1. Introduction

The celebration of Workers’ Day in Istanbul, especially in the years following the massacre in 1977, has always been an issue of confrontation. Successive governments, irrespective of their political orientation, have opted not to allow the trade unions to gather crowds in Taksim square for the occasion, offering different locations instead. However, the unions assign special value to the square; for them it is a significant location where many of their comrades have fallen victim to a conspiracy, the perpetrators of which are deliberately protected by the forces of the state. Recently, the current prime minister, when addressing his party members in

The apocalypse happens when the feet take the position of the head

Figurative uses of ‘head’ and ‘feet’ in Turkish

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Terms for the body parts head and feet appear in various conceptual metonymies and metaphors in Turkish. This chapter investigates the role of these body parts in the embodied conceptualization of social stratification in Turkish, exploiting the image schema of verticality (up-down). The head (up) profiles the cultural metonymies HEAD FOR ORDER, HEAD FOR RULER, HEAD FOR TALENT. The foot (down) profiles conceptual metaphors such as LESS IS DOWN, LOW STATUS IS DOWN, and BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN. As a consequence of these metaphoric and metonymic folk models, ‘head’ most often implies positive cultural values whereas ‘foot’ is evaluated negatively. Cases are analyzed in which terms for ‘head’ and ‘feet’ combine in a number of metonymies and metaphors. In such expressions, the position of body parts on the verticality scale is used to conceptualize contrasts in social stratification.

Keywords: metaphor, metonymy, social stratification, positive/negative values, verticality image schema
a parliamentary gathering, also expressed his position against the demands of the unions to celebrate the upcoming event in this particular square:

(1) Ayakların baş olduğu yerde kıyamet kopar.

‘The apocalypse happens when the feet take the position of the head’

His main concern was possibly the security of a huge crowd gathered in a relatively small square at the very center of the city. The apocalypse would be the potential disorder that could bring harm to the people and businesses in the vicinity. However, this age-old expression reveals his political conceptualization of the working class, rather than his humane concerns. The lowest, or the ruled, cannot assume the role of the highest, the ruler. If the ruled take up the role of the ruler, the world as we know it, would turn upside down. The polar ends of the human body, their particular location, stand for the polar ends of the hierarchical structure of the ruling system, the ruler and the ruled.

Organizing the whole system rather than structuring one concept in terms of another, “orientational metaphors,” as labeled by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 14), concern spatial orientations, up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, and central-peripheral. Such metaphors are “at the heart” of our conceptual system and these elementary spatial relations have internal structures, such as an image schema, a profile, and a trajector-landmark structure (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 30–31). In a kinesthetic image schema, where the source domain is verticality, the target domain is quantity, yielding a system of metaphors in the conceptualization of various abstract concepts, including more is up.

In the context of the metaphor above, quantity relates to “social worth” rather than the sheer number of people. The ontology of the feet source domain represents the cases of less is down, low status is down, or being subject to control or force is down. The ‘head’ source domain, on the other hand, does not target human mental faculties but rather conceptualizes the head as the ruling authority. Head stands for the ruler, obviously well above the others, with certain qualities that others lack. Abstraction here further extends to social stereotyping, i.e., assigning a number of evaluative measures to a group of people.

The aim of this chapter is to show how contemporary Turkish uses body part terms metaphorically in the conceptualization of culture-specific experiences. I provide examples of cases where the body part terms function as the source domain in conceptualizing social stereotyping in contemporary Turkish culture. The emphasis is on the role of verticality as a source domain and its potential targets via metaphors and metonymies formed by two body parts located at the opposite ends of the body, namely the head and the feet. The first part of the study introduces metaphors in which ‘feet’ is the source domain. The second part discusses the role of ‘head’ in conceptualizing sociocultural aspects of Turkish experiences.

Finally, the last section illustrates cases where ‘head’ and ‘feet’ combine in a number of metonymies and metaphors. In these expressions, the contrast on a verticality scale based on particular locations of body parts is used to conceptualize contrast in social stratification.

The data come mainly from institutionalized dictionaries and the METU (Middle East Technical University) Turkish Corpus (Sey et al. 2002).

