, her emancipation is so dramatic that it takes places only after her husband has stabbed her and gone to jail. In the extract below, she describes her moment of emancipation as follows:

Extract 6.5

105 Kudret: mesela ben çoh saf ve salahlmıřtıđm (.) yani o gadar boyun eđmelerim (.) o gadar gorkak oluřum
106 evet ben sonra çok cesur oldum evet o bıçađı yedim ama o bıçađı o bana vurmadı (.) kendine
107 vurdu (.) benim eđer vadem yetseydi ben o gđn ölürdđm yetmedi ben (.) hayatıma devam ettim o
108 da dört duvarın arasında (.)
109 Merve: hiç keřke dediđin bi řey var mı=
110 Kudret: = var
111 Merve: ne
112 Kudret: yani ee řimdi belki senin kafanda hemen řu soru iřare- keřke onunla evlenmeseydim (.) deđil (.)
113 keřke ben bu bıçađı daha önce yeseymiřtim
114 Merve: daha önce bitseymiř mi diyosun
115 Kudret: daha önce bitseymiř (.) daha önce cesur olsaymıřtıđm ben o bıçađı yerken çok cesurdum
116 istemiyorum seni seni görmek istemiyom seni sevmiyom dediđim gđndü o gđn ben yirmi sekiz
117 sene içimde tuttum onu sevmediđimi yirmi sekiz sene sonra söyledim (.) hiç bi zaman dile
118 getiremedim onu sevmediđimi ben (.) o gđn dedim o gđn de bıçađı yedim (.) evet ben o bıçađı
119 yedim ama kendim oldum o gđn kendi duygularımı dile getirebildim ben (.) evet seni sevmiyorum
120 ben hiç de sevemedim dedim (.) hiç sevemedim

105 Kudret: *for example I realized that I was very naive and stupid (.) I mean all my submission (.) my being
106 a coward yes I became very brave later yes I got stabbed with the knife but he didn't stab me
107 (.) he stabbed himself (.) if my life had been supposed to end I would have died that day but it
108 wasn't I (.) moved on and he is in a concrete box (.)*
109 Merve: *is there anything you regret=*
110 Kudret: *= yes*
111 Merve: *what*
112 Kudret: *like e:h maybe now there will be this on your mind immediat- I wish I hadn't got married to him
113 (.) no (.) I wish I had been stabbed with that knife earlier*
114 Merve: *are you saying I wish it had ended earlier*
115 Kudret: *I wish it had ended earlier (.) I wish I had become brave earlier I was so brave when I was being
116 stabbed that was the day when I said I don't want to see you I don't love you I kept that I didn't
117 love him inside me for twenty-eight years and I said it after twenty-eight years (.) I could never
118 put into words that I didn't love him (.) I said it that day and I got stabbed that day (.) yes I got
119 stabbed but I was myself I could put my emotions into words that day (.) I said yes I don't love
120 you and I have never loved (.) I have never loved*

Interview, 30 July 2020

Kudret starts positioning her past self by employing the adjectives *saf* (naïve) and *aptal* (stupid) in line 105. Also, the past tense affix -mıř attached to these adjectives works with the inference function in this context, which means she realizes possessing these adjectives later when she evaluates herself. She accounts for these adjectives in her following remarks. Accordingly, she refers to the verbal nouns *boyun eđme* (submission) and *korkak olma* (being a coward) in order to describe her past self. In this way, she positions her past self as a submissive coward. Next, she refers to the point she has transformed saying that “evet ben sonra çok cesur oldum evet o bıçađı yedim / Yes I became very brave later yes I got stabbed with the knife” (line 106). By using the pragmatic marker *evet* (yes) twice, she admits her

transformation from being submissive to being brave. Also, the verb *bıçak yemek* (to get stabbed) assigns Kudret as the agent in the sentence while it obscures her husband, who stabbed her. In this way, she takes the responsibility of being stabbed as an indicator her braveness and positions herself as a brave woman who risks her life in order to emancipate from her husband. Then, she reinterprets his stabbing her saying that “ama o bıçağı o bana vurmadı (.) kendine vurdu / *but he didn't stab me (.) he stabbed himself*” (lines 106 & 107). In this interpretation, she metaphorically assigns her husband both as the agent and patient of stabbing. In doing so, she implies that he suffers from the consequences of his actions while everything is fine in her life. She consolidates her interpretation saying that “ben (.) hayatıma devam ettim o da dört duvarın arasında (.) / *I (.) moved on and he is in a concrete box (.)*” (lines 107 & 108). In this statement, she compares the current situation of hers and her husband. Accordingly, she uses the formulaic expression *dört duvar arasında* (literally translated as “between the four walls”) to refer to her husband and metaphorically indicates that he is now in jail. In all these ways, she positions herself as a brave and strong woman who has moved on and her husband as a miserable man in jail.

Upon Kudret's reinterpretation of the stabbing, the researcher asks her whether there is anything she regrets. Kudret responds to this question by assuming that the researcher cannot anticipate her response, and mentions the anticipated response saying that “keşke onunla evlenmeseydim / *I wish I hadn't got married to him*” (line 112). She constructs this imagined regret with the pragmatic marker *keşke* (I wish) and positions him as the root of the problem. However, she disconfirms this statement by using the negation adjective *değil* (not), and presents her actual regret saying that “keşke ben bu bıçağı daha önce yeseymişim / *I wish I had been stabbed*

with that knife earlier” (line 113). In this statement, Kudret assigns herself the agent role again by employing the phrase *bıçak yemek* (to get stabbed) while disguising her husband as the perpetrator. In this way, she designates herself an active role in the solution of her life problems, which illustrates her power and control over her life. Then, the researcher intervenes to confirm her interpretation saying that “*daha önce bitseymiş mi diyosun / are you saying I wish it had ended earlier*” (line 114), which is approved by Kudret with her repeating the exact interpretation in line 115. She further elaborates on her regret saying that “*daha önce cesur olsaymışım / I wish I had become brave earlier*”. By putting herself in the subject position, she once again takes an active role in her choices and regrets and positions herself as a strong and brave woman.

In her following remarks, Kudret revisits the episode in which her husband stabs her saying that “*ben o bıçağı yerken çok cesurdum / I was so brave when I was being stabbed*” (line 115). Once again, she constructs her position as a powerful woman by using the adjective *cesur* (brave) and referring to the moment of stabbing. She further depicts that day by quoting herself as follows, “*istemiyorum seni seni görmek istemiyom seni sevmiyom dediğim gündü o gün / That was the day when I said I don’t want to see you I don’t love you*” (line 116). Describing the day by using a relative clause, she implies that is the first time she expresses her feelings to him. Then, she continues saying that “*ben yirmi sekiz sene içimde tuttum onu sevmediğimi yirmi sekiz sene sonra söyledim / I kept that I didn’t love him inside me for twenty-eight years and I said it after twenty-eight years*” (lines 116 & 117). By referring to the twenty-eight years when she remained silent, she illustrates how long she has endured. Finally, she displays her resistant position saying that “*evet ben o bıçağı yedim ama kendim oldum o gün kendi duygularımı dile getirebildim ben / yes*

I got stabbed but I was myself. I could put my emotions into words that day” (lines 118 & 119). As she keeps referring to herself and her emotions and uses the conjunction *ama* (but), she creates a contrast between being stabbed and being herself and highlights her gain from this traumatic experience. As she claims her ownership on this negative experience in this way, she once again positions herself as a strong and brave woman who has resisted her husband’s murder attempt.

As evident from the extracts above, emancipation often comes following a long period of endurance in the case of the participants of this study. They usually refer to their moment of emancipation in their survival and power stories. In this section, I have demonstrated how the participants disclose and construct power at the moment of emancipation by assigning certain positions to themselves and their characters. Accordingly, the participants often point out the long duration of patience and silence prior to their emancipation. Also, they rely on quotations, especially self-quotations, and rhetorical questions in order to highlight their power. In addition, they use certain formulaic expressions and words to attribute positions to themselves and their characters. The summary of all the linguistic devices can be found in Table 7 below. In all these ways, they construct themselves as patient, strong and independent individuals.

Table 7. List of the Linguistic Devices Used in the Construction of Power at Moment of Emancipation

Linguistic Level of Analysis	Linguistic Device	Example
Phonology	Stress	“ama <u>her şeyini</u> toparlamış (.) <u>her şeyini</u> / <i>but he packed everything (.) everything</i> ” (line 80)
	Shouting	“BANA BAK BANA dedim / <i>I said LOOK AT ME</i> ” (line 81)
Morphology		
Syntax	Quotation	“ <i>o</i> gıdicem ben dedi istemiyom° / <i>°he said I will go I don't want this</i> ” (line 81).
	Overt subject	“ <u>ben</u> geçinirim abla evi <u>ben</u> geçindiriyom dedim elektriği <u>ben</u> yatırıyorum suyu <u>ben</u> yatırıyorum üstüne üslük bi de onu besliyorum <u>ben</u> / <i>I said I will make a living sister I look after the house. I pay the electricity bill. I pay the water bill and on top of it I feed him as well</i> ” (lines 75 & 76).
	Relative clause	“seni sevmiyorum dediğim gündü o gün / <i>that was the day when I said I don't love you</i> ” (line 116).
Semantics	Word choice	“benim de bir arım namusum şerefim var / <i>I also have shame, honor and dignity</i> ” (line 98)
	Formulaic expression	“aç mezarı mı var dedim / <i>I said nobody dies of hunger</i> ” (line 104)
Pragmatics /Discourse	Rhetorical question	“niye besliyorum ben bu adamı / <i>why do I feed this man</i> ” (line 83)
	Interjection	“DEFOL GİT LAN dedim / <i>I said GET OUT OF HERE</i> ” (line 82)

6.3 Post-emancipatory power

As this study relies on the survival and power stories of the participants, they usually refer to the aftermath of the long-continued violence and compelling emancipation process. In doing so, they often evaluate their emancipation, themselves, and their lives. Therefore, in this section, I will explore how they construct power in their post-emancipatory accounts and thereby scrutinize how they position themselves and their characters by utilizing linguistic devices.

In the extract below, Ayşenur, who has long suffered from the economic and emotional violence of her husband, describes her post-divorce life as follows:

Extract 6.6

121 Ayşenur: neyse işime gidip geliyorum boşanma süreci oldu bitti artık kurtuldum o insandan (.) hiç bişey
122 istemedim ya arzuhalci bana orda yazmış nafakayı o da o şeyle kabul etmiş on altı ay boyunca
123 sonradan dedik biz nafaka varmış ben buna ben buna dilekçemi verdim ayrıldıktan on altı ay
124 sonra (.) hürslendim artık güçlendim artık Ayşenur çalıştığı fabrikada sekreteryaya olarak başladığı
125 işkurdan alındığı kursiyerlik döneminde üretim sorumlusu personel sorumlusu oldu önüm açıldı
126 her şey stabil Allah benim bir kapımı {she claps once} kapattı bin kapı açtı bana lan dedim ben bu
127 adamı niye boşamadım bu zamana kadar boşanma dönemi böyleymiş de dedim bu hevese
128 kapıldım öyle bir çalışma hayatı öyle bir çevre ben eşimin ablasına yaran yara ee yaranabilme
129 çabası içindeymişim ben eşime yalakalık çabası içindeymişim hep insanların bana sevgiyle
130 saygıyla ya da kötülükle yaklaştıklarının hiç farkında değilmişim hayat benim için yeniden
131 başlamış yeni bi başlangıçmış yani hayat benim için (.) iki bin on: üç yılı benim için yeniden
132 doğuşum olmuş öyle görüyorum o anları ondan sora (.) çok mükemmel bir hayat hıh {she laughs
133 in irony} aylık erzak market alamayan eve girmeyen eve eşyalarımı değiştirdim ondan hiçbir şey
134 kalmadı her şey sıfırdan yeniden mesela iki üç ay biriktiriyodum o zaman da güzel maas
135 alıyodum salonumu değiştirdim ondan sona iki ay biriktirdim buz dolabımı değiştirdim artık ee
136 hayatımda evimin neresinde neyi güzelleştirebilirim hangi güzel kıyafeti alıp giyebilirim ondan
137 sona saçımın boyası dibim gelmeden nası boyatabilirim evde alıp boyama değil ondan sona artık
138 ee alımlı çalılımlı daha nasıl düzgün bi görüntü zaten düzgün bi görüntüdesin bi şekilde hani
139 kıyafet giyim desteğim vardı zaten ailemden de daha nasıl bir boşandı da çöktü durumu olmadan
140 nası bi birden bi güç geldi bana çünkü birden patladım kendi kendime işime gidiyorum evime
141 geliyorum oğlumla ilgileniyorum oğluma hediyeler alıyorum oğlumu giydiriyorum oğlumla vakit
142 geçiriyorum kimseyi annemi babamı eşimi dostumu kimseyi gözüm gördüyo akrabalarımı falan
143 her şeyi kestim ama muhteşem huzurluyum muhteşem mutluyum param: var ekonomik gücüm:
144 var ee haftalık komşudan makarna bekleyen ayşenur gitti aylık değil senenin iki üç ayını market
145 alarak geçiren ayşenur haftalık markete gidiyo her şey çok değişti her şey ondan sona birikim
146 yapmaya başladım artık dedim yeter dur birikim yapıyorum ondan sona bi güç oldu bende

121 Ayşenur: anyway I go to work the divorce period is over I got rid of that person (.) I didn't ask for
122 anything but the petition-writer in the court wrote alimony for me and he accepted at that moment
123 for sixteen months later we realized that I had alimony and I gave petition for it sixteen months
124 after the divorce (.) I got ambitious now I got stronger Ayşenur became production manager
125 personnel manager in the factory where she started as a secretary which she got during her
126 training from İşkur {a public employment agency} I have prospered everything is stable God
127 closed one door {she claps once} and opened a thousand doors for me I asked myself why
128 I didn't divorce him all this time because the divorce period is like this I got carried away such a
129 worklife such a network I realized that all this time I was trying to ingratiate myself with his
130 sister, I was always trying to curry favour with him. I realized that I was never aware of that
131 people approach me with love respect or evil I realized that life just restarted for me I mean life
132 was a new start for me (.) the year two thousand thirteen was my rebirth I see it that way (.) a
133 splendid life {she laughs in irony} a person who couldn't do monthly shopping a home without
134 shopping I changed all the furniture nothing left from him everything was brand new for example
135 I would save for a few months and at that time my salary was good I redecorated my living room
136 then I saved for another two months I changed my fridge it was like this now how and what can I
137 beautify in my house? what nice clothes can I buy? how can I dye my hair without the roots
138 starting to show? not dying myself at home how can I get a better appearance? you already have
139 a good one because my parents used to support me buying clothes but how better? without being
140 perceived like hitting the rock bottom after the divorce I got stronger suddenly I got flamed up all
141 of a sudden by myself I go to work come home spend time with my son buy presents for him
142 dress him and no one I didn't care about my mom, dad, friends and no one even my relatives but
143 I am extremely peaceful extremely happy I have money I have financial power Ayşenur who
144 reckoned on her neighbours to give her some pasta is gone now Ayşenur who could go shopping
145 only a few times in a year is going shopping every week everything has changed a lot then I
146 started saving I told myself enough stop I am saving I have got power

Interview, 1 July 2020

By using the pragmatic marker *neyse* (anyway) at beginning of the extract, Ayşenur signifies the start of a new episode, which she marks temporally by referring to the end of her divorce period in line 121. Her word choice in the next statement “artık

kurtuldum o insandan / *I got rid of that person*” implies that she is pleased about her divorce. Accordingly, the verb *kurtulmak* (to get rid of) positions her husband as a troublesome person while positioning her as a survivor. Also, the noun phrase *o insan* (that person) by which she refers to her husband deconstructs his role as a husband and degrades him as any other person. In this way, she illustrates her dislike about him and contributes to his position as a troublesome man and her position as a survivor. Further referring to their divorce period, she states that “hiç bişey istemedim ya arzuhalci bana orda yazmış nafakayı / *I didn't ask for anything but petition-writer in the court wrote alimony for me*” (line 122). In this statement, the indefinite pronoun *hiç bişey* (nothing) and the negated verb *istememek* (to not want) indicates that she does not care about money and thereby positions herself as a non-acquisitive person. By means of the conjunction *ya* (but), reference to *arzuhalci* (petition writer), and past tense marker *-miş* with the hearsay function on the verb, Ayşenur supports her non-acquisitive position. She maintains this position further saying that “on altı ay boyunca “sonradan dedik biz nafaka varmış / *For sixteen months I mean later we realized that I had alimony*” (lines 122 & 123). By specifying the duration of sixteen months and using the hearsay past tense affix *-miş* on predication, she fortifies her position as a non-acquisitive person who does not depend on others.

Subsequently, Ayşenur evaluates her emancipated self by saying that “hırslandım artık güçlendim artık / *I got ambitious now, I got stronger*” (line 124). The adverb *artık* (now) and verbs *hırslanmak* (to get ambitious) and *güçlenmek* (to get stronger) indicate her transformation and positions her as a powerful person. She exemplifies her transformation by referring to her career and states that “Ayşenur çalıştığı fabrikada sekreteryâ olarak başladığı işkurdan alındığı kursiyerlik

döneminde üretim sorumlusu personel sorumlusu oldu / *Ayşenur became production manager, personnel manager in the factory where she started as a secretary which she got during her training from İşkur {a public employment agency}*” (lines 124 & 125). In this statement, addressing herself by her name, she defines the factory where she works by using a relative clause and referring to her starting position as a secretary. Also, pointing out to İŞKUR (a public employment agency) and her training period, she indicates that her past self was not a qualified person. However, by referring to the titles she has acquired such as *üretim sorumlusu* (production manager) and *personal sorumlusu* (personnel manager), she demonstrates that she has become qualified over time and thus has been promoted. By contrasting her starting position and promoted positions, she illustrates how much she has progressed in her career and thereby positions herself as a successful, qualified and powerful person. Moreover, her reference to herself by her name instead of first-person singular pronoun makes her sound more objective and humbler as if she talked about another person. In her following remarks, using the phrase *önü açılmak* (to prosper) and adjective *stabil* (stable), she further positions herself as a consistently successful person. Then, she alludes to god as an authority and states that “allah benim bir kapımı {she claps strongly once} kapattı bin kapı açtı bana / *God closed one door {she claps strongly once} and opened a thousand doors for me*” (line 126). Using an idiomatic expression, she compares her divorce to a door closing and her career to a thousand doors opening. In this way, she positions herself as an accomplished person. In addition, by clapping her hands, she makes her statement more effective. Furthermore, her reference to god further assigns her a religious position. Next, she continues to illustrate her satisfaction with her life after divorce by quoting her self-talk as follows “lan dedim ben bu adamı niye boşamadım bu

zamana kadar boşanma dönemi böyleymiş de dedim / *I told myself why didn't I divorce him all this time because the divorce period is like this*" (lines 126 & 127). Using a rhetorical question, she questions herself about not having a divorce earlier. In this way, she implies that she is quite happy about her divorce although she was worried about it before. In all these ways, she positions herself as a happy, successful, and strong woman.

After describing how satisfactory her life is, Ayşenur evaluates her past self by using noun phrases such as *yanabilme çabası* (effort to ingratiate) and *yalakalık çabası* (fawning effort). In doing so, she expresses her self-realization with the past tense affix -miş on the predication and criticizes her past self for being submissive and obedient towards her husband and sister-in-law. In this way, she positions herself as an awakened person who critically reflects on her past. She continues focusing on her awakening and states that "hayat benim için yeniden başlamış / *I realized that life just restarted for me*" (lines 130 & 131). In this way, she fortifies the transformation of her life and implies regarding it as rebirth. She consolidates these implications saying that "iki bin on: üç yılı benim için yeniden doğuşum olmuş / *the year 2013 was my rebirth*" (line 131). Her reference to the year 2013 as her rebirth illustrates her relief following the long years of endurance. Accordingly, she describes her life with the adjective *mükemmel* (splendid) in line 132. She further describes her new life by referring to her home. In doing so, she creates a contrast between her past and current home saying that "aylık erzak market alamayan eve girmeyen eve eşyalarımı değiştirdim / *a person who couldn't do monthly shopping, a home without shopping I changed all the furniture*" (line 133). In this statement, she first defines her home as a place where there was little food prior to her divorce and then refers to the redecoration of her home following the divorce. In this way, she polishes her new

life as a milieu of prosperity and depicts her power, which also exemplifies referring to her new furniture, clothes and cosmetics in lines 134 to 139.

Ayşenur continues to construct her power saying that “nası bi birden bi güç geldi bana çünkü birden patladım kendi kendime / *I got stronger suddenly. I got flamed up all of a sudden by myself*” (lines 139 & 141). By using the adverb *birden* (suddenly) twice and the verb *patlamak* (to flame up), she depicts how rapidly her emancipation has occurred. Also, the duplicated reflexive pronoun *kendi kendime* (by myself) highlights her independence and ownership on her emancipation. After illustrating her life routine by mostly mentioning her son in lines 140, 141 and 142, she refers to her economic power saying that “muhteşem huzurluyum muhteşem mutluyum param: var ekonomik gücüm / *I am extremely peaceful, extremely happy. I have money, I have financial power*” (line 143). The adverb *muhteşem* (extremely) shows the degree of her wellbeing and prosperity. Moreover, her reference to money and financial power constructs her power in reference to economy. Next, she exemplifies her financial power by contrasting her past and present selves and states that “komşudan makarna bekleyen Ayşenur gitti / *Ayşenur who reckoned on her neighbours to give her some pasta is gone*” (line 144). In this rich description of past self, she relies on a relative clause. The reference to her neighbors and pasta, which is one of the cheapest meals in Turkey, is an indicative of her poverty in the past. However, by using the verb *gitmek* (to be gone) to refer to her past self, she once again manifests her transformation and rebirth. Furthermore, she keeps contrasting her past and present selves saying that “aylık değil senenin iki üç ayını market alarak geçiren Ayşenur haftalık markete gidiyo / *Now Ayşenur who could go shopping only a few times in a year is going shopping every week.*” (lines 144 & 145). Again, employing a relative clause to define her past self, this time she mentions her

shopping frequency and implies how greatly her life standards have improved. In all these ways, she constructs her power mostly in reference to her financial standards and positions herself as a financially powerful and independent woman.

