

Turkey as BODY POLITIC: A Comparative Perspective on Body-related Metaphors from Turkish, British, and American Political News Discourse*

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(Received 22 December 2016; accepted 22 March 2017)

ABSTRACT: This study investigates the body politic conceptualization of Turkey in political discourse. A corpus-driven Critical Metaphor Analysis is carried out on the corpus of Political Discourse (POLDIS) which consists of political news articles from Turkish, British and American newspapers. The source domains of "BODY", "LIFE", and "HEALTH" are mapped into the target domain: "TURKEY". The manifested general metaphor "A COUNTRY IS AN ANIMATE BEING" and its sub-metaphors are described for both languages. The comparative results show that the conceptual metaphors used for Turkey are in line between both languages, yet the frequency and the resonance of the source domains differ. Adding on to the existing literature, language specific source concepts, such as "FATE" in Turkish and "HANDICAP" in English are identified. The study is preliminary in the sense that it describes how Turkey as a sociopolitical entity is conceptualized in Turkish and English political discourse.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, political discourse, corpus, body politic, Turkish, English

Siyasal Bir Varlık Olarak Türkiye: Türk, İngiliz ve Amerikan Siyasi Gazete Haberleri Söylemlerindeki Vücut Metaforlarına Karşılaştırmalı Bir Bakış

ÖZ: Bu araştırma, Kavramsal Metafor Kuramı (Lakoff ve Johnson, 1980) çerçevesinde bir sosyopolitik yapı olarak Türkiye'nin metaforik bağlamda kavramsal olarak yeniden yapılandırılmasını ulusal ve uluslararası siyasi söylemlerde inceleyerek tasvir etmektedir. Türk, İngiliz ve Amerikan gazetelerinden derlenmiş politik haberlerden oluşan Political Discourse (POLDIS) derlem verisi Derleme dayalı Eleştirel Metafor Analizi (Charteris-Black, 2004) yöntemi ile incelenmiştir. Sonuçlar; "Bir CANLI olarak Türkiye" metaforik kavramsallaştırması bağlamında, Türkçe ve İngilizce'de "VÜCUT", "YAŞAM" ve "SAĞLIK" kaynak alanlarının ortak olarak kullanıldığını göstermiştir. Her iki dilde de tezahür eden "ÜLKE CANLI BİR

* This research did not receive any specific grant from funding agencies in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

VARLIKTIR" ana metaforu ve bu ana metaforun alt metaforları içinde buldukları bağlamlarda karşılaştırılmıştır. Diller arası yapılan karşılaştırmalı sonuçlar, canlı bir varlık olarak Türkiye için kullanılan metaforların her iki dilde de benzer kavramsal çerçeveler içinde gözlemlendiği, bununla beraber kaynak alanların sıklığı ve rezonans değerlerinin farklılık gösterdiği saptanmıştır. Çalışma, daha önce alanda yapılan çalışmalardan farklı olarak Türkçe veride gözlemlenen "KADER" ve İngilizce veride gözlemlenen "İŞİTME" münferit kaynak konseptlerini tespit etmiştir. Çalışma ayrıca, daha önce araştırılmamış olan sosyopolitik bir varlık olarak Türkiye'nin metaforik kavramsallaştırması konusunu incelemesi sebebiyle öncül niteliği taşımakta ve mevcut metafor çalışmalarına karşılaştırmalı bir bakış açısıyla katkı sağlamaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kavramsal Metafor Kuramı, derlem, siyasi söylemler, Türkçe, İngilizce

1 Introduction: The Human Body as Political Metaphor

Traced back to ancient Greek and Roman political thought (Hale, 1971, pp. 18-47; Zavadil, 2009), the body politic metaphor has extensively affected Western political discourse over the course of history. In classical Greece, the body was conceptually used to understand the complex and abstract political entities, such as cities. Plato and Aristotle frequently used body-related metaphors in their political philosophies and their discussions led to the manifestation of conceptual metaphors "*THE BODY IS A COSMOS*" and "*THE CITY IS A COSMOS*" (Zavadil, 2009, pp. 222-223), thus indicating a similar pattern for the concepts "*BODY*" and "*CITY*". Banks (2008) traced the body metaphors in late sixteenth-century France and discussed their successful and wide range of use in politics. She underlined that the body politic metaphors reflect the evolving social and political situations in the country. In France, for instance, she indicated that the healthy human body as a political metaphor was used to refer to the unified French political structure. Within the frame of body-state analogy, then, 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 a state or a country (Bass, 1997; Hale, 1971; Struve, 1978; cited in Musolf, 2004a).

