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CORPUS-BASED DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE EIGHTH GRADE HISTORY TEXTBOOK USED IN ARMENIA*

(ERMENİSTAN'DA OKUTULAN SEKİZİNCİ SINIF TARİH DERS
KİTABININ DERLEM TEMELLİ SÖYLEM ANALİZİ)

Ercan Cihan ULUPINAR**

Abstract: *This study aims to examine the historical and political discourses in the textbook titled "History of Armenians" («Հայոց պատմություն») used in the eighth grade with the approval of the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sports in the Republic of Armenia. The study uses a corpus-based discourse analysis method for this purpose. In the textbook it examines, the study first determines the most used words, and, secondly, the words "war" and "enemy" and the frequencies of the synonyms, near-synonyms and antonyms of these words. At the third stage, it determines the most frequently used dates. It lastly analyzes the words that refer to peoples other than the Armenians. The study discusses the words "Turk" and "Ottoman" in the context of "the other", different words derived from the afore-mentioned two words with examples from concordances. It is noteworthy that the word "Turk" is among the most frequently used words in the textbook. In the textbook, which focuses on the dates of 1917 and*

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1918, it can be seen that words meaning “war” are used more than words meaning “peace”. When concordances were examined, the study determines that the “Turkish” and “Ottoman” words are used systematically with word types that create negative images.

Keywords: Educational Material, Armenian History, Ottoman State, “Other”, Turks

Öz: Bu çalışmada Ermenistan Cumhuriyeti Eğitim, Bilim, Kültür ve Spor Bakanlığının onayı ile sekizinci sınıfta okutulan “Ermenilerin Tarihi” («Հայոց պատմություն») adlı ders kitabında üretilen tarihî ve siyasi söylemleri dilbilimsel açıdan incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda derlem temelli söylem analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. İncelenen ders kitabında ilk olarak en çok kullanılan kelimeler; ikinci olarak “savaş” ve “düşman” kelimeleri ve bu kelimelerin eş, yakın ve zıt anlamlılarının sıklıkları tespit edilmiştir. Üçüncü aşamada en sık kullanılan tarihler saptanmıştır. Son olarak Ermeniler dışındaki halklara gönderme yapan kelimelerin analizi yapılmıştır. “Öteki” bağlamında “Türk” ve “Osmanlı” kelimeleri ve bu kelimelerden türeyen farklı kelimeler bağlamli dizinlerden örnekler ile gösterilmiştir. İncelenen ders kitabında en sık kullanılan kelimeler arasında “Türk” kelimesinin olması dikkat çekmektedir. 1917 ve 1918 tarihlerine odaklanan ders kitabında “savaş” anlamındaki kelimelerin “barış” anlamındaki kelimelere göre daha fazla kullanıldığı görülmüştür. Bağlamli dizinler incelendiğinde ise “Türk” ve “Osmanlı” kelimelerinin olumsuz imge oluşturacak kelime türleri ile sistemli bir şekilde kullanıldığı belirlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Eğitim Materyali, Ermenilerin Tarihi, Osmanlı Devleti, “Öteki”, Türkler

Introduction

Textbooks, which are part of compulsory education today, constitute an essential platform of discourse for ideologies with their visual and written content. In this discourse-based field, history textbooks are among the educational materials that are most affected by ideologies. Within the education system in Armenia, as in the rest of the world, we frequently encounter ideological discourses about ‘the other’ in history textbooks. For this reason, the textbook titled *History of Armenians* (*Հայրոց պատմություն*), which used in the eighth grade with the approval of the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sports in the Republic of Armenia, was chosen as the field of analysis in our study. The study has two main aims. The first aim is to analyze the most frequently used words in the textbook, the years in which historical events took place, the words referring to peoples other than the Armenians, the words “war”, “peace”, “friend”, and “enemy” through corpus-based discourse analysis. Our second aim is to identify the words derived from the words “Ottoman” and “Turk” in the context of “the other” and to conduct corpus-based discourse analysis through the concordances of these words. For these purposes, the concept of discourse, discourse analysis, and the corpus-based discourse analysis method will be discussed within the conceptual and theoretical framework of our research. In the second stage, the methodological approach of our research will be explained and then the words and sentences in the textbook will be analyzed according to corpus-based discourse analysis.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

Corpus-based discourse analysis, which developed in linguistics in the 1960s, is one of the methods of discourse analysis and the definition of the concept of ‘discourse’, which is one of the main discussion topics of discourse analysis, is one of the central issues of corpus-based discourse analysis. The concept of “discourse”, which is important in terms of explaining the purpose and method of our research, was first used by Zellig S. Harris in 1952. According to Harris, who established a direct relationship between language and discourse, “language is a correlative discourse” and according to him, textual analysis is considered as discourse analysis.¹ After Harris, in the 1950s, the discussions on the concept of discourse focused on trans-sentential structures. In the conceptual and theoretical discussions in this period, discourse is defined not only as a linguistic product, but also as an act of creating meaning in which the transmitter adds non-linguistic situations.²

1 Ahmet Kocaman, “Dilbilim Söylemi,” *Söylem Üzerine*, prepared by Ahmet Kocaman (Ankara: ODTÜ Geliştirme Vakfı Yayınları, 2003), 2.

