THE LANGUAGE OF IDEOLOGY: A METADISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ALBANIAN POLITICAL SPEECHES AND MEDIA DURING COMMUNISM

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ABSTRACT

This study examines how metadiscourse which are the elements of language that the author uses to address the reader and comment on his or her own statements, were used in political speeches and press texts during the communist period in Albania (1960-1990) to reinforce communist ideology. Drawing on Ken Hyland's theoretical model of metadiscourse, as well as the Critical Discourse Analysis approach to language and ideology, the analysis compares official political speeches with press articles (newspapers and magazines). A corpus of 90 speeches by leaders and 135 articles from the propaganda press of the time was constructed, and key metadiscourse categories were identified. The results show that the authors of communist texts consciously used these elements to shape the ideological message: reinforcers and stance expressions often appear to confidently assert the "truths" of the Party line and to present the world in a polarized "us versus them" frame. Comparison between genres reveals that, despite differences in style, speeches being more emotional and dialogical, propaganda journalism more formal and "objective", both served to naturalize Marxist-Leninist principles by presenting ideological assertions as self-evident and unquestionable. The study demonstrates that even "secondary" components of language, such as these metadiscursive markers, played a central role in maintaining and reproducing ideology in the public discourse of the communist regime.

Keywords
Metadiscourse; Ideology; Political discourse; Communist Albania; Propaganda language

Introduction

During the communist regime in Albania (1945-1990), language became the main means of transmitting and legitimizing the official ideology. As in many totalitarian systems, public discourse was characterized by "*wooden language*", a formulaic, rigid style filled with ideological clichés (Stoica, 2016; Toska, 2020). Communication was largely a monologue from the state to the people, where "one person speaks and the rest listens" in a strict top-down hierarchy. This official language established sharp boundaries between the ruling group and its opponents: absolute virtues were attributed to the "us" (the Party and its people), while any external element was portrayed as a hostile "them" (van Dijk, 1995, 2006). Such polarized "*us versus them*" rhetoric was a means of unifying the masses against external or internal "enemies" and of justifying the regime's authority. For Albanian communist leaders, control of public discourse was the key to ideological hegemony. Enver Hoxha's regime ensured that every means of communication, from speeches at Party Congresses, to editorials in the official newspaper "*Zëri i Popullit*", to school textbooks, directly served the Party's interests and mythology. The press, radio and television were under state monopoly and functioned as "Ideological State Apparatuses" (according to Althusser's concept), where every news item or article was expected to reflect the Party line (Althusser, 1971/1984). Independent journalism did not exist; Hoxha himself defined the media as "the educator of the masses" and "the mobilizer of the people for the construction of socialism.". Consequently, the public discourse of the time was highly ideologized not only in content, but also in the way that content was conveyed. Scholars have noted that the official communist language often favored fiery slogans and ideologized over reasoned argumentation, eliminating alternative voices (Fairclough, 1989; Bedini, 2014). Within this framework, language served not only to communicate ideology, but to actualize it through linguistic style, where rhythm, lexicon, and syntax functioned together as mechanisms to reconfigure reality according to doctrine (Toska, 2020).

Despite the attention that has been paid to the language of propaganda in communist Albania (e.g.,

analyses of Hoxha's speeches for ideological slogans and clichés, or studies of the official rhetoric of the time), one dimension remains understudied: metadiscourse, or the way in which the text itself "speaks" about itself and guides the receivers. As we will see in this paper, the orienting elements of the text, which go beyond the factual content, can have important ideological functions. For example, the way something is said often reinforces what is said: a simple statement can sound like unshakable dogma if it is preceded by the phrase "*it is well known that…*" or "*as comrade Enver teaches us…*". These seemingly superscripted expressions tell the audience how to understand the message, giving it doctrinal authority. For example, in a propaganda article of the time, a sentence like "*as comrade Enver taught us…*" immediately cements the following statement as an indisputable truth, invoking the supreme authority of the leader to legitimize it. Similarly, a self-assured expression like "it is well known that our Party always defends the truth" dictates to the reader that the following statement must be taken for granted and undeniable. In this way, beyond direct ideological slogans, it is precisely these metadiscursive elements, words that connect, comment on, intensify or soften the statement, that subconsciously guide the way the audience interprets the message.

The aim of this study is to shed light on this delicate layer of propaganda discourse. We focus on two main genres of public discourse of the period: political speeches of the leadership and press texts (newspaper and magazine articles). By comparing these, we aim to understand how metadiscourse contributed to the strengthening of communist ideology in each genre and what stylistic differences emerge between them. The article begins with a theoretical overview of the concept of metadiscourse according to Hyland and its connection to ideology, then describes the methodology of the study, and continues with the analysis of the findings by genre: first for political speeches, then for press texts. Finally, in the discussion we highlight the ideological functions of the observed patterns and their broader significance, while also offering the main conclusions of the paper.

Literature Review

Metadiscourse: text-author-audience interaction

The term metadiscourse refers to those elements in a text by which the author speaks about how the text should be understood, not by adding referential information about the world, but by guiding the interpretation of what is said. According to Hyland (2005), metadiscourse is "the self-reflective expressions used to negotiate interpersonal meanings in a text, helping the author (or speaker) to express a point of view and engage with readers as members of a particular community.". In other words, metadiscourse includes the linguistic signals that the author uses to communicate his or her position, organize the message, and address the audience during the unfolding of the text. These include, for example, conjunctions (e.g., however, therefore) that orient the logic of the argument, frame markers (e.g., firstly, finally) that indicate structure, evidentials (e.g., citations according to source X) that assert the basis of information, as well as interactive expressions that manifest the author's presence as a voice in the text. Within the latter, Hyland identifies five main subgroups:

- Hedges, expressions that indicate the author's reservations or uncertainty (such as, *perhaps, it seems*), making the statement more cautious and open to alternative views. E.g.: "This policy may have a positive effect." Here the speaker does not assert it absolutely but leaves room for doubt.

