THE METAPHORICAL (RE)CONSTRUCTION OF TURKEY IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE:

A CORPUS-DRIVEN CRITICAL METAPHOR ANALYSIS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

OF

MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR

THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN

THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

JUNE 2015

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

THE METAPHORICAL (RE)CONSTRUCTION OF TURKEY IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE: A CORPUS-DRIVEN CRITICAL METAPHOR ANALYSIS

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June 2015, 126 pages

This study investigates and describes the conceptual (re)construction of Turkey as a sociopolitical structure in domestic and international political discourse. The study identifies the source domains and concepts mapping into the target domain of Turkey, as well as the manifestations of related conceptual metaphors. A corpus-driven Critical Metaphor Analysis is carried out on the corpus of Political Discourse (POLDIS) which consists of articles from Turkish, British and American newspapers in a designated one-month timeframe. The results show that Turkey as a country is conceptually (re) constructed within the frames of (i) Turkey as an ANIMATE BEING, (ii) Turkey as a SOCIAL BEING, (iii) Turkey as an ABSTRACT CONSTRUCTION, (iv) Politics as a JOURNEY, and (v) Politics as POWER. General and sub-metaphors for each conceptualization are presented and discussed for Turkish and English. The results show that source domains of FAMILY, SPORTS, RELIGION, ANIMAL, and SPEED are specific to Turkish while FORCES is specific to English. The majority of the conceptual metaphors is observed in both languages with the exception of THE PACE OF THE TRAVEL IS THE STATUS OF POLITICAL ADVANCES OF A COUNTRY which is only observed in Turkish. The study shows that although the conceptual metaphors used for Turkey are in line between both languages, the frequency and the resonance of the source domains also differ. Turkish provides more variety in the metaphorical expressions and offers unconventional/novel instances of conceptual metaphors such as A COUNTRY IS A POLITICAL CEMETERY. The discursively hinted power struggles in relation to group

representation (in-group versus out-group representation) of Turkey are also discussed in a broader political context. The study is preliminary in the sense that it explores the metaphorical conceptualization of Turkey which was not previously researched in the metaphor literature and adds a comparative perspective to the current metaphor studies and suggests directions for future studies.

ÖZ

SİYASİ SÖYLEMLERDE TÜRKİYE'NİN METAFORİK OLARAK YENİDEN YAPILANDIRILMASI: BİR DERLEM-ODAKLI ELEŞTİREL METAFOR ÇÖZÜMLEMESİ

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Haziran 2015, 126 sayfa

Bu çalışma, bir sosyopolitik yapı olarak Türkiye'nin ulusal ve uluslararası siyasi söylemlerde metaforik bağlamda kavramsal olarak yeniden yapılandırılmasını incelemiş ve tasvir etmiştir. Hedef alan olan Türkiye'ye eşleştirilen kaynak alanlar, kaynak konseptler ve ortaya çıkan ilgili kavramsal metaforlar saptanmıştır. Belirlenen bir aylık zaman diliminde toplanan Türk, İngiliz ve Amerikan gazetelerinden derlenen makalelerden oluşan POLDIS Derlemi üzerinde derleme dayalı Eleştirel Metafor Çözümlemesi yapılmıştır. Çalışmanın sonuçları, Türkiye'nin kavramsal olarak yeniden inşasının 5 ana çerçevede gruplandığını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu çerçeveler; (i) Bir CANLI olarak Türkiye, (ii) SOSYAL BİR VARLIK olarak Türkiye, (iii) SOYUT BİR YAPI olarak Türkiye, (iv) Bir SEYAHAT olarak Siyaset, (v) GÜÇ olarak Siyaset olarak belirlenmiştir. Her kavramsallaştırma çerçevesinde ilgili genel ve alt metaforlar Türkçe ve İngilizce için takdim edilmiş ve tartışılmıştır. Sonuçlar, AİLE, SPOR, DİN, HAYVAN ve HIZ kaynak alanlarının yalnızca Türkçe'de, KUVVET kaynak alanının ise yalnızca İngilizce'de görüldüğünü tespit etmiştir. Kavramsal metaforların büyük çoğunluğu her iki dilde de tespit edilmekle beraber, SEYAHATIN HIZI ÜLKENİN SİYASİ İLERLEME HIZIDIR metaforu yalnızca Türkçe'de gözlemlenmiştir. Çalışma, kavramsal metaforların genel anlamda Türkçe ve İngilizce'de aynı doğrultuda tezahür ettiğini göstermekle beraber, kaynak bölgelerin sıklığı ve rezonansında da farklılıklar bulunduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Ayrıca, Türkçe metaforik ifadelerde daha fazla çeşit sunmakta ve ÜLKE SİYASİ BİR MEZARLIKTIR gibi alışılmadık/yeni kavramsal metafor örnekleri sunmuştur. Türkiye'nin iç-grup ve dış-grup tasvirleriyle

bağlantılı olan ve söylemsel olarak ima edilen güç mücadeleri daha geniş siyasal bağlamda ayrıca tartışılmıştır. Çalışma, daha önce araştırılmamış olan Türkiye'nin metaforik kavramsallaştırması konusunu incelemesi sebebiyle öncül niteliği taşımakta, mevcut metafor çalışmalarına karşılaştırmalı bir bakış açısıyla katkı sağlamakta ve gelecek çalışmalar için araştırma doğrultuları sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kavramsal Metafor Teorisi, Eleştirel Metafor Çözümlemesi, siyasi söylem, derlem, sosyopolitik bir varlık olarak Türkiye.

To my beloved family who has always been there for me

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (The Justice and Development Party)
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (The Republican People's Party)
CUM	*Cumhuriyet (The Republic)*
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
DM	*The Daily Mail*
EU	The European Union
G20	The Group of Twenty
IND	*The Independent*
ISIS/ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and as-Sham/the Levant
LDC	Least Developed Country
MIP	Metaphor Identification Procedure
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NYT	*The New York Times*
POLDIS	Corpus of Political Discourse
SBH	*Sabah (The Morning)*
TEL	*The Telegraph*
TRNC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
UN	The United Nations
WP	*The Washington Post*

STYLE CONVENTIONS

STYLE CONVENTIONS USED IN CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

italics	: Metaphorical lexical units
bold	: Metaphorical expressions
"SMALL CAPITALS IN QUOTATION MARKS"	: Source concepts
SMALL CAPITALS	: Conceptual metaphors, target and source domains

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Presentation

This chapter presents the background, the purpose, the research questions, the significance, and the limitations of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

The recent research in social sciences has become more interdisciplinary than ever. Today, the fields of cognitive linguistics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, ethnography, politics, psychology, philosophy, mathematics, law, anthropology, gender studies, and literary criticism can meet in a single study. The recent scientific studies of language, in this sense, has shifted towards the kind of investigation which has wider implications on current social issues. Among them, metaphors as figurative uses of language have been widely investigated. Nevertheless, it was through Cognitive Linguistic view on metaphors which expanded the notion and the implications of the metaphor. Within this perspective, what is considered to be a conceptual metaphor provides a fresh perspective on understanding human thought and its manifestation of the social and political realm. This perspective specifically indicates that human thought and reasoning is fundamentally conceptual and that it is an inevitable part of everyday communication, in other words, our discourse.

Developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Hereafter CMT, will be explained in more detail in 2.1) defines a conceptual metaphor as understanding one concept (target domain) in terms of another (source domain). The famous WORLD IS A STAGE metaphor is a classic example where the *world* is understood by means of the properties of a *stage*. What is termed as a conceptual metaphor has been elaborated, expanded, widely researched and discussed in the literature and it is illustrated that conceptual metaphors are powerful tools to convey, influence and shape messages in our

communication. The systematic and critical analysis of conceptual metaphors, then, can be used to uncover those messages in discourse (will be explained in detail in 2.2). As a set of factual and evaluative beliefs/knowledge/opinions, 'ideologies' are usually discursively hinted in political discourse which is also rich in conceptual metaphors.

Therefore, the present study attempts to investigate conceptual metaphors in political discourse which is an inherently rich source of conceptual metaphors, both in terms of frequency and the range of their implications in current social and political issues. It is argued that the metaphors hold power; and as Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 157) quote from Charlotte Linde; "whether in politics or in everyday interaction, people in power get to impose their metaphors". These metaphors can define reality or discursively manipulate opinions. Political discourse has proven to illustrate such manifestations in the foreign policies of countries over the course of history. Though there are studies on metaphor in Turkish and also in political discourse as a part of critical discourse analysis (Hereafter CDA), Turkey as a country has not been investigated within the perspective of conceptual metaphor analysis yet. This study attempts to fill in this research gap and explore the metaphorical (re)construction of Turkey in both domestic and international discourse in order to describe how Turkey is metaphorically presented in political discourse and offer a grasp of understanding concerning some of the social and political implications of these conceptualizations within the specified context. Discourse is considered essential to the study of a conceptual metaphor as the interpretation of the same metaphor may vary in different contexts. Therefore, it is noted that both local and broader contexts should be taken into account when the boundaries of discourse of a metaphor is drawn. The direction of the analysis is bottom-up to focus on the contextuality of the conceptual metaphors. In order to achieve a systematic bottom-up investigation of metaphor in discourse, corpus-driven inquiries (will be explained in detail in 2.3) prove several advantages. Through the use of a corpus, the analyses are carried out more systematically and the generalizations can be more reliable compared to the traditional methods. By revealing the general patterns, it is also possible to spot the irregularities, in other words, unconventional/novel instances of metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2004: 34). Making use of corpora in metaphor analysis is also in line with the frequently mentioned emphasis on the integration of broader context into metaphor studies. As a result, a specified corpus of political discourse was created for this study. The corpus, POLDIS, consists of articles compiled from domestic (Turkish) and international (British and American) newspapers published within a

designated one-month period. A unitary framework of Pragglejaz Group's (2007) Metaphor Identification Procedure and Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis were implemented. By combining the perspectives of CMT and CDA, a corpus-driven critical metaphor analysis was carried out to answer the specified research questions and explore the social and political implications of the identified conceptual metaphors in relation to Turkey.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

This study aims to investigate the conceptual (re)construction of Turkey as a country in the political discourse of domestic and international news coverage. The corpus-driven approach of the study explores the conventional and unconventional/novel instances of relevant conceptual metaphors in Turkish and English. The source domains employed for the target domain TURKEY are identified for both languages; their frequency and resonance are calculated. Finally, the conceptual metaphors which manifest themselves are revealed, and the findings between Turkish and English results are compared. In addition to CMT analysis, the perspective of CDA is also integrated to discuss the inferences of power relations and in-group versus out-group representation of Turkey in political discourse. In traditional studies on metaphors, it is the local context that is usually referred. However, the present study makes use of broader context, thus excerpts from the corpus are quoted and discussed when necessary.

POLDIS Corpus consists of articles from newspapers of *Cumhuriyet* and *Sabah* from Turkey; the newspapers of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* from the US; and *The Independent, The Telegraph*, and *Daily Mail* from the UK. The newspapers were chosen on the basis that they represent different political alignments to form a comprehensive account of political discourse in these languages. A total of 204 articles were analyzed and 811 lexical units were identified to be metaphorical, the analysis was carried by the qualitative analysis software MAXQDA 11. The related source domains, source concepts, general and sub-metaphors for the target domain TURKEY are identified and discussed by comparing the results from Turkish and English data sets.

1.3 The Research Questions of the Study

The study aims to investigate the following research questions:

1. What are the source domains used for the target domain TURKEY in domestic and international political discourse?

> **a)** What are the source concepts of these source domains in Turkish and English?

> **b)** What is the resonance of these source domains in Turkish and English?

2. What are the conceptual metaphors which are employed in the (re)construction of Turkey as a sociopolitical structure in domestic and international discourse?

> **a)** What are the general and sub-metaphors used in Turkish and English?

> **b)** Is there any instance of unconventional/novel metaphors in Turkish and English?

3. How do the identified conceptual metaphors in the specified corpus discursively (re)construct Turkey as a sociopolitical structure with regard to its group presentation and power relations in domestic and international political discourse?

> **a)** Which source domains are particularly involved in group presentation and power relations in Turkish and English?

> **b)** How does identified group presentations imply any power relations in discourse?

1.4 The Significance of the Study

Stone (1988) states that political metaphors make claims to justify political actions. Language is the manifestation of the hidden dynamics of our everyday social practice. The ideology, power relations, and the in-group versus out-group presentation are among those dynamics dominating the discourse. Metaphor has the power to discursively manipulate those dynamics and shape reality, especially in political discourse.

In this sense, this study aims to explore the conceptual metaphors related to Turkey as a country and describe how Turkey is discursively (re)constructed in political discourse. As a sociopolitical structure, the conceptual metaphors used for Turkey are identified to compare the portrayal of Turkey as a country in domestic and international discourse. While the previous studies investigated a number of sociopolitical structures in terms of

conceptual metaphors, the majority of work focused on the representation of the US (Lakoff, 1991; Howe, 1988 as cited in Mio, 1997; Flanik, 2008; Sahlane, 2013) with a few on the EU (Musollf, 2004) and some other countries. Turkey has yet to be investigated within this framework and the metaphor studies on Turkish are still few in number (see 2.4 for the existing metaphor studies on Turkish and Turkey in more detail). Therefore, the present study may be considered a preliminary exploratory study which offers a fresh perspective for the existing metaphor literature in both Turkish and international academia.

The present study also includes both domestic and international discourse, thus it attempts to provide comparative results between two languages. In this sense, it adds to the cross-cultural perspective on metaphor studies which is among the current focus of metaphor research.

The issue of methodology is one of the most discussed and problematic issues in metaphor literature. Therefore, the present study has been designed on the unitary frameworks of CMT, CDA, and Corpus Linguistics; as a result, it has a clearer theoretical background in comparison to previous metaphor studies. Thus, it is also suggested that the present methodology may contribute to the future research designs.

1.5 The Limitations of the Study

As is with other research, this study is with its limitations. First of all, the size of the corpus thus may be considered small. The data from Turkish, British, and American political discourse correspond to the period of only one month (1-30 November 2014) thus is very limited in terms of representativeness. As a natural consequence, the number of articles written in the two languages is uneven in the corpus.

In addition, given the scope of the study, the present study is limited to aforementioned research questions. However, the results show potential for more detailed further analysis. The present study focuses briefly only on the power relations and group membership as the instances of discursive manipulation through conceptual metaphors. Nevertheless, the future studies may integrate more dimensions of CDA into the metaphor research and illustrate a wider picture.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Presentation

This chapter presents the key concepts and definitions related to the three pillars of this study; metaphor, discourse, and corpus. Under the section of metaphor, an overview of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, its components, and the relevant research are presented. The following section of Discourse focuses on Critical Discourse Analysis, the presentation of and the studies on political discourse and metaphor-led CDA. The third section, Corpus, presents the definition of corpus, an overview of corpus linguistics, and the study of metaphor in corpus linguistics. All of the sections are interrelated and provide the theoretical background of the study. Finally, the metaphor studies on the Turkish language and Turkey as a country are presented.

2.1 Metaphor

2.1.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Developed within the field of Cognitive Linguistics, the notion of **conceptual metaphor** was first explored by Lakoff and Johnson in their seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). After the publication of their work, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT henceforth) has been extensively developed, elaborated, and researched within the fields of cognitive linguistics, politics, law, psychology, mathematics, and philosophy. The core idea which forms the framework of the theory state that metaphor is a conceptual rather than a simply linguistic phenomenon and that conceptual metaphors are grounded in our everyday experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003).

Metaphor has been variously defined over the course of centuries. Merriam-Webster's online dictionary (n.d.) gives the definition of metaphor as "a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them". The word *metaphor* comes from the Greek

word *meta* meaning "over" and *pherein* meaning "to carry", thus implying the transfer or the process of "carrying over" some aspects or properties of one object to another.

The first studies of metaphor start with Aristotle whose discussion has influenced most of the traditional approaches to metaphor. In his work, *Rhetoric and Poetics,* he underlines that metaphor is a rhetorical device and that it provides an implicit comparison between the objects based on analogy.

The traditional or the most common view of 'metaphor' is that it is a figure of speech that is used to denote one thing in place of another, as in *Juliet is the sun* (William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 2, Scene 2, line 4). In this sense, the word *sun* is used metaphorically to indicate that Juliet and the sun have some resemblance such as the warmth, brightness, and the source of life. It can be also argued that it adds an artistic and rhetorical effect to the statement. Therefore, in the traditional sense, metaphor is a linguistic phenomenon which indicates the resemblance between two entities and is used deliberately or consciously for rhetorical purposes.

However, Lakoff and Johnson's (1980/2003) views of metaphor challenged the aforementioned traditional views of metaphor. Kövecses (2002: 2) summarizes the key notions of their views as follows; (i) metaphor is a property of concepts, and not of words; (ii) the function of metaphor is to better understand certain concepts, and not just artistic purpose; (iii) metaphor is often not based on similarity, (iv) metaphor is used effortlessly in everyday life by ordinary people; and (v) metaphor is an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning.

Eventually, the aforementioned proposed ideas led to the emergence of what has become known as the "cognitive linguistic view of metaphor". In this view, metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain (Kövecses, 2002/2010). The notion of "conceptual" is relatively prominent as it is claimed that most conceptual thought is metaphorical in nature.

2.1.2 Components of the Conceptual Metaphor

The cognitive linguistic view of metaphor regards a conceptual metaphor by having a variety of components interacting with each other. A conceptual metaphor consists of two conceptual domains, namely **source** and **target domain**, in which one domain is understood in terms of another. Target domain is the one we try to understand by means of the source domain. Therefore, the source is generally more physical and concrete while the target is relatively more abstract. The examples to source domains would be; BODY, PLANTS, BUILDINGS, MACHINES, HEAT and COLD, LIGHT and DARKNESS which are among the most frequently occurring source domains. EMOTIONS, THOUGHT, TIME, SOCIAL STRUCTURES can be listed among the most frequently observed target domains (Kövecses, 2002/2010).

To elaborate the relationship between a source and a target domain; JOURNEY is the source domain in the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY (see Shokr 2006 and Ritchie 2008 for a detailed account of JOURNEY metaphors) as it is used to comprehend target domain LIFE. These pairings or connections between two domains lead to the **metaphorical linguistic expressions** which are the linguistic manifestations of conceptual metaphors, in other words, explicitly observed **lexical units** in the discourse. In Kövecses' (2010: 7) words, "metaphorical linguistic expressions reveal the existence of the conceptual metaphors". For example, the sentence *I've gone through a lot since last year* has a contextual meaning which gives information about somebody's life. While the contextual meaning of *to go through* refers to the struggle in life, the noncontextual meaning of *to go through* refers to movement/direction. In this sense, the contextual meaning and noncontextual meaning are in contrast. As a result, the phrase *to go through* is metaphorical in the context, thus is identified to be a metaphorical linguistic expression. Similarly, the phrases which are derived from the concept of a journey such as *to be without direction, to be at a crossroads, to follow a path* are among the metaphorical linguistic expressions which speakers of English use to talk about LIFE. In this regard, CMT also highlights that the choice of a particular source for a particular target is **embodied**, in other words, based on **experiential basis,** as the course of life correlates with the course of a journey. This embodied experience leads to the basic conceptual correspondences or **mappings** between the source and the target domains.

In order to illustrate the basic underlying structure of a conceptual metaphor, the following mappings which characterize LIFE IS A JOURNEY can be laid out to be:

Source: JOURNEY		*Target:* LIFE
the travelers	→	the people
the journey	→	experiences
the vehicle	→	life itself
the distance covered	→	the time passed (i.e., the age)
the obstacles encountered	→	the difficulties experienced (i.e., the health)
decisions about which way to go	→	choices about what to do (i.e., career)
the start of the journey	→	birth
the destination of the journey	→	death

The elements in conceptual domain of source are in systematic correspondence with the elements in domain of target. Within the scope of this mapping then, the phrase *We are at a crossroads in life* would indicate that the speakers have to make choices in life. Based on the context, it is also possible to assume that the speakers are lovers, and in this case, the mapping would refer to the decisions a couple has to make concerning their relationship. In this sense, the domain of LOVE also has the elements of the domain of LIFE and the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY emerges, thus it is argued that a source domain may apply to several targets, just as several source domains may apply to a single target domain.

It is important to note that while the mappings between the source and the target were previously accepted to be unidirectional, in other words, that the process of understanding goes from more concrete domain (source) to the more abstract domain (target), the recent work on metaphor argue that the interaction is reciprocal (see Fauconnier & Turner, 1994 for a detailed discussion). The recent studies indicate that these mappings have in fact more facets than what traditional view describes.

Kövecses underlines that knowing a metaphor means to know the systematic mappings between a source and a target and this knowledge is mainly unconscious. Furthermore, source domains map additional ideas or frames into the target domain which are beyond the basic conceptual correspondences. These **entailments** are the inferences which allow

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people to make use of a rich variety of commonplace knowledge about a source domain and unconsciously apply them into the target. For instance, if we face a difficulty in our course of life, we can assume that we *reached at a point* to think about *an alternative route* rather than *going in circles*. All of those entailments are derived from what Lakoff (1987) calls to be "folk theory" of a domain, in other words what is known to be the collective mind. Every source domain possesses the potential of entailment, yet the range or how much of this knowledge can be mapped into the target domain is of discussion. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003, 1989; Rudzka-Ostyn, 1995; Ibarretxe-Antunano, 1999; Feyaerts, 2000). Though it does not explain which part of the source domain can be mapped into the target and which cannot, the notion of **partial metaphorical utilization** indicates that only a part of the source domain is utilized to provide structure for a part of the target domain, thus **highlighting** only some parts of the target while **hiding** others. This is one of the reasons why several source domains are used for a single target domain.

Another component of a conceptual metaphor is the **blends** which emerge as a result of the interaction between the source and the target domains. CMT indicates that the metaphorical expressions can have creative properties because they are the result of blends which are new to both source and target domains.

Fauconnier and Turner's Blending Theory (1994), extends on the notion of blends observed in the conceptual metaphors and propose a four-space model. The model includes two **input spaces**, a **generic space**, and the **blend space** and the 'blend' arise in the network of these mental spaces. Inputs represent the temporary structures that might correspond to the notions of target and source domain in CMT, however, the input spaces are not bound to follow the unidirectionality principle of CMT, rather the abstract structures can integrate reciprocally and thus lead to 'the blend'. The generic space contains the abstract structures that correspond to the common elements in both input spaces. The blended space receives structures from two input spaces and the generic space. These mental spaces are established 'on-line' which means they are realized in the moment of understanding. Literature suggests that the four-space model offers several advantages as it allows for the interpretation of the irregular and unconventional patterns of metaphorical conceptualizations.

Figure 1 below shows the network model which consists of four spaces.
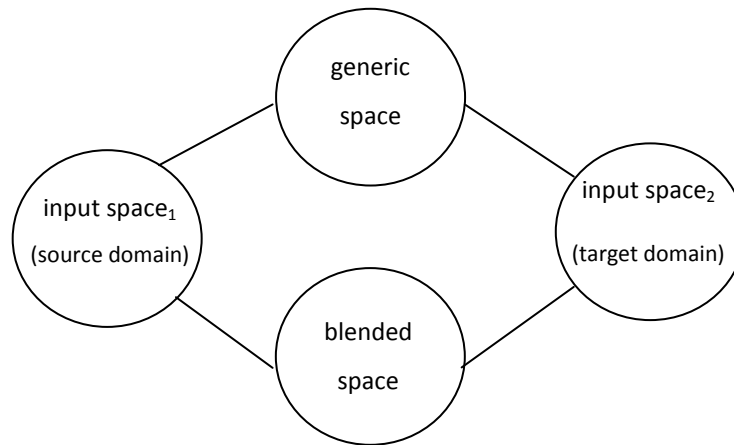
Figure 1. Network Model for Blending and Metaphor

Within the scope of CMT, blends are usually accounted for the creative uses of conceptual metaphors in the discourse (Kövecses, 2005). It is important to indicate that CMT and BT are "mutually reinforcing and often deeply intertwined, rather than at odds with each other" (Fauconnier & Lakoff, n.d.). The approaches have differences in their emphasis and interpretation for the same linguistic data, thus they do not necessarily yield the same results. Nevertheless, there is considerable overlap and they should be regarded complementary (Grady, Oakley, & Coulson, 1999). In their joint paper "On Metaphor and Blending", Fauconnier and Lakoff underline that there is no conflict between the approaches, and as the researcher "you can choose both, for different aspects of your analysis, depending on what is needed for your purposes". Such an integration may help attain wider-ranging scientific goals and a stronger interdisciplinary framework.

2.1.3 Classification of Conceptual Metaphors

The classifications of metaphors include the aspect of conventionality (Kövecses, 2010) and the cognitive function (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003) of a metaphor. **Conventionality** is one of the most frequently used categorization of conceptual metaphors, it evaluates the degree of how well a metaphor is established in a linguistic community. The more a conceptual metaphor is used, the more conventionalized it becomes. In this sense, there are also instances of unconventional or novel metaphors when specific metaphorical

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linguistic expressions which are not conventionalized for the speakers of a particular language are used to manifest a conceptual metaphor. Based on a conventional metaphor, the speakers of a particular language may create novel or unique linguistic metaphors (Kövecses, 2002/2010) which are the direct indicators of creativity in discourse.

Conceptual metaphors can also be classified according to the cognitive functions of structural, ontological, and orientational (Lakoff, 1980/2003). **Structural** metaphors are those where "one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another" and an example of a structural metaphor would be the classical ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor where the concept of ARGUMENT is metaphorically understood, in other words structured, in terms of WAR. **Orientational** metaphors provide spatial orientations to the concepts such as up-down, in-out, front-back, deep-shallow, and central-peripheral which all have experiential basis in physical and cultural experience (Lakoff, 2002). HAPPY IS UP-SAD IS DOWN (as in: I'm feeling *up* today - He's really *low* these days[1]) or CONSCIOUS IS UP-UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN (as in: Wake *up* - He *sank* into coma[2]) are among these orientational metaphors (Kövecses, 2010). Literature also indicates that upward orientation refers to the positive evaluation while the downward orientation is associated with a negative one. Finally, **ontological** metaphors provide structure for abstract notions and experiences. The intangible entities are usually understood by means of these metaphors as in the conceptual metaphor THE MIND IS A MACHINE (as in: My mind is *rusty* this morning[3]). Furthermore, among the most widely researched metaphors in CMT; the CONTAINER metaphors are also ontological and the source domain of CONTAINER is mapped onto the target domains of PHYSICAL AND NONPHYSICAL SURFACES as well as STATES (as in: being *in* love). In **Personification,** human qualities are given to nonhuman entities (as in: Life has *cheated* me[4]). In this sense, personification is also regarded as a form of ontological metaphor. **Metonymy** is another figure of speech which has both similarities and differences with metaphors. For example; WHOLE-FOR-PART and PART-FOR-WHOLE can be

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[1] Kövecses, 2010: 36

[2] Kövecses, 2010: 36

[3] Kövecses, 2010: 35

[4] Kövecses, 2010: 35

considered typical metonymies (as in: using *the crown* for *the monarchy*[5]). However, the literature often indicates that it is not always clear whether a linguistic expression is a metaphor or a metonymy. Rather, "Often, what we find is that an expression is both; the two figures blend in a single expression" (Kövecses, 2010: 187-188). Though subtle, there are studies which differentiate metonymy and metaphor (see Barcelona, 2000 for a detailed discussion on the theory of metonymy) yet the present study will make no distinction between these concepts and include them all under the roof of conceptual metaphor.

2.1.4 Universality in Metaphor

Kövecses (2002, 2005) offers extensive research and discussion on the issue of universality of conceptual metaphors. The findings heavily depend on the research on the English language, though the recent studies on some other languages are also in line with the hypotheses formed. Lakoff and Johnson's (1999) embodiment hypothesis states that metaphorical thought is based on embodied human experiences. The **primary** metaphors are argued to be based on sensorimotor experience. Therefore, intimacy correlates with proximity, affection with warmth and achieving purposes with reaching destinations. To elaborate; the conceptual metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH (Kövecses, 1986: 101) is interpreted to be the result of the childhood experiences that associate the 'affectionate' embrace of the parents with the comforting 'warmth' of their body. Kövecses (2005) proposes that the universality of the bodily experience may lead to the universality of conceptual metaphors that correspond to it. Conceptual metaphors are usually primary because they are reported to be corresponding to the universal experiences but they can also come together to form **complex** metaphors. Though limited in number and size, studies on diverse and unrelated languages show that some metaphors are potentially universal such as the emotions. Concerning the case of emotions, PRESSURED CONTAINER metaphors as in ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURED CONTAINER is a good example which is based on a bodily or physiological experience and researched in various unrelated languages such as English, Hungarian, Japanese, Chinese, Zulu, Polish, Wolof, Tahitian, and Turkish. The literature shows that the investigated languages offer similar conceptual metaphor for anger, thus it is concluded that ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURED CONTAINER metaphor is

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[5] Kövecses, 2010: 152

universal at the **generic-level** (Levy, 1973; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff and Kövecses 1987; Mikolajczuk, 1998; Taylor & Mbense, 1998; Yu; 1998; Aksan 2006a). Generic-level metaphors are instantiated or realized by **specific-level** metaphors which can be considered as the sub-metaphors.

2.1.5 Variety in Metaphor

Just as there is an observed universality to the conceptual metaphors, variation is also present between the languages. In addition to the previously mentioned components of a metaphor such as the source, the target, mappings, entailments, and blending, the aspect of socio-cultural experience is also involved in this process. Dobrovolskij & Piirainen (2005) indicate that the irregularities in the metaphorical expressions emerge from or under the influence of certain culture-specific factors. These socio-cultural factors or experience may lead to both within-cultural and cross-cultural variation.

In his study on the concept of family in American culture, Lakoff (1996) shows the within-culture variation in the same source domain. As it can be observed in many other cultures, American culture also has different conceptualizations of a 'family', such as the 'strict father' model and the 'nurturant' family model. In addition to different conceptualizations, the social and political opinions are also shaped depending on whether people accept the notion of authority or the empathy in a family. The same situation can also be observed as a cross-linguistic variation. In her study on acquisition of motion in space in Turkish and English, Özçalışkan (2003, 2007) shows that Turkish and English have different aspects of motion, English makes use of manner into motion verbs while Turkish uses direction. As a result, speakers of English understand the target domain in a manner-centred conceptualization while speakers of Turkish conceptualize a more direction-centred target domain, as a result, the variation is observed between the languages.

