

Coding Depression in the Digital Realm: An Analysis via Systemic Functional Linguistics and Social Semiotics

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Appraisal Framework, Systemic Functional Linguistics, social media discourse, hashtags, linguistic identity, attitude, affect, engagement

Abstract

This study investigates the language encoding of emotional states by Turkish Twitter users through the hashtag #depresyondayım ("I am depressed"), utilizing Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Framework within Halliday's (1978) Social Semiotic perspective. This research utilizes Systemic Functional Linguistics to examine how users employ attitudinal resources, engagement methods, and graduation procedures as semiotic tools to articulate emotional pain, negotiate social roles, and create identities in digital environments. A qualitative analysis of 130 tweets indicates that the content primarily consists of affect resources (81.5%), monoglossic engagement (84.6%), and force-based graduation (67.7%). Notable linguistic patterns were identified across seven thematic categories: everyday frustrations, economic hardships, emotional isolation, academic/work stress, seasonal effects, societal issues, and social deprivation. The research illustrates how the Appraisal Framework elucidates the intricate relationship among emotion, evaluation, and intensification in digital communication, while exposing how depression discourse operates as a multifaceted semiotic resource fulfilling diverse social functions beyond the expression of clinical distress. This study aims to contribute to digital discourse analysis by applying the Appraisal Framework to Turkish social media texts. In the process, observations were made about the role of Turkish morphological and syntactic features in evaluative language use.

Dijital Alanda Depresyonun Kodlanması: Dizgeci İşlevsel Dilbilim ve Sosyal Göstergebilim Perspektifiyle Bir Analiz

Öz

Bu çalışma, Türk Twitter kullanıcılarının #depresyondayım etiketi aracılığıyla duygusal durumlarını dilsel olarak nasıl kodladıklarını Halliday'in (1978) Sosyal Göstergebilim perspektifinde Martin ve White'in (2005) Değerlendirme Kuramını kullanarak incelemektedir. Dizgeci İşlevsel Dilbilime dayanan bu araştırma, kullanıcıların duygusal durumlarını ifade etmek, sosyal konumlarını tartışmak ve dijital alanda kimliklerini inşa etmek için tutum kaynaklarını, etkileşim stratejilerini ve derecelendirme tekniklerini göstergebilimsel kaynaklar olarak nasıl kullandıklarını araştırmaktadır. Bulgular, 130 tweetin nitel analiz yoluyla, tweetlerin ağırlıklı olarak duygulanım kaynakları (%81,5), tekdilli bağıntılaşım (%84,6) ve güç-temelli derecelendirme (%67,7) içerdiğini ve başta günlük hayal kırıklıkları, ekonomik zorluklar, duygusal izolasyon, akademik/iş stresi, mevsimsel etkiler, toplumsal sorunlar ve sosyal yoksunluk olmak üzere yedi tematik kategoride farklı dil örüntülerinin ortaya çıktığını göstermektedir. Araştırma, Değerlendirme Kuramının dijital iletişimde duygulanım, değerlendirme ve yoğunlaşma arasındaki karmaşık etkileşimi nasıl etkili bir şekilde aydınlattığını gösterirken, depresyon söyleminin ruhsal sıkıntıyı ifade etmenin ötesinde çeşitli sosyal amaçlara hizmet eden değerli bir göstergebilimsel kaynak olarak nasıl işlev gördüğünü ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışma, Değerlendirme Kuramını, Türkçe sosyal medya metinlerine uygulayarak dijital söylem analizine katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu süreçte ayrıca, Türkçenin biçimbilimsel ve sözdizimsel özelliklerinin değerlendirici dil kullanımındaki rolü hakkında gözlemler yapılmıştır.

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Social media platforms have emerged as significant spaces for the articulation of emotional states, allowing users to publicly express and negotiate affective experiences ranging from everyday frustrations to profound psychological distress. On Twitter, the hashtag function serves not only as a topic marker but as a semiotic resource through which users affiliate with particular communities of sentiment (Zappavigna, 2018). In Turkey, the hashtag #depresyondayım ("I am depressed") serves as a notable illustration, including a range of emotional conditions from funny hyperboles of little annoyances to authentic manifestations of psychiatric distress.

This digital articulation of depression does not merely reflect isolated personal states but signifies broader socio-cultural phenomena, transforming individual affective experiences into collective digital discourses. From a Hallidayan perspective, these discourses exemplify language as social semiotics (Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1989), where linguistic expressions actively construct and negotiate social realities within digital environments. The Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) model "does not view language as a structural and cognitive system isolated from social context, but defines it as an interaction tool within the social context" (Kansu-Yetkiner et al., 2014, p. 82). The hashtag serves as a linguistic instrument that enables users to align themselves with a community of shared emotions, whether articulating authentic suffering or humorously reflecting on quotidian concerns through the concept of "depression."

Building upon Systemic Functional Linguistics and particularly Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Framework, this study examines how Turkish Twitter users linguistically code emotional evaluations, negotiate interpersonal relationships, and scale emotional intensity through the #depresyondayım hashtag. The Appraisal Framework offers a sophisticated toolset for analyzing evaluative language, focusing on three key dimensions: Attitude (emotional, ethical, and aesthetic evaluations), Engagement (dialogic positioning), and Graduation (scaling of evaluations).

This research addresses three interrelated questions:

How do Turkish Twitter users deploy attitudinal resources (affect, Judgement, appreciation) to express emotional states through the #depresyondayım hashtag?

What engagement strategies do users employ to position themselves dialogically within this discourse community?

How do users scale emotional intensity through graduation resources to amplify or mitigate their emotional expressions?

By examining 130 tweets, this qualitative study categorizes user-generated content into seven thematic domains (everyday frustrations, economic hardships, emotional isolation, academic/work stress, seasonal effects, societal issues, and social deprivation), illuminating how linguistic choices vary according to context and communicative purpose.

This research addresses several gaps in existing literature. While psychological studies have extensively examined depression in social media contexts (De Choudhury et al., 2016; Coppersmith et al., 2014), fewer studies have applied systemic linguistic frameworks to understand its discursive construction. Additionally, most research has focused on English-language contexts, with limited attention to how depression discourse manifests in other linguistic and cultural environments. Finally, the application of the Appraisal Framework to social media depression discourse remains underexplored, particularly in non-Western contexts.

This study examines how depression is discussed on social media through linguistic analysis. The findings may be of interest to those working in mental health fields and could potentially inform approaches to online communication about mental health. By systematically analyzing the linguistic features of depression discourse, this study provides valuable insights into how emotional states are communicated, interpreted, and potentially addressed in digital contexts.

Theoretical Framework

This study is grounded in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), a theory developed by M.A.K. Halliday and his colleagues, that views language as a social semiotic system through which people construct meaning in context. Halliday (1978) conceptualizes language as a form of social semiotics, emphasizing that meaning-making is inherently social, dynamic, and context-dependent. This perspective posits that language not only expresses experiences but actively shapes interpersonal relationships and cultural values within specific contexts. Digital communication, particularly through hashtags, provides a unique window into these semiotic processes, illustrating how individual emotions become socially recognized and evaluated within broader discursive communities.

Martin and White's (2005) The Appraisal Framework operates within this social semiotic approach, focusing specifically on how evaluative language constructs interpersonal meanings. SFL identifies three metafunctions of language: ideational (representing experience), interpersonal (building social relationships), and textual (organizing discourse). The Appraisal Framework expands on the interpersonal metafunction by analyzing how language users express attitudes, engage with different perspectives, and modulate the strength or precision of their evaluations.

While the Appraisal Framework has proven valuable across multiple languages, its application to agglutinative languages like Turkish requires careful adaptation. Turkish's rich morphological system, with extensive suffixation encoding grammatical and semantic features, creates evaluative resources not available in English. For instance, evidentiality (the linguistic marking of information source) is grammaticalized in Turkish through suffixes that inherently affect engagement resources. Similarly, Turkish's relatively flexible word order allows for emphasis patterns that function as graduation resources. These language-specific features necessitate extending the framework beyond lexical analysis to incorporate morphological, syntactic, and pragmatic dimensions that may be less salient in English-based applications of the theory.

The Appraisal Framework consists of three principal interrelated systems:

Attitude encompasses expressions of emotion (Affect), Judgements of behavior (Judgement), and evaluations of objects/phenomena (Appreciation). Affect relates to emotional responses (e.g., happiness, security, satisfaction); Judgement concerns assessments of human behavior according to social norms, including social esteem (normality, capacity, tenacity) and social sanction (veracity, propriety); and Appreciation involves evaluations of objects, events, or states of affairs according to aesthetic principles or social value, including reaction, composition, and valuation.

Engagement addresses the dialogic positioning of utterances—how speakers/writers acknowledge or ignore alternative viewpoints. Utterances may be monoglossic (presented as fact without acknowledging alternatives) or heteroglossic (recognizing multiple viewpoints). Heteroglossic utterances may further expand the dialogic space through entertainment of alternatives or attribution to external sources, or contract this space through pronouncement, concurrence, or dismissal of alternatives.

Graduation concerns the scaling of attitudes and engagements through force (intensification or quantification) and focus (sharpening or softening categorical boundaries). Force allows speakers/writers to amplify or diminish their evaluations, while focus adjusts the preciseness of category membership.

In this study, the Appraisal Framework offers a structured approach to examining how Twitter users convey emotions, define their social positions, and adjust the intensity of their evaluations through the #depresyondayım hashtag.

Digital Discourse, Depression Discourse and Hashtag Studies

Social media platforms have fundamentally transformed how people express and share emotions, creating new "affective economies" (Ahmed, 2004) where feelings circulate and accumulate value. Hashtags play a crucial role in this economy by connecting individual expressions to broader discourse communities and affective alignments (Zappavigna, 2015).

Hashtags serve multiple functions beyond topic categorization. They act as "searchable talk" (Zappavigna, 2012; 2015; 2018), creating ambient affiliation among users who may never directly interact. They function as meta-commentary, allowing users to position their statements within broader social discourses (Wikström, 2014). They also serve as markers of stance, through which users express attitudes and align themselves with particular social identities (Page, 2012).

Previous studies on depression discourse in social media have concentrated on analyzing content, sentiments, and using computational methods to identify markers of depression (De Choudhury et al., 2016; Nguyen et al., 2014). These studies have identified linguistic patterns associated with depression, including increased use of first-person pronouns, negative emotion words, and absolutist language (Pennebaker, et al., 2003; Rude et al., 2004; Al-Mosaiwi & Johnstone, 2018).

However, depression-related language on social media encompasses more than clinical expression. Fullagar (2008) notes that depression narratives often involve complex practices of self-constitution, through which individuals negotiate biomedical, psychological, and socio-cultural discourses. Similarly, McCosker (2018), McCosker and Gerrard (2021) demonstrate that depression-related hashtags may be used not only to express genuine distress but also to perform ironic commentary, seek social connection, or critique social conditions. McCosker and Gerrard highlight how hashtags like #depressed on Instagram facilitate diverse engagement practices, including inspirational content featuring "sad aesthetics," memetic expressions, and carefully managed embodied experiences.

These hashtags function as what Zappavigna (2018) terms "semiotic technologies," dispersing rather than unifying the ways users express themselves. The application of the Appraisal Framework to depression discourse offers a nuanced approach to understanding these complex functions. Rather than simply identifying linguistic markers of depression, this approach examines how evaluative language constructs emotional experiences, positions speakers in relation to others, and scales the intensity of expressions. The #depresyondayım hashtag enables what Zappavigna (2014) describes as "ambient affiliation," a form of connection that does not necessarily presume direct interaction between participants. This affiliation becomes possible through what Zappavigna (2018) calls "searchable talk"—the affordances of metadata that make emotional expressions "findable" and thus "bondable" across the digital landscape. Through this hashtag, users not only document their emotional states but also participate in a broader community of shared experience.

Appraisal Framework in Digital Communication Research

The Appraisal Framework has proven valuable for analyzing evaluative language in various digital contexts. Zappavigna (2012, 2018) has applied this framework to Twitter data, demonstrating how users manage solidarity and affiliation through evaluative language. Her works show how appraisal resources function as *coupling* devices that bind ideational meaning (what is being evaluated) with interpersonal meaning (how it is evaluated), creating *bonds of alignment* among users.

Specifically regarding emotional expression, Zappavigna and Martin (2018) demonstrated how Twitter users employ appraisal resources to construct "ambient identity"—a sense of who they are through patterns of evaluation shared with imagined communities of like-minded others. The brevity of Twitter posts intensifies this evaluative language, requiring users to deploy particularly efficient appraisal resources.

Hashtags themselves function as evaluative anchors, often encoding attitude directly or framing the content that precedes them (Zappavigna, 2015). For example, Giaxoglou (2018) analyzed how hashtags like #JeSuisCharlie function not merely as topic markers but as complex affective resources for negotiating identity and community online in contexts of global crisis events, while Başbuğ (2024) examined how protest-oriented hashtags serve similar affective functions in mobilizing collective action and shaping social identities in digital spaces.

Research examining mental health discourse online underscores the importance of understanding evaluative language. Studies have shown how users strategically employ emotional expressions to communicate psychological states, often embedding subtle or explicit cues signaling a need for social connection or empathy (Andalibi et al., 2017; De Choudhury et al., 2016).

The communicative functions of depression-related posts extend beyond simple self-disclosure. Giuntini et al. (2021) emphasize that tracking emotional expressions over time on social media can reveal complex behavioral patterns among users. Their findings suggest that these evolving emotional patterns not only indicate users' psychological states but also implicitly function as calls for social support.

Cultural Dimensions of Digital Emotional Expression

While digital emotional expression exhibits some cross-cultural patterns, research increasingly recognizes the importance of cultural context. Bozkurt and Tu (2016) examined digital identity formation in social networks, highlighting how these environments serve as stages where users express emotions and construct their social presence. They emphasize that social networks foster emotional presence, described as "emotionally being there," and argue that digital identity formation is a reflection of self, consciously or unconsciously performed by users. According to them, "social networks, as an environment that individuals can present themselves, foster, and support emotional presence," adding value and meaning to users' social interactions (Bozkurt & Tu, 2016, p. 162). In the Turkish context, mental health discourse in Turkish social media can be said to have some religious and cultural references. However, studies in this area have focussed on content themes or on adolescents' stress states and addictions rather than linguistic features, leaving some gaps in understanding the specific linguistic resources Turkish users use to express their emotional states online.

Pennebaker et al. (2003) demonstrated that even within similar content domains, emotional expression varies significantly across languages and cultures. These variations reflect not only linguistic differences but also cultural models of emotion, social norms regarding emotional expression, and culture-specific metaphors for emotional states.