- Boosters, the opposite of hedges; words that express high certainty and close the room for objection (such as, *undoubtedly, certainly, without a doubt*). E.g.: "The data, without a doubt, confirm our hypothesis." The use of the booster *undoubtedly* signals the speaker's complete

conviction about the truth of the statement.

- Attitude markers, expressions that directly communicate the author's assessment, emotion, or attitude toward what he or she is saying. These include evaluative adverbs (*fortunately, surprisingly*), expressions such as *it is important that…, it is a pity that…*, or personal comments (*we hope, I agree*). For example: "Unfortunately, the results were not up to the expected level." The word unfortunately indicates to the reader the author's negative attitude (regret) towards the fact that follows.

- Self-mentions, references by the author to himself in the text, mainly with first-person pronouns (I, we) or possessive forms (my, our). Through them, the author establishes his or her presence in the discourse. For example, in a scientific study, authors often avoid "I" to appear objective, while in more personal genres, the use of "I" can help build credibility. In our context, the pronoun "we" is often encountered, which can be an exclusive "we" (only the speaker and the institution he represents) or an inclusive "we" (the speaker together with the audience).

- Engagement markers, expressions that directly address and include the audience in the text. These include: rhetorical questions ("*What does this mean for us*?"), commands and appeals to the listener ("*think about it for a moment...*", "*note that...*"), the use of you/you and inclusive we ("*as we all know*"). These markers create a dialogic tone and make the reader or listener feel called into the argument. For example: "Let's consider the consequences of this measure.", here the speaker invites the listener to mentally join the reasoning.

Hyland divides metadiscourse into interactive resources (such as transitions, frame markers, endophoric markers, etc., which structure the text to make it easier to follow) and interactional resources (such as hedges, boosters, attitude markers, engagement markers, self-mentions, which express the author's personality and connect him to the audience). Both dimensions are especially important in persuasive texts: the author simultaneously organizes information and orients himself to the audience to make the argument acceptable to them. For example, in a sentence like: "*But perhaps this result cannot be generalized*", we have both an interactive element (*but*, which serves as a logical transition) and an interactional element (*perhaps*, which expresses hesitation). In the literature, it is argued that metadiscourse embodies the author's voice and values in the text. Crismore (1983) described it as "*the speaker's invasion of the text*", noting that these secondary comments of the author inevitably convey attitudes and prejudices (Crismore, 1983). This is particularly important in ideological contexts: metadiscourse provides means by which authors can bring their audience closer to their point of view, forestall objections and naturalize the preferred worldview. In the case of communist discourse, authors are expected to use metadiscourse to give maximum force to the ideological message. Paradoxically, hedging is expected to be minimal in these texts, since totalitarian ideology does not accept doubt or uncertainty, it claims to possess "absolute truth" (Hyland, 2005; van Dijk, 2006). Instead, we find frequent use of boosters to express unwavering conviction and to close any room for doubt, as well as an expanded presence of markers of commitment that directly appeal to the masses (e.g. "*Comrades*!" at the beginning of speeches) (van Dijk, 2006). These predictions, which we base on Hyland's theory, constitute the basis for our comparative analysis. In what follows, we will see how they are realized in the concrete linguistic practices of Albanian communist speeches and press.

Metadicourse and the communist ideology
Metadiscourse analysis in this context also relies on the theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA), which helps us interpret the ideological functions of linguistic choices. According to CDA, language is never neutral: it both reflects and constructs power relations and belief systems

(Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 1995). Van Dijk (1995; 2006) argues that ideologies are typically expressed and reproduced through discourse, being codified particularly in the public messages of elites and the media. In the case of communist discourse, this coding takes the form of in-group vs. out-group polarization, as mentioned: "we/us" carries all the positive values, "they/them" all the vices. A concrete example is the language of the press of the time: whenever a state newspaper praised the "*glorious achievements*" of socialism or denounced the "d*espicable plots*" of the imperialist powers, it was not simply reporting facts, it was conveying ideological judgments and contributing to the reproduction of existing power relations. Fairclough (1989) on the other hand emphasizes that dominant groups impose their meanings as "self-evident" by shaping discourse in such a way that the consensus of the subordinates is gained without overt violence. In Gramsci's words, hegemony is maintained as much by consent as by force, and language is the main means of gaining that consent (Gramsci, 1971).

In this context, metadiscourse can be seen as a subtle tool of linguistic hegemony. By guiding the receiver how to think, rather than simply what to think, metadiscursive elements serve to "manage" the relationship between the author and the audience in accordance with ideological interests (van Leeuwen, 2008). Previous studies in Albanian have noted that precisely these orienting elements, e.g. self-references, evaluative expressions and attitude markers, play a central role in institutional communication. In communist texts, we expect that they are used to legitimize the official message and to prevent alternative interpretations. In fact, some of the research questions we pose are: *Are boosters and attitude markers used to present ideological claims as unquestionable and to express contempt for "enemies"? Are engagement markers directed at the people to mobilize them around the socialist cause? Do self-mentions build a "family" bond between the speaker (the Party) and the listener (the people)?*

These are the mechanisms that are expected to emerge in our analysis and that will allow us to understand that even the most subtle linguistic choices were orchestrated to reinforce ideology.