In addition to the culture, the context also includes physical discourse and it similarly shapes the metaphorical conceptualization. For example, Boers (1999) showed that the metaphor ECONOMY IS HEALTH is observed more frequently in the winter than in the summer. Boer concluded that when the HEALTH domain became more salient for people (in the northern hemisphere) they make more use of this domain, particularly because there is a bigger awareness of the health status in wintertime. Covering the issues of the magazine *The Economist* over a period of ten years, the claim was supported by analysis of

metaphorical expressions which belonged to the source domain of HEALTH and were related to the economy.

Kövecses (2010) also highlights the range of the target to indicate that different languages may have different ranges of source domains for the same target domain. So it is also possible that two languages use the same source domains for a specific target domain, yet the mappings may differ. For example, Yu (2008) shows that both English and Chinese use HEAT as a source domain for the target domain of ANGER, thus provides evidence for universality at a generic level, but at the same time; the results show that the source concepts show variation as English makes use of the source concept of heated liquid while Chinese has hot gas.

Similarly, the scope of source indicates that a specific source domain may correspond to different target domains in different languages. Furthermore, the mapping and the entailments may show variety across languages or cultures, and the case of blending (see 2.1.2 for brief information) affects the variation. The literature also indicates that "metaphors that are frequent in one language are rare or nonexistent in another", as well (Deignan, Lima & Lopes-Mora, 1998; cited in Deignan, 2003).

2.1.6 Metaphor in Discourse

Metaphors exist in discourse (see 2.2.1 for a detailed discussion on the term 'discourse'). One of the main criticisms of previous metaphor research has been that the researchers do not take the discourse of a particular metaphor into account. "JULIET IS THE SUN" (previously introduced in 2.1.1) is a classic example of such a case where the interpretation of the metaphor varies according to whether the **broader** context is referred to or ignored. The sun has various properties, thus that context holds the key to reveal which aspects constitute the relevant mappings. Ritchie (2004, 2013) discusses whether metaphors have a 'single well-specified meaning' and underlines that communicative context determines the metaphor identification. To better illustrate, he focuses on the aforementioned metaphorical expression and shows that the metaphorical interpretation of "Juliet is the sun" goes beyond the source aspects of 'heat' and 'light' in the **local** context and extends on the notions of the celestial metaphors which even have religious attributes in the broader context of the entire play and the cultural conventions. As a result, the same metaphor may

imply different meanings within different contexts as the metaphorical language has a context-bound nature (Semino, Deignan & Littlemore, 2013).

The notion **pressure of coherence** (Kövecses, 2005) proposes that the language users adjust the metaphors to the surrounding context. This principle argues that there is an interplay between the dynamic context, universal embodiment and differential experience, and this interplay leads to the variation in metaphors in discourse. All of these components interact and can lead to the emergence of unconventional or novel metaphors which Kövecses (2002/2010) terms as **context-induced creativity**. He claims that the majority of unconventional or novel metaphorical expressions derive from the contextual factors of immediate linguistic context, knowledge about discourse participants, and the physical setting.

2.2 Discourse

2.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

The concept of **discourse** was first used interchangeably with any kind of text that is beyond sentence-level. Since the first introduction of this concept, different discourse analytic approaches have been put forward to study it.

Foucault's (1972) discussions were among the first to associate discourse to social knowledge. Foucault argued that a discourse analysis would remain shallow if it is limited to only formal and empirical approaches focus on the language use. Therefore, he proposed that discourse should be analyzed at the level of 'statements' which are non-linguistic constructs that 'require the analysis of specific historic constructions'. Foucault maintained that discourses are created in respect to power relations and that discourse is a manifestation of domination, in other words power inequalities or struggles. Foucault's arguments for discourse and power, as well as knowledge and truth led to the emergence of what is known today as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

Echoing Foucault's arguments, Fairclough (1992) states that discourse is a language as a form of social practice and needs to be investigated on both text level and beyond text-level. As a representative of British tradition of CDA, Fairclough provided an analytic procedure which involves the analysis of three dimensions, namely (i) the **text** dimension

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which is the description of text in terms of its formal features, (ii) the **discursive practice** dimension which is the interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and (iii) the **social practice** dimension which is the explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context. Through his procedure, Fairclough investigated the relationship between power, ideology and discourse.

One of the major focuses of CDA, **power** can be defined as an asymmetrical relationship between people, social groups, institutions, organizations during which the ones holding power can access and control over the acts and minds of others (Lukes, 2005; van Dijk, 2001). Fairclough (1989) also underlines that the ones who hold power choose coercion or consent as a way of exercising their power. In this sense, CDA explores how the actors of power both benefit from discourse and utilize it according to their own means and ideology. Ideology is seen as 'a key mechanism' to exercise power (Fairclough, 1989) and the interplay between them manifests itself in the discourse.

Representing the Dutch school of CDA, Van Dijk (1993, 1995) conceptualized **ideology** as 'a set of factual and evaluative beliefs, that is the knowledge and the opinion of the group' exists within the minds of people and it is reproduced and distributed through discourse. The issue of ideology is also closely related to the concept of **identity** as people create their self-presentation and establish what they count as 'us' and 'them' which leads to the in-group shared ideologies in contrast to that of out-group(s). Therefore, the ideology and the group membership are regarded to be highly intertwined as "identity of groups is not only based on their structural properties, but also on their ideology." (Van Dijk, 2006c: 729). He also points out that ideologies are usually associated with group interests, conflicts and struggle. It is based on the group membership "individuals may acquire several ideologies or ideology fragments" and those ideologies are usually explicitly or implicitly constructed "as attacks against ideological opponents or enemies" (Van Dijk, 1998: 278).

Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978) argues that society has a hierarchical structure in terms of power and status and the various social groups in this structure provide its members with a social identity. Self-categorization theory (Turner & Hogg, 1987) extends on this theory and states that categorization of people into groups is directly related to the self-concept. The in-group is usually viewed as positively while the out-group is predicated negatively (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) so that the self-concept is enhanced. People who belong to in-groups are usually attributed same prototypes and behaviours.

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Van Dijk (1989, 1999) provides detailed research focusing on the issues of ideology and discusses the presentation of Us versus Them, particularly in racist discourse. Oktar (2001) echoes Van Dijk's findings and highlights that there is the ideological underpinnings of Us versus Them in political discourse. Oktar specifically investigates how the representatives of two opposing ideologies, secularist and sheriatists construct their discourses in the media. She shows that their discourses are constructed with reference to the presentation of *us* versus *them* which reveals the implied power struggles. She points out that the categorization of *us* versus *them* is directly related to the contextual strategy of **positive self-presentation** and **negative other-presentation** which are used for strategies to hint at the hidden ideologies of power.

As the literature indicates, the ideological conflict between the aforementioned group presentations is signalled by the various ways in discourse and the present study focuses on the conceptual metaphors as a way to reveal them.

As a highly interdisciplinary framework, CDA has proven to have a broad range of application field which comprises the fields of pragmatics, sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, ethnography as well as the fields of philosophy, sociology, anthropology, gender studies, and literary criticism.

2.2.2 Political Discourse

Van Dijk (2006c) argues that "Politics is one of the social domains whose practices are virtually exclusively discursive; political cognition is by definition ideologically based; and political ideologies are largely produced by discourse,". It thus illustrates how discourse allows for the manifestation of ideologies and politics that are both socially and discursively intertwined.

Nevertheless, the literature shows that the scope of political discourse has not been clearly defined within CDA and has "some fuzzy boundaries" (Van Dijk, 1998) as is with other types of discourse. There appear to be two views which attempt to determine the content and the boundaries of it. The first view supposes that because of the fact that all discourses have the potential to be interpreted to be 'political' either due to the analyst's stance or the fact that CDA fundamentally deals with hidden ideologies, power, domination, and conflict, thus all discourse can be considered political in nature. The second view, on the other hand,

proposes that political discourse is the discourse of political actors, politicians and political participants (Wilson, 2001).

Fabiszak (2007) states that linguists analyzing political discourse often used the media as a source of text in the past. Today, the media still is a prominent source for the studies on political discourse because of its potential to deliver ideologies. Bell (1991) regards media language as one of the most influential language input individuals experience today and mentions discourse analysis as one of the main approaches to investigate the news media language. The study of news reports in the press as political discourse is considered a rich source to analyze the cognitive and sociocultural context (Van Dijk, 1991). Lewis (2003) also stresses that press discourse has a big influence in society's opinions on particular topics. Cap (1998) illustrates how language is used to construct the political identity of Russia, Byelorussia, Latvia, and the Ukraine.

Van Dijk's research concerning political discourse particularly focuses on in-group and out-group differentiations and their ideological implications (2005, 2006b), the analysis of media as part of discourse analysis (1985), and the reproduction of racism in news discourse (1986a, 1986b). In one of his works, he examines the British newspaper discourse about 1985 city disturbances and highlights the representation of Us versus Them within the racist discourse (Van Dijk, 1989). In another study, he analyzes Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar's political discourse which supports the US and threatens Iraq in 2003 and reveals the positive self-presentation and the negative other-presentation dominating his speech (Van Dijk, 2005).

Fairclough (2013) is among those who indicated that CDA can contribute to critical policy studies and analyzes the UK governments' Pre-Budget Report of 2008 based on the theoretical framework of CDA (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2011).

Literature also provides comparative perspectives to political discourse. For example, Wei (2003) illustrates that the choice of rhetoric and particular conceptual metaphors show differences in the political press discourse of Taiwanese and that of the West.

Sandıkçıoğlu (2000) explores the language used by the US government and military published in the magazines *TIME* and *NEWSWEEK* before and after the 1991 Gulf War. She shows that the metaphors used have a racist agenda which polarize the world into the Orient versus the West, and Us versus Them. She argues that Orientalist conceptual

metaphors maintain the asymmetry in the power relations between the West and the East. The conceptual metaphors also have two main functions, namely conveying the positive image of the US and its allies (positive Self-presentation) and the negative image of Iraq as the enemy (negative Other-presentation).

All in all, the consensus is that CDA contributes to the political analyses "if it is able to provide an account of the role of language, language use, discourse or communicative events in the (re)production of dominance and inequality" (Van Dijk, 1993: 279).

2.2.3 Metaphor-Led CDA

While Charteris-Black (2004: 8) states that "metaphor is [...] central to critical discourse analysis since its concerned with forming coherent reality", metaphor is reported to have been largely neglected in mainstream CDA (Hart, 2008). Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 157) quote that "people in power get to impose their metaphors" and therefore, CDA which is concerned with the recreation of reality through discourse and uncover the ideologies and power relations hinted at the discourse within the relevant social and political realm can indeed benefit from the insights to be obtained from a systematic conceptual metaphor analysis. Lakoff's 1991 essay "Metaphor and War" remains to be an important analysis to illustrate the role of conceptual metaphors in planning the US foreign policy by revealing the fact that through the use of specific metaphors about political and economic situation in Iraq, the US government managed to "systematically hide the most dreadful consequences of that war." One of the founding principles of CMT argues that conceptual metaphors exist in our everyday language and not only do they shape our communication but also shape the way we think and act, thus shaping the discourse and its reflection on reality. Metaphors play a central role in the construction of social and political reality (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980/2003) and as a result, this acceptance of metaphors in creating realities applies one of the central claims of CDA to metaphor (Koller, 2005) and the systematic study of it contributes to CDA (Musolff, 2012).

Aitchison's (2003) study on President Bush's speeches after 9/11 attacks in the US is another example of metaphor analysis in political discourse. The study shows how Bush initially makes use of the metaphorical expression CRUSADE in his speeches and later changes it to WAR ON TERROR in line with the foreign policy followed by the U.S at that time. In a way, what Van Dijk (2006a) refers to as the **discursive manipulation** can be argued to

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be observed. While manipulation is regarded to be illegitimate, the metaphor studies show that it is constructed in a discursively legitimate way and people's opinions can be manipulated.

In addition to discursive manipulation, Mio (1997) argues that the role of metaphors in assisting politicians communicate their messages to the public. In his work, he emphasizes the importance of metaphors as persuasive devices and simplifying the messages to be conveyed, as well as stirring emotions of the audience.

The metaphor literature on international political discourse identified various conceptual metaphors and their discursive implications. Howe (1988) collected political metaphors from American political discourse over a period of 6 years and concluded that the dominant political metaphors were SPORTS and WAR-FARE. Frakowska (1994) carried out a CMT research on Polish political press texts and identified the conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS THEATRE, POLITICS IS A GAME, POLITICS IS SPORT, and POLITICS IS WAR. Santa Ana (1999) analyzed the metaphors in the articles from the newspaper *Los Angeles Times* over a period of 2 years. The analysis of metaphors of which the target domain is IMMIGRANT showed that the political discourse conceptualized the immigrants negatively, among which the most dominant was IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS. NATION AS HOUSE and NATION AS BODY are also identified in Santa Ana (1999) to conceptualize the US Kimie (2007) touched upon the metaphorical conceptualization of war, peace, and bilateral relations within the scope of international relations. While her inferences are based on limited data, she observes similarities between the metaphorical conceptualizations in English and Japanese political discourse. The conceptual metaphors identified include NATION IS A PERSON, NATIONS OF THE WORLD ARE A FAMILY, as well as those what she calls as JOURNEY, BUILDING, BALANCE metaphors. Flanik (2008) explored the metaphorical discourse observed in the US discourse about national missile defense. He highlighted that the conceptual metaphors such as STATES ARE TREACHEROUS PERSONS and STATES ARE CONTAINERS are observed in the data. A'Beckett (2012) investigates the ideological underpinnings and intentions related to the conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE A FAMILY in a case study of the Russian language. Researcher shows that the same metaphor can evoke different themes and social implications. While the source concept "BROTHERS" has positive overtones, the study argues that the concept implies 'troublemaking' in the recent Russian discourse and imply "a potential or veiled conflict between so-called brother nations". Sahlane (2013) investigates

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the conceptual (re)construction of the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 in political discourse of pro- and anti-war newspapers and Figar (2014) explores whether CONFLICT metaphors identified in political discourse of newspapers can evoke emotional responses.

Musolff's extensive research on conceptual metaphors in political discourse remains to be highly prominent. In his book-length study (2004), he explores the conceptual metaphors and scenarios on EU discourse from the corpora of British and German press. In a separate paper, Musolff (2004) focused on HEART metaphor in the coverage of European Union politics in the 1990s and the result showed that the conceptual metaphor HEART OF EUROPE was the dominant conceptual metaphor. The study also pointed out that there were differences between the political attitude and perception patterns in British and German political discourse. In another study, Musolff (2006) investigated the scenarios structured around the mappings between the source and target domains of metaphorical expressions identified in the political discourse of the EU. He concluded that the analysis of scenarios is necessary to complement the analysis of conceptual metaphors.

2.3 Corpus

2.3.1 The Definition of Corpus

In modern linguistics, a corpus (plural: corpora) can be defined to be a collection of naturally occurring language text, chosen to characterize a state or a variety of a language. Leech's (1992: 116) definition of a corpus states that the textual material are collected "with a particular purposes in mind and [...] assembled to be representative of some language or text type". Sinclair (1996) also emphasizes the aspect of "representativeness" and Johansson (1998: 3) underlines that the corpus should be formed "in a principled way".

The various definitions of a corpus make a consensus that a corpus is a collection of (i) machine-readable (ii) authentic texts (iii) sampled to be (iv) representative of a particular language or language variety. Machine-readability refers to the electronic corpora where the data is processed and analyzed in an 'accurate and consistent' way (Barnbrook, 1996) through the use of computers, and it is now a 'de facto attribute' of modern corpus research (McEnery, Xiao & Tono, 2006:4). The authenticity assures that the data is not invented rather is comprised of naturally occurring language. It can include either written texts or the transcription of the speech, or both. The criteria for sampling and representativeness is often discussed, yet Stubbs (2001) points out that "it is necessary to

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restrict the corpus to texts that fall within the particular discourse domain" thus implies that both the sampling and the representativeness are shaped by the purpose and the scope of the corpus to be built.

2.3.2 Corpus Linguistics

In Teubert's (2004) brief history of corpus linguistics, it is claimed that the first corpus of the English language in the modern sense was built by Sir Randolph Quirk in the late 1950s with the aim of describing English grammar empirically. It was named The Survey of English Usage and was computerized by Quirk and Greenbaum in the mid-1980s under the name of the International Corpus of English (ICE)[6]. Today, ICE is a worldwide project which collects and provides data for comparative studies of English.

The Brown Corpus of Standard American English which was compiled in the 1960s by Henry Kucera and W. Nelson Francis was the first computer readable general corpora. It consisted of about one million words from American English texts published in 1961.

The first corpus constructed with the purpose of conducting lexical research belonged to John Sinclair who emphasized the importance of collocation and highlighted that context played a major role to assign meanings to the words (Sinclair, 1991). Many corpus linguists consider Sinclair's work to be one of the most influential studies of modern day corpus linguistics.

In terms of range of scope, corpora can be either generalized or specialized. **Generalized** corpora are usually large in size with more than 10 million words and include a variety of language so that the findings can be generalized. The British National Corpus (BNC)[7] and the American National Corpus (NC)[8] are examples of generalized corpora. Designed by a team of linguists in Mersin University, Turkish National Corpus (TNC)[9] is a representative generalized corpus of contemporary Turkish. TNC covers various genres of both written and spoken language in a timeframe of 20 years (1999-2009) and consists of 50 million words

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[6] http://ice-corpora.net/ice/

[7] http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/

[8] http://www.anc.org/

[9] http://www.tnc.org.tr/index.php/en/

(Aksan & Aksan, 2009a). METU Spoken Turkish Corpus (STC)[10] is another example of generalized corpora which consists of about one million words of face-to-face or mediated interactions in contemporary Turkish. The project has been developed since 2008 and is aimed to be available for researchers working on areas related to language. **Specialized** corpora includes only a certain type of texts, thus aims to be the representative of that particular type in a language. These corpora are usually designed to answer specific questions, so they can be large or small in size. An example would be Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE)[11] which consists of spoken language data in a university setting.

Corpora can be monolingual or multilingual. There are two types of multilingual corpora; namely parallel and comparable. **Parallel** corpus contains a collection of texts both in their original language (source texts) and their translations in another language, thus the sampling frame is automatically the same (McEnery & Hardie, 2011). The EUROPARL[12] corpus is an example of parallel corpus which provides European Union documents in English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch. Improving on the concept of parallel corpora, **comparable** corpus compares different languages or varieties on the basis of a wider criterion for similarity. For a comparable corpus, the language samples must 'match with each other in terms of proportion, genre, domain and sampling period' (McEnery & Xiao, 2007). Both parallel and comparable corpora are used for translation and contrastive studies and they can be either specialised or general depending on the scope of a particular research question.

Tognini-Bonelli (2001) introduces the distinction between **corpus-based** and **corpus-driven** linguistic inquiry which is argued to be important in research involving corpora. Corpus-based studies use corpora data to validate or refute a theory or hypothesis while corpus-driven studies use the corpus as a source of data to support the hypotheses about the language. Rather than validating or refuting hypotheses, the corpus data supports particular hypotheses. Stubbs (2001) makes use of corpus-driven approach to carry out his analyses and make generalizations on the distribution and meaning of lexical items

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[10] http://std.metu.edu.tr/en

[11] http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/c/corpus/corpus?c=micase;page=simple

[12] http://www.statmt.org/europarl/

depending solely on the corpus data. In her comprehensive corpus-driven study of fixed expression and idioms in English, Moon (1998: 49) maintains that "searches are deterministic, and only report what has been sought, not what should or could have been looked for in a corpus-driven study".

2.3.3 Metaphor in Corpus Linguistics

The studies in corpus linguistics have showed that metaphors are frequently used in naturally occurring data. The frequency of a conceptual metaphor can be measured in a corpus and unconventional instances can be identified. Corpus linguistics also provides a systematic inquiry of metaphors in discourse and more accurate inferences are drawn.

Charteris-Black (2004) presents how a corpus can be used in a metaphor-led CDA analysis, or in his terms, Critical Metaphor Analysis. His comprehensive investigation focuses on specific-domain corpora, namely British party political manifestos, American presidential speeches, press reporting, the Bible, the Old Testament, and the Koran. For each corpus, he makes use of Critical Metaphor Analysis approach which follows the stages of metaphor identification, metaphor interpretation, and metaphor explanation (see 3.5.1, 3.5.2, and 3.5.3 for detailed information on the procedure). He presents the frequencies of metaphorical lexicon, distribution of metaphors in overall corpora, and the resonance values of source domains. He concludes that Critical Metaphor Analysis reveals the rhetorical aim of **persuasion** which influences the selection of particular metaphors in the discourse and claims that a complete theory of metaphor must also incorporate this pragmatic perspective (Charteris-Black, 2004: 247).

Koller (2004) also investigated metaphors by combining corpus linguistics, discourse analysis, and conceptual theory in her study on business media discourse. She explores the rhetoric language of business press reports in two self-compiled corpora built from British and American business magazines and newspapers. The results show that metaphors of war, sports, and evolutionary struggle dominate the discourse.

Stefanowitsch (2007) investigated the emotions as target domains, specifically ANGER, FEAR, HAPPINESS, SADNESS, and DISGUST in the British National Corpus (BNC) and identified the source domains of them. Though the majority of the identified metaphors in the study were at the generic-level; his study highlighted that a corpus linguistic approach can identify more metaphorical expressions than the traditional intuitive approach can.

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The literature supports the integration of corpus methodology into metaphor studies as it generates a reliable description of the typical context and use of linguistic metaphors (Deignan, 1999; Steen, 1999). Literature shows that researchers have used different sizes of corpora, ranging from sizes that can be searched by hand to the corpora searched by computerized techniques. Deignan & Cameron (2003) compared the advantages and disadvantages for the corpora of different sizes. They concluded that while a large corpus offers opportunities to see metaphor patterns, a small corpus provides more detailed information about the context of use.

2.4 Metaphor Studies on Turkish and Turkey

Metaphor studies on the Turkish language are still quite few in number yet the existing literature provides exploratory and rich results.

Aksan (2006a; 2006b) explored the conceptual metaphors of anger in Turkish. Furthermore, he compares Turkish cultural model of anger with that of American English and concludes that they are in fact quite similar. The study showed that the main conceptual difference lies within the cultural dimension of collectivism and individualism. Aksan focuses on the CONTAINER metaphor which is considered to be universal for the target domain ANGER and presents a rich variety of metaphorical expressions of the general metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS and thus ANGER IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, as well as the sub-metaphors such as ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL in Turkish. The analysis states that the generic-level metaphor FLUID IN A CONTAINER can show variation between cultures, i.e., Turkish and American, at a specific-level.

Aksan and Kantar (2008) investigated the conventionalized LOVE metaphors in Turkish and English building on a study they previously conducted among 350 Turkish college students. The findings support the claim that force and path image schemas are universal but languages show differences at a specific- level, focusing on the metaphorical realizations of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. The researchers showed that while love is conceptualized as a collaborative and success-oriented journey in English, it is a compelling force which imposes pain on the self in Turkish. Furthermore, Turkish data offers the source domains of PAIN/SUFFERING, INEFFABILITY, and DEADLY FORCE which are not present in English data. The existence of such domains was linked to the medieval Anatolian Sufi philosophy.

In a later paper on a corpus based analysis of LOVE metaphors, Aksan and Aksan (2009b) found that the frequencies for metaphorical expressions for LOVE metaphors were different in Turkish and English corpora.

Özçalışkan (2003, 2007) explored the aspects of motion in Turkish and English (study previously mentioned in 2.1.5) and illustrated that speakers of English make use of a manner-centred and speakers of Turkish have a more direction-centred target domain for motion.

Another cross-cultural perspective of conceptual metaphors in Turkish is provided by Can and Can (2010) who analyzed the chat metaphors in Turkish and English. The source domains for the metaphorical expressions of chat were identified in corpora of data collected from METU Spoken Turkish Corpus, the Corpus of Contemporary American English, and Google in order to explore the interrelation between the language and the culture. The authors concluded that 'chat-sohbet' is conceptualized differently in Turkish and English and that culture plays a big role in the observed different connotations.

In her Master's thesis, Öz (2011) investigated body parts in Turkish using a corpora and explores the kinds of metaphoric and metonymic usages of body terms and their frequencies in Turkish. She compared the data from TNC and the dictionary of TDK within the scope of the selected body parts and CMT. The results illustrated that naturally occuring data about the chosen body parts has more figurative uses of language.

Akkök (2015) provided a cognitive linguistic perspective on conceptual metaphors in her article in collaboration with Kövecses, Szelid, Nucz, Blanco-Carrion, and Szabo. Offering a wide cross-cultural perspective, the study investigated the common conceptual metaphors for anger in English, Spanish, Turkish, and Hungarian. The main aim was to explore the cognitive similarities and differences between the languages with regard to how anger is conceptualized.

The metaphor studies related to Turkey as a country, on the other hand, is relatively more limited. There are only partial mentions of the Turks or Turkey in the literature. One of those studies is Neumann's (1999: 363; cited in Manz, Musolff, Lonc, & Saric, 2004) study where the author discusses the presentation of self and other in political discourse and claims that 'The Turk' representation remains as "the dominant other in the history of the

European state system" and the "present-day representations of Turkey carry with them the memory of earlier representations".

Finally, in Musolff's (2004: 97) detailed study on conceptual metaphors in EU discourse, the fixed phrase 'the sick man of Europe' is presented within the source domain of HEALTH/ILLNESS and the author traces the use of this metaphorical expression back to the late seventeenth century "as a reference to the declining military and economic power of the Ottoman Empire" and underlines that this expression is observed to be still remembered and used in the British press.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Presentation

This chapter presents the detailed description of the research methodology. The study heavily depends on corpus-driven metaphor analysis methods. Selected research design, research questions, data collection procedures, data analysis tool and procedures are described.

3.1 Design of the Study

This study has a corpus-driven critical metaphor analysis design which integrates a CDA perspective. A corpus is central in exploring the metaphors as it provides a collection of texts that constitute the real instances of language use to base the assumptions about the particular conceptual metaphors on. The integration of qualitative and quantitative methodologies are especially of high importance to this study as qualitative analysis helps to interpret the pragmatic role of metaphors while quantities analysis enables to judge the metaphors to be novel or conventional (Charteris-Black, 2004). Cameron and Low (1999a: 88) describe three stages in the methodology of metaphor analysis: (i) collecting examples from linguistic metaphors, (ii) generalising them to conceptual metaphors they exemplify, and (iii) using the results to suggest understandings and thought patterns which construct or constrain people's beliefs and actions. As Charteris-Black (2004) notes, the stages described above are quite similar to Fairclough's (1995a: 6) three stages of identification, interpretation and explanation which constitute the foundation of CDA methodology. The design of this study is based on Charteris-Black's (2004) three stages of Critical Metaphor Analysis, namely; Metaphor Identification, Metaphor Interpretation, and Metaphor Explanation. Each of these stages corresponds to Cameron and Low's (1999) respective stages of the same order. Considering the existing literature which highlights the neglected issue of reliable identification of the metaphors, this study adopts Pragglejaz Group's (2007) Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) into *Metaphor Identification* (see 3.5.1 for

detailed description) stage, identification of conceptual metaphors are carried out through the coding process in *Metaphor Interpretation* and the ideological motivations behind the relevant conceptual metaphors are discussed in *Metaphor Explanation* stage. In this sense, the first two stages correspond to the CMT focus of the analysis while the third one is the gateway to the integrated CDA perspective.

3.2 Research Questions

The study aims to investigate the following research questions:

1. What are the source domains used for the target domain TURKEY in domestic and international political discourse?

    a) What are the source concepts of these source domains in Turkish and English?

    b) What is the resonance of these source domains in Turkish and English?

2. What are the conceptual metaphors which are employed in the (re)construction of Turkey as a sociopolitical structure in domestic and international discourse?

    a) What are the general and sub-metaphors used in Turkish and English?

    b) Is there any instance of unconventional/novel metaphors in Turkish and English?

3. How do the identified conceptual metaphors in the specified corpus discursively (re)construct Turkey as a sociopolitical structure with regard to its group presentation and power relations in domestic and international political discourse?

    a) Which source domains are particularly involved in group presentation and power relations in Turkish and English?

    b) How does identified group presentations imply any power relations in discourse?

3.3 Data Collection Procedures

A self-compiled corpus was formed for this study. Because of the fact that the study aimed to investigate the (re)construction of Turkey in political discourse, a recent sample of discourse was needed. Though there are existing corpora of Turkish (i.e., TNC) and English (i.e., COCA and BNC) which can provide rich data for political discourse, it was not possible to make use of them because of the concern for the updated time-frame.

The study depends on the written language data collected from the selected newspapers from Turkey, the UK, and the USA. The preference for the newspapers as the data source was determined on the ground that "newspapers serve as a mediator between political fractions and citizens and perform the role of the secondary carrier of the political discourse" (Figar, 2014). The newspapers possess a variety in political alignments within the countries they are published: Turkey, the UK, and the USA. They can be considered influential papers based on their proclaimed circulation numbers and the fact that they are among the newspapers who are frequently cited in the existing research literature. The selected newspapers were scanned within the designated timeframe and a specialized comparable corpus, which comprises of articles from two Turkish and five English newspapers was formed.

3.3.1 Selected Materials

The corpus of Turkish political discourse comprises of articles from domestic newspapers *Cumhuriyet* and *Sabah*, both of which are among the best-selling newspapers and each of which is considered to be representing different ideologies in Turkey (Tunç, 2011, Hortaçsu & Ertuk, 2003). *Sabah* is interpreted to be a pro-government media outlet which advocates to social conservatism views and has the circulation of about 305.000 per day ("Tiraj Tablosu", 2014) and has been published since 1985. *Cumhuriyet*, on the other hand, is regarded to be pro main opposition party and has social democratic views with the circulation of about 50.000 and has been published since 1924. *Cumhuriyet* and *Sabah* are among the newspapers that have the highest circulation numbers per day in Turkey where the total daily newspaper circulation of 4.6 million for a population of around 77.7 million. Therefore, *Cumhuriyet* and *Sabah* are selected to be included on the study based on the evaluation that they have different political stances and were also accessible online.

The corpus of the international news coverage includes two American and three British newspapers. The American newspapers are *The New York Times* which has a liberal political alignment and *The Washington Post* which has a conservative one. *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* have been published since 1851 and 1877, respectively and both are considered to be highly influential papers (Lakoff, 2008: 143) within the political discourse and are among the most widely distributed papers in the USA. The international political discourse corpus similarly includes British newspapers which have different political

stances; one liberal and two conservative papers which are *The Independent, The Telegraph,* and *The Daily Mail*, respectively. *The Telegraph,* and *The Daily Mail* have been published since 1855 and 1896; and founded in 1986, *The Independent* has a relatively shorter printing history. All three newspapers are among the papers which have the highest circulation numbers in the UK ("National Newspaper Circulations", 2014) with *The Daily Mail* holding the highest circulation number in the nation.

