CORPUS-DRIVEN LEXICAL PROFILES OF TURKISH FEAR VERBS AND METAPHORICAL PROFILES OF SOMATIC FEAR IDIOMS IN TURKISH

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Danışman
Prof. Dr. Yeşim S. AKSAN

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ONAY

M. Fatih ADIGÜZEL tarafından Prof. Dr. S. Yeşim AKSAN danışmanlığında hazırlanan " Corpus - Driven Lexical Profiles of Turkish Fear Verbs and Metaphorical Profiles of Somatic Fear Idioms in Turkish" başlıklı bu çalışma aşağıda imzaları bulunan jüri üyeleri tarafından oy birliği ile Doktora tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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ÖZET

Tezin bir amacı Türkçede öznel deneyim anlatan korku eylemlerinin (Kork-, tırs-, ürk-, irkil- ve ürper-) Türkçe Ulusal Derleminden (TUD Demo) alınan dizinlerden sözcük profillerini belirlemektir. Bu amaçla "genişletilmiş sözcük birimler modeli" kullanılmış ve korku eylemlerinin eşdizim, dilbilgisel eşdizim, anlamsal tercihleri ve ezgileri saptanmıştır. Ayrıca sözcükler korkuyu kavramlaştırmaya dönük olduğundan aralarındaki ince ayrıntıları göstermek için sözcüklerin duygu alan yazınında korkuya ait bilişsel değerlendirme örüntüsüne göre durumları da saptanmıştır. Tez için ikinci araştırma konusu Türkçedeki somatik korku deyimlerinin kavramsal metafor ve metonomi profillerinin belirlenmesi olmuştur.

Derlem çıkışlı bir çalışma olan tezde TUD'dan alınan korku eylemlerine ait bağlı dizinler *dizin yoluyla eşdizimlilik* yöntemiyle analiz edilmiştir. Sözcüğe özgü eşdizim, dilbilgisel eşdizim, anlambilimsel tercihler, ezgiler ve sözcüğün işaret ettiği tepki ya da duygunun bilişsel işlem örüntüleri korku konusundaki ruhbilimsel, fizyolojik, davranışsal ve bilişsel yönlerle ilişkilendirilerek çok alanlı yorumlar yapılmıştır. İncelenen somatik deyimlere gelince, deyimler tezde belirtilen sözlüklerden derlenmiş ve fizyolojik temelli ve kültürel şemalı olanlar biçiminde iki grupta incelenmiştir. Deyimlerin ardında yatan bilişsel mekanizmalar irdelenerek metaforik profilleri çıkarılmıştır.

Derlem çıkışlı sözcük profili çalışması neticesinde sözcüklerin kendine özgü eş seçim ve davranış örüntüleri ve korku kavramının hangi bileşenlerini yansıttıkları sadece sezgi ile ulaşılamayacak derecede ayrıntılı olarak çıkarılmıştır. Buna göre kimi sözlüklerde eş anlamlı gibi sunulan korku eylemlerinin çoğu zaman birbirinin yerine kullanılabilirlikten uzak olduğu ve bunun Türkçeye hangi ölçüde anlatım zenginliği kattığı görülmüştür. Somatik deyimlerin analizinden ise, bu deyimlerin kimisinin korkunun evrensel fizyolojik belirtilerini kavramlaştırırken kimilerinin tamamen kültürel senaryolarla güdülendiği ve korkunun Türk kültüründe beden parçalarına veya organlarına saldıran zarar verici bir güç olarak görüldüğü saptanmıştır. Ayrıca sözcük birimlerin aksine, somatik deyimlerin sadece şiddetli korku anını kavramlaştırdığı saptanmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Korku, sözcük profili, Türkçe somatik deyimler, metafor, derlem çıkışlı.

Danışman: Prof. Dr. Yeşim AKSAN, Mersin Üniversitesi, İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, Mersin

ABSTRACT

One aim of the thesis was to identify the lexical profiles of Turkish verbs that express subjective experience of fear (Kork-, tırs-, ürk-, irkil- ve ürper-) through concordances extracted from Turkish National Corpus (TNC Demo). To this end, *the model of extended units of lexical units* was used and the collocates, colligates, semantic preferences and prosodies of the words were determined. Since the words are meant to conceptualise fear, the *cognitive appraisal patterns* of the fear verbs compared to the one in the emotion literature were also identified in order to reveal any fine grained differences between them. The second area of our research was to demonstrate the conceptual metaphor and metonymy profiles of the somatic idioms of fear in Turkish.

In the corpus-driven study the concordances of the fear verbs obtained from TNC were analysed by means of the approach *collocation-via-concordance*. Multi-disciplinary comments were made in which verb-specific collocates, colligates, semantic preferences, prosodies and cognitive appraisal patterns of the affective state or reaction that the verb denotes were associated with psychological, physiological, behavioural and cognitive aspects. As for the somatic idioms studied, they were compiled from the dictionaries mentioned in the thesis and analysed under the two groups of physiologically grounded idioms and culturally schematised ones. Their metaphoric profiles were identified with specific emphasis on the cognitive mechanisms that motivate the idioms.

As a result of the corpus-driven lexical profiling study, the idiosyncratic co-selectional and behavioural patterns and which aspects of the concept of fear they profile were identified in fine details which could not have been done merely by intuition. It was observed from this analysis that the verbs concerned which are presented as synonyms in some dictionaries are often far from intersubstitutability and to what extent this enriches the expressivity of Turkish. As for the analysis of the somatic idioms, it was found that whereas some of them conceptualise the universal physiological indexes of fear, the others are completely motivated by cultural scenarios. It was also concluded that fear is conceptualised in Turkish culture as a damaging force that attacks the body parts or organs. Lastly, unlike the lexical items, the somatic idioms were found to conceptualise only very intense fear as it is felt in the present time.

Key words: Fear, lexical profile, Turkish somatic idioms, metaphor, corpus-driven.

Advisor: Prof. Dr. Yeşim AKSAN, Mersin University, Department of English Language and Literature, Mersin

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With my thesis proposal approved, I soon found myself amid uncharted waters with no opinion, equipment or power to navigate my way to a safe shore. My thesis advisor Prof. Dr. Yeşim AKSAN helped and guided me towards the shore, rescuing me several times from drowning. She startled me up successfully whenever she noticed that I was adrift unconscious on the silent creepy sea. She led me through the dark, murky waters symbolising my complicated study full of *fear*. The Dissertation Monitoring Committee member Prof. Dr. Mustafa AKSAN foretold many times in which part of the sea I would have more trouble and which parts were safer to keep swimming towards my survival shore. I spent two and a half years – a long ordeal amid those billowing waves – fearing, worrying, getting startled, spooked, getting goose bumps and shivers. The other committee member Prof. Dr. Hatice ÇUBUKÇU always assured me that mine would be a great victory if I patiently stayed at sea unsubmerged as long-lasting meticulous efforts were always bound to take one to the finish line. I often felt as if I saw the smiley and encouraging faces of Research Assistants Gülsüm ATASOY KOLBAŞI and Umut DEMİRHAN during my backbreaking swim of two and a half years towards the safe shore where my dissertation would be declared 'approved.'

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ABREVIATIONS

Abbreviation/Symbol	Definition
1sg	First person singular
1pl	First person plural
2sg	Second person singular
2pl	Second person plural
3sg	Third person singular
3pl	Third person plural
ABL	Ablative
AOR	Aorist
COND	Conditional
CONJ	Conjunction
PST.COP	Past Copula
CV	Converbial
DAT	Dative
e.g.	Example
EV/PF	Evidential perfective suffix
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive Case
ibid	Lat. ibidem (in the same place)
IMPERF	Imperfective
INS	Instrumental case
-N	Pre-node position for a collocate
+N	Post-node position for a collocate
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
OPT	Optative
PASS	Passive
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PROG	Progressive
PST	Past
REL	Relative clause marker
SUB	Subordinator
VN	Verbal noun

1. INTRODUCTION

The present dissertation aims to make a corpus-driven research to explore the lexical profiles of a set of Turkish verbs that conceptualise subjective experience of fear [kork- (fear), tırs- (fear, informal), ürk- (get spooked, shy away), irkil- (get startled) and ürper- (get the goose bumps or shivers)] to show the fine-grained semantic differences between the items and any correspondences between each token's profile and aspects of the emotion fear. The dissertation also aims at elucidating the metaphorical and metonymical conceptualisation of Turkish idioms of fear. For all these reasons, it is essential to have a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of emotion, especially fear, including its *cognitive, physical* and *behavioural* aspects. The conceptualisation of fear in Turkish through the lexical items above claimed to be nearly synonymous are expected to inevitably involve item-specific profiles. The further conceptualisation of fear through somatic idioms is motivated by figurative manifestations of the generic conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES and the metonymic principles 1) THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION (FEAR) STAND FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR), 2) THE BEHAVIOURAL REACTIONS OF AN EMOTION (FEAR) STAND FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR) (Kövecses, 1990, p.69).