Methodology

Corpora for study

To carry out the study, a corpus (in Albanian, but with two genre categories) of texts from the period 1960-1990 was established. The aim was to include representative materials of public ideological discourse, so that the analysis could capture both the common features of Albanian communist discourse and any possible differences between genres or periods. The corpus was divided into three main subcorpora: (1) political speeches , 90 transcribed texts of official speeches by Enver Hoxha and other PPSh leaders (delivered at party congresses, mass meetings, state anniversaries, etc.); (2) newspaper articles , 85 articles from Party-controlled newspapers, mainly "*Zëri i Popullit*" (the central organ), but also other organs such as the newspapers "*Bashkimi*" (of the Democratic Front) and "*Zëri i Rinisë*" (of the communist youth); and (3) magazine articles, 50 articles from literary and political propaganda magazines of the time, which dealt with ideological, cultural or economic topics from a Marxist-Leninist perspective. In total, the corpus contains about 225 documents with approximately 676 thousand words, of which ~60% belong to speeches (which were usually longer) and ~40% to the written press. This distribution provides a broad basis for comparison, including the personal voice of the leader on the podium and the institutional tone of journalists on the pages of the press.

All source texts were obtained from official archival publications; most were written (articles) while speeches were transcribed from spoken speeches (radio/TV or meetings) published later. It

should be noted that the authors of these texts, whether party leaders or journalists, were public figures writing in an official capacity. This means that, although the text carried the individual voice of the author, it in fact represented the institutional discourse of the regime. When building the corpus, care was taken to cover the entire time span of Albanian communism (from the early 1960s to the late 1980s) and to include texts from key moments (e.g. party plenums, ideological campaigns, political crises such as the break with the allies, etc.). This also allows for a possible diachronic perspective in the analysis, although the main focus of this article remains the cross-genre comparison (speeches vs. press).

The method of the analysis
The study combines quantitative and qualitative methods. First, a quantitative corpus analysis based on Hyland's model was applied. A list of key words and expressions corresponding to different metadiscourse categories (adapted for Albanian) was compiled. This list included, among others: typical conjunctions (e.g. *but, and, therefore*), frame markers (such as *first, in conclusion*), evidentials (formulas *according to…, as it says…*), as well as interactional expressions such as stance adverbs (*unfortunately, undoubtedly, surprisingly*), first-person pronouns (*I, we, us, ours*), exclamations and leading formulas (*dear…, it is noted that…, etc.*). The corpus was then processed with computer programs for extracting concordances, which allowed us to count the frequencies of each marker and see in what context it appears. Separate counts were conducted for each subcorpus (speeches, newspaper articles, magazine articles), as well as for the entire corpus as a whole. To enable comparisons, frequencies were normalized (e.g., number of occurrences per 10,000 words) and comparative tables/figures were constructed. These quantitative data gave us an overall picture: for example, which metadiscourse categories predominate in each genre, which are rarer, and where speeches differ from the press. However, a large part of our analysis has been qualitative and interpretive. Following the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis, we have examined how metamarkers are used in context to perform "*ideological work*." This required careful reading of text fragments to interpret the pragmatic function of each element in the situation. For example, it was not enough to know that the word "*certainly*" appears 30 times in speeches; it was necessary to see what it was reinforcing, was it emphasizing a key slogan? was it confirming an achievement? etc. Attention was also paid to the use of language in the function of ideological polarization: e.g., Are these markers used to glorify "us" and denigrate "them"? Do they appear in speeches especially when talking about enemies or socialist victories? etc. Given that many markers can perform different functions depending on the context, a conservative principle was followed: each suspicious case was manually examined and counted as metadiscourse only when its metadiscursive function was clear. This ensured that the quantitative data accurately reflected the real presence of ideological metadiscourse, and not simply the occurrence of a few words that could have been used in a literal sense.
Finally, representative examples from the texts are integrated into the analysis to illustrate the findings. These examples are taken directly from Hoxha's speeches and "*Zëri i Popullit* /magazine articles, to show concretely how numbers are translated into linguistic use. In presenting the results, we will first look at the features of each genre and then discuss them in comparison with each other.