3.3.2 Political Discourse (POLDIS) Corpus

POLDIS (Political Discourse) Corpus was created through the collected newspaper articles within the period of a month (1 to 30 November 2014) which consisted of 204 articles from two Turkish and five English newspapers in total. The designated timeframe was decided on the ground that the corpus covered the most recent news coverage possible to the start of the data collection timeframe of the researcher so that the analysis of the political discourse can present the most possible up-to-date perspective for the metaphorical and discursive (re)construction of Turkey considering the highly dynamic nature of the political discourse and the media.

Initially, the one month period of daily publication content of each newspaper was scanned and the articles related to Turkey were accumulated. Turkish corpus consists of 79 articles from "GÜNDEM" [AGENDA] sections in *Sabah* and 89 articles from "GÜNDEM" and "DIŞ HABERLER" [FOREIGN NEWS] sections in *Cumhuriyet,* excluding the articles which are the Turkish translations of foreign news sources and the articles of regular columnists considering copyright issues. English corpus consists of 13 articles from *The New York Times*, 7 articles from *The Washington Post*, 7 articles from *The Independent*, 5 articles from *The Telegraph*, and 5 articles from *The Daily Mail*. The relevant news articles were compiled from "OP-ED", "MIDDLE EAST", "EUROPE", "AFRICA", "ARTS", and "POLITICS" sections of *The New York Times*; from "MIDDLE EAST", "NATIONAL SECURITY", "WORLD NEWS", "WORLD", "WORLDVIEWS", "OPINIONS" sections of *The Washington Post;* from "MIDDLE EAST", "EUROPE" and "INDEPENDENT VOICES" sections of *The Independent*; from "MIDDLE EAST", "EUROPE", "AFRICA AND INDIAN OCEAN", and "IMMIGRATION" sections of *The Telegraph*, and the general section of "NEWS" of *The Daily Mail*. All the English articles were collected from the online websites of the newspapers. The overview of POLDIS Corpus is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Overview of POLDIS Corpus

Country	Newspaper	Number of Articles	Word Count
Turkey	Cumhuriyet	89	4,828*
	Sabah	79	34,234
	Group Total	**168**	**39,062**
The UK	The Daily Mail	5	2,62
	The Independent	7	5,055
	The Telegraph	4	5,027
	Total	**16**	**12,702**
The USA	The New York Times	13	12,415
	The Washington Post	7	5,553
	Total	**20**	**17,968**
	Group Total	**36**	**30,670**
Total All		**204**	**68,732**

*Note: word count based on related paragraphs only.

The size of the corpus was determined on the basis that both domestic and the international political discourse corresponds to the same timeframe and that they can represent balance in size (168 articles with 39,062 words for Turkish data and 37 articles with 30,670 words for English data in total), thus creating a corpus responding to the purpose of the study (Stubb, 2001). The full versions of the articles were retrieved from the online archives of the aforementioned newspapers, only with the exception of *Cumhuriyet* of which only the paragraph(s) that identified metaphorical expressions are retrieved because of the format of its archives. The articles which were written in English by single Turkish authors were excluded from the corpus while the articles which had Turkish co-authors or contributors remained. Within each article, the quotes which are the direct translations from English to Turkish or vice versa were left out of the analysis, as well.

In POLDIS, each news article was assigned an ID and excerpts used in the study have these IDs as their references. For example, an excerpt with and ID of "013_ENG_NYT_24112014" indicates that this excerpt is from the 13th article in English set of data, it belongs to *The New York Times*, and this article was published on 24th of November 2014.

It should also be noted that there is a difference between the nature of political discourse in Turkish and in English. While the articles from British and American press consist of articles which were written by journalists as commentaries on political situations, the articles in domestic political discourse mainly consist of what could be considered to be a form of directly reporting the speeches of the political figures in Turkey. Though the

perspectives are slightly different, it is a natural consequence of comparing the discourses of different cultures and languages. It can also be argued that such an integration provides a wider perspective on political discourse and offers richer instances of metaphorical conceptualization of Turkey.

3.3.3 The Political Agenda in POLDIS

Van Dijk (1985b) indicates that background should also be defined in the systematic analysis of political discourse of news. Thus, the topics which form the political agenda of domestic and international discourse between the designated timeframe were identified. The topics in POLDIS show variety and slight differences based on their countries of origin.

In British press, general topics include Syria, ISIS/ISIL, prominent figures' visits to Turkey, Gallipoli commemorations, Israel's Gaza flotilla raid, and some sociopolitical issues of the UK (e.g., a reference to Turkey within the UK's immigration related topics). The conflict in Syria which has been going on since the Syrian Civil War in 2011 is one of the most frequently discussed topics. Within the timeframe of the present study, the refugee crisis was among the most problematic issues in the region which resulted in big numbers of refugees to flee to Turkey as a part of its open-border policy. Turkey is reported to host nearly 1.6 million Syrians at the time of the related articles and this humanitarian response of Turkey is frequently presented in positive terms in the related articles. Concerning Syria, the activities of the extremist terrorist group ISIS/ISIL are also on the agenda. ISIS/ISIL's attacks on Kobane in Alleppo and Raqqa, as well as the clashes between Kurdish and ISIS/ISIL elements are mentioned. Furthermore, the airstrikes of US-led coalition on ISIS/ISIL and Obama administration's rejection of Turkey's proposal to establish a no-fly zone in Syria are among the other Syria related topics. As the prominent figures, Vice President of the US Joe Biden's visit to Turkey is on the agenda, the main topic is the issue of ISIS/ISIL. In addition, Pope Francis pays a visit to Turkey and delivers a speech about the dialogue between the religions, the problem of ISIS/ISIL, and Turkey's willingness to host refugees in need. Furthermore, 2010 Gaza flotilla raid is mentioned and the possibility of Israel's having committed a war crime is discussed. The British press also covers the case of a US sailor who was attacked by the protestors chanting 'Yankee Go Home!' in Turkey. The upcoming 2015 Gallipoli commemorations are also mentioned, and the Australians are advised to take safety precautions for travel.

In American press, the topics of Syria, ISIS/ISIL, the refugees, Gaza flotilla raid, the clashes of Kurdish with ISIS/ISIL remain the same. In addition, the agenda includes an article on 2014 Turkey local elections and how the policies of the US are perceived in Turkey. There are also more elaborate articles on the presentation and the discussion on Obama administration's policies on Syria and Iraq. Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu's visit to Iraq is also mentioned. There is also an article on the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's speech on the discovery of the continent of America. In addition, the agenda also mentions Istanbul as the world art capital and the discussions on arts in Turkey.

In Turkish press, the agenda again includes the conflict in Syria and the refugee crisis, the visits of Biden and Pope Francis, the attack on the US sailor, and the situation in Kobane. Furthermore, the local elections, the campaign pledges of the political parties, the projects of the government, Turkey's stance against the terrorism, Turkey's G20 presidency, Turkish-Kurdish Peace Process, the foreign fighters trespassing Turkey to join ISIS/ISIL, Turkey's permit for the peshmerga to pass the territory of Turkey to go to Kobane, and the cooperation between Turkey and the US in the fight against ISIS/ISIL.

3.4 Data Analysis Tool

MAXQDA 11 which is a qualitative data analysis software was used to carry out the analysis in the corpus of POLDIS.

3.4.1 Criteria used for the Selection of MAXQDA 11

The software was chosen on the criteria of its compact user interface, easy-to-navigate features, and functional coding system. MAXQDA11 allows for assigning codes, comments and memos to the particular lexical units and those data can also be exported as a part of the output as an RTF document, EXCEL or HTML table. Figure 2 shows the main screen of the programme.
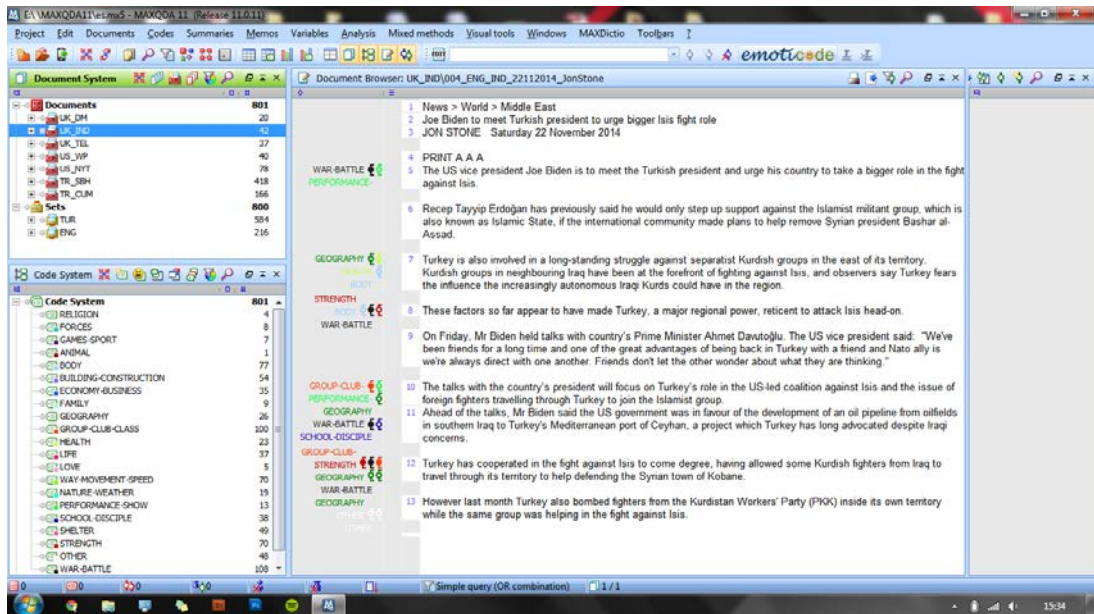
Figure 2. A Screenshot of the main screen of MAXQDA 11

The coding schema and the coding procedure the software allows for one of the most systematic and detailed content analyses currently available for qualitative research. Particularly, the coding schema which offers hierarchical coding which can be filtered by colours, and the forming and re-organizing those coding into sets and groupings were deemed to be essential in terms of an analysis within CMT framework. Figure 3 shows a screenshot of coded segments screen.

Figure 3. A Screenshot of the coded segments screen in MAXQDA 11

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3.5 Data Analysis Procedures

The collected articles which formed the data of POLDIS were analyzed by using an adopted version of Pragglejaz Group's (2007) Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) within the context of previously identified keywords in a pilot study and following *Metaphor Identification, Metaphor Interpretation,* and *Metaphor Explanation* (Charteris-Black, 2004) stages respectively. Highlighting the contextual concerns for a CMT study, the data analysis follows a bottom-up approach.

3.5.1 Metaphor Identification

At this stage, Musolff (2004: 8) points out that it is crucial to note the two important methodological issues in relation to the creation of a corpus of metaphors: (i) how to find metaphors in the collections of linguistic data; and (ii) what to count as metaphors. In contrast to the corpus inquiry of other linguistic phenomena accumulated in concordances through the search of particular letters, words, morphemes or sentences in the database, it is not possible to attain particular linguistic features to recognize the conceptual metaphors in the relevant corpus, in other words, there are no 'clear category boundaries' (Cameron, 1999) for metaphor identification. Second methodological issue complements the first one in terms of the need for the clear identification of what is considered to be a metaphor in a corpus study. Because of the fact that metaphors do not belong to the 'expression side' of linguistic signs, but to their 'conceptual side' (Musolff, 2004a), the instances of studies where evident reliance on the intuitive study of metaphors have been extensively criticized in the literature of CMT for the past 25 years (Kövecses, 2008). In order to refrain from such an unsystematic study, Pragglejaz Group's (2007: 3) Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) was adopted in order to follow the same guideline for the identification stage of metaphorical expressions in the data. The adopted MIP employs the following steps:

1. Read the entire news article to establish a general understanding of the meaning.

2. Identify the passages which *include the keywords* "Turkey/Türkiye" and its linguistic variants.

3. Determine the lexical units in the identified passages.

(a) For each lexical unit *semantically related to* the Turkey/Türkiye and its linguistic variants in the passage, establish its meaning in context, that is how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the contextual meaning.

(b) For each lexical unit, determine *if it has more basic contemporary meaning* (i.e., more concrete, related to bodily action, more precise, historically older) in other contexts than the one in the given article.

(c) If a lexical unit has a more basic contemporary meaning in another context than the one given the article, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

The references used for establishing the basic contemporary meanings of Turkish and English lexical units are Turkish Language Institution's (TDK) The Dictionary of Turkish (11th Ed., 2011) and Meriam-Webster's online dictionary (n.d.), respectively.

To illustrate how MIP works, a sample analysis is applied on an excerpt from *The Telegram* from below. The reading of the whole article (20th of November, 2014), step 1, shows that the article is about Syrian refugee crisis and Turkey's effort for humanitarian help to the people in need. At step 2, the passage which has the keyword *Turkey* is identified:

> Turkey, which hosts half of the 3.2 million refugees who have fled Syria, is shouldering the heaviest burden of what today's report calls the world's worst refugee crisis in a generation.

Lexical units and their boundaries (indicated with slashes) are identified in step 3:

> / Turkey /, which / hosts / half / of / the / 3.2 million / refugees / who / have / fled / Syria /, is / shouldering / the / heaviest / burden / of / what / today's / report / calls / the / world's / worst / refugee / crisis / in / a / generation /.

Later, the lexical units which are semantically related to Turkey in the passage are identified, and their contextual meanings are established based on Meriam-Webster's online dictionary (n.d.). For example, for the lexical unit "shouldering", the analysis is as follows:

(a) *contextual meaning:* In the context of the excerpt, the verb "shouldering" indicates the effort in an act, taking up a difficult responsibility.

(b) *basic meaning:* The basic meaning of the verb *shouldering* is to move forward by pushing through something with the shoulders.

(c) *contextual meaning versus basic meaning:* The contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning and is also understood by comparison with it. In other words, the reader understands the abstract effort and difficulty in terms of physical effort and difficulty.

As a result, the lexical unit "shouldering" is marked as metaphorical (step 4).

In contrast to the traditional practice of CMT type of analysis which follows a top-down direction, this study adopts a bottom-up analysis approach in order to focus on the contextuality of the metaphorical expressions and also identify novel and/or unconventional semantic behaviour of the these expressions. A bottom-up approach presents a multi-stage procedure to establish conceptual metaphors where identified metaphorical expressions are checked for their detailed behaviour (semantic, structural, pragmatic, etc.) in concrete contexts of use (Steen, 1999). Thus, the integration of MIP into the data analysis procedure both enables the detailed contextual study of the metaphorical expressions and the highlighting of the unconventional/novel instances of conceptual metaphors in the corpus.

3.5.1.1 Identification of MIP keywords

Before using the adopted bottom-up MIP, the metaphorical keywords were required to be identified as "it is possible to measure the presence of such keywords quantitatively in the corpus" (Charteris-Black, 2004: 35) and such identification makes the data more manageable within CMT framework. The keywords to be focused in MIP were identified in the pilot study which 10 news articles from *The New York Times* and 10 news articles from *Cumhuriyet* were extracted from POLDIS and analyzed following the procedure of MIP to identify the focus domains of PERSON and BUILDING for the target domain of TURKEY. PERSON and BUILDING were selected on the basis that they are among the most frequently encountered source domains in the CMT literature used for the target domains of nations or political structures. The sample analysis showed that the majority of the metaphorical expressions belonged to the domain of PERSON in both Turkish and English data (80% and %85, respectively) and a concordance for the keywords which led to the identification of these source domains was formed. The concordance showed that "Türkiye, Türkiye

Cumhuriyeti, ülke, hükümet" in Turkish data and "Turkey, Turkish republic, the country, the government, it" in English data were the keywords that represented Türkiye/Turkey and indicated the relevant passages to be marked where the adopted MIP to be conducted.

3.5.2 Metaphor Interpretation

The relevant metaphorical lexical units identified via the adopted MIP were coded into the selected source domains that were compiled from the existing literature of CMT (Lakoff, Espenson & Goldberg, 1989; 1991; Musolff, 2004 a, 2004b; Kövecses, 2010). The identified source domains for the target domains of NATION and POLITICAL STRUCTURE are as follows;

> ANIMALS, BODY, BUILDINGS, BUSINESS, FAMILY, FORCES, SPORTS, GEOGRAPHY, GROUP, HEALTH, LIFE, LOVE, MOVEMENT, NATURE, PERFORMANCE, RELIGION, SCHOOL, SHELTER, SPEED, STRENGTH, WAR, WAY.

Each of the source domains above represented a code in data analysis and each identified metaphorical lexical unit was assigned a single code, thus a single source domain. Later, each lexical unit was assigned a source concept in a source domain. A source concept can be described as a subset of a source domain. This hierarchical grouping enabled systematic analysis and comparison of results in both languages. Furthermore, some source domains were later grouped under 'super-domains' similar to the previous research in the literature (Musolff, 2004 a, 2004b) because of the fuzzy boundaries where such merges did not raise any methodological concerns for the analysis and formed a semantically more comprehensive category such as MOVEMENT-SPEED-WAY.

Furthermore, an additional code of OTHER was assigned for the unconventional/novel instances of source domains for the metaphorical expressions identified in the corpus.

For the reliability of the coding process, a Ph.D. student enrolled in the program of English Language Teaching in Middle East Technical University acted as an inter-coder for the study. 10% of the data were selected in order to meet the requirement of the appropriate sample size to be coded by the inter-coder (Neuendorf, 2002) and the results were reviewed. The inter-coder received theoretical and methodological training in order to enhance the reliability of the metaphor identification process (Cameron et al., 2009). The results indicated .90 percentage-wise agreement.

Following the coding of the metaphorical lexical units into the relevant source domains, the conceptual metaphors were formed for Turkish and English separately.

In this study, the **resonance** which indicates the productivity of each source domain in a corpus was also calculated. Charteris-Black (2004: 89) describes the statistical measure of resonance as "the sum of the tokens multiplied by the sum of the types of the metaphors that are from the same source domain" and gives the formula of resonance as *resonance = sum of types x sum of tokens*. To illustrate, if BIRTH and TO GROW are the source concepts (types) of the source domain of LIFE, and that there are six tokens (metaphorical uses) of BIRTH and five tokens of TO GROW, then the formula of resonance gives the results (6+5) x (1+1) = 22.

3.5.3 Metaphor Explanation

Finally, at *Metaphor Explanation* stage, the identified conceptual metaphors were analyzed in order to investigate whether they disclose the underlying ideological motivations in the discourse. This stage represented the CDA perspective adopted into the CMT framework of this study. Therefore, the conceptual metaphors which are involved in the reconstruction of Turkey within the scope of group presentation and power relations in domestic and international political discourse of daily newspapers were identified and the Turkish data were compared and contrasted with that of English. The identified ideological motivations were based on the context of the corpus of POLDIS from where the extracts were referenced. Unconventional/novel examples of conceptual metaphors used in the discursive construction of Turkish were highlighted and discussed, as well.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.0 Presentation

This chapter presents the analysis of the results obtained from the data. Firstly, the overview of POLDIS Corpus is presented. Then, source domains, concepts, resonance results, and the conceptual metaphors under five super-domains are presented for Turkish and English. Throughout the results, CDA perspective in relation to the conceptualization of *Us* versus *Them* and the implied power struggles are also identified and presented in related sections.

4.1 Overview of POLDIS

The analysis identified a total of 811 lexical units to be metaphorical in the corpus of POLDIS. There are 595 metaphorical lexical units in Turkish data and 216 metaphorical lexical units in English data. Because of the fact that Turkish and English corpora in POLDIS are not equal in size in terms of word count, normalized frequencies were calculated in order to accurately compare the frequency counts of the metaphorical lexical units.

Table 2. Frequency Analysis of Metaphorical Lexical Units in POLDIS

Country	Newspaper	Word Count	Number of Metaphorical Lexical Units	Normalized Frequency
Turkey	Cumhuriyet	4,828	167	34,58
	Sabah	34,234	428	12,5
	Group Total	**39,062**	**595**	**15,23**
The UK	The Daily Mail	2,620	20	7,63
	The Independent	5,055	40	7,91
	The Telegraph	5,027	37	7,36
	Total	**12,702**	**97**	**7,63**
The USA	The New York Times	12,415	79	6,36
	The Washington Post	5,553	40	7,2
	Total	**17,968**	**119**	**6,62**
	Group Total	**30,670**	**216**	**7,04**
Total All		**69,732**	**811**	**11,63**

Normalized frequency results in Table 2 show that the frequency of metaphorical lexical units is twice as much in the political discourse data of *Cumhuriyet* and *Sabah* (NF=15,23) as it is in that of *The Daily Mail, The Independent, The Telegraph, The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post* (NF=7,04) combined.

811 metaphorical lexical units grouped under 23 source domains which is the compilation source domains from previous studies (see Lakoff, et.al, 1991 for the Master Metaphor List) as well as an additional domain of OTHER (see 4.4 for more detail) to identify the unconventional/novel patterns of conceptual metaphors in the data. Results show that GROUP (N=80) and WAR (N=73) are the source domains which contained the highest numbers of lexical units. Aforementioned source domains percentage-wise correspond to 26% of the total number of lexical units in all of the source domains in the Turkish data. In English data, source domains of WAR (N=34) and STRENGTH (N=26) have the highest number of lexical units which correspond to 27% of the total number of lexical units (tokens). The number of lexical units per source domain is more in Turkish than in English, only with the exception of GEOGRAPHY where English lexical units outnumber Turkish lexical units identified in the data (N=17 and N=8, respectively). The results are given in Table 3.

Table 3. The Number of Turkish and English Lexical Units per Source Domain

Source Domain*	Tokens in Turkish	%	Tokens in English	%	POLDIS	%
GROUP	80	13%	23	10%	103	13%
WAR	73	12%	34	15%	107	13%
OTHER	69	11%	10	5%	79	10%
BODY	51	9%	23	10%	74	9%
BUILDING	43	7%	11	5%	54	7%
STRENGTH	43	7%	26	12%	69	11%
MOVEMENT	41	7%	7	3%	48	6%
LIFE	33	5%	3	1%	36	4%
BUSINESS	28	5%	6	2%	34	4%
SHELTER	27	4%	22	10%	49	6%
SCHOOL	25	4%	11	5%	36	4%
HEALTH	16	3%	6	2%	22	3%
NATURE	16	3%	3	1%	19	2%
WAY	13	2%	5	2.5%	18	2%
FAMILY	9	1%	0	0%	9	1%
GEOGRAPHY	8	1%	17	8%	25	3%
PERFORMANCE	7	1%	5	2.5%	12	1%
SPORT	7	1%	0	0%	7	0.8%
SPEED	7	1%	0	0%	7	0.8%

Table 3. The Number of Turkish and English Lexical Units per Source Domain (contd.)

Source Domain*	Tokens in Turkish	%	Tokens in English	%	POLDIS	%
RELIGION	4	0.6%	0	0%	4	0.4%
LOVE	2	0.3%	2	1%	4	0.4%
ANIMAL	1	0.1%	0	0%	1	0.1%
FORCES	0	0%	9	4%	9	1%
Total All	*595*		*216*		*811*	

 * in order of frequency by Turkish

As the previous literature underlines, the concepts of nation are extremely complex which naturally require metaphorical understanding (Kövecses, 2010) of which the common source domains are identified to be THE HUMAN BODY, FAMILY, BUILDING. Similarly, politics most frequently have the source domains such as GAMES and SPORT, WAR, BUSINESS.

Firstly, the source domains which were identified to be specific to Turkish and to English will be presented. Following that, common super-domains for both languages will be elaborated on.

4.2 Language Specific Source Domains

4.2.1 Source Domains Specific to Turkish Political Discourse

In this study, Turkey as a sociopolitical structure is found to be mainly conceptualized by means of the conventional source domains previously reported in the literature. In addition, there are some source domains which identified to be language-specific. Results show that the source domains of SPEED[13], FAMILY, SPORTS, RELIGION, and ANIMAL are only observed in Turkish political discourse.

The source domain of RELIGION was previously reported to be present in American political speeches (Charteris-Black, 2004) and it is especially observed in inaugural speeches with the purpose of fostering spiritual aspirations into the political domain. In the present study, this source domain only appears in Turkish data and includes the source concepts of "FATE" and "PROSPERITY/GOODNESS".

In the excerpts (1), (2), and (3) from *Cumhuriyet* (Hereafter CUM) and *Sabah* (Hereafter SBH) below, three separate Turkish lexical realizations of the word "FATE", *yazgı,*

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[13] will be presented in 4.3.4 in order not to disrupt the integrity of that section.

mukadderat, kader. All of them possess religious connotation that the course of life is carried out within the knowledge of God. In all of the excerpts, the country is described to have a *future* waiting ahead and this meaning is conveyed through the Turkish lexical variations of the word *fate* which all have religious connotations in their core meanings.

> **(1)** Ekonomik, sosyal, siyasal ve toplumsal sorunların burgacında kıvranan ülkemizin, halkımızın **yazgı**sında, geleceğinde CHP'nin sorumluluğu yaşamsaldır. (008_TR_CUM_08112014)

> **(2)** Bunun Türkiye'nin **mukadderat**ı meselesi olduğunu, onun da ötesinde bölgesel bir mesele olduğunu, bölge insanının mazlumların, mağdurların meselesi olduğunu çok iyi anlamamız gerekiyor. (067_TR_SBH_17112014)

> **(3)** Irak Dışişleri Bakanı Caferi ise Türkiye ile birçok alanda ortak **kader**i paylaştıklarını belirtirken kalkınan Türkiye için Irak'ın çok iyi bir pazar olacağını söyledi. (033_TR_SBH_06112014)

Similarly, in the excerpt (4) from SBH below, the Turkish word *hayır* which corresponds to "PROSPERTY/GOODNESS" in Islam and is a notion frequently referenced in the Quran. In the excerpt, it is used by the President of Turkey to refer to the wish of prosperity for the future of the country.

> **(4)** Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan zirvenin önemine dikkat çekerek 'Bu zirvenin sadece Türkiye için sadece Latin ABD ülkeleri için değil tüm islam coğrafyası ve tüm insanlık için **hayır**lara vesile olmasını tekrar Allah'tan niyaz ediyorum.' [...] dedi. (061_TR_SBH_15112014)

As in American presidential inaugural speeches, the pragmatic aim of persuading the listener of the value of abstract ideals of politics where Turkey as a political structure is involved can be argued to be one of the reasons behind the usage of RELIGION as a source domain. The similar religious motifs identified by Charteris-Black (2004: 104) in the speeches o American political figures are also in line with this result. Nevertheless, it should also be noted that the number of identified metaphorical lexical units is few in the present study, thus further data is required to more comprehensively describe and interpret the existence of this source domain. Based on the current examples of the source domain of RELIGION to conceptualize the target domain of TURKEY, the emergence of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION in domestic political discourse is argued to be observed. The act or the elements of politics are understood in terms of religious references, and Turkey is the active participant affected by this process.

Another source domain which is found to be specific to Turkish data is FAMILY which includes the source concepts of "ANCESTOR", "KINSHIP", "MOTHER", and "SIBLING". Through these concepts, the country is viewed as a member of a family. Previous studies propose that the concept of morality which is taught and learnt in a family environment, thus the existence of this source domain refer to the process of shaping the political views of the country (Lakoff, 1996). However, in this study, the results show that rather than referring to the moral obligations by means of family relations, in-group presentation of the country is emphasized (will be discussed in detail in 4.5).

In excerpts (5) and (6) from SBH below, Turkey stands alongside Iraq against potential dangers because they are *siblings* and have *kinship*. Similarly in (7), former TRNC President remarks that they have a common goal with homeland Turkey and this family solidarity is indicated by Turkish metaphorical lexical unit *anavatan* which literally means "motherland".

> **(5)** Davutoğlu sözlerini şöyle sürdürdü: [...] "Türkiye, her zaman Irak'ın huzurunu, toprak bütünlüğünü, iç siyasi barışını hep desteklemiştir ve Irak'ın her kesimini etnik, mezhep ve din farkı gözetmeden her bir Iraklı'yı **kardeş** olarak görmüştür, bundan sonra da **kardeş** olarak görmeye devam edeceğiz." (059_TR_SBH_14112014)

> **(6)** [Davutoğlu] Irak'taki her toplum kesimiyle Türkiye'nin derin **akrabalık ilişkileri** mevcuttur. Irak'ta bir gerilim olduğunda da öncelikle Türkiye'ye yansımaktadır. Irak'ta seçimler dolayısıyla yaşanan değişiklikler, bütün tarafların içine alındığı sürecin ortaya konması herkesten çok Türkiye'yi memnun etmiştir. (074_TR_SBH_20112014)

> **(7)** Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti (KKTC) Cumhurbaşkanı Derviş Eroğlu, Kıbrıs'ta yıllardır milli davalarını hep **anavatan** Türkiye ile yürüttüklerini belirterek, "Bugün müzakere masasında müzakereleri sürdürürken **anavatan** Türkiye ile istişare halindeyiz ama maalesef Rum muhatabımız müzakere masasını terk etmiştir. Dünya bu gerçeği görür ve Rumların ön koşulsuz müzakere masasına dönmesi için telkinde bulunurlar" dedi. (059_TR_SBH_14112014)

Another example for the family conceptualization of Turkey is in excerpt (8) below where the country is conceived to have an *ancestor.* The excerpt indicates that the citizens commemorate their ancestor, Atatürk, in his death anniversary.

> **(8)** Türkiye **Ata**'sını anacak. (010_TR_CUM_10112014)

As in previous excerpts, the source concept of "ANCESTOR" refers to the notion of group membership rather than group obligations. Through the aforementioned source concepts, the conceptual metaphor COUNTRY IS A FAMILY is manifested.

Turkish data also has the source domain of SPORT which includes the sport concepts such as *rekabet* "rivalry", *yarışmak* "to race", *antrenör* "trainer", and the players such as *boksör* "boxer" and *satranç oyuncusu* "chess player" in the data. Within the context of (9) and (10) from SBH below, the politics is described to require physical effort and strategic experience and Turkey as a political structure is inevitably engaged in this process just like a participant in a a sports event.