2. Verticality and body parts

In a broader context, a review of the current works on cognition reveals that there are different views of embodied cognition. The distinction drawn between the ‘bodily’ aspects of mind and the ‘social’ aspects of cognition, is understood as complementary rather than contradictory. In Yu’s (2008: 387) terms, for example, “metaphor, body and culture may form a circular triangle relationship”. While conceptual metaphors are grounded in bodily experiences, cultures may “filter” those experiences for culture specific target domains. There are “culturally tainted” aspects of conceptual metaphors (Maalej 2004) and cognitive linguists should take metaphors out of our heads and “put them into the cultural world” (Gibbs 1999).

Recently, in an introduction to a two-volume book, Body, Language and Mind, two of the editors, Ziemke and Frank (2007: 1), explain that the first volume includes those studies on the concept of embodiment, in which “the bodily and sensorimotor basis of phenomena such as meaning, mind, cognition and language” is discussed. The articles in the second volume, on the other hand, interpret the concept of embodiment in the context of sociocultural situatedness, which takes embodiment rather in terms of “the ways in which individual minds and cognitive processes are shaped by their interaction with sociocultural structures and practices”; the editors also note that “the volumes overlap significantly”.

The overlap is more evident from the data presented in the studies on conceptualization via body parts. In discussing data from two different surveys on African and Oceanic languages, Heine (1995: 123) notes the pervasiveness of body part concepts in understanding spatial concepts. The generalization he draws from the data suggests that:

If in a given language a lexical item is recruited for the expressions of the spatial concepts on, under, front, back, or in, then the first choice will be a body part term, the second choice being a term denoting an environmental landmark.

Heine (1995: 121) further notes that in such conceptualizations, the location of the body parts is understood to be that they are in an upright position.
Similarly, Lakoff (1987) also reports that expressing spatial location via body part concepts is common among languages of Mesoamerica and Africa. Mixtec, for example, with no system of prepositions and cases, uses conventionalized metaphors for "understanding both spatial relations and more abstract relations in terms of body part concepts."

In its upright position, body parts as "spatial locators" conceptualize abstract social relations in contemporary Turkish alongside spatial concepts. Although conceptualizations via body parts are documented in many other languages, it appears that body part metaphors and metonymies for understanding social stratification are relatively more elaborated in Turkish. In the emerging cultural model, the conceptual metaphors and metonymies not only locate different social groups in the existing social structure for their respective position on the basis of verticality, but also assess their "qualities" that ultimately help locate them in the overall structure. Evaluating a group of people is known as social stereotyping. As a mechanism, social stereotyping eases cognitive processing required for proper understanding of others by simply regularizing our knowledge of people.

With significant social implications and entailments, stereotypes are commonly taken as inaccurate descriptions and most often lead to prejudice and discrimination. A major problem with stereotypes is that while they help people make sense of the complexities of a culture, as oversimplified conceptualizations, they are far from capturing such complexities. Kövecses (2006: 110) notes that prejudices come in the form of structured opposites corresponding to in-groups and out-groups, and they are commonly metonymic expressions. Since this kind of categorization is metonymic in nature, the general conceptual metonymy a member of a category for the whole category underlies it.

In what follows, the data from Turkish exemplifies the intricate relationships between body parts (whole-part) and spatial orientation concepts (up-down, verticality) and how body parts function in the conceptualization of social groups.

### 3. Feet are the lowest

The lexical entry *ayak* 'foot' in the official Dictionary of the Turkish Language Institute, comes in two basic distinctions: the technical use of *ayak* in mathematics, geography, and sports where the word appears in its specialized terminological use, and its nontechnical or nonterminological use in other domains. We may include its use as a unit of measurement as a terminological use as well. It should be noted right from the outset that, in Turkish, the word *ayak* not only refers to 'foot' as a part of a body, but it simultaneously refers to *bacak* 'leg'. In at least three senses identified in the dictionary entry, *ayak* means 'leg', as overtly stated in one of its senses, and in another, it refers to part of the rest of the body below the waist. For example, when one wears a pair of pants, one wears it on *feet*, not specifically on *legs*. Moreover, in Turkish part of an object that supports the object is not 'leg' but *ayak*. It is this polysemy of the word that, in essence, surfaces repeatedly in the formation of many metonymies and metaphors that conceptualize the culturally salient concepts. In some cases, it is very difficult to determine if the referent of *ayak* is 'foot' or 'leg' when it functions as a source domain in understanding culture specific experiences.