Results

**Political speeches**
The speeches of Albanian communist leaders provide a paradigmatic example of personified

ideological discourse, where the speaker (leader) himself appears as an authoritative and close voice at the same time. The analysis results that the speeches had a high density of interactional metadiscourse, especially through self-mentions and boosters. According to our quantitative data, there were over 110 cases of boosters in political speeches, which constituted a considerable rate (about 16 boosters for every 10,000 words).
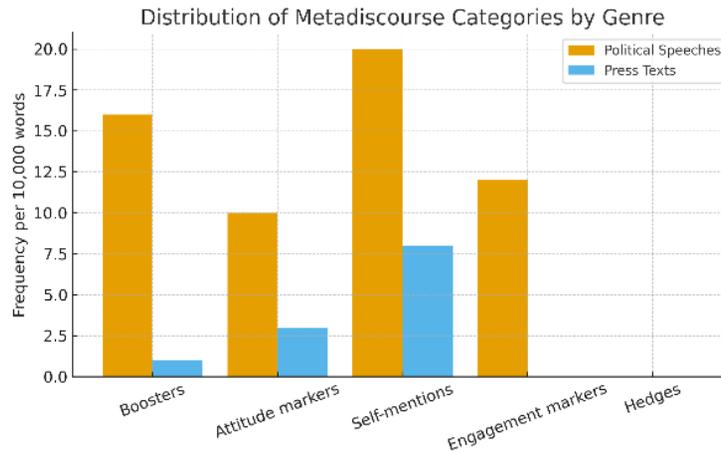
Figure 1. Distribution of Metadiscourse Categories by Genre
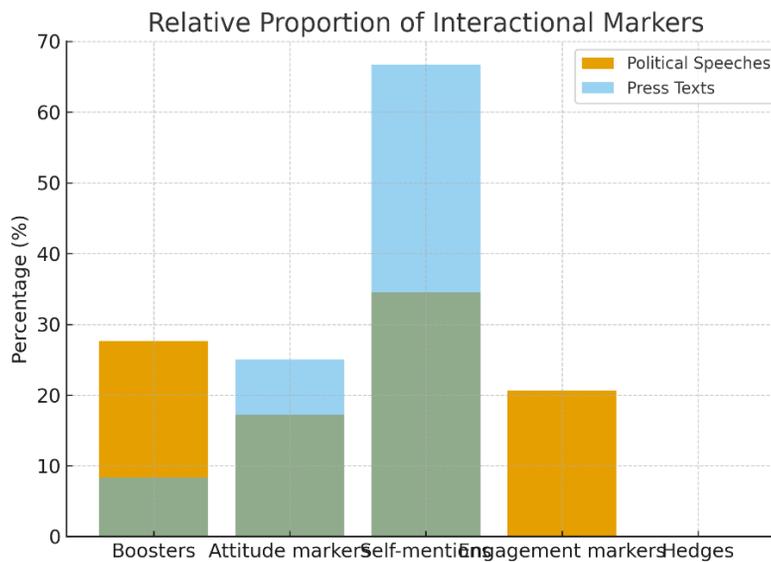
Figure 2. Relative Proportion of Interactional Markers

These uses served to present ideological theses with absolute conviction. It was observed that speakers often used expressions such as "*certainly", "without a doubt", "in fact"* while declaring socialist principles or achievements, closing any room for doubt for the audience. For example, in a speech Enver Hoxha declared: "*Certainly our people have achieved great victories in agriculture*" Hoxha, 1970). Here, the word certainly functions as a booster that presents victory as something indisputable, while the phrase our people itself includes the audience in the pride of the national achievement. The combination of the booster with the inclusive self-mention ("we/our people") is characteristic of the rhetoric of the speeches: the message is conveyed in an authoritative tone, but in the name of a collective "we".

In the same vein, the speeches demonstrate the frequent use of attitude markers to load the messages with emotional assessments along the Party line. Expressions such as "unfortunately", "*it is clear that", "we can proudly say*" were encountered, which show that the speaker is never neutral towards the topic, on the contrary, he instructs the audience on how to feel about it. For example, Hoxha often stated: "*Unfortunately, even in the ranks of our glorious Party there were some traitors…*". Here, unfortunately, it is preceded by a self-critical statement (the presence of "traitors"), communicating to the audience the Party's regret and anger over this fact, before they have even processed the news themselves. At the same time, the term "traitors" is a harsh label for internal enemies, which in the written press would usually be avoided as direct language, but in the speeches it is used openly to galvanize the emotions of the listeners. Thus, the speeches are not afraid to articulate extremely positive attitudes about us and extremely negative attitudes about them, an act that gives the discourse a polemical charge that makes the ideology seem natural: we are definitely heroic and righteous, they are definitely despicable enemies.

An important finding is that leaders also use metadiscourse to create artificial intimacy with the masses. This is realized through inclusive self-mentions and engagement markers. Instead of the speaker speaking as a separate "I," the language of speeches is full of "we" sometimes in the sense of "we the Party," sometimes as "we the people" collectivizing the speaker's identity. Enver Hoxha rarely said "I think"; more often he declared "*Our Party thinks*," "*We have decided.*" Even when he spoke of himself, he often used the institutional plural. This strategy of self-effacement in the collective "we" serves to construct the image that the leader and the people are in complete harmony, are one body. For example, speeches usually opened with greetings such as "*Dear friends and colleagues*" addressed to the delegates or the masses, a form of direct address that addresses the listeners as "*comrades*" of the speaker himself. An illustrative case: at a meeting with the electorate, Hoxha began his speech with the words "*Dear brothers and sisters*," immediately creating a familial rapport with the crowd. Such direct addressing was not simply formal courtesy, it was a conscious rhetorical act to position the audience within the discourse as part of the socialist "family" (Toska, 2020).