Similar to Ayşenur, Fatma also constructs her post-emancipatory power mostly in reference to her financial power and the improvement of her life standards. After a long period of endurance and suffering, Fatma has also emancipated from her husband, who has committed economical, emotional, and physical violence on her. In the extract below, she recounts the aftermath of her emancipation as follows:

Extract 6.7

147 Fatma: dediğim gibi kendimle gurur duyuyom arabıya binmek arabayı sürmek hani bu övünmek değil
148 ama o arabayı kullanmak=
149 Merve: = yo: övün bence
150 Fatma: arabayı kullanmak özgürlük kesinlikle özgürlük araba kullanıyo musun bilmiyorum ama
151 Merve: ehliyetim var da şoförlüğüm yok öyle pek iyi değil
152 Fatma: kullandığın zaman bunu anlıyacaksın ki o özgürlük başka bişey (.) ne biliyim sanki yeniden hayat
153 buluyosun bunu yapabilmek çok başka bi şey yani bi hedef koymak ve oraya ulaşabilmek ve o
154 kadar zorluğun içinde gitmek çok çok başka bi şey (.) her seye rağmen herkese rağmen (.) ilkokul
155 mezunuyum mesela (.) kenar bi mahalle (.) çok korktum dedim ki dışlanırım (.) boşanmış olmak
156 (.) bi ticari taksitle gelemediğin bi mahallede boşanmış olmak hiç kolay bişey değil iki tane
157 çocukla ve yalnız yaşamak (.) ablam dedi ki ya ben senden çok korktum ama gerçekten adam eve
158 hiç faydası yokmuş ya insan ayrılır eşinden de- adam eve ekmek bile- yani eşim de olsaydı şunu
159 yapardı diyeceğim hiç bişey olmadı (.) ekmeksiz kalmadım hiç (.) tüh bugün de ekmeğim yok
160 eşim olsaydı ekmeksiz kalmazdım demedim pazarsız kalmadım erzaksız kalmadım (.) şampuanım
161 yoktu benim biliyo musun şampuan saçını yıkamaya şampuan yoktu (.) kaynım berberdi onun
162 bidonlar getirmiş boşaltılmış bir gün onu bidonları böyle biriktirdim bardağın içine şampuanı
163 onunla banyo yaptığımı biliyom ben sabun yoktu sabun kaç lira bugün kalıp sabun kaç lira eşin
164 memur (.) kalıp sabun kaç lira bugün en iyi sabun iki liradır bi tanesi (.) yoktu (.) vallahı yoktu
165 billahı yoktu çamaşır deterjanım çamaşır yıkıyacak çamaşır deterjanım yoktu (.) şimdi çamaşır
166 pakedinin bir tanesi açık duruyo bi tanesi kapalı yedekte duruyo şampuanım şimdi git bak içerde
167 üç tane şampuanım var gider gidemem alır alamam duruyo orda (.) kızımın şampuanı ayrı
168 oğlumunki ayrı benimki ayrı dediğim gibi pazarsız hiç kalmıyom erzaksız hiç kalmıyom faturam
169 bu aydan ikinci aya hiç kalmıyo daha babamı arayıp da baba benim faturamı bu ay yatırır mısın
170 demedim (.) e sen memurdun benim elektirliğim niye kesildi benim suyum niye kesildi ben niye
171 erzaksız kaldım benim çocuklarım niye her şeyden mahrum kaldı niye kıyafet bulamadı (.) ablam
172 asgari ücretle çalışıyordu onun getirdiği erzağı yiyodu benim çocuklarım (.) bugünkü asgari ücretli
173 insana bak bi de memurun maaşına bak (.) ablamgil getirirse yiyodu benim çocuklarım onlar
174 getirmezse yoktu (.) ne gerek vardı

147 Fatma: *as I said I am proud of myself I mean getting on a car driving a car I mean this is not boasting*
148 *but driving=*
149 Merve: *= no I think you should boast*
150 Fatma: *driving is freedom definitely freedom I don't know if you drive*
151 Merve: *I have a license but my driving is not so good*
152 Fatma: *when you drive you will see that freedom is definitely something (.) I don't know it is like you*
153 *enliven being able to do that is really something I mean setting a goal and achieving that and*
154 *doing that in such hardships is really something (.) despite everything despite everyone (.) for*
155 *example I am primary school graduate (.) it is ghetto (.) I was afraid I thought I will be excluded*
156 *(.) being divorced (.) being divorced in a neighborhood where you couldn't come by taxi is not an*
157 *easy thing at all living alone with two kids (.) my sister said I was worried about you but really*
158 *that man didn't benefit home at all I mean when one divorces- the man doesn't even bring brea- I*
159 *mean there was no point when I said if I had had a husband he would have done this (.) I was*
160 *never left without bread (.) I didn't say oh I don't have bread today if I had a husband I wouldn't*

161 be left without bread I was never left without grocery I was never left without provisions (.) you
162 know what I didn't have shampoo shampoo I didn't have shampoo to wash hair (.) my brother-
163 in-law was a barber he brought some empty cans I remember the time when I collected the
164 shampoo in the cans into a glass and took a shower with that one day I didn't have any soap
165 soap how much is a bar of soap now? your husband is a government officer (.) how much is a
166 bar of soap? the best one must be two liras (.) I didn't have it (.) I swear I didn't have it I swear I
167 didn't I didn't have laundry detergent I didn't have laundry detergent to wash clothes (.) now one
168 package of detergent is open and the other one is spare my shampoo now go and check I have
169 three shampoos in case I can't go to the store (.) my daughter has her own shampoo my son has
170 his own shampoo and I have my own as I said I am never without grocery I am never without
171 provisions my bills are never paid late I have never called my father to say dad can you pay my
172 bills this month (.) you were a government officer why was my electricity cut off? why was my
173 water cut off? why was I left without provisions? why were my kids deprived of everything? why
174 couldn't they find clothes? my sister was working with minimum wage and my children were
175 eating the food she brought (.) compare the salary of a person who earns minimum wage now and
176 that of a government officer (.) when my sister brought my children ate when she didn't they
177 didn't eat (.) why was it like this?

Interview, 27 June 2020

In line 147, Fatma evaluates herself using the verb *gurur duymak* (to be proud of) and refers to her driving subsequently. By referring to driving as an accomplishment of hers, she positions herself as a successful woman. Then, she continues saying that “hani bu övünmek değil / I mean this not boasting” in order to ensure her position as a modest person. She explains herself stating that “arabayı kullanmak özgürlük kesinlikle özgürlük / driving is freedom definitely freedom” (line 150). In this statement, by repeating the noun *özgürlük* (freedom) and using the adverb *kesinlikle* (definitely), she equates driving with freedom; thereby, as an active drive, she positions herself as an independent person. As she maintains her focus on driving, she further states that “ne biliyim sanki yeniden hayat buluyosun / I don't know it is like you enliven” (line 152). Using the verb *hayat bulmak* (to enliven), she emphasizes the significance of driving for her. Also, by employing the post-position *gibi* (like), she creates a simile between driving and enlivening, which fortifies her evaluation of driving as an accomplishment of hers.

Speaking in broader terms, Fatma continues to evaluate her accomplishments stating that “bi hedef koymak ve oraya ulaşabilmek ve o kadar zorluğun içinde gitmek çok çok başka bi şey / I mean setting a goal and achieving that and doing that in such hardships is really” (line lines 153 & 154). The phrase *hedef koymak* (to

set a goal) indicates that she has acts aimfully in her life, which positions her as a tactful person. Furthermore, the ability modal on the verb *ulařmak* (to achieve) demonstrates her skillfulness while positioning her as an ambitious and successful person. Also, the noun *zorluk* (hardship) illustrates how compelling it has been to achieve her goals by supporting her successful position. In her following remarks, she intensifies this position using the post-position *rađmen* (despite) and the indefinite pronouns *her řey* (everything) and *herkes* (everyone). In doing so, she positions herself as a powerful person who has challenged the society and its norms.

Subsequently, Fatma exemplifies the hardships she has overcome in lines 154 to 157 and starts by referring to her education level as a primary school graduate. In this way, she creates a contrast between her education level and accomplishments in order to put forth the gravity of her success. Next, she describes her neighborhood with the phrase *kenar mahalle* (ghetto). In doing so, she again implies a contradiction between her environment and achievement and reinforces her successful position. In her following remarks, she refers to her earlier concerns about divorcing and states that “*çok korktum dedim ki dıřlanırım / I was afraid I thought I will be excluded*” (line 155). The verb *korkmak* (to be afraid) and *dıřlanmak* (to be excluded) presents her concerns on her way to success. She further illustrates the difficulty of her divorce as follows, “*bi ticari taksiyle gelemediđin bi mahallede bořanmıř olmak hiç kolay biřey deđil / being divorced in a neighborhood where you couldn't come by taxi is not an easy thing at all*” (line 156). In this statement, she uses a relative clause to define her neighborhood referring to an earlier episode in which she had to take her daughter from hospital to home by herself because her husband did not show up. By revisiting this episode, she portrays her neighborhood as a conservative and underdeveloped place. Then, she creates a contrast between this portrayal and her

divorce in order to show how difficult it is to be a divorced woman in her community. In this way, once again, she intensifies the substantiality of her divorce as one of her accomplishments.

Next, Fatma refers to her life standards in the aftermath of her divorce in lines 158, 159 and 160. Accordingly, she states that “yani eşim de olsaydı şunu yapardı diyeceğim hiç bişey olmadı / *I mean there was no point when I said if I had had a husband, he would have done this*”. The past conditional construction in this sentence provides an evaluation of the reversed scenario in which she did not divorce and thereby implies that she does not regret having divorced. To reinforce her unregretful position, she refers to some fundamental needs such as bread, grocery, and provisions, which she never lacks for after her divorce. At this point, she abandons her post-divorce life standards by shifting her focus to her pre-divorce life standards and states that “şampuanım yoktu benim biliyo musun şampuan saçını yıkamaya şampuan yoktu / *you know what I didn't have shampoo. Shampoo. I didn't have shampoo to wash hair*” (lines 160 & 161). Repeating, stressing, and defining the noun *şampuan* (shampoo), she illustrates that it is a basic need; by repeating and stressing the negation marker *yok* (not to exist) and inflecting it in past tense, she indicates how she lacked basic needs before her divorce. To prove her point, she refers to an episode in which she used the leftover shampoo from her brother-in-law's barber shop to wash her hair (lines 161, 162 & 163). Then, she manifolds her examples by referring to soap as another basic need as follows, “sabun yoktu sabun kaç lira bugün kalıp sabun kaç lira eşin memur / *I didn't have any soap. Soap. How much is a bar of soap now? Your husband is a government officer*” (lines 163 & 164). The repetition of the noun *sabun* (soap) and the rhetorical question regarding its price implies that it is another basic need she lacked for. Also, by referring to her

husband's job, she creates a contrast between her poverty and his earning, and thereby positions him as an irresponsible man who does not take care of his home. She continues saying that “yoktu (.) vallahi yoktu billahi yoktu / I didn't have it (.) I swear I didn't have it I swear I didn't.” Again, by repeating and stressing the negation marker *yok* (not to exist), she fortifies how she lacked basic needs. Also, the use of pragmatic markers *vallahi* (I swear) and *billahi* (I swear), bolsters her honesty about her accounts. She finalizes her examples by lastly referring to laundry detergent as another basic need she lacked (line 165). In all these ways, she portrays her life before divorce as a period of poverty and deprivation and thereby positions herself as a long-suffered person whose basic needs have not been met.

Next, Fatma resumes mentioning her post-divorce life standards by providing examples of the basic needs she meets by herself and states that “*şimdi çamaşır pakedinin bir tanesi açık duruyo bi tanesi kapalı yedekte duruyo / now one package of detergent is open and the other one is spare*” (lines 165 & 166). With the adverb *şimdi* (now), she illustrates that she now focuses on her life after divorce. By referring to two different packages of detergent, she uses the adjectives *açık* (open) and *kapalı* (close) and the verb *yedekte durmak* (to be spare), through which she demonstrates the abundance of her basic supplies. She further exemplifies the abundance of her basic supplies and states that “*şampuanım şimdi git bak içerde üç tane şampuanım var / My shampoo, now go and check I have three shampoos*” (lines 166 & 167). In this statement, the adverb *şimdi* (now) and reference to the number of shampoos supports her demonstration of prosperity following her divorce. Also, by using the rhetorical imperative expression *git bak* (go and check) to address the researcher, she bolsters the truthfulness of her own remarks and consolidates the improvement of her life standards. To further amplify her remarks, she mentions

meeting others basic needs such as grocery and provisions and paying the bills in time (lines 168, 169 & 170). In doing so, she refers to her father by saying that “daha babamı arayıp da baba benim faturamı bu ay yatırır mısın demedim / *I have never called my father to say dad can you pay my bills this month*”. By employing an interrogative request sentence and negating the verb, she puts forth that she has not asked for help from anyone and implies that she is the sole agent of her prosperity. In all these ways, she positions herself as a financially powerful and independent woman. Furthermore, looking from a broader view, by referring to her pre-divorce life standards from line 160 to 165 and subsequently mentioning her post-divorce life standards from line 165 to 170, she creates a contrast between the two and illustrates how her life standards have improved. In doing so, she constructs power and fosters her position as a successful, powerful, and independent woman.

Finally, Fatma evaluates her husband by questioning her pre-divorce life standards and starts by referring to his job as government officer in line 170. Next, she employs a series of rhetorical questions saying that “benim elektiriğim niye kesildi benim suyum niye kesildi ben niye erzaksız kaldım benim çocuklarım niye her şeyden mahrum kaldı niye kıyafet bulamadı / *Why was my electricity cut off? Why was my water cut off? Why was I left without provisions? Why were my kids deprived of everything? Why couldn't they find clothes?*” (lines 170 & 171). Within these rhetorical questions, she again refers to the basic needs of which she was deprived with the words *elektriğim* (my electricity), *suyum* (my water), *erzaksız* (without provisions) and *kıyafet* (clothes). This time, she also mentions her children with the noun phrase *benim çocuklarım* (my children) and fosters her sense of ownership over her children as a good mother by using the possessive pronoun *benim* (my) although it is already inflected on the noun. In addition, by using and stressing

the question adverb *niye* (why) repetitively, she juxtaposes her deprivation to her husband's job and thereby illustrates the irrationality of her low life standards prior to divorce. In her following remarks, she mentions the provisions her sister brought them and points out to that she earns minimum wage. Next, she compares the salary of a government officer to minimum wage saying that “bugünki asgari ücretli insana bak bi de memurun maaşına bak / *compare the salary of a person who earns minimum wage now and that of a government officer*” (lines 172 & 173). In this statement, she identifies two types of workers as *asgari ücretli* (one who works on minimum wage) and *memur* (government officer). Also, by using the rhetorical imperative verb *bak* (look), she compares their earnings and thereby implies a financial gap with government officer earning more. Relying on her earlier reference to her husband as a government officer, she also implies that her husband's earning was indeed more than sufficient to meet all their basic needs. She finalizes her evaluation with the rhetorical question *ne gerek vardı* (why was it like this?) in line 174 and highlights the contrast between her old living conditions and her husband's income. In this way, she positions her husband as an irresponsible man who has failed to support his family although he was capable to do so while she positions her past self as an unnecessarily long-suffering woman.

While both Aysenur and Fatma construct post-emancipatory power mainly in reference to their life standards and financial power, some participants manifest power in relation to their release from pressure and oppression. For example, Başak, who long suffered from the physical violence and oppression of her husband and in-laws, narrates the aftermath of her emancipation as follows:

Extract 6.8

175 Başak: rabbim şimdi allahın izniyle bana iyi bi iş nasip etti (.) şirkette aşçıyım (.) onlar benden ben de
176 onlardan menunum (.) maaşım da iyi sigortam da yatıyo hiçbi sıkıntım yok ee elim ayağım tutuyo
177 ufak tefek çok yorgunluktan sağım solum ağrırsa da çalışmaya devam (.) özgürüm istediğimi
178 alıyom istediğimi satıyom artık o geçmiş yılların şeyi mesela bazen çok yaptım işte makineye
179 çamaşır atamamam her şeyime karışıl- bu bulaşık burda bırakılıp yatılmaz işte yıkayıp yatacaksın
180 şunu da yap yat yani askeriye gibi sürekli yani yapmak zorundasın bunu yapcaksın öyle
181 yatacaksın gün içinde bu işler bitecek bazen öyle şey yaptım ki ah o günler bitti artık (.) ben
182 makiniye bir tane tişört de atıp çalıştırabilirim artık (.) makiniye bazen bir tane tişört attım
183 çalıştırdım ba:k yaptım oldu bi tane yıkadım (.) çekirdeği işledim evet ben bu kabuğu burda
184 bırakıp yatabilirim kimse de bana bişey diyemez o gabuğu bulaşığı bıraktım yattım normalde
185 sevmem ama sırf ben bunu yapabiliyom bu bulaşığı burda bırakabiliyom gaynana yok baa [bana]
186 bağaracak kimse yok ondan sora ne bileyim bu şekilde iyiyim

175 Başak: now my god has bestowed a good job on me (.) I am a cook in a company (.) they are content with
176 me and I am content with them (.) my salary is good and my insurance is paid I don't have any
177 problems I am healthy I continue to work although I have some aches out of tiredness (.) I am
178 free I buy whatever I want the things from the past are- for example I often did this I mean not
179 being allowed to use the washing machine to do laundry or being intervened- you can't leave
180 these dishes here and go to sleep you will wash them and then go to sleep also do this before you
181 go to sleep I mean it was like military you constantly have to do something you will do this and
182 then go to sleep these chores will be finished during the day sometimes I was like oh those days
183 are over now (.) now I can even wash only one t-shirt in the washing machine (.) sometimes I
184 washed only one t-shirt in the washing machine look I did it I washed only one (.) I ate
185 sunflower seed and yes I can leave these shells here and go to sleep and nobody can tell me
186 anything about this I left those shells and dishes and went to sleep normally I don't like this but
187 just because I can do this I can leave the dishes here there is no mother-in-law there is no one
188 to yell at me I mean I don't know I am fine in this way.

Interview, 23 June 2020

In the opening of the extract, Başak describes her current life and first mentions her job saying that “rabbim şimdi allahın izniyle bana iyi bi iş nasip etti / *now my god had bestowed a good job on me*” (line 175). The adverb *şimdi* (now) indicates that she refers to her post-emancipation period. In doing so, she points out to her getting a job with a religious style through word choice. Accordingly, she employs the word *rabbim* (my god), the formulaic expression *allahın izniyle* (with the permission of god), and the verb phrase *nasip etmek* (to bestow). In this way, she obscures her agency in her getting the job and assigns god as the agent, which positions her as a religious person who is supported by god. Next, she refers to her workplace and position and states that “onlar benden ben de onlardan menunum / *they are content with me and I am content with them*” (lines 175 & 176). By using the adjective *memnun* (content) to refer to both herself and her employers, she demonstrates her relationship with her employers and thus her success at work. As she mentions her

salary and insurance in her following remarks, she portrays her job as a satisfying one and positions herself as a successful woman who earns well. Subsequently, she describes her health as follows, “elim ayađım tutuyo ufak tefek çok yorgunluktan sađım solum ađırırda da alıřmaya devam / *I am healthy. I continue to work although I have some aches out of tiredness*” (lines 176 & 177). By using the phrase *eli ayađı tutumak* (to be healthy), she implies her health condition is fine, yet the use of the duplicated adjective *ufak tefek* (little) and the nouns *ađrı* (ache) and *yorgunluk* (tiredness) demonstrates the existence of small health problems. However, with the contrasting conjunction *da* (but), she implies that she is healthy enough to continue working. Next, she refers to her freedom and states that “özgürüm istediđimi alıyom istediđimi satıyom / *I am free. I buy whatever I want*” (lines 177 & 178). The use noun clause *istediđimi* (whatever I want) and the verb *almak* (to buy) and *satmak* (to sell) show that she is free in her financial decisions. In these ways, she positions herself as a healthy and free woman who gets on by herself.

Subsequently, Bařak shifts her focus to her life prior to her emancipation and states that “makineye amařır atamamam her řeyime karıřıl- / *not being allowed to use the washing machine to do laundry or being intervened-*” (lines 178 & 179). Accordingly, the negative ability modal inflection of the verb phrase *amařır atmak* (to put clothes) and the passivized verb *karıřılmak* (to intervene) constitute as the examples of her subordination. In addition, she interrupts herself by not fully uttering the verb *karıřılmak* (to be intervened) and continues to exemplify her subordination by specifying her duties as outlined by her mother-in-law as follows, “bu bulařık burda bırakılıp yatılmaz iřte yıkayıp yatacaksın řunu da yap yat / *you can't leave these dishes here and go to sleep. You will wash them and then go to sleep*” (lines 179 & 180). The negative present tense inflection and the passive construction on the

intransitive verb *yatmak* (to go to sleep) invests her remarks with institutional rules and thereby illustrates the solemnity of her duties at home. Also, the future tense and imperative marking on the following verbs reinforces the rule-likeness of her duties. She consolidates these implications by employing a simile and states that “yani askeriye gibi sürekli yani yapmak zorundasın / *I mean it was like military. You constantly have to do something*” (line 180). By using the pos-position *gibi* (like) and the noun *askeriye* (military), she compares her life conditions to that of military. Also, the adverb *sürekli* (constantly) and the adjective *zorunda* (pushed to / have to) demonstrates how she was forced to complete her duties. In this way, she positions her past self as an oppressed woman who must perform certain duties under an authority.

Next, Başak revisits her post-divorce conditions with the statement “ah o günler bitti artık / *oh those days are over now*” (line 181). The verb *bitmek* (to be over) and the adverb *artık* (now) imply that she is not oppressed anymore and thereby now refers to her post-divorce period. With the interjection *ah* (oh), she illustrates how pleased she is about the cessation of oppression. Then, she explains her freedom stating that “ben makiniye bir tane tişört de atıp çalıştırabilirim artık / *now I can even wash only one t-shirt in the washing machine*” (lines 181 & 182). Using the adverb *artık* (now) and present ability modal on the verb, she indicates her freedom to do things as she wishes. She proves her point by mentioning having washed only one t-shirt in the washing machine and states that “ba:k yaptım oldu bi tane yıkadım / *Look I did it, I washed only one*” (lines 182 & 183). In this statement she lengthens the vowel in the pragmatic marker *bak* (look) and employs the formulaic expression *yaptım oldu* (I did it) to refer to her action and thereby she highlights her freedom to do anything. Başak further exemplifies her freedom by

referring to an episode in which she did not clean the shells of sunflower seeds (a popular snack in Turkey) and quotes herself saying that “*evet ben bu kabuğu burda bırakıp yatabilirim kimse de bana bişey diyemez / yes I can leave these shells here and go to sleep and nobody can tell me anything about this*”. In this statement, the ability modal on the verb *yatmak* (to go to sleep) expresses the possibility of performing any action. Also, by using the discourse marker *evet* (yes), she confirms herself. In the second sentence, the indefinite pronouns *kimse* (no one) and *bişey* (anything) and the negative ability marker on the verb *demek* (to say) indicate the absence of oppressors. Then, she mentions that she does not like leaving the dishes normally and accounts for her action stating that “*sırf ben bunu yapabiliyom bu bulaşığı burda bırakabiliyom / just because I can do this, I can leave the dishes here*” (lines 184 & 185). The adverb *sırf* (just) and the ability markers on the verbs fortify her sense of freedom by trying things she has never done and thereby keeps challenging her oppressor that she has left behind. Next, she refers to her mother-in-law saying that “*gaynana yok baa [bana] bağaracak kimse yok / There is no mother-in-law. There is no one to yell at me*”. In this statement, by mentioning her mother-in-law and no one to yell, she portrays her mother-in-law as a source of oppression and highlights her emancipation from her. When all taken together, she constructs her power by challenging her old duties and positioning herself as a free woman who can do anything she wishes.