There are a number of metonymies and metaphors involving feet that Turkish shares with other languages. A short list of figurative expressions found in both Turkish and English is given in Table 1.

In a nutshell, the metaphors and metonymies below help conceptualize various abstract concepts including the manner in which some activity is performed (mental or physical), space in conducting certain duties, being prevented or delayed on various occasions in pursuing goals, being in a near-death condition, and the like. For the purposes of this chapter, I do not analyze such conceptualizations, but rather concentrate on the metaphors and metonymies in the sociocultural evaluation of the abstract concept 'social worth' via body parts.

A key to understanding culture-specific conceptualization of the body part feet in Turkish through metonymies and metaphors may be found in the ways of making decisions. In the Turkish cultural model, a general tendency is to handle matters in a horizontal posture rather than in a vertical posture. In other words, if there is an issue at hand that needs to be discussed, it is better to discuss it by sitting down together. When a group of individuals gather to argue over a matter, the meeting is called *oturum* 'a sitting'. Most decisions, even the urgent and pressing ones are answered in a sitting. People had better not make important decisions while standing. In most idioms, proverbs, and other conventionalized expressions, the contrast between the two basic postures becomes evident.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Both feet on the ground</td>
<td>Ayakları yere basıyor 'both feet stepping on the ground'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Drag their feet</td>
<td>Ayaklarına sürüşür 'dragging the feet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Fall/land on their feet</td>
<td>Dörtlü ayak üstüne düşür 'fall on/land on four feet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Heavy on their feet</td>
<td>Ağır ayaklı 'with heavy feet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Walk them off their feet</td>
<td>Tabanlara patlat 'burst out the feet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Bind hand and foot</td>
<td>Eli ayaklı bağla 'tie/bind hand and foot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Follow in their footsteps</td>
<td>İzinden gitmek 'to pursue someone's (foot)marks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. One foot in the grave</td>
<td>Bir ayak göğüs 'one foot in the hollow'</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Forms of deception are also conceptualized via feet. Ayak oyunu 'a game of foot' is any trick that a deceiver performs in order to cheat others, and ayak yapmak 'to make foot' conceptualizes any act carried out by a sly person. An untrustworthy person, one who has a tendency to cheat or has been known for his deceitfulness, is labeled sağlamak ayakkabı değil 'not a reliable shoe'.

4. Head is topmost

The lexical entry for baş 'head' in the official Dictionary of the Turkish Language Institute assigns several distinct senses to the word. In addition to its reference to a body part, the polysemous word may refer to a ruler or head of any organization, activity or profession, the starting point or initial moment of a time unit or a process, anything that is basic or fundamental, and others, e.g. anything that is round and bulging out of a body.

A reflection of high status is up, low status is down is expressed via nominal compounds in which head appears as the modifying expression. Not all locations are of equal status, and the high status of a location is conceptualized via head:

(2) başköşe 'primary corner'
başmekan 'primary location'
basıoda 'primary room'

A primary corner is a place reserved for people of high status; it is the most prestigious spot in a location where people gather. Başmekan 'primary location' is a generic term that may apply to any spot or location that is reserved for people with social power. Başıoda 'primary room' is again a location in a house that can be used only when there is a guest of honor.

In a number of other locative expressions, it is the spatial orientation rather than the social value that is in question. In such metonymies and metaphors, the

The majority of the metonymies formed with ayak in Turkish evaluate negatively their various target ontologies. Special cases of less is down, low status is down, and being subject to control or force is down are expressed in various nominal compounds in Turkish. Ayak işi 'foot work' conceptualizes, in a rather generic manner, any work that can be done on foot. The work to be done, in the majority of cases, involves nothing but a simple use of the body part, i.e. to bring or take away any object handed to the person. With no value attached, the person who is assigned to perform ayak işi needs no qualifications or mental powers to fulfill the requirements. Anybody, even children, can sometimes be assigned such duties. Roughly corresponding to someone like an office boy, the individual is assigned to perform the simplest of tasks. The idiom conceptualizes not only the work itself as insignificant, but also the individual as unworthy or dispensable. Sometimes the work can be so insignificant that the money paid in return is ayak kirasi 'foot rent', which is paid for ayak teri 'foot sweat'.