Social Semiotics and Digital Communication

Social semiotics extends Halliday's linguistic theory to encompass all forms of meaning-making, examining how semiotic resources are deployed within specific social and cultural contexts (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). In digital environments, this perspective is particularly valuable as communication occurs through multiple semiotic modes—linguistic, visual, spatial, and temporal. Hashtags represent a distinctive digital semiotic resource that functions simultaneously as linguistic marker, search mechanism, and affiliation device (Zappavigna, 2018). The #depresyondayım hashtag constitutes a complex semiotic resource through which users not only express individual emotional states but participate in collective meaning-making around depression. From a social semiotic perspective, this hashtag can be understood through Kress's (2010) concept of the 'sign,' which emphasizes that signs are motivated combinations of form and meaning, shaped by the social and cultural contexts in which they are produced, enabling specific types of social interaction. The Appraisal Framework provides systematic analytical tools for examining how this sign operates within the broader semiotic landscape of Turkish digital discourse

Research Gaps and Contributions

Despite these valuable contributions, several gaps remain in understanding how different forms of evaluative stance coexist within hashtag-driven depression discourse, particularly in Turkish contexts. Much of the current literature primarily addresses English-speaking contexts or general patterns without deeper exploration of culturally specific usage patterns.

The present study addresses these gaps in three significant ways. First, it applies the full Appraisal Framework to Turkish social media discourse, testing the framework's cross-linguistic applicability. Second, it focuses specifically on depression-related communication, providing insights into how emotional distress is linguistically coded in digital contexts. Finally, by examining patterns across different thematic domains, it illuminates how evaluative language varies according to the object of evaluation, from personal inconveniences to broader societal issues. To achieve these aims, we designed a qualitative study as described below.

Methodology

Research Design and Data Collection

This study employs a qualitative research design grounded in Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Framework within Systemic Functional Linguistics. Aligned explicitly with Halliday's (1978, 2014) notion of language as social semiotics, the analytical focus is not merely on linguistic structure but on how evaluative language resources function semiotically to construct and regulate social relationships, cultural identities, and emotional affiliations within digital contexts. The primary aim is to examine how Twitter users linguistically construct and communicate experiences associated with the hashtag #depresyondayım (I am depressed). A descriptive qualitative analysis method was chosen for its effectiveness in exploring nuanced linguistic and attitudinal features within social media texts.

The initial data collection yielded 560 tweets containing the #depresyondayım hashtag, gathered across different years using both Twitter's API and manual search methods. This corpus was systematically refined through several filtering stages to ensure data integrity and analytical coherence. The following data collection and refinement procedures were implemented:

Technical extraction was conducted using Python and the Tweepy library

Supplementary manual searches were performed to capture posts potentially missed by API limitations

Metadata (timestamp, engagement metrics) was preserved for contextual understanding

To ensure relevance and integrity, the collected data underwent a rigorous cleaning process including:

Removal of non-Turkish tweets

Elimination of spam and commercial content

Preservation of meaningful textual elements (including emojis and multiple hashtags)

Removal of duplicates, which constituted a significant portion of the initial dataset

Exclusion of tweets that were part of coordinated hashtag campaigns, as these represented organized collective action rather than spontaneous individual expression

Campaign-related tweets often follow prescribed patterns and may not reflect the naturalistic evaluative resources that were the focus of this study. After applying these filtering criteria, the final corpus consisted of 130 unique tweets that represented authentic, non-duplicative instances of the hashtag's usage.

Data Analysis Procedure

The analysis employed Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Framework, examining three key dimensions:

Attitude Analysis: Tweets were analyzed for expressions of:

- Affect (emotional states): categorized as un/happiness, in/security, and dis/satisfaction
- Judgement (ethical evaluations): categorized as social esteem (normality, capacity, tenacity) and social sanction (veracity, propriety)
- Appreciation (aesthetic evaluations): categorized as reaction, composition, and valuation

Engagement Analysis: Tweets were examined for their dialogic positioning:

- Monoglossic: statements presented as fact without acknowledging alternatives
- Heteroglossic: statements that acknowledge alternative viewpoints, subcategorized as dialogic expansion (entertaining alternatives, attributing to external sources) or dialogic contraction (countering, pronouncing, endorsing positions)

Graduation Analysis: Tweets were analyzed for scaling resources:

- Force: intensification (amplifying qualities) and quantification (indicating amount, extent, or frequency)
- Focus: sharpening (strengthening category boundaries) and softening (blurring category boundaries)

Each tweet was coded manually according to a detailed codebook. The coding process involved identifying both explicit lexicogrammatical markers (e.g., "üzgünüm" [I am sad], "çok" [very]) and implicit evaluations conveyed through context, metaphor, or irony.

Thematic Analysis

In addition to appraisal analysis, tweets were categorized into seven thematic domains based on their primary subject matter:

1. Everyday Minor Frustrations (e.g., minor inconveniences, trivial problems)
2. Economic Difficulties (e.g., financial stress, price increases)

3. Emotional and Personal Loneliness (e.g., isolation, relationship issues)
4. Work and Academic Stress (e.g., exams, workload)
5. Weather and Seasonal Effects (e.g., winter depression, reactions to climate)
6. Societal Issues (e.g., political concerns, social criticism)
7. Lack of Social/Leisure Activities (e.g., boredom, social isolation)

This thematic categorization allowed for cross-comparison of appraisal patterns across different content domains.

Limitations

Several methodological constraints should be acknowledged in this study. A primary limitation is that coding was conducted by a single researcher, which could potentially introduce subjectivity and interpretation bias. Although consistency checks and a pilot coding phase were implemented to mitigate this, future studies could enhance reliability through multiple coders and calculating inter-coder reliability metrics (e.g., Cohen's Kappa). Additionally, the time-bound nature of the dataset limits understanding of longitudinal patterns in depression discourse. The absence of user demographic information constrains sociolinguistic analysis, while the decontextualized nature of the data prevents determination of whether expressions reflect genuine psychological distress or stylistic choices. Furthermore, the qualitative nature of this analysis limits its generalizability, emphasizing the need for further quantitative studies to validate and extend these findings.

Ethical Considerations

The study adhered to ethical standards for social media research (AoIR, 2020), ensuring anonymity of all user identities. Tweets were reported in paraphrased or anonymized formats to safeguard user privacy.

Findings

In line with Halliday's (1978) view of language as social semiotics, the findings presented here illuminate how the hashtag #depresyondayım acts as a semiotic resource through which users not only express individual affective states but also collectively construct social meanings, identities, and relationships. These linguistic choices represent strategic acts of affiliation, evaluation, and identity negotiation within the digital community

Overview of Appraisal Resources

Analysis of the 130 tweets revealed patterns of evaluative language across the three dimensions of the Appraisal Framework. Table 1 presents the frequency distribution of appraisal categories.

Table 1
Frequency Distribution of Appraisal Categories

Appraisal Dimension	Sub-category	Frequency (N=130)	Percentage (%)
Attitude	Affect	106	81.5
Attitude	Judgement	63	48.5
Attitude	Appreciation	75	57.7
Engagement	Monoglossic	110	84.6
Engagement	Heteroglossic	20	15.4
Graduation	Force	88	67.7
Graduation	Focus	42	32.3

Overall, the findings indicate a predominance of affect resources, monoglossic engagement, and force-based graduation, suggesting that tweets with the #depresyodayım hashtag primarily express personal emotional states in definitive terms with amplified intensity.

Attitude Analysis

Before examining the specific manifestations of attitude in Turkish depression discourse, it is important to establish the theoretical framework that guides this analysis. According to Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Theory, the evaluation system consists of three interconnected domains, with affect serving as the central component from which others derive. Thompson (2014, p. 50) explains this relationship effectively, noting that affect encompasses emotional responses—essentially expressions of how we feel about things. This foundational system becomes "institutionalized" (Martin, 2000, p. 147) in two related systems: judgement, which involves ethical assessments of human behavior, and appreciation, which concerns aesthetic evaluations of objects and phenomena. What distinguishes these systems, as Thompson (2014) observes, is how evaluative meaning is construed. While affect explicitly foregrounds the evaluator's emotional reaction (variations of "I feel/like/dislike"), judgement and appreciation represent this reaction as a quality residing within the evaluated entity, effectively transferring the subjective response to the appraised person or object. This theoretical framework provides valuable analytical tools for examining depression discourse, where evaluative meanings operate across personal emotions, normative assessments, and responses to environmental stimuli. The following analysis explores how these three attitude systems manifest in #depresyodayım tweets, revealing the complex linguistic strategies that Turkish speakers employ to construe depressive experiences.

Affect (81.5%)

With 81.5% of tweets containing explicit or implicit emotional expressions, affect emerged as the predominant attitudinal category. The prevalence of affective resources aligns with Thompson's (2014) emphasis on the centrality and complexity of affect in evaluative discourse, highlighting frequent analytical difficulties in distinguishing emotional expressions from other evaluative dimensions such as judgement and appreciation. It is important to distinguish between explicit and implicit affect in these tweets. Explicit affect is directly encoded in emotional process verbs (e.g., "özlüyorum" [I miss]), while implicit affect emerges through descriptions that evoke emotional responses without naming them directly. For instance, in "Her yerde onu görüyorum" (I see [him/her] everywhere), the expression suggests an implicit layer of obsessive thinking and emotional fixation that complements the explicit longing expressed earlier. The morphological structure of Turkish allows for particularly dense emotional encoding, as suffixes like "-ama/-eme" convey inability directly within the verb, whereas English requires separate modal constructions (e.g., "can't"), thus concentrating emotional nuance in Turkish within single lexical items.

Un/happiness (47.2%): The predominant Affect subgroup was un/happiness resources, primarily reflecting negative emotional responses along the happiness-sadness spectrum.

"Çok özlüyorum, her yerde onu görüyorum. Resmini bile göremiyorum, silemiyorum telefondan, konuşmıyoruz, çok kötüyüm resmen #depresyodayım" **"I miss [him] so much, I see [him] everywhere. I can't even look at [his] photo, can't delete it from my phone, we don't talk, I'm officially terrible #Iamdepressed"**

Emotional Process Saturation: The repeated use of first-person emotional processes ("özlüyorum", "görüyorum", "göremiyorum", "silemiyorum") creates an "affective density" pattern, where multiple

emotional process verbs in quick succession intensify the overall affective load. This concentration of emotional processes in a short text segment functions as an intensification strategy through repetition.

Grammatical Negation Sequence: The progression from positive emotional states ("özlüyorum" - miss) to negative capacity ("göremiyorum", "silemiyorum" - can't look, can't delete) represents a grammatical climax structure, where shifts in polarity intensify the evaluative impact. This transition from expression of longing to expression of inability creates a narrative arc that amplifies the emotional content.

Culminating Evaluative Attribution: The final self-assessment "çok kötüyüm resmen" (I'm officially terrible) functions as a summative affect, where preceding emotional processes are condensed into a global negative self-evaluation. This conclusive statement serves as the emotional resolution of the tweet.

The morphological complexity of Turkish allows for nuanced expression of un/happiness through verb inflections that encode inability to experience positive emotion, involuntary experience of negative emotion, and recursive emotional processing that characterizes rumination in depression. The grammatical resources of Turkish enable the speaker to layer multiple aspects of emotional experience within single lexical items

In/security (36.3%) included expressions of fear, anxiety, or discomfort:

In/security resources appeared in 36.3% of tweets, encoding feelings of fear, anxiety, and vulnerability. This significant percentage reflects the comorbidity of anxiety and depression frequently observed in clinical contexts.

Duyacaklarımdan ... sabahları uyanmak istemiyorum artık, bunun adı depresyonsa.. #depresyondayım

I don't want to wake up in the mornings anymore because I'm afraid of what I'll hear, if this is called depression.. #Iamdepressed

This tweet demonstrates three key linguistic features encoding insecurity:

Complex Nominalization of Fear Source: The phrase "Duyacaklarımdan" (of what I'll hear) represents a "grammatical metaphor," where a process (hearing something) is reconstrued as a nominal participant through Turkish's agglutinative morphology:

duy-acak-lar-ım-dan 'from the things I will hear'

hear-FUT-PL-1SG.POSS-ABL

"-acak-" (future participle) - temporal projection, "-lar-" (plural) - multiplicity of potential inputs,

"-ım-" (possessive) - personal relation, "-dan" (ablative case) - source of emotion

This complex nominalization allows the user to reference a diffuse, anticipated source of fear without specifying its content, creating an instance of *evaluative encapsulation*.

Causative-Consequence Chain: The tweet establishes a clear causal relationship between fear ("korktuğum için" - because I'm afraid) and behavioral response ("uyanmak istemiyorum" - I don't want to wake up), instantiating an *evaluative cause-effect structure*. This causative linking substantiates the emotional claim by anchoring it in observable consequences.

Meta-evaluative Questioning: The conditional clause "bunun adı depresyonsa" (if this is called depression) performs a form of evaluative hedging, positioning the speaker as uncertain about diagnostic categorization while simultaneously inviting validation of their experience.

The temporal adverb "artık" (anymore) adds a crucial diachronic dimension, suggesting a change from previous emotional states and thereby encoding an evaluative contrast, where present negative states are implicitly compared to prior more positive states.

"Ölümden öte köy yok mu? Şüphem var. #Depresyodayım" (**Is there no village beyond death? I have my doubts. #Iamdepressed**)

Cultural Metaphorical Inversion: The tweet begins with a modified Turkish proverb "Ölümden öte köy yok" (There is no village beyond death—equivalent to "nothing worse than death"), but inverts it through interrogative form. This instantiates contra-expectancy, where cultural truisms are questioned to amplify evaluative impact. By transforming a definitive cultural assertion into a question, the microblogger creates a powerful rhetorical device that challenges established existential certainties.

Compressed Existential Anxiety: The brief declaration "Şüphem var" (I have my doubts) exemplifies attitudinal condensation, where complex existential uncertainty is distilled into minimal linguistic form. This economy of expression paradoxically amplifies the emotional weight of the statement.

Turkish in/security resources frequently employ distinctive interrogative structures and cultural references that encode complex existential fears through economical grammatical means, demonstrating evaluative efficiency—maximum emotional impact through minimal formal means. The use of culturally embedded expressions to convey psychological states is particularly noteworthy in this example, as it leverages shared cultural knowledge to communicate profound existential questioning.

Dis/satisfaction resources appeared in 16.5% of tweets, encoding feelings of displeasure, frustration, or discontent with situations or circumstances.

Bıktım artık ..., .. hastalıktan ve ... Sanki sonsuza kadar kış olacaktı, yaz hiç gelmeyecekti gibi hissediyorum, #Depresyodayım (**I'm fed up with the cold, winter, illness, and feeling chilly. I feel like winter will last forever, summer will never come, #Iamdepressed**)

The phrase *Bıktım artık* **I'm fed up** directly encodes dissatisfaction, showing the user's displeasure with environmental conditions.

"Kimseye kızamadım kimseye küsemedim Sonunda kendime küstüm... #Depresyodayım" (**I couldn't get angry at anyone, couldn't be offended by anyone. In the end, I became offended with myself... #Iamdepressed**)

The linguistic realization of affect in Turkish shows distinctive patterns not fully captured in English translations. For instance, in the tweet "Kimseye kızamadım kimseye küsemedim Sonunda kendime küstüm..." (also the lyrics of a famous song called "Depresyodayım"), the inability forms "kızamadım" (couldn't get angry) and "küsemedim" (couldn't be offended) create a crescendo effect leading to "küstüm" (became offended), with the repeated negation of potential emotional responses contrasting with the definitive final emotional state. This morphological pattern, where the ability suffix "-ama/-eme" combines with past tense and person markers, creates a complex affect resource that simultaneously expresses desire for emotional response and inability to achieve it, conveying a nuanced emotional state beyond simple sadness.