> **(9)** [...] Bozkır, şöyle konuştu: "Aralıkta bir darbe teşebbüsü daha, ekim başında bir darbe teşebbüsü daha oldu ama bilmedikleri bir şey var. Türkiye **ağır sıklet boksörü**. Öyle **ağır sıklet boksörü**, fiskelerle falan bir şey olmaz ama **ağır sıklet boksörü** durur durur, ondan sonra yumruğu bir oturttu mu hakem yerden kaldıramaz. Bizim tabi **antrenörümüz** Cumhurbaşkanımız, Başbakanımız da iyi bir sporcudur, karate, judoyu iyi bilir. Onun için Türkiye'ye fiske vururken dikkatli olmak lazım. Neme lazım, yani sonradan 10'a kadar sayar, hastanede uyandığında kaça kadar saydı diye hakeme soran olur." (047_TR_SBH_09112014)

> **(10)** Türkiye'nin tarih boyunca mazlumlar için umut ışığı olduğunu, bugün de bunun sürdüğünü dile getiren Erdoğan, "Türkiye asırlar boyunca mağdurlar, muhtaçlar için sığınılacak, güvenli bir ülkeydi. Bugün de aynı şekilde güvenli bir ülke. [...] biz büyük devlet refleksiyle, usta bir **satranç oyuncusu** tecrübesiyle bölgedeki ateşi düşürmenin, söndürmenin mücadelesini veriyoruz ve Allah'a hamd olsun, bunda da başarılı oluyoruz" dedi. (011_TR_SBH_02112014)

Both in (9) and (10) then, the political agenda of Turkey is described in sport terms and the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS SPORT emerges.

Similar metaphorical conceptualizations were also previously observed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who identified the conceptual metaphors ARGUMENT IS BOXING and ARGUMENT IS CHESS which were later discussed by Ritchie (2003: 132). Because of the fact that the number of identified instances is single, the present study groups them under the same concept SPORT.

The results show that domestic political discourse also have the source domain of ANIMAL which has previously been reported to be frequently used for denoting human beings as well as abstract notions (Heine, 1995). For humans, the source domain of ANIMAL usually

connotates with 'the lack of control' (Kövecses, 1988). However, this source domain has not been identified for the conceptualization of the country in the literature before and the connotation is observed to be relatively different.

> **(11)** [...] Akdoğan, şöyle devam etti: [...] "Türkiye ne zaman **şaha kalkmak** istese birileri devreye giriyor. Geçen yıl dev projeler hayata geçti. Marmaray'ı açtık. Üçüncü köprü, üçüncü havalimanı dev projeler hayata geçerken çözüm süreciyle terör örgütü Türkiye'yi terk etmek noktasına gelmişken hemen birileri harekete geçti. Gezi olayları üzerinden bir kalkışma denendi. Arkasından 17 Aralık komplosu. 30 Mart'ta kim varsa bir araya geldiler. 'Tayyip Erdoğan'dan kurtulursan her şeyden, hepsinden kurtuluruz' dediler. Ama başaramadılar." (067_TR_SBH_17112014)

In the excerpt (11) above, an act of Turkey is understood in terms of a property of a horse which is *şaha kalkmak* "ramping up". The horse as an animal performs the act of ramping up and an act of Turkey as an abstract structure is understood in terms of this property. To be more elaborate, the attempt for the development or political advances of the country is mapped into the behaviour of an animal in this context. This mapping leads to the emergence of the conceptual metaphor COUNTRY IS AN ANIMAL. Existing metaphor literature does not provide instances of such a mapping and there is only one instance of such a use in the present study. Therefore, more data is needed to further investigate the structure and the implications of this conceptualization. The summary of source domains that are identified to be specific to Turkish political discourse in POLDIS is presented below.

Table 4. Summary of Turkish-specific Source Domains in POLDIS

Source Domain*	Tokens Overall	Source Concepts in Turkish	Lexical Units in Turkish
FAMILY	9	ANCESTOR	*ata*
		KINSHIP	*akrabalık*
		MOTHER	*anavatan*
		SIBLING	*kardeş*
SPORTS	7	SPORTS	*yarışmak, rekabet, antrenör*
		PLAYER	*ağır sıklet boksörü, satranç oyuncusu*
SPEED	7	SPEED	*hız, ivme, istikrarlı*
RELIGION	4	FATE	*kader, mukadderat, yazgı*
		PROSPERITY	*hayır*
ANIMAL	1	HORSE	*şaha kalkmak*

*in order of frequency

4.2.2 Source Domains Specific to English Political Discourse

The only source domain which is specific to English is found to be the source domain of FORCES.

The literature shows that there are various kinds of FORCES such as gravitational, magnetic, electric, and mechanical which affect the physical world (Kövecses, 2010) in different ways. In English political discourse, the source domain of forces is observed for the conceptualization of the target domain Turkey as illustrated in the excerpts (12) and (13) from *The Independent* (Hereafter IND), as well as (14) from *The New York Times* (Hereafter NYT) below.

> **(12)** Syrian foreign minister, Walid al-Moualem, said that the jihadist group would not be tackled unless Turkey was made to **tighten** its border controls. (007_ENG_IND_30112014)
>
> **(13)** Getting Turkey to close its 610-mile frontier with Syria will take intense political **pressure** on a powerful and uncooperative Turkish state, but it is only by these means that potential terrorists can be impeded. (006_ENG_IND_30112014)
>
> **(14)** Turkey, chastened by the failures of its Middle East policy and facing rising **pressure** from the United States and other allies to do more in the campaign against the Islamic State, has been reaching out to the Shiite governments of Iraq and Iran. (012_ENG_NYT_20112014)

The excerpts above show that "GRAVITATIONAL" (as in: *pressure*) and "MECHANICAL" (as in: *to tighten*) source concepts are mapped into the target domain of Turkey. Turkey as a sociopolitical structure is conceived to be the entity affected by these gravitational and mechanical forces imposed by another entity. The act of imposing forces is a result of the expectation of certain behaviours or changes in the target domain, Turkey, such as closing its border to the potential terrorists as is remarked in (13) or undertaking a bigger responsibility in a cause as in (14). Therefore, it is argued that the conceptual metaphors INFLUENCE IS A FORCE and OBLIGATIONS ARE FORCES are identified to be in play for the conceptual (re)construction of Turkey within these excerpts of the international political discourse.

Tables 5 illustrates English language-specific source domain of FORCES, the number of tokens and the source concepts within the source domain, as well as the specific lexical units corresponding to them.

Table 5. Summary of English-specific Source Domain in POLDIS

Source Domain	Tokens Overall	Source Concepts in English	Lexical units in English
FORCES	9	GRAVITATIONAL MECHANICAL	*pressure* *to tighten, to be kept, overwhelmed*

4.3 Super-Domains in Turkish and English

Echoing Musolff's (2004) research on conceptual metaphors in political discourse, this study also makes use of the notion of 'super-domains' to present its results. The metaphorical lexical units were grouped under super-domains in order to have semantically more comprehensive categories to work on. Within the previously identified 23 initial source domains, 5 broad domains were created through the combination of several source domains (Table 6).

Because of the fact that they semantically have little to do with the compiled super-domains, source domains of ANIMAL, BUSINESS, GEOGRAPHY, NATURE, PERFORMANCE, SCHOOL, SPORTS are excluded from the following discussions[14]. In addition, because of the semantic concerns, the source concept of RELIGION is integrated into the source concept of LIFE hereafter.

Table 6. The number of tokens in Super-Domains for Turkish and English

Super-domains*	Turkish tokens (N)	English tokens (N)	Overall in POLDIS (N)
STRENGTH-WAR-FORCES	116	68	184
LIFE-BODY-HEALTH	104	32	136
LOVE-FAMILY-GROUP	90	25	115
BUILDING-SHELTER	70	33	103
MOVEMENT-WAY-SPEED	53	6	59

*in order of overall frequency

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[14] Examples to the identified conceptual metaphors within the excluded source domains of PERFORMANCE, SCHOOL and NATURE are: COUNTRY AS A PERSON WHO IS A PERFORMER, POLITICS IS SCHOOL, COUNTRY IS A PLANT, respectively.

Each super-domain is argued to correspond to a specific frames which indicate a separate conceptual (re)construction of Turkey, namely; (i) Turkey as an ANIMATE BEING, (ii) Turkey as a SOCIAL BEING, (iii) Turkey as an ABSTRACT CONSTRUCTION, (iv) Politics as a JOURNEY, and (v) Politics as POWER.

Each of the aforementioned super-domains will be presented under each frame. The domestic and the international perspective will be compared and discussed.

4.3.1 Turkey as an ANIMATE BEING

The conceptualization of an abstract institution in terms by mapping the source concepts of BODY has been frequently observed in the political discourse over the years (Musolff, 2004a, 2004b). The literature illustrates that the mapping of the whole human body, its parts and organs, and their state of health correspond to the abstract political and social characteristics of the country. (Hale 1971; Struve 1978; Bass 1997; cited in Musolff, 2004a) The results of the present study are line with the previous research.

POLDIS Corpus shows that both Turkish and English include metaphorical lexical units that depict Turkey as an animate organism which has a body and organs, which struggles and lives. While both languages employ the same source domains, general conceptual metaphor and sub-metaphors; the results show that the number of lexical units in each source concept, and the value of resonances show difference for domestic and international political discourse.

Table 7 lists the conceptual elements of BODY-LIFE-HEALTH super-domain which include the source concepts and corresponding English and Turkish lexical units in POLDIS and Table 8 gives the number of tokens of these concepts.

Table 7. Conceptual Elements of the BODY-LIFE-HEALTH domain in POLDIS

SOURCE CONCEPTS	English Lexical Units	Turkish Lexical Units
BODY PART: EYE	eye, to see	gör(mek), göz
BODY PART: HEAD	heading, head	baş
BODY PART: SHOULDER	shoulder	omuz
BODY PART: FACE	face	yüz(leşmek), çehre, karşı karşıya kalmak
BODY PART: HEART	heartland	gönül*
BODY PART: HAND		el, yumruk
BODY PART: FOOT		ayak, ayağa kaldıran
BODY PART: LAP		kucak

Table 7. Conceptual Elements of the BODY-LIFE-HEALTH domain in POLDIS (contd.)

SOURCE CONCEPTS	English Lexical Units	Turkish Lexical Units
BODY PART: TONGUE		*dil, boğaz*
BODY PART: BACKBONE		*omurga*
BODY PART: NECK		*boyun*
BODY		*vücut*
MIND		*akıl, hafıza, zihin*
TO SEE	*to see*	*izlemek*
TO TALK	*to call, to say, to have convetsation*	*sessiz kalmamak, çağırmak, eyvallah etmek*
TO FEEL	*to feel, (hesitant, frustration, anger, concern, fear)*	*hissetmek, (mutlu, memnun)*
TO SMILE		*gülmek*
BIRTH	*to create*	*doğmak, ortaya çıkmak, milat*
TIME	*modern-day*	*tarih, geçmiş, gelecek, günümüz, beka*
TO GROW		*büyümek, gelişim*
TO LIVE	*presence*	*(yeniden) yaşamak, var olmak*
FATE		*kader, mukadderat, yazgı*
PROSPERITY		*hayır*
SURVIVAL	*to struggle, vital*	*kıvranmak, hayati, dirlik*
PAIN	*pain*	*ağrı, sancı*
WOUND		*yara*
FITNESS	*miserable*	*yorgun, hassasiyet*
BLOOD		*kan içinde/yitirmek, kanlı*
HANDICAP/CRIPPLED	*deafness*	
PSYCHOLOGICAL STATUS/WELLBEING		*ağlamak, huzur*

Table 8. Tokens for Conceptual Elements of BODY-LIFE-HEALTH source concepts in POLDIS

Source Concepts*	Tokens in English	Sub-totals	Tokens in Turkish	Sub-totals	Tokens Overall	Sub-totals Overall
BODY All	23		51		74	
BODY PART: EYE		2		5		7
BODY PART: HEAD		2		3		5
BODY PART: SHOULDER		1		3		4
BODY PART: FACE		2		6		8
BODY PART: HEART		1		1		2
BODY PART: HAND				5		5
BODY PART: FOOT				5		5
BODY PART: LAP				3		3
BODY PART: TONGUE				2		2
BODY PART: BACKBONE				1		1
BODY PART: NECK				1		1
BODY				2		2
MIND				3		3

Table 8. Tokens for Conceptual Elements of BODY-LIFE-HEALTH source concepts in POLDIS (contd.)

Source Concepts*	Tokens in English	Sub-totals	Tokens in Turkish	Sub-totals	Tokens Overall	Sub-totals Overall
TO SEE		2		1		3
TO TALK		4		3		7
TO FEEL		9		6		16
TO SMILE				1		1
LIFE All	3		37		40	
BIRTH		1		5		6
TIME		1		19		20
TO GROW				4		4
TO LIVE		1		5		6
FATE				3		3
PROSPERITY				1		1
HEALTH All	6		16		22	
SURVIVAL		3		4		7
PAIN		1		2		3
WOUND				2		2
FITNESS		1		3		4
BLOOD				3		3
HANDICAP		1				1
PSYCHOLOGICAL STATUS/WELLBEING				2		2
Totals	*32*		*104*		*136*	

*in order of number of tokens overall

The overall results show that Turkish offers a higher number of tokens (N=104) for the source concepts in BODY-LIFE- HEALTH super-domain than English (N=32) does. Furthermore, the results show that the value of resonance which is the measure of productivity of a particular source domain (Charteris-Black, 2004) is higher for each of the source domains in Turkish than it is in English. Therefore, it is argued that Turkish is more productive in its metaphorical lexical units. Table 9 presents the comparison of resonance values of source domains both languages.

Table 9. Resonance Results of BODY-LIFE-HEALTH source concepts in POLDIS

SOURCE DOMAIN	ENGLISH		TURKISH	
	Tokens	Resonance	Tokens	Resonance
BODY	23	184	51	867
LIFE	3	9	37	222
HEALTH	6	24	16	9

Based on the mappings between the aspects of source concepts and the corresponding properties of a country, the conceptual metaphor A COUNTRY IS AN ANIMATE BEING is identified to be the underlying general metaphor in the super-domain BODY-LIFE-HEALTH for domestic and international political discourse. Within this general metaphor, sub-metaphors A COUNTRY IS A BODY THAT COMPRISES OF VARIOUS PARTS AND ORGANS, THE EXISTENCE OF THE ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS A LIFE-CYCLE, and THE ABSTRACT LASTINGNESS OF A COUNTRY IS THE BIOLOGICAL SURVIVAL are elaborated. Table 10 presents the mappings of these identified sub-metaphors. Each sub-metaphor will be illustrated and discussed in the following sections.

Table 10. Mappings for the general metaphor A COUNTRY IS AN ANIMATE BEING

| Sub-Metaphor | Mappings | |
	Aspects of Source	Aspects of Target
A COUNTRY IS A BODY THAT COMPRISES OF VARIOUS PARTS AND ORGANS	the body parts used for particular functions	the acts in response to specific sociopolitical situations
THE EXISTENCE OF THE ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS A LIFE-CYCLE	the birth, the growth and the presence of the body	the foundation, development and the existence of the country
THE ABSTRACT LASTINGNESS OF A COUNTRY IS THE BIOLOGICAL SURVIVAL	the physical pain	the sociopolitical problems affecting the body politic

4.3.1.1 A COUNTRY IS A BODY THAT COMPRISES OF VARIOUS PARTS AND ORGANS

The lexical units for the body parts such as *eye-göz, shoulder-omuz, face-yüz/çehre, baş-head* are common in both Turkish and English. The functions of these organs are conceptually utilized for specific sociopolitical situations Turkey encounters. For example, findings show that both domestic and international political discourse use the lexical units of *seeing* in the sense of *forming a perception based on specific inferences* as illustrated in excerpts (15) from SBH and (16) from NYT below. Therefore, in both languages the primary metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING is manifested.

> **(15)** [Erdoğan:] Türkiye'nin tavsiyeleri görmezden gelinmesin. Biz yaklaşan tehlikeyi **görüyor** hissediyor ve tüm insanlığı ayrım yapmaksızın tedbir almaya çağırıyoruz. (087_TR_SBH_28112014)

(16) The battle is complicated by Turkey's role, which **sees** some of the Kurdish factions as terrorists determined ultimately to destabilize Turkey to create a Kurdish state. (011_ENG_NYT_19112014)

In both contexts, the abstract notion of drawing a sociopolitical inference is understood in terms of the concrete function of the organ *eye*. The experiential basis behind the presence of the source domain of body parts is easily observed in this case as the embodied experience of having the power of sight is related to having the power of seeing, perceiving, and thus deducing particular circumstances, specifically, the potential problematic political developments in this case.

Similarly, Turkish and English also display the lexical unit of *shouldering* in the sense of *taking responsibility* or *cooperating with a partner in order to overcome a hindrance, burden, or requirement*. Excerpts (17) from SBH and (18) from *The Telegraph* (Hereafter TEL) imply undertaking a responsibility while (19) from CUM highlights the notion of cooperation between two states, namely Turkey and Iraq, to achieve a goal. In English, a similar implication to the one in (19) is not present.

(17) [Erdoğan:] Türkiye olarak bugün **omuz**larımızda taşıdığımızın mesuliyetin idrakindeyiz. (061_TR_SBH_15112014)

(18) Turkey, which hosts half of the 3.2 million refugees who have fled Syria, is **shouldering** the heaviest burden of what today's report calls the world's worst refugee crisis in a generation. (004_ENG_TEL_20112014)

(19) Türkiye ile Irak'ın "**omuz omuza** vermesi" halinde "ellerindeki enerjiden tarıma ve sanayiye uzanan imkanlarla dünyaya örnek gösterilecek bir ikili ekonomik havza oluşturacağını" söyleyen Davutoğlu, "Sayın Abadi'yi ilgili bakanlarıyla birlikte Türkiye'de ortak kabine toplantısında buluşmaya davet ettim, kendisi de kabul etti." dedi. (021_TR_CUM_21112014)

In (17) and (18), it is also possible to observe the primary metaphor DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS as the context illustrates that Turkey *shoulders the burdens it faces* which refer to the difficulties and problems in relation to the specific political circumstances and environment expressed in the excerpts. Apart from the fact that the number of tokens for source concept of "BODY" identified in Turkish is more than in English (N=51 and N=23, respectively) it is observed that Turkish political discourse also provides more variety in its linguistic forms within the this source concept. Furthermore, resonance results are also

higher in Turkish (867) than it is in English (184). As a result, Turkish data offers more variety such as the FOOT metaphors in the data. The lexical units *ayakları üzerinde durmak* (to stand on one's own feet), *ayağa kalkmak* (to stand up), and in the excerpts (20) from SBH and (21) from CUM respectively are idiomatic expression of the primary metaphors STANDING UP IS BEING IN CONTROL and STANDING UP IS READY TO ACT.

> **(20)** [Davutoğlu:] İkinci önemli vasıf yeni Türkiye'yi ortaya çıkaran, yeni Türkiye'nin kendi **ayakları üzerinde duran** iktisadi bağımsızlığına bir anlamda ekonomik gücüne sahip olmasıdır. (054_TR_SBH_10112014)

> **(21)** Türkiye'yi **ayağa kaldıran** Pozantı Cezaevi'ndeki taciz ve işkence olayının mağdurlarından Ümit Temur (19) cezaevinden çıktıktan sonra defalarca gözaltına alındı (006_TR_CUM_06112014)

In excerpt (22) from SBH, the idiom *ayak bağı olmak* (to be under one's feet) implies that some issues hinder Turkey to stand up and BE IN CONTROL.

> **(22)** İçişleri Bakanı Ala, "Çözüm sürecini gerçekleştirirken kamu düzeninden asla taviz vermeyeceğiz. Hem milletimizin can ve mal güvenliği emniyeti garanti altında olacak hem de bu sorun çözülerek Türkiye'nin **ayak bağı olmak**tan çıkarılacak." [dedi.] (064_TR_SBH_16112014)

Further examples to the high level of resonance in Turkish data are the source concepts of *kucak* (lap), *vücut* (body) and *omurga* (backbone) observed in the domestic political discourse. In (23) from SBH, the conceptualization of *lap* is understood in terms of *welcoming* or *sheltering* the people in need, thus referring to the nurturing characteristics of Turkey. In (24) again from SBH, describing Turkey to be *a single body* emphasizes the wholeness and the abstract unity of the country.

> **(23)** [Akdoğan:] Türkiye, 1,5 milyon insana **kucağ**ını açtı, 5 milyar dolara yakın kaynak harcadı. (027_TR_SBH_05112014)

> **(24)** [Canikli:] Çözüm süreci ile bu seviye artık yüzde 90'ları aşmıştır. Türkiye'nin birlikte yaşaması, tek parça olarak geleceğe yürümesi ihtimali çok kuvvetli duruyor. Süreç, Türkiye'nin **tek vücut** kalmasının teminatıdır aslında. (039_TR_SBH_07112014)

Furthermore, in excerpt (25) from SBH below, the institutions of Turkey are conceptualized as the backbone of the country. The metaphorical expression implies that just as how the backbone supports the body, the institutions fulfil the same duty.

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(25) [Davutoğlu:] Her bir kurumumuz, hangi kurumumuzu alırsanız alın kökü asırlar öncesine giden bir meşruiyetle izah edilir ve meşruiyet temelinde devletin **ana omurga**sını oluşturur. (054_TR_SBH_10112014)

4.3.1.2 THE EXISTENCE OF THE ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS A LIFE-CYCLE

Findings show that both in domestic and international political discourse, Turkey as a human organism is conceptualized to be in a life-cycle which starts with the birth of the country. In English data, Turkey is *created*, while Turkish offers more variety in its lexical units such as *doğmak* (to be born), *ortaya çıkmak* (to be created/to appear), *milat* (the birth) which all indicate the beginning of life. These source concepts indicate the foundation of Turkey as a political structure, and that abstract creation is conceptualized through the birth of a living organism. Following birth, Turkey is described to be a growing (*büyümek, gelişim*) organism and this is observed only in domestic political discourse. The *growth* implies *the increase in the political power* through the geopolitical location of the country, the accumulating positive outcomes of the implemented policies (i.e., Kurdish-Turkish peace process) of the government, and as the excerpt (26) from SBH below illustrates, the increase in the economic capacity to provide social services to its citizens.

(26) [Cumhurbaşkanlığı Sarayı açıklaması:] Bugüne kadar başta yargı kurumları, bakanlıklar ve birçok kamu binaları için büyük yatırımlar yapılmış, devletimizin birçok birimi hizmetin gereğine yakışır imkanlara kavuşturulmuştur. Türkiye **büyümekte**dir. Ülkemiz dünyada hak ettiği yeri hızla alırken temsil ve hizmet imkanlarının aynı şekilde büyümesinden ve milletimize layık standartlara ulaşmasından kimse rahatsız olmamalıdır. (038_TR_SBH_07112014)

Concerning the timeline of the country, English data only positions Turkey in the time zone of *modern-day* while Turkey has a past (*geçmiş)*, today, (*günümüz)*, and future (*gelecek*) in the domestic political discourse. In this sense, it can be argued that the life-cycle is wider for Turkey in Turkish. Furthermore, Turkish political discourse attributes religious concepts to the LIFE-CYCLE of Turkey, as the future of the country is also described within the Islamic concepts of FATE and PROSPERITY (previously presented in 4.2.1) are implemented within the discourse.

In addition to the source concepts of "BIRTH" and "LIFE", the previous research (Musolff, 2004a) also illustrated source the source concept of "DEATH" as a part of the notion of life-

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cycle. Nevertheless, while the results of this study show that Turkey as a human organism is born and exists, there is no metaphorical lexical unit for the source concept of "DEATH" in the data. In this sense, it can be argued that the life-cycle is observed to be incomplete.

4.3.1.3 THE ABSTRACT LASTINGNESS OF A COUNTRY IS THE BIOLOGICAL SURVIVAL

Within the mapping of this sub-metaphor, the source domain of HEALTH is of emphasis. The results show that Turkey as a human organism is conceptualized based on its state of health in order to refer to the abstract lastingness of the country. Because of the fact that a good state of health is preferred over being in pain or handicapped, the conceptualization of country in bad state of health is evaluated negatively and is interpreted to have unfavourable consequences over the country's social and political lastingness.

"SURVIVAL" and "PAIN" are the common source concepts for both Turkish and English. Lexical units *kıvranmak-to struggle* indicate that the living organism is making effort to maintain its state of health against problems, and in this sense Turkey is described to maintain its state of existence against problematic issues such as economic, social, political problems as in excerpt (27) from CUM or separatist groups as in excerpt (28) from IND below. In both cases, the issues are perceived as threats to the health, thus threats to the lastingness of the country.

> **(27)** Ekonomik, sosyal, siyasal ve toplumsal sorunların burgacında **kıvranan** ülkemizin, halkımızın yazgısında, geleceğinde CHP'nin sorumluluğu yaşamsaldır. (008_TR_CUM_08112014)
>
> **(28)** Turkey is also involved in a long-standing **struggle** against separatist Kurdish groups in the east of its territory. (004_ENG_IND_22112014)

Similarly in the excerpts (29) from CUM and (30) from NYT below, the living organism experiences PAIN which implicates that Turkey is dealing with undesired social and political situations.

> **(29)** [Taner Baytok:] Çarpıtılarak tek yanlı kıyım olarak gösterilen olaylar Türkiye aleyhine kullanılmak için oluşturulan ampanyanın önümüzdeki sene ülkemizin ve hükümetin başını çok **ağrıtacağı** anlaşılmaktadır. (026_TR_CUM_26112014)
>
> **(30)** Causing major diplomatic crises and economic problems with the European Union, China, India and Turkey, which would all **feel the pain** of new sanctions, and whose

presence we need among our greatest strategic partners in years to come, is unnecessary and will seriously undermine American interests. (004_ENG_NYT_05112014)

The resonance of source domain of HEALTH is relatively higher for Turkish (96) than it is for English (24), as a result; domestic political discourse offers more variety in its metaphorical lexicalizations. The source concepts of "WOUND", "BLOOD", and "PSYCHOLOGICAL WELLBEING" are observed only in Turkish data. Judging that having a wound (*yara*), being covered in blood (*kan içinde/yitirmek, kanlı*) can be considered to be a worse status of health than being in pain, it is argued that the health status of Turkey is depicted to be more pessimistic than it is in English.

The only source concept which appears exclusively in English is the source concept of "HANDICAP" as in the excerpt (31) from NYT where not being able to hear, *deafness,* corresponds to the notion that Turkey as a political structure is in absolute rejection to carry out specific policies demanded by the US.

> **(31)** Traditionally strong relations between Turkey and the United States have become strained in recent months over Turkey's perceived **deafness** to calls for it to permit Kurdish fighters to go to the aid of the Syrian town of Kobani, which has been besieged by Islamic State fighters. (001_ENG_NYT_04112014)

4.3.2 Turkey as a SOCIAL ENTITY

Turkey as a country is found to be conceptualized as an entity who gets engaged in social relations with other entities. The literature identifies some social relations a sociopolitical abstract structure engages in such as the romantic relationship (Musolff, 2004a), family relations (Lakoff 1996, 2004, 2008; Shaffner, 1996; Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Musolff, 2004a, Flanagan 2008), and group membership (Musolff, 2004a). The literature underlines that the concept of FAMILY is especially salient in the history of political thinking where the kinship terms are attributed to the country.

In line with the previous literature, the results show that Turkey is understood in terms of the source concepts of LOVE, FAMILY, and GROUP in domestic and international discourse. In this sense, it can be argued that the super-domain of LOVE-FAMILY-GROUP complements the concept of PERSON which was previously conceptualized as an animate being in the super-domain of BODY-LIFE-HEALTH. Table 11 lists the conceptual elements of LOVE-FAMILY-GROUP domain below.

Table 11. Conceptual Elements of the LOVE-FAMILY-GROUP domain in POLDIS

SOURCE CONCEPTS	English Lexical units	Turkish Lexical units
SEPARATION	*estrangement*	
LOVE	*to make up*	*muhabbet*
SIBLING		*kardeş*
KINSHIP		*akrabalık*
MOTHER		*anavatan*
ANCESTOR		*ata*
RELATION	*relationship, relation*	*(ikili) ilişki, münasebet, (vatandaşlık,aidiyet) bağ, irtibat*
AFFILIATION	*ally, coalition, EU, Sunni States*	*müttefik, koalisyon, (NATO/Medeniyetler) ittifakı, AB üyeliği, dünya, G20*
FRIEND		*dost*
NEIGHBOR	*neighbor*	*komşu*
COOPERATION	*cooperation, partner, to partner with*	*işbirliği, ortak(lık), yanında*
REPRESENTATIVE		*arabuluculuk, sözcü, dönem başkanı*
PART-WHOLE	*not part of ICC*	*parça (Avrupa)*

Even though the concept of family is frequently observed in conceptualizing sociopolitical structures in the literature, this concept was only observed in Turkish in POLDIS. As previously presented (see 4.2.1), domestic political discourse includes the source concepts "SIBLING", "KINSHIP", "MOTHER" and "ANCESTOR" within the source domain of FAMILY. At this point, it is important to note that Turkish makes use of the matriarchal concept of MOTHER to conceptualize Turkey by using the lexical unit "motherland" (*anavatan*) rather than "fatherland" which is also present in the literature. Within this domain, the relationship of mother and child is built between Turkey and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). It is observed that the representatives from both countries use the same conceptual expressions in their discourse but imply subtle differences. Eroğlu, the former President of TRNC makes use of the notion of "motherland" to indicate that Turkey is trusted and followed as in the excerpt (32) from SBH. In this sense, this conceptualization illustrates the notion of *disciple and authority* in a parent-child relationship.

> **(32)** Eroğlu, Kıbrıs Türk halkının yıllarca **anavatan** Türkiye'ye güvenerek sabırla mücadele sürdürdüğünü vurgulayarak, Rumların uzlaşmazlığının bir devlet kazandırdığını, Kıbrıs Türkünün bu devlet çatısı altında huzur ve güvenle varlığını devam ettirdiğini söyledi. (059_TR_SBH_14112014)

Turkey, on the other hand, makes use of the same notion to highlight the *caretaking* aspect of the parent-child relationship. Cemil Çiçek, the Speaker of the Parliament of Turkey, uses the expression "motherland" in the excerpt (33) from SBH to indicate that TNRC is under the maternal care of Turkey. The conceptualization highlights the fostering aspect in mother-child relationship.