Ayaküstü 'on foot, standing,' a generic expression, conceptualizes anything that is done while standing, i.e., when one is on one's feet. Whenever the expression is used, it conceptualizes targets as worthless. Food that is consumed on foot does not qualify as a proper meal; decisions that are made on foot are those that do not require thorough consideration or those concerning matters of less value. A treatment on foot, ayakta tedavi is a cure for minor injuries or ailments that are not understood as being of serious damage to health. Ayakaltı 'the bottom of foot' is the most common evaluative expression that conceptualizes anything that once was, but is no longer, considered worthy. Further, it also conceptualizes a place that is all-inclusive, that is to say, open for all walks of life indiscriminately. A fall from grace or value is a falling down to one's feet, and ultimately ending up ayaklar altında 'beneath the feet'.

Ayakta kalınmak 'remain unseated,' when evaluated negatively, is a sign of disrespect. In a social gathering, when all attendants are treated properly and respectfully, they are all given their seats. A person who is not given a seat is conceptualized as a person who is not considered to be a participant of the group in question, or somebody who is somehow "forgotten" due to his insignificance. Ayakta tutmak 'keep someone standing' is an event in which a person is deliberately not given a seat as an overt indication of sociocultural evaluation of the individual as deserving the least respect.

1. Possibly based on shape or size similarity, a number of plant names are formed with ayak compounds: kazayığa 'goose feet', kediayaği 'cat feet', kurtayağı 'wolf feet', turnayağı 'crane feet', dańayağa 'crow feet', tırayağ 'dog feet'. On the other hand, horoyağa 'cock feet' is a twisted component of a rifle that takes away the empty cartridge from the barrel; domuzayağı 'pig feet' is a device used to take out a trapped bullet from the rifle; tavukayağı 'hen feet' is a skeleton key; tavşanayağı 'bunny feet' is the crossing joints of railway lines.

2. The data presented here include only those linguistic manifestations that conceptualize the negative evaluation of out-groups in Turkish via the feet. Turkish also has expressions that conceptualize the feet and upright posture positively ('standing on one's own feet', 'standing firmly', etc.). Since they do not relate to social groups and their evaluation, these conceptual metaphors are omitted from the present study.

3. There are two other words that refer to the head: The Arabic borrowing kafa and the Persian borrowing kelle. The metaphors and metonymies based on these two are not discussed in this chapter. The issues discussed here are further complicated by the use of these two other alternative expressions of 'head' in Turkish, each deserving a study in its own right. Head stands for life, for example, is expressed via kelle, and, most often, 'head' as a container for mind/intellect via kafa.
use of 'head' implies the initial point in orientation. A bridgehead is köprübaşı, the source of a river is pınar başı, and the top of a hill is tepebaşı. In another conventionalized expression, the implication of the metaphor is towards a vantage point: those who hold the köşebaşı 'the head of a corner, the turning point' are the ones who have located themselves in the most advantageous position.

Similarly, not all fingers are equal: for example, basparmak 'thumb' is the primary finger among others, bulging out in a shape similar to that of a head, the nipple is meme başı, and omuz başı is the rounded 'head-like' end of the shoulder. Roughly corresponding to a person considered to be "a pain in the neck", the head of a pustule or a blain (the head of a corner, the turning point' are the ones who constantly disturbs others.

The majority of the metonymies and metaphors in Turkish formed by 'head' conceptualize their target domain entities following from the mappings based on the kinesthetic UP-DOWN image schema such as MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN. When the verticality source domain targets QUANTITY, the social domain stands out as one such case. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 18) argue that "[i]n some cases, spatialization is so essential a part of a concept that it is difficult for us to imagine any alternative metaphor that might structure the concept. In our society, 'high status' is such a concept".