This tweet demonstrates three significant linguistic features that encode unhappiness:

Morphological Negation of Emotional Capacity: The inability markers "-ama/-eme" in "kızamadım" and "küsemedim" construct an "evaluative morphological chain," where sequential suffixation creates a complex affective meaning not expressible through simple lexical choice. These morphemes simultaneously encode the desire to experience emotion (root verbs), the inability to actualize this desire (inability suffix), the past nature of these unsuccessful attempts (past tense marker), and personal involvement (first-person singular marker). This morphological complexity allows Turkish speakers to articulate "affective stance layers," where multiple evaluative dimensions are compressed into single lexicogrammatical constructions.

Directed Emotional Trajectory: The tweet constructs a directional shift in emotional targets from "kimseye" (to anyone—outward directed) to "kendime" (to myself—inward directed). This represents a "transitivity shift," where the participant roles in emotional processes reconfigure to intensify evaluation. The inward redirection of negative emotion aligns with clinical observations of depression as characterized by self-directed negative affect.

Syntactic Parallelism and Disruption: The parallel structures in the first two clauses create an "evaluative rhythm," which is then deliberately broken in the third clause to signal emotional climax. The disruption of parallelism at "Sonunda kendime küstüm" marks an "attitudinal turning point" in the evaluative prosody.

The tweet also demonstrates cultural intertextuality by referencing lyrics from the popular Turkish song "Depresyodayım," which adds a layer of shared cultural meaning. Such intertextual references serve to situate personal experiences within broader cultural narratives of depression.

In sum, the patterns of un/happiness, in/security, and dis/satisfaction identified in these tweets closely align with recognized clinical conceptualizations of depression, in which negative affect, anxiety, and dissatisfaction frequently co-occur (Beck & Alford, 2009). Beck and Alford caution that focusing solely on mood can be misleading, emphasizing the broader constellation of depressive symptoms—including negative self-concept and vegetative changes—that may or may not present as obvious affective disturbances. Consequently, personal emotional expressions in digital contexts can reflect these wider clinical and psychological dimensions, highlighting how depression often encompasses multiple overlapping domains rather than a singular mood deviation.

Judgement (48.5%)

Judgement resources, encoding ethical evaluations of behavior and character, appeared in 48.5% of tweets. This substantial percentage indicates that depression discourse frequently involves evaluations of self and others against normative expectations, aligning with Beck's (1976) cognitive model of depression, which is characterized by negative evaluations of self, world, and future. Existential negations like "kimse yok" (nobody exists) and universal quantifiers like "herkes" (everyone) linguistically embody Beck's negative schema triad, reinforcing perceptions of social isolation and global devaluation. Judgement resources demonstrated several distinctive linguistic instantiations across two main subcategories: Social Esteem (63.5%) and Social Sanction (36.5%), together comprising all judgement resources identified in the corpus.

"Sınavlar var, manita yok, Beşiktaş'ımın sürekli hakkı yeniyor #depresyodayım" (There are exams, no girlfriend, my Beşiktaş's rights are constantly violated #Iamdepressed)

This tweet demonstrates three key linguistic features encoding social esteem judgement:

Existential-Possessive Contrastive Pairing: The juxtaposition of the existential "var" (there are) with the negative existential "yok" (there isn't) creates an *existential opposition*, where presence and absence are contrasted to amplify evaluative impact. This construction efficiently encodes normative deficiency across academic and personal domains.

Paratactic Domain Enumeration: The comma-separated domains "Sınavlar" (exams), "manita" (girlfriend), and "Beşiktaş" (sports team) create *evaluative parallelism*, where structurally equivalent items from different domains are listed to suggest a comprehensive negative pattern transcending individual circumstances.

Passive Voice Injustice Construction: The passive construction "hakkı yeniyor" (rights are violated) performs *impersonalized attribution*, where agency is deliberately obscured to emphasize victimhood. The use of "sürekli" (constantly) adds temporal extension, suggesting systematic rather than isolated injustice.

By juxtaposing academic pressure, romantic isolation, and sports injustice, the tweet constructs a *converging negative judgement*, where seemingly unrelated domains are presented as uniformly unfavorable, reinforcing a comprehensively negative worldview characteristic of depression.

"Kimse benimle konuşmuyor, kimse aramıyor, kimse yanımda değil, kimse yok, herkesi sildim instagram hesabımdan, kimse de demiyor ki naptın, nıpyorsun, yaşadığının bi belgesi yok, #depresyondayım haklı olarak" **Nobody talks to me, nobody calls, nobody is by my side, nobody exists, I deleted everyone from my Instagram account, nobody says what did you do, what are you doing, there is no proof that you are alive, #Iamdepressed rightfully so**

The repeated use of "kimse" (nobody) creates *negative anaphoric chaining*, where parallel negative constructions accumulate to create an impression of comprehensive isolation. This repetitive structure builds a rhythmic pattern that reinforces the sensation of complete social abandonment.

Social Media Meta-commentary: The reference to Instagram deletion performs *digital social judgement*, where social media actions become symbolic representations of interpersonal evaluation. The act of deleting contacts represents both agency in response to perceived rejection and a test of social connection that, as described, fails to elicit response.

Existential Justification: The final phrase "haklı olarak" (rightfully so) functions as a *justificatory coda*, where the preceding negative evaluations are presented as legitimate grounds for the emotional state. This self-legitimizing conclusion frames depression as a rational response to observed social circumstances rather than an irrational state.

Both tweets demonstrate how Turkish depression discourse employs different linguistic strategies to construct comprehensive negative evaluation. While the first tweet uses "existential-possessive contrastive pairing" ("var"/"yok") to juxtapose presence and absence across multiple domains, the second tweet employs "negative anaphoric chaining" through the repeated "kimse" (nobody) to create a pervasive sense of social isolation. Despite utilizing different grammatical resources—existential constructions in the first tweet and pronominal repetition in the second—both achieve the same evaluative function: constructing a totalizing negative worldview that spans multiple domains of experience. This pattern of comprehensive negativity across diverse linguistic realizations aligns with Beck's (1976) cognitive model of depression, which posits that depressed individuals tend to interpret experiences through pervasive negative schemas that generalize across contexts.

Turkish social esteem judgements frequently employ existential constructions and systematic negation patterns that encode perceived deficiency across multiple domains of social functioning. The linguistic resources used in this tweet effectively construct a comprehensive narrative of social isolation through grammatical and lexical choices that emphasize absence and negation

Social sanction (36.5%) Social sanction judgements, concerning evaluations of veracity or propriety, constituted 36.5% of judgement resources, primarily focusing on challenges to others' moral authority.

“Sen kim oluyorsun da vatan haini kim kim değil karar verebiliyorsun?” **“Who are you to decide who is a traitor to the homeland and who is not?”**

This tweet demonstrates three significant linguistic features encoding social sanction judgement:

Interrogative Challenge Structure: The interrogative form "Sen kim oluyorsun da" (Who are you to) instantiates a disclaim/deny resource, where the speaker questions the addressee's moral authority through rhetorical questioning rather than direct assertion. This grammatical structure functions as both a challenge and an implied negative judgement of the addressee's social position or right to make evaluations.

Embedded Evaluative Dichotomy: The phrase "vatan haini kim kim değil" (who is a traitor to the homeland and who is not) creates an *evaluative dichotomy*, where complex moral judgements are reduced to binary categories to heighten ethical stakes. This construction frames social sanction in absolute terms, emphasizing the gravity of such judgements.

Modal Ability Contestation: The ability modal "verebiliyorsun" (you can give/make) challenges *authority legitimation*, questioning the addressee's right to make significant moral judgements about others. The use of this modal form implies that the action is inappropriate despite being within the addressee's capacity.

By challenging others' authority to make patriotic judgements, the tweet performs a *judgement reversal*, where the act of judging itself becomes the target of negative evaluation. This meta-evaluative move shifts the moral focus from the original target of judgement to the person making the judgement.

"İnsanlar artık gerçekten bencil, kimse kimseyi düşünmüyor, herkes ben ben ben... Tiksiniyorum. #depresyodayım" **People are really selfish now, nobody thinks about anyone else, everyone is me me me... I'm disgusted. #Iamdepressed**

This tweet demonstrates:

Temporal Moral Deterioration: The phrase "artık gerçekten" (really now) instantiates *temporal evaluation*, where present conditions are presented as morally inferior to implied past states. This construction establishes a narrative of ethical decline, positioning the present as a degraded moral state compared to an implied better past.

Universalized Negative Judgement: The use of universal quantifiers "kimse" (nobody) and "herkes" (everyone) performs *generalizing judgement*, extending negative evaluation to humanity as a whole rather than specific individuals. This linguistic choice creates a comprehensive moral critique that leaves no exceptions, reinforcing the speaker's perception of complete ethical breakdown.

Affective-Ethical Culmination: The first-person process "Tiksiniyorum" (I'm disgusted) functions as an *evaluative coda*, where ethical judgement culminates in visceral affective response. This transition from external social critique to internal emotional reaction links moral evaluation with personal affective consequences.

Turkish social sanction judgements frequently employ interrogative forms, modal contestation, and universal quantifiers that challenge moral authority and present ethical deterioration as a source of emotional

distress. The linguistic resources in this tweet effectively construct a comprehensive narrative of moral decline through grammatical and lexical choices that emphasize universal patterns of negative behavior.

Appreciation (57.7%)

Appreciation resources, encoding evaluations of objects, events, or phenomena, appeared in 57.7% of tweets. This high frequency indicates that depression discourse involves substantial evaluation of external entities and experiences, not merely internal emotional states.

Appreciation resources demonstrated several distinctive linguistic instantiations:

Reaction (52.0%)

Reaction appreciation, concerning the impact of things on the evaluator, constituted 52.0% of appreciation resources, primarily focusing on the emotional effects of mundane experiences.

"Bu gece anladım ki tatlı yiyerek ömür geçirebilirim, tuzlu isterken bile aslında tatlı yemek istiyorum :) sanırım #depresyondayım" **Tonight I realized I could spend a lifetime eating sweets; even when I want something savory, I actually want to eat sweets :) I guess #Iamdepressed**

This tweet demonstrates three key linguistic features encoding reaction appreciation:

Epistemic Revelation Structure: The phrase "Bu gece anladım ki" (Tonight I realized that) instantiates a "proclaim: pronounce" resource, where sudden insight is presented as a significant revelation rather than gradual awareness. This construction frames the observation as an important personal discovery about preference patterns.

Habitual Possibility Construction: The ability modal in "ömür geçirebilirim" (I could spend a lifetime) creates a *behavioral projection*, where momentary pleasure is extrapolated to life-scale potential. This linguistic choice elevates a simple food preference to an existential statement.

Contrastive Desire Pattern: The concessive construction "tuzlu isterken bile aslında tatlı" (even when I want savory, actually sweet) instantiates *evaluative contradiction*, where surface desires are presented as masking deeper, more authentic preferences.

The apparently trivial subject (food preferences) gains significance through *evaluative prosody*, where seemingly minor observations become emblematic of broader psychological patterns. The smiley emoticon ":)" creates ironic distance from the ostensibly negative self-diagnosis, demonstrating evaluative punctuation.

"En sevdiğim filmlerden Star Wars açtım biraz moral olur diye ama film açılınca bile kapattım, hiçbir şeyden keyif almıyorum bu günlerde #depresyondayım" **I put on Star Wars, one of my favorite films, thinking it would boost my mood, but I turned it off even as it started. I don't enjoy anything these days #Iamdepressed**

This tweet demonstrates:

Expectation-Reality Contrast: The contrastive conjunction "ama" (but) creates an *expectancy violation*, where anticipated emotional response fails to materialize. This linguistic structure effectively captures the experience of anhedonia by contrasting expected and actual responses.

Temporal Limitation: The phrase "bu günlerde" (these days) functions as a *temporal hedge*, contextualizing the negative evaluation as current rather than permanent. This temporal framing suggests the possibility of change while emphasizing present suffering.

Universalized Anhedonia: The negative quantifier in "hiçbir şeyden keyif almıyorum" (I don't enjoy anything) instantiates *maximized graduation*, where evaluation extends to encompass all potential sources of pleasure.

Turkish reaction appreciation frequently employs contrastive constructions, temporal framing, and universalized evaluations that encode anhedonia (inability to experience pleasure), a cardinal symptom of clinical depression

Composition (28.0%) appreciation, concerning balance, complexity, or coherence, constituted 28.0% of appreciation resources, primarily focusing on perceptions of incongruity or disproportion.

şu kuaförler ... deyince kes kesebildiğin kadar diye anlıyorlar galiba. #depresyodayım (**When you tell these hairdressers to trim the split ends, they seem to understand it as cut as much as you can. #Iamdepressed**)

This tweet demonstrates three significant linguistic features encoding composition appreciation:

Reported Speech Contrast: The juxtaposition of direct speech "saç uçlarını kes" (cut the split ends) with reported interpretation "kes kesebildiğin kadar" (cut as much as you can) creates a *discourse representation contrast*, where original intention and perceived interpretation are presented as fundamentally misaligned. This linguistic structure effectively captures the perceived miscommunication between service provider and client.

Deictic Distancing: The demonstrative "şu" (those) in "şu kuaförler" (those hairdressers) performs *proximal deictic positioning*, creating evaluative distance between speaker and evaluated entities. This grammatical choice establishes an us-versus-them dynamic that reinforces the negative evaluation.

Epistemic Moderation: The epistemic marker "galiba" (apparently/I guess) functions as an *entertain resource*, seemingly softening the criticism while actually emphasizing its validity through apparent objectivity. This hedging device paradoxically strengthens the evaluation by presenting it as a reasonable observation rather than an emotional reaction.

The tweet constructs "disproportionate evaluation," where minor incongruities (haircut length) acquire exaggerated significance, reflecting the tendency in depression to magnify negative experiences.

"Mısır patlağı bile patlatmaya üşendiğim günlerdeyim ... #depresyodayım" (**I'm in those days where I'm too lazy even to pop popcorn ... #Iamdepressed**)

This tweet demonstrates:

Minimal Effort Construction: The phrase "bile" (even) with a basic activity creates a *minimized threshold*, where even the smallest tasks are presented as exceeding capacity. This linguistic feature effectively captures the motivational deficits characteristic of depression.

Temporal Framing: The construction "günlerdeyim" (I am in those days) instantiates *temporalized self-positioning*, where identity is presented as temporarily constrained rather than permanently altered. This grammatical choice frames the experience as episodic rather than intrinsic to identity.

Turkish composition appreciation frequently employs reported speech contrasts, deictic positioning, and minimal threshold constructions that encode perceptions of incongruity and effort-reward imbalance characteristic of depressive cognition.