The conceptual mappings between *the health of the body-the stability of a country* and *the disease in the body-disharmony of a country* have been highlighted in more recent studies on political discourse, as well. In her study covering the media discourse of 1960s and 1970s, Sontag (1991) showed that the social problems and problem groups of a state were described as 'deadly illnesses' that should be wiped out. Similarly, Roberts (2007, pp. 152-64) observed that the body metaphor was used to conceptualize the political threats to the body politic as 'poison', 'disease', 'plague', and 'cancer'. It should be noted

that the body politic metaphor has been frequently used as a tool for conveying specific ideologies, the most prominent example being Nazi propaganda (Coker, 1967; Rash, 2006). Musolff's (2010a) analysis of body-related metaphors in Hitler's political propaganda in *Mein Kampf* pointed out that by means of describing threats to the Nazi state as diseases, Hitler was able to shape and justify the holocaust within the framework of the conceptual metaphor "*BODY MUST BE SHIELDED FROM DISEASE AND PARASITES AT ANY COST*". He argued that the illness-cure scenarios were deliberately integrated into the discourse as 'a blueprint for genocide'. In this sense, the arguments in the study are the reflection of the notion that the conceptual metaphors play a central role in the construction of social and political reality. In other words, one of the founding principles of *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) which argues that conceptual metaphors not only shape the way we think and communicate but they also shape our reality is affirmed.

Discourse of international relations and politics has proven to be rich in conceptualizing political institutions as animate beings. Ana (1999) identified the conceptual metaphor "*NATION AS BODY*" employed for the target domain the US, and Kimie (2007) explored "*NATION IS A PERSON*" metaphor by comparing English and Japanese political discourse. Flanik (2008) investigated the metaphors of the US national missile defense discourse and highlighted the conceptual metaphor "*STATES ARE TREACHEROUS PERSONS*" in his data. Musolff's book-length comparative study (2004a) of the British and German coverage of European Union discourse highlights that Europe is conceptualized as "*BODY POLITIC*" where the scenarios of life-cycle, illness-health, and organs are employed to illustrate various functions of processes of the abstract institution. In a separate paper, Musolff (2004b) specifically focused on "*HEART*" metaphor in British political discourse and investigated the pragmatic function of the metaphorical conceptualization of England as the 'heart of Europe'.

1.2 Turkey's Presence as a Sociopolitical Entity in International Politics

As the literature shows, the majority of the previous work on body politic metaphors focused on the representation of the US (Ana, 1999; Flanik, 2008; Howe, 1988 as cited in Mio, 1997; Lakoff, 1991; Sahlane, 2013) few on the EU (Musolff, 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2010b). Turkey, on the other hand, has yet to be investigated in detail within this framework.

The existing metaphor studies related to Turkey as a country are limited. The brief mention of Ottoman Empire in Musolff's (2004a, p. 97) study on conceptual metaphors in EU discourse indicates that the fixed phrase 'the sick man of Europe' under the source domain of "*HEALTH-ILLNESS*" is traced back

to the late seventeenth century "as a reference to the declining military and economic power of the Ottoman Empire" and the author underlines that this expression is observed to be still remembered and used in the British press. Nevertheless, in a subsequent paper, Musolff (2010b) particularly concentrates on Turkey-related metaphors. The metaphors identified in the data from German newspapers included the source domains among which "*FAMILY*", "*LOVE-RELATIONSHIP*", "*BODY-LIFE-HEALTH*" can be marked as the animate conceptualization of the country and the author discussed the discourse scenarios around Turkey's EU candidacy based on these metaphors. In a similar vein, Yanık (2009) investigated the use of "*BRIDGE*" metaphor in Turkish foreign policy discourse in post-Cold War period. The study illustrated that in addition to the 'location', this inanimate conceptualization also referred to what can be considered as an animate notion of identity, particularly the 'international self', of the country.