> **(33)** TBMM Başkanı Cemil Çiçek de Kıbrıs'ın Türkiye'nin milli davası olduğunu ve **anavatan** olarak Kıbrıs Türk halkının arkasında olduklarını belirterek, KKTC'nin kuruluş yıl dönümü törenlerine katılmak ve Kıbrıslı Türk kardeşlerinin sevincini paylaşmak için KKTC'de bulunduklarını kaydetti. (059_TR_SBH_14112014)

On that note, the excerpts (32) and (33) can be considered as examples of the partial metaphorical utilization phenomenon where a single source domain highlights different parts of the target domain in different contexts.

As Table 12 illustrates, source concept of "GROUP" has the highest number tokens in both Turkish (N=80) and English (N=23) which make up about 90% of the overall tokens in the data. Furthermore, the source concepts of "FRIEND" and "REPRESENTATIVE" are only observed in Turkish while SEPARATION is only observed in English.

Table 12. Tokens for Conceptual Elements of LOVE-FAMILY-GROUP source concepts in POLDIS

SOURCE CONCEPTS*	Tokens in English	Sub-totals	Tokens in Turkish	Sub-totals	Tokens Overall	Sub-totals Overall
GROUP All	23		80		103	
RELATION		7		36		43
AFFILIATION		7		23		30
FRIEND		0		4		4
NEIGHBOR		3		1		4
COOPERATION		5		8		13
REPRESENTATIVE		0		6		6
PART-WHOLE		1		2		3
FAMILY All	0		8		8	
KINSHIP		0		1		1
MOTHER		0		4		4
ANCESTOR		0		1		1
LOVE All	2		1		3	
SEPARATION		1		0		1
LOVE		1		1		2
Totals	*25*		*89*		*114*	

*in order of number of tokens overall

Resonance values of the source domains are higher in Turkish, GROUP is the most productive source domain in both languages with the resonance values of 580 and 118 for Turkish and English respectively. The summary of the resonance results are presented in Table 13.

Table 13. Resonance Results of Source Domains of LOVE-FAMILY-GROUP in POLDIS

SOURCE DOMAIN	ENGLISH		TURKISH	
	Tokens	Resonance	Tokens	Resonance
LOVE	2	4	1	3
FAMILY	0	0	8	32
GROUP	23	115	80	580

The conceptual elements in the super-domain of LOVE-FAMILY-GROUP lead to the emergence of the conceptual metaphor A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO IS A MEMBER OF A GROUP which highlights the social characteristics of Turkey as a sociopolitical structure. Therefore, it is argued that it extends on the conceptual metaphor A COUNTRY IS AN ANIMATE BEING. Related sub-metaphors and the mappings between their source and target concepts are presented in Table 14.

Table 14. Mappings for the general metaphor A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO IS A MEMBER OF A GROUP

Sub-Metaphor	Mappings	
	Aspects of Source	Aspects of Target
A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO IS IN AN EMOTIONAL RELATIONSHIP	love	strategic relations
A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO IS PART OF A FAMILY	mother, siblings, ancestor, relatives	strong or close political and historical relationships
A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO MAINTAINS SOCIAL RELATIONS	cooperation, friendship, neighbourhood	mutual works, good political relations, geographic position

Each sub-metaphor will be presented, analyzed and discussed in Turkish and English to illustrate the differences and similarities between the conceptual (re)construction of Turkey from the perspective of domestic and international political discourse within the framework of the general conceptual metaphor.

4.3.2.1 A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO IS IN AN EMOTIONAL RELATIONSHIP

The concept of TWO STATES-AS-ONE-COUPLE is a frequent concept in existing literature (Musolff, 2004a). In POLDIS, the only metaphorical lexical units which refer to an emotional relationship are *muhabbet* (fondness) and *to make up* in the source concept of "LOVE" and *estrangement* in the source concept of "SEPARATION". In excerpt (34) from SBH below, people living in the regions of Northern Iraq are described to have fondness for Turkey as a country. This affection discursively enhances the positive image Turkey maintains in its political relations with the aforementioned country.

> **(34)** [Davutoğlu:] Gittiğim bütün bölgelerde [Kuzey Irak] Türkiye'ye büyük bir **muhabbet** var. (078_TR_SBH_21112014)

In international political discourse, as the excerpt (35) from *The Washington Post* (Hereafter WP) illustrates*,* the emotional relationship is set between Turkey and the United States. Within the context of the excerpt, they first experience the loss of close or affectionate ties but later become reconciled and act together. In other words, the ups and downs of the strategic partnership between two political structures is understood in terms of the relationship of couples.

> **(35)** After an extended period of public **estrangement** and sniping, the United States and Turkey have **made up** and say they are heading toward close cooperation on defeating the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq, and eventually seeing the end of the Syrian government of President Bashar al-Assad. (007_ENG_WP_22112014)

4.3.2.2 A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO IS PART OF A FAMILY

As previously presented (see 4.2.1), the conceptualization of Turkey as a family member is only observed in Turkish data. The source concepts of "SIBLING", "MOTHER", "KINSHIP", and "ANCESTOR" are lead to the emergence of this sub-metaphor

4.3.2.3 A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO MAINTAINS SOCIAL RELATIONS

Results show that the most frequently used conceptualization in the LOVE-FAMILY-GROUP domain is the description of Turkey through the established social links, group memberships, and affiliations.

Within this super-domain, the most frequent source concepts for both international and domestic political discourse are "RELATION" (N=7 in English, N=36 in Turkish) and "AFFILIATION" (N=7 in English, N=23 in Turkish) with "RELATION" being the most frequent source concept (N=43) overall in the data.

"RELATION" semantically indicates that two (human) beings are connected and/or that they established a way to behave toward each other. Similarly for Turkey as a social being, the results show that it is described to be in contact with different political structures with the purpose of maintaining its political stance on specific situations or political agenda as exemplified in excerpt (36) from CUM below.

> **(36)** Dışişleri Bakanı Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, ABD'nin yeni Ankara Büyükelçisi John Bass'ı ilk kabulünde 1915 olaylarına yönelik Ermeni iddiaları konusunda uyardı ve "1915 olaylarının ABD gündemine konulması **ikili ilişkileri** olumsuz etkiler" mesajı verdi. Sabah saatlerinde gerçekleşen görüşmede Cavuşoğlu, Türkiye'nin 1915 olaylarına dair görüşlerini aktarırken, Bass'ın 100.yıl anma faaliyetleri nedeniyle de uyardı. Türkiye'nin hassasiyetlerinin ABD yönetimi tarafından dikkate alınmasını isteyen Çavuşoğlu, 1915 olaylarının 100.yılına yaklaşırken **ikili ilişkiler**in korunması ve kollanmasının önem aşıdığı mesajını verdi. İki ülke **ilişkilerinin** "iyi" devam etmesini istediğini belirten Çavuşoğlu ayrıca Türkiye'nin Erivan'a açılımını da sürdüreceğini belirtti. (026_TR_CUM_26112014)

As (36) illustrates, the bilateral relations between two countries, Turkey and the US, are implied to be "maintained well" but still "needs to be protected" as there is a potential controversy between the political stances of two countries over the events of 1915. The allegations of Armenia are not accepted by Turkey, and the stance of the US on the issue is perceived to potentially affect the relations between two countries.

In excerpt (37) from SBH below, the relationship between Turkey and the UK is highlighted. In this case, the conceptual metaphor of RELATIONSHIP IS AN ABSTRACT CONSTRUCTION is observed through the use of the metaphorical expression *foundation* to describe the establishment of social relations between nations/states in terms of *building a construction.*

> **(37)** Köklü geleneklere sahip iki ülkenin [Türkiye ve Birleşik Krallık] sivil toplum alanındaki birikimlerini de samimiyetle paylaşacaklarına, işbirliğini çeşitlendirerek daha da ileriye taşıyacaklarına emin olduğunu vurgulayan Erdoğan, "Bu forum vesilesiyle iki ülke halkları arasındaki **ilişkiler** inşallah çok daha sağlıklı ve güçlü bir temele oturacak, farklı alanları da içine alarak daha da zenginleşecektir" ifadelerine yer verdi. (092_TR_SBH_30112014)

Furthermore in Turkish, the conceptual metaphor RELATIONSHIP IS MOVEMENT/JOURNEY is observed. In excerpt (38) from SBH, the entities who are in social relations, Turkey and Iraq, are the travellers in a journey. In this journey, they experience *ups and downs* and they mean to improve these relations from the point where they *stopped*.

> **(38)** Davutoğlu, şöyle devam etti: "O günden bugüne **ilişkilerimiz**de çok olumlu gelişmeler olduğu gibi bazı iniş çıkışlar da yaşandı. Bu doğaldır ama şimdi bugün yaptığımız Sayın İbadi ile gerek baş başa, gerek heyet üyelerimizle yaptığımız görüşmelerde mutabık kaldığımız husus bir an önce bu mekanizmayı harekete geçirmektir ve bir an önce **ilişkilerimiz**i kaldığı yerden en güçlü şekilde geliştirmektir. Onun için de ben biraz önce 24-25-26 Aralık tarihlerinden birinde inşallah Sayın İbadi'yi ilgili bakanlarıyla birlikte Türkiye'de ortak kabine toplantısında buluşmaya davet ettim, kendisi de bunu kabul ettiler." (073_TR_SBH_20112014)

In excerpt (39) from NYT below, the relationship between Turkey and Iraq is depicted. The excerpt is elaborate in terms of depicting the various facets of the relationship. The relationship is indicated to be good in economic terms, yet troubled in diplomatic terms. The conceptual metaphors RELATIONSHIP IS A PLANT which is manifested by the expression *the diplomatic relationship has soured* and RELATIONSHIP IS AN OBJECT which emerges through the metaphorical expression *to mend relationships* can also be observed.

> **(39)** Elsewhere in the Iraqi capital, from shopping malls to fancy hotels to the shelves of grocery stores, the influence of Turkish business is ample, underscoring **an economic relationship** between Turkey and Iraq that has flourished even as **the diplomatic relationship** has soured in recent years. [...] The visit by Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu, the first from a Turkish prime minister in nearly four years, was a vivid example of a scramble taking place all across the Middle East, as former adversaries are seeking **to mend relationships**, or at least try to work together, at a time of unprecedented crisis. [...] Mr. Davutoglu's visit came nearly three months after the replacement of the Iraqi prime minister, Nuri Kamal al-Maliki, who had **a troubled relationship** with Turkey. (012_ENG_NYT_20112014)

Concerning the source concept of "AFFILIATION", one of the most frequently observed lexical unit is *müttfetik-ally* in domestic and international discourse. The nations/states engaged in social relations are described as entities giving support to each other. Both (40) from CUM and (41) from NYT conceptualize Turkey as a part of an alliance which was created out of the need for mutual political or military interests.

(40) Türkiye'nin ABD ve NATO'daki **müttefik**lerini alarma geçiren Çin'den füze savunma sistemleri alımına dair tartışmalı plandan vazgeçebileceği kaydedildi. (013_TR_CUM_13112014)

(41) As a result, Mr. Hagel wrote, the United States was struggling to sign up **allies** like Turkey and even France for the campaign. He also predicted a difficult situation when Syrian rebels trained and equipped by the United States came under fire from Mr. Assad's forces. (013_ENG_NYT_24112014)

While the source concepts of "FRIEND" and "REPRESENTATIVE" are not present in English, they are observed in Turkish. In the excerpt from SBH, it is observed that the source concept of "FRIEND" is used for the allies of Turkey in (42), the political, religious and ethnical groups of Iraq in (43), and Macedonia in (44).

In excerpt (42), the *friendship* is present because the allies *show interest* and attend a military drill organized by Turkey. In (43), the political developments in Iraq are perceived to be positive and *the well-being of Iraq pleases Turkey as they are friends.* Similarly in (44), Turkey supports the political agenda of Macedonia because of their *friendship*.

(42) Tatbikata Türkiye dahil 12 **dost** ve müttefik ülkenin [Türkiye, ABD, Almanya, Kanada, İspanya, Pakistan, İngiltere, Bahreyn, Bangladeş, Şili, Gürcistan ve Lübnan] yakın ilgi göstermesi ve katılımın yüksek olması bu tatbikatın değerinin vurgulandığı da açıklamalarda yer aldı. (040_TR_SBH_08112014)

(43) [Davutoğlu:] Irak'ta seçimler dolayısıyla yaşanan değişiklikler, bütün tarafların içine alındığı sürecin ortaya konması herkesten çok Türkiye'yi memnun etmiştir. Irak'taki bütün siyasi, dini, etnik gruplar Türkiye'nin **dost**udur. Hiçbirini diğerinden ayırmayız. (074_TR_SBH_20112014)

(44) [Çiçek:] "Türkiye ile Makedonya, **dost**luğunun derinlikleri olan, kültürel ve tarihi temelleri olan iki ülkedir. Bizim Makedonya'yla **ilişki**lerimiz sıradan, güncel, konjonktürel bir ilişki değil, stratejik bir **ilişk**i ve **dostluk**tur. [...] Makedonya'nın NATO ve Avrupa Birliği'ne üyeliğini destekliyoruz ve bu yöndeki çabalarını, takdirle takip ediyoruz." (082_TR_SBH_24112014)

The social relations are also present in the "REPRESENTATIVE" (N=6) position of Turkey in domestic political discourse. One of the most salient example is Turkey's G-20 Presidency in 2015 where it has the responsibility to carry out the agenda of G20 summit, in other words, leads a group of countries within an agenda of economic relations.

"COOPERATION" is present in both international (N=5) and domestic (N=8) political discourse which *cooperation-işbirliği* and *partnership-ortaklık* are the lexicalizations of the mutual work the nations/states undertake in order to achieve common goals.

Though few in overall number, it is noted that the source concept of "NEIGHBOUR" is observed more in English (N=3) than in Turkish (N=1) data.

4.3.3 Turkey as an ABSTRACT CONSTRUCTION

The results show that domestic and international discourse also conceptualizes Turkey by means of the source domains BUILDING and SHELTER. The super domain of BUILDING-SHELTER indicates that the abstract structure is understood through the properties and attributes of the physical structures. Table 15 lists the conceptual elements of BUILDING-SHELTER super-domain.

Table 15. Conceptual Elements of the BUILDING-SHELTER domain in POLDIS

SOURCE CONCEPTS	ENGLISH LEXICAL UNITS	TURKISH LEXICAL UNITS
SHELTER	*refugee*	*sığın(ılan/mak), sığınak, sığınmacı, mülteci, mağdur*
TO HOST	*to host, welcome*	*barındırmak, misafir ağırlamak/etmek*
SAFE		*güvenli*
PHYSICAL STABILITY	*to withstand, stable, to destabilize*	*istikrar, sarsan, sağlam*
CONSTRUCTION TYPE	*bridge*	*abide, ev*
PHYSICAL CONTAINER	*to enter, to flock into*	*köşe, taraf, dört bir yan*
BUILDING PART: ENTRY	*gateway*	*kapı, koridor*
CONSTRUCTION PROCESS		*inşa etmek, kurmak, imar, ihya, yıkmak*
FOUNDATION		*temel, temel atmak*

Again Turkish data has more tokens (N=70) in the overall source concepts than English (N=33) in BUILDING-SHELTER super-domain. For Turkish, the source domain of BUILDING is more frequently observed (61%) while in English, SHELTER is more frequently observed (67%). The source domains of BUILDING and SHELTER are almost equally frequently observed in overall tokens (N=54 and N=49, respectively) which constitute 52% and 48% of the overall tokens. Among the identified source concepts that are present in Turkish, "CONSTRUCTION PROCESS" and "FOUNDATION" in BUILDING domain, and the source concept of "SAFE" in SHELTER domain are not present in English data. Table 16 gives the summary of figures in this domain.

Table 16. Tokens for Conceptual Elements of BUILDING-SHELTER source concepts in POLDIS

SOURCE CONCEPTS*	Tokens in English	Sub-totals	Tokens in Turkish	Sub-totals	Tokens Overall	Sub-totals Overall
BUILDING All	11		43		54	
PHYSICAL STABILITY		3		4		7
CONSTRUCTION TYPE		1		6		7
PHYSICAL CONTAINER		5		6		11
BUILDING PART: ENTRY		2		7		9
CONSTRUCTION PROCESS		0		15		15
FOUNDATION		0		5		5
SHELTER All	22		27		49	
SHELTER		17		20		37
TO HOST		5		5		10
SAFE		0		2		2
Totals	*33*		*70*		*103*	

*in order of number of tokens overall

Even though the overall number of tokens for BUILDING is more (N=22) than SHELTER (N=11) in English, the resonance analysis show that both source domains display the same level of productivity (see Table 17) in English. In Turkish, BUILDING is by far the most productive source domain with a resonance value of 258.

Table 17. Resonance Results of Source Domains of BUILDING-SHELTER in POLDIS

SOURCE DOMAIN	ENGLISH		TURKISH	
	Tokens	Resonance	Tokens	Resonance
BUILDING	11	44	43	258
SHELTER	22	44	27	81

Musolff (2000) gives detailed investigation of HOUSE and BUILDING metaphors used for EU. In line with Musolff's findings, the mappings between the source domain of BUILDING-SHELTER and the target domain of TURKEY lead to the conceptual metaphor ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE. Table 18 below illustrates the sub-metaphors and the related mappings. Each of the sub-metaphors will be presented with related excerpts.

Table 18. Mappings for the general metaphor ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

| | Mappings | |
Sub-Metaphor	Aspects of Source	Aspects of Target
ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS A CONTAINER	container for holding goods	encompasses its citizens
ABSTRACT LASTINGNESS IS THE STABILITY OF THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE	stability of a building/construction	lastingness of a country
ABSTRACT STRUCTURE AS A PHYSICAL STRUCTURE IS A SHELTER	structure that covers people	protection for citizens, security

4.3.3.1 ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS A CONTAINER

The results show that the political discourse conceptualizes the abstract structure as a physical structure, and specifically as a container. The identified metaphorical lexical units *köşe (corner), taraf (side), dört bir yan (four sides)* in Turkish show that the abstract structure is described to be a container and it has the capacity to hold things inside. In English, the lexical units *entering* and *flocking into* indicate the same concept of a container. In this regard, the notion of the physical structure is expanded into a container and the properties of the container such as holding goods has the mapping in the target domain that the country encompasses its animate (i.e., citizens) and/or inanimate (i.e., institutions) entities inside.

4.3.3.2 ABSTRACT LASTINGNESS IS THE STABILITY OF THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

This sub-metaphor indicates that stability of a building or a construction is mapped into the aspect of lastingness of the abstract structure. The source concept of "PHYSICAL STABILITY" has correspondences in both Turkish and English. Excerpts (45) from SBH and (46) from NYT describe Turkey as *stable (stable monument* in Turkish*)* in the region, which indicates that the country is powerful enough to exist as a political structure in a conflicted region and similarly (47) from NYT indicates that the abstract structure is stable enough to resist external forces, specifically the international political pressure.

(45) 'Türkiye olarak bu çalkantılı bölgede güven ve **istikrar abidesi** olarak pozisyonumuzu korumak zorundayız' diyen Akdoğan, 'Irak, Suriye, Lübnan, Libya, Mısır baktığımız zaman çok büyük bir çalkantı var. **İstikrar abidesi** olarak yükselen Türkiye var.' [dedi] (030_TR_SBH_06112014)

(46) Although Turkey has remained relative **stable** in a region awash in conflict, many here feel divided over whether the neighboring uprisings, civil wars and insurgencies are a result of an America that is too dominant or not dominant enough. (001_ENG_NYT_04112014)

(47) Kobani is for Kurds a fulcrum for a new sense of nationalism that has set in sharp relief the longstanding divisions with Turkey, which has **withstood** international pressure to intervene directly. (011_ENG_NYT_19112014)

On the other hand, in the excerpts (48) from CUM and (49) from NYT below, some situations (i.e. criminal investigation of a corruption scandal and terrorists) are perceived to lead to the destabilization of the abstract structure.

(48) Türkiye'yi **sarsan** 17 Aralık rüşvet ve yolsuzluk soruşturmasına verilen takipsizlik kararına dosyanın tek şikayetçisi olan eski Fatih Emniyet Müdür Yardımcısı Orhan İnce itiraz etti. (011_TR_CUM_11112014)

(49) The battle is complicated by Turkey's role, which sees some of the Kurdish factions as terrorists determined ultimately to **destabilize** Turkey to create a Kurdish state. (011_ENG_NYT_19112014)

Turkish data also makes use of the source concept of "FOUNDATION" to indicate that abstract structure is built upon some abstract principles (i.e., the notion of *same nation, state, flag, language for all*), facts (i.e., *cultural and historical roots* of the country) as well as the its institutions which all provide support for the stability of Turkey.

4.3.3.3 ABSTRACT STRUCTURE AS A PHYSICAL STRUCTURE IS A SHELTER

"SHELTER" is the most frequently observed source concept constituting 77% in English 74% in Turkish overall tokens in this domain. The conflict in Syria which caused Syrians to leave their homes and enter Turkey through the country's open-border policy led to the issue of refugees. This situation is one of the main issues in the region which was frequently addressed in both domestic and international discourse.

The conceptual metaphor ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS A SHELTER in general refers to the aforementioned situation where Turkey is depicted as a construction which covers and

protects people. The refugees take shelter in Turkey which provides security for those in need. Excerpts 50-53 from CUM, SBH, TEL, and WP illustrate the different lexical realizations of the source concept of "SHELTER" in Turkish and English below.

(50) Erdoğan, "Türkiye'de şu anda bir milyon 600 bin **sığınmacı**, **mülteci** var. Yaptığımız harcama 4.5 milyar doları buldu. Dünyanın bize gönderdiği destek ne biliyor musunuz? 200 milyon dolar. Batı, Birleşmiş Milletler (BM) sesi çıkmıyor. Siz ne işe yarıyorsunuz? Türkiye üzerine düşeni yapıyor. Biz elimizden geleni yapıyoruz. Asıl sessiz kalan sizsiniz." şeklinde konuştu. (003_TR_CUM_03112014)

(51) Cumhurbaşkanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Irak'tan Türkiye'ye **sığınan** ve ülkede ikamet eden Ezidilerden oluşan heyeti kabul etti. (058_TR_SBH_14112014)

(52) Turkey, which hosts half of the 3.2 million **refugees** who have fled Syria, is shouldering the heaviest burden of what today's report calls the world's worst refugee crisis in a generation. (004_ENG_TEL_20112014)

(53) As part of his visit, Biden announced that the United States would provide nearly $135 million in additional humanitarian assistance "to help feed civilians" from Syria who have **taken refuge in** Turkey (007_ENG_WP_22112014)

Source concept of "TO HOST" has equal number of tokens in both languages (N=5) and the lexical realizations of *hosting-ağırlamak* is in line with the notion of taking shelter as seen in excerpts (54) from SBH and (55) from IND below.

(54) [Davutoğlu:] Türkiye'de Suriye ve Irak'tan 2 milyon gelen misafir **ağırlıyoruz.** (076_TR_SBH_21112014)

(55) Aboard the papal plane before his speech, Francis told reporters he was impressed by Turkey's willingness to **host** such a large number of refugees, and praised its humanitarian response to "so many refugees from conflict zones." (005_ENG_IND_28112014)

Furthermore, as illustrated in excerpt (56) from SBH below, domestic political discourse also makes use of the source concept of "SAFE" to emphasize the notion of the capacity to provide protection. Such an instance is not present in English, though.

(56) Türkiye'nin tarih boyunca mazlumlar için umut ışığı olduğunu, bugün de bunun sürdüğünü dile getiren Erdoğan, "Türkiye asırlar boyunca mağdurlar, muhtaçlar için sığınılacak, **güvenli** bir ülkeydi. Bugün de aynı şekilde güvenli bir ülke." (011_TR_SBH_02112014)

Within the concept of SHELTER, an unconventional metaphorical lexical realization is found to be present in Turkish data. In excerpt (57) below, Turkey is described to be a shelter and a *friendly haven* in the region of conflict.

> **(57)** [Davutoğlu:] Çevremizdeki ateş çemberinden ülkemizi azade kılmak için, ülkemize sirayet etmemesi için her türlü tedbiri alacağız. Bir **sığınak** ve dost bir **liman** olmaya devam edeceğiz. (003_TR_CUM_03112014)

4.3.4 Politics as a JOURNEY

Turkey is conceptualized around political situations given that the data belongs to the political discourse. The results show that the super-domain of MOVEMENT-WAY-SPEED manifests the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY in domestic and international data. Turkey is described to be the traveler in this journey, in other words, the country takes part in politics and spends time and effort. As a traveler, it aims to reach a destination which conceptually refers to political and strategic goals. The source domains and the corresponding lexical units in each language are presented in Table 19.

Table 19. Conceptual Elements of the MOVEMENT-WAY-SPEED domain in POLDIS

SOURCE CONCEPTS	English Lexical Units	Turkish Lexical Units
MOVEMENT	*to turn away, to take action, to go after, to come together, to reach out, to pursue*	*yaklaşım, değiştirmek, dönüştürmek, sürdürmek, hareket etmek, gitmek, gelmek, girmek, üstüne çıkmak, takip etmek, izlemek, sürüklemek, yürütmek, sıçramak, engel aşmak*
WAY/PATH		*yol (a devam etmek/izlemek/açmak/almak), yol haritası*
FORWARD		*ilerlemek, ileri doğru, adım (atmak), götürmek, ulaştırmak, mesafe katetmek*
SPEED		*hız, ivme, istikrarlı*
VEHICLE	*on board*	*kaptan, rayına koymak*
DESTINATION	*point, from, into, intersection*	*nokta, pozisyon, açmaz*

There is no identified metaphorical lexical units which belong to the source concepts of "WAY/PATH", "FORWARD", and "SPEED" in English data. "MOVEMENT" is the most frequently observed source concept in both languages. It makes of 58% of the overall English tokens in

the super-domain and 67% of the overall Turkish tokens in this super-domain. Figures are given in Table 20 below.

Table 20. Tokens for Conceptual Elements of MOVEMENT-WAY-SPEED source concepts in POLDIS

SOURCE CONCEPTS*	Tokens in English	Sub-totals	Tokens in Turkish	Sub-totals	Tokens Overall	Sub-totals Overall
MOVEMENT All	7		41		48	
MOVEMENT		6		23		29
FORWARD		0		16		16
VEHICLE		1		2		3
WAY All	5		13		18	
WAY/PATH		0		9		9
DESTINATION		5		4		9
SPEED All	0		7		7	
SPEED		0		7		7
Totals	*12*		*61*		*73*	

*in order of number of tokens overall

Similarly "MOVEMENT" is found to be the most productive source domain in both English and Turkish as illustrated in Table 21 below. Turkish has a higher value of resonance for all of the source domains.

Table 21. Resonance Results of Source Domains of MOVEMENT-WAY-SPEED in POLDIS

SOURCE DOMAIN	ENGLISH		TURKISH	
	Tokens	Resonance	Tokens	Resonance
MOVEMENT	7	21	41	123
WAY	5	5	13	26
SPEED	0	0	7	7

The general metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY is argued to have the following sub-metaphors and mappings.

Table 22. Mappings for the general metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY

Sub-Metaphor	Mappings	
	Aspects of Source	Aspects of Target
FOLLOWING A PATH/MOVING IS FOLLOWING A POLICY	way, path, position, vehicle	policies and existing situation
THE PACE OF THE TRAVEL IS IS THE STATUS OF POLITICAL ADVANCES OF A COUNTRY	speed	increase the success of a country's policies

4.3.4.1 FOLLOWING A PATH/MOVING IS FOLLOWING A POLICY

Being in motion as an abstract structure is argued to refer active involvement in politics. In this sense, going forward in a path or following a path refers to following a policy which is also in line with the primary metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. The results show that both domestic and international political discourse makes use of such metaphorical conceptualizations to talk about Turkey as a country. Excerpts (58) from SBH and (59) from NYT are examples of following economic and military policies.

(58) [Akdoğan:] Daha kaliteli GSM hizmetleri yürütülebilecek, böylece AB standartlarına uyum konusunda da Türkiye önemli **mesafe katetmiş** olacak. (027_TR_SBH_05112014)

(59) Turkey has made targeting Mr. Assad a greater priority than **going after** the Islamic State. (012_ENG_NYT_20112014)

In terms of *moving forward*, Turkish makes use of the source concept "WAY/PATH" to further conceptualize the process of following a policy in terms of a journey. Excerpt (60) from CUM below describe Turkey as *a traveler on its way*.

(60) Ülkemiz 2015 seçimlerine doğru hızla **yol alırken** Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP), toplumsal buluşma adresi olarak yeniden öne çıkıyor. (008_TR_CUM_08112014)

While the country moves forward, it is also possible that at some point it gets stuck on the way as in excerpt (61) from CUM which indicates that Turkey cannot move because of the implemented foreign policies.

(61) Kılıçdaroğlu, daha sonra yaptığı değerlendirmede ise "İzlenen dış politika Türkiye'yi ciddi **açmaz**lara soktu. Bu sorunların MGK düzeyinde ele alınması olumludur." dedi. (001_TR_CUM_01112014)

It is important to note that while the concept of following a path appears to have direct correspondences between the languages, namely *takip etmek-to pursue*, it is argued that their contexts give slightly different messages as in excerpts (62) from SBH and (63) from NYT below. While (62) highlights the notion of *monitoring* something, (63) implies *trying to get or achieve* something.

> **(62)** [Çiçek:] "Türkiye ile Makedonya, dostluğunun derinlikleri olan, kültürel ve tarihi temelleri olan iki ülkedir. Bizim Makedonya'yla ilişkilerimiz sıradan, güncel, konjonktürel bir ilişki değil, stratejik bir ilişki ve dostluktur. [...] Onun için Makedonya'nın NATO ve Avrupa Birliği'ne üyeliğini destekliyoruz ve bu yöndeki çabalarını, takdirle **takip ediyoruz**. (082_TR_SBH_24112014)

> **(63)** On the latter score, the United States has long been put off by Turkey's policy of **pursuing** gas and oil deals with Iraqi Kurds without input from the central government in Baghdad, a policy that American officials say is illegal and could lead to the breakup of Iraq by promoting independence for the Kurds. (012_ENG_NYT_20112014)

The results also provide two unconventional instances of metaphorical lexical units in Turkish data. In addition to being the agent in the act of travelling, Turkey is also depicted to be the one who *shows the way* in (64) from SBH below.

> **(64)** [Bozdağ:] Dış politika da **yol gösteren** biri haline geldi Türkiye. (068_TR_SBH_17112014)

Furthermore, excerpt (65) from CUM also indicates data Turkey as the traveler possesses *a road map* to follow.