The dissertation is a study of cognitive linguistics characterised by two commitments – the Generalisation Commitment and the Cognitive Commitment (Evans and Green, 2006). The Generalisation Commitment refers to "a commitment to the characterisation of general principles that are responsible for all aspects of human language" and the Cognitive Commitment is "a commitment to providing a characterisation of general principles for language that accords with what is known about the mind and brain from other disciplines" (Evans and Green, 2006, p.26,27). In parallel with the commitments, the dissertation discusses the lexical profiles of Turkish fear verbs [kork- (fear), tırs- (fear, informal), ürk- (get spooked, shy away), irkil- (get startled) and ürper- (get the goose bumps or shivers)] in terms of corpus linguistic instruments (collocation, colligation, semantic preference, semantic prosody), and cognitive appraisal models (Scherer, 1984, 1999, 2001 and Ortony et al., 1988). In accordance with the Cognitive Commitment, the dissertation provides adequate information about the findings of the discipline of psychology concerning the concept of emotion and the basic emotion fear. In the analyses of both lexical profiles of fear verbs and metaphorical conceptualisation of fear through somatic idioms, the study often associates our findings with physiological and psychological aspects of the fear event.

The bulk of our analysis is on the *lexical profiling* of five Turkish verbs that express subjective experience of fear. Lexical Profiling refers to the strenuous work of teasing out of a corpus the usual collocates, colligates, semantic preference and semantic prosody of a lexical item, all of which make up the item's "extended unit(s) of meaning" (Sinclair, 1996/2004).

Sinclair argues that words are not independently selected in utterances as containers of meaning but units of meaning are selected first and all relevant words (collocates) are co-selected so that they collaborate to convey a certain unit of meaning. Sinclair suggests that "[t]he meaning of words together is different from their independent meanings" (2004:20), which means that certain words or units often collocate with certain others to make meanings by their combinations – phraseological tendency (Sinclair, 1996/2004:29). About the combinatorial aspect of units of meaning in a language, Sinclair (2000:197) states that "a large proportion of the word occurrence is the result of co-selection – that is to say, more than one word is selected in a single choice" as also evidenced in our corpus (the TNC) study on Turkish fear verbs.

What is meant by the lexical profiling of a node (word or phrase under examination) is to provide an exhaustive coverage of its semantic and pragmatic characteristics through corpus data (Stubbs, 2002a). Drawing upon Sinclair's works (1996, 1998), Stubbs (2002a:87-9) developed a *model of extended lexical units* which is meant to scrutinise the lexical environment of a node through "successive analysis of collocations, colligations, semantic preferences and discourse (semantic) prosodies" (McEnery and Hardie, 2012:132). In our case, because we focus on the emotion of fear and Turkish conceptualisation of fear in terms of its subjective experience [kork- (fear), tırs- (fear, informal), ürk- (get spooked, shy away), irkil- (get startled) and ürper- (get the goose bumps or shivers)], relevant literature on the nature of emotion and cognitive, psychological, physiological and behavioural aspects of the fear event are considered in our discussions of collocational and colligational features of each node. In fact, the lexical profiling of a basic emotion concept like fear requires that lexical profiling and emotion/fear literature are indissolubly linked. As a result, collocational meanings and colligation-dependent meanings, semantic domains that display semantic preferences and prosodies were often analysed with references to the nature of the stimulus (threat), the intensity of fear, physiological reactions involved, cognitive processes and behavioural aspects. In other words, finely grained distinctions in meaning and use of each fear verb became clear through the concordance analyses from the Turkish National Corpus (TNC).

As cognitive appraisal of a stimulus or situation determines the kind and intensity of the fear event that one experiences, cognitive appraisal patterns of the five fear verbs were analysed as part of lexical profiling on the strength of our findings about basic components of *model of extended lexical units* (collocation, colligation, semantic preference and prosody). As expected, cognitive appraisal patterns of each fear verb proved to be rather different and became parameters in distinguishing semantic and pragmatic features of their profiles. Various linguists stress the importance of the process of cognitive appraisal of the stimulus to determine differences in discrete emotion episodes (Scherer, 1984, 1999; Frijda, 1986; Smith & Ellsworth,

1985; Roseman, 1984 and Ortony et al, 1988). Scherer (1999:637) states that "a central tenet of appraisal theory is the claim that emotions are elicited and differentiated on the basis of a person's subjective evaluation or appraisal of the personal significance of a situation, object, or event on a number of dimensions or criteria." At the end of the lexical profiling section of each Turkish fear verb we provide its distinctive cognitive appraisal pattern as compared to that developed by Scherer for fear (2001:115). Detailed discussion of lexical profiling and cognitive appraisal theory and models can be found in Theoretical Framework of the dissertation.

As said earlier above, the present dissertation also aims to determine the metaphorical profile of fear idioms in Turkish as a subjective experience. We tried to clarify whether and to what extent the selected Turkish fear idioms contribute to the metaphoric and metonymic conceptualisation of fear in general as discussed by Kövecses (1990; 2010) and what aspect of the fear event they construe. The analyses of each somatic idiom that expresses fear in Turkish were carried out in accordance with the conceptual metaphor theory in general (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993; Grady, 1997 and 2007; Gibbs, 1994; Kövecses, 1990, 1999; 2000; 2005; 2006; 2008 and 2010). Our metaphorical and metonymic profiling of Turkish somatic fear idioms was based on the findings about the metaphoric profile of fear in English as documented by linguists such as Kövecses (1990, 1990, 1999; 2000; 2005; 2006; 2008 and 2010); Esenova (2011); Ansah (2011), Maalej (2007), Athanasiadou (1998), and Oster (2010). Maalej's (2007) classification of fear expressions in Tunisian Arabic and culture and his views on cultural embodiment of fear were very helpful in our analysis of figurative motivations behind somatic fear idioms in Turkish.

1.1. The Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

As a corpus driven work, the primary purpose of the study is to explore the TNC corpus so as to determine the lexical profiles of Turkish fear verbs that express the subjective experience of fear, namely *kork-* (fear), *tırs-* (fear, informal), *ürk-* (get spooked, shy away), *irkil-* (get startled) and *ürper-* (get the goose bumps or shivers). Within the framework of the *model of extended unit of meaning* developed by Stubbs (2002a:87-9) drawing upon Sinclair's works (1996, 1998), typical collocates, colligates, semantic preference(s), semantic/discourse prosody/prosodies of each fear verb are focussed. From emotion antecedents, what affective state each fear verb expresses, what cognitive appraisal processes the emoter goes through, how intense the fear felt is on the continuum *simple worry-fright-terror*, to the typical behavioural attitude involved, all aspects that the fear episode involves are taken into consideration in evaluating the co-selectional properties and deciding on the semantic preferences and prosodies of each fear verb. A secondary purpose of the dissertation in terms of

determining the lexical profiles of the fear verbs is to show where each Turkish fear verb stands as compared to the cognitive appraisal pattern determined by Scherer for fear (2001:115). The results of the concordance analysis are expected to display fine-grained semantic distinctions between the fear concepts focussed with each item having its own idiosyncratic co-selectional properties. It will also be demonstrated that *kork-* (fear), *tırs-* (fear, informal), *ürk-* (get spooked, shy away), *irkil-* (get startled) and *ürper-* (get the goose bumps or shivers) are far from being intersubstitutable with each of them profiling different aspects of the fear event. Our research questions regarding the lexical profiling are:

1. What are the typical collocates of each Turkish fear verb and typical units of meaning for which the collocates collaborate?
2. What are the typical colligates of each verb and typical units of meaning to which they contribute?
3. What semantic preference(s) does each verb have on the basis of its typical collocates?
4. What semantic/discourse prosody or prosodies does each verb have?
5. What cognitive appraisal pattern can be assigned for each fear concept?
6. How different or similar is the cognitive appraisal pattern for each fear verb as compared to the typical pattern determined by Scherer for fear (2001:115)?
7. What are the distinctions and similarities (if any) between these fear verbs in terms of the components of lexical profiling?

The second main purpose of the dissertation is to demonstrate the figurative conceptualisation of fear in Turkish through somatic idioms. Traditionally regarded as frozen and unanalysable/non-decomposable, idioms are viewed differently by cognitive linguists who argue that idioms are motivated by conceptual metaphors, metonymies, image-schematic factors and conventional knowledge (Kövecses 1990, 1995, 1998, 2000; Kövecses and Szabó, 1996; Langlotz, 2006; Ansah, 2010; Maalej, 2007; Yu, 2008; Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2005). In addition to fear verbs we focus on, the metaphorical profiling of the Turkish fear idioms is supposed to profile physiological and cognitive effects and the intensity of acute fear situations. The dissertation is also meant to show the cultural embodiment of fear in Turkish in terms of the body parts culturally thought to be affected by fear. Although the physical effects of fear are universal, cultural scenarios by which some idioms are motivated will help towards a cultural model of fear in terms of somatic idioms. With respect to metaphorical profiles of Turkish somatic idioms of fear, the dissertation will answer the following questions:

1. What are the *physiologically grounded* idioms of fear in Turkish?
2. What are the cognitive (metaphorical, metonymic and image-schematic) mechanisms underlying the *physiologically grounded* idioms?