1.3 The Agenda of Turkey-related Political Discourse

As a partner in many international organizations such as NATO, the Council of Europe, the EU, the OECD, and G20; Turkey has been under the spotlight due to its regional role concerning the ongoing crisis beyond its southern border and its evolving presence in international politics. Following Syrian Civil War in 2011, 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 was reported to host nearly 1.6 million Syrians at the time of collection of the related articles of the present study. In addition, the activities of the extremist terrorist group ISIS/ISIL, the air strikes of US-led coalition on ISIS/ISIL and Obama administration's rejection of Turkey's proposal to establish a no-fly zone in Syria, Turkey's stance against the terrorism, 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 were also among the other issues which constituted the scope of Turkey-related political discourse in the study.

2 Method

This study is based on a subset of the written language data collected from selected newspapers published in Turkey, the UK, and the USA which is being currently undergoing compilation as a monitor news article corpus, POLDIS (Political Discourse). The sub-set of the POLDIS corpora used for this study

covered the period of a month (1 to 30 November 2014) and was formed using 204 articles from two Turkish newspapers and five in the English language.

Turkish political discourse data comprises articles from the domestic newspapers *Cumhuriyet* and *Sabah*. The American articles are chosen from *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. The British newspapers selected for inclusion are *The Independent*, *The Telegraph*, and *The Daily Mail*. All of the newspapers are among the best-selling newspapers with different political alignments in their respective countries of origin. 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 so that the analysis of political discourse could represent the most up-to-date perspective for the metaphorical and discursive (re)construction of Turkey considering the highly dynamic nature of political discourse and the media.

2.1 Procedure for Article Selection for Inclusion in POLDIS

For the one month period selected for analysis from POLDIS, 204 articles were selected. There were 168 articles (39,062 words) in Turkish and 37 articles (30,670 words) in English in the selected subset. The articles which were written in English by only 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. The Turkish data was naturally higher in number as domestically more was printed about Turkey in Turkish. However, overall for POLDIS, special care was given to make the English and Turkish sub-corpora close in terms of word count.

The previous research on body politic metaphors related to sociopolitical institutions were reviewed (Ana, 1999; A'Beckett, 2012; Flanik, 2008; Kövecses, 2010; Lakoff, Espenson & Goldberg, 1989, 1991; Musolff, 2004a, 2004b) and the related source domains were compiled. Among the compiled list of source domains, the frequently observed source domains of "BODY", "LIFE", and "HEALTH" were chosen as the source domains to be focused in the study within the frame of 'an animate being'. The analysis used in this study was based on Charteris-Black's (2004) three stages of Critical Metaphor Analysis, namely; *Metaphor Identification* where metaphorical lexical units were systematically identified, *Metaphor Interpretation* where identified metaphorical lexical units were coded into the source domains, and *Metaphor Explanation* where manifested conceptual metaphors were presented in relation to the discourse. In order to establish a reliable identification of the metaphors, the study adopted Pragglejaz Group's (2007) *Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP)* into *Metaphor Identification* stage. Within the framework of MIP procedure: an entire understanding of the news article is

established, the passages which include "Turkey/Türkiye" are identified, lexical units in the identified passages are determined, for each lexical unit that is semantically related to "Turkey/Türkiye" and its linguistic variants, their meaning in the relevant passage and their basic contemporary meaning are compared. If the basic contemporary meaning of the lexical unit contrasts with the one in the passage but can be compared with it, the lexical unit is marked as metaphorical. While distinguishing metaphorical lexical units; Turkish Language Institution's (TDK) The Dictionary of Turkish (11th Ed., 2011) and Meriam-Webster's online dictionary (n.d.) were used as the references in order to establish the basic contemporary meanings of Turkish and English lexical units.

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

- (i) "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.

/ 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.

2.2 Coding Stages for Metaphors of Turkey in POLDIS

Each of the source domains represented a code in data analysis and each identified metaphorical lexical unit via MIP was assigned a single code, thus a single source domain. The coding process was carried out using qualitative analysis software MAXQDA 11. In addition, each metaphorical lexical unit was assigned a source concept which can be described as a subset of a source domain. This hierarchical grouping enabled systematic analysis and comparison of results in both languages. Figure 1 below illustrates a screenshot from the coding stage where the relevant news article on the right hand side of the screen and the identified source codes are in colour. Each source code is placed on the hierarchical grouping on the left of the screen.