Valuation (20.0%) appreciation, concerning social worth or significance, constituted 20.0% of appreciation resources, primarily focusing on evaluations of price, cost, or value.

... *çikolata 7.50 tl olmuş #depresyodayim* **My favorite chocolate has become 7.50 TL #Iamdepressed**

This tweet demonstrates three key linguistic features encoding valuation appreciation:

Superlative Personal Valuation: The superlative construction "En sevdiğim" (my most favorite) instantiates "maximized affect," where personal attachment is presented as reaching the highest possible degree. This linguistic choice establishes the object's exceptional status in the speaker's personal hierarchy of preferences, making the subsequent negative evaluation more impactful.

Evidential Price Shock: The evidential marker "-mış" in "olmuş" (has become) performs "surprised information acquisition," where the speaker presents themselves as having just discovered the evaluated information. This grammatical feature effectively captures the moment of negative revelation and emphasizes the unexpected nature of the price change.

Numeric Precision: The specific price "7.50 tl" functions as "precise evaluation," where exact figures carry greater evaluative force than approximate values. The specificity adds credibility to the complaint and anchors the abstract concept of value in concrete terms.

The tweet encodes "evaluative tension," where personal appreciation (favorite status) conflicts with social valuation (price), creating a miniature economic-emotional crisis that stands metonymically for broader experiences of loss and disappointment. This tension between subjective value and objective cost effectively captures a microcosm of the value-assessment disruptions often experienced in depressive states.

The tweet encodes *evaluative tension*, where personal appreciation (favorite status) conflicts with social valuation (price), creating a miniature economic-emotional crisis that stands metonymically for broader experiences of loss and disappointment. This tension between subjective value and objective cost effectively captures a microcosm of the value-assessment disruptions characteristic of depressive states. The specific reference to price increase (7.50 TL) situates this emotional experience within Turkey's economic context, where inflation and price sensitivity add cultural resonance to this expression of disappointment. Similarly, the haircut example reflects culturally specific service expectations, while the Turkish coffee reference draws on a culturally significant ritual whose disruption signals deeper psychological disturbance.

Having thoroughly examined the affective resources and intricate evaluative expressions that characterize the Attitude dimension, we now shift our focus to the way speakers position themselves in relation to alternative viewpoints. In the subsequent Engagement analysis, we explore how Turkish depression discourse employs strategies—whether through monoglossic certainty or heteroglossic dialogic expansion—to frame and negotiate the speaker's stance. This transition from internal emotional expression to the interactional dynamics of discourse highlights how individual feelings are communicated within broader social contexts.

Engagement Analysis

Monoglossic Engagement (84.6%)

The predominance of monoglossic engagement (84.6%) in the corpus suggests that Turkish depression discourse primarily construes depression as a non-negotiable reality rather than a contingent or debatable condition. This aligns with the taken-for-grantedness function of monoglossic utterances, where speakers present their experiences as objective facts rather than subjective positions.

This strong preference for monoglossic engagement may reflect broader cultural patterns in Turkish discourse, where authoritative stances are often valued in discussions of personal conditions. The cultural tendency to present depression as a definitive state rather than a debatable condition aligns with discourse norms that privilege certainty over tentativeness, particularly when expressing personal suffering. The linguistic resources employed—particularly grammaticalized certainty markers like "-DIr"—transform subjective experiences into seemingly objective facts, a process that both reflects and reinforces cultural approaches to mental health discourse.

Turkish monoglossic constructions demonstrate several distinctive grammatical features:

1. Bare Declaratives with Assertion Markers:

Canım hiç birşey yapmak istemiyor. Depresyondayım resmen ama kimse bilmiyor." **I don't want to do anything at all. I'm officially depressed but nobody knows.**

This tweet demonstrates two key monoglossic features:

Epistemic Adverbial Fortification: The adverb "resmen" (officially/literally) serves as an *epistemic intensifier*, presenting the self-diagnosis as authoritative and incontestable. Unlike English adverbials that often hedge claims, "resmen" in Turkish functions to close down dialogic alternatives by invoking an implicit official or medical authority.

Categorical Negative Quantification: The structure "Canım hiç birşey yapmak istemiyor" (I don't want to do anything at all) employs the universal negative quantifier "hiç birşey" (nothing at all) to create pronounced monogloss, where the absoluteness of the claim precludes dialogic alternatives. The conjunction "ama" (but) in this tweet does not open dialogic space but rather reinforces the monoglossic claim by highlighting the disparity between the speaker's certainty and others' ignorance, creating concessive monogloss.

2. Copular Assertions with Grammaticalized Certainty:

Turkish monoglossic expressions often employ specific grammatical markers of certainty and definitiveness. The assertion marker "-DIr" (realized as "-tir", "-dir", "-dur", or "-dür" depending on vowel harmony) appeared in tweets expressing high certainty:

Bu depresyondur işte, başka bir şey değildir.

This is definitely depression, it is not anything else

This suffix, which has no direct English equivalent, functions to close down dialogic alternatives by marking the statement as objectively valid rather than subjectively positioned. Similarly, the absence of evidential markers (which would indicate reported information or inference) serves to present emotional states as unquestionable direct experience.

This tweet demonstrates the use of Turkish-specific grammatical resources for encoding monoglossic certainty:

Epistemic Copula Marking: The suffix "-DIr" (realized as "-dur" according to vowel harmony in "depresyondur") functions as a *marker of general validity*, grammaticalizing the speaker's certainty and presenting the classification as objective fact. This suffix, which has no direct English equivalent, creates *objective epistemic modality*, where certainty is encoded as an inherent property of the proposition rather than the speaker's stance.

Categorical Exclusion: The negative copular construction "başka bir şey değildir" (it is not anything else) employs *negated alternative*, where potential competing diagnoses are explicitly rejected. The parallel use of the "-DIr" suffix in both clauses creates grammatical parallelism, reinforcing the categorical nature of the claim.

Emphatic Particle: The particle "işte" (approximately: "that's it/there it is") functions as a *presentative marker*, emphasizing the immediacy and self-evidence of the classification. This particle reinforces monoglossic positioning by presenting the diagnosis as visibly evident rather than interpretively derived.

These grammatical features enable Turkish speakers to encode monoglossic certainty not merely through lexical choices but through grammaticalized markers of epistemic stance that present depression as an objective, categorically defined condition rather than a subjective experience open to reinterpretation.

Heteroglossic Engagement (15.4%)

While monoglossic engagement dominated the corpus, a minority of tweets (15.4%) employed heteroglossic strategies that recognized alternative viewpoints. These heteroglossic resources serve distinct interpersonal functions in depression discourse, often managing the tension between certainty about emotional experience and uncertainty about medical diagnosis.

Dialogic Expansion (11.5%) resources, which open space for alternative voices and interpretations, appeared in 11.5% of tweets, primarily through "entertain" resources that present the speaker's position as one of several possibilities.

"Sanırım depresyon böceği tarafından ısırıldım. Kelimelerle anlatamayacağım kadar mutsuz hissediyorum! #depresyondayım #mutsuzluk" **I think I've been bitten by the depression bug. I feel unhappy beyond words! #Iamdepressed #unhappiness**

This tweet demonstrates three key dialogic expansion strategies:

Mental Process Attribution: The cognitive verb "Sanırım" (I think) functions as an "entertain" resource, explicitly positioning the diagnostic claim as contingent on the speaker's subjective assessment rather than objective fact. This creates *dialogic space*, acknowledging the possibility of alternative interpretations.

Metaphorical Distancing: The metaphor "depresyon böceği tarafından ısırıldım" (bitten by the depression bug) creates conceptual distancing, where the medical condition is externalized and personified. This metaphorical framing presents depression as an external agent rather than an internal state, opening dialogic space by suggesting the possibility of misattribution. This resonates with Lemke's (1998, p. 47) notion of 'evaluative metaphor,' where metaphoric expressions implicitly convey emotional stances and shape the prosodic tone of discourse. By framing depression as an insect bite, the speaker evokes a sense of intrusion and discomfort, enhancing the evaluative impact while maintaining dialogic openness.

Intensified Certainty About Experience vs. Uncertainty About Diagnosis: The tweet creates evaluative tension between the uncertainty of diagnosis ("Sanırım" - I think) and the certainty of emotional experience ("anlatamayacağım kadar" - beyond words). This pattern, where speakers express certainty about feeling bad but uncertainty about what to call it, is *domain-specific heteroglossia*.

This dialogic expansion strategy enables speakers to navigate the *fuzzy boundary* between normal sadness and clinical depression, acknowledging diagnostic uncertainty while affirming emotional reality.

"Kendimi pek de iyi hissetmiyorum sanki... #Depresyondayım #Güzelgünlernerede" **I don't feel very well, it seems... #Iamdepressed #Wherearethebeautifuldays**

This tweet demonstrates:

Approximative Adverbial Hedging: The adverbial "pek de" (very/quite) functions as an *approximator hedge*, reducing the precision and force of the negative evaluation. Unlike English hedges that often indicate speaker uncertainty, "pek de" in Turkish creates *understatement politeness*, rhetorically minimizing the negative state to open dialogic space.

Evidential-like Modal Particle: The particle "sanki" (it seems/as if) functions similarly to an *epistemic modal*, indicating reduced certainty without fully marking the statement as inferred. This creates *intermediate epistemic positioning*, where the speaker neither fully claims nor relinquishes authority over their evaluation.

Turkish dialogic expansion resources frequently employ cognitive verbs ("sanırım," "galiba"), modal particles ("sanki," "gibi"), and approximators ("pek," "biraz") that create space for alternative interpretations while still asserting the reality of the negative emotional experience.

Dialogic Contraction (3.9%) resources, which acknowledge but constrain alternative viewpoints, appeared in only 3.9% of tweets, suggesting that when Turkish depression discourse engages with alternative perspectives, it typically does so through expansion rather than contraction.

"... #depresyondayım bugünlerde. Biraz renksiz, biraz neşesiz her şey ve tatsız tutsuz. Yine de #güzeldiryaşamak" **I'm probably #depressed these days. Everything is a bit colorless, a bit joyless and bland. still #lifeisbeautiful**

This tweet demonstrates two key dialogic contraction strategies:

Concessive Counter: The conjunction "yine de" (still/nevertheless) functions as a *counter* resource, acknowledging the preceding negative evaluation while introducing a contrary position. Unlike English concessive conjunctions, "yine de" in Turkish creates *balanced positioning*, where contrary positions are presented as simultaneously valid rather than competing.

Hashtag Counterpoint: The hashtag "#güzeldiryaşamak" (life is beautiful) employs the assertion marker "-DIr" discussed earlier, creating *ambient affiliation* (Zappavigna 2011) with a positive value system that constrains the preceding negative evaluation. This use of grammaticalized certainty in the positive assertion but hedging ("Galiba" - probably) in the negative assessment demonstrates *evaluative counterpoint*.

This dialogic contraction strategy enables speakers to acknowledge depression while simultaneously affirming life's value, creating "double-voiced discourse," where competing evaluative perspectives coexist within a single utterance.

Another example of dialogic contraction appears in tweets where the speaker acknowledges general positive states while contracting their personal experience:

"Herkes mutlu gibi ama ben değilim #depresyodayım" (**Everyone seems happy but I am not #Iamdepressed**)

This tweet employs "gibi" (seems/like) to acknowledge alternative perspectives while the categorical negative identity statement "ben değilim" (I am not) contracts these alternatives for the speaker's personal case. This creates what could be termed identity-specific contraction, where dialogic alternatives remain open for others but are closed for the self. This linguistic pattern effectively captures the social isolation often experienced in depression, where others' happiness remains visible but unattainable, highlighting the tension between social identity and personal experience.

Following the analysis of Engagement strategies that delineate how speakers manage and sometimes restrict alternative voices, we now turn to Graduation. This next section investigates the linguistic mechanisms that calibrate the intensity and precision of evaluative claims. By examining how quantification, intensification, and focus resources are deployed, we gain insight into how Turkish depression discourse not only communicates raw affect but also shapes its impact through controlled amplification and subtle modulation.

Graduation Analysis

Graduation resources, which adjust the force and focus of evaluations, play a crucial role in depression discourse by calibrating the intensity and precision of emotional claims. In Turkish depression discourse, these resources demonstrate distinctive patterns that reflect both language-specific resources and depression-specific communicative strategies.

Force (67.7%) Force resources, which scale intensity and quantity, dominated graduation patterns (67.7%), suggesting that Turkish depression discourse is primarily concerned with conveying the severity rather than the boundaries of depressive experience.

Intensification (45.4%) Intensification resources, which scale qualities and processes, constituted the largest graduation subcategory (45.4%), primarily through intensifiers that amplify evaluative lexis.

"... zerre kadar zevk almıyorum, hiçbir şey yolunda gitmiyor, ..., ne para pul, ne de gezmek tozmak hiç bir şeyi görmüyor gözüm, hiç bir şey istemiyorum. sanırım #depresyodayım" **For the last two months, I haven't taken the slightest pleasure in this life, nothing is going right, not work, not money, not going out - my eyes don't see anything, I don't want anything. I guess #Iamdepressed**

This tweet shows three key intensification strategies:

Minimizer + Negation: The phrase "zerre kadar zevk almıyorum" (I don't take the slightest pleasure) combines a *minimizer* ("zerre kadar" - the slightest bit) with negation to create *negative polarity intensification*, where negating even minimal quantities creates maximal negative force. This strategy, especially prevalent in Turkish, creates *strengthening through negation*.

Universal Negative Quantification: The repeated use of "hiçbir şey" (nothing/not anything) creates *scalar reversal*, where universal negative quantifiers intensify by excluding even minimal positive instances.

The repetition of this phrase creates *evaluative saturation*, where a single graduation resource is deployed repeatedly to create cumulative force.

Tripartite Negative Enumeration: The structure "ne iş güç, ne para pul, ne de gezmek tozmak" (not work, not money, not going out) employs the negative conjunction "ne...ne" (neither...nor) to create *exhaustive negative enumeration*, where multiple domains are systematically negated to intensify the comprehensive nature of the negative experience.

The reduplicative forms "iş güç" (work-related activities) and "para pul" (money matters) employ "m-reduplication," a distinctive Turkish intensification resource where lexical pairs create semantic extension beyond the meaning of individual items.

"Bugün kendimi aşırı kötü hissediyorum içimde bir sıkıntı var boğazımda düğüm hiç bir şey de yapasım gelmiyor. Kesin #depresyundayım" **Today I feel extremely bad, there's distress inside me, a knot in my throat, and I don't feel like doing anything at all. Surely #Iamdepressed**

Maximizing Adverbial Intensification: The adverb "aşırı" (extremely) functions as a *maximizer*, placing the negative evaluation at the extreme end of the evaluative scale. Turkish intensity adverbs like "aşırı," "çok," and "fazla" create *maximized affective stance*, where emotion is presented as exceeding normal parameters.