> **(65)** Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin milli menfaatları ve milli hedefleri, milli hedeflere ulaşabilmesi için takip edilecek iç ve dış güvenlik ile savunma siyasetlerine ilişkin esasların yer aldığı MGSB'de, öncelikli iki iç tehdit bulunuyor. [...] İç tehditlerle ilgili izlenmesi gereken **yol haritası** ise belgede şöyle çiziliyor: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti etnik temele dayalı olarak kurulmamıştır. Kuruluş esası, tek devlet, tek ulus tek bayrak, tek dildir. Atatürk'ün "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ni kuran Türkiye halkına Türk milleti denir" sözü temel bir ilkedir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne vatandaşlık bağı ile bağlı bulunan herkes ülkenin esas unsurudur. (002_TR_CUM_02112014)

"VEHICLE" as a source concept also provides unconventional instances of metaphorical lexical units in terms of JOURNEY metaphors in Turkish and English. Excerpt (66) from CUM describes the political relationship between Turkey and Iraq to *get back on the rails* while (67) and (68) makes use of semantically related to the concept of *ship.* Excerpt (67) from

SBH implies that Turkey has captain, thus making Turkey a vessel or a traveler, and (68) from IND illustrates Turkey to be a voyager.

> **(66)** Türkiye ile Irak, Arap isyanlarıyla yaşanan sarsıntıların ardından ilişkileri yeniden **rayına koyma** çabasına girişti. (021_TR_CUM_21112014)

> **(67)** Türkiye'nin çevresinin yangın yeri olduğunu ifade eden Bakan Bozdağ, sözlerine şöyle devam etti: 'Bu yangınlar Türkiye'ye sıçramıyor. Sebep, Türkiye'nin **kaptanı** ustalar ustası Erdoğan ve Davutoğlu var. (068_TR_SBH_17112014)

> **(68)** In brief, the need to keep the Sunni states, including Turkey, **on board** in fighting Isis has meant adopting a strategy against the jihadis that is bound to fail. (006_ENG_IND_30112014)

4.3.4.2 THE PACE OF THE TRAVEL IS THE STATUS OF POLITICAL ADVANCES OF A COUNTRY

This sub-metaphor is present only in domestic political discourse where the metaphorical lexicalizations of the source concept "SPEED" is employed into discourse to map the pace of the travel into the increase in the success of the policies of the country. Excerpts 69-71 from SBH and CUM make use of the lexical units *ivme (momentum)* and *hız (speed)* to point out that Turkey exhibits a good performance in its policies.

> **(69)** Erdoğan, [...] Önümüzdeki dönemde ekonomik ve ticari ilişkilerimizin [Türkiye ve Birleşik Krallık] yanında insani bağlarımızın da güçlenmeye devam edeceğine, yakalanan bu **ivme**nin sürdürüleceğine inanıyorum" diye konuştu. (092_TR_SBH_30112014)

> **(70)** [Davutoğlu:] Türkiye, Cumhuriyet ideallerine bağlı kalarak daha itibarlı ve daha güçlü bir ülke olma yolunda **hızla** ilerleyerek bölgesinde barış ve istikrarın savunuculuğunu yapmaya devam edecektir. (010_TR_CUM_10112014)

> **(71)** [Erdoğan:] Avrupa Birliği'ne tam üyeliği ülkemizin stratejik bir hedefi olarak görüyor, yaklaşık 50 yıldır bunun mücadelesini veriyoruz. Bu süreçte gerçekten çok önemli reformları hayata geçirdik. Temel hak ve özgürlükler ile demokrasimizin güçlendirilmesi noktasında ciddi adımlar attık. Biz bu reform sürecini çeşitli ülkelerin siyasi engellemelerine rağmen **hız kesmeden** aynı kararlılıkla devam ettireceğiz. (092_TR_SBH_30112014)

The pace is also exemplified by the lexical unit of *adım (step)* in domestic political discourse as seen in (72) from SBH and (73) from CUM below.

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(72) Kurtulmuş, "Çözüm süreci' diye isimlendirdiğimiz bu süreç, Türkiye'nin en hayati, en kanlı, en büyük problemlerinden birisinin çözümüne ilişkin atılmış **adımlar** bütünüdür" dedi. (063_TR_SBH_15112014)

(73) Erdoğan, Esenler Dörtyol Meydanı'nda düzenlenen Esenler Belediyesi Toplu Açılış Töreni'nde yaptığı konuşmada, Türkiye'nin 2023 hedefleri doğrultusunda **adım adım** ilerlediğini, 2023 hedeflerini 2053 ve 2071 hedeflerinin izleyeceğini kaydetti. (003_TR_CUM_03112014)

In sum, the results show that the status of the political advances of a country is understood by means of the pace of the travel in domestic political discourse. The pace can be fast or step-by-step, yet either way has the aim of achieving a political goal.

4.3.5 Politics as WAR

Results echo the previous studies by revealing that politics is conceptualized as power especially in political discourse. Turkey as a political structure is found to be frequently positioned around metaphorical references of power, thus the super-domain of STRENGTH-WAR-FORCE is formed. The source concepts of this domain show that the fact that Turkey as a sociopolitical structure can offer help, allow for something, equips an entity because it holds enough power to do so. Similarly, it develops policies, defends itself, attacks, defeats or isdefeated against some threats as a result of the existing power conflicts between itself and some other entities. The underlying power relations will be discussed in the following sections (see 4.5) in detail. The source concepts and the corresponding lexical units in Turkish and English are presented in Table 23.

Table 23. Conceptual Elements of the STRENGTH-WAR-FORCE domain in POLDIS

SOURCE CONCEPTS	English Lexical units	Turkish Lexical units
HELP/ASSISTANCE	*to help, to aid, to back, to meet the needs, to support, to care for*	*yardım, destek (vermek), arkasında olmak, katkı vermek, donör*
ALLOW/PERMISSION	*to grant, to allow, to permit*	*izin vermek, müsaade etmek* *güçlü, gücüne güç katmak, koskoca,*
POWER	*power, powerful, to oust, to force*	*kudret, direnç, çaba, gayret, hakim kılmak*
SKILL		*kabiliyet*

Table 23. Conceptual Elements of the STRENGTH-WAR-FORCE domain in POLDIS (contd.)

SOURCE CONCEPTS	English Lexical units	Turkish Lexical units
WAR	*war, battle, fight, half-truce*	*savaş, iç savaş, psikolojik saldırı, mücadele (etmek/vermek), terör tehdit, iç tehdit, tehlike, tuzak,*
THREAT	*threat, terorist, enemy*	*propaganda, lobi faaliyetleri, hain*
DEFENSE		*koru(mak,nmak), tedbir*
ATTACK	*to attack, to lead, on the front line, to target, to kill*	*fiske, hedef*
EQUIPMENT	*arms, to equip*	*askeri katkı*
PROBLEM/DANGER	*problem, unsettled issue*	*sıkıntı, sorun, bela, dert, problem, mesele*
VICTORY	*to defeat*	*kurtulmak, kurtarmak, bertaraf etmek, kazanmak, yenilmez, bağımsızlık (tanımamak)*
DEFEATED		*askeri darbeden çıkmış, kaybetmek, pranga, mahkum, işgal edilmiş, kaosa terk edilmiş*
DUTY		*görev, arabuluculuk, İslam sancaktarlığı, ABD'nin jandarması*
STRATEGY/POLICY	*strategy, priority, to advocate, policy*	*felaket senaryosu, milli dava, küresel siyaset vizyonu, politika*
GRAVITATIONAL	*pressure*	
MECHANICAL	*to tighten, to be kept, overwhelmed*	

As with previous source concepts, the number of tokens in Turkish source concepts of STRENGTH-WAR-FORCE outnumber those in English, only with the exception of the source concept of "FORCE" which does not exist in Turkish (previously presented in 4.2.2). The source concept which has the highest number of overall tokens is "WAR" (N=106) in POLDIS, it also is the most frequently observed source concept in Turkish and in English. Within all source concepts, "HELP/ASSISTANCE" has the highest number of tokens for both Turkish and English (N=29 and N=13, respectively) overall. For Turkish, the second most frequently

observed source domain is "PROBLEM/DANGER" (N=15), while for English, it is "STRATEGY/POLICY" (N=11).

Table 24. Tokens for Conceptual Elements of STRENGTH-WAR-FORCE source concepts in POLDIS

SOURCE CONCEPTS*	Tokens in English	Sub-totals	Tokens in Turkish	Sub-totals	Tokens Overall	Sub-totals Overall
STRENGTH All	26		43		69	
HELP/ASSISTANCE		13		29		42
ALLOW/PERMISSION		9		2		11
POWER		4		11		15
SKILL		0		1		1
WAR All	33		73		106	
WAR		9		11		20
THREAT		3		12		15
DEFENSE		0		6		6
ATTACK		5		4		9
EQUIPMENT		2		1		3
PROBLEM/DANGER		2		15		17
VICTORY		1		7		7
DEFEAT		0		7		7
DUTY		0		6		6
STRATEGY/POLICY		11		4		15
FORCE All	9		0		9	
GRAVITATIONAL		2		0		2
MECHANICAL		7		0		7
Totals	*68*		*120*		*188*	

*in order of number of tokens overall

Resonance of "WAR" is higher in Turkish than it is in English, which indicates that domestic political discourse again offers more variety in its lexical realizations of this source concept.

Table 25. Resonance Results of Source Domains of STRENGTH-WAR-FORCE in POLDIS

SOURCE DOMAIN	ENGLISH		TURKISH	
	Tokens	Resonance	Tokens	Resonance
STRENGTH	26	78	43	172
WAR	33	231	73	730
FORCE	9	18	0	0

The general metaphor is identified to be POLITICS IS WAR. The aspects of the target and the source domains for the sub-metaphors POLITICS IS CONFLICT and POLITICS IS POWER are presented in Table 26.

Table 26. Mappings for the general metaphor POLITICS IS WAR

	Mappings	
Sub-Metaphor	**Aspects of Source**	**Aspects of Target**
POLITICS IS CONFLICT	Battle, threats, attacks, victories.	Following a strategy to defend itself and attack at the threats.
POLITICS IS POWER	strength to give permission, help, force things.	Ability or right to influence or control the entities or situations in politics.

4.3.5.1 POLITICS IS CONFLICT

The results show that political discourse positions Turkey in the context of war quite often. In some cases, the notion of war refers to the actual war going on (i.e., Syrian civil war, coalition fight against ISIS/ISIL) or the indirect political endavours again within the same concept. The intention of both acts are argued to be political, thus there is no distinction between the conceptualizations of war-related as being actively or indirectly involved in battles. For example, excerpts (74) from SBH and (75) from *The Daily Mail* (hereafter DM) illustrate the instances of political endavours which do not directly refer to actual clashes in the battlefield. Rather, they indicate the political effort of the country to achieve a goal as in (74), or positioning itself with the active participants in a battle as in (75). Though not directly involved, the aforementioned representations conceptualize Turkey as an agent in politics which is depicted to be a struggle, in other words, a war.

> **(74)** [Erdoğan:] Şu anda ülkemiz sınırları içinde yer alan azınlıklar için tarihi reformlar yaptık ve samimi adımlar attık. Türkiye kendi içinde birlikte yaşamak kültürünü güçlü şekilde desteklerken dünyada da bunun **mücadele**sini veriyor. Birlikte yaşama kültürünü küresel olarak desteklemek adına Türkiye'nin uyarılarının dikkate alınması gerektiğini vurgulamak isterim. (087_TR_SBH_28112014)

> **(75)** Foreign Minister Julie Bishop said Turkey was **on the front line** of the ongoing wars in Iraq and Syria. (002_ENG_DM_03112014)

Source domain of WAR includes the concept of "THREAT" which shows more variety in domestic political discourse (N=12) than in international discourse (N=3). From an international perspective, Turkey has threats such as *terorist* and *enemy* which endanger the existense of the country, while the domestic perspective provides a wider range of threats such as *tuzak (trap), propaganda, lobi faaliyetleri (lobby activities), hain (traitor)*, and there is even an distinction between *iç-dış tehdit (internal-external threat)*. Similarly concept of "WAR" has slightly more lexical variants in Turkish than in English (N=11, N=9 respectively) and there are more "PROBLEMS/DANGER" observed in domestic political disource (N=15) than in international one (N=2). While international political disource makes use of source concept of "ATTACK", there are no metaphorical lexical units belonging to the source concept of "DEFENSE". Similarly, there is only one metaphorical lexical instance of "VICTORY" in English, on the other hand, Turkish provides more variety. Apart from the source domain of FORCE which is not present at all in Turkish, the only source concept which English has more tokens than in Turkish is "STRATEGY/POLICY" (N=11 and N=4, respectively).

In sum, from the domestic political discourse perspective, Turkey as a political structure is depicted to be involved in a battle against threats and dangers which are more in number compared to international perspective. In order to maintain its existense, Turkey defenses itself, attackes at threats and wins the battles by following strategies. From an international political discourse perspective, Turkey again faces threats and danger but they do not show a big range in their variety, there is no indication that Turkey defenses itself but it attacks and only a single instance of potential victory is observed in the data as illustrated in excerpt (76) from WP below.

> **(76)** After an extended period of public estrangement and sniping, the United States and Turkey have made up and say they are heading toward close cooperation on **defeating** the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq, and eventually seeing the end of the Syrian government of President Bashar al-Assad. (007_ENG_WP_22112014)

4.3.5.2 POLITICS IS POWER

The results show that Turkey as a political structure is also positioned and conceptualized in relation to the power relations. Through power, the country is able to provide help to other entitites and grants permission to other entitites to act on.

The most frequently observed source concept for both languages is "HELP/ASSISTANCE" which makes up 61% of the STRENGTH source domain. In this regard, excerpts (77) from CUM and (78) from DM indicate that Turkey is hold the required skills and/or power to help others (i.e., Iraqi security forces and the coalition against ISIS/ISIL).

> **(77)** Çavuşoğlu, Türkiye'nin Irak güvenlik güçleri için de eğit-donat **yardım**ında bulunacağını belirtti. (018_TR_CUM_18112014)

> **(78)** Turkey is still negotiating with the United States over how and to what extent it will be **helping** the coalition in its battle against ISIS. (004_ENG_DM_28112014)

Similarly in (79) from SBH and (80) from NYT, Turkey provides support to some entities (i.e., Free Syrian Army and Sunni opposition groups in Iraq) based on the political strategy it maintains. It can also be argued that aforementioned conceptualizations are, at the same time, the manifestations of the primary metaphor HELP IS SUPPORT.

> **(79)** [Davutoğlu:] Türkiye, entegre bir strateji gördüğünde her türlü **desteği** verir. Nitekim, Kobani'de bizim de verdiğimiz **destek**lerle Özgür Suriye Ordusu, peşmerge güçlerinin araya geçmesi gibi, belli bir statik durağanlık oldu. (074_TR_SBH_20112014)

> **(80)** Turkish officials accused Mr. Maliki of alienating Sunni Muslims, a minority in Iraq, while Mr. Maliki was aggrieved over Turkey's **support** of Sunni opposition lawmakers within Iraq. (012_ENG_NYT_20112014)

The source concept of "ALLOW/PERMISSION" has more tokens in English (N=9) than in Turkish (N=2). In domestic political discourse, the instances of this source concept indicate only negative enforcement where the agent, Turkey, does not permit the acts (i.e., the passing of peshmerga and Armenia's perspective on events of 1915) mentioned in the excerpts (81) from CUM and (82) from SBH.

> **(81)** Konferansta Batı basınında "Türkiye'nin peşmergenin geçişine **izin vermediği**" yönünde çıkan haberlerin hatırlatılması üzerine Erdoğan, "Bu haber bir asparagas haberdir, yalandır." dedi. (001_TR_CUM_01112014)

> **(82)** [Çavuşoğlu:] Türkiye, kadim medeniyetlere ev sahipliği yapan Anadolu topraklarının binlerce yıllık birlikte yaşama kültürüne dayalı zengin tarihinin tek yanlı bir bakış açısıyla karalanmasına asla **müsaade etmeyecek**tir. (085_TR_SBH_26112014)

In English, though, the act of giving permission is observed to be positive as illustrated in the excerpts (83) from NYT and (84) from WP below.

(83) Traditionally strong relations between Turkey and the United States have become strained in recent months over Turkey's perceived deafness to calls for it to **permit** Kurdish fighters to go to the aid of the Syrian town of Kobani, which has been besieged by Islamic State fighters. (001_ENG_NYT_04112014)

(84) In return for creating such a buffer zone, we could insist that Turkey begin to actively partner with us against the Islamic State and **allow** its bases to be used in the fight. (006_ENG_WP_21112014)

Turkey as a country is also conceptualized to be holding power which implies that as a political entity it has the STRENGTH to force things into the entities in relation with it. In this sense, the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS POWER refers to the notion that as a political structure engaged in politics, Turkey has the ability and/or right to influence and control the things or situations around it. The hinted power relations will be discussed in detail in section 4.5.

4.4 Other Unconventional/Novel Instances of Conceptual Metaphors

A source domain named OTHER was reserved for the metaphorical expressions which did not fit into the frames of the other domains. In addition to the unconventional uses of conceptual metaphors previously presented, the domain of OTHER also yielded results which need further separate exploration. In this section, some of them will be briefly presented.

Within this domain, the most frequently observed metaphorical expression in Turkish was *yeni - new* (N=22) and *eski - old* (N=6) to conceptualize the country. The notion of "New Turkey" is a recent political reference frequently used by AKP and the President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Within this discourse, the advocates of this discourse conceptually (re)constructure the country in line with some political goal and principles. The country in a way is conceptualized by the metaphor GOVERNMENT IS AN OBJECT (Corts & Campbell, 2009) and at the same time COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION. It can also be argued that this conceptualization is a reference to the 'life-cycle' of Turkey as an animate being in the sense that it illustrates how Turkey evolves/grows throughout its political existence/life time. A separate study focusing particularly on this metaphorical conceptualization would provide more detailed results and implications.

Other unconventional/novel instances of metaphor expression are *miras - legacy* and *hazine sandığı - treasure chest*. In excerpt (85) from CUM below, Turkey is first conceptualized as a PERSON *(gülen bir Türkiye - a similing Turkey)* then as a BUILDING *(inşa etmek - to construct)*, then as an OBJECT, specifically as a LEGACY *(miras bırakmak - to leave a legacy)*.

> **(85)** Türkiye'de herkesin ülkenin sorunlarını kendine göre tartıştığını belirten Kılıçdaroğlu, gülen bir Türkiye istediklerini anlattı. Kılıçdaroğlu, "Herkesin gülümsediği bir Türkiye inşa edebilirsek, çocuklarımıza güzel bir **miras** bırakmış olacağız" diye konuştu. (022_TR_CUM_22112014)

Similarly in excerpt (86) from SBH below, Turkey is depicted as another OBJECT, specifically as a TREASURE CHEST. The cultures Turkey encompasses are conceptualized as the gemstones, and Turkey as a big CONTAINER which holds this treasure. It is also signalled that the treasure chest is big, thus the primary metaphor SIGNIFICANT IS BIG is also manifested.

> **(86)** [Bağımsız Ankara Milletvekili Emine Ülker Tarhan:] Türkiye'nin sıkıntılı dönemden çıkmasına, cumhuriyet ve demokrasiye destek olacağını kaydeden Tarhan, Türkiye'yi 'içindeki değerli taşlar gibi kültürlerin zenginleştiği bir **dev hazine sandığı**' olarak tanımladı. (012_TR_SBH_03112014)

In this sense, it is suggested that both (85) and (86) refer to the conceptual metaphor A COUNTRY IS A VALUABLE OBJECT. As far as the literature offers, studies in other languages did not provide similar conceptualizations for a country. Thus, further investigation should be conducted to investigate whether such manifestation is also present in English.

Another novel use of metaphorical expression is from SBH where the metaphorical expression *siyasi parti mezalığı - cemetery of political parties* is identified. This metaphorical expression is frequently used in Turkish, often by the figures in politics, to indicate to the fact that there is a very high number of political parties yet few of them are politically *alive* because either they do not have representatives in the parliament or are in the process of closure.

> **(87)** [Bozdağ:] "Siyasi parti kapatan ülkelerin başında gelmektedir Türkiye, adeta **siyasi parti mezarlığı** olmuştur." (024_TR_SBH_05112014)

In excerpt (87) from SBH above, the highlighted metaphorical expression can manifest the conceptual metaphor A COUNTRY IS A POLITICAL CEMETERY which may refer to the instability of Turkey as a sociopolitical strcuture. It can be argued that the abstract lastingness of the

country is conceptualized as fragile in terms of durability. In this sense, it can be linked to the conceptual metaphor ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and the submetaphor ABSTRACT LASTINGNESS IS THE STABILITY OF THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE. Though there is only a single instance, this unique instance of conceptualization should be explored further with more data.

The unconventional/novel instances of metaphor show creativity in discourse. Those who create or shape their discourse by means of such instances can convey stronger or more gripping messages to their audience. As a result, the emergence of such metaphors is to be expected in the political discourse aim of which is to discursively shape and/or influence the opinions or perceptions of the people.

4.5 *Us* versus *Them*: The Implied Power Struggles in relation to Turkey

As the analyses of the excerpts in the previous sections often hinted, this study shows that conceptual metaphors discursively imply some hidden ideologies in political discourse. In this section, a further discussion will be presented on how Turkey gains a social identity by differentiation from others (Teo, 2000: 41) or in relation to others through the frames of *Us* versus *Them.* Legitimization of power in relation to these frames was further explored.

Results show that within the identified source domains, the super-domains of LOVE-FAMILY-GROUP and STRENGTH-WAR-FORCE particularly highlight the construction of the power struggle between the sociopolitical structures.

The super-domain of LOVE-FAMILY-GROUP previously illustrated that Turkey is conceptualized as a social entity which belongs to a group. Furthermore, the source concepts elaborated various groups the country is entitled to be a member of. Table 27 below illustrates the distribution of referents within the groups that Turkey belongs to. The referenced countries, their roles, and their frequency in Turkish and English are presented.

Table 27. Turkey's In-group Referent Distribution

GROUP of Turkey	Referent in Turkish	N	Referent in English	N
Relationship	the US	9	The US	6
	Iraq	7	Iraq	4
	The UK	8	Islamists	1
	Macedonia	4	Israel	1
	Egypt	2		
	Israel	2		

Table 27. Turkey's In-group Referent Distribution (contd.)

GROUP of Turkey	Referent in Turkish	N	Referent in English	N
	Denmark	1		
	Russia	1		
	Iran	1		
	EU	1		
	Australia	1		
	Azerbaijan	1		
	Spain	1		
	Syria	1		
	non G20 countries	1		
Neighbours	Syria	1	Syria	1
Affiliated Groups	EU	7	EU	1
	World	3	Sunni States	1
	Europe	2	coalition (US-led)	1
	Coalition	1		
Allies	G20	6	The US	3
	The US	3		
	NATO	3		
	EU	1		
	Germany	1		
	Canada	1		
	Spain	1		
	Pakistan	1		
	The UK	1		
	Bahrain	1		
	Bangladesh	1		
	Chile	1		
	Georgia	1		
	Lebanon	1		
Friends	Macedonia	1		
	Germany	1		
	Canada	1		
	Spain	1		
	Pakistan	1		
	The UK	1		
	Bahrain	1		
	Bangladesh	1		
	Chile	1		
	Georgia	1		
	Lebanon	1		
	The US	1		
	Iraq (the groups)	1		
Kinship	Iraq	3		
	TRNC	4		
	Atatürk	1		
Romantic Relationship	the US	1	The US	2

From a CDA perspective, the table portrays the group representations of Turkey in political discourse. Concerning the in-group versus out-group presentation, it is observed that super-domain of LOVE-FAMILY-GROUP shows the in-group presentation of Turkey in the domestic discourse, and both in-group and out-group presentation of Turkey in the international political discourse. Furthermore, this study argues that the conceptual metaphor A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO IS A MEMBER OF A GROUP also discursively legitimizes the power relations in discourse.

From a domestic perspective, Turkey as a country builds relations between various countries and organizations, among which the US, the UK and Iraq (N=11 for each) are the ones that are most frequently referred to as in-group members. Therefore, it can be argued that the presentation of *Us* in domestic discourse most frequently corresponds to the US, the UK and Iraq. Concerning the US, Turkey has bilateral relations ("*ikili ilişkiler"*) and is an ally *("müttefik")*. The UK is a strategic partner *("stratejik ortak")* with which it has economic and commercial relations (*"ekonomik ve ticari ilişkiler"*) and cooperation ("işbirliği"). And Iraq has close and bilateral relations (*"yakın","ikili ilişkiler"*) with Turkey.

In international discourse, though, the US and Iraq are again present as the most frequently referred (N=11 and N=4, respectively) group members, yet the UK does not have a single presentation as an in-group member with Turkey. This may be because of the fact that the political agenda within the timeframe of this study (see 3.3.3) did not focus on any issues specifically between Turkey and the UK. However, while British press reports on Turkey, it does not position Turkey in any relation to the UK. The US and Iraq have similar relations (i.e., cooperation and alliance) with Turkey as reported in domestic political discourse.

What should be also noted on domestic political discourse is that the representation of in-groupness also bears emotional references, such as the use of *kinship* and *friendship.* These representations are not observed in English data. As excerpt (42) below shows (previously presented in 4.3.2.3), discourse underlines that Turkey has *friends and allies*. In a way, the notion of ally is expanded in Turkish discourse and the element of friendship is of priority.

> **(42)** Tatbikata Türkiye dahil 12 **dost ve müttefik** ülkenin [Türkiye, ABD, Almanya, Kanada, İspanya, Pakistan, İngiltere, Bahreyn, Bangladeş, Şili, Gürcistan ve Lübnan] yakın ilgi göstermesi ve katılımın yüksek olması bu tatbikatın değerinin vurgulandığı da açıklamalarda yer aldı. (040_TR_SBH_08112014)

In contrast, international discourse never uses the term *friend*, and the concept of *alliance* bears no emotional meaning. From the perspective of British and American political discourse (TEL and NYT), Turkey has an ally which is the US and they have a political and strategic relationship.

Furthermore, the relationship they have also indicated the power dynamics in the discourse. As (14) from NYT illustrates, Turkey *faces pressure* from its ally, the US, to act out specific policies in accordance with the interests of the US and the other allies. The concept of "alliance" then is discursively used to legitimize the dominance of *allies* over Turkey. While domestic discourse highlights that the aforementioned countries participated in an important event organized by Turkey because they are *friends and allies* (as in excerpt 42); international discourse indicates a different requirement for being an 'ally'. It is implied that Turkey is expected to follow a political agenda set by its *allies* and it has the obligations to do so as in (14) from NYT below.

> **(14)** Turkey, chastened by the failures of its Middle East policy and **facing rising pressure** from the United States and other **allies** to do more in the campaign against the Islamic State, has been reaching out to the Shiite governments of Iraq and Iran. (012_ENG_NYT_20112014)

Turkey and the US are from what is considered to be *Us* in discourse because they are the in-group members as a result of their alliance. However, discourse implies an ongoing power struggle between them. As the previous excerpts showed, usually the US is depicted to be the one forcing power or influencing Turkey. Nevertheless, it seems that even though the US imposes on Turkey, Turkey can also show resistance. Excerpt (41) from NYT below is such an instance where Turkey resists the pressure of its ally. The context shows that the US is clearly trying to influence the politics of Turkey in line with the US' campaign (concerning ISIS/ISIS) yet it has yet been successful.

> **(41)** As a result, Mr. Hagel wrote, the United States **was struggling** to sign up **allies** like Turkey and even France for the campaign. (013_ENG_NYT_24112014)

In British political discourse, though, such a struggle is not present. As (88) from TEL illustrates below, Turkey, the US and others are simply mentioned to have responsibilities as allies in the fight against ISIL/ISIS. No hinted power inequality can be observed, though.

> **(88)** President Obama recent announced a new program, run by the US, Turkey and other **allies** to train and equip 5000 Syrian rebels to fight Isil. (001_ENG_TEL_02112014)

The domestic political discourse (SBH) also makes use of *kinship* to indicate strong in-group memberships of Turkey. As also previously discussed, excerpt (5: unabrigraded) shows that Iraq is described to be a sibling of Turkey and their kinship is emphasized throughout discourse. This kinship facilitates the political relations between two countries and establishes the basis for the support provided by Turkey to Iraq. The kinship, and specifically brotherhood, discursively implies that Turkey has a life-long commitment and responsibilities to fulfill such as protecting *the peace and the territorial integrity* of Iraq.

> **(5: unabrigraded)** Davutoğlu sözlerini şöyle sürdürdü: "Irak'ın bir kez daha her zaman vurguladığım hususu vurgulamak istiyorum: Irak'ın istikrarı, barışı ve huzuru Türkiye'nin istikrarı, barışı ve huzurudur. Dünyada çok az iki ülke **hem tarihi ve toplumsal ilişkiler** bakımından hem de karşı karşıya kaldıkları **tehditler ve avantajlar** bakımından birbirlerine böylesine örtüşmüştür. Türkiye, her zaman Irak'ın huzurunu, toprak bütünlüğünü, iç siyasi barışını **hep desteklemiştir** ve Irak'ın her kesimini etnik, mezhep ve din **farkı gözetmeden her bir Iraklı'yı kardeş** olarak görmüştür, bundan sonra da **kardeş** olarak görmeye devam edeceğiz" (059_TR_SBH_14112014)

These findings are in line with the previous research where implied kinship between the nations was reported to have following aspects: (i) the common past, (ii) mutual interest, (iii) life-long commitments and obligations, (iv) equal status of siblings challenged via the concept of "elder/younger brother", (v) reciprocal responsibilities, and (vi) priority in dealings with "family members" rather than strangers and outsiders (A'Beckett, 2012).

On that note, excerpt (5) implies that the countries have a common history (*"tarihi ve toplumsal ilişkiler"*), similar threats and advantages (*"tehditler ve avantajlar"*), commitments (*"hep desteklemiştir"*) and that they have equal status (*"fark gözetmeden kardeş olarak görmüştür"*). Therefore, the aspects (i), (ii), (iii), and (iv) are clearly observed in a single excerpt. Nevertheless, it is important to note that, rather than being *reciprocal,* the support and the commitments are described to be single-sided as Turkey is the one who is discursively implied to be relatively more powerful than its brother, Iraq. In this sense, it can be argued that the inequality in power is both implied and justified at the same time. Turkey can protect Iraq because it is more powerful, yet this situation does not have any negative connotations because they are *brothers*. This is also in line with Sandıkçıoğlu's (2000: 20) study where she proposes that "Oriental alliances are regarded as based on blood ties which are not self-determined". In her study, she points out that in

Iranian and Arab contexts, "brother" is often used while the West conceptualizes alliance as "a sensible choice of partners".