3. What are the conceptual domains involved in the creation of each *physiologically grounded* idiom?
4. What are the idiomatic meanings that each *physiologically grounded* idiom has?
5. What are the *culturally schematised* idioms of fear in Turkish?
6. What are the cognitive (metaphorical, metonymic and image-schematic) mechanisms underlying the *culturally schematised* idioms?
7. What are the conceptual domains involved in the creation of each *culturally schematised* idiom?
8. What are the idiomatic meanings that each *culturally schematised* idiom has?
9. What can be said about the cultural model for metaphorical conceptualisation of fear in Turkish somatic idioms?

The questions above are expected to demonstrate not only whether universal physiological effects of fear are profiled by the idioms but also what kind of force FEAR AS A FORCE is culturally imagined to exert on the body and mind in Turkish culture.

1.2. The Importance of the Study

The study focuses on two major areas of research: 1) A corpus research that utilizes the Turkish National Corpus (the TNC) for a concordance analysis to tease out the lexical profiles of Turkish fear type verbs which conceptualise the fear event as a subjective experience. 2) The metaphorical and metonymic profiling of fear idioms in Turkish.

In terms of the lexical profiling of the set of fear type verbs *kork-* (fear), *tırs-* (fear, informal), *ürk-* (get spooked, shy away), *irkil-* (get startled) and *ürper-* (get the goose bumps or shivers), fine-grained semantic and functional distinctions between the items have been determined thanks to the concordance analyses. The study is important as a corpus-driven work in that very comprehensive concordance analyses have been made about distinctions between semantic and pragmatic aspects or behavioural patterns of the three Turkish verbs haphazardly listed as synonymous in some dictionaries. The lexical fear set that we focus on is like heavenly objects in the conceptual space of fear with their concordances providing us with invaluably powerful telescopes capable of displaying all their idiosyncratic features. To this end, the TNC, which represents the mental models of the Turkish speech community, proved to be a priceless tool for us to see through the lexical profiles of each fear type verb to the smallest detail. A vivid and colourful figure emerged for each lexical item as we dug through the concordance, which would not have been possible merely by intuition. The TNC provided us with amazing insights into the central meaning and function of each verb in extended units of meanings which no dictionary could ever do. Let alone being synonymous, the lexical items

kork-, tırs- and *ürk-* as a group expressing the emotion of fear, and *irkil-* and *ürper-* as psychophysiological reflexes of fear were found to have rather different co-selectional features. Different collocates, colligates, semantic preferences and prosodies discovered through concordance analyses revealed that except for *kork-* and the informal *tırs-*, the lexical items cannot even be considered as near synonyms in most cases. Metaphorically, if these fear verbs were heavenly objects in the conceptual space of the emotion of fear, they would be as semantically close to each other as the Mars is to the Earth at the most. It is a very important aspect of the study that it has mostly revealed the collocational discrepancies rather than collocational or semantic overlaps between the items, which means they are hardly intersubstitutable in most contexts.

Although there are a lot of corpus-driven studies on near synonyms in English in terms of their co-selectional properties and semantic differences (Liu, 2010; Liu and Espino, 2012; Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, Partington, 1998; Desagulier, 2012 etc.), the studies in Turkish tend to be diachronic with references to ancient texts (Sarı, 2011; Çetinkaya, 2007; Uçar, 2011, Özden, 2014 etc.). Only Aksan (2011) and Aksan et al. (2008) are the outstanding linguists that carried out a corpus-driven study like ours on Turkish near synonyms with the former focussing on the lexical profiles of the pairs of synonyms yurt/vatan, ak/beyaz, yollamak/göndermek and the latter focussing on the pair Allah-Tanrı and the triplet sevgi-aşk-sevda. Such corpus-driven studies as ours on lexical profiling of so-called near synonyms seem to be promising and important for the future of Turkish lexicography. Ersoylu (2011:255) is rightly opposed to preparing dictionaries of concepts under the name of "dictionary of synonyms". Instead, he argues that corpus-driven profiling work should be done to identify context-dependent semantic and pragmatic differences of seemingly synonymous lexical items. The present study has produced countless findings from the corpus TNC about each fear verb's collocation- and colligation-dependent units of meaning which would not have been done only by intuition.

Another contribution of our study to linguistics will be in the field of translation and composition classes of those studying Turkish as a foreign language. Knowledge of the idiosyncratic lexical profiles and distinct cognitive appraisal patterns of the Turkish psyche verbs in our study will allow a user of Turkish to choose the right word in a certain context as the right word choice is indispensable to convey our message (Edmonds and Hirst, 2002:106). Cruse (1986), Murphy (2003) and Aksan, D. (1972) are all opposed to anything like absolute synonymy in languages and prefer to use the phrase near synonyms because no two words can be absolutely intersubstitutable in all contexts. On condition that fine-grained semantic and functional differences of words listed as near synonyms are known by corpus analysis, this shows how rich Turkish is. Murphy (2003:166) states that "the more near synonyms a language has, the more meaning it expresses lexically, and the more nuances it can communicate

concisely." In this connection, our study has revealed all the semantic and pragmatic differences or similarities (if any) between the Turkish fear verbs expressing subjective experience of fear. The findings are important both for translation purposes and the future of Turkish lexicography.

The study is also a promising one in cognitive linguistics which is committed to other disciplines like psychology about cognitive aspects of language. The present dissertation is a multi-disciplinary study in that it involves corpus linguistics, psychology of emotions, and cognitive linguistics as covering areas of metaphorisation and cognitive appraisal patterns of fear verbs. Always bearing these in mind, the lexical profiling constituents in the model of extended lexical units (Sinclair 1996, 1998; Stubbs, 2002a) – collocations, colligations, semantic preference(s) and prosody/prosodies –were extracted from the TNC and were always associated with psychological, physiological and cognitive aspects of the fear event when they were being described.

As for the metaphorical and metonymical profiles of fear idioms in Turkish which express subjective experience of fear, the study demonstrates the cognitive mechanisms underlying the somatic idioms of fear in Turkish such as conceptual metaphors, metonymies, conventional knowledge and image-schematic aspects. The present study looks upon somatic idioms of fear not as arbitrarily motivated frozen chunks of language, but as analysable as cognitive linguists do (Kövecses 1990, 1995, 1998, 2000; Kövecses and Szabó, 1996; Langlotz, 2006; Ansah, 2010; Maalej, 2007; Yu, 2008; Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2005). Our analysis of the somatic fear idioms is a manifestation of the cultural embodied theory (Kövecses, 2000, 2005; Maalej, 2007; Yu, 2008, Ansah, 2010). According to the theory, "conceptualisation of emotion concepts across cultures may be universal and culture specific at the same time" (Ansah, 2010:3), and Oster (2008:329) mentions "the combined influence of embodiment, cognition and culture" in conceptualisation of emotions. The somatic idioms are motivated by universal physiological effects of fear on the body; however, in cognitive conceptualisation, emotional experiences pass through a culture filter and certain aspects of the fear event are partially mapped onto somatic targets. Some idioms profile physiologically realistic effects of fear, whereas others reflect culturally schematised or schematically imagined scenarios in which a body part is culturally imagined to be affected by fear in unrealistic ways, though it is not. For example, in Tunisian Arabic we see "my heart fell" (Turkish, *yüreğim düştü*) to conceptualise sudden acute fear (Maalej, 2007:96). Such idioms are not few in Turkish and the study covers them all, providing detailed explications of metaphors, metonymies and image-schematic components that once motivated the creation of the idioms.

The study is important in the field as being the first study applying the contemporary theory of metaphor [introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and further developed especially

by Lakoff, 1993; Grady, 1997, 2007; Gibbs, 1994; Barcelona, 2003, Kövecses, 1990, 1999, 2000; 2005, 2006, 2010)] to Turkish somatic idioms of fear. There are studies on somatic idioms such as Baş (2015), Özkan and Şadiyeva (2003) and Subaşı (1988), but none of them is meant to explain through cognitive mechanisms the cultural embodiment of fear and show schematic structure of the cultural model for fear in Turkish. After detailed cognitive analyses of fear idioms, the present study provides an illuminating table that clearly displays metaphorical and metonymical profile of Turkish idioms of fear. As can be seen in the metaphorical profile section of the idioms, somatic idioms of fear are instantiations of the superordinate metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES and the study clearly shows what kind of force fear exerts on the body parts, real or culturally imagined. The section on idioms reveals the intensity aspect of fear as expressed by Turkish-specific cultural embodiment. The idioms occupy parts of the whole picture of the conceptual space of fear which cannot be coloured adequately by the lexical items that we analysed from the corpus TNC.

Last but not least, translation studies and teaching Turkish as a foreign language are potential areas which can benefit from metaphoric analysis of fear idioms because it will prevent the user from "falling into literal traps" (Maalej, 2007:100) in comprehending the fear idioms. Both translators and learners of Turkish are, in Maalej's (2007:100) words, "alerted to the different conceptual-linguistic configurations". The figurative analysis of Turkish fear idioms as it is supplied by the study is rather important because "by providing the learners with cognitive motivation for idioms, learners should be able to learn the idioms faster and retain them longer in memory" (Kövecses and Szabó, 1996:331).

In conclusion, through the corpus-driven lexical profiling of the fear verbs and cognitive analyses of the idioms on the basis of the contemporary theory of metaphor, the study provides a comprehensive coverage of how fear as a subjective experience is conceptualised in Turkish.