As the extract above illustrate, the participants construct post-emancipatory power in reference to their financial power and freedom. In addition, some of them contribute their powerful positions by focusing on their emotions. For example, Güneş was deserted by her husband after she was diagnosed with breast cancer. Although her cancer was in the last stage, which her doctor referred to as a point of

no return, she managed to survive it. In the meantime, she divorced her husband, studied hard for KPSS (Public Personnel Selection Examination) and became a government officer. Having survived an emotionally, mentally, and physically exhausting period, Güneş evaluates her post-emancipatory life as follows:

Extract 6.9

- 187 Güneş: öyle işe başladık işte ondan sonra her şey çok güzel oldu (.) kendimi: çok farklı (.) yani o kanser
188 olduğumdaki Güneş’le atandığım günkü Güneş arasında o kadar fark vardı ki (.) yani inn ama (.)
189 çok da şey götürdü artık mesela hiç güvenim yok güven problemim çok fazla (.) kanseri yendim
190 (.) affettim (.) insanlara daha pozitif bakıyorum belki (.) hani hiçbi zaman kötülük düşünmedim
191 düşünemem de ama (.) birine de güvenemem bi daha heralde (.) çünkü benden çok şey götürdü (.)
192 memesi alınan bi kadın (.) kendini kadın gibi hissetmeyen bi kadının boşanması çok ağır (.) ama
193 ben vazgeçmedim (.) hiç vazgeçmedim Merve
(...)
- 194 Güneş: iyi ki diyorum yani iyi ki vazgeçmemişim (.) iyi ki ee Allah kötüye fırsat vermesin de o şeyle hani
195 onların o söylediğiyle o yılgınlıkla o mutsuzlukla vazgeçmemişim (.) şimdi beni ölür diye
196 bekleyenler ölür diye kapıya atanlar bu artık yarım oldu bi işe yaramaz diyenler şimdi hayretler
197 içinde şoklar içinde beni izliyolar izlemeye devam etsinler yani {laughing}
- 187 Güneş: *like this I started to work I mean and then everything became good. (.) myself so different (.) I*
188 *mean there is such a big difference between the Güneş on the days when I was cancer and the*
189 *Güneş on the day when I was appointed [as a government officer] (.) I mean but (.) it took a lot*
190 *from me for example I don’t trust anymore. I have trusting issues (.) I survived cancer (.) I*
191 *forgave (.) maybe I view people more positively (.) I mean I have never thought about evil and*
192 *I can’t but (.) I guess I cannot trust anyone anymore (.) because it took a lot from me (.) a woman*
193 *whose breast is taken (.) it is so harsh that a woman who don’t feel like a woman get divorced (.)*
194 *but I didn’t give up (.) I never gave up Merve*
(...)
- 195 Güneş: *fortunately I mean fortunately I didn’t give up (.) fortunately may god not let the evil fortunately I*
196 *didn’t give up because of what they said and that frustration and unhappiness (.) now those who*
197 *expected me to die those who threw me out of the door those who said she is half now she is*
198 *useless now they are watching me with astonishment and shock. Let them stay tuned {laughing}*

Interview, 3 July 2020

In line 187, Güneş first refers to her job and states that “öyle işe başladık işte ondan sonra her şey çok güzel oldu / *like this I mean I started to work and then everything became good*”. Her reference to starting to work, the indefinite pronoun *her şey* (everything), and the adverbs *çok* (very) and *güzel* (good) illustrate that her life conditions are fine following her employment. Next, she evaluates herself stating that “yani o kanser olduğumdaki Güneş’le atandığım günkü Güneş arasında o kadar fark vardı ki / *I mean there is such a big difference between the Güneş on the days when I was cancer and the Güneş on the day when I was appointed [as a government officer]*” (187 & 188). In this statement, she refers to herself twice by identifying two different selves. In doing so, she defines herself temporally by referring to the times

she was cancer and the day she became a government officer respectively and contrasts the two with the noun phrase *o kadar fark* (such a big difference). In this way, she implies that she has transformed greatly. As she continues to explain this transformation, she also refers to the negative points and states that “çok da şey götürdü / *it took a lot from me*” (line 189). In this way, she puts forth that this transformation has resulted in disadvantages. She explains her point with an example and states “artık mesela hiç güvenim yok güven problemim çok fazla / *For example I don't trust anymore. I have trusting issues.*” The adverb *artık* (anymore) shows that she refers to the aftermath of transformation. The use of noun *güven* (trust) and noun phrase *güven problemi* (trusting issues) indicates her insecurity about people due to her negative experience. Next, she specifies her accomplishments and states that “kanseri yendim (.) affettim (.) insanlara daha pozitif bakıyorum belki / *I survived cancer (.) I forgave (.) maybe I view people more positively*” (lines 189 & 190). By employing the verbs *yenmek* (to beat), *affetmek* (to forgive), and *pozitif bakmak* (view positively), she acknowledges the positive sides of her transformation and positions herself as an accomplished person. In her following remarks, she revisits her trusting issues and then accounts for them as follows, “memesi alınan bi kadın (.) kendini kadın gibi hissetmeyen bi kadının boşanması çok ağır / *a woman whose breast is taken (.) it is so harsh that a woman who don't feel like a woman get divorced*” (line 192). In this statement, she refers to herself with the noun *kadın* (woman), which she modifies with relative clauses. In these definitions, she first uses the noun *meme* (breast) with the passivized verb *alınmak* (to be taken) and thereby refers to cancer. Then, she highlights the influence of her breast taken with the post-positional phrase *kadın gibi* (like a woman). In this way, she portrays her past self as a vulnerable and sensitive woman. Upon this portrayal, she uses the adjective *ağır*

(*harsh*) to refer to her divorce and enriches the portrayal of her past self. In all these ways, she illustrates how challenging her transformation was.

Following the challenges of her transformation, Güneş shifts her focus to her success stating that “ama ben vazgeçmedim hiç vazgeçmedim Merve / *but I didn't give up (.) I never gave up Merve*” (192 & 193). By repeating the negated verb *vazgeçmek* (to give up) and using the adverb *hiç* (never), she emphasizes her determination and perseverance and positions herself as a powerful woman. Then, she evaluates her past action stating that “iyi ki diyorum yani iyi ki vazgeçmemişim / *fortunately I mean fortunately I didn't give up*” (line 194). Again, she employs repetition with the pragmatic marker *iyi ki* (fortunately) and illustrates her gratitude to her past self. As she continues expressing her gratitude about not giving up, she alludes to religion by saying “iyi ki ee Allah kötüye fırsat vermesin de / *fortunately may god not let the evil*”. With this formulaic expression, she portrays herself as a religious person. Next, she further evaluates her determination and states that “onların o söylediğiyle o yılgınlıkla o mutsuzlukla vazgeçmemişim / *fortunately I didn't give up because of what they said and that frustration and unhappiness*” (line 195). Withing this statement, she mentions the factors that could have caused her to give up. In doing so, she first refers to the words of her husband and his family and implies that they were discouraging. Also, the nouns *yılgınlık* (frustration) and *mutsuzluk* (unhappiness) demonstrates the emotional obstacles she had. In all these ways, again, she shows how emotionally challenging her transformation was and fortifies her position as a powerful and determined woman who has overcome many difficulties.

Finally, Güneş refers to people who mistreated her and states that “şimdi beni ölür diye bekleyenler ölür diye kapıya atanlar bu artık yarım oldu bi işe yaramaz

diyenler şimdi hayretler içinde şoklar içinde beni izliyolar / *now those who expected me to die, those who threw me out of the door, those who said she is half now, she is useless, now they are all watching me with astonishment and shock*” (lines 195, 196 & 197). In her reference to her oppressors, she heavily employs relative clauses as the subject of this statement to describe how they treated her. In doing so, she uses negatively connotated words and phrases such as *ölür diye beklemek* (to expect someone to die), *kapıya atmak* (to throw out of the door), *yarım olmak* (to become half human), and *işe yaramaz* (useless). Her negative diction displays the mistreatment she was exposed to and contribute to the earlier picture she made about her challenging and discouraging conditions. Furthermore, the phrases *hayretler içinde* (in astonishment) and *şoklar içinde* (in shock) imply that she has proved her oppressors wrong. As she challenges those who mistreated her, she consolidates her power and positions herself as a strong determined woman who has resisted and overcome many hardships. She concludes her challenging remarks laughing and saying that “izlemeye devam etsinler / let them stay tuned” (line 198). The formulaic expression *izlemeye devam edin* (stay tuned) is usually used by presenters and news reporters on TV. By employing this mediatic expression, she portrays herself as a popular and reputed person and once again fortifies her position as a powerful woman who has accomplished a lot.

As the previous extracts illustrate, the participants often refer to their lives following their emancipation within their survival and power stories. In doing so, as individuals who have survived abusive relationships, they construct powerful selves relying on a wide range of linguistic devices. Therefore, in this section, I have demonstrated that they construct their power in reference to their financial power, freedom and emotional state and position themselves as powerful independent

survivors who have risen above their abusive relationships. In my analysis, I have shown that they utilize linguistic devices such as stress, interjection, relative clauses, word choice, formulaic expressions, rhetorical questions, simile, comparison, and allusion to religion (see Table 8 for summary). In the following chapter, I will focus on the topic of gender norms, which the participants refer to contextualize their accounts.

Table 8. List of the Linguistic Devices Used in the Construction of Post-emancipatory Power

Linguistic Level of Analysis	Linguistic Device	Example
Phonology	Stress	“her şeye rağmen herkese rağmen / <i>despite everything despite everyone</i> ” (line 154)
Morphology	Past tense affix -miş	“hayat benim için yeniden başlamış / <i>I realized that life just restarted for me</i> ” (lines 130 & 131)
Syntax	Relative clause	“komşudan makarna bekleyen Ayşenur gitti / <i>Ayşenur who reckoned on her neighbours to give her some pasta is gone</i> ” (line 144)
Semantics	Word choice	“artık kurtuldum o insandan / <i>I got rid of that person</i> ” (line 121)
	Formulaic expression	“allah benim bir kapımı kapattı bin kapı açtı bana / <i>God closed one door and opened a thousand doors for me</i> ” (line 126)
Pragmatics /Discourse	Rhetorical question	“ben bu adamı niye boşamadım bu zamana kadar / <i>why didn't I divorce him all this time</i> ” (line 126)
	Simile	“ne biliyim sanki yeniden hayat buluyosun / <i>I don't know it is like you enliven</i> ” (line 152)
	Comparison	“bugünkü asgari ücretli insana bak bi de memurun maaşına bak / <i>compare the salary of a person who earns minimum wage now and that of a government officer</i> ” (lines 172 & 173)
	Allusion to religion	“rabbim şimdi allahın izniyle bana iyi bi iş nasip etti / <i>now my god had bestowed a good job on me</i> ” (line 175)
	Interjection	“ah o günler bitti artık / <i>oh those days are over now</i> ” (line 181)

CHAPTER 7

CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER NORMS IN THE STORIES

Drawing on the social interactional approach (SIA) to narratives proposed by De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008), narratives can provide macro level articulations of social actions and relationships going beyond the local level of interaction through contextualization. That is, narratives can constitute as tools for the cultivation of wider social meanings within local-level interactions since they are contextually informed genres. Likewise, social norms surface as another emergent topic within the data set of this study in addition to violence and power, which are analyzed in Chapter 5 and 6 respectively. Furthermore, these social norms mostly include gender norms as this study focuses on the survival and power stories of 20 women who had long been oppressed before they finally emancipated from their perpetrators. Therefore, they often refer to gender norms within their stories in order to account for their subordination and the challenges they have faced on the way to emancipation. In doing so, they visit gender norms in their pre- and post-emancipatory accounts and responses to the researcher's evaluative questions at the end of the interview. To this end, in this chapter, I will explore how gender norms are produced, reproduced and challenged by the participants within the different stages of their personal narratives, and thereby how they assign positions to their characters in local level and to men and women in societal level. In doing so, I will focus on the linguistic devices employed to construct and negotiate gender norms and position the characters accordingly.

7.1 Gender norms in pre-emancipatory accounts

As the participants narrate their violence and subordination accounts as demonstrated in Chapter 5, they usually refer to gender norms in order to contextualize the oppression they have experienced as survivor women. To this end, in this section, I will analyze their pre-emancipatory accounts with respect to gender norms and demonstrate how they linguistically position women and men in societal discourse.

Emel, a 73-year-old survivor woman, refers to gender norms in the extract below as follows:

Extract 7.1

- 1 Emel: ben de sona sona ben dikeleşmeye başladım işte parayı getirmiyon! eve gelmiyon! ee diye ben de
2 hırlaşmaya başladım (.) yani eskiki gibi olmuyodu (.) olmayınca o da işte oturuşosan otur
3 oturmuyosa siktir ol get diye uruyodu ee baban tarafı da seni almıyodu ordan ölüün çıkacak
4 diyodu onlara bi şey diyemiyodun (.) ha işte onları bulgur bulamaç yeyip oturuşoduk
5 Merve: hiç peki böyle seni dövdiğü zaman falan işte karşı koydun mu direnmeye çalıştın mı
6 Emel: direnmedim
7 Merve: ya da bi çözüm bulmaya çalıştın mı bana bunu yapmasın diye
8 Emel: yapmasın diye çözüm çalıştım ama (.) onun sözü gideridi senin sözün getmiyodu (.) nolur iki
9 tokat vurmuş ölüün mü (.) ne varmış (.) koca hemi sever hemi düver
10 Merve: kim diyodu bunları
11 Emel: gaynanam da diyodu (.) gendi babam da diyodu
12 Merve: he sen söylüyodun onlara böyle böyle bana vurdu diye
13 Emel: babama diyodum /canım/
14 Merve: /şikayetleniyodun/
15 Emel: babam beni bi gün bi keserlen govaladı
16 Merve: anaa
17 Emel: utanmıyon mu da sen şikayet ediyon diye
18 Merve: cık cık cık
19 Emel: vallahi bah essah diyom yalan değel (.) baba dedim ben kötü bi şey demiyom dedim ben de sana
20 iyi bi şey demiyom iyi diyom dedi bi daha duymıyacam (.) senin ölüün o evden çıkacak dedi
- 1 Emel: *later I started to be resistant I mean I started to snarl like you don't bring money! you don't come
2 home! (.) I mean it wasn't like it used to be (.) and then he was hitting saying that if you don't
3 want to stay then fuck off and your father's side didn't accept you they used to say only your dead
4 body will get out of that house and you can't upspeak (.) I mean we were just rubbing along
5 Merve: *have you ever withstood or I mean tried to resist when he beat you?*
6 Emel: *I didn't*
7 Merve: *or have you tried looking for a solution so that he doesn't do that to you?*
8 Emel: *I tried solutions but (.) it was his words against mine (.) what of it if he hit a few slaps, are you
9 dead (.) what's the big deal? (.) a husband both loves and beats
10 Merve: *who used to say these?*
11 Emel: *my mother-in-law used to say (.) and also my own father*
12 Merve: *so you were telling them that he hit me like this*
13 Emel: *of course I told /my father/
14 Merve: /you used to complain/
15 Emel: *one day my father chased me with an adz*
16 Merve: *wow*
17 Emel: *saying that aren't you ashamed of complaining*
18 Merve: *tczik tczik tczik*
19 Emel: *I swear it is true it's not a lie (.) I said dad I don't say somethind bad and he said I also tell you
20 something good he said I will not hear from you again (.) only your dead body will leave that
21 house****

Interview, 24 June 2020

At the beginning of the extract above, Emel mentions how she resists her husband's subordination by quoting herself stating that "ben de sona sona ben dikileşmeye başladım işte parayı getirmiyon! eve gelmiyon! ee diye ben de hırlaşmaya başladım / *later I started to be resistant I mean I started to snarl like you don't bring money! You don't come home!*" (lines 1 & 2). The verbs *diklenmek* (to resist) and *hırlaşmak* (to snarl) she used to quote herself position her as a resistant woman who withstands her husband. Furthermore, by referring to money and home within the quoted statements, she assigns her husband as an irresponsible man who does not take care of his family. Then, she mentions her husband's reaction to her resistant behaviors and quotes him saying that "oturuyosan otur oturmuyosa siktir ol get diye vuruyodu / *he was hitting saying that if you don't want to stay, then fuck off*" (lines 2 & 3). The verb *vurmak* (to hit) illustrates that her husband is a violent man. Also, by using the formulaic swearing word *siktir ol git* (fuck off) in her quotation, she portrays her husband as an abusive oppressor.

Next, Emel accounts for not leaving her abusive husband by quoting her parents as follows, "ee baban tarafı da seni almıyodu ordan ölüün çıkacak diyodu / *your father's side didn't accept you they used to say only your dead body will get out of that house*" (line 3). By using the word *almak* (to take or accept) and using the object pronoun *seni* (you) to refer to herself, she gives herself a passive role in leaving her house while designating her parents as the decision makers. Also, the formulaic expression *ölüün çıkacak* (only your dead body will get out) is one of the variations of an old Anatolian statement used for bride-to-be women by their family members, which reads as *gelinliğinle git, kefeninle dön* (leave with your wedding dress, come back with your shroud). This statement illustrates the peril of getting divorce for Anatolian women, who have been long taught to stay in their marriages

no matter what happens and accounts for their long endurance within abusive relationships. Therefore, by employing this formulaic expression, Emel demonstrates how impossible to leave her husband and positions herself as a helpless woman.

Upon the researcher's question about whether Emel has employed any solution to stop her husband (lines 5 & 7), Emel mentions having tried some solutions and explains why they didn't work stating that "onun sözü gideridi senin sözün getmiyodu / *it was his words against mine*" (line 8). In this statement, referring to his words and her words respectively, she compares their power. The positive and negative inflections on the verbs referring to her husband and her respectively imply that the one holding power was her husband. Next, she quotes her parents and in-laws stating that "nolur iki tokat vurmuş ölün mü / *what of it if he hit a few slaps are you dead?*" (lines 8 & 9). The phrase *iki tokat* (a few slaps) trivializes her husband's violence. Also, the rhetorical questions degrade the severity of her husband's violence by normalizing it. As Emel continues quoting her in-laws and parents, she employs a formulaic expression saying that "koca hem sever hem döver / *a husband both loves and beats*" (line 9). This expression has long been in circulation normalizing man's violence in Turkish society. Therefore, by employing this expression in her quotation, Emel illustrates how her resistance was smothered by gender norms.

To further exemplify, she refers to an episode in which she faced violent reaction of her father when she complained about her husband to her father and states that "babam beni bi gün bi keserlen govaladı / *one day my father chased me with an adz*" (line 15). The verb *kovalamak* (to chase) and the noun *keser* (*adz*) show the violent reaction of her father and the impossibility of her return to her father's home leaving her husband. Then, she continues to quote her father saying that "senin ölün

o evden çihacah dedi / *only your dead body will leave that house*” (line 20). By repeating this formulaic expression, she highlights the gender norms of the time and fortifies the impossibility of divorce. In doing so, she contextualizes her submission and portrays past social norms as norms positioning men over women.

As illustrated above, Emel accounts for her subordination and endurance by referring to gender norms which regulated women’s actions and behaviors at the time. These gender norms are constructed by the traditional and patriarchal statements of her parents and in-laws. Likewise, after Güneş narrates an episode in which she was subordinated by her husband and mother-in-law, she justifies her unresponsiveness by referring to prevailing gender norms in the society as follows:

Extract 7.2

- 21 Güneş: ben tabi yine yuva yıkılmasın şu bu (.) hani toplumda böyle zaten (.) kadın niye susuyo ağzımızın
22 tadı kaçmasın işte tekrar baba evine dönme olmasın (.) gibi şeyler yine toplum baskısı yani çünkü
23 öyle yetiştirildik (.) benim annem de öyle yetiştirildi bize de öyle dedi aman kaynana bişey deme!
24 aman kocana bi şey deme! aman görümcene yüzünü eğme! aman kızım he de! aman kızım sus! (.)
25 böyleydi yani çünkü zaten dediğim gibi öncesinde de susturulmuş bi çocuksan evlendiğinde de
26 susturulmuş bi kadın oluyosun susman gerek- her seye susman gerektiğini düşünüyosun (.)
27 konuşacağın yeri biliyosun (.) ne konuşacağımı bilmiyosun (.) çünkü hiç yapmamışsın ki
- 21 Güneş: *of course I was again like home shouldn't fall apart (.) it's like this in the society (.) why do*
22 *women remain silent? so that the peace isn't broken I mean so that there's no returning to father's*
23 *home (.) things like these I mean again it's social pressure because we were raised like this (.) my*
24 *mother was raised like this, too and she taught us this way oh my daughter don't upspeak to your*
25 *mother-in-law! don't upspeak to your husband! don't make a face to your sister-in-law! oh my*
26 *daughter accept everything! oh my daughter remain silent! (.) it was like this because as I said if*
27 *you're a silenced child in the first place you become a silenced woman when you get married you*
28 *think you need to remain silent for everything (.) you know when to speak (.) but you don't know*
29 *what to speak (.) because you have never done so*

Interview, 3 July 2020

At the beginning of the extract, Güneş refers to her unresponsiveness to her subordination stating that “ben tabi yine yuva yıkılmasın şu bu / *of course I was again like home shouldn't fall apart*” (line 21). The formulaic expression *yuva yıkılmasın* (home shouldn't fall apart) accounts for her endurance upon the violence episode she has just narrated. The adverb *yine* (again) implies that this is not the first time she remained silent. Also, the discourse marker *tabi* (of course) illustrates that

her unresponsiveness is the expected behavior. In this way, she positions herself as an enduring woman who remains silent for the sake of her family.