2 V. Doğan Günay, *Söylem Çözümlemesi* (İstanbul: Papatya Yayınları, 2013), 30.

By the end of the 1960s, Michel Pêcheux (1938-1983) defined discourse as related to ideology. According to him, “discourse shows the effects of ideological struggle within the functions of language”.³ Pêcheux emphasises the existence and meaning of language and ideology in a close relationship and that words are not static but dynamic, and defines discourse as the most fundamental and concrete linguistic form of ideology.⁴

In the 1970s and 1980s, discourse began to be analyzed in detail based on its place in history in addition to its context and ideology under the pioneering work of Michel Foucault (1926-1984). In recent years, especially after the 1990s, when the Internet started to enter the life of society, discourse has gone beyond the word with the neo-Marxist approach, and gained a different dimension with technological developments and became a communication activity. Teun A. van Dijk, who stands out with his views on this subject, states that discourse is of great importance in the reproduction of ideologies and daily expressions.⁵ Van Dijk defines discourse as a communication activity that includes spoken interaction, written text, signs, overlays, typographic layout, images, and other semiotic or multimedia dimensions of interpretation.⁶

The above definitions on discourse show that discourse analysis can provide important data to understand the ideology in a text. Corpus-based discourse analysis, as one of the methods of discourse analysis, reveals the ideological structure by giving us a detailed breakdown of words through computer programs. As Valentin Nikolayevich Voloshinov states, “the word provides us with sufficient material to reveal the basic-general ideological forms of semiotic communication”.⁷

3 Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992) as cited in Ömer Özer, *Haber Söylem İdeoloji, Eleştirel Haber Çözümlemeleri* (Konya: Literatür, 2011), 34. Michel Pêcheux was one of the most important representatives of discourse analysis in the two decades from the 1960s to the 1980s. His major contribution to discourse analysis was to develop tools for conducting empirical discourse studies. His work *Automatic Discourse Analysis* was the beginning of a reconsideration of the principles of discourse analysis and discourse theory and was the source of many works in the 1980s. Tolga Elbirlik ve Ferhat Karabulut, “Söylem Kuramları: Bir Sınıflandırma Çalışması”, *Dil Araştırmaları*, no. 17 (2015): 31-50, <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/dilarastirmalari/issue/59738/867745>, accessed January 26, 2021. See also, Niels Helsloot, Tony Hak, “Pêcheux’s Contribution to Discourse Analysis”, *Qualitative-Research.net*, <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/242>, accessed January 26, 2021.

4 Lütfiye Oktar, “Bilimsel Söylem ve Toplumsal Değişim”, Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi İngiliz Dilbilimi Bölümü Yayınları, issue: 2 (2001): 71-80, cited from Funda Uzdu Yıldız ve V. Doğan Günay, “Yazımsal Söylemin İdeolojik Boyutu,” *Synergies-Turquie*, no. 4 (2011): 153-167, <https://gerflint.fr/Base/Turquie4/yildiz.pdf>, accessed January 26, 2021.

5 İbrahim Toruk ve Rengim Sine, “Haber Söylem Üretimindeki İdeolojik Etki: Wikileaks Haberleri,” *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 31 (2012): 351-378, <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/sutad/issue/26302/277195>, accessed January 4, 2021.

6 Michael Meyer, “Between Theory, Method, And Politics: Positioning of the Approaches to CDA,” *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: Sage, 2001), 20, cited from Tuğrul Çomu, “Video Paylaşım Ağlarında Nefret Söylemi: Youtube Örneği” (Unpublished Master’s Thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2012).

7 Tezcan Durna ve Çağla Kubilay, “Söylem Kuramları ve Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemeleri,” *Medyadan Söylemler*, ed. Tezcan Durna (İstanbul: Libra Yayıncılık, 2010), 51.

In this context, the process of analyzing the (interdependent or independent) words and sentences in the text(s) we analyze through computer programs and bringing them together in a systematic way is called “corpus”. The discourse analysis carried out on the corpus of a particular text(s) is called “corpus-based discourse analysis”. As mentioned before, words or sentences can be analyzed within the context of the text(s). In this respect, “dependents/concordances” are created with the help of a computer program. “Dependents/concordances” list the words of a text in such a way as to show their place, context, and frequency of use.⁸