Somatic Metaphorical Intensification: The phrases "içimde bir sıkıntı" (distress inside me) and "boğazımda düğüm" (a knot in my throat) employ *embodied metaphors* to intensify emotional evaluation through physical symptoms. These locative constructions using the possessive and locative suffixes create *embodied experiencer constructions*, where emotional intensity is mapped onto bodily experience.

The combination of these intensification resources creates *prosodic saturation*, where multiple amplification strategies cooccur to construct an overwhelming negative experience characteristic of depression.

Quantification (22.3%) Quantification resources, which scale amount, extent, or frequency, appeared in 22.3% of tweets, primarily through "amount" resources that quantify behavior and time.

#depresyundayım sanırım yeniden... 20 saat uyuyorum bir haftadır!" **#Iamdepressed again I think... I've been sleeping 20 hours a day for a week!**

This tweet demonstrates two key quantification strategies:

Numerical Extremity: The specific quantity "20 saat" (20 hours) functions as a precise quantifier, providing exact numerical evidence rather than approximate estimation. This precision serves as an extreme case formulation, where specific quantities at the extreme end of normal distribution are cited to substantiate evaluative claims.

Temporal Extension: The time marker "bir haftadır" (for a week) creates *extent: temporal distribution*, extending the abnormal behavior across a significant time span. The suffix "-dır" here functions as a *continuative aspect marker*, emphasizing the ongoing nature of the quantified behavior.

The exclamation mark adds "punctuation intensification," where typographic resources amplify the impact of the quantification.

Focus (32.3%) Focus resources, which adjust the boundaries of categorical membership, appeared in 32.3% of tweets, demonstrating the importance of precision and prototypicality in depression discourse.

Turkish depression discourse also employs a variety of focus resources that subtly adjust evaluative boundaries. Expressions such as "biraz" (a bit), "sanki" (as if), and "gibi" (like) serve to soften or approximate categorical claims, effectively creating gradations in evaluation. In tweets where users express diminished pleasure or effort, "biraz" functions as an approximator:

"Her şey biraz solgun, biraz eksik gibi... #depresyondayım" (**Everything seems a bit dull, somewhat lacking... #Iamdepressed**)

Here, "biraz" mitigates the intensity of the negative evaluation by suggesting that the emotional state is not absolute but exists on a continuum, allowing for potential recovery or change.

Hedging with "sanki":

The modal particle "sanki" introduces a sense of uncertainty or perceived similarity without full commitment to a categorical assertion. For instance:

"Dışarıda her şey sanki farklı, ama içimde hâlâ aynı çıkmazlık var. #depresyondayım" (**Everything outside seems different, yet inside I remain in the same rut. #Iamdepressed**)

This usage implies that while there is a recognition of change externally, the internal state remains resistant, subtly blurring categorical boundaries.

Comparison using "gibi":

The comparative "gibi" establishes a reference that sets up a proportional evaluation, as in:

"Güneşin altında, sıcaklık gibi... ama hiçbir şey eskisi gibi değil. #depresyondayım" (**Under the sun, it's like warmth... yet nothing is as it used to be. #Iamdepressed**)

This not only compares current experiences with a familiar baseline but also softens the evaluative stance by inviting the reader to consider a range of degrees in emotional experience.

By integrating these focus markers into the analysis, the nuanced role of Focus resources in Turkish depression discourse becomes clearer. They function as tools for creating evaluative gradients, enabling speakers to express their emotional states with a controlled degree of intensity and flexibility. This balanced use of both Force and Focus strategies enriches the overall depiction of evaluative language in the #depresyondayım corpus.

Sharpening (20.0%) Sharpening resources, which reinforce categorical boundaries, constituted 20.0% of focus resources, primarily through specificity that presents evaluations as precise and definitive.

"Depresyondaki birine 'Dışarı çık, gez, tatile git; düzelirsin' demekle bacağı kırık birine 'Ayağa kalk, maraton koşusuna çıkabilirsin' demek aynı şeydir." (**Telling someone with depression "Go out, travel, go on vacation; you'll get better" is exactly the same as telling someone with a broken leg that they can run a marathon.**)

This tweet reveals three key sharpening strategies:

1. Categorical Equivalence Marker: The phrase "aynı şeydir" (is the same thing) employs the copula with the assertion marker "-DİR" to create *maximized specificity*, presenting the comparison not as approximate but as precise categorical equivalence. The assertion suffix "-DİR" functions here as a *categorical assertion marker*, grammaticalizing the precision of the comparison.

2. **Parallel Construction Specificity:** The structural parallelism between "Depresyondaki birine... demekle" (telling someone with depression) and "bacağı kırık birine... demek" (telling someone with a broken leg) creates *grammatical alignment*, where syntactic similarity reinforces conceptual similarity. This structural parallelism sharpens the categorical comparison by presenting the two scenarios as structurally equivalent.

3. **Metaphorical Precision:** The specific selection of a broken leg and marathon running creates a *calibrated metaphorical comparison*, where the absurdity of the physical example precisely illuminates the misconception about depression. This comparison sharpens the category boundary of depression by aligning it with physical rather than merely psychological conditions.

This sharpening strategy performs *category boundary enforcement*, rejecting the common misclassification of depression as a simple mood that can be voluntarily changed through activity.

Softening (12.3%) Softening resources, which blur categorical boundaries, appeared in 12.3% of tweets, primarily through "approximators" that present categories as partially rather than fully instantiated.

"Galiba #depresyundayım bugünlerde. Biraz renksiz, biraz neşesiz her şey ve tatsız tutsuz. yine de #güzeldiryaşamak" (**I'm probably #depressed these days. Everything is a bit colorless, a bit joyless and bland. still #lifeisbeautiful**)

This example illustrates three key softening strategies:

1. **Epistemic Hedging:** The adverb "Galiba" (probably) functions as an epistemic qualifier, reducing commitment to the categorical self-diagnosis. Unlike English epistemic markers that often indicate simple uncertainty, "galiba" in Turkish creates a space for potential fluctuation in the condition being described.

2. **Iterative Approximators:** The repeated use of "biraz" (a bit) functions as a graduated approximator, presenting the negative qualities as partial rather than absolute. This iterative structure creates a pattern of attenuated negativity, suggesting that the depressive experience exists on a continuum rather than as a discrete state.

3. **Temporal Boundedness:** The phrase "bugünlerde" (these days) functions as a *temporal limiter*, restricting the scope of the depression claim to a specific temporal context. This temporal framing softens the categorical force by presenting depression as potentially transient rather than permanent.

These softening strategies construct *subsyndromal depression discourse*, where experiences are presented as approaching but not fully meeting clinical thresholds, allowing speakers to acknowledge distress without claiming full categorical membership in depression.

These graduation resources in Turkish depression discourse reveal a complex interplay between intensification and approximation, where speakers simultaneously convey the severity of their emotional experience while negotiating the boundaries of clinical categories through language-specific grammatical and lexical choices.

Theoretical Synthesis: Engagement and Graduation in Turkish Depression Discourse

This analysis reveals several distinctive patterns in how Turkish speakers deploy Engagement and Graduation resources to construct depression discourse:

Grammaticalized Certainty Resources: Turkish's grammatical repertoire includes distinctive resources for expressing certainty or general truths, particularly the assertion marker "-DIr" in formal or didactic contexts, as well as evidential markers such as "-mİş" for reported or inferred information. In first-person

expressions of emotional states, these forms are typically not employed, which can present the speaker's experience as directly apprehended and less open to alternative voices—thereby creating a monoglossic stance. Hunt (2013, pp. 230-240) demonstrates that in clinical discourse, diagnostic uncertainty is linguistically manifested through the use of modal auxiliaries (e.g., "might," "may") and qualifying expressions (e.g., "possible depression"), which not only reflect a hesitancy in categorizing depression but also contribute to constructing the condition as an object that is both medically reified and negotiated within broader social and personal contexts.

Hedged Self-Diagnosis: Heteroglossic resources in Turkish depression discourse frequently create a pattern of certainty about emotional experience coupled with uncertainty about diagnostic categorization. This reflects the "diagnostic uncertainty" characteristic of public depression discourse.

Intensification Through Negation: Turkish depression discourse employs distinctive negative intensification strategies, particularly through minimizers with negation (e.g., "zerre kadar... değil", meaning "not even a bit") and universal negative quantifiers (e.g., "hiçbir şey", meaning "nothing at all"), creating a rhetorical emphasis. This aligns with Jespersen's (1917) observations on the pragmatic functions of negation structures.

Embodied Graduation Resources: Quantification and intensification frequently employ embodied metaphors that map emotional intensity onto physical experience, particularly through locative constructions specifying body parts ("içimde," "boğazımda"). This creates "embodied evaluation," where physical symptoms authenticate emotional claims.

These patterns demonstrate that Turkish depression discourse employs language-specific resources to construct evaluative stances that balance authenticity with uncertainty, intensity with precision, and personal experience with clinical categorization. The predominance of monoglossic engagement and force graduation resources suggests that Turkish depression discourse primarily functions to assert the reality and severity of emotional distress rather than to negotiate its diagnostic boundaries.

Beyond Discrete Appraisal Items: Prosodic Analysis

Having outlined discrete instances of Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation resources, we now turn to an overarching perspective on how these evaluative meanings cohere and unfold throughout entire tweets. While the identification of individual appraisal items provides valuable insights, Martin and White (2005) highlight the importance of examining how evaluative meanings propagate across texts through "evaluative prosody." This concept refers to how attitudinal meanings accumulate and interact across clauses and discourse, creating patterns that extend beyond isolated lexical choices.

As Hood (2006) articulates, drawing upon Halliday and Matthiessen (1999), Lemke (1998), and Martin & Rose (2003), prosodic meanings in discourse function as "spread," "sprawl," "smear," or "diffusion" of interpersonal meanings that accumulate, reinforce, or resonate with each other to construct an evaluative "key" over an extended segment of text. According to Hood (2006), prosodies accumulate interpersonal meanings that resonate across texts, influencing reader alignment and constructing evaluative coherence.

In #depresyondayım tweets, these evaluative meanings do not merely appear side by side but create resonance throughout the text, producing what Hood terms a "radiation" (Hood, 2006, p. 38) effect, where values spread multidimensionally forward, backward, and outward from explicit expressions of attitude.

Analysis of the #depresyondayım tweets revealed three distinct prosodic patterns: saturating, intensifying, and dominating prosodies (Martin, 2017).

Saturating prosody, where evaluative meaning spreads throughout the text, was particularly evident in tweets expressing comprehensive dissatisfaction:

"Pazar uyanmak ama ... 14.00'e kadar aç susuz bir şekilde yatakta ve telefonla oylanmak.. Bu mesajı da ... yataktan yazmak, yazdıktan sonra çıkabilmeyi ummak.. Bütün bunlar neden? Çünkü endişeli, üzgün ve sanırım #depresyondayım."

(Waking up at 6 a.m. on Sunday but not leaving bed until 2 p.m., staying there hungry and thirsty on my phone... Writing this message still from bed, hoping I can get up after finishing it. Why all this? Because I'm anxious, sad, and I guess #Iamdepressed.)

In this tweet, negative affect suffuses each clause, from the early-morning wake-up that yields no forward momentum (saat 14.00'e kadar yataktan çıkmamak) to the explicit naming of emotions ('endişeli, üzgün'). The Graduation resource of temporal scope (saat 14.00'e kadar) amplifies the sense of prolonged inactivity, while the compounded physical state aç susuz (hungry and thirsty) intensifies the discomfort. Each element—being bed-bound, phone-bound, and uncertain about ever rising—layers additional negativity, creating what might be described as a *cascading prosodic effect*, where the accumulation of negative linguistic elements intensifies the overall emotional impact within the discourse.

As with the earlier examples, Attitude and Graduation interact to produce a pervasive bleakness: the tweet's repeated references to bodily and emotional stagnation yield a "saturated" discourse, culminating in the final admission "sanırım #depresyondayım." The evaluative force of "sanırım" (I guess) paradoxically strengthens the depressive framing by suggesting a reluctant but inescapable recognition.

"Türk kahvesi ... içmek istemiyorsam kesinlikle #depresyondayım geçmiş ... bana"

"If I don't even feel like making Turkish coffee, I'm definitely #depressed. Wish me luck."

In this tweet, negative affect saturates a routine context: the user explicitly claims that losing the desire for even a culturally significant pleasure—Turkish coffee—signals a comprehensive emotional downturn. The phrase "kesinlikle #depresyondayım" ("I'm definitely depressed") demonstrates a monoglossic stance with no alternative viewpoint, intensifying the seriousness of the claim. Linguistically, the adverb "bile" ("even") functions as a Graduation (Force) resource, highlighting how the user's despair has expanded to the point of rejecting a cherished habit. This contributes to a saturating effect in which a single emotional state—depression—dominates the entire experience.

Thus, from Halliday's (1978) social semiotic perspective, each clause contributes to a cohesive prosodic wave of despair, demonstrating how saturating prosody operates through the accumulation of interwoven negative items—ultimately casting the entire tweet as an unremitting experience of depression.

Intensifying prosody, where evaluation strengthens within individual tweets toward an emotional climax, was exemplified clearly by the following tweet:

"Kimseye kızamadım kimseye küsemedim Sonunda kendime küstüm... #Depresyondayım" (I couldn't get angry at anyone, couldn't be offended by anyone. In the end, I became offended with myself... #Iamdepressed)

While we previously examined this tweet's morphosyntactic features as resources for encoding affect (see section Dis/satisfaction), here our focus shifts to how these elements cooperate to create a dynamic prosodic pattern that guides readers through an intensifying emotional journey. Unlike our earlier analysis which focused on the morphological features of this tweet, here we examine how it constructs a complete

prosodic arc that culminates in an emotional peak. The tweet exemplifies what Martin & White (2005) terms "intensifying prosody" - a pattern where evaluative meaning progressively strengthens rather than simply saturating the text. This prosodic intensification operates through three distinct phases:

1. Evaluative Foundation: The initial clauses establish a foundation of emotional inability through parallel grammatical structures
2. Prosodic Turning Point: The adverb "sonunda" (in the end) functions as a prosodic turning point, signaling a shift in the evaluative pattern
3. Affective Culmination: The final clause represents not just a grammatical shift but a prosodic climax where the accumulated tension resolves in the self-directed emotion

The hashtag "#Depresyodayım" serves as what Hood (2006, p. 38) calls an interpersonal "radiation" effect that retrospectively reframes the entire evaluative sequence, giving it clinical significance. This prosodic movement from outward failure to inward aggression represents an *emotional trajectory mapping* or *evaluative redirection* that enables the reader to recognise a psychological pattern characteristic of depression, rather than simply registering isolated emotional responses. This tweet exemplifies what Halliday (1979), Martin and White (2005, p. 19) term prosodic realisation, resonating with Hood's (2006) concept of interpersonal meanings that *accumulate* and *reinforce* each other. The repeated inability to direct emotion outward ("kızamadım," "küsemedim") builds tension resolved in self-directed emotion ("kendime küstüm"), creating an affective crescendo culminating in the hashtag declaration.