In her following remarks, Güneş implies that her unresponsiveness does not pertain to her case by stating that “toplumda bu böyle zaten / *it's like this in the society.*” By referring to her society and using the adverb *zaten* (already), she suggests that unresponsiveness is the norm for subordinated women. Then, she employs a rhetorical question and says “kadın niye susuyo / *why do women remain silent?*” The unmodified singular noun *kadın* (woman) corresponds to women in general instead of one specific woman, from which it can be inferred that her explanation will encompass women in her society. Next, she identifies some of the reasons why women remain silent and states that “ağzımızın tadı kaçmasın (.) işte tekrar baba evine dönme olmasın / *so that the peace is not broken (.) I mean so that there is not returning family home*” (lines 21 & 22). In her explanation, she first uses the formulaic expression *ağzımızın tadı kaçmasın* (so that the peace is not broken). With this expression, she implies that most women do not react to violence for the sake of their families. This reasoning also suggests that women usually hold themselves responsible for the unity of their families. In the second explanation, she employs another formulaic expression *baba evi* (family home), which suggests that women are expected to or have to go back to their family home when they divorce. Furthermore, she uses this expression with the verbal noun *dönme* (returning) and suggests *baba evine dönme* (returning family home) as a concept in the society, which has long been regarded as a shame for families. She summarizes her point saying that “yine toplum baskısı yani / *I mean again it is social pressure*”. Employing the phrase *toplum baskısı* (social pressure), she attributes the prevalent reasoning women resort to is a product of the pressure imposed by the social norms.

In all these ways, she positions women in her society as individuals who are controlled and subordinated by certain social norms.

Subsequently, Güneş continues explaining women's unresponsiveness to subordination and states that "çünkü öyle yetiştirildik / *because we were raised like this*" (lines 22 & 23). The passive construction on the verb imputes the agency to parents while assigning women in the society as patients. Next, she refers to her mother saying that "benim annem de öyle yetiştirildi / *my mother was raised like this, too.*" Again, the passive construction on the verb marks her mother as the patient while holding her mother's parents responsible for the way she was raised. In this way, Güneş implies a cycle in which gender norms are transmitted from one generation to another. Then, she quotes her mother stating that "aman kaynana bişey deme! aman kocana bi şey deme! aman görümcene yüzünü eğme! aman kızım he de! aman kızım sus! / *oh my daughter don't upspeak to your mother-in-law! Don't upspeak to your husband! Don't make a face to your sister-in-law! Oh my daughter accept everything! Oh my daughter remain silent!*" (lines 23 & 24). In each of these consecutive quotations, she employs the interjection *aman* (oh) repetitively and thereby illustrates the emphatic advise her mother gave her. Also, the stressed nouns *kaynana* (mother-in-law), *koca* (husband) and *görümce* (sister-in-law) denotes that they are figures of authority to whom she is supposed to submit. Also, the verbs *he demek* (to accept) and *susmak* (to remain silent) used in imperative form fortifies the submissive position designated to her. In these ways, she exemplifies how women are taught to submit to their perpetrators and positions women in her society as individuals who are intimidated by the culturally transmitted gender norms.

In her following remarks, Güneş mentions the consequences of the imposed social norms and states that "öncesinde de susturulmuş bi çocuksan evlendiğinde de

susturulmuş bi kadın oluyosun / *if you're a silenced child in the first place, you become a silenced woman when you get married*" (lines 25 & 26). By referring to being a child and woman respectively, she compares two different stages of a woman's life. In doing so, she uses the verb *susmak* (to be silence) in causative and passive form, which eliminates the agency of women by imputing it to oppressors. Also, by using a conditional structure, she suggests a link between childhood and adulthood behaviors, and accounts for the submissive behavior of women in her society. She fortifies her explanation saying that "her şeye susman gerektiğini düşünüyosun / *you think you need to remain silent for everything*" (line 26). By using and stressing the indefinite pronoun *her şey* (everything) and the verb *gerekmek* (need to), she justifies the passive reaction of women in her society when they face oppression. She further explains her point saying that "konuşacağın yeri biliyosun (.) ne konuşacağını bilmiyosun / you know when to speak (.) but you don't know what to speak" (line 27). In the first sentence, the relative clause *konuşacağın yer* (when to speak) and the verb *bilmek* (to know) suggest that women acknowledge when they are subordinated. In the second sentence, the noun clause *ne konuşacağını* (what to speak) and the negated verb *bilmek* (to know) denote that women do not know how to react when they are subordinated. Then, she concludes her explanation and state that "çünkü hiç yapmamışsın ki / *because you have never done so.*" The adverb *hiç* (never) and past tense affix *-miş* puts forth that women almost never react to their subordination. In all these ways, Güneş justifies the unresponsiveness of women in her society and position them as oppressed individuals who are taught to remain unresponsive.

As demonstrated through the extracts above, the participants often refer to gender norms in order to account for the mistreatment they experience and their

unresponsiveness. In some cases, the participants mention gender norms upon the researcher's intervention. In the extract below, Hatice narrates how she married for the second time despite the objection of the families as follows:

Extract 7.3

- 28 Hatice: ondan sonra ailelerimiz çok karşı çıktı ama biz de çok hızlı bi şekilde nikah kıydık=
29 Merve: =niye karşı çıktılar
30 Hatice: ya aramızda çok ciddi yaş farkı vardı=
31 Merve: =kaç yaş vardı=
32 Hatice: =on beş
33 Merve: on beş sen ondan on beş /yaş büyüsun/
34 Hatice: /ben ondan on beş yaş/ büyüüm
35 Merve: niye sence buna karşı çıktılar yani bi erkek bi kadından 15 yaş büyük olunca sıkıntı olmuyo da
36 niye kadın erkekten on beş yaş büyük olunca sıkıntı oluyo
37 Hatice: ya işte çünkü genel olarak toplumumuzun bakış açısı bu şekilde erkek büyük olmalı kadın küçük
38 olmalı erkek daha eğitimi olmalı kadın daha az eğitimi olmalı erkek daha zengin olmalı kadın
39 daha düşük bi gelir düzeyine sahip olmalı erkek daha bilgili olmalı kadın daha cahil olmalı bu
40 yüzden çünkü biz toplum olarak erkeği üstün gören bişeyiz üstün gören bi milletiz o yüzden
41 erkeğin herhangi bir konuda kadından daha düşük olmasını baştan zaten reddediyoruz o yüzden
42 Merve: onun ailesi de karşı çıktı mı
43 Hatice: tabi onun ailesi de karşı çıktı onun ailesi de şöyle dedi sen bekarsın gençsin niye çocuklu kadın
44 istiyosun biz sana istediğin bekar kızı alırız (.) yani onlar da kendilerince haklı niye kendini
45 yakıyosun
46 Merve: niye yakmak olsun
47 Hatice: çünkü o genç ben yaşlıyım ayrıca ee ben ikinci elim o sıfır haha
48 Merve: haha ay hatice abla ya
49 Hatice: sıfır ya /hahaha/
50 Merve: /hahaha/
51 Hatice: niye kullanılmış araba alıyor sıfır alsın ya çocuk

- 28 Hatice: *then our families heavily objected but we solemnized the marriage quickly=*
29 Merve: *= why did they oppose*
30 Hatice: *well there was a serious age gap between us=*
31 Merve: *= how many years=*
32 Hatice: *= fifteen*
33 Merve: *fifteen you are fifteen /years older than him/*
34 Hatice: */I am fifteen years/ older than him*
35 Merve: *why do you think they oppose I mean when a man is fifteen years older than a woman there is no*
36 *problem but when a woman is fifteen years older than a man it is a problem*
37 Hatice: *well you know the general viewpoint of our society is like this men should be older women should*
38 *be younger men should be more educated women should be less educated men should be richer*
39 *women should have lower income men should be more intellectual women should be ignorent*
40 *that's why because we are a society that considers men as superior therefore we reject men's*
41 *being inferior to women at any subject from the beginning that's why*
42 Merve: *did his family also oppose?*
43 Hatice: *of course they did they said you are single and young why do you want a woman with children*
44 *we'll get you any single girl you want (.) they're right in their own way why'd you ruin yourself?*
45 Merve: *why would it be ruining?*
46 Hatice: *because he is young and I am old I am second-hand but he is brand new haha*
47 Merve: *haha you hatice sister*
48 Hatice: *he is brand new /hahaha/*
49 Merve: */hahaha/*
50 Hatice: *why would he buy used car? the boy should buy a brand new one*

Interview, 30 June 2020

Upon Hatice's reference to the familial objection to her marriage in line 28, the researcher intervenes to elicit the reason of the objection in line 29, which Hatice

explains saying that “ya aramızda çok ciddi yaş farkı vardı / *well there was a serious age gap between us*” (line 30). Her reference to age gap using the adjective *çok* (very) and *ciddi* (serious) accounts for the objection from their families. After the researcher intervenes again to confirm the age gap and find out who is older (lines 31 & 33), she poses an evaluative question regarding the discriminative attitude of the society to the cases where women are older in relationships, which prompts Hatice to specify gender roles. In her response, Hatice first refers to society saying that “çünkü genel olarak toplumumuzun bakış açısı bu şekilde / *because the viewpoint of our society is like this*” (line 37). Through this statement, she holds the society responsible for the discrimination against women. Next, she starts quoting the society by specifying what is expected from women and men (lines 37, 38 & 39). In doing so, she compares the expectations from men and women by referring to men and women repetitively and employing the modifier *daha* (more). Also, she inflects the verbs with the necessity affix -mAll to illustrate the social expectations governing men and women. These expectations are indicated by her word choice to describe men and women. Accordingly, she uses words such as *küçük* (young), *daha az eğitilmiş* (less educated), *düşük gelir düzeyi* (lower income level), and *daha cahil* (more ignorant) to refer to women, whereas she employs adjectives such as *büyük* (old), *daha eğitilmiş* (more educated), *daha zengin* (richer), and *daha bilgili* (more intellectual) to refer to men. In this way, she implies that society positions men over women across various social situations. She consolidates this positioning stating that “çünkü biz toplum olarak erkeği üstün gören birşeyiz üstün gören bir milletiz / *because we are a nation that considers men as superior*” (line 40). In this explanation, she defines her nation with a relative clause and refers to men with the verb phrase *üstün görmek* (to consider someone superior). In this way, she fortifies how prevalent the

discriminative attitudes she has mentioned are in her nation. Then, she continues to strengthen her point and states that “o yüzden erkeğin herhangi bir konuda kadından daha düşük olmasını baştan zaten reddediyoruz / *therefore we reject men’s being inferior to women at any subject from the beginning*” (line 41). By marking the verb with the first-person plural, she speaks for her society again and entrenches its discriminative mindset. In all these ways, she accounts for the objection of her family.

Upon the question of the researcher specifically regarding the reaction of her husband’s family, Hatice quotes his family saying that “ailesi de şöyle dedi sen bekarsın gençsin niye çocuklu kadın istiyosun biz sana istediğin bekar kızı alırız / *They said you are single and young, why do you want a woman with children? We will get you any single girl you want* (lines 43 & 44). The adjectives *bekar* (single) and *genç* (young) defining her husband implies that his family does not consider Hatice as a single woman. Therefore, the adjective *bekar* (single) in this context denotes not only the current marital status but the marital history of a person. That is, the adjective undergoes semantic restriction and refers only to a single person who has not married before. Therefore, as this is Hatice’s second marriage, her husband’s family does not consider them equals in terms of marital status. In addition, the phrase *çocuklu kadın* (woman with children) in the quoted rhetorical question degrades her as a suitable person for marriage and accounts for the objection of his partner’s family. Furthermore, the noun phrase *bekar kız* (single girl) in the last sentence reconfirms that his family does not consider Hatice as an appropriate match for their son since this is her second marriage

Subsequently, Hatice clarifies her point by comparing her and her husband and states that “çünkü o genç ben yaşlıyım / *because he is young and I am old*” (line

47). Through the adjectives *genç* (young) and *yaşlı* (old), she illustrates the gap between her and her husband. Then, she further elaborates on her point saying that “ben ikinci elim o sıfır haha / *I am second-hand but he is brand new haha*”. By employing the adjectives *ikinci el* (second-hand) and *sıfır* (brand new), usually used for cars in colloquial Turkish, she refers to herself and her husband respectively and thereby employs a metaphor. Through this metaphor and laughter, she ironically problematizes her being divorced and challenges the norms imposed by the society. She concludes her point by utilizing a rhetorical question addressing her husband and states that “niye kullanılmış araba alıyor sıfır alsın ya çocuk / *why would he buy used car? The boy should buy a brand new one*” (line 51). Employing this rhetorical question and referring to her husband with the noun *çocuk* (boy), she maintains her ironic style. Also, she continues to refer to herself with the noun phrase *kullanılmış araba* (used car) and to single women who have not married before with the adjective *sıfır* (brand new). In all these ways, she mocks the viewpoint of the society about divorced women and thereby positions her society as a community that subordinates and discriminates women.

As illustrated by the extracts above, the participants in this study include gender norms in their subordination accounts in order to contextualize the mistreatment they have witnessed and their endurance with their abusive relationships. In doing so, they heavily employ formulaic expressions, quotations, and comparisons (see Table 9 for the summary) and thereby indicate the positions that are assigned to women and men within their communities.

Table 9. List of the Linguistic Devices Used in the Construction of Gender Norms in Pre-emancipatory Accounts

Linguistic Level of Analysis	Linguistic Device	Example
Phonology	Stress	“ <u>her seve</u> susman gerektiğini düşünüyösün / <i>you think you need to remain silent for <u>everything</u></i> ” (line 26).
Morphology	Necessity marker -mAll	“erkek büyük olmalı kadın küçük olmalı / <i>men should be older, women should be youger</i> ” (line 37)
Syntax	Quotation	“aman kızım <u>he de!</u> aman kızım <u>sus!</u> / <i>Oh my daughter <u>accept everything!</u> Oh my daughter <u>remain silent!</u></i> ” (lines 23 & 24)
Semantics	Word choice	“erkek daha bilgili olmalı kadın daha cahil olmalı / <i>men should be more intellectual, women should be more ignorant</i> (line 39)
	Formulaic expression	“koca hem sever hem düver / <i>a husband both loves and beats</i> ” (line 9)
	Semantic restriction	“sen bekarsın gençsin niye çocuklu kadın istiyösün / <i>you are single and young, why do you want a woman with children?</i> (lines 43 & 44)
Pragmatics /Discourse	Rhetorical question	“kadın niye susuyo / <i>why do women remain silent?</i> ” (line 21)
	Metaphor	“ben ikinci elim o sıfır haha / <i>I am second-hand but he is brand new haha</i> ” (line 47)
	Comparison	“erkek daha zengin olmalı kadın daha düşük bi gelir düzeyine sahip olmalı / <i>Men should be richer, women should have lower income</i> ” (lines 38 & 39)
	Interjection	“aman <u>kaynana</u> bişey deme! / <i>oh my daughter don't upspeak to your <u>mother-in-law!</u></i> ” (line 23)

7.2 Gender norms in the post-emancipatory accounts

Since this study relies on the survival and power stories of a group of Anatolian women, the participants often refer to their lives following their emancipation as illustrated in Chapter 6. In doing so, they usually address gender norms in order to contextualize their post-emancipatory accounts. Indeed, they mostly refer to the mistreatment towards divorced women in their society, which usually denominates them as *dul* (widow).

In the extract below, Bahar narrates her life after her emancipation from her husband and explains the difficulty of working as a divorced woman as follows:

Extract 7.4

52 Bahar: boşandıktan sonra insanlar farklı bakıyo:: (.) sen hoşlanmadığın şeyler olduğunda /çıkıyosun/
53 Merve: /hmm/
54 Bahar: hani dulluk zor
55 Merve: ne gibi zorlukları var mesela
56 Bahar: bi kere erkekler sana çok fazla değişik gözle bakıyo (.) iş aramaya gittiğinde evli misin bekar
57 mısın dediğinde bekarım dediğinde her an farklı algılanabiliyosun (.) herkes farklı farklı bakıyo
58 (.) bi de hani az buçuk gördün (.) yapımdan dolayı kimse benim çok fazla büyük birisi olduğuma
59 inanmıyo daha kız zannedenler var ee tuhaf hareketler oluyo bi de ben kendime bakan bi insanım
60 (.) ben kendime bakmazsam çocuklarıma bakamam (.) benim şeyim budur (.) hani ben mesela
61 sabah kalktığımda ilk içtiğim benim bir bardak limonlu su bi tane de şey sarımsak (.) arı polenimi
62 içerim ondan sonra zencefilimi içerim çünkü kendime bakmak zorundayım bu da insanları biraz
63 şey gibi gösteriyo farklı bi gözlen görüyolar beni değişik görüyolar

52 Bahar: *people view you differently after you divorce (.) and you leave when unpleasent things /happen/*
53 Merve: /hmm/
54 Bahar: *I mean widowhood is difficult*
55 Merve: *what kind of difficulties does it have for example*
56 Bahar: *firstly men view you very differently (.) when you look for a job and they say are you married or*
57 *single and when you say you're single you can be perceived differently at any time (.) everyone*
58 *views you differently (.) and I mean you have seen me (.) no one believes that I am an old person*
59 *due to my nurture there are people who think I am still a virgin so I encounter e::h weird*
60 *behaviors also I am a person who looks after herself (.) if I don't take care of myself I can't take*
61 *care of my children either (.) this is my thing (.) I mean when I wake up the first thing I drink is a*
62 *glass of water with lemon and also a clove of garlic (.) I also eat pollen and then ginger because I*
63 *have to take care of myself and this makes people look I mean they view me differently*

Interview, 6 July 2020

Bahar describes her life after divorce saying that “boşandıktan sonra insanlar farklı bakıyo:: / *people view you differently after you divorce*” (line 52). By using the plural noun *insanlar* (people) in the subject position, she implies referring to society in general. Therefore, the adverb *farklı* (differently) demonstrates the discriminative attitude of the society to divorced women. She elaborates on her point saying that “hani dulluk zor / *I mean widowhood is difficult*” (line 54). In doing so, she employs the noun *dulluk* (widowhood) to refer to divorced by people as in the abovementioned semantic widening discussion regarding the term *dul* (widow). Also, the adjective *zor* (difficult) in the predicate position attributes a negative connotation to widowhood in the eyes of her society.

Upon the researcher’s intervention to elicit examples on the difficulties of widowhood in line 55, Bahar illustrates her point stating that “bi kere erkekler sana

çok fazla değişik gözle bakıyo / *firstly, men view you very differently*” (line 56). The plural noun *erkekler* (men) in the subject position illustrates men’s attitude towards divorced women. Also, the adjective *çok fazla* (very much) and the adverbial phrase *değişik gözle* (with a different gaze) indicates the negative meanings men attribute to divorced women. In addition, the pragmatic marker *bi kere* (firstly) implies that there are more difficulties other men’s approach to divorced women. Next, she exemplifies her point referring to the question about marital status in job interviews and states that “bekarım dediğinde her an farklı algılanabiliyosun / *when you say you are single, you can be perceived differently at any time*” (line 57). The passivized verb *algılanmak* (to be perceived) moves the agency on divorced women to the society. Also, as in her earlier statements, the adverb *farklı* (differently) fortifies the negative perception regarding divorced women in the society.

In her following remarks, Bahar refers to herself while saying that “yapımdan dolayı kimse benim çok fazla büyük birisi olduğuma inanmıyo daha kız zannedenler var / *no one believes that I am an old person due to my nurture. There are people who think I am still a virgin*” (lines 58 & 59). Using the nouns *yapı* (nurture) and *kız*⁴ (girl / virgin), she positions herself as a woman who does not wear her age well. Next, she continues describing herself saying that “bi de ben kendime bakan bi insanım / *Also, I am a person who looks after herself*” (line 59). Using the phrase *kendine bakmak* (to look after oneself), she consolidates her point about her young appearance. Then, she mentions her daily self-care routine by referring to *limonlu su* (water with lemon), *sarımsak* (garlic), *arı poleni* (pollen) and *zencefil* (ginger) in lines 61 and 62. In this way, she maintains her position as a young and healthy

⁴ The word *kız* has long denoted an unmarried young virgin woman as well as daughter. Although the former meaning has been removed from the online dictionary of TDK due to its sexist connotations, it is still prevalent in colloquial Turkish (Aydın, 2018).

person. Finally, she recaps her widowhood discussion and states that “bu da insanları biraz şey gibi gösteriyo farklı bi gözlen görüyolar beni değişik görüyolar / *and this makes people look I mean they view me differently*” (lines 62 & 63). Again, by using the phrase *farklı gözle* (differently) to refer to people, she demonstrates the negative gaze she receives from the society. With the pronoun *bu* (this) in the subject position, she refers to her self-care and thereby illustrates how her looking after herself is perceived negatively as a divorced woman. In all these ways, Bahar illustrates how divorced women are stigmatized in the society and consolidates the challenges of her post-emancipatory life.

Another divorced participant, Güzel, mentions getting a start in business following her emancipation from her husband and touches upon the widowhood concept in the society as follows:

Extract 7.5

64 Güzel: Azathisar’da çalışmak hele de o zamanlar çok daha zor bi kad- dul kadın olarak çok zor (.) /işte/
65 Merve: /neden/
66 Güzel: çocuk var o ayrı bi sorun evi bırakmak arkandaki o şey neden? dul kadın damgası /ondan sonra/
67 Merve: /nedir bu dul kadın damgası/ sence noluyo
68 Güzel: nedir açık kapıdır işte herkese verebilir herkesle olabilir ondan sona herkes faydalanabilir onun bi
69 duygusu yoktur dul kadının hani o aşık olamaz sevemez ee tekrar evlenemez onun ee tek derdi
70 birileriyle yatmak falandır öyle bakılıyo insan ama bence bunu değiştirebiliriz ki ben az çok
71 değiştirdiğimi düşünüyorum bu insan insanların kafasındaki bu düşünceyi az çok değiştirdiğimi
72 düşünüyorum ama hala karşılaşıyo muyum evet karşılaşıyorum ama daha güçlüyüm

64 Güzel: *working in Azathisar especially at that time is very difficult as a wo- a widow (.) /well/*
65 Merve: */why/*
66 Güzel: *there is the child that’s another problem leaving the house behind why? the widow stigma /and*
67 *then/*
68 Merve: */what is that widow stigma/ what do you think it is?*
69 Güzel: *what is it? it’s the so-called open door she can fool around with anyone she can be with anyone*
70 *then everyone can benefit from her she doesn’t have any feelings she can’t fall in love she can’t*
71 *get married again her only purpose is to sleep with someone this’s how it’s seen but we can*
72 *change this and I think I’ve changed this more or less this way of thinking on people’s minds but*
73 *do I still face this yes I do but I am stronger*

Interview, 16 July 2020

At the beginning of the extract, Güzel refers to widowhood saying that “Azathisar’da çalışmak hele de o zamanlar çok daha zor bi kad- dul kadın olarak çok zor / *working in Azathisar especially at that time is very difficult as a widow*” (line 64). The reference to the city Azathisar implies that her remarks embody the general approach

of the people in her community. Combining the noun *dul* (widow) and *kadın* (woman), she employs a collocation to refer to divorced women. The verbal noun *çalışmak* (working) and adjective *zor* (difficult) in the predicate position demonstrate the challenges divorced women face in business life. Also, the adverbs *hele de* (especially) and *o zamanlar* (at that time) imply that the discriminative attitudes towards divorced women was more challenging in the past than it is today. As she continues to illustrate the difficulties of working as a divorced woman by referring to her child in line 66, she is intervened by researcher's question regarding the reasons underlying the difficulties divorced women face (line 65). Therefore, Güzel interrupts her illustration and repeats the question word *nedен* (why) posed by the researcher and proceeds to explain her point stating that “*dul kadın damgası / widow stigma*” (line 66). The use of the word *damga* (stigma) shows how much divorced women are discriminated within the society and how women's divorce is designated as an act that needs to be ashamed of.