The definitions on “discourse” have also determined the framework of corpus-based discourse research. For example, corpus-based discourse studies conducted on textbooks outside Türkiye can be generally categorized into two groups when considering their subject of focus. The first group is the studies that reveal the ideological implications of textbooks through discourse analysis.⁹ The second group is the descriptive studies examining the frequency of words in the sources used in foreign language education.¹⁰ In Türkiye, corpus-based studies are not widespread, and are generally conducted in the fields of linguistics and language education. According to our research in the Turkish Council of Higher Education Thesis Centre, there are 22 corpus-based doctoral theses. 15 of these theses are conducted in linguistics, 3 in education and training, 2 in computer engineering, and 1 in translation and interpreting.¹¹ In addition to doctoral theses, 54 master’s theses have been identified in this field. Of these theses, 30 are in linguistics/philology, 15 in education and training, and 7 in computer engineering.¹² In Türkiye, the number of corpus-based doctoral and master’s theses on textbooks is only 5.¹³ Analyzing the theses and other scientific studies conducted in Türkiye reveals that there is no corpus-based research on Armenian textbooks.

8 Özer Şenödeyici, “Üslûp Araştırmaları Açısından Bağlamlı Dizin ve İşlevsel Sözlük Çalışmaları Nâilî Örneği”, *Littera Turca Journal of Turkish Language and Literature* 3, no. 1 (2017): 282-306, <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/277185>, accessed January 26, 2021.

9 For a reference article on the subject, see Ray C.H. Leung, “A Corpus-Based Analysis of Textbooks Used in the Orientation Course for Immigrants in Germany: Ideological and Pedagogic Implications”, *Journal of Language and Cultural Education* 4, no. 3 (2016): 154-177, <https://content.sciendo.com/view/journals/jolace/4/3/article-p154.xml?language=en>, accessed December 28, 2020.

10 For a reference article on the subject, see Hang Chan and Hiu Ngai Jessica Cheuk, “Revisiting The Notion of ESL: A Corpus-Based Analysis Of English Textbook Instructional Language,” *Ampersand* 7 (2020): 1-10, accessed January 28, 2020.

11 Yükseköğretim Kurulu Başkanlığı Tez Merkezi (Turkish Council of Higher Education Thesis Centre), <https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/>, accessed December 26, 2022.

12 Yükseköğretim Kurulu Başkanlığı Tez Merkezi, <https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/>, accessed December 26, 2022.

13 Yükseköğretim Kurulu Başkanlığı Tez Merkezi, <https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/>, accessed December 26, 2022.

Methodology

The textbook titled *History of Armenians*, prepared for eighth graders in Armenia, was selected to conduct a corpus-based discourse analysis in our study.¹⁴ Considering the course of history, the process of Armenia becoming a state is a recent development. Therefore, the title of history textbooks in Armenia do not refer to a specific state, but to an ethnic group. This situation was officially opened for discussion in Armenia on 22 January 2024.¹⁵ The Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport of the Republic of Armenia submitted for public discussion a proposal to rename the “History of Armenians” course in schools as “History of Armenia”. According to the Ministry, the new name is more appropriate, and the aim of this proposal is to strengthen the idea of statehood among students in Armenia and to protect the interests of their own country. However, opponents criticized this initiative, arguing that the name “History of Armenians” includes both the history of the state and the history of the people, and that the name change may exclude important parts of the history and geography (especially Diaspora Armenians).¹⁶ In an online public poll, 51% of the population voted against the name change. Due to the controversy, as of the writing of our study, no changes have been made to the education curriculum in 2024.

The textbook titled *History of Armenians* consists of three chapters. The first part covers the period from the second half of the XVII. century to the first half of the XIX. century, the second part covers the historical process from the second half of the XIX. century to the beginning of the XX. century, and the third part covers the history of the Armenian diaspora in the recent period. Detailed information about the imprint of the textbook is presented below.

Textbook Title	Grade	Publisher	Place of Publication	Date	Number of Pages	Number of Words
History of Armenians	8	Zangak	Yerevan	2013	192	32327

14 Աշոտ Մելքոնյան, Արամ Սիմոնյան, Արամ Նազարյան, Հակոբ Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն: Դասագիրք 8-րդ դասարանի համար* (Երևան. «Զանգակ» հրատ., 2013), 192 էջ:

15 Իրավական ակտերի նախագծերի հրապարակման միասնական կայք, Հայաստանի հանրապետության կառավարության 2010 թվականի ապրիլի 8-ի N 439-ն որոշման մեջ փոփոխություն կատարելու մասին, <https://www.e-draft.am/projects/6771>, accessed June 5, 2024.

16 “Հայոց, թե՛ Հայաստանի պատմություն”, *Ազատություն Ռադիոկայան*, January 23, 2024, <https://www.azatutyun.am/a/32788551.html>, accessed June 5, 2024.

For the corpus-based discourse analysis in our research, firstly the digital format of the textbook was converted into a text that could be analyzed. The textbook was analyzed in “Voyant Tools”,¹⁷ a web-based reading and analysis program for digital texts. In the second stage, the number of words was checked manually through the program called “Foxit Reader”.