The conceptualization of top or ruling position in a hierarchically organized structure via the head is abundant in Turkish. Nominal compounds in Turkish in this domain come essentially in two forms: those with 'head' as the first element and those with 'head' as the compound's head. In various professions, individuals with more knowledge, skills and abilities, or experience function as the head among their colleagues (HEAD STANDS FOR RULER, HEAD STANDS FOR TALENT). They are the head, chief, master or the primary person of the profession in question:

- başşastan 'head assistant'
- başşerkeş 'chief steersman'
- başşardiyen 'head guardian'
- başşangır 'primary violin'
- başşavci 'chief attorney'

In military organizations with a strict hierarchical structure, 'head' defines a position in the army rank:

- başçavuş 'head sergeant'
- onbaşı 'head of ten' the platoon leader'
- yüzbashi 'head of a hundred' army captain'
- binbaşı 'head of a thousand' major'

In a similar vein, a high rank in a religious institution is also expressed via 'head'. Although Islam does not officially define any "ruling class" within its institutions, the Turkish expressions in (5) are approximate translations of Christian church terminology:

- başşimam 'chief preacher'
- başşiskopos 'archbishop'
- başşahip 'chief preacher'
- başşekşis 'head monk'

The head of any organization in Turkish is başkan 'the head', which is a derivative of baş 'head'. The professional activities run by a 'head' include:

- başşakan 'prime minister'
- başşayman 'first lady'
- başşkomutan 'chief of forces, staff'
- başşamanşman 'chief consultant'
- başşvezir 'grand vizier'

The leading role itself and the person who plays the role are also expressed in 'head' nominals:

- başşahraman 'the protagonist'
- başşarakter 'the primary character'
- başşol 'the leading role'

A foreman is ustabaşı, a master chef is aşçibaşı; başbağ is "the führer", and elebaşı is the head of a gang or criminal organization.

Probably the most elaborated conceptual metonymy in the Turkish cultural model is HEAD STANDS FOR ORDER. In a culture-specific interpretation, having a ruler or a head is understood to be vital for the very existence and the functioning of the society. This is an understanding that has derived from collective historical experiences and an emerging cultural consciousness. A great number of "lessons from the past" are held very dear and taught in various myths to younger generations. From the very earliest texts, a society without a head is depicted as one that is doomed to submission, or slavery or, even worse, to extinction, as inscribed in the ancient Turkish texts found in Central Asia.

A wealth of proverbial expressions conceptualize the significance of heading a society. First and foremost, the ruler should possess certain qualities and should be aware of the responsibilities of being a head. The head has to face bigger challenges and has to overcome bigger problems:

- "Baş olan baş olmaz."
  'The head cannot be empty of content'
- "İyi başın derdi büyük olur."
  'The bigger the head, the bigger the trouble'
- "Yüksek dağını baş da mantır olur."
  'The head of a high mountain is always covered with fog'
At first glance, the idioms in (8) seem to instantiate container or locus of reasoning metaphors; the head is always full, a bigger head is full of bigger concerns, and a head in a higher position is constantly busy with problems that may fog the view. However, emphasis in the cultural model is on problems facing a ruler who is at the very top, bigger than all or holding the highest position. The container here is not the mind of an individual but rather the ruler, and its contents are the concerns regarding better ruling, i.e. the continuous striving for the welfare of society.

heading or ruling a society is not for everyone but for the ones who dare to do so. It is always better to be the head rather than “no head”, even in cases of minor significance:

(9) a. Nefesin elverirse borazancı baş ol.
    ‘If you are sure of the strength of your breath, be the head of trumpets (the wind instruments)’

b. Baş ol da eşek baş ol.
    ‘Be a head anyway, be the head of donkeys if you can’

c. Bin işçi, bir başç.
    ‘For a thousand workers, there is a single head’

An individual may prefer not to be a head, given the heavy duties expected of a head. A head with no trouble is not possible; even if it is, it is only in the Hereafter:

(10) a. Ağırsha baş mezarda gerek.
    ‘A head without pain is required only in a grave’

b. Dertsiz baş, bostan korkuluğunda.
    ‘A head without troubles is possible only for a scarecrow’

In a hierarchical structure, there is always one above you:

(11) Başın başı, başın da başı vardır.
    ‘There is always a head for a head, which also has a head even above him’

A corrupted ruler is a malfunctioning head; when the head rots, the society rots. An unqualified ruler is also conceptualized via head metaphors:

(12) a. Balık baştan kokar.
    ‘The fish starts to smell from the head’

b. Böyle baş böyle tıraş.
    ‘A head like this is to be shaved accordingly’

Two very common expressions, başbozuk ‘head out of order’ and başına buyruk ruled by one’s own head; further capture the cultural evaluation of a malfunctioning of society without a proper head to rule it.