Following the re-intervention of the researcher with a question regarding the essence of widow stigma in the society, Güzel starts describing this social stigma and quotes the society stating that “*açık kapıdır / It's an open door*” (line 68). The noun phrase *open door* (*açık kapı*) is a metaphor she employs to refer to widow as perceived by the society. The adjective *açık* (open) connotes the vulnerability of divorced women. Then, she elaborates on this metaphor and refers to divorced women saying that “*herkese verebilir herkesle olabilir ondan sonra herkes faydalanabilir / She can fool around with anyone. She can be with anyone. Then everyone can benefit from her.*” The verb *vermek* (literally meaning to give) is a slang used exclusively for women and means having sexual relationship with someone. Also, by using the verb *-(y)İA olmak* (to sleep with), she again employs

euphemism to refer to having sexual relationship. Furthermore, these two verbs inflected with third-person singular to refer to divorced women attribute the agency of these acts to divorced women and thereby imply that divorced women are fond of sexual relationships. On the other hand, the verb *faydalanmak* (to benefit) denotes that divorced women are sexually vulnerable to men and thus shifts the agency to men. In addition, the indefinite pronoun *herkes* (everyone) implies that divorced women do not get to choose their partners and they are available to anyone. Next, she continues quoting the society about its perception of divorced women and states that “onun bi duygusu yoktur dul kadının hani o aşık olamaz sevemez ee tekrar evlenemez / *She doesn't have any feelings. She can't fall in love. She can't get married again.” (lines 68 & 69). The reference to emotions of divorced women in the subject position and the negation marker *yok* (absent) in the predicate portray divorced women as subjects who are devoid of feelings. The negative ability marker on the verbs *aşık olmak* (to fall in love) and *sevmek* (to love) consolidates the numb status of divorced women. Furthermore, the stressed verb *evlenmek* (to get married) inflected with the negative ability marker demonstrates how the society deprives divorced women of basic human rights such as marriage. She enriches her explanation saying that “onun ee tek derdi birileriyle yatmak falandır / *Her only purpose is to sleep with someone*” (lines 69 & 70). Employing the quantifier *tek* (only) to modify the noun *dert* (purpose), she refers to the sole agenda of divorced women as portrayed by the society. Also, the indefinite pronoun *birileri* (someone) and the verbal noun *yatmak* (to sleep with) fortify the erotic perception about divorced women. In all these ways, she quotes society relying on its sexist discourse and position divorced women as sexually vulnerable subjects who are devoid of feelings and certain rights.*

Subsequently, Güzel evaluates the perception of society about divorced women and states that “ama bence bunu değiştirebiliriz ki ben az çok değiştirdiğimi düşünüyorum / *but we can change this and I think I have changed this more or less*” (lines 70 & 71). The conjunction *ama* (but) and the verb *değiştirmek* (to change) marked with ability marker add a hopeful prospect regarding the position of divorced women in society. Also, using the adverb *az çok* (more or less), she consolidates her hopeful stance and suggests her endeavor to overcome the social pressure, which positions her as a resistant woman who challenges gender norms. She concludes the discussion of widowhood stating that “ama ee hala karşılaşıyo muyum evet karşılaşıyorum ama daha güçlüyüm / *but do I still face this. Yes I do but I am stronger*” (line 72). In this statement, she uses a rhetorical question and provides the answer consecutively. Her answer notes that the perception of the society has not changed yet completely. The conjunction *ama* (but) and the adjective *güçlü* (strong) modified with the marker *daha* (more) concludes her account with a promising tone and positions herself as a powerful woman who resists gender norms.

Güneş, another divorced participant who covers the widowhood discussion in her post-emancipation accounts, also maintains a resistant position against the prevalent social misperception about divorced women as follows:

Extract 7.6

73 Merve: peki (.) güven problemi yaşıyorum diyosun ama tekrar evlenmeyi düşünür müsün=
74 Güneş: =hiç düşünmedim (.) hiç düşünmedim çünkü ee boşanmış kadın olgusu var toplumda (.) yani:: dul
75 kadın çocuklu kadın (.) bu bi etiket (.) oluyo artık anladın mı (.) bi de hastalık (.) benim ikinci bir
76 şeyim daha var (.) kanser hastası tekrar hastalanma ihtimaline karşı insanlar daha temkinli veya
77 daha kuşkucu yaklaşabiliyo ya da ben öyle düşünüyorum hani insanlar bana böyle dedi diye değil
78 toplumdaki genel algı bana bu duyguyu veriyö ama benim en büyük problemim ben tekrar
79 hastalanırmışım çocuğum varmış ben hiçbirinden utanmıyorum (.) ben evlenip ayrılmaktan da
80 utanmıyorum (.) ben evlendim alnının yazısıymış gurur duyuyorum (.) namusumla da boşandım
81 yine gurur duyuyorum ayıp değil günah değil (.) kanser oldum (.) aslanlar gibi yendim gurur
82 duyuyorum (.) bi evladım var evet ben anneyim çocuklu bir kadını ben evladım la gurur
83 duyuyorum (.) anladın mı yani başkaları için etiket olan şeylerin hepsi benim gurur kayna::m (.)
84 ben asla utanmıyorum (.) ha:: bunlar için beni istemiycek adam hiç istemesin (.) ben kimseye
85 yaranayım- a::: beni kabul ederler! hele kabul etme lafını asla kabul etmiyorum (.) kimse beni
86 kabul etmeye şeyi yok (.) ben bir bireyim benim bir kabul edilesi bir şeyim yok beni sevicekse
87 beni insan olarak önemsiycekse gelsin kabul ettiği için değil ben insanlara o lüksü vermiyorum
88 Merve: bravo

89 Güneş: kabul etme olgusu yok benim hayatımda biri bunu desin ben o adamın aşkından ölüyo olsam yine
90 almam seni kabul ediyorum desin almam kabul etmem anladın mı (.)ben seni kabul ediyoy muyum
91 bakalım? benim kadar güçlü müsün sen? gel bi de bunu yarıstıralım sen ne başardın? senin etiket
92 gördüğün şeyler benim başarılarım sen ne başardın? kabul etme olgusunu asla kabul etmiyorum

73 Merve: *well (.) you say I have trust issues but would you consider marrying again=*
74 Güneş: *=I've never considered it (.) I've never considered it because there is a e:h divorced woman*
75 *phenomenon in the society (.) I mea::n widow or woman with children (.) this is becoming (.) a*
76 *label you see what I mean (.) also illness (.) I have a second thing (.) cancer patient so in case you*
77 *might be ill again people might approach you more cautiously or more suspiciously or this is*
78 *what I feel I mean it's not because people told me this (.) the general perception of the society*
79 *arouses this feeling in me but that I can be ill again or I have children I'm not ashamed of these*
80 *(.) I'm not ashamed of having divorced either (.) I got married, it was my fate and I am proud of it*
81 *(.) I divorced with my honor again I'm proud it's not a shame or sin (.) I got cancer (.) I beat it*
82 *like a lion I'm proud of myself (.) I have a child yes I'm a mother I'm a woman with a child I'm*
83 *proud of my child (.) you see what I mean all the things that are labels for others are my sources*
84 *of proud (.) I'm never ashamed (.) I never want a man who wouldn't want me because of these (.)*
85 *I'm not trying to ingratiate myself with anybody- oh maybe they will accept me! especially I never*
86 *accept the word to accept (.) no one is to accept me (.) I am an individual and I don't have*
87 *anything to be accepted I mean if he is to love me (.) and care about me as a person he can come*
88 *to me not because he accepts me I don't give people this chance*
89 Merve: *bravo*
90 Güneş: *I don't have the accepting phenomenon in my life (.) if someone says to me I accept you I will not*
91 *be with him even if I love him to death (.) I will not accept you see what I mean (.) also let's see if*
92 *I accept you are you as strong as me? come on let's race on this what have you achieved? the*
93 *things you view as labels are my achievements what did you achieve? I never accept accepting*
94 *phenomenon*

Interview, 3 July 2020

The extract starts with the researcher's question regarding marrying again in line 73 and Güneş's negative response. She explains her negative attitude to marrying again by stating that “çünkü ee boşanmış kadın olgusu var toplumda / *because there is a divorced woman phenomenon in the society*” (line 74). Using the adverbial phrase *toplumda* (in the society), she demonstrates her remarks apply to her society. Also, the noun phrase *boşanmış kadın olgusu* (divorced woman phenomenon) puts forth that divorced women are problematized in the society. Next, she further elaborates her point specifying the synonyms for divorced women such as *dul kadın* (widow) and *çocuklu kadın* (women with children) in lines 74 and 75. In these ways, she borrows words and phrases from the sexist discourse of the society, illustrates how society position divorced women and contextualizes her decision about not marrying again. Then, she evaluates these phrases saying that “bu bi etiket (.) oluyo artık / *this is becoming (.) a label*” (line 75). The stressed word *etiket* (label) highlights that divorced women are stigmatized by the society.

In her following remarks, Güneş shifts the focus to her case and refers to her cancer as a second label the society assigns her with the phrase *kanser hastası* (cancer patient) in line 76. Next, she explains her point stating that “tekrar hastalanma ihtimaline karşı insanlar daha temkinli veya daha kuşkucu yaklaşabiliyo / *so in case you might be ill again people might approach you more cautiously or more suspiciously*” (lines 76 & 77). The adverbs *temkinli* (cautiously) and *kuşkucu* (suspiciously) describes people’s approach to her by strengthening her point about the cancer patient label. Subsequently, Güneş challenges the two labels she has mentioned and states that “ben tekrar hastalanırmışım çocuğum varmış ben hiçbirinden utanmıyorum / *but that I can be ill again or I have children I’m not ashamed of these*” (lines 78 & 79). The past tense markers -miş with the hearsay function and the first-person inflections on the verbs point out that she quotes people from her society talking about her and thereby present the rumors about her. Employing the verb *utanmak* (to be ashamed) with negative inflection to refer to these rumors, she challenges the attributions made by the society.

Then, Güneş maintains her challenging position and starts summarizing the major events in her life stating that “ben evlendim alnımın yazısıymış gurur duyuyorum / *I got married, it was my fate and I am proud of it*” (line 80). The formulaic expression *alnımın yazısı* (fate) suggests that she regards marriage as a destiny; the following verb phrase *gurur duymak* (to be proud) highlights that she does not regret her marriage. Next, she mentions her divorce saying that “namusumla da boşandım yine gurur duyuyorum ayıp değil günah değil / *I divorced with my honor, again I’m proud. It’s not a shame or sin*” (lines 80 & 81). The adverb *namusumla* (with my honor) modifying the verb *boşanmak* (to divorce) indicates that she has not had any misconduct within her marriage and positions her as a virtuous

woman. Also, the repetition of the verb phrase *gurur duymak* (to be proud) shows that she does not regret her divorce as it is not a misconduct. In addition, the formulaic expression *ayıp değil günah değil* (It's not a shame or sin) manifests divorce as a normal social phenomenon. Then, she refers to her illness saying that “kanser oldum (.) aslanlar gibi yendim gurur duyuyorum / *I got cancer (.) I beat it like a lion, I'm proud of myself*” (line 81). The formulaic expression *aslanlar gibi* (like a lion) used to modify the verb *yenmek* (to beat) illustrates her power. Furthermore, the repetition of the verb phrase *gurur duymak* (to be proud) maintains her self-appreciating and honorable position. She concludes her summary lastly referring to her motherhood and states that “bi evladım var evet ben anneyim çocuklu bir kadını ben evladıyla gurur duyuyorum / *I have a child yes I'm a mother. I'm a woman with a child. I'm proud of my child*” (line 82). The reference to her child with the noun *evlat* (child), a word exclusively used for one's own child, consolidates her position as a mother. Also, the words *anne* (mother) and *çocuklu kadın* (woman with a child) referring to herself fortify her position as a mother. Finally, the repetition of the verb phrase *gurur duymak* (to be proud) bolsters her unregretful and self-appreciative position. Next, she evaluates her remarks saying that “başkaları için etiket olan şeylerin hepsi benim gurur kaynağım / *the things that are labels for others are my sources of proud*” (line 83). She refers to the major events she has just summarized with a relative clause. In this relative clause, the plural indefinite pronoun *başkaları* (others) corresponds to people in her society. Using the word *etiket* (label), she illustrates how society perceives the major events in her life. Then, referring to these major events with the noun phrase *gurur kaynağı* (source of proud), she challenges the society's perception about her life and positions herself as a resistant, powerful, and self-assured woman.

Subsequently, Güneş maintains her self-assured and resistant position stating that “ha:: bunlar için beni istemiycek adam hiç istemesin / *I never want a man who wouldn't want me because of these*” (line 84). With this formulaic construction, she challenges men who problematize her trajectory. She clarifies her point quoting herself saying that “ben kimseye yaranayım- a::: beni kabul ederler! / *I'm not trying to ingratiate myself with anybody- oh maybe they will accept me!*” The interrupted verb *yanarmak* (to ingratiate) fortifies her powerful and resistant position. Also, the quotation refers to an alternative self who complies with the social norms and thus tries to gain acceptance in the society. The interjection a::: (oh) contributes to the effectiveness of her quotation. Next, she challenges this alternative docile self by focusing on her word choice and states that “hele kabul etme lafinı asla kabul etmiyorum / *especially I never accept the word to accept*” (line 85). By concentrating on the verb *kabul etme* (to accept) as a word, she initiates a metapragmatic discussion on the subordinating discourse of the society. She explains her point saying that “ben bir bireyim benim bir kabul edilesi bir şeyim yok / *I am an individual and I don't have anything to be accepted*” (lines 85 & 86). By referring to herself with noun *birey* (individual), she frees herself from the oppressing attributions the society assigns to divorced women. Also, using the adjectival construction on the passivized verb *kabul etmek* (to accept), she disembodies the negative connotations that the verb attributes.

Following this metapragmatic discussion, Güneş continues focusing on the word *kabul etme* (accepting) and states that “kabul etme olgusu yok benim hayatımda / *I don't have the accepting phenomenon in my life*” (line 89). Referring to the word *kabul etme* (accepting) with the noun *olgu* (phenomenon), she implies that it is a prevalent social discourse about divorced women and using the negation

marker *yok* (absent) to refer to her life, she rejects this subordinating discourse. Then, relying on rhetorical questions, she keeps challenging people employing this discourse and states that “ben seni kabul ediyoy muyum bakalım? benim kadar güçlü müsün sen? / *also let’s see if I accept you. Are you as strong as me?*” (lines 90 & 91). By placing herself in the subject position and stressing the pronoun *ben* (I), she positions herself as the authority over people discriminating divorced women. The pragmatic marker *bakalım* (let’s see) bolsters her authoritative position. Also, employing the comparative marker *kadar* (as ... as) with the adjective *güçlü* (strong), she compares herself with people in her society by defying them and thus consolidates powerful position. Preserving her challenging position, she states that “gel bi de bunu yarıştıralım sen ne başardın? / *Come on let’s race on this what have you achieved?*” (line 91). Using the pragmatic word *gel* (come on) and the verb *yarıştırmak* (to race) with the optative mood inflection, she literally challenges people in her society. She fortifies her challenging attitude by stressing the object pronoun *sen* (you) and the question word *ne* (what) in her rhetorical question. Then, she refers back to the word *etiket* (label) saying that “senin etiket gördüğün şeyler benim başarılarım sen ne başardın? / *The things you view as labels are my achievements*” (lines 91 & 92). The plural and first-person singular marking on the noun *başarı* (achievement) illustrates that she claims ownership over the many things she has succeeded in. Therefore, juxtaposing the labels the society suggests and her achievements, she offers an alternative interpretation of her life trajectory. In doing so, she positions herself as a successful and self-assured person who does not comply with social norms. Furthermore, the subsequent rhetorical question “sen ne başardın / *what did you achieve?*” maintains her challenging tone. Lastly, she concludes her

point revisiting her metapragmatic discussion referring to what she calls *kabul etme olgusu* (accepting phenomenon).

As demonstrated by the extracts above, the participants, most of which have emancipated through divorce, often refer to gender norms to contextualize their post-emancipatory accounts. As divorced women, they especially mention the stigmatization of divorced women in the society and position themselves as individuals pressured by this stigmatization. In doing so, they employ a wide range of linguistic devices such as formulaic expression, metaphor, rhetorical question, euphemism, word choice, and stress (see Table 10).

Table 10. List of the Linguistic Devices Used in the Construction of Gender Norms in Post-emancipatory Accounts

Linguistic Level of Analysis	Linguistic Device	Example
Phonology	Stress	“ <u>namusumla</u> da <u>boşandım</u> / <i>I divorced with my honor</i> ” (lines 80)
Morphology		
Syntax		
Semantics	Word choice	“herkese verebilir herkesle olabilir ondan sona herkes faydalanabilir / <i>She can fool around with anyone. She can be with anyone. Then everyone can benefit from her</i> ” (line 68)
	Formulaic expression	“ben evlendim alnımın yazısıymış / <i>I got married, it was my fate</i> ” (line 80)
	Semantic widening	“Azathisar’da çalışmak hele de o zamanlar çok daha zor bi kad- dul kadın olarak çok zor / <i>working in Azathisar especially at that time is very difficult as a widow</i> ” (line 64)
Pragmatics /Discourse	Rhetorical question	“benim kadar güçlü müsün sen? / <i>Are you as strong as me?</i> ” (line 91)
	Metaphor	“açık kapıdır / <i>It’s an open door</i> ” (line 68)
	Metapragmatic reference	“hele kabul etme lafını asla kabul etmiyorum / <i>especially I never accept the word to accept</i> ” (line 85)
	Euphemism	“herkesle olabilir / <i>she can be with anyone</i> ” (line 68)
	Interjection	“a::: beni kabul ederler! / <i>oh maybe they will accept me!</i> ” (line 84)

7.3 Gender norms in evaluative accounts

In this section, I will focus on the participants' evaluative accounts, which are prompted by the researcher's evaluation questions at the end of the interviews (see Appendix B for the list of the questions), since the participants usually problematize gender norms to contextualize their responses. Accordingly, I will focus on the responses provided to the following question:

Sizce neden genellikle şiddet uygulayan erkek, şiddet gören ise kadın? (*Why do you think those committing violence are usually men while those who experience it are women?*)

In the extract below, Özgür responds to the researcher's question as follows:

Extract 7.7

- 93 Merve: peki sence neden bizim toplumumuzda genelde şiddeti uygulayan erkekler de şiddete maruz kalan
94 kadınlar (.) bu niye böyle
- 95 Özgür: kadınlar hep ikinci planda olduğu için bence (.) erkektir sinirlenebilir (.) erkektir yapabilir (.)
96 mesela erkektir aldatabilir hep diyorlar ya bunu benim eşim de çok derdi ben erkeğim derdi sen
97 derdim ben normal arkadaşlarımla dertleşirken yanlış görülüyorum ama sen sosyal medyada
98 sohbet sitelerinde kadınlarla konuştuğun zaman ben erkeğim bana çapkın derler sen kadının sana
99 orospu derler derdi (.) yani hep erkek ön planda erkek normalde biriyle dost da olabilir arkadaş da
100 olabilir karşı cinsle ama kadın olduğu zaman yanlış gözleniyo sen kadın yapamazsın (.) erkek
101 güçlü olduğu için dövme de hakkı var sövmeye de hakkı var (.) kadın güçsüz (.) kadın her şeye
102 susucak eskilerdeki gibi yani kadın daya:nı da yiyecek küfrünü de yiyecek ama çocuklarının başında
103 oturucak erkek dışarda her halı yiyecek onların beklediği şey bu (.) zayıf olduğumuz için çünkü
104 hala öyleyiz korkuyoruz mesela adam her şeyi yapıyo şikayet ediyoruz yine burnumuzun dibinde
105 Merve: evet
- 106 Özgür: gücümüz yok çünkü uğraşacak (.) zayıfız onlara göre
- 93 Merve: *why do you think that those who commit violence are usually man and those who experience it are
94 usually women (.) why is this the case?*
- 95 Özgür: *I think because women are of secondary importance (.) he can get angry because he's a man (.)
96 he can do it because he's a man (.) for example he can cheat because he's a man you know what
97 they say my husband used to say this a lot he used to say I am a man when I said I am
98 misunderstood when I see my normal friends but when you flirt with women in chat rooms in
99 social media he used to say I am a man so they'll call me playboy but you are a woman so they'll
100 call you a whore (.) I mean men are always of primary importance a man can become friends
101 with someone from opposite sex but when a woman does this she is viewed negatively you are a
102 woman you can't do it (.) men have the right to beat and swear because they are powerful (.)
103 women are powerless (.) like in the past women will remain silent for everything she will get
104 beaten and sworn but she will stay with her children and
105 men will do whatever he wants outside this is what they expect (.) I think it is because we're weak
106 because we are still for example we are scared men do everything and we press charges but they
107 again happen under our noses*
- 108 Merve: *yes*
- 109 Özgür: *because we don't have power to deal with (.) we're weak compared to them*

Interview, 27 June 2020

Özgür starts responding to researcher's question stating that "kadınlar hep ikinci planda olduğu için bence / I think it's because women are of secondary importance"

(line 95). The plural noun *kadınlar* (women) points out that her remarks are about women in general. The verb phrase *ikinci planda olmak* (to be of secondary importance) referring to women illustrates the discriminatory approach of the society towards women. Then, she exemplifies her point stating that “erkektir sinirlenebilir (.) erkektir yapabilir (.) mesela erkektir aldatabilir / *he can get angry because he’s a man* (.) *he can do it because he’s a man* (.) for example *he can cheat because he’s a man*” (lines 95 & 96). The stressed formulaic expression *erkektir* (because he is a man) implies that society entitles individuals with certain rights based on their gender. The negatively connotated verbs *sinirlenmek* (to get angry) and *aldatmak* (to cheat), therefore, illustrate the expected behaviors from men. Also, the ability marker on the verbs designates men as the rightful agents of these negative acts. The third-person plural inflection in the verb in the following statement “*hep diyolar ya / you know what they say*” in line 96 points out that these remarks indeed belong to people in her society; therefore, she indeed quotes the society itself in her examples. In her following remarks, she mentions her husband’s reaction when he was caught flirting with women in online chat rooms although he objects to her chatting with her friends and quotes him as follows, “*ben erkeğim bana çapkın derler sen kadınsın sana orospu derler derdi / he used to say I am a man so they’ll call me playboy but you are a woman so they’ll call you whore*” (lines 98 & 99). The stressed words *çapkın* (playboy) and *orospu* (whore) referring to her husband and her respectively put forth the double standard applied to men and women by the society.