In our study, a contextual analysis method was applied while examining the frequency of words. This is because there are two methods in corpus-based studies. The first one is to measure the frequency of the words determined by the researcher or all the words in the text, and the second one is to create a contextual index. In this study, the most frequently used words in the textbook were determined in the first stage through “Voyant Tools”. Then, the frequently used words “war” and “enemy” and the frequency of the use of their synonyms, near-synonyms, and antonyms were analyzed. In the third stage, the frequency of the dates mentioned in the text were analyzed to determine the historical periods focused on in the textbook. The number of words referring to other peoples were also analyzed to compare them with the words “Turk” («թուրք») and “Ottoman” («օսմանյան»). Finally, the frequency of the words “Turk” and “Ottoman” and the words derived from them were determined, and examples of contextualized indexes containing the words “Turk” and “Ottoman” were presented at this stage. Since the electronic tools we used during the analysis in our research only recognize texts, the words in maps or pictures were not included in the analysis. The corpus-based discourse analysis at hand is not only a descriptive research but also a relational research. Accordingly, examples containing the words “Turk” and “Ottoman” were analyzed within the context of the text.

Analysis

The top ten most frequently used words in the corpus created to analyze the historical and political discourses in the textbook titled *History of Armenians* are presented in Table 1. The first ten most frequently used words are the words found in the textbook in the nominative form and these words do not include personal pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, and auxiliary verbs. When Table 1 is examined, the word “Armenian” («հայ»), which is used as an adjective and noun, ranks first. The frequency of the word “national” («ազգային») is also noteworthy. In fact, “Armenian national movements” and the establishment of “Armenian national parties” are frequently mentioned

17 Stéfan Sinclair and Geoffrey Rockwell, “Voyant Tools,” *VoyantTools.org*, <https://voyant-tools.org/?panels=corpusterm%2Creader%2Ctrends%2Csummary%2Ccontexts&corpus=c1318cceb5eb5be75db658d1ed899334>, accessed February 11, 2023.

throughout the textbook. The presence of the word “Turk” («թուրք/թուրքական») as a noun and adjective in the top ten most frequently used words is just one of the important pieces of evidence showing that the discursive basis of the textbook is based on the Turk as “the other”. The analysis of the word “Turk” and the words derived from this word will be analyzed in detail in the following sections.

Table 1. List and Number of the Most Frequently Used Words in the Textbook titled *History of Armenians*

Row	Armenian Original	English Translation and Parts of Speech ¹⁸	Number of Words
1	հայ	Armenian (<i>Noun, Adjective</i>)	437
2	հայկական	Armenian (<i>Adjective</i>)	312
3	ազգային	national (<i>Adjective</i>)	201
4	նոր	new (<i>Adjective</i>)	170
5	ի՞նչ	what? (<i>Pronoun</i>)	140
6	մեծ	great (<i>Adjective</i>)	130
7	թուրքական	Turk/Turkish (<i>Adjective</i>)	125
8	այդ	that (<i>Pronoun</i>)	119
9	հայոց	Armenians' (<i>Noun, Adjective</i>)	109
10	հայաստանի	Armenia's (<i>Noun</i>)	106

In the second stage of our study, we analyzed the terms “struggle” («պայքար/պայքարել»), “war” («պատերազմ»), “peace” («հաշտություն»), “battle/heroic battle” («մարտ/հերոսամարտ»), “enemy” («թշնամի»), “opposing” («հակառակորդ»), “ally” («դաշնակից»), “opponent/dissident” («ընդդիմադիր»), and “supporter” («համակիր») used in the textbook titled *History of Armenians*. In line with the decisions taken by international institutions and organizations (UNESCO, the European Union, the Leibniz Institute for Educational Media/Georg Eckert Institute (GEI)), there are recommendations that the discourses of peace and tolerance should be brought to the forefront in textbooks instead of war and conflict.¹⁹ However,

18 Word types differ between Turkish (the language this research was originally conducted in) and Armenian. The word types mentioned in the article are prepared in accordance with the syntax of Armenian.

19 For detailed information, see Falk Pingel, *Ders Kitaplarını Araştırma ve Düzeltme Rehberi*, translated by Nurettin Elhüseyni (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2004) ; Laurent Wirth, *Tarihin Kötüye Kullanımı*, translated by Nurettin Elhüseyni (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2003) ; Henry Frendo, *Tarih Öğretiminde Çoğulcu ve Hoşgörülü Bir Yaklaşım Doğru*, prepared by Özgür Sevgi Göral (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2003).

our analyses revealed that the word “struggle” is the most frequently used word in this category. The word “struggle” is used in 26 different places as the Armenians’ “freedom struggle” («ազատագրական պայքար») and in 20 different places as the Armenians’ “armed struggle” («զինված պայքար»).