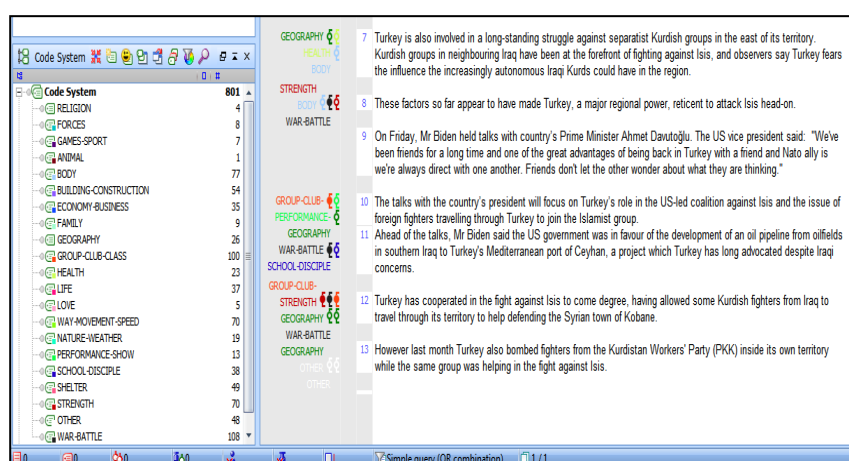


Figure 1. A screenshot of coding in MAXQDA 11.

Echoing Musolff's (2004a, 2004b) systematic approach of creating merged domains in his research; the aforementioned source domains in this study were also treated as a single domain, or in Musolff's words as a 'super-domain', namely "*BODY-LIFE-HEALTH*". The super-domain allowed for analysis to be semantically more comprehensive.

For the reliability of the coding process, a language specialist 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 as a part of the *Metaphor Interpretation* stage. Finally, in the *Metaphor Explanation* stage, the identified general metaphors and sub-metaphors were analysed based on their broader context. In illustration, excerpts from the corpus will be quoted and discussed in the sections to come.

In the excerpt (i) then, previously identified metaphorical lexical unit *shoulder* is coded into the source domain "*BODY*" in *Metaphor Interpretation* stage and the conceptual metaphor "*A COUNTRY IS AN ANIMATE BEING*" is presented in reference to the context of immigration in *Metaphor Identification* stage.

Furthermore, in order to compare the relevant metaphorical similarities and differences between the languages, the *resonance* which indicates the productivity of each source domain (Charteris-Black, 2004) in a corpus was also calculated for Turkish and English. Charteris-Black (2004, p. 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 $resonance = sum\ of\ types \times sum\ of\ tokens$. 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 $(6+5) \times (1+1) = 22$.

3 Results

Results show that both Turkish and English conceptually depict Turkey as an animate organism which has a body and organs, which struggles and lives. The source domains of "*BODY*", "*LIFE*", and "*HEALTH*" to conceptualize the target domain "*COUNTRY*", namely "*TURKEY*", are identified in both languages. Nevertheless, while both languages show similarity in terms of employing the same source domains, it is observed that the source concepts¹, the number of lexical units in each source concept, and their resonance² show difference for Turkish and English.

¹ The subsets of related source domains.

² The productivity of each source domain (see Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 89 for the resonance calculation procedure).

Table 1 lists the conceptual elements of "BODY-LIFE-HEALTH" super-domain which include the source concepts and their corresponding English and Turkish lexical units in POLDIS as well as the number of tokens of these concepts.

Table 1. Conceptual Elements, Lexical Units and Tokens of the "BODY-LIFE-HEALTH" domain in POLDIS

SOURCE CONCEPTS	English Lexical Units	Tokens in English	Turkish Lexical Units	Tokens in Turkish	Overall Sub-totals
<i>BODY All</i>		[23]		[51]	[74]
BODY PART: EYE	<i>eye, to see</i>	2	<i>gör(mek), göz</i>	5	7
BODY PART: HEAD	<i>heading, head</i>	2	<i>Baş</i>	3	5
BODY PART: SHOULDER	<i>Shoulder</i>	1	<i>Omuz</i>	3	4
BODY PART: FACE	<i>Face</i>	2	<i>yüz(leşmek), çehre, karşı karşıya kalmak</i>	6	8
BODY PART: HEART	<i>Heartland</i>	1	<i>Gönül</i>	1	2
BODY PART: HAND			<i>el, yumruk</i>	5	5
BODY PART: FOOT			<i>ayak, ayağa kaldıran</i>	5	5
BODY PART: LAP			<i>Kucak</i>	3	3
BODY PART: TONGUE			<i>dil, boğaz</i>	2	2
BODY PART: BACKBONE			<i>Omurga</i>	1	1
BODY PART: NECK			<i>Boyun</i>	1	1
BODY MIND			<i>Vücut akıl, hafıza, zihin</i>	2	2
TO SEE	<i>to see</i>	2	<i>İzlemek</i>	3	3
TO TALK	<i>to call, to say, to have conversation</i>	4	<i>sessiz kalmamak, çağırmak, eyvallah etmek</i>	7	7