Subsequently, Özgür compares the expectations from women and men in the social realm and states that “*erkek güçlü olduğu için dövme de hakkı var sövmeye de hakkı var / men have the right to beat and swear because they are powerful*”(lines 100 & 101). The singular unmodified noun *erkek* (man) refer to all

men in the society. The aggressive verbs *dövmek* (to beat) and *sövmek* (to swear) referring to repeated noun *hak* (right) position men as privileged subjects who are entitled to behave aggressively by the society. This position is explained by the adjective *güçlü* (powerful) in the adverbial phrase referring to men. In this way, men are portrayed as dominant subjects who are favored by the society. Next, Özgür refers to women and states that “kadın güçsüz (.) kadın her şeye susucak eskilerdeki gibi yani / *women are powerless (.) like in the past women will remain silent for everything*” (line 101). The adjective *güçsüz* (powerless) referring to women consolidates the disadvantaged position of women in the society. The verb *susmak* (to remain silent) inflected with the future tense marker manifests the socially expected behavior. Also, the reference to people in the past with the adverbial phrase *eskilerdeki gibi* (as with people in the past) implies that women has long been expected to remain unresponsive to men’s oppressive acts. She further elaborates her point and states that “kadın daya:nı da yiycek küfrünü de yiycek ama çocuklarının başında oturcah / *She will get beaten and sworn but she will stay with her children*” (line 102). The future tense marking on the verbs again illustrates the social expectations from women. Accordingly, negatively connotated verbs *dayak yemek* (to get beaten) and *küfür yemek* (to get sworn) are mentioned as the expected behaviors towards women. Also, the phrase *çocuklarının başında oturmak* (to stay with children) points out that women are socially expected to stay within domestic boundaries. Furthermore, the verb phrases *dayak yemek* (to get beaten) and *küfür yemek* (to get sworn) obscure men’s visibility as perpetrators. Similarly, the possessive marking on the nouns *dayağını* (her beating) and *küfrünü* (her swearing) designates women as the perpetual receivers of violence and positions them as the owners of mistreatment. Likewise, the possessive marking on the plural noun

çocuklar (children) assigns the ownership of children to women. Subsequently, Özgür refers back to men saying that “erkek dışarda her haltı yiyecek onların beklediği şey bu / *men will do whatever he wants outside. This is what they expect*” (line 102 & 103). The place *adverb* (dışarda) attributes social roles outside the domestic boundaries. Also, the verb phrase *halt yemek* (do something wrong) marked with future tense presents what it is expected of men. The pronoun *onlar* (they) refers to people with patriarchal mindset in her society and thus illustrates the expectations mentioned belong to patriarchal society. In this way, she portrays how patriarchal society position women and men in a discriminative way.

In her following remarks, Özgür maintains her focus on women and states that “zayıf olduğumuz için bence / *I think it is because we are weak*” (line 103). Using the adjective *zayıf* (weak) to refer to women, she keeps accounting for men’s violence. This time, she inflects the auxiliary verb *olmak* (to be) with the first-person plural marking and includes herself as one of the agents. She further establishes her point with an example and says that “korkuyoruz mesela adam her şeyi yapıyo şikayet ediyoruz ama yine burnumuzun dibinde / *for example we are scared. Men do everything, and we press charges but they again happen under our noses*” (lines 103 & 104). The indefinite pronoun *her şey* (everything) referring to men implies how freely men behave. The first-person plural marking on the verb *şikayet etmek* (to press charges) indicates that she speaks for women in her society and that they take action against men. In this way, she positions women as resistant individuals who try to avoid violence. The noun phrase *burnumuzun dibinde* (under our noses) in the predicate position referring to men and the conjunction *ama* (but) demonstrate that men cannot be stopped and position men as violent stalkers. Lastly, the noun *güç* (power) and adjective *zayıf* (weak) inflected with first-person plural (line 106) fortify

the helpless portrayal of women. In all these ways, she delineates how biasedly society approaches women and men by subordinating women and favoring men.

In the extract below, Bahar, who has started living with her parents after divorce, responds to the researcher's question focusing on the gender norms with her personal experience as follows:

Extract 7.8

- 107 Merve: peki sence neden toplumumuzda şiddeti uygulayan genellikle erkek de şiddete maruz kalan bunu
108 /çeken kadın/
109 Bahar: /neden biliyo musun/ yetiştirirken (.) çünkü bizim evde var şu an abisine seslenmiyolar (.) o
110 erkek! yapar! (.) sen kızsın! çok konusmıycaksın! çok bağarmıycaksın! ben böyle yetiştim (.) şu
111 an benim kızımı da öyle yetiştirmeye çalışıyo annemle babam (.) kız kısmı konusmaz! önce
112 evlerde bu bitiyö yetiştirirken kızları erkeğe eşitsiniz her konuda eşit haklara sahipsiniz sen ona
113 bağarmıycan o da sana bağarmıycak sen ona saygı duyacaksınız o da sana saygı duyacak
114 demezseniz toplum bilinçsiz erkekler yetiştiriyö anne- yetiştiren gene biziz başkası değil (.) en
115 çok da şiddete maruz kalmış çocuklar yapıyo bunu onun gözlemini yaptım ben de (.) çok nadir
116 içlerinde hani babam bana şiddet gösterdi ama ben çocuğuma göstermeyim diyen çok az
- 107 Merve: *why do you think that those who commit violence are usually man and those who experience it are*
108 */usually women/*
109 Bahar: */you know why/ when raising up (.) because we have it at home now they let her brother be (.) he's*
110 *a man! (.) he can! (.) you are a girl! you'll not speak so much! you'll not shout! this is how I was*
111 *raised (.) now my parents try to raise my daughter like this too (.) girls don't speak this is about*
112 *home in the first place (.) when you raise boys and girls if you don't tell them that you are equal*
113 *you have equal rights about everything you won't shout at her and you won't shout at him you'll*
114 *respect her and she'll respect you then the society raise men without awareness it is us who raise*
115 *them at the end not anyone else (.) and I have observed that mostly children who were exposed to*
116 *violence do this (.) it's very rare to find someone who thinks my father committed violence against*
117 *me but I shouldn't do this to my child*

Interview, 6 July 2020

Bahar starts explaining the reason for men's dominance over women referring to the way people are raised (line 109). In order to clarify her point, she relies on a personal example and states that “çünkü bizim evde var şu an abisine seslenmiyolar / *because we have it at home now, they let her brother be*”. The third-person singular possessive marker on the noun *abisine* (her brother) refers to Bahar's daughter, which shows that her example is centralized on her daughter and son. The third-person plural marker on the verb *seslenmemek* (let someone be) refers to Bahar's parents. Therefore, this verb delineates her parents' permissive approach to her son. She proves her point by quoting her parents as follows, “o erkek! (.) yapar! (.) sen kızsın! çok konusmıycaksın! çok bağarmıycaksın! / *he is a man! (.) he can! (.) you*

are a girl! You'll not speak so much! You'll not shout!" (lines 109 & 110). Referring to her son with the pronoun *o* (he), she employs a positive action word *yapmak* (to do) inflected with present tense marker, whereas she refers to her daughter with the verbs *konuşmak* (to speak) and *bağırarak* (to shout) inflected with negation and future tense. Through this word choice and inflection, she illustrates her parents' biased approach towards her children and consolidates how they encourage her son to do anything while trying to mute her daughter. Then, she continues to explain stating that "ben böyle yetiştim (.) şu an benim kızımı da öyle yetiştirmeye çalışıyo annemle babam / *This is how I was raised (.) now my parents try to raise my daughter like this, too*" (lines 110 & 111). Her reference to herself and her daughter with the verbs *yetişmek* (to grow up) and *yetiştirmek* (to raise up) inflected with past tense and present continuous tense respectively, she implies a cycle of social pressure on women. Next, she again quotes her parents saying that "kız kısmı konuşmaz / *girls don't speak*" (line 110). The formulaic expression *kız kısmı* (girl party) encompasses all women in society. Also, again the verb *konuşmak* (to speak) inflected with negation and present tense marker connotes what is socially expected from women. In all these ways, she accounts for male domination in reference to the cycle of social norms transmitted from one generation to others.

In her following remarks, Bahar presents the gist of her previous remarks and states that "önce evlerde bu bitiyi / *this is about home in the first place*" (line 111). The noun *ev* (home) inflected with plural and locative marker places the root of male domination within domestic boundaries. She consolidates her point stating that "yetiştiren gene biziz başkası değil / *It is us who raise them at the end, not anyone else*" (line 114). The second person plural pronoun *biz* (us) highlights parents' role in the imposition of gender norms to children. In order to fortify her opinion, she relies

on her observation and states that “en çok da şiddete maruz kalmış çocuklar yapıyo bunu onun gözlemini yaptım ben de / *I have observed that mostly children who were exposed to violence do this*” (lines 114 & 115). In this statement, she refers to children with a relative clause. The verb *maruz kalmak* (to be exposed) position children as the patients of violence. However, the active verb *yapmak* (to do) illustrates how children’s patient position turn into that of a perpetrator. In this way, she bolsters her point about the cycle of violence within domestic boundaries and holds the social norms imposed by families responsible for male domination in the society.

In this section, I have analyzed how the participants attend to gender norms in their responses to the evaluative question of the researcher about the cause of men’s violence against women. In doing so, I have demonstrated that they usually hold responsible the society’s biased approach to women and men and employ a wide range of linguistic devices such as formulaic expression, quotation, word choice, word inflection, and stress (see Table 11 for summary).

Table 11. List of the Linguistic Devices Used in the Construction of Gender Norms in Evaluative Accounts

Linguistic Level of Analysis	Linguistic Device	Example
Phonology	Stress & Repetition	“ <u>erkektir</u> sinirlenebilir (.) <u>erkektir</u> yapabilir (.) mesela <u>erkektir</u> aldatabilir / <i>he can get angry because he's a man</i> (.) <i>he can do it because he's a man</i> (.) for example he can cheat <u>because he's a man</u> ” (lines 95 & 96)
Morphology	Future tense marker	“kadın daya:nı da yiyecek küfrünü de yiyecek ama çocuklarının başında oturucak / <i>She will get beaten and sworn but she will stay with her children</i> ” (line 102)
Syntax	Quotation	“o <u>erkek!</u> (.) <u>yapar!</u> / <i>he is a man!</i> (.) <i>he can!</i> ” (lines 109 & 110)
Semantics	Word choice	“ben erkeğim bana <u>çapkın</u> derler sen kadınsın sana <u>orospu</u> derler derdi / <i>he used to say I am a man so they'll call me <u>playboy</u> but you are a woman so they'll call you <u>whore</u></i> ” (lines 98 & 99).
	Formulaic expression	“ <u>erkektir</u> sinirlenebilir / <i>he can get angry because he's a man</i> ”(lines 95)
Pragmatics /Discourse	Comparison	“o <u>erkek!</u> (.) <u>yapar!</u> (.) sen <u>kızısın!</u> çok <u>konuşmıyacaksın!</u> / <i>he is a man!</i> (.) <i>he can!</i> (.) <i>you are a girl!</i> <i>You'll not speak so much!</i> ” (lines 109 & 110)

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I will discuss the findings presented in the analytical chapters in three main sections. In the first section, I will discuss the relationship between language and gender with a focus on the indexation of gender in interaction taking a poststructuralist approach. In the second section, I will critically reflect on the power constructed and negotiated within the interview narratives in reference to the poststructuralist power theories. Finally, in the third section, I will discuss the findings focusing on the construction of oral personal narratives in Turkish.

As outlined above, this study has aimed to seek answers to the following research questions:

1. How do the participants construct violence within their survival and power stories linguistically? In doing so, how do they position themselves and their perpetrators within their stories?
2. How do they construct their emancipations linguistically? In doing so, what kind of positions do they attribute to themselves and others within their stories?
3. How do they construct and challenge gender norms within their survival stories? How do they reflect on the positions assigned to women and men by the society?

These questions have been examined in detail in the analytical chapters above. In this chapter, I will discuss the findings obtained from the examination of these questions in reference to the relevant literature aligning with the theories described in Chapter 2.

8.1 Personal oral narratives in Turkish

As has been stated above, oral narratives in Turkish have predominantly been examined within developmental and structuralist paradigms. In response to that, I have aimed to bring a poststructuralist perspective to the investigation of oral narratives in Turkish. Therefore, in my analytical chapters, rather than focusing merely on the utterances of the participants and by situating them within the pre-suggested narrative structures, I have focused on the emergent topics, namely violence, emancipation, and gender norms in my data set. In doing so, I have conducted a detailed analysis by employing micro-ethnography and shown what types of linguistic devices are employed in the construction of oral personal narratives in Turkish. I have also acknowledged the researcher as an active narrative partner engaging in the construction of the interview narratives.

Aligning with Plato's notion of Homo Narrans, the findings of this study have demonstrated that storytelling is an innate feature of human interaction, and it is performed with the incorporation of non-verbal elements into Turkish oral discourse as in many other languages. While narrating their stories, the participants of this study have used a range of gestures and incorporated non-verbal reactions in the form of laughing, shouting, or crying. Some participants smoked alongside throughout the interview, and one even came in with a bag of beers and drank a couple of cans. I have contextualized all of these non-verbal behaviors in my analysis, demonstrated how they are interwoven with the verbal elements, and illustrated them in the extracts. I interpret this multimodality as a feature of the narratives produced in Turkish especially on a compelling topic such as violence, where the reflection on the experience cannot be contained in a neutral verbal mode.

However, personal oral narratives in Turkish are not only multimodal but also dialogic as in many other languages. Aligning with the Bakhtinian notion of dialogism (1981), this thesis shows that the personal narratives of the participants are in a constant dialogue with the past events, story characters, and the society. As shown across all analytical chapters, the participants do not merely recount past events in response to the researcher's questions; rather, with little or no guidance, they provide coherent accounts of their survival and power stories by choosing what to narrate and what not to narrate. In doing so, they position themselves and their characters in certain ways, evaluate their actions and reactions, create different dimensions by distinguishing between past and present selves, and refer to their society. In these ways, they are in a constant dialogue with their past selves, the story characters, the past events, their current conditions, and the social structures surrounding them.

To illustrate, Güneş challenges her ex-husband's perception about her as an incapable woman by addressing him and emphasizing her university degree. In this way, although her ex-husband is not one of the participants of the interview, he is virtually present in Güneş's dialogic imagination as she keeps responding to him in a challenging way. Likewise, in her discussion of the stigmatization of divorced women in her society, she challenges men who "accept" to be with divorced women through repetitive rhetorical questions about their achievements. Although she does not refer to a specific person, she indeed addresses all men discriminating divorced women in her society. In this way, although they are not present as interlocutors during the interview, they exist in Güneş's dialogic imagination and their ideas are challenged. Furthermore, engaging in a constant dialogue, the participants continue to display their emotions, reactions, and responses by crying or shouting. This shows

that personal narratives are not simply a factual summary of past events; rather, they are vivid, dynamic, and multidimensional accounts of past events that are regenerated in the 'story realm' (Young, 1987) evoking emotions, reactions, and responses. Therefore, in line with the findings in the relevant literature (e.g., Tanggaard, 2009; Skinner, et al., 2001), I argue that personal narratives in Turkish are dialogic since they are not isolated from the reactions, evaluations, and discourses of others. Often times, this dialogism in Turkish narratives is constructed through non-literal, figurative expressions such as idioms, metaphors, and proverbs due to the oral-based nature of Turkish discourse (Rehbein, 2001).

As the participants maintain a constant dialogue with their characters and the society, they refer not only to their own ideas and reactions but also to those of their characters, past selves, and their society. Therefore, aligning with Bakhtin's concept of polyphony (1981), the findings of this study demonstrate that personal oral narratives in Turkish embody multiple voices. As illustrated in the analytical chapters, the participants cite their characters and society by referring to their reactions, opinions, and positions in order to contextualize their accounts and attribute certain position to themselves and others.

For instance, as shown in Chapter 5, the participants quote their (ex)partners within their violence accounts, through which they consolidate their innocent and hapless positions while portraying their (ex)partners as violent or irrational men. Also, their quoting themselves praying to God or cursing on their perpetrators is a compelling example of the polyphonic aspect of the personal narratives. However, their quotations are not limited to their characters. As illustrated in Chapter 7, they also quote society by borrowing its discriminative discourse towards women in order to illustrate and account for the oppression they experience. Therefore, conforming

the arguments in the relevant literature (e.g., Macaulay, 1987; Tannen, 1989), I suggest that personal oral narratives in Turkish are polyphonic as they embody not only the words and views of the participants but also those of their characters and society.

8.2 Language and gender

One of the aims of this study is to explore how emancipation is constructed within the personal narratives of 20 survivor women in a small city of Central Anatolia. As the focus of the interviews is on emancipation, violence, from which the participants have emancipated, inevitably surfaces as one of the major topics discussed in the interviews. Furthermore, as illustrated in Chapter 5, perpetrators of violence are mostly the male partners of the participants with a few exceptions where mothers-in-law also get involved. Because this sensitive topic is discussed in the interviews conducted by a female researcher with female participants, the discourse constructed in the interviews is expectedly polarized and women-only, which entails the examination of the interplay between language and gender.

To start with, in line with the social constructionist approach to language and gender, the findings of this study suggest that gendered roles and positions are not static; rather, they are shifting and multiple as they are negotiated and reconstituted during interaction. For instance, as illustrated in Chapter 5, most of the participants position themselves as helpless and vulnerable subjects and assign passive roles to themselves in their violence accounts whereas they assign powerful and active roles to their perpetrators. However, conforming Akar (2011), as they proceed to narrate their emancipation account, they start taking up more active and powerful positions while assigning passive ones to their perpetrators as in the cases of Fatma, Ayşenur

and Başak presented Chapter 6. Therefore, the findings point out that the roles and positions adopted by the survivor women recounting both traumatic and emancipatory episodes are multiple and shifting rather than static.

Furthermore, as Baxter (2003) suggests drawing on Foucault (1972), the findings of this study demonstrate that ‘gender differentiation’ becomes clear in the resistant discourse of the survival and power stories through certain linguistic resources employed by the participants while it is often renegotiated and contested by the participants who adopt certain subject positions through language. For instance, in Extract 7.3, Hatice identifies the expected set of behaviors from women and men using the necessity modal -mAll and utilizing specific vocabulary to apply women and men and subsequently challenges these through irony. Similarly, Fatma and Güneş’s references to their financial power as opposed to that of their ex-partners in their post-emancipatory accounts in Chapter 6 contest the financial power men enjoy. These instances clearly demonstrates that the discourse constructed by the participants usually index and imply ‘gender differentiation’ by challenging and negotiating it, rather than reproducing it.

In addition, in my close linguistic examination using micro-ethnographic analysis in the analytical chapters, I have illustrated that the language used by the participants are imbued with “gender-related messages” (Hellinger & Bussmann, 2001, p. 15) mostly because the participants often refer to various gender norms by quoting their parents, (ex)husbands, and the society and using certain idioms, metaphors, and formulaic expressions as illustrated in Chapter 7. Hatice’s “second-hand car” metaphor (Extract 7.3) and Güzel’s “open door” metaphor (Extract 7.5) to refer to divorced women are compelling examples of gender-related messages.

Confirming Goffman's (1963) theory of stigmatization, these expressions consolidate how divorced women are discriminated in social discourse through language.

Other than stigmatizing certain groups, gender-related messages in society's discourse illustrate the double standard applied to women and men by prescribing the expected behaviors from both genders as illustrated in Chapter 7. For instance, prompted by the researcher's question about why men are usually the perpetrators, Özgür cites society by using the formulaic expression *erkektir* (because he is a man) and compares the behaviors that women and men are entitled to perform in Extract 7.7. Also, when Emel explains why she did not continue resisting her husband's violence, she quotes her father using the formulaic expression *koca hem döver hem söver* (husband both loves and beats) in Extract 7.1. As these multi-voiced accounts illustrate, conforming Butler's theory of performativity (1990), the findings of this study suggest that society's discriminative discourse plays a significant role in disseminating the prescribed performances to women and men through the intertextual language produced by the participants.

Overall, in line with the poststructuralist and social constructionist theories of language and gender, the findings demonstrate that gendered roles and positions are fragmentary and shifting as they are negotiated and contested within the resistant discourse of the survival and power stories of the participants. Furthermore, the findings suggest that the personal narratives of the participants are multi-voiced and thereby ingrained with gender-related messages that entitle women and men with certain behaviors and characteristics in a patriarchal society. Finally, all of these are found to occur across the five levels of linguistic analysis from phonology to discourse as has been portrayed at the end of each section.

8.3 Language and power

Since the personal narratives of the participants include violence accounts that are imbued with men's systematic violence as illustrated in Chapter 5, the discussion of the findings entails reviewing analytical chapters with a power lens in order to explore the underlying power relations constructed via language. Furthermore, the narratives include not only violence, as in Chapter 5, but also emancipation from it, as in Chapter 6. Since the power operates differently in violence and emancipation accounts, I will reflect on them separately in the following sections as also explained in Chapter 2. In doing so, first, I will reflect on the language and violence, then discuss the interplay between language and power, and finally explore the power constructed through emancipation.

8.3.1 Language and violence

All the emancipation narratives I collected are ingrained with the violence accounts of the participants from which they have emancipated. Therefore, violence emerges as a major topic in my data-driven analysis, which calls for the discussion of language and violence. At this point, it is important to note that what is meant by violence is not only physical or coercive violence, but also 'symbolic violence' in Bourdieu's terms (1993). To this end, below, I will first discuss the linguistic construction of physical violence and then focus on that of symbolic violence.