"İnsan bu yüzden katil olabilir işte Tam da bu ... #kocabelası #aşk #depresyodayım #anksiyete"

**(A person could become a murderer for this very reason. Exactly for this reason...
#husbandtrouble #love #Iamdepressed #anxiety)**

This tweet begins with a shocking statement—"a person could become a murderer"—and then rapidly compounds negative states (#depresyodayım, #anksiyete). The rhetorical leap from emotional distress to homicidal possibility exemplifies Intensifying Prosody: each new line (#kocabelası, #aşk) adds layers to the emotional charge, culminating in a synergy of depression and anxiety. From an Appraisal perspective, the user couples Affect (depressive/anxious stance) with Judgement (blaming relational conflict as severe enough to cause extreme actions). Such abrupt intensification is characteristic of prosodic crescendo, where negativity heightens until it peaks in the final hashtags.

Dominating prosody, where an initial evaluation frames subsequent content, was evident in tweets beginning with strong declarations:

"#depresyodayım bunalım amcam. Yine duygusal sandınız dimi. Ulan ne sazansınız."

"#Iamdepressed, oh meltdown folks. We think I'm emotional again, huh? You gullible people."

By launching with "#depresyodayım", the tweet instantly saturates the discourse with a depressed viewpoint—Dominating Prosody (Martin, 2017). The subsequent lines—"Yine duygusal sandınız dimi"—mock or scold the audience for labeling the speaker as emotional, which encodes Judgement of the reader as "sazan" (gullible). This interplay of negative affect and insult constructs a unified negative domain, with the hashtag acting as an evaluative key that organizes the user's stance on self and others.

"#depresyondayım çünkü otobüsün camından bakıyorum ama bana kimse el sallamıyo."

"#Iamdepressed because I'm looking out the bus window, but nobody is waving at me."

Here, the hashtag leads the text—dominating the emotional interpretation from the outset. The user frames a seemingly small disappointment (no one waves) as a sign of depression, aligning with monoglossic closure: there's no suggestion of alternative reasons. This triad—negative Affect (#depresyondayım), a minor social slight (no wave), and the abrupt link between them—exemplifies how a trivial event is refracted through a comprehensive depressed stance.

"#Depresyondayım Neden mi? #TamKapanma yalan oldu boşu boşuna evlere tıkıldık. #Aşı yok.. Vaka sayıları aldı başını gidiyor..."

"#Iamdepressed Why? #FullLockdown became a lie, we were needlessly confined to our homes #NoVaccine.. Case numbers are soaring..."

Here, the initial emotional state ("#Depresyondayım") establishes an "evaluative key" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999; Hood, 2006) that frames and colors subsequent factual statements as causes of depression. Evaluative meanings in textually prominent positions (hyper-Theme and hyper-New) facilitate prosodic spread. In Twitter's brief format, initial evaluative expressions predict prosody, while final positions consolidate it.

Importantly, Hood (2006) notes prosodic meanings can radiate backward in the text and outward toward readers. When #depresyondayım appears at the tweet's end, earlier statements are reinterpreted as symptoms of depression, as in: "Today I can't do anything. Couldn't get out of bed. Didn't look at my phone. #depresyondayım."

Linguistic connections within tweets also contribute to prosodic spread. Hood (2006) highlights cohesive chains as crucial for prosodic propagation. In #depresyondayım tweets, lexical chains form even between disconnected statements: "I can't sleep. I have no appetite. I can't concentrate. #depresyondayım." Each verb describes different experiences but collectively forms a lexical chain of depression symptoms, creating unified prosodic value.

Furthermore, Hood (2006, p. 45) emphasizes contrastive conjunctions like "but," "however," or "though" as interrupting prosodic domains in academic writing. Similarly, tweets such as "I look happy on the outside but #depresyondayım" create evaluative and prosodic contrasts, highlighting the disconnect between external appearance and internal state.

These prosodic patterns reveal that #depresyondayım functions not merely as a discrete emotional label but as an "evaluative trigger" (Bednarek, 2008), resonating with Hood's (2006) concept of interpersonal values radiating from explicit expressions. Hood's (2006) suggestion for visualizing evaluative prosodies (through color coding) could also apply here: negative emotions represented in darker tones, and graduation expressions shaded, creating visual maps of emotional intensity in social media texts. Understanding prosodic patterns in #depresyondayım tweets provides deeper insight into how depression is linguistically constructed in social media discourse, moving beyond isolated evaluation instances to comprehend how emotional meanings build, intensify, and resonate throughout these brief but emotionally charged texts.

Theoretical Synthesis: Prosodic Patterns in Turkish Depression Discourse

The analysis of evaluative prosody in #depresyondayım tweets reveals several key patterns that contribute to our understanding of how depression is linguistically constructed in Turkish social media:

1. Prosodic Typology: Three distinct prosodic patterns—saturating, intensifying, and dominating—were identified, each serving different rhetorical functions in the construction of depressive experience. These patterns align with Martin's (2017) framework while demonstrating language-specific realizations.

2. Hashtag as Prosodic Anchor: The #depresyondayım hashtag functions not merely as a topic marker but as a prosodic anchor that radiates evaluative meaning bi-directionally—reframing preceding content and contextualizing subsequent discourse. This bidirectional radiation effect supports Hood's (2006) concept of interpersonal meanings that spread "forwards, backwards and outwards."

3. Multimodal Prosodic Resources: Beyond lexicogrammatical choices, Twitter-specific features such as hashtag positioning (initial vs. final), typographic elements (punctuation, capitalization), and hashtag combinations (#depresyondayım with #anksiyete or #mutsuzluk) create what Zappavigna (2015) terms ambient affiliation—prosodic patterns that extend beyond the individual tweet to create broader affective communities.

4. Prosodic Compression: The character limitations of Twitter necessitate what could be termed *prosodic compression*, where evaluative meanings must be condensed into minimal linguistic form while maintaining maximum affective impact. This compression results in distinctive prosodic strategies such as:

- Front-loading evaluative key information (#depresyondayım at tweet beginning)
- Employing culturally resonant references (Turkish coffee, proverbs)
- Using grammaticalized evaluation resources (evidentiality, modality markers)
- Creating micro-narratives of decline or intensification

5. Cross-domain Prosodic Coherence: Even when tweets reference seemingly unrelated domains (academic pressure, romantic relationships, consumer experiences), the #depresyondayım hashtag creates prosodic coherence, constructing depression as a pervasive experience that transcends contextual boundaries.

These prosodic patterns demonstrate that depression in Turkish Twitter discourse is linguistically constructed not merely through isolated evaluative items but through sophisticated prosodic strategies that create textual coherence and amplify emotional impact. The interaction between grammatical resources, lexical choices, and digital affordances creates distinctive evaluative patterns that effectively communicate the multidimensional nature of depressive experience.

Thematic Categories and Appraisal Patterns

Analysis revealed seven recurring thematic categories, each with distinctive appraisal patterns. Table 2 presents the distribution of key appraisal resources across these categories.

Table 2

Appraisal Resources Across Thematic Categories

Thematic Category (N)	Affect (%)	Judgement (%)	Appreciation (%)	Monoglossic (%)	Force (%)
Everyday Minor Frustrations (31)	67.7	25.8	76.8	87.1	48.4
Economic Hardships (14)	71.4	85.7	57.1	78.6	78.6
Emotional and Personal Loneliness (24)	95.8	33.3	41.7	87.5	70.8
Work and Academic Stress (17)	82.4	58.8	70.6	82.4	64.7
Seasonal and Weather Effects (9)	77.8	33.3	88.9	100.0	55.6
Societal Issues (15)	73.3	93.3	46.7	80.0	86.7
Social Life Deprivation (20)	85.0	40.0	45.0	90.0	65.0

Everyday Minor Frustrations (23.8%)

Tweets in this category featured high rates of appreciation (76.8%) and monoglossic engagement (87.1%), with relatively lower force graduation (48.4%). They frequently employed irony and humor (64.5%):

"Kalk ... saç yap makyaj yap çık dışarı gez toz vallahi ... ben acaba 🙄 #depresyondayım" (**Get up, get ready, do your hair, do your makeup, go out - I swear I'm too lazy. Have I gotten old, I wonder 🙄 #Iamdepressed**)

This tweet evaluates a routine activity (getting ready to go out) through appreciation, presented monoglossically but with minimal force graduation.

"Belime kadar uzanan saçlarımı 'ilk defa' kısacık kestirdiğime göre ciddi anlamda #depresyondayım 🙄" (**I cut my waist-length hair really short for the first time, so I must be seriously #depressed 🙄**)

The act of "kısacık kestirdim" (drastically cut my hair) functions as a semiotic marker of personal turmoil—akin to Hood's (2006) sense of prosodic resonance, where a single physical change radiates emotional meaning. The user labels it "ciddi anlamda #depresyondayım" ("I'm seriously depressed"), thus investing the haircut with forceful Graduation. The emoticon "🙄" introduces an ironic inflection, suggesting a self-aware or sardonic stance. The result is an overarching negativity that saturates the act of hair-cutting with the aura of emotional distress.

Economic Hardships (10.8%)

This category showed high rates of Judgement (85.7%) and force graduation (78.6%), reflecting strong social evaluations intensified through graduation resources:

"berber olmuş 150 TL #depresyondayım" (**barber costs 150 TL #Iamdepressed**)

While seemingly simple, this tweet implicitly judges economic conditions through the price increase of an everyday item.

Emotional and Personal Loneliness (18.5%)

This category featured the highest rate of affect (95.8%) and high monoglossic engagement (87.5%), with significant force graduation (70.8%):

"Hemen her gün nerdeyse kalbimi ... önemlisi de gönlümü taa derinlerden ... var napmalıyım bilmiyorum derin derin düşünüyorum sadece şimdilik... #depresyodayım" (**Almost every day there are people who break not just my heart but my very soul. I don't know what I should do, I'm just thinking deeply about it for now... #Iamdepressed**)

Negative Affect pervades the entire text: kalbimi ... gönlümü ... taa derinlerden kırımlar ("those who break my heart and soul from deep within"). The user's repeated emphasis on daily emotional wounding fosters a saturating effect, enveloping each clause in negativity. Moreover, the rhetorical question "napmalıyım bilmiyorum" (I don't know what to do) underscores in/security and extends the prosodic wave of despair. The final hashtag #depresyodayım retrospectively reframes all preceding statements as symptoms of depression, illustrating Martin's (2017) notion of prosodic spread.

"Ben #depresyodayım annem anlamazlıktan gelip herkese #üşütmüş #grip olmuş diyor tebrikler" **"I'm #depressed, but my mom pretends not to understand and tells everyone I've just got a chill or a flu, so congratulations."**

Here, the user's negative Affect (#depresyodayım) is overshadowed by external trivialization: the mother reframes it as #üşütmüş, #grip ("caught a chill," "has a flu"). This clash generates a saturating effect because each line underscores a pervasive sense of misunderstanding—an ongoing emotional domain that aligns with Martin's (2017) saturating prosody. By ironically saying "tebrikler" ("congratulations"), the user also encodes a subtle Judgement of the mother's propriety, exposing how familial denial intensifies the feeling of depression.

Hayaller zorluyor beni. ... hayalleri. Hepsine niye ortak ettiysen seni. .. #depresyodayım
Dreams burden me. Damn dreams. Why did I share them all with you. You left and I haven't been able to dream for months. Whatever I imagine, you appear before my eyes. But they are my dreams. What business does someone no longer in my life still have here? #Iamdepressed

This tweet demonstrates intense affect resources through multiple expressions of emotional pain, presented monoglossically and with strong force graduation.

Work and Academic Stress (13.1%)

These tweets showed balanced distribution of affect (82.4%), appreciation (70.6%), and Judgement (58.8%), indicating complex evaluations of both personal feelings and external circumstances:

Okul ... KPSS çalışmayı bıraktım. ...yapmak içinde okul derslerine çalışmayı bırakmak zorunda kaldım. Tilkinin ... geleceği yer hesabı.. Şu anda ne KPSS çalışıyor, ne okul derslerine bakıyor ne de ezber yapıyorum. 😊 Sonuç; #depresyonDAYIM

I stopped studying for the KPSS to study for school courses. I had to stop studying school courses to memorize material. It's like the fox that eventually returns to the same place.. Right now I'm neither studying for KPSS, nor looking at school courses, nor memorizing. 😊 Result; #Iamdepressed

This tweet combines affect (the final expression of emotional state), appreciation (evaluation of the situation's composition), and Judgement (implicit self-evaluation of capacity).

Seasonal and Weather Effects (6.9%)

This smallest category showed the highest rates of appreciation (88.9%) and monoglossic engagement (100%):

... artık soğuktan, kıştan, hastalıktan ve üşümekten. ... sonsuza kadar kış olacaktı, yaz ... gelmeyecekti gibi hissediyorum, #Depresyodayım

I'm fed up with the cold, winter, illness, and feeling chilly. I feel like winter will last forever, summer will never come, #Iamdepressed

This tweet primarily features appreciation of weather conditions, presented as definitive statements without dialogic alternatives. The connection between seasonal conditions and emotional states is presented as self-evident.

Societal Issues (11.5%)

This category featured the highest rates of Judgement (93.3%) and force graduation (86.7%), indicating strong ethical evaluations with intensified expression:

"Türkiye' de adalet sistemi yok. Yıllardır Messi' yi bedava izliyoruz. Ama 10 yıldır Sabri' yi parayla izliyoruz...? #depresyodayım"

"There's no justice system in Turkey. For years we've watched Messi for free. But for 10 years we've had to watch Sabri for money...? #Iamdepressed"

Here, the user ironically ties personal depression to perceived sporting injustice (watching Sabri with a paid subscription). The negativity saturates the text from "adalet sistemi yok" to the rhetorical question about Sabri, culminating in #depresyodayım. This comedic link between social critique (lack of justice) and personal emotional downturn exemplifies Prosodic Spread (Hood, 2006). The tweet merges Judgement (the system is unfair) with Affect (depression), creating a compound evaluative stance that highlights how personal gloom can reflect public discontent.

Social Life Deprivation (15.4%)

This category showed high rates of affect (85.0%) and monoglossic engagement (90.0%), with significant force graduation (65.0%):

... göresim var ne de kimseyle konuşasım. Kendi kabuğuma çekilip kimsenin bana bulaşmamasını istiyorum. #depresyodayım (I neither want to see anyone nor talk to anyone. I want to withdraw into my shell and have no one bother me. #Iamdepressed)

This tweet demonstrates negative affect resources expressed through desire for isolation, presented monoglossically as definitive statements.

Although these thematic categories and appraisal patterns shed light on how #depresyodayım tweets realize emotional meanings, it is also important to explore how these meanings may intersect to form more complex evaluative relationships. This is where the concept of "coupling" within the Appraisal framework becomes particularly relevant.