TO FEEL	<i>to feel,</i> (<i>hesitant,</i> <i>frustration,</i> <i>anger,</i> <i>concern,</i> <i>fear</i>)	9	<i>hissetmek,</i> (<i>mutlu,</i> <i>memnun</i>)	6	15
TO SMILE			<i>Gölmek</i>	1	1
LIFE All		[3]		[37]	[40]
BIRTH	<i>to create</i>	1	<i>dođmak,</i> <i>ortaya</i> <i>çıkılmak,</i> <i>milat</i>	5	6
TIME	<i>modern-day</i>	1	<i>tarih,</i> <i>geçmiş,</i> <i>gelecek,</i> <i>günümüz,</i> <i>beka</i>	19	20
TO GROW			<i>büyümek,</i> <i>gelişim</i>	4	4
TO LIVE	<i>Presence</i>	1	<i>(yeniden)</i> <i>yaşamak,</i> <i>var olmak</i>	5	6
FATE			<i>kader,</i> <i>mukadderat,</i> <i>yazgı</i>	3	3
PROSPERITY			<i>Hayır</i>	1	1
HEALTH All		[6]		[16]	[22]
SURVIVAL	<i>to struggle,</i> <i>vital</i>	3	<i>kıvrılmak,</i> <i>hayati,</i> <i>dirlik</i>	4	7
PAIN	<i>Pain</i>	1	<i>ađrı, sancı</i>	2	3
WOUND			<i>Yara</i>	2	2
FITNESS	<i>Miserable</i>	1		3	4
BLOOD				3	3
HANDICAP/CRIPPLED	<i>Deafness</i>	1			1
PSYCHOLOGICAL				2	2
STATUS/WELLBEING					
Totals All		(32)		(104)	(136)

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 resonance which is the measure of productivity of a particular source domain (Charteris-Black, 2004) is higher for the source domains of "BODY" and "LIFE" in Turkish than it is in English. English displays a higher resonance only for "HEALTH". The overall results of resonance which shows that Turkish data (1098) shows higher resonance than English (217) in "BODY-LIFE-HEALTH" super domain indicates that Turkish displays more productivity in the metaphorical lexical units than English does. Table 2 presents the comparison of resonance of source domains in both languages.

Table 2. Resonance results of "BODY-LIFE-HEALTH" source domains in POLDIS

SOURCE DOMAIN	ENGLISH		TURKISH	
	Tokens	Resonance	Tokens	Resonance
<i>BODY</i>	23	184	51	867
<i>LIFE</i>	3	9	37	222
<i>HEALTH</i>	6	24	16	96
<i>Totals</i>	32	217	104	1,098

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. In this sense, the present study provided results in line with previous research which discussed the conceptual metaphors "NATION AS BODY" (Ana, 1999) "NATION IS A PERSON" (Flanik, 2008; Kimie, 2007) manifested in political discourse. Echoing Musolff's (2004a) extensive work on conceptual metaphors in EU discourse, general metaphor "A COUNTRY IS AN ANIMATE BEING" is discussed under the 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".

Table 3 presents the mappings of these identified sub-metaphors. Each sub-metaphor will be illustrated and discussed in the following sections.

Table 3. Mappings for the general metaphor "A COUNTRY IS AN ANIMATE BEING"

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

3.1 "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 as a country 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 (1) from *Sabah* (Hereafter SBH) and (2) from *The New York Times* (Hereafter NYT) below³. Therefore, in both languages the primary metaphor "KNOWING IS SEEING" is manifested.