Also, the body of the speeches contains rhetorical questions and imperative appeals that aim to emotionally engage the listeners. For example, Hoxha might ask: "*What do we want*? (Crowd: *We want freedom!) What does the Party teach us*?" prompting the audience to react collectively. These rhetorical questions were usually not recorded in the transcript as questions with a question mark (because the answer was known or given by the speaker himself), but they influenced the audience: they created an artificial conversation where the crowd was supposed to approve and be enthusiastic. Also, speeches often ended with mobilizing calls like "*Forward to the victory of socialism*!", an all-encompassing imperative let us… which is a classic form of the commitment marker. Thus, even though the speeches were actually a one-sided communication, their metadiscursive structure created the illusion of dialogue and audience participation in the discourse. A distinctive feature of the speeches is the almost total absence of expressions of doubt or uncertainty. We do not find in them phrases like "maybe we can" or "I think that"; on the contrary, every objective is presented as definitely achievable, every decision of the Party as infallible. This lack of hedging is truly typical: ideology does not allow for "ifs" or "buts" when it comes to its self-legitimization. Even when some difficulty or failure must be acknowledged, the language of the speech immediately turns it into motivation: instead of saying "we did not achieve the plan, we are in doubt", it was said "*we did not achieve the plan because the enemies prevented us, but we will definitely achieve it next year*". It is seen here that the lack of hedging is often accompanied by an intensifier (definitely) and an attitude/emotion marker (blaming "enemies" with indignant tones), which preserves the Party's dogma as infallible.

Overall, the findings confirm that political speeches used metadiscourse to give maximum strength to the ideological message. Boosters and attitude markers presented communist ideas as safe, just, and universally valid, creating a black-and-white narrative framework along the lines of "*we the righteous against the wicked enemies*" (Hyland, 2005; van Dijk, 2006). Meanwhile, plural self-mentions (we/our) and direct addresses (engagement markers) aligned the audience with the speaker, making them feel part of "*our heroic people*" or *"the great socialist family".* This interpersonal interaction is what Fairclough describes as the production of consensus through language, the audience is not simply a passive listener but is addressed as an active subject who receives the message enthusiastically and without doubt. In this way, political speeches managed to create the illusion of complete Party-people unity and to inject the doctrine into the mind of the listener as a "truth" that he himself believes.

Press texts (newspapers and magazines)
The discourse of the communist written press (mainly editorials, opinion pieces or party press reports) presents a somewhat different face of propaganda, more formal and impersonal in style, but equally effective in conveying ideology. Our analysis shows that newspaper and magazine texts tended to have a more objective and "cold" tone compared to speeches, which is reflected in the more sparing use of interactive metadiscourse. Journalism of the communist era claimed a kind of institutional neutrality: the journalist typically wrote as if he were simply informing the reader, not as if he were conversing with him. This is clearly seen in the extremely low frequency of engagement markers addressed to the reader, in fact, newspaper articles almost never encounter forms with "you" or "let us…", which would imply a dialogical tone. For example, a newspaper article of the time would never address the reader with sentences like: "As you can see in the table below…"; instead, it would say: "*The table below shows…*", presenting the information without personalizing the address (Bedini, 2014). Direct addressing "*you*" in state media was considered unusual, except when used as a form of slogan or general appeal (e.g., a poster might appear in a campaign with "*You, citizen, do your duty*!", but in daily writings journalism avoided the personal tone).

However, an interesting feature of the communist press is the use of collective and possessive forms that include the reader without addressing him individually. For example, editorials often spoke on behalf of an institutional "we", which could mean the nation or the state. Expressions such as "*our country", "our people", "our Party*" were quite common (van Dijk, 1995). Instead of the journalist saying "the Albanians have shown bravery", he would write "*our people have shown heroism*". This collective self-reference is worth analyzing: the journalist, as a citizen and representative of the official will, speaks with the collective voice of the nation. The use of the possessive pronoun "our" serves to tell the reader that "you and I are in this together, it is our people, our party, our cause". So, even though there is no direct "you", the reader is included as part of the common group "we". This strategy of latent inclusion is maintained in a formal tone, it does not sound familiar or intimate, but at a subtextual level achieves the desired ideological effect: it makes the reader identify with the statements that follow.

In terms of boosters and hedges, the language of the press presents interesting contrasts with speeches. Our study found that newspapers almost entirely avoided explicit boosters in their information texts. Unlike speeches, where "*certainly*" and "*undoubtedly*" were frequently heard, these words were rare in news articles. For example, in the newspaper subcorpus, the marker "certainly" was found only once throughout the corpus. Journalists seemed to avoid phrases that expressed the author's personal certainty, as the reporting style required distance and impartiality.

As noted, "journalists usually avoid words such as '*certainly' or 'without a doubt'* in reporting, as they signal confirmed truthfulness", something that reporters preferred to communicate indirectly. The typical way was: instead of the author saying "of course, the plan was exceeded", he would say "*the plan was exceeded*" and let the fact itself (the plan being exceeded) impose the idea that this was an indisputable success. The ideology was transmitted not by openly declaring the author's conviction, but by selecting and emphasizing the facts in a biased manner. This is a more refined technique: the newspaper text gives the reader the impression of objective and cold information, but in fact the very choice of words and of the facts mentioned vs. those left unmentioned conveys the desired ideological message.

In line with the above, attitude markers are also more limited in print, especially in news. Newspapers of the time would rarely include overt emotional comments like "*unfortunately*" within a report. In a *Zëri i Popullit* article, we would not see a sentence like: "Unfortunately, agricultural production fell this year"; instead, it would read: "*Agricultural production fell this year*", allowing the reader himself (in fact, the reader's expectations shaped by propaganda) to conclude that this is negative news. Also, highly emotionally charged epithets were often presented as official quotes or statements, not as assessments by the journalist himself. For example, an article would not directly call a Western politician a "corrupt reactionary" in the newspaper's own voice; instead, it might say "*In his speech, Minister X condemned the reactionary policies of imperialism…*". Thus, the terms "*reactionary*", "*traitor*", "*agent*" etc. will be found in the press but often placed in the mouths of the Party or the masses (e.g. "*the people call them traitors…*"). As a result, the tone of the journalistic text remains uncommentary, seemingly only transmitting the words of the Party as objective truths.