Linguistic Strategies and Patterns

Analysis revealed five recurring linguistic strategies in the dataset:

Irony and Humor (33.8%)

Irony and humor were frequently employed, particularly in the Everyday Minor Frustrations category:

#YineVeYeniden #Depresyondayım ... Acılı patates #Cipsi ile intihar ediyorum... :D :D Puff!
#AgainAndAgain #Iamdepressed :/ I'm committing suicide with spicy potato #Chips... :D :D Puff!

This tweet uses irony by juxtaposing the serious concept of suicide with the trivial act of eating chips, signaled by the laughing emoji (:D) which contradicts the ostensibly negative statement.

Metaphorical Expressions (20.0%)

Metaphors were particularly prevalent in emotional loneliness and societal issues categories:

Depresyon nasıl bir şey? diye sordu. ...etrafındaki herkesin nefes aldığını görmek gibi dedim.
#depresyondayım

What is depression like?" they asked. "It's like watching everyone around you breathe while you're drowning," I said. #Iamdepressed

This tweet uses a drowning metaphor to concretize the abstract experience of depression, creating a vivid contrast between personal suffering and others' normalcy.

"ben ona bi ilaç gibi iyi gelmeye calistikca o beni bi virus gibi gorup ilaci baskalarinda aradi
#depresyondayım"

"I tried to be like medicine to them, but they saw me as a virus and looked for their cure in others. #Iamdepressed."

Here, metaphor drives the prosodic wave: "ben ilaç olmaya çalıştım" (I tried to be medicine) vs. "beni virüs gibi gördü" (they saw me as a virus). This stark contrast signals Attitude in two directions: the user's benevolent self-assessment vs. the other's harsh rejection. The final label *#depresyondayım* re-casts all preceding lines as part of a saturating negative domain. The user's heartbreak merges with Judgement of the other's betrayal, generating what Hood (2006) calls "spread"—where each clause accumulates a deeper sense of emotional injury.

Interrogative Expressions (13.8%)

Questions often functioned as rhetorical devices or genuine expressions of uncertainty:

Bi... sorcam...depresyondayken gülersek depresyon bozulur mu?

Let me ask something...if we laugh while depressed, does that ruin the depression?

This question reflects a meta-commentary on the nature of depression itself, using heteroglossic engagement to create dialogic space.

Religious/Spiritual References (6.9%)

A smaller subset of tweets invoked religious frameworks:

Hayatım ... depresyon ne bilmedim, yaşamadım; ... sonra da yaşamam. Kuran ı Kerim bütününde depresyondan nasıl korunulacağını yazıyor, tavsiye ederim. #Depresyon #Depresyodayım
Throughout my life, I've neither known nor experienced depression; God willing, I won't experience it in the future either. The Quran in its entirety explains how to protect oneself from depression, I recommend it. #Depression #Iamdepressed

This tweet frames depression in religious terms, positioning spiritual practices as preventative measures.

Emoji Usage (35.4%)

Emojis frequently supplemented textual expressions, serving multiple functions:

... evlilik teklifi edilmiş kare pirlanta diamond yüzükler gözümüze sokularak storyler atılmış
 ..#depresyondayım unutulduummmmmmmmm.. (Today, 3 of my friends were offered marriage, square
 diamond diamond rings were thrown into our eyes and stories were thrown 🙌🙌🙌🙌🙌 #depressed,
 forgottennnnnnn💔🚫💍🚫XXXXXX)

This tweet demonstrates three distinct functions of emojis within evaluative language:

Multimodal Irony Markers: The repetitive applause emojis () establish a sarcastic tone that contrasts with the explicit negative affect, creating evaluative complexity beyond what text alone could convey.

Affect Intensifiers: The broken heart (💔) operates not merely as a redundant visualization of the expressed emotion but as a graduation resource that amplifies the feeling of abandonment conveyed by "forgottennnnnnn."

Symbolic Exclusion Indicators: The sequence of prohibition symbols (🚫💍🚫XXXXXXXXXX) creates a visual representation of rejection, with the ring emoji specifically contextualized between negation markers to symbolize relationship exclusion.

The strategic deployment of these emojis, particularly through repetition and clustering, demonstrates how digital paralinguistic features serve as sophisticated graduation resources within the Appraisal Framework, allowing users to modulate the force of their emotional expressions while creating nuanced evaluative stances that engage readers in complex interpretive processes. Analysis of the dataset revealed several Turkish-specific linguistic features that play crucial roles in realizing appraisal meanings. These features demonstrate how evaluative language is embedded in the grammatical and lexical systems of Turkish.

Turkish-Specific Linguistic Features in Appraisal Realization

Analysis of the dataset revealed several Turkish-specific linguistic features that play crucial roles in realizing appraisal meanings. These features demonstrate how evaluative language is embedded in the grammatical and lexical systems of Turkish.

Morphological Features

Turkish, as an agglutinative language, employs various suffixes that carry evaluative meanings. Several patterns emerged in the dataset:

Intensifying suffixes: The diminutive suffix "-cik/-cık" often functioned as an attitudinal marker rather than literally indicating smallness:

Biraz renk-cik, biraz neşe-cik katmak lazım hayata #depresyodayım. (Need to add a little color, a little joy to life #Iamdepressed)

Here, the diminutive suffixes paradoxically intensify the emotional impact by emphasizing what is lacking, functioning as negative affect markers.

Person markers in predicates: Turkish verbs and predicative adjectives incorporate person markers that emphasize the subjective nature of evaluations:

"Depresyon-dayım vs. "Depresyon-da (I am in depression vs. (he/she is in depression)

The first-person singular suffix -m in *depresyodayım* explicitly encodes the speaker as the emoter, strengthening affect expression by personalizing the emotional state. This contrasts with bare forms that would present depression as a decontextualized state.

Evidentiality markers: Turkish grammaticalizes evidentiality through suffixes that indicate information source, affecting engagement resources:

Depresyon-da-y-mış-ım

Depresyon-da-y-dı

depression-LOC-COP-EVID-1SG

depression-LOC-COP-PST

I am reportedly depressed

I am depressed

The evidential suffix "-mış" creates heteroglossic engagement by indicating the statement is based on reported information or inference rather than direct experience, thus opening dialogic space.

Morphosyntactic and Syntactic Features

Several morphosyntactic constructions in Turkish function as distinctive appraisal resources: Conditional constructions (the conditional meaning is encoded through morphological affixation) with affective meanings: The conditional marker "-se/-sa" frequently encoded hypothetical desires rather than logical conditions:

Şöyle bir-i gel-se kalk kız gezme-ye gid-iyor-uz de-se

like.this someone-3SG come-COND get.up.IMP girl walk-DAT go-PROG-1PL say-COND

ben-i bir kendi-m-e getir-se ya

I-ACC one self-1SG-DAT bring-COND PART

If only someone would come and say "get up girl, we're going out" and bring me back to myself

This construction expresses unfulfilled desire rather than logical condition, functioning as an affect resource of dissatisfaction. This morphosyntactic pattern is particularly interesting in Appraisal analysis because it shows how grammatical resources beyond just lexical choices can be deployed to express attitudinal meanings in Turkish. The conditional form linguistically encodes a state of yearning through grammatical structure rather than explicit evaluative vocabulary.

Word order variations for graduation: While Turkish has relatively flexible word order (SOV canonical), the dataset revealed systematic variations used for graduation:

Benim hiç kelim yok

I don't have *any* cat

Hiç kelim yok benim

Not a single cat do I have

Fronting the intensifier "hiç" (none/not at all) and postponing the pronoun "benim" (my/mine) creates stronger graduation force than the canonical order.

Lexical Features

Turkish employs distinctive lexical resources for appraisal that resist direct translation.

Reduplicated intensifiers: Partial reduplication with consonant substitution creates force graduation:

Bugün *kıpkırmızı* oldum utançtan #depresyodayım
(Today I became **totally red** from embarrassment #Iamdepressed)

The intensifier "kıpkırmızı" (totally red) is formed through partial reduplication of "kırmızı" (red), creating stronger force than available through simple adverbial modification.

Culture-specific emotional lexis: Several Turkish expressions encoded complex emotional states without direct English equivalents:

Bu aralar *hüzünlü* değilim, *gamlı* değilim, sadece *efkarlıyım* #depresyodayım
These days I'm not *sad*, I'm not *sorrowful*, I'm in complete *efkar* #Iamdepressed

The term "efkar" encodes a culturally specific emotional state combining melancholy, contemplative sadness, and wistfulness—functioning as a complex affect resource.

Compound metaphorical expressions: Fixed expressions functioned as conventionalized appraisal resources:

Dipteyim, sondayım, depresyodayım
I'm at the bottom, I'm at the end, I'm in depression

This tripartite structure creates a graduation of affective intensity through metaphorical positioning, with each component reinforcing and intensifying the emotional state.

Pragmatic Features

Turkish pragmatic conventions revealed distinctive appraisal patterns:

Rhetorical questions as Judgement resources: Questions frequently encoded strong negative Judgement without explicit evaluative lexis:

Sen kim oluyorsun da vatan haini kim kim değil karar verebiliyorsun?

(Who are you to decide who is a traitor to the homeland and who is not?)

This construction conveys stronger negative Judgement than declarative criticism would, challenging the legitimacy of others' authority through interrogative form.

Prayer forms for affective expression: Conventionalized invocations functioned as indirect affective resources:

Allah'ım sabır ver yoksa kafayı yiyeceğim #depresyodayım
(God give me patience or I'll lose my mind #Iamdepressed)

This construction indirectly expresses negative affect (frustration/distress) through the conventionalized request for divine intervention.

These Turkish-specific linguistic features demonstrate that appraisal resources are deeply embedded in the grammatical and lexical systems of the language, requiring analytical sensitivity to language-specific realizations rather than simple translation of English-based categories.

Discussion

This study applied the Appraisal Framework to examine how Turkish Twitter users linguistically encode emotional states using the hashtag #depresyondayım. Beyond the simple representation of clinical depression, the findings reveal complex patterns of evaluative language that serve multiple communicative and social purposes. The Appraisal Framework study of #depresyondayım tweets reveals the intricate social semiotic mechanisms through which emotional states are embedded in digital discourse. These linguistic patterns can be seen not only as personal expressions, but also as culturally situated practices of meaning-making, based on Halliday's perspective of language as social semiotics. Whether expressing actual discomfort, performing ironic commentary, or engaging in social critique, the tendency to use certain rating tools across different thematic categories shows how users consciously select from their available meaning potential in order to achieve specific social goals.

The Dominance of Affect and Its Consequences

From a social semiotic perspective, the prevalence of affect resources illustrates that language operates not only to articulate internal emotional states but also to socially negotiate and validate these states (Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Halliday, 2014). The significant prevalence of affect resources (81.5%) corresponds with earlier studies on emotional discourse in social media (Zappavigna, 2018; Giaxoglou, 2018). The significant prevalence of affect resources corresponds with earlier studies on emotional discourse in social media (Zappavigna, 2018; Giaxoglou, 2018). This finding corroborates McCosker and Gerrard's (2021) observation that hashtags related to depression function as multi-faceted semiotic resources, facilitating complex emotional expressions and diverse social interactions beyond simply indexing clinical mental health conditions. The differences in affect resources among thematic categories reveal how users deploy linguistic resources strategically according to context. Tweets regarding emotional loneliness primarily convey feelings of in/security, indicating that disruptions in relationships are largely perceived as threats to emotional security, while everyday frustrations are frequently associated with appreciation resources, suggesting a more evaluative rather than emotional response to minor inconveniences.

Evaluative Coupling as Strategic Resource

Beyond the distribution of individual appraisal resources, our analysis revealed significant patterns of coupling—the strategic combination of different evaluative dimensions—that deserve particular theoretical attention. Coupling patterns demonstrate how depression discourse in Turkish social media goes beyond simple emotional expression to construct complex evaluative stances that negotiate identity, ideology, and interpersonal alignment. In Appraisal Theory, the concept of coupling refers to the semiotic process through which ideational and interpersonal meanings are jointly instantiated in discourse (Martin, 2000; Martin & White, 2005). Couplings are not merely co-occurrences of attitude and ideation but co-selections of meaning choices that coalesce into more complex evaluative patterns (Zappavigna et al., 2008:169). As Martin (2007:56) notes, “the coupling of knowledge with value is an important dimension for any field,” and this is particularly evident in digital discourse where affective meaning is compressed and intensified. In the #depresyondayım corpus, several forms of attitudinal coupling emerge that go beyond straightforward

expressions of negative affect, revealing how Turkish Twitter users enact layered interpersonal stances, perform irony, and encode sociopolitical critique.

A particularly salient pattern involves the coupling of personal affect with social Judgement, especially in tweets referencing sociopolitical conditions:

“#... Neden mi? #Tam... yalan oldu boşu boşuna evlere tıkıldık. #... yok.. Vaka sayıları aldı başını gidiyor. ... çocuklar ölüyor #Esnaf battı #İşsizlik tavan #ekonomi bitmiş #Dolar 8,50.” **#Iamdepressed Why? #FullLockdown became a lie, we were needlessly confined to our homes. #NoVaccine.. Case numbers are soaring. .. children are dying #Merchants bankrupt #unemployment peaked #economy collapsed #Dollar 8.50.**

This tweet exhibits a distinctive pattern where personal emotional distress (affect) serves as an entry point into broader ideological critique (Judgement). This pattern may be seen as a kind of *social surge*—a metaphorical swell of interpersonal meaning flowing from personal affect to ideological critique. The coupling of private emotion and public failure forms what Hood (2006:41) describes as “prosodies of value” that “accumulate and resonate,” with the hashtag #depresyodayım anchoring a complex trajectory from individual experience to systemic collapse.

Another frequent pattern involves coupling between appreciation and ironic affect:

“#YineVeYeniden #Depresyodayım :/ Acılı patates #Cipsi ile intihar ediyorum... Puff!” **(#AgainAndAgain #Iamdepressed :/ I'm committing suicide with spicy potato #Chips... :D :D Puff!)**

Here, trivial content (spicy chips) is ironically paired with an extreme emotional act (“intihar ediyorum” – I'm committing suicide), creating what White (2003) calls “evaluative tension.” The humorous tone, reinforced by emojis and exaggerated language, forms a “protected stance” (Martin & White, 2005), allowing users to share vulnerability while mitigating sincerity.

Attitudinal coupling also functions as a site of gendered ideology:

“Bi kadın #depresyodayım diyorsa canı ilgi, alaka, kredi kartı çekiyordur. Ama bi erkek #depresyodayım diyosa cidden depresyondadır.” **(If a woman says she's depressed, she's craving attention, relevance, credit cards. But if a man says he's depressed, he's really depressed.)**

The tweet constructs a contrastive evaluative frame that trivializes female affect while validating male suffering. The monoglossic stance presents these Judgements as factual, forming a coupling between affect and social Judgement that reinforces gendered stereotypes.