Table 2. List and Number of the Words “War” and “Enemy” and Their Synonyms, Near-Synonyms and Antonyms Used in the Textbook Titled *History of Armenians*²⁰

Row	Armenian Original	English Translation and Parts of Speech	Number of Words
1	պայքար պայքարել	struggle (Noun, Verb)	132
2	պատերազմ	war (Noun)	116
3	հաշտություն	peace (Noun)	41
4	մարտ հերոսամարտ	battle, clash, war (Noun) heroic battle (Noun)	69
5	թշնամի	enemy (Noun)	38
6	հակառակորդ	opponent, enemy, (Noun)	8
7	դաշնակից	ally (Noun, Adjective)	8
8	ընդդիմադիր	opposing, dissident (Adjective)	2
9	Համակիր	support, supporter (Adjective)	1

In the third stage of our research, the frequency of dates used in the textbook was evaluated. In primary and secondary school history textbooks, it is preferred that events are told in chronological order. The textbook we analyzed, *History of Armenians*, also tells the events in chronological order, but some dates stand out in this chronological order. The year ‘1917’, which is used 44 times in the textbook, stands out. The year ‘1917’ is often repeated in the fifth heading of the sixth chapter “The Rise of Armenian National - Political Life in 1917”²¹ («Հայ ազգային-քաղաքական կյանքի վերելքը 1917 թվականին») within the context of the political structures established in Transcaucasia, the Caucasian Front, the Bolshevik Revolution, and Soviet Russia. The year ‘1918’ is repeated 41 times in the textbook because of its importance in the establishment of the Republic of Armenia. The year ‘1915’ is used to explain the events on the Caucasus front and the activities of the “Armenian Volunteer Units”. The year ‘1915’ is often found under the headings “The Great Catastrophe of the Armenians”²² («Հայոց մեծ եղեռնը») and “The Heroic Battles of Self-Defense in 1915”²³ («Ինքնապաշտպանական

20 In this table, the plural form of nouns is included in the total number of words.

21 Մելքոնյան, Միմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 134.

22 Մելքոնյան, Միմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 122.

23 Մելքոնյան, Միմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 129.

հերոսամարտերը 1915 թ.»). The words “Great Catastrophe” («Մեծ եղեռն») and “genocide” («ցեղասպանություն») as synonyms of “Great Catastrophe” are frequently repeated in the textbook. In the entire textbook, the word “Great Catastrophe” appears in 25 different places and the word “genocide” in 35 different places. The analysis reveals that the textbook emphasizes the years 1917 and 1918 more than 1915. However, in the international political and cultural arena, it is seen that the year ‘1915’ takes center place in the historical narrative of Armenia and the Armenian diaspora. The textbook we examined aims to create the consciousness of being a “state” in the minds of students in Armenia, and for this reason, more emphasis is placed on the process of becoming a state in the textbook. This situation does not show that the history of 1915 is pushed into the background in the Armenian education system; rather, it shows that the priority in the textbook is different. In addition, the year 1915 should not be evaluated independently from 1914 in Armenian historiography. The year ‘1914’ is presented as the first stage of the “Great Catastrophe” in the sixth chapter titled “Armenia and the Armenian People in the Years of the First World War”²⁴ («Հայաստանը և հայ ժողովուրդը առաջին աշխարհամարտի տարիներին»). The year “1828” is referred to in the second part of the textbook under the sub-headings of “The Russo-Iranian War of 1826-1828”²⁵ («1826–1828 թթ. ռուս–պարսկական պատերազմը») and “1828-1829 Russo-Turkish War and Western Armenians”²⁶ («1828–1829 թթ. ռուս–թուրքական պատերազմը արևմտահայությունը»). In the textbook, the year “1890” is often referred to as “the 1890s” («1890–ական թթ.»). This phrase appears especially in the fourth chapter, under the heading “Massacres and Self-Defense Wars of Western Armenians in the 1890s”²⁷ («Արևմտահայերի կոտորածները և ինքնապաշտպանական մարտերը 1890–ական թվականներին»).

24 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 112-146.

25 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 31.

26 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 39.

27 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 91.

Table 3. List and Number of the Most Frequently Used Years in the Textbook Titled *History of Armenians*

Row	Most Frequently Used Years	Number of Words
1	1917	44
2	1918	41
3	1915	33
4	1914	29
5	1828	18
6	1890	18

In the fourth stage of the research, words referring to peoples other than Armenians in the textbook titled *History of Armenians* were analyzed. While this analysis shows “the others” that are centered according to the Armenian identity in the textbook, it also helps us to reach the positive or negative discourses about “the others”. When the words referring (directly or indirectly) to the peoples mentioned in the textbook are analyzed, it is found that the most frequently used word other than “Armenian” («հայ/հայկական») as a noun and adjective is “Turk/Turkish” («թուրք/թուրքական»). As can be seen in the table below, as a noun and adjective, “Turk/Turkish” is followed by “Russian” («ռուս/ռուսական»), “Persian” («պարսիկ/պարսկական»), “Kurd/Kurdish” («քուրդ/քրդական»), and “Tatar [Azerbaijani Turk]” («թաթար/թաթարական/ադրբեջանցի»). The reason for the prominence of the word “Turk” in the textbook is due to the ideological approach of presenting Turks as “the other”. It is noteworthy that the words “Kurd” and “Tatar”, the names of people who live or lived in the same geography with Armenians and therefore expected to be repeated frequently in the textbook, are used less frequently than the words “Russian” and “Persian”. This shows that there is an ideological selectivity towards certain peoples in the content of the textbook and that the “Turk” is targeted as “the other”. The ranking of the analyzed words according to their frequency of use is shown in the table below.