1.3. The Restrictions and Focus of the Study

The study is limited to the corpus-driven lexical profiling of 5 verbs that express subjective experience of fear in Turkish. The analyses are based on concordance data extracted from the TNC. The verbs [*kork- (fear), tırs- (fear, informal), ürk- (get spooked, shy away), irkil- (get startled)* and *ürper- (get the goose bumps or shivers)*] were analysed on the basis of the criteria of collocation, colligation, semantic preference and prosody as required by the *model of extended lexical units* (Stubbs, 2002a). The findings obtained about lexical filing were also considered in comparison with cognitive appraisal models (Scherer, 1984, 1999, 2001 in particular and Ortony et al., 1988). As for the metaphorical profiling of the Turkish fear idioms, the study is limited to *10 physiologically grounded idioms* and *14 culturally schematized idioms*

compiled from the idiom dictionaries by Aksoy (1995), Parlatır (2008), Yurtbaşı (2013), and TDK online dictionary. Our focus of analysis of their metaphorical profiles consists of determining cognitive mechanisms such as conceptual metonymies, metaphors, conventional knowledge and image-schematic components involved in their creation.

1.4. Conclusion

The dissertation is made up of 5 main sections: 1.Introduction, 2.Theoretical Framework, 3.Methodology, 4.Findings and Discussion (4.1.Lexical Profiles of Turkish Fear Verbs, 4.2.Metaphorical Profiles of Turkish Fear idioms) and 5.Conclusion.

Chapter 2, Theoretical Framework, provides an exhaustive coverage of the review of the relevant literature: 1) the nature of emotion, approaches to emotion, basic emotions, cognitive appraisal process of a fear situation, 2) definition and description of fear as a basic emotion, indexes of fear, causes of fear, psychological, physiological and behavioural aspects of fear, cognitive models for fear, and linguistic expression of fear, 3) conceptual metaphor and metonymy, the nature of emotion metaphors and metonymies, provisional list of fear metaphors and metonymies discovered so far, 4) lexical profiling and its components based on Sinclair (1996, 1998, 2000, 2004, and Stubbs' (2002a) works.

Chapter 3 deals with the methods and steps that we followed to obtain and interpret the concordance data from the TNC, our approach to collocation, colligation analysis and subsequent identification of semantic preferences and prosodies of the nodes (Turkish fear verbs we focus). The chapter also informs the reader of criteria for determining cognitive appraisal patterns of each fear type verb and our approach to determine the metaphorical and metonymic profiling of fear idioms in Turkish.

Chapter 4, Results and Discussion, focuses on analysis of the concordance data obtained from the TNC for each fear verb of our focus. The chapter deals with lexical profiles of Turkish fear verbs on the basis of the *model of extended lexical units* (Stubbs, 2002a) and node-specific, distinctive cognitive appraisal pattern as compared to the pattern provided by Scherer for fear (2001:115). The last part of Chapter 2 covers cognitive mechanisms of metaphors, metonymies and image schemas underlying somatic fear idioms in Turkish.

Chapter 5, Conclusion, provides summative conclusions that can be drawn from the findings and detailed conclusions discussed in the relevant sections of the dissertation about lexical profiling of Turkish fear verbs and culture specific metaphorical conceptualisation of Turkish somatic fear idioms.

2. METHODOLOGY

The dissertation focuses on two main areas: 1) the lexical profiling of Turkish fear verbs that express subjective experience of this emotion, and 2) metaphorical profiling of Turkish fear idioms. The methodologies that each part involves are described in this section.

2.1. Methodology for Lexical Profiling of the Turkish Fear Verbs

This section deals with the meaning of the corpus-driven approach, related corpus terms, data collection procedure and analysis carried out about lexical profiling of five Turkish fear verbs.

2.1.1. Introduction and Definitions of Corpus Terms

The present dissertation is a qualitative study; that is, our focus is not on statistical significance but exhaustive description of whatever notable features we discovered of a node under scrutiny through concordance analysis.

Corpus linguistics has two approaches: corpus-based and corpus-driven approach. A corpus-based approach typically uses a corpus to test a theory or a hypothesis that has already been formed. A corpus-based study uses the corpus as a method to validate, refute or refine pre-formed hypotheses (Tognini-Bonelli 2001:65). Then a corpus-based approach involves a deductive process. On the other hand, the *corpus-driven approach* (which we employed) considers the corpus as a source to posit hypotheses. It is an inductive process in which the linguist explores the corpus about a topic "to uncover new grounds, posit new hypotheses and not always support old ones" (ibid:65). "The general methodical path is clear: observation leads to hypothesis leads to generalisation leads to unification in theoretical statement" (ibid:66). The identification of the lexical profiles of the five Turkish fear verbs in our dissertation is a product of the *corpus-driven approach*.

As a corpus-driven study, the lexical profiling section approaches the Turkish National Corpus, the TNC, (Aksan, Y. et al., 2012) in an inductive way to extract the idiosyncratic features from the concordances of the five Turkish fear verbs as our nodes [kork- (fear), tırs- (fear, informal), ürk- (get spooked, shy away), irkil- (get startled) and ürper- (get the goose bumps or shivers)]. Under Stubbs' (2002a:87-9) *model of extended lexical units,* we scrutinised each node's concordance to identify its typical collocates, colligates, semantic preference(s) and semantic/discourse prosody or prosodies. These components of lexical profiling are described

in detail in Theoretical Framework section. However, below we define each corpus-driven term used in the descriptive analyses of the words studied:

Corpus: Sinclair (1991:171) defines *corpus* as "a collection of naturally-occurring text, chosen to characterize a state or variety of a language." A corpus consists of multi-disciplinary texts which are assumed to be representative of a given language. In our case, the Turkish National Corpus (the TNC, Aksan, Y. et al., 2012) was used, which is a 50-million word corpus composed of written texts (98 %) from various genres published in a time span of 20 years (1990-2009).

Concordance: a total list of an individual word or phrase that occurs in a corpus which is usually given with a line number. The word (node) under scrutiny usually appears in the centre of each concordance line, which is called *key word in context* format (KWIC).

Node: the search term, a word or phrase, under examination. "A node is an item whose total pattern of co-occurrence with other words is under examination" (Sinclair et al., 2004:10). A node is typically preferred to appear in bold characters in the centre of each concordance line.

Collocation and collocate: *collocation* is a co-occurrence pattern between two items that tend to exist in close proximity to each other although the items may not be adjacent or juxtaposed. Words are not individually selected in language; rather, they are co-selected to create combinatorial meanings. In the process, a search word – node in corpus linguistics – idiosyncratically appears with certain other words (*collocates*) from certain semantic domains. To put more simply, if an item habitually comes after or before another item more often than would be by chance, there is a *collocational* pattern and one is the *collocate* or *collocant* of the other. In some cases, the node forms phraseologies or fixed multi-word units with certain collocates, whereas in other cases it collocates with distant words or phrases in its lexical environment. *Collocation* is a main organizing feature of texts (McEnery and Hardie, 2012).

Colligation and colligate: *Colligation* is a special kind of collocation in that the node collocates with grammatical categories. For instance, nouns *colligate* with "the" "have" etc. or verbs colligate with auxiliaries etc. In our case, because Turkish is an agglutinative language, some grammatical categories that Turkish fear verbs as our nodes colligate with appear attached to the verb. For instance, in ürk-*üp, ürk-* (get spooked, shy away) is our node and *–(y) Ip* (-üp for ürk- for vowel harmony) is an *intra-node colligate*. *Ürk-üp* means *get spooked + and.* That is, *ürk-* colligates with the grammatical category –(y) *Ip* with the *conjunction* function *and*. The *degree adverbs* such as *epeyce* (considerably), *fena* (terribly), *oldukça* (rather) etc. are colligates of *ürk-* –N1 position.

The following figure displays a part of the concordance of *irkildi* (got startled) as it appears in the Turkish National Corpus (the TNC). The figure and the subsequent explanations and exemplifications are meant to clarify the meanings of the above terms.