However, one should not think that the press did not express positions. On the contrary, the entire discourse of the newspaper was filled with ideological positions coded in a linguistically "objective" way. As our study notes, newspapers present "the impression of objectivity and authority, while essentially reproducing the ideology of the state". This was achieved in several ways. First, through the choice of lexicon: ideologically charged terms were part of the standard vocabulary of reporting. For example, Western countries were NEVER called simply "Western countries", but usually "*imperialists*" or "*imperialist monopolies*"; Tito's Yugoslavia was called "*revisionist*", dissident groups were called "*hostile elements*", etc. These ideological labels were seemingly part of the content, but from a functional perspective they are markers of attitude, because they clearly indicate how the reader should evaluate those actors (e.g., "*revisionist*" = bad). Second, the structure of the text played a role: often the article opened with praise for the Party and its achievements and closed with an appeal or mention of a quote from Hoxha, giving the reader the entire frame of interpretation from the beginning to the end. These openings/closings functioned as metadiscourse at the macro level (frame markers of ideology): they told the reader that this news item should be read as a success, that other as a warning, and so on.

From the quantitative analysis, an interesting finding was that in the press, especially in magazines, there was a somewhat greater presence of some attitude markers compared to speeches. This may seem contrary to our expectation (since speeches are more emotional). The explanation is that in some magazine articles (which were more essayistic), the authors allowed themselves to use adverbs such as *"unfortunately", "surprisingly",* when reflecting on some social or cultural issue. For example, an article in the magazine *Nëntori* could say: "*Unfortunately, some remnants of backward customs still hinder our social progress.*". Here, unfortunately, it expresses the author's (and the Party's) regret for that fact. In the context of a magazine, with the aim of pedagogically educating the reader: the author pretends a little like an "advisor" who speaks freely, although the message is the same as the Party's. However, even in the magazine, these interventions of personal

tone were rare and limited. No polemical extremes were reached there; the language was still kept within the official and "correct" framework. The magazine played a supporting role in propaganda, clarifying and complementary, without going beyond the limits of the Party's monological discourse.

One area where print differs significantly from speech is the use of organizing metadiscourse (interactive resources). The analysis showed that newspapers were less likely to "explain" to readers with glosses or repetitions. For example, markers such as "that is to say," "in other words," which were common in speeches (where the speaker, after making a statement, reinforced it "concretely" with examples) were much rarer in print. The newspaper preferred to provide information directly without didactic intervention, a telegraphic style. This is related to its role: newspapers assumed that the reader would either understand the messages themselves from the context, or else structured the articles so that the explanation was implicit. Thus, print authors rarely used phrases like *"e.g."* within the text; instead, they simply listed the facts. Even when they wanted to give an example, they often integrated it into the sentence without prefacing it with "*for example.*". This makes the newspaper's style more compact, but maintains an authoritative tone, as if to say: "I'll give you the facts as they are, draw your own lesson (which coincides with that of the Party)." Of course, in reality, the reader of that time was accustomed to the fact that the "facts" selected by the newspaper were themselves the ideological conclusions to be drawn.

To sum up, the texts of the Albanian communist press operated with more subtle methods, but with the same ideological aim as speeches. They naturalized ideology by merging it with the facts: the reporting of the news and its ideological interpretation were one, so much so that the reader took it for granted that "this is how things really are." For example, a typical editorial would state: *"Our people have always shown determination in building socialism"*, a sentence written in calm tones, without blatant hyperbole, but nevertheless with the use of the collective possessor "our" (which makes the reader a part of it) and an absolute generalization (always determination) that leaves no room for doubt. The reader takes this as an objective historical statement, while it conveys the message "we are steadfast, therefore we are on the right path". Thus, the journalistic style gave the reader the impression of objectivity and authority, while pushing the ideological agenda under the rug. Even though direct emotional appeals were lacking, the propaganda effect was achieved: that the enemy was nameless but omnipresent, that the Party was always right. However, the comparison with the speeches highlights an important difference: the press maintained a facade of rationality, while the speeches openly played on emotion. For example, where Hoxha would say in a speech "unfortunately, the objectives were not achieved" (expressing regret and implying guilt), the newspaper would report simply *"Production objectives were not achieved"* but would immediately insinuate elsewhere that *"these failures came from the conspiracies of the enemies"* without using emotional words. In this way, the press appeared "neutral," but the reader was served the same interpretation: that the failure is temporary and caused by the enemies, and that we will succeed. Newspaper articles lacked insulting epithets for specific figures (you wouldn't read "such and such a stubborn bureaucrat"), but enemies were labeled with general terms (*traitors, saboteurs, reactionaries*), always in the plural and at a distance. This impersonal style made propaganda seem like the truth in itself, not the opinion of the editorial staff. As it was found, "although the newspaper undoubtedly carried ideological content, it transmitted it through the selection and emphasis of information rather than through personal interventions". This is precisely the method of "indoctrination without understanding": the reader hears the voice of the Party but hears it as if it were the voice of truth.