Table 4. List and Number of Words Referring to People Other Than Armenians in the Textbook Titled *History of Armenians*²⁸

Row	Armenian Original	English Translation and Word Type	Number of Words
1	թուրք* թուրքական	Turk (Noun, Adjective) Turkish (Adjective)	213
2	ռուս* ռուսական	Russian (Noun, Adjective) Russian (Adjective)	166
3	պարսիկ* պարսկական	Persian (Noun) Persian (Adjective)	34
4	քուրդ* քրդական	Kurd (Noun, Adjective) Kurdish (Adjective)	26
5	թաթար* թաթարական աղբբեջանցի*	Tatar [Azerbaijani Turk] (Noun) Tatar [Azerbaijani Turk] (Adjective)	22
6	վրաց վրացի* վրացական արևելավրացական	Georgian (Adjective) Georgian (Noun) Eastern Georgian (Adjective)	16
7	հույն*	Greek/Rum (Noun)	2
8	ասորի*	Assyrian/Syriac (Noun)	2
9	արաբական	Arab (Adjective)	1

One of the main objectives of our study is to observe the discourses regarding Turks in the book titled *History of Armenians* through the corpus-based analysis method. For this purpose, at the first stage, the frequency of “Turk” («թուրք») and words derived from the word “Turk” were analyzed. It was found that the word “Turk” («թուրք» and «թուրքական») is most frequently used as a noun and adjective in subjects describing the historical events of 1915 and 1917. The action of “Turkification” («թուրքացնել»), which is used once in the textbook, is used under the heading “The Great Catastrophe of the Armenians”²⁹ in the sub-heading “State Plan of the Young Turks on the Armenian Genocide”³⁰ («Հայերի ցեղասպանության երիտթուրքական պետական ծրագիրը»):

“The Young Turks continued Abdul Hamid’s plan to exterminate the Armenians. The ‘Committee of Union and Progress’ Party approved this program at secret meetings in Thessaloniki in 1910-1911. It was decided [in this program] that the Greeks and Assyrians would also be exterminated and that non-Turkish Muslims would be Turkified.”³¹

28 In this table, the plurals of the words marked with an asterix (*) were included to the number of words.

29 Մելքոնյան, Միմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 122

30 Մելքոնյան, Միմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 122.

31 Մելքոնյան, Միմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 122.

Table 5. The Word “Turk” and the Number of Words Derived from the Word “Turk” in the Textbook Titled *History of Armenians*³²

Row	Armenian Original	Turkish Translation and Word Type	Number of Words
1	Թուրքական	Turkish [referring to a person] (Adjective)	125
2	Թուրք*	Turk (Noun, Adjective)	88
3	Թուրքիա*	Turkey/Türkiye (Noun)	32
4	Թուրքահայաստան*	Turkish Armenia (Noun)	6
5	Թուրքերեն*	Turkish [referring to the language] (Noun, Adjective)	3
6	Թուրքալեզու	Turkish language (Adjective)	2
7	Թուրքահպատակ	Subject to the Turks (Noun, Adjective)	1
8	Թուրքացնել*	Turkification (Verb)	1

The frequency of “Turk” and words derived from the word “Turk” in the text proves that there is a discursive space in the textbook that focuses on “Turk”. However, this information does not provide data regarding the context of the discourse on “Turk” in the textbook. For this reason, example sentences were found based on the contextualized indexes containing the words “Turk” and the words derived from the word “Turk”. Additionally, due to the limitations of our research, four examples that drew attention were translated into English and presented below together with the Armenian original text.

- Original text:** «Արևմտյան Հայաստանում և կայսրության հայկական մի շարք բնակավայրերում հայերը կարողացան համախմբվել ու զենքը ձեռքին արժանապատվորեն պայքարել **թուրք** և քուրդ ջարդարարների դեմ:»³³

Translation: “In Western Armenia and in a number of Armenian settlements in the Empire, Armenians were able to organize and fight with their guns and dignity against the **Turkish** and Kurdish massacrists.”

- Original text:** «Այն դժնդակ օրերին հայ ժողովուրդը, զենքի դիմելով, կարողացավ պայքարել **թուրք** ոճրագործների դեմ նաև Մուշում, Սասունում և բազմաթիվ այլ վայրերում:»³⁴

Translation: “During these brutal days, the Armenian people were able to take up arms and fight against the **Turkish** murderers in Moush, Sasun and elsewhere.”