As the participants narrate their violence accounts from emergence of violence to its peak as demonstrated in Chapter 5, they employ certain linguistic devices to construct this progression. In doing so, they sometimes leave out their perpetrators from their accounts. According to the theory of thematic structures (see Fillmore, 1968; Jackendoff, 1972), in a situation where a man is the batterer and a woman is

the battered, the man is the agent of the action while the woman is the patient. However, the findings have shown that the perpetrators are often left out from the violence account. For example, by using the passive verb phrases such as *dayak/sopa yemek* (to get beaten), Ey-hayat and Sevgi put the emphasis on themselves and the violent event, which makes them the agent in the sentence while obscuring the perpetrators. Also, the first-person possessive marker on the words such as *dayak* and *sopa* (beating) illustrates how much they have internalized violence within their lives. However, this does not mean that they consciously or unconsciously disguise their perpetrators as found in the discourse of the professionals such as general practitioners Mildorf (2007) and legal helpers Trinch (2004). Rather, they centralize themselves within their accounts by marking themselves as the agents or owners of violent actions. Therefore, the findings of this study suggest that the participants linguistically construct violence by putting themselves at the center by prescribing roles to others only as figurants.

In addition to coercive and physical violence, the personal narratives of the participants are saturated with what Bourdieu defines as symbolic violence. Although it may be regarded as a softer or less serious form of violence, it is indeed as serious as physical violence because physical violence usually originates from symbolic violence. Therefore, it is vital to discuss how symbolic violence is linguistically constructed within the narratives of the participants.

The findings suggest that the participants construct symbolic violence through verb inflection, quotation, metaphors, and word choice. For example, in her pre-empiric account, Başak recounts how her in-laws oppressed her, and quotes them saying “biz seni parayla satın aldık / *we bought you with money*” (Extract 6.1). The word choice in this quotation consolidates how symbolic violence operates in

her case. Also, by inflecting the verbs with the ability modal in her subsequent quotations in the same extract, she positions her in-laws as the authority in her life, which again delineates the symbolic violence she has experienced. Furthermore, in the same section, Güneş refers to the vending machine metaphor employed by her ex-husband to ignore her ownership over her child (Extract 6.2). As suggested by the examples, conforming Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence (1993), the findings of this study put forth that language use in the personal narratives constitute a powerful tool for the construction of symbolic violence.

8.3.2 Language and symbolic power

The source of the symbolic violence discussed above is the symbolic power as well as physical that men have over women in the patriarchal society because men predominantly possess economic, cultural, and legal capitals in most spheres of life, which explains why most women endure for a long time before they are finally able to leave their abusive relationships. That is, most women have to stay in their abusive relationships because they usually have little or no access to economic capital, and they receive little support from the state, professionals, and their families.

To illustrate, in Chapter 5, when Kudret narrates her going to hospital following the harsh violence her husband committed against her, she refers to the doctor's reaction, who immediately registered her as a patient who fell down the stairs although it was obvious that she was harshly beaten (Extract 5.6). Another example of this is the dialogue that Özgür had with a police officer who did nothing about her violent husband (Extract 5.7). By quoting these professionals, the participants illustrate how they lack power in institutional settings, which protects perpetrators. Therefore, in line with the studies in the relevant literature (Loseke &

Cahill, 1984; Lamb, 1999; Williamson, 2000; Mildorf, 2007), the findings of this study suggest that the participants imply that they are indirectly victimized by professionals such as doctors and police officers, and by quoting them, they illustrate how they are dominated by an invisible power structure that protects their perpetrators, which confirms Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power (1993).

Indeed, Kudret's case is a compelling example of how much men's symbolic power beset institutional settings. In Extract 5.11, she refers to her outfit change before she meets her husband so that she can escape easily when he tries to stab her. When the researcher asks why she did not call the police or stay at home instead of confronting him, Kudret says that she did not want to prolong it since she knew he would eventually stab her. At this point, I would like to note that she also mentions having been chased by her husband with a knife five times prior to this incident, which is also recorded in the police minutes. Therefore, she feels so helpless about her husband that she finally confronts him and unfortunately, he stabs her as she predicted. Kudret's case is a very striking illustration of the extent to which women are dominated men's symbolic power, which should be held as responsible as Kudret's husband in her getting stabbed. To this end, conforming Bourdieu (1993), I argue that symbolic power is as virtual as coercive power although it might be more difficult to detect the former.

Furthermore, the findings of this study suggest that men's symbolic power is exercised not only by men and professionals but also by the very people who are dominated by this power. For example, in Extract 7.2, Güneş mentions how her mother has taught her to remain silent before her husband and in-laws by quoting her. Likewise, Bahar quotes her parents to illustrate how they teach her daughter not to speak up in Extract 7.4. Furthermore, Başak and Bahar refers to the oppressive

behaviors of their mothers-in-law in Extract 5.3 and Extract 5.4 respectively. Interpreting these instances as women subordinating women would be too shallow since the patriarchal constraints should also be taken into consideration. Therefore, these instances where women comply with patriarchal structures can be best explained by Kandiyoti's (1988) concept of patriarchal bargaining. Kandiyoti (1998) explains the struggle between mothers-in-law and brides by emphasizing women's life cycle. Accordingly, she establishes that women experience hardships as brides and gain power as they grow older and become a mother-in-law themselves; therefore, "the cyclical nature of women's power in the household and their anticipation of inheriting the authority of senior women encourages a specific kind of identification with the system of hierarchy" (p. 143). Conforming Kandiyoti's arguments, the findings of this study demonstrate that women can also be subordinated by other women, especially elderly ones such as mother or mother-in-law, since they can cooperate with the patriarchal structure to seek legitimacy in society by reproducing prevalent gender norms.

In a nutshell, the personal narratives of the participants are imbued with instances of symbolic power men possess, which is as coercive and dangerous as physical power.

8.3.3 Language and empowerment

Despite all the physical and symbolic violence imposed on them, the participants in this study have managed to emancipate from violence, mostly by leaving their relationships as illustrated in Chapter 6. However, as discussed above, this emancipation mostly takes place after a long period of endurance because it is not easy for women to leave their abusive partners in a patriarchal system where

oppression stems from not only the symbolic power men and professionals hold but also other women engaging in patriarchal bargain. Therefore, it is crucial to refrain from shallow explanations such that women stay because they lack agency and they are hapless victims, patient subjects or deviant individuals. It is essential to take into account the economic, cultural, and legal capital available to them as in the case of the participants of this study. Since Turkey has an unstable economy, the state does not support abused women except for putting them in a women's shelter for a while, which does not work in most cases either. Because women are left to their fate by the state, they have to endure violence until they collect sufficient economic capital in Bourdieu's terms (1993). In the meantime, if they are lucky, they survive; if not, they might experience men's severe violence, as in Kudret's case, that can lead to serious injuries, disabilities and even death.

Overall, the findings of this study suggest that emancipation is a long and challenging process for most women, especially for those who have little cultural and economic capital available to them. For example, Fatma explains her divorce decision to her sister, who is quite worried about it, by referring to her financial capabilities such as paying the bills and buying food in Extract 6.3. Subsequently, in her post-emancipatory account, she compares her past and present living conditions and illustrates how she is financially stable by mentioning affording the fundamental needs she lacked once in Extract 6.7. Similarly, Ayşenur compares her pre- and post-emancipatory life in reference to her getting a job and gaining financial prosperity (Extract 6.6). All these instances illustrate how the participants construct their power within their personal narratives by referring to their "power to" do things. Therefore, conforming Radtke (1994) and Rowlands (1998), the findings have shown that power is not only the source of abuse but also the source of emancipation as in the

case of the participants and therefore women emancipate by gaining “power to” rather than “power over”. That is, as the findings suggest women’s empowerment does not mean loss of power for men; rather, it makes room for women to access economic and cultural capitals as well. Therefore, in line with the feminist understanding of empowerment, I argue that women linguistically construct their empowerment through the comparison of pre- and past-life conditions in reference to their financial status.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

In this final chapter, I will finalize the thesis in three main sections. The first section will provide the reader with the overview of the thesis. The second chapter will discuss the limitations of this study and thereby provide perspectives for future research. Finally, the third section will present the possible implications of this research and my final remarks about the issues discussed in this thesis.

9.1 Overview of the thesis

This thesis is organized into 9 Chapters and in this section, I will provide the reader with an overview of the previous chapters. In Chapter 1, I first addressed my personal motivation to undertake this study and stated its academic and social significance, and subsequently presented the aim and main research questions of this study. Referring to the research gap in the field of Turkish applied linguistics, I mentioned that this study would bring a novel perspective to the analysis of narrative construction in Turkish, which has been predominantly examined with developmental and structural approaches. Then, in order to inform the reader about the background of the problem presented in the study, I presented background information about men's violence against women in Turkey and in the world and mentioned possible reasons and consequences of the problem as well as its prevalence across the world. In the following section, I provided the reader with socio-political context of Turkey and women's status with a historical overview of women's movement. In the subsequent section, I explained the key terms of the study in order to establish the terminology and referred to two arguments about the

Anatolian women (see Tepe & Bauhn, 2017). In doing so, I reflected on the victim narrative constructed around the Anatolian women and suggested a survivor narrative drawing on the personal narratives yielded in this study. In the final section, I presented the plan of the thesis.

In Chapter 2, I informed the reader about the methodological and theoretical frameworks of this study in two main sections. In the first section, I discussed active interview concept as a methodological framework. In the second section, I elaborated on post-structuralism in applied linguistics and identified several post-structuralist concepts and theories regarding language, gender, and power, which constitute the basis of this study. Specifically, I elaborated on Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic violence and symbolic power, feminist understanding of empowerment, and Bakhtin's concepts of polyphony and dialogism.

In Chapter 3, I presented the key studies in the relevant literature in five sections. First, I provided the reader with an overview of prominent approaches in language and gender studies. In the second section, I focused on the recent language and gender studies that examine women's discourse in interactional settings. In the third section, I reviewed the key studies that explore the relationship between language, gender, and violence. In the fourth section, I covered the language and gender studies in Turkish. Finally, in the fifth section, I explored the oral narrative studies in Turkish applied linguistics.

In Chapter 4, I informed the reader about the research design and methodological choices of this study in nine sections. The first section stated the rationale behind selecting a small city of Central Anatolia as the research site. The second section covered the gaining access process. The third section provided the reader with the participant profile by presenting some background information about

the participants. The fourth and fifth sections described how the interview questions were formed and how the interviews were conducted respectively. The sixth section focused on how the audio-recorded data was transcribed. The seventh section informs the reader about my approach to analyzing and interpreting language data including data coding, the emergent topics, and analytical tool. Finally, the eight and ninth sections focused on the ethical considerations and researcher's reflexivity respectively.

Chapter 5, 6 and 7 were the three analytical chapters of this study, which aimed to answer the research questions. In each of these chapters, I focused on one emergent topic that surfaced at the end of the data-driven analysis I conducted. Accordingly, Chapter 5 focused on the topic of violence and examined how the participants constructed violence within their personal narratives. I explored the construction of violence in discourse as a process from emergence to peak in three main sections. In the first section, I demonstrated how the participants linguistically constructed the emergence of violence within their stories. In the second section, I illustrated how violence was constructed as a recurring topic within the stories of the participants. Finally in the third section, I explored how the peak of violence was constructed within the stories prior to the emancipation of the participants. Chapter 6 explored the construction of emancipation, as another emergent topic, within the personal narratives. Since power was central in the participants' discussion of their emancipation, I specifically explored the negotiation and construction power throughout the emancipation process in three main sections. The first section demonstrated how the participants linguistically negotiate and construct power in their pre-emancipatory accounts as resistant subjects. The second section showed how the participants constructed power through language in their accounts covering

the moment of emancipation. Finally, the third sections illustrated how the participants linguistically construct power within their post-emancipatory accounts. Chapter 7 shifted the focus from emancipation from violence to gender norms, which was one of the emergent topics surfacing in my data-driven analysis and explored how these gender norms were linguistically constructed within the stories in three main sections. The first section analyzed how the participants constructed gender norms within their pre-emancipatory accounts in order to contextualize their subordination and long endurance. The second section examined the construction of gender norms within the post-emancipatory accounts of the participants. Lastly, the third section investigated how the participants constructed gender norms in response to the researcher's evaluative question at the end of the interview. Throughout these three analytical chapters, I showed how the participants attributed positions to themselves and others in their stories, and summarized the linguistic devices employed at the end of each main section in each chapter.

Chapter 8 consisted of three main sections that aimed to discuss the findings presented in the analytical chapters in the light of the aforementioned theoretical concepts and relevant studies that were covered in Chapter 2 and 3. The first section discussed the construction of oral narratives in Turkish and suggested that personal narratives in Turkish are dialogic and polyphonic as in many other languages. The second section discussed the findings in reference to the relationship between language and gender and argued that the roles and positions adopted by the participants are shifting and their discourses are imbued with gender-related messages. Finally, the third section critically reflected on violence, power and empowerment constructed through language. It was suggested that both physical violence and symbolic violence were equally central to men's violence against

women and men's symbolic power is as virtual as coercive power in the subordination of women. It was further claimed that emancipation is a long and challenging process since women have to collect sufficient cultural and economic capitals prior to their emancipation in order to gain "power to" support themselves. Following this brief overview of the thesis, I will discuss the limitations of this study and provide perspective for future research in the next section.

9.2 Limitations of the study and perspectives for future research

Analyzing the survivor women's personal narratives imbued with traumatic violence experiences has been a challenging task since there are many issues raised such as different forms of violence, the consequences and the so-called reasons of violence, underlying power mechanisms, and prevalent social norms. Therefore, I have had to focus on some issues while overlooking others for the sake of presenting neat and succinct research, which has inevitably brought along some limitations. For instance, although I have examined issues such as violence, empowerment, and gender norms broadly, I have had to disregard issues such as womanhood, motherhood, religiosity, marriage, and social class, which also deserve scholarly attention in this research context. As a result, not being able to cover the aforementioned facets within the scope of this thesis is one of the limitations of this study.

Another constraint of this study is not having video-recordings of the interview narratives. As noted by De Fina and Johnstone (2015), there has been a growing interest towards multimodal narrative analysis, which aims to capture semiotic elements such as paralinguistic forms and visual elements. However, videorecording would not be a viable option in the case of this study since the interview included

highly sensitive and traumatic issues. Therefore, I had to rely on the audio-recorded data in my analysis and dismiss paralinguistic features of oral narration in Turkish.

Another limitation of this thesis stems from my endeavor to work specifically with survivor women in Central Anatolia. Although the participants have experienced violence in the past, all of them have reportedly emancipated from it by either leaving their abusive relationships or civilizing their male partners. Furthermore, although they have narrated the violence accounts as if they had occurred only recently, analyzing the stories of women who are still in the endurance period will definitely raise new issues in addition to those covered in this study. Therefore, examining their stories can provide a more satisfactory picture of the issues related to women's empowerment and men's violence against women in Turkish discourse.

As for possible future suggestions, this study can be conducted with women with different ethnic background in the multiethnic and multilingual context of Turkey since their violence and emancipation experiences might differ from those of the Anatolian women with other facets such as ethnicity being at stake. Furthermore, being the target of the patriarchal violence in Turkey, homosexual and transgender individuals can also provide the narrative researchers with different perspectives and insights into the issue of violence in Turkey. Finally, giving voice to other parties involved in these issues such as male perpetrators, legal practitioners, police officers, social services personnel, and policymakers can provide a more comprehensive picture of the issue providing larger-scale social implications.

Despite the abovementioned limitations, however, I believe that this thesis project still makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the Anatolian

women's emancipation and the issue of men's violence against women as well as the study of oral narratives in Turkish sociolinguistics.

9.3 Implications

Although I set out to collect women's emancipation stories, the data-driven analysis has revealed violence as a major emergent topic within the stories in addition to the other emergent topics of emancipation and gender norms. Furthermore, as illustrated in Chapter 5, the participants linguistically constructed their violence experience as a process by indexing the emergence, recurrence, and peak of violence within their stories before referring to their moment of emancipation. This clearly illustrates that emancipation does not take place overnight following the first violence case; rather, most women have to endure this violence before they can finally emancipate from their abusive partners. As discussed in Chapter 8, one of the main reasons of this long endurance period is that women are left to their own fate by the state, which handles the issue only superficially by placing the battered women in women's shelters. As a result, they have to endure violence until they accumulate sufficient cultural and economic capitals to be able to take care of themselves and their children. In the meantime, it is highly probable that they will end up having serious emotional and psychological health problems if not battered fiercely or even killed. The severity of this situation clearly illustrates the need for developing policies to support women by providing them with more opportunities in the labor market with equal rights and payment as well as paving the way for them to access better educational opportunities.

Apart from the little state support, another reason of the long endurance period narrated by the participants is the ineffectiveness of the legal regulations to deal with

men's violence against women. For example, Kudret mentioned having pressed charges against her husband, who had chased her with a knife in public five times before eventually stabbing her. Likewise, Özgür shared a dialogue she had with the police officers who showed up upon her emergency call and released her violent husband immediately after taking his statement in the precinct. These instances illustrate the inadequacy of legal regulations to handle violent men and the need for addressing this problem in legal settings in a more attentive, preventive, and precautionary way. In this sense, the contribution of policymakers and lawmakers are vital. In this sense, it is especially crucial to embrace and implement effective regulations such as the Istanbul Convention.

In addition to the little state support and ineffective legal regulations, another reason of women's long endurance period is the patriarchal gender norms surrounding them. As evident from the participants' accounts in Chapter 7, women are not usually supported by their families, friends, and community, which stigmatize divorced women and impose them to stay in their abusive relationships no matter what, yet at the same time, encourage men to be more dominant and violent. This clearly consolidates the substantiality of gender norms as a serious factor underlying and feeding men's violence against women. Therefore, it is vital to raise people's awareness about gender norms through media, large-scale social campaigns, and education. Especially, as an English instructor and master's student in the English Language Education Department, I strongly believe that education has a vital role in the transmission and dissemination of cultural and social codes through teachers, administrators, curriculum and syllabus design, and course materials. Taking advantage of the wide sphere of influence of educational institutions, which most people sojourn in starting from young ages, it is possible to raise more cognizant

generations free of patriarchal mindset through gender equality courses incorporated into curricula, more attentive and conscious teachers and administrators, and course materials clear of gender bias.

In addition to these social implications, this study yields academic implications. As evident from the analytical chapters and discussion of the findings, this study has demonstrated that oral narratives are effective tools for the investigation of social issues such as violence and discrimination in Turkish discourse. Furthermore, this clearly consolidates the need for including and unmuting marginalized groups in the studies in the field of Turkish sociolinguistics since they can provide a deeper and on-the-spot insight into various social issues.

APPENDIX A

PARTICIPANTS

Başak	Born and raised in Azathisar, Başak had to give up her high school education because she got married at the age of 16. Having started living with her in-laws following her marriage, she experienced violence from her husband and in-laws starting from the early days of her marriage. She reports having endured for her children for 23 years and got divorced at the end. Although she had never worked outside home prior to her divorce, she attended cooking courses and received several certificates. Also, she resumed her high school education, and she is now registered at the distance learning program of a public university. In the meantime, she works as a cook and lives with her two sons.
Sevgi	Sevgi quit middle school to get married when she was only 13. Following her marriage, she started living with her in-laws. She experienced violence from her husband starting from the early days of her marriage. At the end of 25 years, she left her abusive relationship and started working outside home for the first time in her life. Currently, she lives with her children and works a cleaner at a company.
Emel	Emel never attended school and got married when she was 13. She experienced violence from her husband who was an alcoholic and gambler. As she got older, she started to become more resistant against him and finally made him quit drinking and gambling. In the meantime, she attended public literacy course at the age of 40 and made money by tailoring at home. She lost her husband 10 years ago. Since then, she has been living alone.
Özgür	Özgür quit high school and got married to her husband in order to escape from her father's oppression. Starting to live with her in-laws after her marriage, she experienced her husband's harsh violence. When he left for his military service, Özgür completed her high school education and attended a course to become a security personnel secretly. Then, she started working in a public hospital as a security personnel and moved into her own house. She is now in the process of divorce. Also, she has started studying sociology in a distance education program of a public university.
Fatma	Fatma got married when she was 17 and moved to another city with her husband who was a government officer. However, they had to move back to Azathisar soon because her husband had to escape from his gambling friends to whom he owed a great deal of money. Following their return, her husband continued gambling in Azathisar, as well. Experiencing economic and physical violence from her

	<p>husband, Fatma sought ways to make money in order to be able to divorce. She bought one cow and started selling milk and yogurt. Finally, when she saved enough money to rent a house and take care of her children, she divorced him. Following her divorce, she established a small farm, bought a car, and built a house herself with the help of her brother-in-law. She now lives with her two children in a suburban area of Azathisar.</p>
Çağla	<p>Çağla was raised by her grandparents since her parents did not take care of her. She was raped by a stranger and got pregnant at the age of 17. Since she could not share this with her grandparents, she escaped from home. When the police found her, they took her to an orphanage. When her pregnancy was discovered, she was transferred to a women's shelter. There, she gave birth and stayed for over a year. Then, she moved in together with a friend she made at the shelter, who took her to a <i>pavyon</i> to work as a B-girl. After having a few seriously abusive relationships with some of her customers, she quit working as a B-girl and settled with her boy friend. Nevertheless, she is now planning to leave him because he is also an abusive man. Currently, she is looking for a job.</p>
Hatice	<p>Hatice got married when she was 22. She divorced her husband a few years later because he was violent. Following her divorced, she continued her education with an M.A. degree, and then she started working as a lecturer at a public university. When she was at her forties, she got married to her student. Because there was a 15 years of age gap between the two, their families objected to their marriage; however, they did not give up. Following their marriage, she realized that her husband had been a drug addict and a violent man. Proceeding to divorce immediately, she has changed her city of residence and currently continues working at another university.</p>
Ey-Hayat	<p>Ey-Hayat got married when she was 15. Experiencing violence from her husband starting from the early days of her marriage, she endured for her children for a long time and finally divorced him. Following her divorce, she started working as a salesperson at the furniture shop of her friend's husband. However, she had to leave her job because he was soliciting. Thinking that it was difficult to live and work as a divorced woman, she decided to get married. Soon after, she got married to someone she met over an Islamic dating website. However, she divorced him after a few years because she was not satisfied with their marriage. She now works on and off and travels by herself.</p>
Ayşenur	<p>Ayşenur got married to her boyfriend in high school in order to escape her parents' oppression. Following her marriage, she started to having problems with her husband due to the frequent interventions of her sisten-in-law. She had to live in poverty because her husband spent most of his income for his sister. When she realized that her</p>

	husband stole her savings, she divorced him, and started to work as an accountant. She now lives with her son in prosperity.
Güneş	Güneş got married at the age of 22 following her university graduation and started to live with her mother-in-law. She suffered from the oppression of her mother-in-law and her husband's indifference for along time. After a while, she was diagnosed with breast cancer and told by doctor that she did have much time because she was in the last stage of her cancer. When she was in the process of treatment, her husband wanted to divorce, so she had extremely difficult times. However, she did not give up. She first survived the cancer, and then passed the national exam to be a government officer. She now lives with her daughter and works as a government officer.
Bahar	Bahar got married when she was in her twenties and started to live with her mother-in-law. She experienced serious physical violence from her husband for a long time and endured till she got a job and saved money. Finally, when she was ready, she divorced him. Now, she works as a secretary and lives with her two children.
Güzel	Güzel got married following her high school education and started experiencing her husband's violence starting from the early days of her marriage. When she realized that he would only go further, she decided to divorce. Following her divorce, she started living with her parents, who were not happy about her divorce. Soon, they forced her to get married to another man. Nevertheless, Güzel was oppressed by her husband in her second marriage as well. This time, she decided to find a job so that she did not have to go back to her parents following her divorced. She started working in beauty center and soon got divorced. Following her divorce, she set up her own business. Now, she owns the most famous beauty center in Azathisar.
Kudret	Having gotten married at an early age, Kudret experienced violence from her husband, an alcoholic, starting from the early days of her marriage. She could not divorce him because it was a kin marriage, and their families did not let her divorce. In addition, Kudret's husband could not work due to his alcoholism, so she had to work both at home and outside. During their marriage, Kudret's husband harassed her physically to extreme degrees and she was hospitalized in some of these violence episodes. Although she pressed charges against him a few times, he was acquitted of all charges. When Kudret finally told him that she wanted to divorce, he stabbed her in the middle of the street. Fortunately, she survived this attack after staying in the intensive care unit for 11 days. Her husband has been sentenced to 11 years of prison. He is now in jail, and Kudret runs her own business with her two sons.