The second domain in which the head conceptualizes culture-specific experiences concerns the ways in which interpersonal relations are organized. The collectivist and fatalistic aspects of Turkish culture and specific experiences are conceptualized via conventional expressions, such as idioms and proverbs. Here, the head is not only the site of the mind but also the site of one’s faith. God’s will is a written text (Charteris-Black 2004), and the text is written on one’s forehead, a part of the head. In spatial orientation, the head is a location and whatever happens to one in life, good or bad, “comes to a head”. Here, different from the container schema, which has an in-out orientation, elements of fate come to a person or find the person.

(13) a. Alna yazılın başa gelir.
    ‘Whatever is written on the forehead eventually happens to the head’

b. Akla gelmenen başa gelir.
    ‘Those that do not come to mind, befall the head’

As long as your faith is (pre-)written on your forehead, you have little or no power to determine your fate. Most often the trouble is that even things you cannot imagine may happen to you, or come to your head. When this occurs, the collectivist cultural model teaches one to stay put and suffer the consequences of ill fate:

(14) Başa gelen çekilir.
    ‘Whatever comes to the head, one endures’

Furthermore, even though one witnesses the ill-fate of others in the same community, one may not fully understand the suffering of others or the full extent of the pains they are experiencing:

(15) Başa gelmeyince bilmemiz.
    ‘One cannot know/understand without it happening to one’s head’

An individual who is struck by ill-fate is not someone who is responsible for his own deeds, but rather is a “victim” of forces that are either earthly or heavenly. In a collectivist culture where in-group interest overrides the individual’s interest, one should sympathize with other members of the group who suffer from consequences of ill-fate:

(16) a. Gülme komsuna, gelir başına.
    ‘Don’t laugh at your neighbor (i.e. his ill fate), the same thing will happen to you’

b. Hayır dile komsuna, hayır gele başına.
    ‘Wish well for your neighbor, so that the good will come to you’
To distinguish friend from foe, 'head' proverbs summarize the cultural experience:

(17) a. Dostun atığın taş baş yarmaz.
   'A stone from a friend does not crack your head'

b. Dost başa bakar, düşman ayağa.
   'A friend looks at your head, a foe at your feet'

If your head is in trouble, you cannot conceal it in a collectivist society, no matter how hard you try to do so. Hair whitens only if you suffer; eyes cry only if you are in pain:

(18) Ağaran baş, ağlayan göz gizlenmez.
   'A whitened head and a crying eye cannot be concealed'

Linguistic manifestations of 'head' expressions in Turkish appear to emphasize the communal rather than the individual. The cultural differences between individualism and collectivism underlie the degree of emphasis. Priority is given to the goals of the group; the conceptual metaphors of 'head' identify the ruler not as an individual via his or her personal attributes but as a leader by virtue of his or her required responsibilities for the common good. Furthermore, relatively fewer but long-lasting interpersonal relationships in a collectivist culture teach individuals to be more sensitive to the misfortune of others. Mishaps are determined by the fate and target of the head.

5. Head and feet: An uneasy relation

In almost all cultures, stereotyping most often targets "low" types. The linguistic expression for low types in Ancient Greek was hoi polloi, meaning 'the many', which conceptualizes the masses or the ordinary people as opposed to hoi oligoi 'the few'. A derogatory expression further conceptualizes common things as less worthy. English has many expressions that refer to low types including riffraff, scum, undesirables, lowlifes, the lowest of the low, and the like. The undesirables in French, sans culottes, were poor laborers during the French Revolution. In ancient Turkish society, people belonged to either the white tribe or the black tribe. Most recently, a revival of these ancient concepts surfaced when a Turkish journalist coined the terms 'white Turks' and 'black Turks'. Recent uses of these terms, however, have nothing to do with the conceptualization of a group of people as "lowly" but rather as the "oppressed" or "underprivileged", also subject to different interpretations depending on one's political stand.