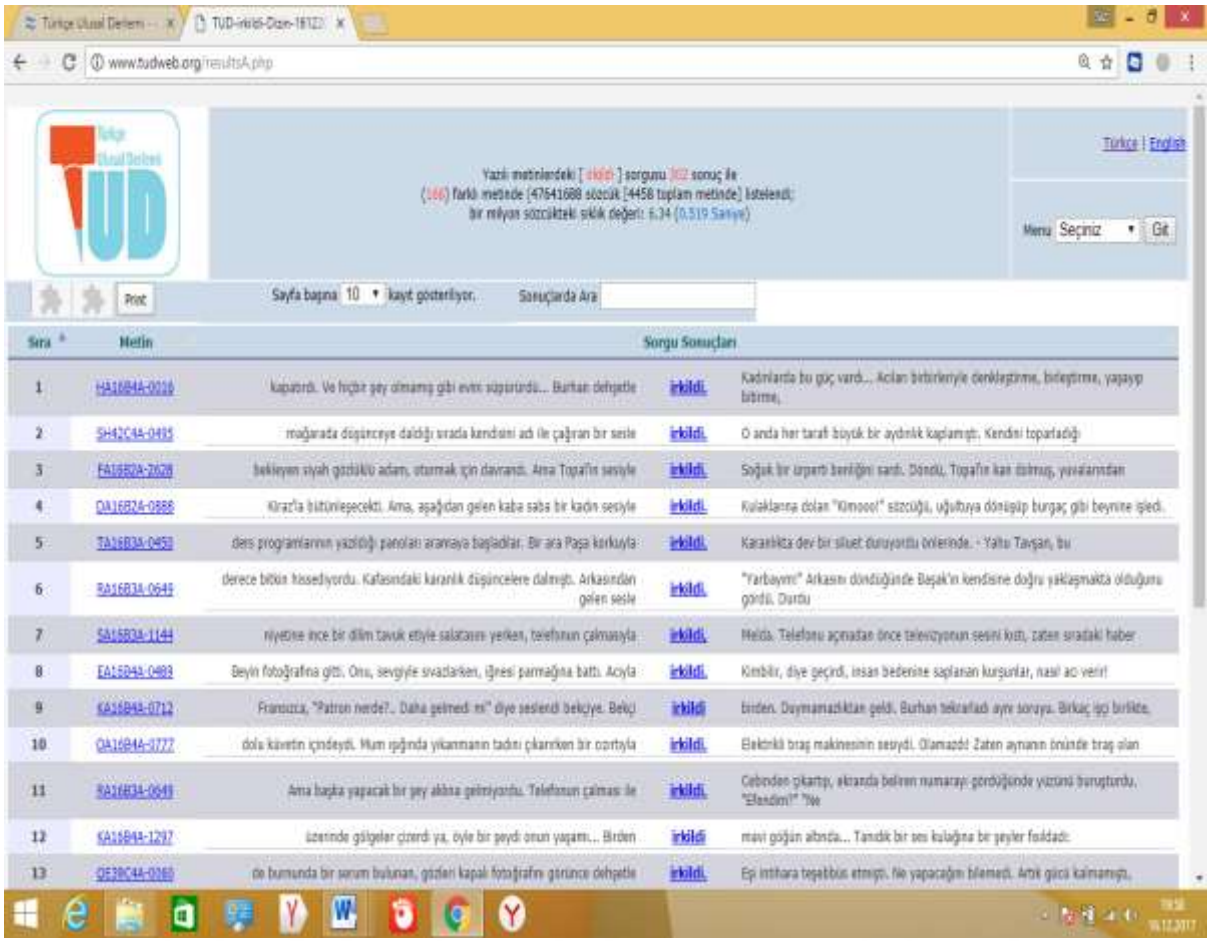

Figure 1. A part from the concordance of *irkildi*.

At the top of the TNC page we see how many occurrences of the word *irkildi* the corpus contains (**Concordance** of İrkildi) and the number of different texts the node occurs in. The **node** *irkildi* appears in the middle of the **concordance lines**; that is, **KWIC** (keyword in context format). There are ten words at either side of the the node *irkildi*; that is, the **search span** is **–10 to +10 span**. As can be seen from the concordance lines above, an initial observation is that the node *irkildi* **collocates with** words from the sound/noise domain (sesle (2), sesiyle (2), çalması (2), cızırtıyla (1)). These words seem to be recurrent **collocates** of *irkildi*. When we look again at the concordance, we see that *irkildi* **colligates with** the grammatical category *instrumental case marker "ile"* or *"–(y)lA"* **at –N1 position**; that is, just before *irkildi* we see "ile" as a separate word or a word which ends with the suffix –(y)lA. Then "ile" and "–(y)lA" (instrumental case markers) are typical **colligates** of *irkildi*. Further to the left of the concordance page above we see **numbers** (1,2,3 etc.) for concordance lines and then some **citing codes** like HA16B4A-0016 to show which text in the corpus the concordance line is taken from. This code is cited in the present study when a line is used as an example to explain a point.

2.1.2. Data Collection

The data, that is, the concordance lines, for the lexical profiling of the Turkish fear verbs were obtained from the Turkish National Corpus (the TNC) with a span of -10 to + 10 words, to the left and to the right although a five-word span is recommended for computational analysis for English (Stubbs, 2001:29). Because typical collocates are the most important data from which collocational meanings, semantic domains, semantic preferences and prosodies are abstracted, about 400 to 600 lines were printed for each verb for analysis to get adequate data to be examined until we were sure that all the recurring collocational patterns had been identified. As the present study is a qualitative work, these numbers were not for statistical analysis, but were just provisional and precautionary to have adequate data at our disposal to be sure of our hypotheses/observations as they were identified. The smallest number of concordance lines turned out to be for the word *tırs-* because it occurs as a lemma 95 times, 70 of which were taken into consideration because 25 occurrences were irrelevant.

The *inflected forms* of each fear verb in our list (e.g. ürk-tü, ürk-üyordu, ürk-müştü, ürk-er, ürk-ecek etc.) were separately searched as nodes in order to focus on some forms of the node for special purposes. For example, the cognitive appraisal pattern of our fear verbs can only be identified from the concordance lines that express actual realizations of the emotion. Therefore, we have to examine the contextual environment of the emotion verbs in simple past, past perfect, past continuous tense (i.e. ürk-tü, ürk-müştü, ürk-üyordu) to see through the cognitive steps of an emotional event.

To sum up, the choice of a span of - 10/+10 words and our special focus on the concordance lines with the node verb in perfective viewpoint and past progressive aspect provided us with the best glasses to see through a holistic picture of the fear event, – emotion antecedents, the type of the stimulus, intensity of fear, cognitive, physiological and behavioural aspects of the kind of fear involved.

2.1.3. Data Analysis

For lexical profiling of the Turkish fear verbs, we employed the model based on Sinclair's works (1996, 1998), and developed by Stubbs (2002a:87-9); that is, the *model of extended lexical units* by which he examines the lexical environment of a linguistic unit through "successive analysis of collocations, colligations, semantic preferences and discourse (semantic) prosodies" (McEnery and Hardie, 2012:132).

The most important component of Stubbs' model is the identification of the collocates because the other components – "colligation, semantic preference and semantic prosodies are

all abstractions of collocation –that is, they are built upon a collocation analysis" (McEnery and Hardie, 2012:132). For the identification of typical collocates of a node, there are two techniques: *collocation-via-significance* and *collocation-via-concordance*. We employed the technique of *collocation-via-concordance*. With this technique, the linguist gets the concordance lines for a node, and "the computer's role ends with supplying the analyst with a set of concordance lines. Then he/she "examines each line individually, identifying by eye the items and patterns which recur in proximity to the node word and reporting those that they find of note, possibly with manually compiled frequency counts but without statistical significance testing" (McEnery and Hardie, 2012:126). The technique *collocation-via-concordance* does not use any statistical corpus tools for identification of collocates; instead, "the researcher is still regarded as the final arbiter of determining whether or not a specific candidate collocate is indeed a collocate" (ibid:126). In accordance with the technique, we followed the following procedure to identify the collocates of a node:

1) First we adjusted the concordance span to 10:10, ten words to the right and ten words to the left of the node (Turkish fear verb) and extracted the concordance lines from the TNC.
2) Except for the node *tırs-* (informal, fear) which turned totally 70 relevant lines, we printed out about 400 to 600 of the concordance lines for each Turkish fear verb.
3) Then we followed steps similar to Sinclair's (2003, cited in Tribble, 2012:178) seven-step procedure, namely 1) Initiate 2) Interpret 3) Consolidate 4) Report 5) Recycle 6) Result and 7) Repeat. This is a cycling process; you dig through the concordance lines until no discernible collocational patterns are left. According to these steps, we handled the printouts as illustrated below:
    a) We read the concordance lines, focussing on the node's lexical environment to see what other lexical items the node co-selects
    b) In the second reading of the lines we began to underline recurrent words or phrases that the node collocates with and write short notes about their domains (for example, with *ürper-* (get the shivers or goose bumps) hatırlamak, anımsamak, düşünmek, akıl, aklına gelmek were both underlined and classified into the domain of "mental/cognitive domain)
    c) As we read the concordance lines, we formed initial hypotheses and re-read or went on reading more lines for consolidation of the hypotheses.
    d) *Reporting* in Sinclair's steps means that you write down all your hypotheses about typical collocates of the node and their semantic domains, so we wrote down our hypotheses and revised and modified them as we recycled the meticulous reading process as in Sinclair's final three cyclic steps. For example, some of our observations about the concordance analysis of the node irkil- were as follows:

An initial hypothesis about *irkil-* (get startled) was that *irkil-* collocated with words or phrases that express a loud sound or noise. However, as we read on and on and again and again, we observed that for the *irkil-* reaction to occur, the stimulus does not have to be a loud sound, but suddenness of the stimulus was more salient and saw collocates like "*birden, birdenbire, aniden, ani*" which express suddenness or abruptness. We modified our interpretation of the collocates that express the stimulus of *irkil-*: for this reaction to occur, suddenness rather than loudness of a sound is a necessary condition. Our further readings showed that the stimulus is not necessarily a sudden sound; but a sudden appearance or physical contact can also arouse the startle (irkil-) reaction. As we further read and re-read the lines, we saw that *irkil-* collocates with words or phrases that express engrossment or absence (Turkish, *dalgınlık*) because for something to feel or sound sudden, the experiencer should be engaged, absorbed or engrossed in an activity. Then a final comprehensive hypothesis about the *irkil-* (startle) reaction can be that a sudden tactile, auditory, visual or cognitive stimulus causes one to get startled and all these dictate certain collocates from these domains in *irkil's* lexical environment)

e) After all the salient collocates had been identified for each fear verb, we tabulated them by classifying them into semantic domains.