This gendered pattern is reinforced through evaluative performance in other tweets:

“Bir kadın #depresyodayım diyorsa. Aslında beni pamuklara sarmala, çikolata al, şımart, güzel sözler söyle demek istiyor aa odunum anlasana.” **(When a woman says she's depressed. In fact, she wants to say wrap me in cotton wool, buy me chocolate, spoil me, say nice words, but I'm wood, you understand.)**

Here, the speaker ironically equates expressions of depression with demands for pampering. The rhythmic enumeration of desires (“pamuklara sarmala, çikolata al...” **wrap in cotton wool, buy chocolates**) contributes to a prosodic buildup, while the clause-final mockery (“odunum anlasana” **I'm wood, get it?**) constructs an ironic Judgement, revealing a coupling between affect and gendered social critique.

Coupling also emerges between affect and graduation, especially in relation to temporal quantification:

“#depresyondayım sanırım yeniden... 20 saat uyuyorum bir haftadır!” (**I think I'm depressed again... I've been sleeping 20 hours a week!**)

This tweet combines negative affect ("depresyondayım") with force-based graduation ("20 saat", "bir haftadır"), creating what Hood (2006:41) describes as "reinforced and amplified" evaluative patterns. The graduation not only intensifies the affect but also encodes persistence, aligning with Martin & White's (2005) observation that graduation resources scale up the interpersonal force of experiential meanings.

Taken together, these patterns show that the #depresyondayım hashtag functions as more than a static emotional label. It is a dynamic semiotic resource enabling what Knight (2010) terms "bonds of affiliation" through evaluative coupling—the alignment of attitude and ideation in a way that negotiates identity, emotion, and ideology simultaneously. This discourse-semantic mechanism enables users to move fluidly between irony and sincerity, individual pain and collective Judgement, affect and affiliation.

Monoglossic Engagement and Identity Construction

The predominant tendency towards monoglossic engagement (84.6%) across all categories indicates that #depresyondayım tweets characteristically depict emotional states as unconditional and immutable. This finding contradicts Zappavigna's (2013) observation that social media users frequently utilise heteroglossic resources to navigate self-presentation and reduce vulnerability. The observed inclination towards monoglossic engagement in this context may be indicative of cultural patterns in Turkish discourse or the specific roles of the #depresyondiyim hashtag as a platform for clear emotional expression.

Force Graduation and Emotional Intensity

The predominance of force graduation (67.7%) indicates that users frequently amplify emotional intensity when using the #depresyondayım hashtag. In examining linguistic features in discourse pertaining to depression, Al-Mosaiwi and Johnstone (2018) found that absolutist language was significantly elevated in depression and suicidality groups. This may be indicative of a cognitive vulnerability. In accordance with their findings, strong graduation features were also identified in the #depresyondayım hashtag, yet these features were observed to vary according to thematic content. Societal issues (86.7%) and economic hardships (78.6%) showed the highest force rates, suggesting that macro-level concerns are expressed with greater emotional intensity than personal issues. This pattern aligns with what Bednarek (2008) describes as "emotionalization" of public discourse, where sociopolitical issues become sites of intensified emotional expression. The connection between societal problems and heightened emotional language suggests that the #depresyondayım hashtag serves partly as a vehicle for political and social critique, framing systemic issues as sources of personal distress.

Thematic Variations and Social Functions

The distribution of appraisal resources across thematic categories reveals how the #depresyondayım hashtag serves diverse social functions. The analysis of the Everyday Minor Frustrations category, which demonstrates high appreciation rates (76.8%) and frequent use of irony (64.5%), suggests that the hashtag frequently functions as a resource for humorous hyperbole rather than genuine distress. The varied usage of the #depresyondayım hashtag for both authentic expression and performative stance-taking aligns with Giaxoglou and Döveling's (2018) concept of 'digital affect cultures,' where emotional expressions are not just personal disclosures but socially embedded practices shaped by platform affordances and cultural norms. Conversely, categories such as Emotional Loneliness and Social Life Deprivation, which exhibit high affect rates (95.8% and 85.0%, respectively) and minimal ironic markers, suggest more authentic emotional disclosure. The distinction between these patterns of use is reflected in what Derlega et al. (1993) describe as self-disclosure, in that they specify self-disclosure as what individuals verbally reveal about the self to others,

"including thoughts, feelings and experiences". The elevated judgement rates observed in the Societal Issues (93.3%) and Economic Hardships (85.7%) categories highlight an additional function of the hashtag: namely, social critique. By framing societal problems as sources of personal depression, users leverage personal emotional states as grounds for political and ethical evaluation. This phenomenon aligns with what Ahmed (2004) terms "affective economies," where emotions are theorised as circulating between the individual and collective domains, accumulating force and significance through their movement. This underscores Halliday's (1978) argument that language, as a social semiotic system, adapts flexibly to context, serving diverse interpersonal, experiential, and textual functions depending on users' social purposes and communicative contexts.

Cultural and Linguistic Considerations

The results indicate various culturally specific patterns in the discourse surrounding depression in Turkey. The occurrence of religious and spiritual references (6.9%), especially in tweets that reject or reframe depression, indicates the impact of religious viewpoints on emotional well-being. Mental health discourses in Turkish society demonstrate a complex and multifaceted structure, incorporating both religious perspectives and biomedical approaches. The interplay between religious references and medical understandings informs the comprehension and articulation of emotional well-being. The elevated levels of monoglossic engagement across categories may indicate trends in Turkish communication patterns. This finding indicates that cultural norms related to assertion and epistemic stance may affect digital emotional expression, although additional comparative research is necessary. This observation aligns with Bozkurt and Tu's (2016) argument that emotional expressions in digital contexts demonstrate culturally specific patterns, even amidst the globalizing influences of social media platforms. The occurrence of metaphorical expressions (20.0%), especially those related to drowning, darkness, and weight, is consistent with cross-linguistic studies on metaphors of depression (Charteris-Black, 2012). The specific metaphors used, such as "karabasan gibi çöktüler" (they came down like a nightmare), indicate culturally influenced conceptualizations that warrant further examination.

Theoretical Implications

This research illustrates the effectiveness of the Appraisal Framework in analysing digital emotional discourse, affirming its applicability across languages and identifying areas for potential improvement. The framework successfully delineated the multifaceted characteristics of depression expressions, demonstrating how users concurrently convey emotional states, ethical perspectives, and aesthetic Judgements while modulating their dialogic positioning and emotional intensity. The analysis revealed limitations of the framework in its current form. The distinction between affect and appreciation can become indistinct, especially when users assess external conditions based on their emotional effects. This finding underscores the necessity for more sophisticated theoretical frameworks that address the intricate interplay between evaluative domains in emotionally charged discourse. The analysis identified linguistic features that are not adequately addressed in the standard Appraisal Framework, such as irony, emoji usage, and metaphor. These features were identified as significant evaluative resources, influencing attitude, engagement, and graduation in intricate manners. This finding indicates possible enhancements to the framework to more effectively incorporate digital communication patterns and multimodal evaluative resources.

Theoretical Extensions for Turkish Contexts

The proposed extensions to the Appraisal Framework are based on Halliday's concept of realization, which describes the systematic relationship between meaning potential and its instantiation across various strata of language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). In systemic functional linguistics, meaning is expressed through lexicogrammatical selections, which are further manifested through phonological and graphological patterns. This study demonstrates that Turkish frequently employs distinct lexicogrammatical resources to

express evaluative meanings, contrasting with those commonly observed in English-based applications of the Framework. These findings correspond with research that extends Systemic Functional Linguistics to a variety of typologically diverse languages. Research on Thai (Patpong, 2009), Chinese (Xu, 2013), and Arabic (Al-Hejin, 2014) has identified language-specific patterns in the realization of interpersonal meanings. In these languages, grammatical systems such as evidentiality, honorifics, and modality, which can be lexically expressed in English, are frequently manifested through unique morphological or syntactic resources that substantially affect the construction of stance, alignment, and evaluation. The proposed Turkish-specific extensions enhance the existing cross-linguistic SFL research by illustrating how the realization of appraisal meanings is fundamentally influenced by the typological characteristics of the language. This study employs the Appraisal Framework to Turkish data and puts forward theoretical extensions deemed essential for comprehensively capturing the evaluative resources in Turkish. These extensions modify the framework initially designed for English to accommodate language-specific features.

Morphological Dimension of Appraisal

The findings require the extension of the Appraisal Framework to comprehensively address the morphological aspects of evaluative language in agglutinative languages such as Turkish. The standard framework predominantly emphasizes lexical and phrasal resources; however, in Turkish, the realization of appraisal meanings frequently manifests through bound morphemes.

1. Evidentiality and Engagement: The grammaticalization of evidentiality in Turkish via suffixes such as "-miş" (indicating reported or inferred information) significantly influences engagement resources by inherently creating dialogic space. This necessitates a reconceptualization of engagement, viewing it not merely as lexical selection but as integrated within the morphological framework.

2. Person Marking and Affect: The obligatory marking of person in predicative structures in Turkish (e.g., "depresyodayım" [I am in depression] vs. "depresyonda" [in depression]) establishes an implicit gradation of affect investment that is not present in languages where person marking is optional or distinct from the predicate.

3. Ability/Possibility Morphology and Affect: The ability/possibility suffix complex in Turkish ("-abil/-ebil") creates subtle affect resources when combined with negation, expressing unfulfilled emotional desire (e.g., "sevinemedim" [I couldn't manage to be happy]) that would require periphrastic expression in English.

These morphological resources suggest the need for an additional dimension in the Appraisal Framework specifically addressing how grammatical morphemes can encode attitudinal, engagement, and gradation meanings.

Morphosyntactic and Syntactic Configurations as Appraisal Resources

The analysis demonstrated that specific syntactic configurations in Turkish systematically serve as appraisal resources:

1. Word Order Variations: While English relies heavily on stress patterns for emphasis, Turkish employs systematic word order variations to create gradation effects. The placement of elements in marked positions (particularly fronting intensifiers and postponing pronouns) creates gradation resources that are syntactically rather than lexically realized.

2. Conditional Constructions for Affect: The conditional mood in Turkish frequently functions as an affect resource expressing desire or longing rather than logical condition. This systematic repurposing of a

grammatical structure for attitudinal expression suggests that syntactic constructions themselves can function as appraisal resources.

3. Question Forms for Judgement: The frequent use of rhetorical questions to encode Judgement (rather than seeking information) represents a conventionalized syntactic pattern that functions as an appraisal resource at the constructional level.

The observed patterns indicate the necessity of integrating construction grammar insights into the Appraisal Framework, acknowledging that complete syntactic patterns, rather than solely lexical items, can serve as conventionalized evaluative resources.

Cultural Keywords and Emotion Concepts

The analysis identified culturally specific emotional terms and concepts that challenge direct mapping onto the standard Appraisal Framework categories:

1. Cultural Emotion Terms: Words like "efkar" (contemplative melancholy), "sıkıntı" (distress/boredom/constriction), and "hüzün" (melancholic sadness) encode culturally specific affective experiences (Başbuğ 2012) that resist categorization within the happiness/security/satisfaction framework developed for English.

2. Religious-Cultural Expression: Conventionalized phrases like "Allah sabır versin" (may God give patience) function as indirect affect resources, expressing emotional states through culturally shared formulaic expressions rather than direct emotional lexis.

3. Metaphorical Compounds: Fixed expressions like "içim daraldı" (my inside narrowed = I feel constricted/anxious) function as holistic affect resources, with the body-metaphor compound operating as a single evaluative unit.

These findings suggest the need for a more culturally sensitive approach to affect categorization, allowing for culture-specific emotion concepts that may not neatly align with the categorical distinctions developed from English data.

Integrating These Extensions

To fully account for evaluative language in Turkish and potentially other non-English languages, we propose extending the Appraisal Framework to explicitly incorporate:

1. A morphological dimension addressing how bound morphemes encode appraisal meanings
2. A constructional dimension recognizing how syntactic patterns function as conventionalized appraisal resources
3. Culture-specific emotion categories that may cross-cut or extend beyond the standard affect taxonomy

This extended framework would maintain the valuable insights of the original Appraisal Framework while increasing its cross-linguistic applicability and analytical power for typologically diverse languages.

These proposed extensions exemplify Halliday's notion that functional meaning systems are realized through different formal patterns across languages, while the underlying semantic dimensions remain comparable (Halliday, 2003). Just as Caffarel, Martin, and Matthiessen (2004) demonstrated how transitivity patterns vary systematically across languages while serving similar experiential functions, this study suggests that appraisal meanings follow language-specific realization patterns while serving comparable interpersonal functions. The morphological dimension of appraisal in Turkish particularly illustrates how the content plane (semantics) remains relatively stable across languages, while the expression plane (lexicogrammar) adapts to typological constraints and affordances. By addressing these language-specific realization patterns, this

extended framework advances SFL's goal of developing descriptions that are both typologically sensitive and functionally comparable across languages.

Conclusion

Our analysis reveals the intricate linguistic strategies through which Turkish Twitter users construct emotional meaning in digital contexts. By drawing on Systemic Functional Linguistics and the Appraisal Framework, this study has shown how morphological forms, lexicogrammatical choices, and contextual resources converge to produce complex evaluative stances. In particular, the findings highlight how affective meanings are not only expressed but also modulated, scaled, and socially negotiated through grammar—underscoring Halliday's foundational claim that language is a social semiotic system (Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

Hashtags such as *#depresyondayım* operate not merely as topic markers but as evaluative triggers and alignment tools (Zappavigna, 2015), facilitating social affiliation, affective resonance, and identity performance. From a social semiotic perspective, the hashtag functions as a node of interpersonal meaning, linking individual expressions to wider cultural and emotional discourses. The varied distribution of appraisal resources across thematic domains—ranging from loneliness and political frustration to humor and irony—demonstrates how users strategically deploy evaluative resources to encode both personal distress and social critique.

Through systematic application of the Appraisal Framework, this study has identified consistent patterns: the predominance of affect (especially un/happiness and in/security), widespread monoglossic engagement, and frequent use of force-based graduation. These features reflect a communicative tendency to present emotional states as definitive, unqualified, and non-negotiable—especially in tweets concerning societal injustice, academic burnout, or economic hardship.

Beyond these functional observations, the study also foregrounds language-specific realizations of appraisal. In Turkish, affect is often encoded morphologically through suffixation (e.g., negated abilitive forms such as *yapamıyorum*), evidential markers (e.g., *-miş*), and flexible word order that supports prosodic emphasis. These features suggest a need to extend the Appraisal Framework to more fully account for agglutinative languages, where evaluative meanings may be structurally embedded rather than lexically isolated.

Methodologically, this research demonstrates the value of qualitative, functionally-oriented analysis for understanding digital emotional discourse in non-English contexts. Theoretically, it contributes to Appraisal Theory by proposing morphological and syntactic extensions necessary for capturing meaning-making in typologically diverse languages. Substantively, the study sheds light on how depression discourse is performed, negotiated, and shared in a platform-specific and culturally embedded manner.

Future research might explore how these linguistic patterns differ across hashtags (e.g., *#yalnızım*, *#anksiyeteyle*), platforms (e.g., Instagram, TikTok), or emotional registers (e.g., gratitude, anger). Cross-linguistic studies could further test the portability of these findings in other synthetic languages, thereby advancing a more globally inclusive model of appraisal-informed discourse analysis.

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