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A. Background

1. Aslen Azathisarlı mısınız? (*Are you from Azathisar?*)
2. Çalışıyor musunuz? Ne iş yapıyorsunuz? (*Do you work? What is your job?*)
3. Eğitim durumunuz nedir? (*What is your educational level?*)
4. Çocuğunuz var mı? Varsa kaç tane? Yaşları kaç? (*Do you have any children? How many? How old are they?*)
5. Şu an evli misiniz? (*Are you married?*)

Cevap evet ise (*If yes*):

- Kaç yıldır evlisiniz? (*How long have you been married?*)
- Bu ilk evliliğiniz mi? (*Is that your first marriage?*)
- Eşiniz çalışıyor mu? Ne iş yapıyor? (*Does your partner work? What is his job?*)
- Eşinizin eğitim durumu nedir? (*What is your partner's educational level?*)
- Maddi sıkıntınız var mı? (*Do you have any financial problems?*)
- Eşinizle nasıl tanıştınız? Severek mi evlendiniz? Görücü usulü mü? (*How did you meet your partner? Was it a love marriage or arranged marriage?*)
- Düğün yaptınız mı? Nerede, nasıl? (*Did you have a wedding ceremony? Where, how?*)
- Evlendikten sonra nerede oturdunuz? (*Where did you reside after getting married?*)
- Evliliğiniz nasıl gidiyor? Aranız genel olarak nasıl? (*How is your marriage going? How are you with your partner in general?*)

Cevap hayır ise (*If no*):

- Kaç yıl evli kaldınız? (*How long did your marriage last?*)
- Bu ilk evliliğiniz miydi? (*Was this your first marriage?*)

- Eşiniz çalışıyor muydu? Ne iş yapıyordu? (*Did your ex-partner work? What was his job?*)
- Eski eşinizin eğitim durumu neydi? (*What is the educational level of your ex-partner?*)
- Maddi sıkıntınız var mıydı? (*Did you have any financial problems?*)
- Eski eşinizle nasıl tanıştınız? Severek mi evlendiniz? Görücü usulü mü? (*How did you meet your ex-partner? Was it a love marriage or arranged marriage?*)
- Düğün yaptınız mı? Nerede, nasıl? (*Did you have a wedding ceremony? Where, how?*)
- Evlendikten sonra nerede oturdunuz? (*Where did you reside after getting married?*)
- Evliyken evliliğiniz nasıl gidiyordu? Aranız genel olarak nasıldı? (*How was your marriage going? How were you with your ex-partner in general?*)

B. Narrating the Problems

6. Evliliğinizde sorunlar var mıydı? Ne gibi sorunlardı bunlar? Ne zaman başladı? (*Did you have any problems in your marriage? What kind of problems were they? When did they start?*)
7. Bu sorunların nedeni sizce neydi? (Ekonomik sorunlar? Alkol bağımlılığı? Diğer aile üyeleri? Kıskançlık?) (*What was the causes of these problems? Financial problems? Alcohol addiction? Other family members? Jealousy?*)
8. Sorunları çözmek için (2 taraf veya biri) bir girişimde bulundu mu? (*Did anyone (either of you or any other person) attempt to solve these problems?*)

C. Violence: Description

9. Evliliğinizde şiddet var mıydı? (Eski) Eşiniz size hiç fiziksel şiddet uyguladı mı? Bu şiddet ilk ne zaman ve nasıl başladı? (*Was there any violence in your marriage? Have your (ex)partner ever used physical violence against you? When and how did this violence start?*)
10. Size uyguladığı şiddet ne kadar sürdü? Ne sıklıkla şiddet uygulardı? (*How long did he use violence? How often did you use violence?*)

11. Fiziksel şiddet için herhangi bir araç kullanırmıydı? Ya da evdeki ya da çevredeki şeylere zarar veriyor muydu? *(Did he use any tools for physical violence? Or did he harm things in your environment?)*
12. Fiziksel şiddetin yanı sıra duygusal şiddet gördünüz mü? Duygusal şiddet nedir biliyor musunuz? Örnek verebilir misiniz? *(Did he also use emotional violence besides physical? Do you know what emotional violence is? Can you give some examples?)*
13. Sözlü şiddet nedir biliyor musunuz? Sözlü şiddet gördünüz mü? *(Do you know what verbal violence is? Have you ever experienced it?)*
14. Küfür eder miydi? Ne tür küfürler ederdi? Örnek verebilir misiniz? *(Did he use any swearing words? What type of swearing words? Can you give examples?)*
15. Beddua ediyor muydu? Ne tür beddualar ediyordu? Örnek verebilir misiniz? *(Did he curse you? What kind of cursing words did he use? Can you give example?)*
16. Ekonomik şiddet nedir biliyor musunuz? Ekonomik şiddet gördünüz mü? Örnek verebilir misiniz? *(Do you know what economic violence is? Have you ever experienced it? Can you give examples?)*
17. (Varsa) Çocuklara da şiddet uyguluyor muydu? *(If any, did he use violence against your children?)*
18. Başkalarına (kendi ailesinden ya da arkadaşlarından birine) da şiddet uyguluyor muydu? *(Did he use violence against other people, friends or family members?)*
19. Siz evlenmeden önce/sonra eşinizden başka birinden şiddet gördünüz mü? *(Did you experience violence from anyone else before or after your marriage?)*

D. Violence: Response

20. Şiddet olayından sonra size nasıl davranıyordu? Özür diliyor muydu? Pişman oluyor muydu? Bunu dile getiriyor muydu? *(How was he treating you after the violence episode? Was he apologizing? Was he regretting it? Was he saying this?)*
21. Şiddet olayından sonra sizin tavrınız nasıl oluyordu? *(How was your attitude after the violence episode?)*
22. Şiddet olayından sonra kendinizi nasıl hissediyordunuz? Ne hissediyordunuz? Ne düşünüyordunuz? *(How did you feel after the violence episode? What were you feeling? What were you thinking?)*

23. Onu durdurmak için herhangi bir çözüm yoluna başvurduğunuz mu? Neler denediniz? *(Have you tried any solution to stop him? What have you tried?)*
24. Sizce bu çözümler neden işe yaradı/yaramadı? *(Why do you think these solutions worked / did not work?)*
25. Çevrenizdekilerden (aileniz, arkadaşlarınız, eşinizin ailesi vs) yardım istediniz mi? Yardım talebinizi nasıl karşıladılar? *(Have you ever asked for help from people around you, family, friends, your partner's family, etc.? How did they respond to your help request?)*
26. Bu şiddete ne kadar dayandınız? *(How long did you endure the violence?)*
27. Şiddete neden dayandınız? *(Why did you endure the violence?)*
28. Hangi noktada yeter artık dediniz? O noktaya nasıl geldiğinizi anlatır mısınız? *(What was the point that you could not take it anymore? Can you tell me how you got to that point?)*

E. Action:

29. O noktadan sonra nasıl hareket ettiniz? *(How did you act after that point?)*
30. Hiç sığınma evine gitmeyi düşündünüz mü? Neden? *(Have you ever thought of going to women's shelter?)*
31. Evliliğiniz nasıl bitti? *(How did your marriage end?)*
32. Boşanmayı siz mi istediniz? Eşinizi nasıl ikna ettiniz? *(Did you ask for the divorce? How did you convince your partner?)*
33. Boşanma süreci nasıldı? *(How was the divorce process?)*

F. Reflection:

34. Bütün bu anlattıklarınız ışığında sizce şiddet nedir? Neyi şiddet olarak tanımlıyorsunuz? *(In the light of all this, what do you think is violence? What do you define as violence?)*
35. Şiddet yalnızca fiziksel midir? *(Is violence only physical?)*
36. Sizce neden genellikle şiddet uygulayan erkek, şiddet gören ise kadın? *(Why do you think men are usually perpetrator and women are sufferer?)*
37. Sizce erkeklerin kadınlara uyguladığı şiddet nasıl sona erebilir? Bu sorun çözülür mü? Nasıl? *(How do you think men's violence against women can be prevented? Will this problem ever be solved? How?)*

38. Sizce bir evlilikte en önemli şey nedir? (*What do you think the most important thing in a marriage is?*)
39. (Boşanmışsa) Tekrar evlenmeyi düşünüyor musunuz? (*If divorced, would you consider getting married again?*)
40. Bu anlattıklarınızdan sonra kendinizi nasıl hissediyorsunuz? (*How do you feel after telling all this?*)
41. Bu hikâyeyi daha önce bu şekilde anlatmış mıydınız? (*Have you ever told your story like this before?*)
42. Hiç keşke dediğiniz bir şey var mı? (*Is there anything you regret?*)
43. İyi ki dediğiniz bir şey var mı? (*Is there anything you are glad about doing?*)
44. Şu an hayatınız nasıl? (*How is your life now?*)
45. Elinizde bir mikrofon olsaydı ve erkek şiddetine maruz kalan tüm kadınlar sizi duyabiliyor olsaydı onlara ne söylemek isterdiniz? (*If you had microphone and all women who suffer from men's violence could hear you, what would you say to them?*)
46. Aynı şekilde şiddet uygulayan tüm erkekler sizi duyabiliyor olsaydı onlara ne söylemek isterdiniz? (*If you had a microphone and all men who use violence against women could hear you, what would you say to them?*)
47. Eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı? (*Do you have anything to add?*)

APPENDIX C

DATA TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTION GUIDE

Turkish:	Regular type
English:	Italic type
{ }	Contextual information (e.g., non-verbal expressions)
(.)	Pause of more than one second
-	Interrupted utterance
CAPitals	High volume
°word°	Low volume
=	Contiguous utterances
/ /	Overlapping utterances
?	Rising intonation
!	Animated utterances
<u>Underlined</u>	Stressed utterances
:	Lengthened sound
Hahaha	Laughter

Adapted from Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008)

APPENDIX D

ETHICS COMMITTEE OF BOĞAZIÇI ÜNİVERSİTESİ RESEARCH

APPROVAL FORM

Evrak Tarih ve Sayısı: 30/06/2020-79

T.C.
BOĞAZIÇI ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL VE BEŞERİ BİLİMLER YÜKSEK LİSANS VE DOKTORA TEZLERİ ETİK İNCELEME
KOMİSYONU
TOPLANTI TUTANAĞI

Toplantı Sayısı : 6
Toplantı Tarihi : 22/06/2020
Toplantı Saati : 11:00
Toplantı Yeri : Zoom Sanal Toplantı
Bulunanlar : Prof. Dr. Feyza Çorapçı, Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen, Prof. Dr. Özlem Hesapçı
Karaca, Doç. Dr. Ebru Kaya, Prof. Dr. Fatma Nevra Seggie
Bulunmayanlar :

Merve Özçelik
Yabancı Diller Eğitimi

Sayın Araştırmacı,
"Linguistic Construction of Oral Narratives in Turkish: Women's Stories of Survival and Power" başlıklı projeniz ile ilgili olarak yaptığımız SBB-EAK 2020/36 sayılı başvuru komisyonumuz tarafından 22 Haziran 2020 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve uygun bulunmuştur.

Bu karar tüm üyelerin toplantıya çevrimiçi olarak katılımı ve oybirliği ile alınmıştır. COVID-19 önlemleri kapsamında kurul üyelerinden ıslak imza alınmadığı için bu onam mektubu üye ve raportör olarak Fatma Nevra Seggie tarafından bütün üyeler adına e-imzalanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla, bilgilerinizi rica ederiz.

Prof. Dr. Fatma Nevra SEGGIE
ÜYE

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr. Fatma Nevra SEGGIE
Raportör

SOBETİK 6 22/06/2020

Bu belge 5070 sayılı Elektronik İmza Kanununun 5. Maddesi gereğince güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.

APPENDIX E

CONSENT FORM

BOĞAZIÇI ÜNİVERSİTESİ EĞİTİM FAKÜLTESİ YABANCI DİLLER EĞİTİMİ BÖLÜMÜ

KATILIMCI BİLGİ ve ONAM FORMU

Araştırmanın adı: Türkçede Sözlü Hikayelerin Dilbilimsel İnşası: Kadınların Direnme ve Güç Hikayeleri
Proje Yürütücüsü: Asst. Prof. Işıl Erduyan, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yabancı Diller Eğitimi Bölümü
E-mail adresi: isil.erduyan@boun.edu.tr
Telefonu: 0 212 359 4612
Araştırmacının adı: Merve Özçelik
E-mail adresi: merve.ozcelik@boun.edu.tr
Telefonu: 0 542 778 7781

Sayın Katılımcı,

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yabancı Diller Eğitimi Bölümü öğretim üyesi Dr. Işıl Erduyan danışmanlığında Boğaziçi Üniversitesi yüksek lisans öğrencisi araştırmacı Merve Özçelik “Türkçede Sözlü Hikayelerin Dilbilimsel İnşası: Kadınların Direnme ve Güç Hikayeleri” adı altında bilimsel bir araştırma projesi yürütmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacı Orta Anadolu’da şiddete direnen kadınların hayat hikayelerini dilbilimsel açıdan incelemektir. Bu çalışmayı yürütmek için Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Yüksek Lisans ve Doktora Tezleri Etik İnceleme Komisyonu’ndan (SOBETİK) onay alınmıştır. Siz değerli katılımcıya aracılığı ile ulaştık. Bu çalışmada bize yardımcı olmanız için sizi de projemize davet ediyoruz. Kararınızdan önce araştırma hakkında sizi bilgilendirmek istiyoruz. Bu bilgileri okuduktan sonra araştırmaya katılmak isterseniz lütfen bu formu imzalayıp kapalı bir zarf içinde araştırmacı Merve Özçelik’e teslim ediniz.

Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde araştırmacı Merve Özçelik sizlerle birebir röportaj yaparak tek seferlik görüşmeler gerçekleştirecektir. Bu görüşmeler sizin belirlediğiniz bir yer ve zamanda gerçekleşecektir. Bu röportajlar esnasında araştırmacı sizlere çeşitli sorular yöneltecektir. Siz katılımcılar bu sorulara vereceğiniz cevaplar ve anlatacağınız hikayeler ile Türkçe sözlü hikaye anlatımı ve aile içi şiddet konularına bir ışık tutacaksınız. Vereceğiniz cevaplara da bağlı olarak bu röportajın 60 ile 90 arasında sürmesi beklenmektedir. Röportaj esnasında araştırmacı görüşmeyi ses kaydına alacaktır. Bu, daha sonra yapılacak dil analizi için gereklidir. Bu ses kayıtlarına ve araştırma ile ilgili herhangi bir bilgi veya belgeye araştırmacı ve tez danışmanı dışında hiç kimsenin erişimi olmayacaktır. Dijital veriler şifresi yalnızca araştırmacı tarafından bilinen araştırmacının kişisel bilgisayarında tutulacaktır.

Katılımcı Bilgi ve Onam formu gibi yazılı belgeler ise anahtar yalnızca araştırmacıda bulunan kilitli bir çekmecede saklanacaktır. Röportajın ses kayıtları bilgisayara aktarıldıktan sonra ses kayıt cihazından silinecektir. Yalnızca araştırmacıda kalacak bu belge dışında hiçbir belgede isminiz, geldiğiniz veya bulunduğunuz şehir veya kimliğinizi belli edecek hiçbir bilgi geçmeyecektir. Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde araştırmacı sizden kendiniz için bir takma ad seçmenizi isteyecektir. Çalışmanın içerisinde anlattığınız tüm veriler bu takma ad ile sunulacaktır. Bunun dışında röportaj esnasında bahsedeceğiniz tüm kişi, şehir ve yer isimleri araştırmacı tarafından atanan başka isimlerle çalışmada yer alacaktır. Araştırmacı sizinle ilgili tüm kişisel bilgilerin korunması ve gizli kalması konusunda hassasiyetle sorumlu olacaktır. Röportaj esnasında istediğiniz soruyu sebep belirtmeden cevaplamama ve istediğiniz zaman röportajı bitirme hakkına sahipsiniz. Röportaj sırasında ve sonrasında karar değiştirip çalışmadan çekilme hakkına sahipsiniz. Bu durumda araştırmacı sizinle ilgili bütün belge, bilgi ve kayıtları imha edecek ve bunları çalışmasında kullanmayacaktır.

İkinci olarak, röportajdan önce sizlere bir demografik anket verilecektir. Bu anket sizlerle ilgili yaşınız, eğitim durumunuz, medeni haliniz ve gelir durumunuz gibi temel birkaç bilgiyi doldurmanızı gerektirecektir. Herhangi bir isim, kurum veya şehir ismi içermeyecektir. Bu demografik anketin amacı siz değerli katılımcılar ile ilgili genel bilgi toplamaktır. Yalnızca belgelerin hangi katılımcıya ait olduğunu ayırt etmek için araştırmacı sizin seçtiğiniz takma ismi belgenin üzerine yazacaktır. Bu belgeler yine araştırmacı tarafından kilitli bir çekmecede tutulacak ve hiçbir şekilde üçüncü kişiler ile paylaşılmayacaktır.

Bu çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde araştırmacı tarafından herhangi bir maddi yarar (ödül, para vs gibi) sağlanmayacaktır. Ancak şiddete direnen siz katılımcının anlatacağı hikayeler kadına şiddetin ciddi bir sorun teşkil ettiği toplumumuzda bu soruna dilbilimsel bir yaklaşım sunarak sorunu farklı bir bakış açısıyla ele almamızı sağlayacaktır.

Bu araştırma bilimsel bir amaçla yapılmaktadır ve katılımcı bilgilerinin gizliliği esas tutulmaktadır. Yukarıda da bahsedildiği gibi tüm kişisel bilgilerinizin korunması ve gizliliği konusunda son derece hassas davranılacak ve gerekli önlemler alınacaktır.

Bu araştırmaya katılmak tamamen isteğe bağlıdır. Katıldığınız takdirde çalışmanın herhangi bir aşamasında herhangi bir sebep göstermeden onayınızı çekmek hakkına da sahipsiniz. Bu durumda size ait tüm veriler araştırmacı tarafından imha edilecek ve araştırma için kullanılmayacaktır. Araştırma projesi hakkında ek bilgi almak istediğiniz takdirde lütfen Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yabancı Diller Eğitimi Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi Işıl Erduyan veya araştırmacı Merve Özçelik ile temasa geçiniz (Telefon: 0 212 359 4612 - Mail: merve.ozcelik@boun.edu.tr / isil.erduyan@boun.edu.tr Adres: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Kuzey Kampüsü, Eğitim Fakültesi, 34342 Bebek, İstanbul). Araştırmayla ilgili haklarınız konusunda Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Yüksek Lisans ve Doktora Tezleri Etik İnceleme Komisyonu'na (SOBETİK) danışabilirsiniz. (Mail: sbe-ethics@boun.edu.tr)

Çalışma esnasında veya sonrasında kendinizi kötü hissederseniz veya yardım almak isterseniz XXXXXXX Hastanesi Psikiyatri Polikliniği'nden randevu alabilirsiniz.

(Tel: 0 XXX XXX XX XX) Bunun dışında maruz kaldığımız şiddet ile ilgili yardım almak isterseniz XXXXXX Şiddet Önleme ve İzleme Merkezi (ŞÖNİM) ile iletişime geçebilirsiniz. (Tel: 0 XXX XXX XX XX) (İlgili kurumların ismi ve telefon numaraları araştırma yapılan şehrin gizliliği için bu kopyadan çıkarılmıştır.)

Eğer bu araştırma projesine katılmayı kabul ediyorsanız, lütfen bu formu imzalayıp kapalı bir zarf içerisinde araştırmacıya teslim ediniz.

Katılımınız, vaktiniz ve desteğiniz için teşekkür ederiz.

Saygılarımla,
Merve Özçelik

Ben,, yukarıdaki metni okudum ve katılmam istenen çalışmanın kapsamını ve amacını, gönüllü olarak üzerime düşen sorumlulukları tamamen anladım. Çalışma esnasında sesimin kaydedilmesini onayladığımı anladım. Çalışma hakkında soru sorma imkanı buldum. Bu çalışmayı istediğim zaman ve herhangi bir neden belirtmek zorunda kalmadan bırakabileceğimi ve bıraktığım takdirde herhangi bir olumsuzluk ile karşılaşmayacağımı anladım.

Bu koşullarda söz konusu araştırmaya kendi isteğimle, hiçbir baskı ve zorlama olmaksızın katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Formun bir örneğini aldım / almak istemiyorum.

Katılımcının Adı-

Soyadı:.....

İmzası:.....

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

Araştırmacının Adı-Soyadı:.....

İmzası:.....

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

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