The identification of colligational patterns was much easier than determining the salient collocates because simply looking at the concordance lines carefully for recurring grammatical categories was enough. Some grammatical features that the node colligates with were node-external such as ablative case marker (-DAn) at –N positions which marks the source of fear. On the other hand, suffixes like –ArAk and –(y)Ip are node-internal colligates which determine the function of the subsequent verb phrases like expressing the behavioural reaction to the fear state. All the colligates were identified by hand and eye technique and interpretations about colligate-dependent particular meaning(s) that the node was involved in were also added to the discussion. As a final step the salient colligates were tabulated. In the lexical profiling of each Turkish fear verb in the dissertation the findings about colligational patterns were presented first, before the collocation analysis even though colligation seems to be the second step in Stubbs' (2002a) model. Our reason for this is to place the findings and comments about collocates just before the titles semantic preference and prosody since they are abstractions from collocates.

With all the salient collocates determined, the next step for lexical profiling is to identify the semantic preference(s) that the node (fear verb) has. Because semantic preference is an abstraction from the node's collocates, the semantic domains that the collocates belong to helped us to assign the semantic preferences for the collocates that we had already tabulated on

the basis of their domains. As Partington (2004) showed, a node may have more than one semantic preference to be determined by semantic domains of groups of collocates the node is associated with. Therefore, we assigned several semantic preferences for each node depending on the number of semantic domains of collocate groups.

Our approach to the identification of semantic prosody or prosodies involves a pragmatic view of the node. Semantic prosody or discourse prosody basically refers to the reason for which the node is selected to occur in an utterance or sentence rather than another near synonym. It reflects the language user's pragmatic motivation to choose the node (Louw, 2000; Sinclair, 1996, 2000; Stubbs, 2002a). For this reason, we did not make binary evaluations like positive/negative or pleasant/unpleasant to formulate a semantic prosody for a node; rather, we identified the particular reason for which the language user chooses the relevant lexical item across the concordance lines. This we did by considering the collocates, their semantic domains and preferences and collocative meanings involved.

Although not an obligatory component of lexical profiling on the basis of Stubbs' (2002a) model, cognitive appraisal patterns for the fear verbs were also identified as a salient parameter about their distinctive semantic properties. The emoter's cognitive appraisal of the stimulus of a threat determines the intensity of the kind of fear felt, which influences the cognitive, physiological and behavioural aspects of fear as a basic emotion. Stimulus evaluation checks, that is cognitive steps during a fear portending situation, and their corresponding results were identified and tabulated by Scherer for fear (2001:115). In accordance with the insights that we gained into the detailed lexical analysis of each Turkish verb through TNC concordances, we re-tabulated Scherer's table of cognitive appraisal pattern for fear, typing in bold any changes particularly associated with each Turkish fear verb.

2.2. Methodology for Metaphorical Profile of the Turkish (somatic) Fear Idioms

This section covers how we obtained the Turkish fear idioms and our way of analysis of the cognitive motivations underlying these figurative expressions.

2.2.1. Data Collection

We compiled the Turkish idioms about fear from the idiom dictionaries by Aksoy (1995), Parlatır (2008) and Yurtbaşı (2013). The dictionaries were entirely scanned, entry by entry, so that all the idioms that express the emotion of fear could be identified. The idioms thus obtained were then listed with some of them being weeded out as they were either vague or almost repetitive with trivial modifications. In such cases, TDK online dictionary for Proverbs

and Idioms (Turkish, Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü) was consulted for accuracy and appropriateness and further examples from the online dictionary were also examined. In the present dissertation we analysed the metaphorical profiles of 24 idioms, almost all of which are somatic idioms.

2.2.2. Data Analysis

The 24 somatic fear idioms which we identified in the idiom dictionaries were first grouped under two headings – *physiologically grounded idioms* and *culturally schematized idioms*. The former ones are meant to reflect the realistically physiological effects of fear on the body parts with the latter reflecting cultural scenarios in which body parts are culturally imagined to be (as if) affected in certain ways by acute fear states. This dichotomy which we adopted is based on Maalej's (2007) study on fear expressions in Tunisian Arabic.

Our approach to the idioms was that they are not unanalysable frozen expressions, but could be semantically analysed in terms of the cognitive mechanisms (metaphors, metonymies, and conventional knowledge) and image-schematic components, just as many cognitivists think (Kövecses 1990, 1995, 1998, 2000; Kövecses and Szabó, 1996; Langlotz, 2006; Ansah, 2010; Maalej, 2007; Yu, 2008; Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen, 2005). Each group of idioms was tabulated to show their original Turkish wordings, literal meanings, their English renditions and special idiomatic meanings. The next step was to focus and comment on each idiom with respect to conceptual metaphors, metonymies, conventional knowledge and image-schematic structures in accordance with metaphor and metonymy lists for fear identified by Kövecses (1990, 2000, 2010), Esenova (2011), Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) and Ansah (2011). In other words, these metaphor and metonymy lists were used as a standard of comparison, and special cases of cultural salience were also noted.

For near-synonymous idioms like *tüyleri ürpermek* and *tüyleri diken diken olmak*, we made a fine-grained semantic analysis depending on the image-schematic component involved (differently) in each idiom as recommended by Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005:25).

After all the idioms were individually analysed in connection with the cognitive mechanisms that motivate their creation and wording, we tabulated the resultant findings on the basis of Kövecses' (1996:330) criteria for "the conceptual motivation for many idioms." According to these criteria, the first column of the table was labelled as *Turkish idioms about fear*, the second as *idiomatic meaning*, the third as *cognitive mechanisms*, the fourth as *conceptual domain(s)* and the last as *linguistic forms* (making up the idiom) *and their meanings*. Two such tables were prepared, one of which was for the *physiologically grounded idioms* and the other for the *culturally schematized idioms*. The two tables are comprehensive enough to

reflect the metaphorical and metonymic profiles of Turkish idioms that express subjective experience of intense fear.

2.3. Conclusion

Judging by the procedure that we employed to identify the detailed lexical profiles of each Turkish fear verb, the dissertation is a corpus-driven study. The corpus (the TNC) proved to be an invaluable tool for us because the findings that we obtained from its concordances provided us with irreplaceable insights into the behavioural patterns of the verbs, their collocative meanings, semantic preferences and prosodies and cognitive appraisal patterns idiosyncratic to the conceptual nature of the psyche verbs focussed. The TNC turned out to be entirely representative of the mental lexicons of the Turkish speech community because we achieved results which would not have been possible merely by intuition or dictionary work.

Our analysis of the Turkish fear idioms proved to be complementary because the idioms not only corroborated works on the universal aspect of the embodiment of fear but also reflected much more of the cultural embodiment as opposed to the profiling of the lexical items under scrutiny. Almost all the idioms were somatic ones which conceptualise the high intensity of acute fear situations in a figurative way. Their analysis clearly demonstrated Turkish culture's particular conceptualisation of fear metaphorically, metonymically and image-schematically.

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Emotions and Fear

Since our analyses and descriptions will be based on facts about emotions, especially fear, we give a detailed coverage of the concept of emotion, focusing later on fear in this section. It is essential to have a comprehensive coverage of emotion as discussed in the discipline of psychology, particularly our focus emotion fear with its *cognitive, physical* and *behavioural* aspects. The section about emotion is meant to provide adequate information about the definition of emotion, basic emotions, theoretical approaches to emotion, cognitive appraisal models of emotion, the definition and description of fear, activation and causes of fear, indexes and effects of fear on the emoter. The relevant literature presented here forms the foundation upon which we build our analyses of fear metaphors, metonymies and analyses of our selected set of Turkish fear tokens to show both their distinctions and contributions in metaphorical and lexical profiles of the fear event in Turkish.

3.1.1. Emotions

3.1.1.1. Definition and Description of Emotion

We all know that human life is unthinkable without emotions as they often occur as connected to personally significant events (Lazarus, 1991). Even though emotions are central to our lives, nobody has ever managed to make a conclusive definition of emotion. Different fields, approaches and models postulate provisional, working definitions based on the researcher's adopted model of emotion. Rather than definitions, the emotion literature vigorously deals with descriptions of the term. The emotion literature is like a swamp – the deeper you venture to reach for the purpose of getting more insights into its nature, the more you realise you are bogging down in the mire.

Virtually all articles or books on emotion research tend to start, conceding that there is no single, agreed-upon definition of emotion and that their attempt at defining the concept will be a provisional one (Parrot, 2001; Izard, 1977, 2007; Knautz, 2012; Fehr and Russel, 1984; Scherer, 2000, to cite a few). Rather than providing clear-cut definitions, works on emotion focus on describing the fuzzy concept according to the researcher's approach, which also determine their list of distinct emotions and their conceptual contents. As Parrot (2001) states, their analyses are likely to apply social and cultural, cognitive and physiological levels. Researchers profile different aspects in their working definitions on the basis of their research

focus (Knautz, 2012). Below are some definitions and descriptions of the concept by different researchers in the field of emotion.