- (1) "[Erdoğan:] Türkiye'nin tavsiyeleri görmezden gelinmesin. Biz yaklaşan tehlikeyi *görüyor* hissediyor ve tüm insanlığı ayırım yapmaksızın tedbir almaya çağırıyoruz." (087_TR_SBH_28112014)
[The advice of Turkey should not be ignored. *Seeing* and feeling the approaching danger, we are calling everybody to take measures against it.]

³ In POLDIS, each news article was assigned an ID and excerpts used in the present study have these IDs as their references. An excerpts with and ID of "011_ENG_NYT_19112014" indicates that it is from the 11th article in English set of data, it belongs to *The New York Times*, and it was published on 19th of November 2014.

- (2) "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. Thus, in (1) and (2), it is observed that Turkey is depicted in undesired sociopolitical situations which can be considered as threats to its existence and it is implied that it is conscious of these potential problems.

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 (3) from SBH and (4) from *The Telegraph* (Hereafter TEL) imply undertaking a responsibility while (5) from CUM highlights the notion of cooperation between two states, namely Turkey and Iraq, to achieve a goal. However, a similar implication to the one in (5) is not present in English data.

- (3) "[Erdoğan:] Türkiye olarak bugün *omuzlarımızda taşıdığımızın* mesuliyetin idrakindeyiz." (061_TR_SBH_15112014)
[As Turkey, we are well aware of the responsibility we *shoulder* today.]
- (4) "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)
- (5) "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)
[Davutoğlu said that if Turkey and Iraq would stand *shoulder to shoulder*, they can create a dual economic basin that can stand as a model for the rest of the world. He said "I invited Mr. Abadi and his ministers to a joint cabinet meeting in Turkey, and he replied positively."]

In (3) and (4), 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 situation 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 this source concept. Furthermore, resonance is also higher in Turkish (867) than it is in English (184) for "*BODY*". As a result, Turkish data offer more variety as in the case of the "*FOOT*" metaphors prevalent in the data. The lexical units *ayakları üzerinde durmak* "to stand on one's own feet", *ayaęa kalkmak* "to stand up" in the excerpts (6) from SBH and (7) from CUM respectively, are idiomatic expressions of the primary metaphors "*STANDING UP IS BEING IN CONTROL*" and "*STANDING UP IS BEING READY TO ACT*".

- (6) "[Davutoęlu:] 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)
[Having its financial independence *standing on its own feet*, in other words, that having the economic power is the second qualification which brings out 'new' Turkey.]
- (7) "Türkiye'yi *ayaęa kaldıran* Pozantı Cezaevi'ndeki taciz ve işkence olayının mağdurlarından Ümit Temur (19) cezaevinden çıktıktan sonra defalarca gözaltına alındı." (006_TR_CUM_06112014)
[Turkey *sprang to its feet* because of the sexual harassment and torture case in Pozantı Prison. Ümit Temur (19) is a victim of this case and has been taken into custody several times after he was released from the prison.]

Furthermore, in excerpt (8) from SBH below, the idiom *ayak baęı olmak* "*stumbling block*" of which the literal translation would be "*to be under one's feet*" implies that some issues hinder and urge Turkey to stand up and "*BE IN CONTROL*". As (8) illustrates, Turkey as body politic faces obstacles to overcome in order to establish the harmony and stability within the country. In order to achieve this, Turkey has to settle the issue of Turkish-Kurdish Peace Process which is conceptually implied to be preventing the country *from doing what it wants to do and achieve*.

- (8) "İçişleri Bakanı Ala; "Çözüm sürecini gerçekleştirirken kamu düzeninden asla taviz vermeyeceęiz. Hem milletimizin can ve mal güvenlięi emniyeti garanti altında olacak hem de bu sorun çözülerek Türkiye'nin *ayak baęı olmaktan çıkarılacak*." (064_TR_SBH_16112014)
[Ala, the Minister of the Interior, said: "We will never appease the public order which carries on the Peace Process. Not only the security of life and

property will be guaranteed, but also this problem will be solved and will no longer be *under Turkey's feet/the stumbling block for Turkey.*]

Further examples to source concepts with high level of resonance in Turkish data are *kucak* [arms-lap], *vücut* [body] and *omurga* [backbone] observed in domestic political discourse. In (9) from SBH, the conceptualization of *arms-lap* is understood in terms of *welcoming* or *sheltering* the people in need, thus referring to the nurturing characteristics of Turkey as body politic. In (10) again from SBH, describing Turkey to be *a single body* emphasizes the wholeness and the abstract unity of the country.