Discussion

The above-mentioned differences between political speeches and press texts lead us to a deeper understanding of the linguistic mechanisms that served communist ideology. Fundamentally, the two genres functioned as complementary propaganda vehicles, albeit in somewhat different styles and approaches. Speeches, with their personal, emotional, and dialogical tone, can be seen as the means for the immediate mobilization of the masses. They accomplished what Althusser calls the "interpellation" of individuals as ideological subjects: they directly called out to people *("Friends!", "Comrades!")* and instilled in them the identity of a loyal member of the socialist collective. The metadiscourse of speeches created a theatrical stage where the speaker and listeners seemed united (through the shared "*we*") and the enemies were portrayed clearly and isolated. As a result, the audience of the speeches felt part of a close community (around the charismatic leader) and at the same time hostile to the "*Other*", a powerful dynamic to strengthen loyalty and political mobilization. Our findings confirm this: the speeches used a lot of reinforcers and positional expressions to emphasize that our cause is just and safe, just as van Dijk and other scholars have noted about polarizing ideological discourses. Also, direct appeals and rhetorical questions made the audience not only understand, but also react emotionally to the message, internalizing it (applause, cheers at rallies are evidence of this successful interaction).

On the other hand, the propaganda press (especially newspapers) played the role of "normalizing" the ideology in everyday life. By presenting the Party's discourse in the format of ordinary news, the press achieved what Gramsci would call cultural hegemony: the Party's ideas appeared in the newspaper as facts and news, and thus the public absorbed them without treating them as genuine propaganda. The style of the press, measured, bureaucratic, with objective tones, was itself a means of making ideological claims seem "neutrally true". We have here a naturalization of ideology: for example, when every economic article begins with "*The plan was carried out with complete success*" and every political article ends with "this proves the superiority of our system", the reader after a while accepts this as the norm, even as an objective given. As Fairclough describes, a framework has been imposed in which the communist worldview seems so self-evident that it is no longer questioned. Our study found precisely this tendency: newspapers spoke with technical authority (they selected facts, cited statistics and plans) but through them they communicated ideological authority (the only interpretation of those facts). Thus, the press contributed to the creation of a tacit consensus: people saw the world according to the categories offered to them by the official discourse, without thinking that an ideology was being imposed on them. It is significant that readers themselves began to use the Party's phraseology (e.g., they divided others into "*us*" and "*them*", they spoke with official slogans in conversations), which shows that propaganda had penetrated the general mindset.

The comparison between genres also highlights an interesting dynamic: what the press could not do openly (e.g., display strong emotions, give direct orders, or use offensive ideological language), the speech did; and conversely, where the speech might have sounded too biased to be believed (e.g., when it praised itself excessively), the press would come and deliver the same message "independently" (reporting that the people themselves expressed this praise or that the facts themselves confirmed it). This interaction between rhetorical and factual discourse made propaganda multifaceted and effective. Our results show that despite the different uses of metadiscourse, its ideological function was consistent: in speeches and press releases, both boosters and self-references and markers of commitment served the same purpose, to bind the masses behind the Party and convince them that reality matches the official narrative. Sentences like "*Our people are marching confidently towards new victories, with no room for uncertainty…*" are emblematic

of this stylistic symbiosis: they sound like a report (in the third person) but also like a moral appeal (with the keywords "*confident", "without uncertainty*"). In them we find at the same time the booster (confident), the lack of hedge (without uncertainty), the self-reference (our people) and the clear ideological implication (the new inevitable victory).
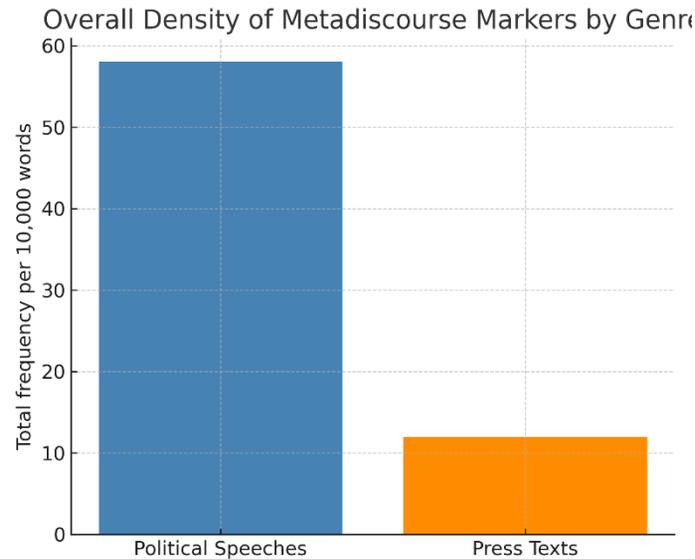
Figure 3. Overall Density of Metadiscourse Markers by Genre

From a theoretical perspective, our study once again confirms the explanatory power of Hyland's metadiscourse model in a previously undeveloped context: that of totalitarian propaganda discourse. Hyland's categories helped us to dissect communist texts and to identify concretely the mechanisms by which rhetorical effects were achieved. It is clear that in our corpus, boosters and self-mentions were the main "weapons" of speakers to impose authority and project unity, while engagement markers were bridges to the mass, they called people to participate (even if only mentally) in the discourse. Meanwhile, minimal hedging was equally significant: it shows that the ideological discipline of the discourse did not allow for the violation of dogma. This constitutes a departure from common practices in other genres (e.g. in academic writing hedging is considered a sign of modesty and realism), but in our texts the lack of hedging was precisely a sign of ideological dogmatism. Our findings also place Albanian communist discourse in a broader theoretical framework: they are consistent with what is known about similar discourses in other communist regimes. For example, the "us-them" polarization and the claim to absolute truth have also been observed in analyses of Soviet and Chinese discourse (van Dijk, 2006; Stoica, 2016, etc.), and our work confirms these features. Is this then a general phenomenon of communist discourse? The chances are yes, although each language and culture has its own specificities, it seems that the methodology of linguistic control of ideology has striking similarities from case to case. It is worth discussing another methodological aspect: the adaptation of the metadiscourse list for Albanian. We treated some ideological clichés as part of the discourse, not simply as "words". For example, the phrases "*populli ynë*" (our people) or "*Partia e Punës nen udheheqjen e shokut Enver*" constituted repeated structures that carried a metadiscursive function (they built the speaker's ethos by evoking the highest authority). Although Hyland focuses on smaller units (words or short expressions), our study shows that in ideological discourses, even entire formulaic phrases often play the role of metadiscourse. In our case, the repetition of phrases like "*led by the Party*" or "*our ideological weapon*" functioned as frame markers that always reminded the reader of the paradigm of interpretation (that every action is done under the direction of the Party, that everything is an