Parrot (2001) regards emotion as processes that unfold in time, forming an emotional episode with certain components such as an evaluative perception of the emotion inducing situation –appraisal of events or objects- which affect the emoter's concerns, goals or values in two dimensions – positive or negative. The experiencer is subjected to changes in thinking, behaviour, physiology and facial expressions, which also determine their action tendencies. Parrot defines emotion "*as a reaction to personally significant events, where "reaction" is taken to include biological, cognitive and behavioural reactions, as well as subjective feelings of pleasure or displeasure"* (Parrot, 2001:376).

Izard (1977) touches on some incomplete definitions of the concept of emotion, subsequently adding that a complete definition should take into account all of these three aspects or components: *"(a) the experience or conscious feeling of emotion, (b) the processes that occur in the brain and nervous system, and (c) the observable expressive patterns of emotion, particularly those on the face"* (Izard, 1977:4). All these aspects and components reveal that he looks upon the experience of a certain emotion as a transient phenomenon in time with certain intensity. Elsewhere in the same study, he points out that the emotions occur as a result of changes in the nervous system which are caused by either internal or external events.

Scherer (1993), viewing emotions as episodes of coordinated changes in several components, adopts what he calls Component Process Model for the phenomenon of emotion and provides the following definition:

> An episode of temporary synchronisation of all major subsystems of organismic functioning represented by five components (cognition, physiological regulation, motivation, motor expression, and monitoring / feeling) in response to the evaluation of an external or internal stimulus event as relevant to central concerns of the organism. (İbid:4)

In the definition, Scherer emphasizes cognitive processes and looks upon the affective state of an organism as continuously affected by the environment. Cognitive processes of the emoter involve appraisals of external and internal stimuli which determine their significance for him/ her and subsequently the type and intensity of the emotion. According to Scherer, the emergence of an episodic emotional state involves five interdependent stages: Cognitive processes (appraisal of objects or events) → Physical reactions (produced in relevant nervous systems) → Motivational changes (resulting from appraisals, including behaviour intentions) → Facial and vocal expression → Subjectively experienced emotional state.

Kleinginna and Kleinginna (1981), who compiled 92 definitions from a variety of sources in the emotion literature and classified them into an outline of 11 categories, proposed the following working definition for a consensus:

> Emotion is a complex set of interactions among subjective and objective factors, mediated by neural hormonal systems, which can (a) give rise to affective experiences such as feelings of arousal, pleasure/displeasure; (b) generate cognitive processes such as emotionally relevant perceptual effects, appraisals, labelling processes; (c) activate widespread physiological adjustments to the arousing conditions; and (d) lead to behavior that is often, but not always, expressive, goal directed, and adaptive. (İbid:355)

The above definition is a comprehensive blend of psychological, cognitive, physiological and behavioural aspects of emotions. Nevertheless, it was not the ultimate agreed-upon definition. Many more definitions had been made before and have been made since that definition of Kleinginna and Kleinginna.

Russel (1991) and Russel & Barret (1999) have a hierarchical understanding of emotion. At the topmost we see the superordinate term emotion. At the middle level are basic emotions – anger, fear, happiness etc. The middle or basic level categories can be subdivided into subordinate level concepts of affect. For instance, terror, anxiety and panic are subcategories of the basic level emotion of fear (Russel & Barret, 1999:808). Even though middle or basic level emotions (fear, anger, happiness etc.) are prototypical ones, the subcategories of them at the subordinate level (i.e. horror or anxiety for fear) shade into less prototypical emotions or nonemotions (Russel, 1991:38). Naturally, subordinate level categories greatly outnumber basic emotion concepts in the lexicon, which the prototype theory attributes to the need to make fine distinctions for everyday purposes, ranging from showing the intensity of an emotion to its behavioural aspects or stages of cognitive appraisals (Shaver et al 2001:28).

Russel and Barret (1999) introduce the term *core affect* with respect to which they explain distinct emotion episodes. The term refers to "the constant stream of transient alterations in an organism's neurophysiological state that represent its immediate relation to the flow of changing events" (Barret, 2006:21). It is further defined as "a neurophysiological barometer of the individual's relation to an environment at a given point in time" (ibid:22). Understandably, core affect is the affective state of a person, pleasant or unpleasant, which is ever present over time. Izard (2007:270) also makes the same point saying "there is no such thing as an affectless mind; affect or emotion is always present". It ebbs and flows over the course of time. When you ask how someone is feeling right now, they would answer talking about the state of their core affect at that temporal point (Russel and Barret, 1999). Barret (2006) regards one's core affect as the ground and a distinct emotional episode (anger, fear, grief etc.) as the figure and argues that "the experience of emotion will pop out as a separate

event from the ebb and flow in ongoing core affect" (ibid:36). Thus discrete emotions arise from people parsing fluctuations in core affect into meaningful emotional experiences.

Many more definitions and descriptions of the cover term emotion and distinct emotional episodes may be provided if we consider various models and approaches to emotion and emotion concepts by Wierzbicka (1992, 1993, 1999, 2001), Kövecses (1990, 2000, 2010), Lazarus (2003), Ekman (1993) and many others in the field. However, as our study focuses on metaphorical profiles of idioms and lexical profiles of fear type lexical items in Turkish, approaches, models and discussions will be taken into account in the following sections as long as they are relevant to the description and conceptualisation of the emotion fear.

3.1.1.2. Basic Emotions

Emotion literature has various lists of basic or fundamental emotions, the postulation of which is based on the researcher's perspective on emotion. That is, the basis for including any emotion category in their basic emotion lists determines the variety and number of such lists. Because of their non-identical research foci, there is no consensus for the number of so called basic emotions (Knautz, 2012:348). Common to almost all the lists here and elsewhere is the emotion *fear,* on which the present study focuses in terms of lexical and metaphorical profiles of some Turkish fear concepts and idioms.

Izard (2007) gives a rather comprehensive description of basic emotions (of course reflecting his perspective on emotion):

> A basic emotion may be viewed as a set of neural, bodily/expressive, and feeling/motivational components generated rapidly, automatically, and nonconsciously when ongoing affective–cognitive processes interact with the sensing or perception of an ecologically valid stimulus to activate evolutionarily adapted neurobiological and mental processes. (Izard, 2007:261, 262)

Izard (1992) argues that basic emotions have their quality of basicness as a result of corresponding neural substrates, unique and universal facial expressions fired by those old brain mechanisms and unique affective states. On the basis of a biopsychological perspective of hardwiring between innate neural mechanisms and bodily expressions of emotions, Izard (1972) proposes the following set of basic emotions: *anger, contempt, disgust, distress, fear, guilt, interest, joy, shame and surprise*. Izard (2007:261) seems to have revised his list of basic emotions and now provides a shorter list: *interest, joy / happiness, sadness, anger, disgust and fear*. He states that these are natural kinds that have common features such as regulation and motivation of cognition and action.

Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1992) prioritize the functions of emotions in their listing of basic emotions. They contend that basic emotions have no propositional structure or informational function. Rather, they are "a result of coarse cognitive evaluations that elicit internal and external signals and corresponding suites of action plans" (ibid:209). Johnson-Laird and Oatley (1992) propose the following set of basic emotions: *happiness, sadness, anger, fear, disgust and desire*. They view each basic emotion as an innate and universal internal mental signal.

Ekman (1992), who adopts an evolutionary perspective on emotion, advocates that there are universal facial expressions of emotion. During the episodes of basic emotions there occur certain muscular movements over the face, particularly around the mouth, the eyes and forehead muscles which Ekman attributes to discrete emotions. He posits the following set of basic emotions on the basis of universal facial expressions: *anger, disgust, fear, joy, sadness and surprise*.

There are many others who propose their own basic emotion lists. Lewis (2008) states that primary or basic emotions of *joy, surprise, sadness, disgust, anger and fear* emerge in children during the first 8-9 months of their development. Similarly, Plutchik (1980) posits a list of eight basic emotions selected on the basis of their relevance to adaptive biological processes for survival: *acceptance, anger, anticipation, disgust, joy, fear, sadness and surprise*. Tomkins (1984, cited in Ortony et al. 1998:27) takes the density of neural firing in emotion experience as a criterion for his set of basic emotions: *anger, contempt, disgust, fear, joy, shame and surprise.*

Not all emotion researchers accept the notion of basic emotions. For instance, Ortony et al (1988) eschew the notion, rejecting the explanations underlying theorists' selection of some discrete emotions as basic. Listing 14 different basic emotion lists proposed by different researchers, Ortony et al (1988:26) argue that basicness is something controversial because of the "remarkable diversity of claims about which emotions are basic." They seem to be against the idea of listing basic and nonbasic emotions, focusing instead on levels of cognitive differentiation between emotion types.