32 In this table, the forms of the noun with inflectional or derivational suffixes of the words marked with an asterisk (*) were included to the number of words.

33 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 129.

34 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 132.

3. **Original text:** «1729–1731 թթ. **Թուրքական** նվաճողների դեմ պայքարի վերջին օջախներից էր Գյուլիստանի սղնախը՝ Աբրահամ սպարապետի գլխավորությամբ:»³⁵

Translation: “The Gulistan Fortress was one of the epicenters of the struggle against the **Turkish** conquests in 1729-1731, led by Commander Abraham.”

4. **Original text:** «Ո՞ր վայրերում տեղի ունեցան **կոտորածներ**: Ինչի՞ հետ էր կապված Մայիսյան բարենորոգումների ծրագրի ի հայտ գալը: Ինչո՞վ պատասխանեց սուլթանը այդ ծրագրին: Հայերը որտե՞ղ դիմադրություն ցույց տվեցին **թուրք** ջարդարարներին:»³⁶

Translation: “In which places did massacres take place? What was the emergence of the ‘May’ reforms associated with? How did the Sultan respond to this program? Where did Armenians fight back against the **Turkish** massacrists?”

When we examine the sample sentences above, it is seen that the word “Turk” is used especially with word types such as nouns, adjectives or verbs that can create negative opinions. The first and second sentences given in the examples are found in the chapter titled “Heroic Self-Defense Struggles of 1915”³⁷ («Ինքնապաշտպանական հերոսամարտերը 1915 թ.»), under the sub-heading “Van’s Glorious Victory”³⁸ («Վանի փառապանծ հաղթանակը»). The word “massacrist” in the first sentence, which creates a negative discourse regarding Turks and Kurds, and the word “thug/murderer” in the second sentence are not words required to be in a textbook to ensure integrity of meaning. However, throughout the textbook, like in these example sentences, words that create negative images are preferred to deepen negative discourses regarding Turks. In addition, when the titles of the example sentences are evaluated in terms of objective historiography, the fact that Armenians took up arms aiming for an independent Armenian state in 1915 and attacked the soldiers and citizens of the country they were citizens of is, by definition, considered as rebellion. However, as an expression of ideological discourse in the book, these acts of rebellion are presented as “self-defense and heroic struggle”. In accordance with the same ideological discourse, the siege of Van by Russian troops with the support of Armenian gangs is described as the “Glorious Victory of Van”. The third sentence is found in the second chapter

35 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 16.

36 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 96.

37 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 129.

38 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 129.

of the first part of the book, titled “Armed Struggle in Artsakh [Karabakh]”³⁹ («Ձինված պայքարը Արցախում»). This chapter describes the battles fought in 1729-1731 at the Gulistan Fortress at the mountainside of Murovdag. In these sentences referring to the Turkish conquests, the word “Artsakh” (“Արցախ”) is preferred to “Karabakh” (“Դարաբաղ”), the official name of the region. The fourth sentence is included at the end of the fourth chapter, in the questions and homework section for students to answer.⁴⁰ In this sentence, the word “massacrist” is repeated, which creates a negative opinion of Turks in the minds of the students and is not required for ensuring the integrity of meaning of the book.

Lastly, the frequency of the words “Ottoman” («Օսմանյան») and “subject to the Ottomans” («Օսմանահպատակ») was analyzed. In the textbook, the word “Ottoman” is used as a proper noun “Ottoman Empire” (“Օսմանյանյան կայսրություն») in 46 different places. The term “Ottoman Empire” is preferred instead of “Ottoman State”, which creates the perception of an “imperialist” political entity. The word “Ottoman subjects” (“օսմանահպատակ») appears in the first unit under the title “The Rise of the Armenian Freedom Struggle”⁴¹ («Հայ ազատագրական պայքարի վերելքը»). In this section, the view of the Turks being a threat and the perspective of some of the European states and peoples subject to the Ottoman Empire being potential supporters of the “Armenian freedom struggle” are expressed as such:

“Some European countries, realizing the expected danger from the Ottoman Turks, were seen as possible allies of Armenia. The willingness of Ottoman subjects -Greeks, Assyrians, Georgians, even Kurds and Yezidis- to fight together was also important.”⁴²

39 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 12.

40 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 96.

41 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 7.

42 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 7.