- (9) [Akdoğan:] Türkiye, 1,5 milyon insana *kucağını* açtı, 5 milyar dolara yakın kaynak harcadı." (027_TR_SBH_05112014)
[Turkey *embraced* 1,5 million people and spent about 5 billion dollars of resource for them.]
- (10) [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)
[Through the Resolution Process, the level passes over 90 percent. There is a strong presumption for Turkey to live together and walk towards the future as one-piece. The process is an assurance that Turkey stays as *one body.*]

Furthermore, in excerpt (11) from SBH below, the institutions of Turkey are conceptualized as the backbone of the country. This metaphorical expression implies that just as how the backbone supports the body, the institutions fulfil the same duty for body politic.

- (11) [Davutoğlu:] Her bir kurumumuz, hangi kurumumuzu alırsanız alın kökü asırlar öncesine giden bir meşruiyetle izah edilir ve meşruiyet temelinde devletin *ana omurgasını* oluşturur. (054_TR_SBH_10112014)
[All of our institutions have their roots of legitimacy dating back to centuries before and based on this legitimacy they form the *backbone* of the state.]

3.2 "THE EXISTENCE OF THE ABSTRACT STRUCTURE IS A LIFE-CYCLE"

Building on the primary metaphor "*ABSTRACT DEVELOPMENT IS NATURAL PHYSICAL GROWTH*" (Kövecses, 2010, p. 162), Turkey as a human organism is conceptualized to be in a life-cycle which starts with the

birth of the country. While in English data, Turkey is solely described to be *created*, Turkish offers more variety in its lexical units such as *doęmak* [to be born], *ortaya ıkmak* [to be created/to appear], *milat* [the birth] which all indicate the beginning of an animate beings life. These source concepts imply 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 (*büyüme, gelişim*) organism. Interestingly, however, this is observed only in domestic political discourse. It is argued that the *growth* implies *the increase in the political power* through the geopolitical location of the country, the accumulation of positive outcomes of the implemented policies of the government, and as the excerpt (12) from SBH below illustrates, the increase in the economic capacity to provide social services to its citizens.

- (12) "[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 *büyümektedir*. 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)
[Judicial institutions, ministries and many public institutions have received big investments until now and many units of our government have been granted facilities for the purpose of public service. Turkey is *growing*. The representation and the service facilities of our country is growing just as Turkey rapidly takes its deserved place in the world, and no one should be disturbed by this fact.]

Concerning the spectrum of time, Turkey is positioned only in the time zone of modern-day in the international political discourse while Turkey has a past (*geçmiş*), today (*günümüz*), and future (*gelecek*) in domestic political discourse.

In addition to the source concepts of "*BIRTH*" and "*LIFE*", the previous research (Musolff, 2004a) also illustrated the source concept of "*DEATH*" as a part of the life-cycle of an abstract structure. 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 in both Turkish and English.

3.2.1 Source Concepts Specific to Turkish: "FATE"

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, the related source concepts of "FATE" were found to be present exclusively in Turkish data.

In the excerpts (13) and (14) from SBH below, three separate Turkish lexical realizations of the concept "FATE" (*mukadderat*, *kader*) are used. All of them possess religious connotations that the course of life is carried out within the knowledge/will 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*.

- (13) "Bunun Türkiye'nin *mukadderatı* meselesi olduğunu, onun da ötesinde bölgesel bir mesele olduğunu, bölge insanının mazlumların, mağdurların meselesi olduğunu çok iyi anlamamız gerekiyor." (067_TR_SBH_17112014)
[We should comprehend that not only this issue concerns the *fate* of Turkey, it is also a regional issue. It is the issue of the people, the oppressed, and the victims of the region.]
- (14) "Irak Dışişleri Bakanı Caferi ise Türkiye ile birçok alanda ortak *kaderi* paylaştıklarını belirtirken kalkınan Türkiye için Irak'ın çok iyi bir pazar olacağını söyledi." (033_TR_SBH_06112014)
[Caferi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq, said that they share the same *fate* with Turkey in many aspects and Iraq is a good market for Turkey as a developing country.]