Domestic discourse also lists G20, NATO, EU, and 10 countries (see Table 27) as the allies of Turkey. Among them, the discourse in relation to EU provides rich inferences for the fluid nature of various in-group and out-group presentation. Turkey has been a candidate for EU membership since 1999. The EU started its official negotiations with Turkey in 2004 and since then the political dialogues over various issues have been carried out to comply the requirements of the membership. While international political discourse (TEL) only mentions the affiliation of Turkey to the EU as an "attempt to join the EU", the issue of the EU is frequently mentioned in domestic political discourse (SBH). In some instances, Turkey is described to be a candidate for the EU membership ("AB adaylığı") while in some cases it is stated that Turkey is aiming to attain *full* membership to the EU ("AB tam üyeliği"). It can be argued that through the particular choice of the notion *full membership,* domestic political discourse implies that Turkey is already a *partial* group member of the EU.

Another instance of Turkey's in-group representation is its role in *the coalition*. In September 2014, The US, Bahrain, Qatar, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates launched the multinational fight against ISIL/ISIS. Turkey has not been engaged in direct combat, but allowed the coalition members to use its bases and provided train-and-equip programme to the Syrian moderate opposition forces. Both domestic and international political discourse indicate that Turkey is expected to take part in the coalition, in other words, Turkey is expected to be present in the in-group because of the military (89) and strategic (90) interests of the coalition. It should also be noted that Turkish CUM uses the general term "the coalition" while British IND indicates that it is "US-led".

> **(89)** Washington-Ankara arasındaki görüşmelerde başta İncirlik olmak üzere, Türkiye'nin **koalisyon**a katılımı konusunda karara varılması bekleniyor. (013_TR_CUM_13112014)

> **(90)** The talks with the country's president will focus on Turkey's role in the US-led **coalition** against Isis and the issue of foreign fighters travelling through Turkey to join the Islamist group. (004_ENG_IND_22112014)

The in-group membership also manifests itself in the concept of *part of the whole*, and in this case, *the world* to be specific. In excerpt (91) below, Turkey is conceptualized to be in the out-group and strives to be a part of the in-group. Such a conceptualization in a way implies that Turkey is isolated.

(91)[Davutoğlu:] Bu açık ve şeffaf politikamız sürdürülecek. Türkiye, **dünya** ile bütünleşme çabalarını sürdürecektir. Avrupa kıtasını tek bir etnik ya da dini yapı ile izah etme çabalarına biz 'Avrupa tüm milletlerin ve devletlerin ortak kıtasıdır' demeye devam edeceğiz. (016_TR_SBH_03112014)

The results show that domestic political discourse also illustrates another sub in-group presentation within Turkey. The citizens (*"vatandaşlar", "ülkenin her bir ferdi"*) in the country and abroad (*"Avusturalya'da yaşan Türk vatandaşları"*), and the Kurdish people (*"kendisini Kürt olarak tanımlayan kesim"*) are portrayed as the part of the country. In this sense, the unity of the country is discursively strengthened through the emphasis on group solidarity.

At this point, the super-domain of STRENGTH-WAR-FORCE provides more detail on power relations discursively hinted through metaphorical expressions. As previously illustrated (see 4.3.5.2) the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS POWER is identified in the data and Turkey as a sociopolitical structure is a participant in POLITICS which is established on the source domains of STRENGHT, WAR, and FORCE.

Turkey is conceptualized to have *enemies and threats* which can be argued to constitute the out-group in the discourse. The in-group refers to *Us* and thus has positive self-presentation, the enemies and threats are *Them* who have negative other-presentation. *Them* include ISIL/ISIS, Kurdish separatists, Islamist militants, and Bashar Assad from the perspective of international political discourse. Excerpt (92) from IND illustrates ISIS/ISIL as the enemy that is fought; therefore it is conceptualized to be *the Other*. By imposing the negative other-presentation to it, Turkey gains the positive self-presentation as a sociopolitical structure which takes the role of standing against a threat, namely ISIS/ISIL. At the same time, discourse shows that there is another entity who forces Turkey to act that way, namely the US who attempts to influence the political agenda of Turkey.

(92) The US vice president Joe Biden is to meet the Turkish president and **urge** his country to **take a bigger role** in the **fight against Isis**. (004_ENG_IND_22112014)

From domestic perspective, on the other hand, the out-group is relatively bigger. It lists the terrorism/terrorists, ISIL/ISIS, Radical Left, and the anonymous international forces. ISIL/ISIS is not as frequently observed as it is in the international discourse (N=7 in English, N=1 in Turkish), rather the anonymous international forces are frequently mentioned. Excerpt (93) from CUM below describes the Western media as the negative other, while (94) from CUM

refers to the traitors in the US and other foreign elements as the out-group, and (95) from SBH again defines the international forces as *Them*.

> **(93) Batı medyası**nda Türkiye'ye karşı tamamen yalan haberlerle örülmüş bir **psikolojik saldırı** olduğunu savunan Erdoğan kendisine ziyarete gelen uluslararası bir heyetle yaptığı konuşmayı aktararak şöyle devam etti [...] (004_TR_CUM_04112014)

> **(94)** Erdoğan **ABD'de** Türkiye'yi "Sürekli imam hatip okulları açılıyor, alkolü yasaklıyor" diye aslı olmayan iftiralarla karalayan **hainler** olduğunu belirterek "Ne **içerideki ihanet şebekeleri**ne, ne de **dışarıdan gelen algı operasyonları**na Türkiye boyun eğecek, eyvallah edecek bir ülke değildir." dedi. (004_TR_CUM_04112014)

> **(95)** [Bozdağ:] "AKP'nin ortaya koyduğu çözüm süreci Türkiye'yi büyütecek bir süreçtir. Bunu istemeyen **uluslararası güçler var, içeride hainler** var. İstiyorlar ki Türkiye bir 30 yıl daha terörle uğraşsın istiyorlar." (068_TR_SBH_17112014)

The previously mentioned source domain of FORCES provides further examples for the group membership and the underlying power relations. Within this domain, Turkey is either the agent who coerces the pressure or it is the one who is pressured. Excerpt (96) from NYT mentions the anonymous international community as the ones who pressure Turkey and imply that Turkey is cast outside of what is considered to be the international.

> **(96)** Kobani is for Kurds a fulcrum for a new sense of nationalism that has set in sharp relief the longstanding divisions with Turkey, which has withstood **international pressure** to intervene directly. (011_ENG_NYT_19112014)

In contrast in (97) again from NYT, Turkey is among the ones who use force on the other, namely Bashar Assad. By targeting Assad, Turkey belongs to the in-group with France (and unmentioned other countries) and enhances its social identity.

> **(97)** Mr. Hagel wrote that unless the United States clarified its intentions against the Assad regime, it would fail to enlist allies like Turkey and France for the battle against the Islamic State in Syria, since those countries are intent on **ousting Mr. Assad**. (002_ENG_NYT_05112014)

The metaphorical conceptualization of Turkey as an animate structure powerful or skillful enough to help others enhances the positive self-presentation of the country. Thus, the preciously mentioned source domain of STRENGHT discursively implies that Turkey holds the power to help *Them* who are refugees, Syrian rebels, Iraq, and Islamist militias in the

international political discourse and again refugees, Iraq, Syrians, Palestine, LDCs, Turkish Cypriots, and as excerpt (98) indicates even the US.

> **(98)** Önümüzdeki takvim itibarıyla **Türkiye ile ABD**'nin atacağı ortak adımları da o görüşmede ele almıştık. Biz, açık ve net bir tutum ortaya koyduk. Türkiye, entegre bir strateji gördüğünde her türlü **desteği** verir. (074_TR_SBH_20112014)

In excerpt (98) from SBH above, Turkey is discursively conceptualized as a partner to the US with whom it cooperates. Following that, though, it is implied that Turkey is an autonomous entity and if it lends support if it deems a proposed strategy to be feasible or in accordance with its agenda. In this sense, the discourse hints that while Turkey regards the US as *Us,* it holds the powerful to decide whether to provide assistance or not.

4.6 Overall Portrayal of Turkey in Domestic and International Discourse

All in all, the results indicate that the conceptual (re)construction of Turkey as a sociopolitical structure is quite in line between two languages. Even though the number of source domains employed or the resonance values are different for Turkish and English, the manifested general conceptual metaphors are the same in both domestic and international political discourse.

To give an overall portrayal of the perspective of domestic political discourse; Turkey is a human being who is born, grows, lives, struggles a lot. The relatively more frequent mention of suffering indicates that the sociopolitical problems and issues which threaten the existence of Turkey are mentioned more frequently and in more detail in domestic political discourse. During its life, it engages in social relations some of which are kinship, some are alliances and some are friendship. Kinship and friendship are very important for Turkey, these bonds are especially emphasized for the justification of its behaviour/decisions or enhancing its positive self-presentation. During its relations with other entities, it experiences power conflicts. Those who exercise power on it are usually its in-group members who expect specific responsibilities to be fulfilled. Turkey sometimes goes along with those requests and sometimes it resists. Furthermore, there is a big group of *Them* for Turkey in domestic political discourse. There is a wide range of threats and problems it faces. This out-group is predicated negatively and the negative other is emphasized more often in order to enhance the positive self presentation of Turkey. Furthermore, Turkey is a traveler, as well. It follows a path which refers to its established

political agenda. On its way it speeds up and slows down, and sometimes it gets stuck. Nevertheless, domestic political discourse implies that it always strives to go ahead.

In international political discourse, the life-cycle of Turkey is not as elaborate as it is in domestic political discourse. It again is created and lives but there are not many references to what else it experiences. Furthermore, Turkey does not suffer as much in international discourse as it does in domestic one. Turkey engages in social relations, however, there is not a reference for any emotionally loaded conceptualizations of bilateral relations. For example, from an international perspective; *the alliance* is established on the basis of mutual political goals and interests between the countries, while alliance at the same time refers to *friendship* in domestic political perspective. International political disource does not list as many out-group members or *Them* for Turkey as domestic political discourse does. In addition, Turkey is a traveler in international discourse as well, it follows and pursues its goals on its way. Yet, there is no mention of its speed at all.

Turkey is also portrayed as a construction. The notion of a shelter is frequently used for Turkey in both domestic and international discourse. This conceptualization is specially salient in the discourse on Syrian refugees. Both in domestic and international discourse, the fact that Turkey hosts a big number of refugees is appreciated, and in a way enhaces the positive self-presentation of the country. The physical stability of the construction also refers to the political power of the abstract structure. From a domestic political perspective, Turkey is often depicted to be stable and safe in a region of conflict. The international discourse also refers to the same context, yet the emphasis is relatively more on Turkey's stance against the international political pressure to act out specific political or military agenda.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.0 Presentation

This chapter summarizes the results of the study and discusses the implications for future research.

5.1 Summary of the Study

This study was conducted to investigate how Turkey as a sociopolitical structure is metaphorically conceptualized in political discourse. A CMT framework was adopted to identify the conceptual metaphors and CDA perspective was integrated to further explore the power relations hinted at the discourse.

POLDIS Corpus was created which consisted of articles from Turkish, British, and American newspapers collected within the designated one-month timeframe. In Turkish, the articles mainly corresponded to direct reports of Turkish political figures' speeches while in English the articles were written as commentaries by journalists.

Firstly, MIP procedure and then coding was carried out on the identified metaphorical expressions. Initial results showed that domestic political discourse provided more metaphorical lexical units than international political discourse did (N=595 and N=216, respectively).

Further analysis indicated that both domestic and international political discourse frequently conceptualized Turkey in the metaphorical sense. A total of 23 source domains were identified in POLDIS, among them GROUP and WAR combined were the source domains which corresponded to the majority (18%) of all metaphorical lexical units. Source domains of FAMILY, SPORTS, RELIGION, ANIMAL, and SPEED were only observed in Turkish while only the source domain of FORCES was specific to English.

The analysis of resonance which indicated the productivity of a particular source domain was calculated for each source domain in both languages. The results indicate that the

source domain of which the resonance is higher in English is the source domain of HEALTH. Apart from the aforementioned source domain, Turkish shows higher resonance in the rest of the source domains. In other word, the identified source domains are more productive in metaphorical expressions.

In addition, it is observed that the most productive source domains for Turkish and English are the same; namely BODY, GROUP, and WAR. Table 28 below gives a summary of the resonance results below.

Table 28. Summary of Resonance for Source Domains in Turkish and English

SOURCE DOMAIN*	RESONANCE	
	TURKISH	ENGLISH
BODY	867	184
WAR	730	231
GROUP	580	115
BUILDING	258	44
LIFE	222	9
STRENGTH	172	78
MOVEMENT	123	21
SHELTER	81	44
WAY	26	5
HEALTH	9	24
LOVE	3	4
Total All	*3701*	*759*

* common source domains observed in both languages in POLDIS

Among all source domains, those which were considered to be semantically related were grouped under super-domains namely STRENGTH-WAR-FORCES, LIFE-BODY-HEALTH, LOVE-FAMILY-GROUP, BUILDING-SHELTER, and MOVEMENT-WAY-SPEED. The super-domain of STRENGTH-WAR-FORCES held the majority (22%) of all of the identified metaphorical expressions in POLDIS.

The bottom-up analysis revealed several novel or unconventional instances of conceptual metaphors in domestic political discourse. POLITICS IS SPORT, COUNTRY IS AN ANIMAL, A COUNTRY IS A POLITICAL CEMETERY and A COUNTRY IS A VALUABLE OBJECT can be argued to be unconventional in the sense that their manifestations were observed as single instances in POLDIS. Particularly, there appears no mention of the conceptual metaphors A COUNTRY IS A POLITICAL CEMETERY and A COUNTRY IS A VALUABLE OBJECT in the overall metaphor literature.

It is also observed that the conceptualization of Turkey as an OBJECT in recent "Yeni Türkiye (New Turkey)" reference is used frequently by the Turkish political figures. The unconventional/novel instances of conceptual metaphors were observed only in domestic discourse. These metaphorical expressions are argued to display both the creativity of the language and the aim of persuasion.

The analysis illustrated that each super-domain corresponded to a frame of specific conceptual (re)construction of Turkey as a sociopolitical structure. Each frame in a way corresponded to a scenario for Turkey to take part in. Within each frame, the related conceptualizations were listed to be (i) Turkey as an ANIMATE BEING, (ii) Turkey as a SOCIAL BEING, (iii) Turkey as an ABSTRACT CONSTRUCTION, (iv) Politics as a JOURNEY, and (v) Politics as POWER. A general metaphor and sub-metaphors were identified under each frame. (See Table 29 in page 98 for the summary of the general and sub-metaphors extracted from in POLDIS.)

While the identified general metaphors were the same at generic-level for both languages, sub-metaphors had an exception. Sub-metaphor THE PACE OF THE TRAVEL IS THE STATUS OF POLITICAL ADVANCES OF A COUNTRY was only observed in domestic political discourse. Furthermore, the results showed that the languages have differences in both the lexical manifestations of these metaphors and the hinted power struggles implied by them. Each sub-metaphor was presented and discussed based on the broader context of excerpts from both Turkish and English.

The representations of group memberships were the focus of CDA perspective in this study. Results showed that the group representations implied the hidden power relations between Turkey and the referred the countries or organizations in discourse. The capability or the exercise of power on others (the countries or organizations) was legitimized by the use of conceptual metaphors such as the case of NATIONS AS SIBLINGS where Turkey and Iraq were conceptually depicted as siblings yet CDA perspective revealed that there was more to be explored concerning this particular conceptual metaphor in discourse. The analysis of broader context illustrated that Turkey was discursively hinted to be the powerful entity in this fraternal relationship. In this sense, it was argued that CDA perspective complemented that of CMT to reveal the metaphorical conceptualization.

Table 29. Summary of Frames, General and Sub-Metaphors in POLDIS

FRAMES	GENERAL CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	SUB-METAPHORS
Turkey as an ANIMATE BEING	A COUNTRY IS AN ANIMATE BEING	A COUNTRY IS A BODY THAT COMPRISES OF VARIOUS PARTS AND ORGANS THE EXISTENCE OF THE ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS A LIFE-CYCLE THE ABSTRACT LASTINGNESS OF A COUNTRY IS THE BIOLOGICAL SURVIVAL
Turkey as a SOCIAL BEING	A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO IS A MEMBER OF A GROUP	A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO IS IN AN EMOTIONAL RELATIONSHIP A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO IS PART OF A FAMILY A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO MAINTAINS SOCIAL RELATIONS
Turkey as an ABSTRACT CONSTRUCTION	ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE	ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS A CONTAINER ABSTRACT LASTINGNESS IS THE STABILITY OF THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE ABSTRACT STRUCTURE AS A PHYSICAL STRUCTURE IS A SHELTER
Politics as a JOURNEY	POLITICS IS A JOURNEY	FOLLOWING A PATH/MOVING IS FOLLOWING A POLICY THE PACE OF THE TRAVEL IS THE STATUS OF POLITICAL ADVANCES OF A COUNTRY
Politics as POWER	POLITICS IS WAR	POLITICS IS CONFLICT POLITICS IS POWER

The representation of *Us* versus *Them* which outlined the power struggle was identified in super-domains of LOVE-FAMILY-GROUP and STRENGTH-WAR-FORCE.

In line with previous research, the categorization of Turkey as an in-group member enhanced the positive self-presentation of the country. The results illustrated various group memberships of Turkey and the referents within each group. It was shown that Turkish data placed relatively more emotion-laden meaning into the in-group presentations as in the case of ALLIANCE and FRIENDSHIP. Further analysis indicated that while international discourse views alliance as a strategic partnership established to achieve a mutual goal, domestic discourse highlighted that friendship is also a part or basis of the alliances.

Furthermore, it was suggested that while in-group membership enhances the collective identity, it was also used to legitimize the exercise of power. For example, the metaphor-led analysis of Turkey in discourse showed that Turkey faced pressure from its ally, the US, to act out specific policies in accordance with the interests of the US because they are the members of the same in-group. Out-group of Turkey showed more variety in Turkish than it did in English. The majority of the out-group was conceptualized to be threats and enemies in political discourse.

While in-group referred to *Us* and had positive self-presentation, the enemies and threats were the representatives of *Them* who had negative other-presentation. Results suggested that by predicating the negative attributes to *Them,* Turkey as a sociopolitical structure gained further positive self-presentation. Through positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, manipulaton is discursively established. The dynamics of power relations within these presentations were identified and discussed for the selected excerpts in both domestic and international discourse.

Media power is generally symbolic and persuasive (Van Dijk, 1995: 10) and political discourse gains power as it feeds on media and language at the same time. It is utilized by *those in power* to share "political representations that control political actions, processes and systems" (Van Dijk, 1986: 234). This study attempted to illustrate that conceptual metaphors played a significant role in the reproduction of group interest, conflicts, and struggle which form the underlying ideologies in political discourse. It suggested that the analysis of conceptual metaphors may help reveal the discursive manipulation which

constructs the illegimate power abuse or domination in a discursively legitimate way (Van Dijk, 2006a).

5.2 Implications for Future Research

By building a bridge between metaphor research and critical discourse analysis, present research suggests that further interdisciplinary studies should be conducted to provide a broader perspective on the structure and the functions of conceptual metaphors particularly in political discourse. Van Dijk (2006a) underlines that CDA should provide details about the discursive, cognitive, social aspects of manipulation. CDA is especially advocated for analyzing foreign policy discourses in a systematic way (Aydın-Düzgit, 2014). The integration of metaphor analysis, in this sense, facilitates exploring these issues in political discourse. In addition to group presentation and the underlying power struggles, the issues of identity can also be explored and richer cross-cultural comparisons can be made.

This study was established on a corpus-driven methodology. However, the number of articles included in POLDIS are limited in such findings between Turkish, British, and American political discourse could not be compared in detail. Therefore, it is highly suggested that the size of the corpus expanded both in terms of size and the timeframe. The higher number of articles would provide more metaphorical expressions and probably more variety in related conceptual metaphors. In addition, a longitudinal study would provide a better grasp of political discourse, thus can illustrate the emergence of a particular metaphor and the observed implications of it on the political agenda over a longer period of time. This study could not provide any unconventional or novel metaphors in English, a larger corpus may provide them.

This study was very preliminary in the sense that it revealed the source domains that were used to depict Turkey in English and Turkish. However, it was observed that even a single source domain or a sub-metaphor could offer a variety of metaphorical expressions to be discussed. Therefore, it is suggested for future studies to select a particular source domain and expand the discussions around that conceptualization.

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APPENDICIES

APPENDIX A: INDEX OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS

A COUNTRY IS AN ANIMAL

A COUNTRY IS A BODY THAT COMPRISES OF VARIOUS PARTS AND ORGANS

A COUNTRY IS A FAMILY

A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO IS A MEMBER OF A GROUP

A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO IS IN AN EMOTIONAL RELATIONSHIP

A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO IS PART OF A FAMILY

A COUNTRY IS A PERSON WHO MAINTAINS SOCIAL RELATIONS

A COUNTRY IS A POLITICAL CEMETERY

A COUNTRY IS A VALUABLE OBJECT

A COUNTRY IS AN ANIMATE BEING

ABSTRACT LASTINGNESS IS THE STABILITY OF THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

ABSTRACT STRUCTURE AS A PHYSICAL STRUCTURE IS A SHELTER

ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS A CONTAINER

ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

ARGUMENT IS BOXING

ARGUMENT IS CHESS

DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS

FOLLOWING A PATH/MOVING IS FOLLOWING A POLICY

GOVERNMENT IS AN OBJECT

HELP IS SUPPORT

INFLUENCE IS A FORCE

KNOWING IS SEEING

OBLIGATIONS ARE FORCES

POLITICS IS A JOURNEY

POLITICS IS CONFLICT

POLITICS IS POWER

POLITICS IS SPORT

POLITICS IS WAR

PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS

RELATIONSHIP IS A PLANT

RELATIONSHIP IS AN ABSTRACT CONSTRUCTION

RELATIONSHIP IS MOVEMENT/JOURNEY

RELATONSHIP IS AN OBJECT

SIGNIFICANT IS BIG

STANDING UP IS BEING IN CONTROL

STANDING UP IS READY TO ACT

THE ABSTRACT LASTINGNESS OF A COUNTRY IS THE BIOLOGICAL SURVIVAL

THE EXISTENCE OF THE ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS A LIFE-CYCLE

THE PACE OF THE TRAVEL IS THE STATUS OF POLITICAL ADVANCES OF A COUNTRY

APPENDIX B: Sample Coding in NYT, WP, DM, IND and TEL

10% of the overall data are presented.

Code	Segment	Document
BODY	shouldering	004_ENG_TEL_20112014_AP
BODY	seeing	007_ENG_WP_22112014_KarenDeYoung
BODY	heartland	009_ENG_NYT_18112014_Rachel_Donadip
BUILDING	stable	001_ENG_NYT_04112014_ChristinaAsquith
BUILDING	natural bridge	004_ENG_DM_28112014_SaraMalm
BUILDING	destabilize	011_ENG_NYT_19112014_TimArango
FORCES	was made to tighten	007_ENG_IND_30112014_BenTufft
FORCES	rising pressure	012_ENG_NYT_20112014_TimArango
GROUP	troubled relationship	012_ENG_NYT_20112014_TimArango
GROUP	Sunni states	006_ENG_IND_30112014_PatrickCockburn
GROUP	coalition	004_ENG_IND_22112014_JonStone
GROUP	attempting to join	005_ENG_TEL_28112014_Dominiczak_Hope
HEALTH	vital	001_ENG_WP_03112014_LizSly
HEALTH	struggling	004_ENG_TEL_20112014_AP
HEALTH	miserably	001_ENG_IND_10112014_RobertFisk
HEALTH	the pain	004_ENG_NYT_05112014_Rosenberg
HEALTH	deafness	001_ENG_NYT_04112014_ChristinaAsquith
LIFE	created	011_ENG_NYT_19112014_TimArango
LOVE	estrangement	007_ENG_WP_22112014_KarenDeYoung
MOVEMENT	reaching out	012_ENG_NYT_20112014_TimArango
MOVEMENT	pursuing	012_ENG_NYT_20112014_TimArango
SHELTER	taken refuge	007_ENG_WP_22112014_KarenDeYoung
STRENGTH	permit	001_ENG_NYT_04112014_ChristinaAsquith
STRENGTH	ousting	002_ENG_NYT_05112014_Landler_Sanger
STRENGTH	heaviest burden	004_ENG_TEL_20112014_AP
STRENGTH	forcing	006_ENG_NYT_09112014_EricSchmitt
STRENGTH	backing	010_ENG_NYT_19112014_AssociatedPress
STRENGTH	allowing	007_ENG_WP_22112014_KarenDeYoung
WAR	enemies	011_ENG_NYT_19112014_TimArango
WAR	defeating	007_ENG_WP_22112014_KarenDeYoung
WAY	sailed from	005_ENG_NYT_06112014_MarliseSimons
WAY	point	004_ENG_DM_28112014_SaraMalm

10% of the overall data are presented.

Code	Segment	Document
ANIMAL	şaha kalkmak	067_TR_SBH_17112014_AA
BODY	başı	015_TR_CUM_15112014
BODY	tek vücut	007_TR_CUM_07112014
BODY	boyun eğecek	004_TR_CUM_04112014
BODY	gözü	061_TR_SBH_15112014_Sabah
BODY	el uzatıyor	027_TR_SBH_05112014_AA
BODY	kucağını açtı	027_TR_SBH_05112014_AA
BUILDING	temel	028_TR_CUM_29112014
BUILDING	kapılarını açtığı	015_TR_CUM_15112014
BUILDING	sarsan	011_TR_CUM_11112014
BUILDING	inşa ediyoruz	091_TR_SBH_30112014_Sabah
BUILDING	abidesi	030_TR_SBH_06112014_Sabah
BUILDING	yeniden imarı	011_TR_SBH_02112014_Sabah
FAMILY	derin akrabalık ilişkileri	074_TR_SBH_20112014_Sabah
FAMILY	kardeş	073_TR_SBH_20112014_Sabah
GROUP	müttefiklik	015_TR_CUM_15112014
GROUP	ilişkiler	014_TR_CUM_14112014
GROUP	diplomatik ilişkiler	011_TR_CUM_11112014
GROUP	dünya ülkesi	002_TR_CUM_02112014
GROUP	AB üyeliği	092_TR_SBH_30112014_Sabah
GROUP	dost	082_TR_SBH_24112014_Sabah
HEALTH	kan içinde kaldı	015_TR_CUM_15112014
HEALTH	sancılı bir sürec	015_TR_CUM_15112014
HEALTH	yara	011_TR_CUM_11112014
HEALTH	kıvranan	008_TR_CUM_08112014
LIFE	geçmişi	011_TR_CUM_11112014
LIFE	yeniden yaşatacağız	009_TR_CUM_09112014
LIFE	geleceği	008_TR_CUM_08112014
LIFE	büyümesi	026_TR_SBH_05112014_Sabah
LIFE	geleceği	003_TR_SBH_01112014_Sabah
LOVE	muhabbet	078_TR_SBH_21112014_Sabah
MOVEMENT	girerken	027_TR_CUM_27112014
MOVEMENT	adımları	027_TR_CUM_27112014
MOVEMENT	açmazlara soktu	001_TR_CUM_01112014
MOVEMENT	kat edilen mesafe	014_TR_SBH_03112014_Sabah
RELIGION	mukadderatı	067_TR_SBH_17112014_AA
RELIGION	kader	033_TR_SBH_06112014_Sabah

Code	Segment	Document
SHELTER	mülteci	005_TR_CUM_05112014
SHELTER	güvenli	011_TR_SBH_02112014_Sabah
SHELTER	sığınmacı	011_TR_SBH_02112014_Sabah
SHELTER	mülteci	011_TR_SBH_02112014_Sabah
SPEED	hızla	010_TR_CUM_10112014
SPEED	ivme	092_TR_SBH_30112014_Sabah
SPEED	istikrarlı	016_TR_SBH_03112014_Sabah
SPORT	rekabet	009_TR_CUM_09112014
SPORT	ağır sıklet boksörü	047_TR_SBH_09112014_AA
SPORT	antrenörümüz	047_TR_SBH_09112014_AA
STRENGTH	güçlü şekilde	087_TR_SBH_28112014_Sabah
STRENGTH	çaba sarfediyor	084_TR_SBH_26112014_AA
STRENGTH	kudret	054_TR_SBH_10112014_Sabah
STRENGTH	direnç	034_TR_SBH_06112014_Sabah
WAR	tehdit	021_TR_CUM_21112014
WAR	tuzağın	003_TR_CUM_03112014
WAR	kazansın	067_TR_SBH_17112014_AA
WAR	bertaraf etti	061_TR_SBH_15112014_Sabah
WAR	mahkum	047_TR_SBH_09112014_AA
WAR	kurtulmalıyız	012_TR_SBH_03112014_Sabah
WAY	yol alırken	008_TR_CUM_08112014
WAY	yol haritası	002_TR_CUM_02112014
WAY	yolunun açıldığı	068_TR_SBH_17112014_İHA

APPENDIX D: TURKISH SUMMARY

Günümüzde sosyal bilimler alanında yapılan araştırmalarda gittikçe daha fazla disiplinlerarası bir bakış açısı kullanılmakta ve dilbilim, politika, psikoloji, matematik, huuk, antropoloji gibi pek çok bilimsel alanın aynı çalışmada buluşmasını sağlanmaktadır. Dilin bilimsel olarak incelendiği çalışmalar da daha fazla sosyal konu hakkında çıkarım yapabilmeye imkan sağlamaktadır. Bu araştırmalar arasında "metafor" geleneksel anlamdaki mecaz, benzetme anlamlarının dışına çıkarak Bilişsel Dilbilim baış açısı içerisinde yeni bir yer ve tanım kazanmıştır. Bu bakış açısına göre, "kavramsal metafor" olarak tasvir edilen kavram, insanoğlunun soyut düşünce yapısını somut bir hale getirmesinin yanı sıra ve bu düşüncelerin sosyal ve siyasi alanlarda tezahüratına da yol açabilmektedir. Lakoff ve Johnson (1980) tarafından geliştirilen Kavramsal Metafor Teorisi (KMT) kavramsal metaforları bilişsel düşüncenin temeline koymakta ve kavramsal metaforların günlük yaşamın kaçınılamaz bir parçası olarak görmektedir. Kavramsal metafor, bir kavramı (hedef alan) balka bir kavram (kaynak alan) vasıtasıyla anlayabilmek olarak tanımlanmakatdır. Örneğin, YAŞAM BİR YOLCULUKTUR metaforunda yaşam, yolculuk olgusunun özellikleri aracılığıyla anlatılmakta ve anlaşılmaktadır. Kavramsal metaforların ana hatları şu şekilde özetlenebilir; (i) metafor kelimelere değil kavramlara aittir, (ii) metaforun işlevi sadece söz sanatı yapmak değil belli kavramları anlamaktır, (iii) metaforlar her zaman benzerlik üzerine kurulmaz, (iv) metaforlar günlük hayatta sıradan insanlar tarafından çaba harcamadan doğal bir şekilde kullanılır, (v) metafor insanın bilişsel düşünce yapısının ve mantığının kaçınılmaz bir sürecidir (Kövecses: 2).