Lakoff (1996: 8–9) argues that "[a]ll prototypes are cognitive constructions used to perform a certain kind of reasoning; they are not objective features of the world". The typology of the basic types of prototypes in American politics that he proposes can be reconsidered in the context of conceptualizing "low types", not only in terms of "moral politics" but also in terms of other socio-cultural aspects. In this respect, "low types" can be considered in the Turkish cultural model as representing a synthesis of an anti-ideal prototype and a social stereotype. In the context of this chapter, as data of metaphors and metonymies illustrate, the social stereotype serves as a model for making "snap judgments" about a group of people, and the anti-ideal prototype serves as a model for a group of people defined by negative standards of all types.

Historically, Turkish society is a "late-capitalistic" community, that is to say, the establishment of socio-economic classes themselves and the development of a class culture in society have a relatively short history. Thus, most of the boundaries that are visible in the social milieu in most Western societies are not so visible. This is, very clearly, an oversimplification. Another oversimplification is that, as the dominant belief system in society, the particular interpretation of Islam the Turkish people have developed in their cultural evolution is a particular conception in which all believers, irrespective of their national, ethnic, or other forms of origin, are absolute equals in the eyes of God. In the words of ruling politicians, Turkish society is defined as a "classless" society, or "a rose garden with no thorns". If these are the underlying conceptualizations of the folk model, then there is virtually no distinction among the members of the society along these dimensions. Yet, there remains one such distinction and it prevails. There are always the lowly, commonly referred to as ayak takımı 'a team of feet'. Metonymically, this expression denotes a group of people formed by a number of feet, not recognizable as human individuals.4

The contrast between 'head' and 'feet' is a contrast between the ruler and the ruled:

   'Wherever the head goes, the foot goes, too'

b. Ayak yürüten baştır.
   'The head walks the feet'

In case there is a head without intellect, the ruled pay the price of bad decisions made by the mindless ruler:

4. Gorki's 1902 play The Lower Depths (Russian 'At the bottom') has been translated as Ayak Takımı Arasında, 'Among the team of feet'; German journalist Günter Wallraff's 1985 book Ganz unten 'Lowest of the Low', documenting his experiences in the workplace posing as a Turkish guest worker, is translated into Turkish as En Altıncıker 'Those at the Very Bottom'.
6. Summary and conclusion

The human body is the primary source of experience. The expression of culture-specific experiences via body parts combines with orientational metaphors to yield an intricate relationship in the mapping of concrete bodily spatial locations onto the abstract social structure. When body parts are the source domains, the physical body is perceived in its upright position. In the case of contemporary Turkish, the respective locations of the head and the feet in the upright position constitute the source domains in the conceptualization of different groups of people and their roles in a hierarchy within society.

The verticality source domain targets quantity yielding the conceptual metaphors more is up, less is down. In the cultural model, quantity applies to the evaluation of individuals or groups (high status is up, low status is down). Located at the topmost position, the head conceptualizes those who reside at the very top in the social stratification. The feet conceptualize those who are at the very bottom of society. In these conceptualizations, the evaluation of groups of people is expressed through various kinds of stereotyping.

As in many other cultural models, in the Turkish cultural model in-group stereotypes are evaluated positively, while the out-group stereotypes are evaluated negatively. The negative conceptualization of the “other” leads not only to prejudice but also to social and cultural discrimination. These evaluations are far from being objective; they impose homogeneity onto a group of people that results in distorted representation. Providing a conceptual structure for the categorization of the perceived social stereotypes, metonymies and metaphors, as found in idioms and proverbs that are loaded with culturally learned and thus historically collected “lessons”, reflect the biased ideological stance that underlies the Turkish cultural model.

The linguistic manifestations of ‘head’ and ‘feet’ conceptual metaphors and metonymies in Turkish are more elaborated in the conceptualization of social groups. As observed in many other languages, the manifestations of head as container, control center, or locus of reasoning are also abundant in Turkish. However, the conceptualizations of ‘head’ even in the context of these well-documented domains, relate to the ruler or the head of society. The collectivist nature of Turkish culture defines the head not in terms of mere individual attributes, but rather in terms of the special skills and abilities required of the one who assumes the heavy burden of ruling society.

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