As previously observed in metaphor research on American presidential inaugural speeches (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 104), the present findings also support the argument that the use of religious motives carry the pragmatic aim of persuading the listener of the value of abstract ideals of politics. In this sense, the present results show that domestic political discourse makes use of source concept "FATE" and to enhance the spiritual motivations over the future of Turkey as a body politic. 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 this source domain.

3.3 "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 lastingness of the country. Because of the fact that a good state of health is preferred over being in pain, 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.

In the excerpts (15) from CUM and (16) from NYT below, the living organism experiences "PAIN" which implicates that Turkey is dealing with undesired social and political situations.

- (15) "Çarpıtılarak tek yanlı kıyım olarak gösterilen olaylar Türkiye aleyhine kullanılmak için oluşturulan kampanyanın önümüzdeki sene ülkemizin ve hükümetin başını çok ağrıatacağı anlaşılmaktadır." (026_TR_CUM_26112014)
[The incidents which were distorted in order to give the impression of an unilateral massacre as a campaign against Turkey will be a *headache* for our country and government next year.]
- (16) "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)

Struggling, having pain, headache are undesired health conditions for an animate being, thus, the primary metaphor "INAPPROPRIATE CONDITIONS ARE ILLNESSES" and "AN APPROPRIATE CONDITION IS A HEALTHY CONDITION" (Kövecses, 2010, p. 158) can also be highlighted as the underlying conceptualizations under the sub-metaphor "THE ABSTRACT LASTINGNESS OF A COUNTRY IS THE BIOLOGICAL SURVIVAL".

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.

3.3.1 Source Concepts Specific to English: "HANDICAP"

The only source concept which appears exclusively in English is the source concept of "HANDICAP". In the excerpt (17) from NYT, 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.

- (17) "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)

In this sense, it is concluded that the social and political status of the country is conceptualized in terms of the biological health concepts of an animate being. Therefore, the lastingness and the stability of Turkey correspond to the notion of survival in both Turkish and English.

4 Concluding Remarks

This paper focused on the body politic metaphorical (re)construction of Turkey in both domestic and international political discourse. The results showed that while both Turkish and English share the same general and sub-metaphors, and it is possible to observe some primary metaphors in both contexts such as "KNOWING IS SEEING" in which the embodied experience of having the power of seeing implies the relevant social and political issues that are of interest to Turkey. Similarly, the source domains of "BODY", "LIFE", and "HEALTH" were present in both languages and displayed similar mappings. Nevertheless, the source concepts and their resonance differed for Turkish and English, thus indicating that they have different ranges for the same target domain, namely "COUNTRY". In this sense, the results show that at a specific level, cross-cultural variation is present in body politic conceptual representation of Turkey. Furthermore, within the super-domain of "BODY-LIFE-HEALTH", Turkish source domains were more productive in "BODY" and "LIFE" while English displayed a higher resonance for "HEALTH". Therefore, there is an observed difference between the productivity of source domains between the languages, as well. However, even though Turkish is found to be more productive than English, it should be noted that the scope of the data was relatively small and POLDIS had more tokens for Turkish than English. Therefore, further data is needed in order to illustrate a more detailed comparison between the languages.

Overall, the conceptualization of Turkey as body politic in political discourse in a way reflects how language, specifically conceptual metaphor,

interacts with reality. One of the roles of metaphors is assisting politicians and political bodies to communicate their messages to the public by means of simplifying the messages, as well as stirring emotions of the audience (Mio, 1997). In this sense, Turkey as an abstract institution is depicted as a living organism so that the sociopolitical issues can be conveyed in cognitively more familiar frames to the audience. For instance, the manifested conceptual metaphor "A COUNTRY IS AN ANIMATE BEING" offers the fundamentally human conceptualizations mapped into body politic, such as "BODY PARTS", "LIFE-CYCLE", and "BIOLOGICAL SURVIVAL". As opposed to the traditional metaphor studies which concentrate on the local context of the metaphor, this study highlighted that integrating broader contexts into the interpretation of conceptual metaphors is of high importance. Through analyzing the broader context based on the excerpts from the newspapers, sociopolitical implications of the related metaphors are easier to draw.

Through the identification of the manifested conceptual metaphors in discourse, this paper described how Turkey as a country is depicted in various social and political situations by utilizing conceptual metaphors. The comparative perspectives from Turkish, British, and American newspapers illustrated a number of aspects of similarity as well as variation concerning unique uses of conceptual metaphors in Turkish and English, which call for further investigation.

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