Bir kavramsal metafor çeşitli bileşenlerden oluşur. Bunlardan en ana bileşenleri kaynak ve hedef alanlar olarak tasvir edilen bileşenlerdir. Kaynak alan genellikle daha somut ve fiziksel özellikle sahip olmakla beraber, hedef alan daha soyuttur. Bu şekilde kaynak alanın özellikleri hedef alana eşleştirilerek hedef alanın kavramsal olarak anlaşılması sağlanmaktadır. Mezkur YAŞAM BİR YOLCULUKTUR örneği üzerinden tekrar ifade edildiğinde, bu kavramsal metafordaki kaynak alan YAŞAM ve hedef alan ise YOLCULUK'tur. Bu iki alan arasındaki bağlantılar söylemlerde karşımıza metaforik dilbilimsel ifadeler olarak ortaya çıkmakta ve söylem içinde serpiştirilmiş sözlüksel birimler araştırmacı veya okuyucu tarafından açıkça gözlemlenebilmektedir. Örneğin, *bu tezi yazarken çok yol kat ettim*

ifadesindeki *yol kat etmek* ifadesi bağlam içinde YAŞAM kaynak alanına işaret eden metaforik bir ifade olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. KMT, kaynak ve hedef alanlar arasındaki ilişkiyi tek yönlü (kaynaktan hedefe doğru) olarak göstermekle beraber bazı çalışmalar alanlar arasındaki ilişkiyi çift taraflı olarak sunmaktadır (Fauconnier & Turner, 1994). Tek bir hedef alan için birden çok kaynak alan kullanılabileceği gibi, kaynak alanların yalnızca bazı özellikleri kullanılıp (aydınlatma) diğer özellikleri eşleştirilmeyebilir (saklama).

Kalıplaşmışlık, kavramsal metaforları kategorize ederken en sık kullanılan tasvirlerden biridir. Kavramsal metaforlar air oldukları dil grubunda kalıplaşmış yani yerleşmiş ve dolayısıyla da sıkça kullanılır olabildikleri gibi, az veya daha önceden kullanıldığına dair bir belirti bulunmayan kavramsal metaforların saptanmasıyla bu metaforlar alışılmadık/yeni olarak da kategorize edilebilir. Alışılmadık/yeni metaforlar, söylemlerdeki yaratıcılığın bir yansıması olarak görülebilir (Kövecses, 2002/2010). Bu kategorinin dışında; kavramsal metaforlar yapısal, konumsal, ontolojik de olabilir. Kişileştirme ve ad aktarımı da çoğu çaışmada metafor başlığı altında incelenmektedir.

Metafor literatüründe, Kövecses'in (2002, 2005) çalışmaları özellikle kavramsal metaforların evrenselliği ile kültür içinde ve kültürlerarası çeşitliliği alanlarında bilgi sağlamaktadır. Lakoff ve Johnson'ın (1999) cisimleştirme hipotezine dayandırarak sunduğu ana metafor kavramı, bazı metaforların sensorimotor deneyimlere dayandığını ve dolayısıyla bu ana metaforların diller arasında evrensel olabileceğini savunmaktadır. Ana metaforlar bir araya gelerek de bileşik metaforları ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Farklı yapılara sahip diller arasında yapılan metafor araştırmaları duyguların evrensel metaforlar arasında olduğunu göstermiş, bir duygu olarak öfkenin metaforik olarak kavramsallaşması sonucu ÖFKELİ İNSAN BASINÇLI BİR KAPTIR kavramsal metaforu ortaya çıkmaktadır (Levy, 1973; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff and Kövecses 1987; Mikolajczuk, 1998; Taylor & Mbense, 1998; Yu; 1998; Aksan 2006a). Diller arasındaki metaforik farklılıkları gösteren araştırmalar ise, belli kaynak alanların dillerdeki farklı hedef alanlara karşılık gelebildiği gibi, aynı hedef alanın farklı dillerde farklı kaynak alanlara sahip olabildiğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Aynı kaynak alanın aynı hedef alanla eşleştiği durumlarda bile farklı diller farklı alt metaforlar veya kaynak kavramlara sahip olabilmektedir.

Günümüzde metafor çalışmaları, söylemin metaforları yorumlarken arz ettiği önem üzerinde özellikle durmaktadır. Cümle seviyesinin üstündeki metinleri ifade eden söylem kavramı, metaforların varlığına esas teşkil eder. Geleneksel çalışmalar metaforun bulunduğu bağlamı dar bağlamla sınırlandırmayı yeterli bulmuş olmakla beraber, güncel çalışmalar

geniş bağlamın kavramsal metaforlar hususunda daha kapsamlı ve güvenilir çıkarım yapabilme yetkisi sağladığını göstermektedir. Bu sebeple bu çalışmanın ana hedeflerinden biri de çalışmada saptanan kavramsal metaforları geniş bağlam içinde sunmak ve bu metaforların işaret ettiği yorumlamaları ortaya çıkarmak olmuştur.

Söylem çalışmaları alanında Foucault'nun (1972) tartışmaları önem arz etmektedir. Foucault, söylemin yalnızca dil ile değil sosyal ve siyasi olgularla da ilişki içinde olduğunu savunmuş, söylem analizinin dilbilimsel bağlamın ötesinde yapılması gerektiğini belirtmiştir. Foucault'ya göre söylemler; sosyal ve siyasi hayattaki güç dengeleri, hakimiyet ve mücadeleyi yansıtır. Foucault'nun söyleme dair bu tartışmaları Eleştirel Söylem Analizi'nin (ESA) temellerini atmıştır. Benzer şekilde Fairclough (1992) da söylemin sistematik bir şekilde cümlenin ötesinde araştırılması ve söylemde atıfta bulunulan güç ve ideoloji ilişkilerinin ortaya çıkarılmasını savunmuştur. ESA'nın esas odaklarından arasında yer alan güç kavramı insanlar, sosyal gruplar ve organizasyonlar arasında bir şahsın/grubun diğer şahsa/gruba kıyasla sahip olduğu veya diğer şahısların/grubun üzerinde onların davranış veya fikirlerini etkilmek üzere uyguladığı etki olarak ifade edilir (Lukes, 2005; van Dijk, 2001). Bir grubun düşünce, bilgi ve savlarının bütününe karşılık gelene ideoloji kavramı ise (Van Dijk, 1993, 1995) gücün kullanılmasındaki ana mekanizmalardan biridir. İdeoloji ve güç dengeleri söylemlerde grupların çeşitli kimliklere bürünmelerine neden olur. Bunlardan biri de Sostal Kimlik Teorisi (Tajfel, 1978) ve Benlik Sınıflandırma Teorisi'nin (Turner & Hogg, 1987) tasvir ettiği gibi iç-grup ve dış-grup olgularıdır. İç-grupta tasvir edilen varlıklara olumlu atıflarda bulunulurken, dış-grupta bulunan varlık(lar) olumsuz tasvir ve yüklemelere sahip olmaktadır. Söylemlerde iç-grup *Biz* olarak sunulurken, dış-grup *Onlar* olarak ötekileştirilir. Bu ayrılık siyasi söylemlerde de oldukça yaygındır ve söylemlerde ima edilen güç dengelerine doğrudan bağlantılıdır. Bu bağlamda, kavramsal metaforların söylemlerde, özellikle de siyasi söylemlerde, bu tür güç dengeleri ve gruplaşma durumlarına işaret edebilme özelliğinin bulunduğu bilinmektedir. Siyasi söylemler esas alınarak yapılan metafor çalışmaları siyasi figürlerin konuşmalarını incelemiş (Lakoff, 1991; Frakowska, 1994; Aithison, 2003; Sahlane, 2013) ve bu söylemlerde saptanan kavramsal metaforların siyasi gündem içinde insanların veya politikanın bakış açısını etkilemede ne kadar güçlü olabildiğine, diğer bir deyişle söylemsel manipülasyona neden olabildiğine, dair örnekler sunmuştur. Musolff'un yürüttüğü geniş çaplı kavramsal metafor odaklı siyasi söylem çalışması (2004) ise Avrupa Birliği (AB) söylemleri ile ilgili konuların İngiliz ve Alman

basınında ne şekilde kavramsallaştığının karşılaştırmasını yapmış ve hem soyut bir yapı olarak AB'yi detaylı bir şekilde betimlemiş hem de iki farklı dil ve kültüre ait siyasi söylemlerde gözlemlenen tutum farklılıklarını ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Kavramsal metaforlar 'gerçekliği' yeniden kurgulamaya yardımcı olurken, içinde bulundukları söylemlerde gizli kalmış ideolojileri de su yüzüne çıkarmaya yardımcı olup söylemsel manipulasyonlara ışık tutabilirler. Siyasi söylemler baz alınarak yapılmış metafor çalışmaları metaforun eleştirel söylem analizinin ana savlarını destekleyici olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır (Musolff, 2012). Bu sebeple yürütülen bu çalışma, kavramsal metaforları belirlenen araştırma çerçevesinde tespit ederken eleştirel söylem analizinin bakış açısını da bu analiz içine entegre etmeye çalışmıştır.

Uluslararası metafor literatürü geniş yelpazede araştırmalar sunmakla beraber, Türkçe'de ve Türkiye ile ilgili metafor araştırmaları henüz sınırlı sayıdadır. Türkçe'deki metafor çalışmaları Aksan'ın (2006a, 2006b) öfke duygusu ile ilgili Türkçe ve Amerikan İngilizcesi'ndeki kavramsal metaforları karşılaştırdığı araştırma ile başlamaktadır. Bunun dışında, Aksan ve Kantar (2008)'ın Türkçe ve İngilizce'deki AŞK metaforlarını karşılaştırıp diller arasındaki farklı kültürel yorumları inceledikleri araştırma, Can ve Can'ın (2010) chat - sohbet metaforlarını ve bunların kültürel atıflarını araştırdığı derlem odaklı çalışma, ayrıca Öz'ün (2011) Türkçe'deki vücut uzuvlarının metaforik kullanımlarını araştırdığı yüksek lisans tezi Türkçe'de yapılmış metafor çalışmalarına örnek olarak gösterilebilir.

Mevcut çalışma, temel olarak derlem odaklı bir eleştirel metafor analizidir. Kavramsal metaforlar sistematik bir şekilde incelemeye olanak sağlayan bir derlem içinde seçilen analiz prosedürleri izlenerek araştırılmıştır. Dilin belli özelliklerini saptamak ve araştırmak için biraraya toplanan metinlerin toplamı olarak tarif edilen derlemler, belirli bir dile ait ve o dili veya o dile ait bir türü temsil etme yeterliliğine sahip orijinal metinlerin toplanmasıyla oluşturulur. Sistemli ve tutarlı dil araştırmalarına imkan tanıyan derlemler, günümüzde elektronik bir şekil almış ve genelleştirilmiş (bir dilin büyük kısmını temsil yetkisne sahip derlemlerdir. Örneğin, Türkçe Ulusal Derlemi ve ODTÜ Sözlü Türkçe Derlemi) ve özelleştirilmiş (bir dilin yalnızca belli bir türünü temsil eden derlemlerdir) gibi alt türleri de bulunmaktadır. Mevcut çalışmada oluştural derlem; bir aylık süreçte (1-30 Kasım 2014) Türk, İngiliz ve Amerikan gazetelerinden toplanan haber makalelerinden oluşturulmuş ve ulusal ve uluslararası siyasi söylemleri kapsayan özelleştirilmiş bir derlem özelliği taşımaktadır.

Bu araştırma, sosyopolitik bir yapı olarak Türkiye'nin ulusal ve uluslararası siyasi söylemlerde metaforik bağlamda kavramsal olarak yeniden yapılandırılmasını inceleyerek tasvir etmiştir. Araştırma; bir ülke olarak Türkiye'nin metaforik kavramsallaştırılmasında kullanılan kaynak alanları, kaynak kavramları, bir kaynak alanın üretkenliğini gösteren rezonans değerlerini saptamış, ardından da Türkçe ve İngilizce'de saptanan kaynak alanlar ve hedef alan TÜRKİYE'nin eşleşmesi sonucu söylemde tezahür eden genel kavramsal metaforları ve onların alt metaforlarını betimlemektedir.

POLDIS (Political Discourse: Siyasi Söylem) Derlemini oluşturmak için Türkiye'den *Cumhuriyet* ve *Sabah*; İngiltere'den *The Independent*, *The Telegraph, The Daily Mail;* Amerika'dan ise *The New York Times* ve *The Washington Post* gazeteleri farklı politik duruşları ve arşivlerine internet üzerinden erişim olanakları sebebiyle seçilmiş ve toplamda 204 makalenin toplanmasıyla POLDIS oluşturulmuştur. Bu makalelerden 168'i Türkçe ve toplamda 39,062 kelimeye karşılık gelmekte, 36'sı İngilizce ve 30,670 kelimeye karşılık gelmektedir. Derlem toplamda 68,732 kelimeden oluşmaktadır.

Oluşturulan derlemde saptanacak kavramsal metaforlar, Charteris-Black'in (2004) *Metafor Saptaması, Metafor Yorumlaması, Metafor Açıklaması* aşamalarından oluşan Eleştirel Metafor Analizi yöntemi ve Pragglejaz Group'un (2007) Metaphor Saptama Prosedürü (MSP) kullanılarak ortaya çıkarılmış ve analiz edilmiştir. MAXQDA 11 nitel analiz yazılımında MSP doğrultusunda yapılan kodlama sonucu, 811 sözlüksel birim metaforik olarak kodlanmıştır. Bunların 595'i Türkçe ve 216'sı İngilizce'dir. Bu metaforik birimler, biri alışılmadık/yeni kavramsal metaforları saptamak amacıyla oluşturulan DİĞER kaynak alan kodu olmak üzere, mevcut metafor çalışmalarından derlenen toplam 23 kaynak alan altında kodlanmıştır. Bu kaynak alanlar içinde yapılan öncül analize göre, GRUP ve SAVAŞ kaynak alanlarının derlemde en sık gözlenen kaynak alanlar olduğu (tüm metaforik birimlerin %18'i bu kaynak alanlarla eşleşmektedir.) görülmüştür. AİLE, SPOR, DİN, HAYVAN ve HIZ kaynak alanlarının yalnızca Türkçe'de, KUVVET kaynak alanının ise yalnızca İngilizce'de görüldüğünü tespit etmiştir. Kaynak alanların rezonsans değerlerinin Türkçe'de daha yüksek olduğu saptanmış, buna tek istisna İngilizce'de daha yüksek rezonans değeri gösteren SAĞLIK kaynak alanı olmuştur. Diğer bir deyişle, SAĞLIK kaynak alanı dışındaki diğer tüm kaynak alanlar derlemdeki Türkçe verinin metaforik birim açısından daha üretken olduğunu göstermiştir. Hem Türkçe hem de İngilizce için en üretken kaynak alan VÜCUT, GRUP ve SAVAŞ kaynak alanları olduğu saptanmıştır. Her iki dil için de hedef alan TÜRKİYE ile eşleşen

diğer kaynak alanlar; BİNA, YAŞAM, KUVVET, HAREKET, SIĞINAK, YOL ve AŞK olmuştur. Tüm kaynak alanlar içinde birbiriyle anlamsal olarak bağlantısı olduğu düşünülenler üst-alanlar adı altında biraraya getirilmiş ve 5 grup oluşturulmuştur. Bunlar; KUVVET-SAVAŞ-GÜÇ, YAŞAM-VÜCUT-SAĞLIK, AŞK-AİLE-GRUP, BİNA-SAĞINAK, ve HAREKET-YOL-HIZ olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu üst alanlar arasında POLDIS'de en büyük yeri %22'lik bir çoğunlukla KUVVET-SAVAŞ-GÜÇ tutmaktadır. Bu üst-alanlardan hareketle, Türkiye'nin kavramsal olarak yeniden inşasının 5 ana çerçevede gruplandığını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu çerçeveler; (i) Bir CANLI olarak Türkiye, (ii) SOSYAL BİR VARLIK olarak Türkiye, (iii) SOYUT BİR YAPI olarak Türkiye, (iv) Bir SEYAHAT olarak Siyaset, (v) GÜÇ olarak Siyaset olarak belirlenmiştir. Her çerçevenin altında ilgili genel ve alt metaforlar Türkçe ve İngilizce için saptanmıştır.

"Bir CANLI olarak Türkiye" çerçevesi altında, sosyopolitik bir varlık olarak Türkiye genel anlamda insana ait özellikleri almakta, VÜCUT kaynak alanından eşleştirilen vücut uzuvları, sağlık durumu ve yaşam döngüsü atıflarıyla metaforik olarak kavramsallaştırılmaktadır. Bu çerçevede hem ulusal hem de uluslararası politik söylemlerde Türkiye için ortaya çıkan genel kavramsal metafor ÜLKE BİR CANLIDIR ve bunun alt metaforları ise; kaynak alandaki uzuvların ülkenin belli kurumlarını ve sosyopolitik işlevlerini tasvir için kullandığı ÜLKE UZUVLAR VE ORGANLAR SAHİP BİR VÜCUTTUR alt metaforu; kaynak alandaki doğum, büyüme ve gelişme gibi kavramların kullanılarak ülkenin kuruluşu, gelişimi ve varlığı sürdürmesini tasvir için kullanılan SOYUT YAPININ VARLIĞI BİR YAŞAM DÖNGÜSÜDÜR metaforu, ve kaynak alandaki kavramların fiziksel acıyı tasvir ederek ülkenin karşılaştığı sosyal, siyasi ve askeri problemleri tasvir ettiği SOYUT SÜREKLİLİK BİYOLOJİK OLARAK HAYATTA KALMADIR alt metaforu olarak saptanmıştır.

İlk çerçevenin bir uzantı olarak da değerlendirilebilecek ikinci çerçeve "SOSYAL BİR VARLIK olarak Türkiye" altında ise Türkiye'nin muhataplarıyla kurduğu ilişkilerin altı çizilmektedir. Bu çerçevede AŞK, AİLE ve GRUP kullanılmakta ve ulusal ve uluslararası siyasi söylemde genel metafor olarak ÜLKE BİR GRUP ÜYESİDİR metaforu tezahür etmektedir. Bu metafor altında sıralanan alt metaforlar; ÜLKE DUYGUSAL BİR İLİŞKİ İÇİNDEKİ İNSANDIR ve ÜLKE BİR AİLE ÜYESİDİR ÜLKE SOSYAL İLİŞKİLER KURAN BİR İNSANDIR metaforlarıdır. Tüm alt metaforlardaki kaynak alanlar, Türkiye'nin muhatap olduğu belirli sosyal grupları atıfta bulunmakta ve kaynak alanlardan derlenen kavramlar; ülkenin kurduğu stratejik, ekonomik, politik ve tarihi ilişkilere; aynı zamanda bu muhataplarla kurulan ortak hedeflere işaret etmektedir. Yapılan analize göre, derlemde en sık atıfta bulunulan muhatapların POLDIS'in kapsadığı ulusal

siyasi söylemlerde Amerika, İngiltere ve Irak (N=11) olduğu, uluslararası siyasi söylemlerde ise Amerika ve Irak (N=11 ve N=4) olduğu görülmüştür. Bir diğer deyişle, mezkur ülkeler belirtilen siyasi söylemlerde Türkiye'nin de üyesi olduğu iç-gruplara karşılık gelmekte ve bu ülkelerle kurulan ilişkiler aynı zamanda çeşitli güç dengelerini de söylemsel yansıtmaktadır. Örneğin, hem ulusal hem uluslararası siyasi söylemde Türkiye ve Amerika "müttefik" olarak tasvir edilmekle beraber; Türkçe'deki müttefiklik olgusu söylemsel olarak birliktelik, ortaklık ve özellikle de dostluğu ima ederken, İngilizce'deki müttefiklik olgusu dostluk gibi duygusal atıflardan uzak ve daha ziyade, ortak hedef ve stratejiler çerçevesinde oluşturulmuş bir ortaklığı belirtmektedir. Bu bağlamda, müttefiklik içindeki ülkelerin yerine getirmesi gereken sorumluluklar ve görevler bellidir ve uluslararası siyasi söylemlerde Türkiye genellikle bu sorumlulukları yerine getirmesi beklenen varlık olarak tasvir edilmektedir. Dolayısıyla, Türkiye ve müttefiki Amerika arasında söylemsel olarak oluşturulan ilişkide bir güç dengesi kurulmakta, Amerika'nın müttefiklik ilişkisine dayandırarak Türkiye üzerinde güç uyguladığı veya uygulamaya çalıştığı görülmektedir. Benzer şekilde ulusal siyasi derlemde de, Türkiye ve Irak arasında tasvir edilen "kardeşlik" ilişkisi hem ülkeler arasındaki yakın stratejik, kültürel ve tarihi ilişkiye atıfta bulunmakta hem de kardeşlik olgusu altında Türkiye'nin Irak'tan daha güçlü olduğuna dair yapılan söylemsel atıflar meşru bir kalıp altında sunulmaktadır.

Üçüncü çerçeve olan "SOYUT BİR YAPI olarak Türkiye" başlığı altında ise, Türkiye BİNA ve SIĞINAK kaynak alanlarının özellikleri kullanılarak tasvir edilmiş ve SOYUT YAPI FİZİKSEL YAPIDIR genel kavramsal metaforuna ulaşılmıştır. Fiziksel yapıların kaynak kavram olarak muhafaza etme özelliklerinin bir ülkenin vatandaşlarını kapsama özelliğine atıfta bulunduğu SOYUT YAPI BİR KAPTIR alt metaforu; bir yapının sağlamlığının ülkenin istikrarına karşılık geldiği SOYUT SÜREKLİLİK FİZİKSEL YAPININ DAYANIKLILIĞIDIR alt metaforu; ve barınak kaynak kavramının ülkenin vatandaşlarını koruması ve güvenlik sağlamasına karşılık geldiği SOYUT YAPI BİR SIĞINAKTIR alt metaforu saptanmıştır. Belirtilen zaman aralığında oldukça sık karşılaşılan bir gündem maddesi olarak Suriye'de çalışmalar ve bunu takiben ortaya çıkan mülteci krizi bu çerçeve içindeki kavramsal metaforların büyük çoğunluğunun ana bağlamını oluşturduğu görülmüştür. Hem ulusal hem de uluslararası siyasi söylemlerde, Türkiye'nin ağırladığı çok sayıdaki sığınmacıların varlığı hem ülkenin istikrarsız çatışma bölgesinde soyut bir varlık olarak koruduğu veya korumaya çalıştığı bütünlüğü etkilemekte, hem de bir

sığınak olarak ona atfedilen koruyucu güç rolünü pekiştirmektedir. Her iki durumda da Türkiye'nin olumlu benlik sunumu beslenmektedir.

Türkiye'yi doğrudan kavramsallaştırmayan fakat Türkiye'nin aktif bir katılımcı olarak içinde bulunduğu siyasi sürecin metaforik kavramsallaştırması olan "Bir SEYAHAT olarak Siyaset" çerçevesinde ise; siyaset bir seyahat olarak tasvir edilmekte ve Türkiye de bu seyahat içinde bir varış noktasına yani bir hedefe ulaşmaya çalışan bir yolcu olarak betimlenmektedir. Bu doğrultuda, SİYASET BİR SEYAHATTİR genel kavramsal metaforunun altındaki YOLU İZLEMEK POLİTİKA İZLEMEKTİR alt metaforu ve POLDIS'de yalnızca Türkçe'de gözlemlenen SEYAHATİN HIZI ÜLKENİN SİYASİ GELİŞMELERİNİN HIZIDIR alt metaforlarını içermektedir.

Son olarak, "GÜÇ olarak Siyaset" çerçevesi bir önceki çerçeve ile benzer şekilde siyasi süreci kavramsal olarak tasvir etmekte ve Türkiye de bu güç dengelerinde yer alan, gücü uygulayan veya uygulanan etken olarak öne çıkmaktadır. KUVVET-SAVAŞ-GÜÇ üst alanının sağladığı kaynak alanlar Türkiye'nin sosyopolitik bir varlık olarak yardımda bulunabilme, izin verme, kendini savunma, saldırma ve kazanma gücüne sahip olduğunu betimlemektedir. SİYASET BİR SAVAŞTIR genel kavramsal metaforu altında SİYASET ÇATIŞMADIR ve SİYASET GÜÇTÜR alt metaforları bulunmaktadır. Bu çerçevedeki üst alan ve genel metafor, aynı zamanda ulusal ve uluslararası siyasi söylemde Türkiye'nin etrafında bulunan/gelişen güç dengeleri, hakimiyet ve güç mücadelelerine de örnekler sunmaktadır. Bu üst alanın içindeki "düşman" ve "tehdit" kaynak kavramları söylemdeki dış-grubu oluşturmakta ve dolayısıyla Türkiye için *Onlar* yani *Öteki*'ye karşılık gelmektedir. POLDIS'in kapsadığı uluslararası siyasi söylemde bu grubun üyeleri; IŞİD, Kürt ayrılıkçılar, radikal dinci militanlar ve Bashar Assad'dan oluşurken, ulusal sisyasi söylem daha geniş bir yelpaze sunmakta ve mezkur dış-grup üyelerine ek olarak Radikal Sol, anonim dış güçler, terörizm/teröristleri de bu gruba dahil etmektedir. Bir bakıma ulusal siyasi söylemlerde Türkiye'nin daha fazla düşmanın olduğu, dolayısıyla daha fazla problemle karşılaştığı ve acı çektiği, nispeten mağdur rolüne daha fazla büründüğü gözlemlenmiştir. Aynı zamanda, her iki siyasi söylemde de dış-grubun varlığı Türkiye'nin güç uygulayacağı veya kendisi üzerinde muhtemel bir hakimiyet kurulmasına karşı koyacağı bağlamları doğurmaktadır. Dış-grup üyelerinin varlığı muhtemel çatışmalara atıfta bulunmakta ve Türkiye'nin bu unsurlar üzerinde güç uygulaması meşrulaştırılmaktadır.

Sonuçlar, alışılmadık/yeni kavram metafor örneklerine yalnızca ulusal siyasi söylemde rastlamaktadır. Bu kavramsal metaforlar arasında; ÜLKE SİYASİ BİR MEZARLIKTIR ve ÜLKE

DEĞERLİ BİR NESNEDİR bulunmaktadır. Bu metaforların varlığı derlemdeki sınırlı sayıdaki örneğe dayandırılmasına bianen gelecek çalışmalarda daha kapsamlı bir örneklem içinde bu metaforların araştırılması önerilmektedir. Saptanan metaforların sayısı sınırlı olsa dahi, mevcut örnekler Türkçe'deki kavramsal metaforların yaratıcı kullanımına örnek teşkil etmektedir. Bu tür alışılmadık/yeni kavramsal metafor aynı zamanda söylemlerin vermek istediği mesajı daha güçlü bir şekilde okuyucuya/insanlara ulaştırmasını sağlayabilmekte, fikirlerin şekillenmesini ve/veya manipüle edilmesine de yardımcı olmaktadır.

Genel olarak Türkiye'nin ulusal ve uluslararası siyasi söylemlerde ne şekilde tasvir edildiğine bakıldığında, Türkiye'nin her iki dil de benzer doğrultuda metaforik olarak kavramsallaştırıldığını ve dolayısıyla söylemlerin Türkiye'yi benzer şekilde yeniden yapılandırdığı çıkarımı yapılabılabilir. Yüksek rezonans değerlerinin de gösterdiği gibi Türkçe bu betimlemeleri daha detaylı bir şekilde sunmaktadır.

Çalışmayı kısıtlayıcı unsurlar arasında derlemin kapsamı ve eleştirel söylem analizi bakış açısının sınırlı ölçüde dahil edilmesi sayılabilir. Derlemin içerdiği makale sayısının Türkçe ve İngilizce için artırılması hem analiz sonucu yapılan tespitlerin daha güvenilir olmasına hem de diller arasında daha detaylı araştırma yapılabilmeye imkan sağlayacaktır. Derleminde yalnızca bir aylık bir zamanı dilimini kapsadığı göz önüne alındığında, daha uzun bir süreci kapsayan bir araştırma belirli bir kavramsal metaforun süreç içinde ortaya çıkışı, gelişimi ve belki de ortadan kayboluşunu da takip edebilecektir. Bu tür bir çalışma, metaforun siyasi ve sosyal sonuçlarını da takip edebileceği için literatürde kavramsal metaforlara özellikle siyasi söylemler içinde atfedilen 'gerçekliği şekillendirme' savını da test etme fırsat bulabilecektir. Mevcut çalışmaya entegre edilen ESA unsurlarının kısıtlı çapta araştırılmış olması da göz önüne alındığında ise gelecek çalışmaların daha detaylı bir şekilde güç ve ideoloji konularını araştırması önerilebilir. Her ne kadar çalışma Türkçe ve İngilizce arasında karşılaştırma yapmış olsa da gözlemler betimsel seviyede kalmıştır. Bu nedenle daha önce de bahsedilen şekilde derlemin kapsamının artırılmasıyla diller arasındaki farklılıkların kültürel çıkarım ve yorumları da gelecek çalışmalara eklenebilir.

Mevcut araştırma, metafor literatüründe daha önce sosyopolitik bir varlık olarak araştırılmamış olan Türkiye'nin metaforik kavramsallaştırması konusunu incelemesi sebebiyle öncül niteliği taşıdığı ve metafor çalışmalarına karşılaştırmalı bir bakış açısıyla katkı sağladığı söylenebilir. Çalışma genel olarak betimleyici bir yapıya sahip ve gelecek çalışmalar için araştırma doğrultuları sunmaktadır.