ideological war, etc.). We have captured these elements in the qualitative analysis, and they provide additional data on the cultural context: Albanian propaganda also had its own linguistic refrains (e.g. "*the Party line", "the brilliance of socialism", "ideological armament"* and others like these) that deserve attention as much as the classical metadiscourse.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the study confirms the main idea that metadiscourse was an essential component of ideological strategy in communist Albania. Alongside direct political messages, it was precisely the ways in which these messages were packaged and communicated that ensured their effectiveness with the audience. Reinforcers, self-references, markers of attitude and those of commitment, all these categories were put to work reinforcing the fabricated ideological reality: a reality where the Party was always right, the people were one with the Party, the enemies were evil and, in the minority, the future was safe and bright under the Party's leadership. Metadiscursive choices in speeches made this reality seem enthusiastic, dramatic, lively, electrifying the masses; while choices in the press made it seem ordinary, rational, inevitable, normalizing the Party's view as daily "news". In essence, both speeches and the press worked together to achieve ideological hegemony, each in its own way. The main findings of the paper , such as the frequent use of intensifiers and the lack of hedging, the presence of the collective "we", direct appeals to the people, reflect and concretize with linguistic elements the theoretical principles of totalitarian discourse described by authors such as van Dijk, Fairclough, Althusser and others. The way something was said directly reflected what was said: the directed, confident, "collective" metadiscursive style was the very linguistic manifestation of the authoritarian socialist ideology.

The contribution of this study lies both in the results obtained for Albanian during the communist period, and in the demonstration of an analytical approach that can be widely applied. By adapting Hyland's model to an atypical (propagandistic and undemocratic) context, we showed that this model is flexible enough to capture unique features of discourse. The categories of metadiscourse allowed us to pinpoint where and how ideology intervenes in the text: whether through a "without a doubt" placed before a doctrinal statement, or through a "we" speaking on behalf of all, or an "unfortunately" that emotionally colors a piece of bad news to show who the regime considers guilty. In this way, the study takes a step towards the "linguistic" decomposition of power: it shows how political power is translated into discursive choices and vice versa, how through the analysis of language we can reconstruct the mechanisms of the exercise of power. In conclusion, we can say that the analysis of metadiscourse in the texts of Albanian communism offers a special window into understanding the language-ideology relationship. Through it, we saw that ideology does not lie only in what is said openly (the doctrine), but also in the subtext, in every choice of sentence that is guided by that doctrine. The language of the regime, although wooden and full of clichés, was a carefully sculpted instrument: every sentence was intended to convey power, whether by saying it or by implying it. This makes it even clearer why such studies are important: by knowing how metadiscourse functioned then, we are better prepared to discern the discursive strategies of power even in today's contexts, wherever language tries to direct us on how to think.

Limitations and Future Studies

Although the study reached clear results on how metadiscourse served to strengthen communist ideology, some issues remain to be further developed. First, it should be noted that the types of

texts included in the corpus are diverse: newspapers and magazines were treated together as part of the "press", although some minor differences were noted between them. Magazines, for example, allowed for more commentary and reflective tones, while newspapers maintained a drier and more institutional style. A future study could treat these subgenres separately, analyzing more specifically the editorials of *Zërit i Popullit* as a more rigid and official discursive form of propaganda. Second, the analysis of metadiscourse itself presents methodological difficulties, due to the often unclear boundary between "metadiscourse" and "content". Although the criteria were carefully applied, a dose of subjectivity remains in determining whether an ideological term is part of the message or a commentary on it. For example, when a text writes "disgusting enemies," the word disgusting was classified as an attitude marker (expressing the author's negative assessment), but it could also be interpreted as a descriptive epithet. In such cases, the interpretation was based on the context and pragmatic function of the sentence. Despite these difficulties, the results of the study provide a compelling insight into the way in which metadiscourse functions as an ideological instrument in Albanian communist texts. They show that even seemingly secondary linguistic elements (such as conjunctions, pronouns, modal adverbs) play a key role in the construction of social reality under the control of the dominant ideology. This finding is important not only for the history of the Albanian language, but also for general studies on political discourses. For the future, it would be of interest to compare the period before and after 1990, to see whether these metadiscursive practices have continued or have been transformed in post-communist political discourse. Likewise, extending the analysis to other genres (such as academic texts, educational lectures, or literature with ideological messages) would help to assess the universal scope of the observed pattern. However, the approach followed in this paper which combines metadiscursive analysis with ideological critique, could serve as a model for similar studies in other languages or contexts.

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