Table 6. The List and the Number of the Words “Ottoman” and “Subject to the Ottomans “ in the Textbook Titled *History of Armenians*

Row	Armenian Original	Turkish Translation and Word Type	Number of Words
1	Օսմանյան	Ottoman (Adjective)	73
2	Օսմանահպատակ	Subject to the Ottomans (Noun, Adjective)	1

Only four of the contextual indexes containing the word “Ottoman” have been translated from Armenian into English and are presented below:

1. Original text: «Օսմանյան գերիշխանության տակ ավելի ծանր էր արևմտահայության վիճակը: Ազգային, կրոնական ու սոցիալական դաժան հալածանքների դեմ արևմտահայերի պայքարի առաջին խոշոր կենտրոնը 1862 թ. դառնում է Զեյթունը:»⁴³

Translation: “Under **Ottoman** rule, the situation of Western Armenians was more severe. In 1862, Zeytun became the epicenter of the struggle against brutal national, religious, and social persecution.”

2. Original text: «Օսմանյան կայսրության և Սեֆյան Իրանի թուլացումն ազատագրման իրական հույս էր ներշնչում: Եվրոպական առանձին երկրներ, որոնք հասկացել էին **օսմանյան** թուրքերից սպասվող վտանգը, համարվում էին Հայաստանի հնարավոր դաշնակիցներ:»⁴⁴

Translation: “The weakening of the **Ottoman** Empire and Safavid Iran gave rise to a real hope for liberation. Some European countries, realizing the expected danger from the **Ottoman** Turks, were considered as possible allies of Armenia.”

3. Original text: «Օսմանյան տիրապետության տակ գտնվող Արևմտյան Հայաստանը բաժանված էր Էրզրումի (Կարին), Վանի, Կարսի, Ախալցխայի, Դիարբեքիրի և Սեբաստիայի նահանգների (վիլայեթ, Փաշայություն):»⁴⁵

Translation: “Western Armenia under **Ottoman** rule was divided into the provinces of Erzurum (Karin), Van, Kars, Ahıska, Diyarbakir and Sivas (Vilayet, Pashalik).”

43 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 4.

44 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 7.

45 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 38.

4. **Original text:** «1726 թ. օսմանյան զինուժի՝ Շուշին գրավելու փորձերը հաջողություն չունեցան:»⁴⁶

Translation: “In 1726, attempts by **Ottoman** military forces to besiege Shushi were unsuccessful.”

The first of the example sentences we chose is found in the textbook’s introduction.⁴⁷ In this example, the Armenian discourse of struggling against “brutal persecution” stands out.⁴⁸ The second example sentence is found in the textbook under the heading “The Rise of the Armenian Freedom Struggle”⁴⁹ and the word “Ottoman” here is used as a word characterizing “Turks”. The third example is found in the subject “Western Armenia in the First Half of the XIX. Century”⁵⁰ («Արևմտյան Հայաստանը XIX դարի առաջին կեսին»). This subject mentions the organization of the provinces inhabited by Armenians under the rule of the Ottoman State. The sentence in the fourth example appears under the heading “Armed Struggle in Artsakh [Karabakh]”⁵¹ and creates the impression of an enemy. According to the numerical data above, a comparison of the words “Ottoman” and “Turk” reveals that the word “Turk” is repeated more often in ideological terms and is used with words that have negative meanings compared to the word “Ottoman”. This supports the idea that the textbook is written from an ideological perspective and that this perspective creates a negative image of the Turk in the minds of 8th grade students.

Conclusion/Evaluation

In our research that prefers the use of the corpus-based discourse analysis method, we demonstrate the influence of discourse in education through the textbook titled *History of Armenians* and accordingly the linguistic form of ideology. Through this method, firstly, the most frequently used words were identified. It was observed that the word “Turk” was among the top 10 most frequently repeated words in the textbook (excluding personal pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, and auxiliary verbs). Secondly, when the words referring to peoples in the textbook are analyzed, the word “Turk” is in the first place. This situation is part of the important evidence demonstrating that the textbook is based on the discourse of the “Turk” as the “other”.

46 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 15.

47 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 3-4.

48 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 4.

49 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 7.

50 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 38.

51 Մելքոնյան, Սիմոնյան, Նազարյան, Մուրադյան, *Հայոց պատմություն*, 15.

The frequently used “1917” and “1918” years indicate which historical periods are focused on in the textbook. It is seen that this textbook, when focusing on these years, attaches importance to the Caucasus Front, the Bolshevik Revolution, and the actions taken towards the establishment of the Republic of Armenia. The word “peace” was used much less in the textbook compared to the words “war”, “struggle”, and “enemy”. In this respect, the textbook does not comply with the recommendations and decisions of international institutions and organizations on the teaching of history lessons.

Lastly, the frequency of the words “Ottoman” and “Turk” were analyzed during our research. Events that occurred during the period of the Ottoman State are mentioned in the textbook. However, it was observed that the word “Turk” and words of “Turkish” origin were used 246 times, while the word “Ottoman” was repeated 74 times. This situation indicates that the word “Turk” is deliberately preferred in the textbook instead of the word “Ottoman”, which does not refer to a particular people. It was also found that the words “Turk” and “Ottoman” are used systematically and with a specific purpose and with nouns, adjectives, and verbs that create negative thoughts or opinions.

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