3.1.2. Theoretical Approaches to Emotion

3.1.2.1. Evolutionary Perspective

Its origins date back to Darwin's 1872 book *The Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals* (Cornelius 2000). Darwin argues that "emotional behaviours or action patterns are adaptive responses to specific events (or elicitors). Thus one might suggest that anger is the result of a blocked goal, sadness the result of loss, and fear the result of uncertainty or loss of

control" (Lewis, 2008:306). As can be seen, the central idea in the evolutionary perspective is that emotions are adaptations for survival (Prinz, 2004). They are evolved phenomena, species-typical responses selected for survival and employed to solve problems that human species have faced (Cornelius, 2000). Evolutionary theorists like Ekman, Izard, Tompkins and Plutchik focus on what they call basic or primary emotions even though their lists of basic emotions vary in number. The basic emotions are considered to be fundamental because they have been survival-motivated responses to events or objects during our evolution history (Cornelius, 2000). What Cornelius (1996) calls the Big Six are *happiness, sadness, fear, disgust, anger* and *surprise,* which represents the universality of Ekman's facial expressions of emotion.

One of the evolutionary theorists, Plutchik (1980) views emotions as derivations of biological adaptive processes. He lists prototypic adaptive patterns and corresponding primary emotions. For instance, during the evolution stages the emotion of fear arises for protection – as a response to pain or threats of pain or harm. Anger serves the survival function of destruction – removal of barriers to satisfaction and so on. He provides eight primary emotions and their adaptive roles as devices for survival at evolutionary levels.

3.1.2.2. The Cognitive Perspective

Cornelius (2000) states that the cognitive perspective is the dominant one among other perspectives or approaches. The central idea of the cognitive theory of emotion is the fact that thought and emotion are inseparable. The cognitive perspective handles all emotions in terms of appraisal of the emotion antecedents or stimuli involved in a situation. The term appraisal is credited with Arnold (1960) and refers to the process by which events are evaluated as good or bad for the emoter. According to Arnold and other appraisal theorists, appraisal patterns are different and specific for each emotion. The process of appraisal makes the emoter conscious of the features of the event or the object stimulus and brings about certain action tendencies to suit those features (Cornelius, 2000, Frijda, 1986). Arnold (1960, cited in Ellsworth and Scherer, 2003:572-573) argues that "organisms constantly evaluate the relevance of environmental changes for their own well-being, checking significant stimuli are present or absent, beneficial or harmful, and easy or difficult to approach or avoid. These appraisals result in action tendencies, which are experienced as emotions."

Arnold describes appraisal as sense judgments which are "direct, immediate, nonreflective, non-intellectual, [and] automatic" (Arnold, 1960:174, cited in Cornelius 2000). The appraisals and continuous re-appraisals are performed whose results "account for qualitative distinctions among relations." (Ellsworth and Scherer, 2003:572). Appraisal reveals the details of the process of perception which causes a certain emotion and relevant

behavioural tendencies. The subjective appraisal or interpretation of an event has a vital role in emotion differentiation (Scherer, 2000). Parrot (2001:382) describes appraisal as "characterized by an assessment of the current situation and its implications for the well-being of oneself and the things that one cares about." Lazarus (1966, cited in Parrot, 2001:382) demonstrated that changes in cognitive appraisal of the same event could lead to differences in the intensity of the same emotion. The same event might also involve different appraisals, thus eliciting different emotions. Seeing a cobra in the wild proves to be pleasant for a wildlife photographer, whereas the same sight probably triggers the emotion of fear for other people. In short, the resulting emotion of the appraisal process depends on subjective interpretation of the event, not on the objective characteristics of the event or stimulus. Individual and cultural differences in terms of goals, values and tastes also lead to different appraisal patterns, hence different affective states (Ellsworth and Scherer, 2003:584).

During the cognitive appraisal process, emotion antecedents are evaluated from the standpoint of a primary set of appraisal components or dimensions – which Scherer (1987) calls *stimulus evaluation checks* – such as novelty, pleasantness, control, certainty, responsibility, attentional activity, anticipated effort etc. (Cornelius, 2000, Smith & Ellsworth, 1985). These components are claimed to underlie particular emotions and used to differentiate emotions. Eminent researchers working on appraisal models of emotion since the mid-eighties include Ellsworth (1991), Frijda (1986), Oatley & Johnson-Laird (1987), Scherer (1984, 1986, 1999, 2000), Smith & Ellsworth (1985), Lazarus (1991) and Ortony, Clore and Collins (1998), whose cognitive approach is called the OCC emotion model.

3.1.2.3. The Social Constructivist Perspective

The proponents of social constructivism do not accept the way evolutionary emotion theorists define emotion. They argue that emotions are products of nurture rather than nature; that is, emotions are socially constructed, not biologically evolved (Prinz, 2004:5). The most notable social constructivist, Averill (1980) thinks that "emotions are not just remnants of our phylogenetic past, nor can they be explained in strictly physiological terms. Rather, they are social constructions and they can be *fully* understood only on a social level of analysis" (Averill, 1980:309, cited in Cornelius, 2000:7). He argues that cognitive appraisals and behavioural scripts involved in emotions are enculturated (Prinz, 2004). About the role of culture in appraisals which lead to the ensuing emotions, Cornelius (2000:7) says:

> Culture, for social constructivists, plays a central role in the organization of emotions at a variety of levels. Most importantly, culture provides the content of the appraisals that generate emotions. While the process of appraisal may be

> a biological adaptation, the content of our appraisals is cultural. Thus, the kinds of things that make people angry differ from culture to culture and from person to person. Culture, in the form of social rules that provide what might be called "scripts" for emotion, also organizes emotions behaviorally. *How* we get angry or fearful is culturally determined. This is why the particulars of anger and fear look different in some cultures.

Mesquita & Ellsworth (2001) have similar suggestions. They confirm that some aspects of emotional experience are idiosyncratic and sound bizarre to people from other cultures. The Westerners' witnessing of the Malaysian emotion called *amok* in the 16th and 17th centuries is a good example for culture specific emotions. When a Malaysian felt *amok,* he or she was observed to be rushing around in a frenzy, attacking anyone in the way uncontrollably. Fascinated by the bizarre sight, the Westerners are said to have incorporated the label *amok* into their languages with the expression "running amok" to refer to a kind of violent frenzy with no previous matches in their lexicons (Mesquita & Ellsworth, 2001:233)

Social constructivists do not fully deny the psychobiological aspects of emotions. Nonetheless, they emphasize the meaning conferred by the sociocultural context. They are "also strongly interested in the emotion lexicon because they consider that the emotion labels available in a language reflect the emotional meaning structures in the respective culture" (Scherer, 2000:149). Baş (2015:33) also makes similar conclusions: "For constructivists, emotions are words, concepts, representations, metaphors, in short social constructions; hence they reject the view that emotions are basically biological occurrences."

3.1.2.4. Hybrid Theories for Integration of Emotion Perspectives

Choosing one perspective or approach over the others seems to be a challenging obstacle for emotion researchers. Prinz (2004:7) suggests that the right way is to avoid making a choice. Ellsworth (1991) seems to reconcile evolutionary and social constructivist perspectives; Izard (cited in Cornelius, 2000:8) is claimed to combine evolutionary and cognitive perspectives; Prinz (2004:8) mentions that Oatley and Johnson-Laird's 1987 model carries aspects of all the three main emotion perspectives and so on. Convergence of the perspectives seems to be the rational choice to better explain different aspects of the same emotion type and interpret labels in a language to conceptualise emotions.

Because the lexical profiles of Turkish fear tokens we focus on also include their distinctive cognitive appraisal patterns as a parameter of their extensive profile, we now provide exhaustive information about cognitive appraisal models below.

3.1.2.5. Two Cognitive Appraisal Models about Emotions

Ellsworth and Scherer (2003) argue that emotions arise from people's appraisal of perceptions of their circumstances – immediate, imagined, or remembered (2003:572). There are various models that describe the process of cognitive appraisal of the stimulus to determine differences in discrete emotion episodes (Scherer, 1984, 1999; Frijda, 1986; Smith & Ellsworth, 1985; Roseman, 1984 and Ortony et al, 1988), but we include the models of Scherer and Ortony et al. in this section.

3.1.2.5.1 Cognitive Appraisal Model of Klaus R. Scherer

According to Scherer (1999:637), "a central tenet of appraisal theory is the claim that emotions are elicited and differentiated on the basis of a person's subjective evaluation or appraisal of the personal significance of a situation, object, or event on a number of dimensions or criteria." Subjective evaluation is a key concept in the appraisal process because the evaluation of the stimulus one way or another depends on the emoter's perceived goals, values and coping potential. Thus similar events or situations can evoke rather disparate emotions or affective states in different individuals (Scherer, 1999:653). Roseman (1984:14) also suggests that "the same event arouses differing emotions in different individuals and in the same individual at different times."

Scherer (1984, 1999, 2001) describes a specific emotion-antecedent appraisal process developed by himself. His process of appraisal of emotion eliciting stimuli is what he calls a sequence of *stimulus evaluation checks* (SEC). The process "consists of a very rapidly occurring sequence of hierarchically organized stimulus processing steps" (Scherer, 1984:306). He stresses the sequence of SECs as "minimally necessary for adequately evaluating or appraising emotion producing stimuli" (ibid:306). The stimuli range from external events to one's own behaviour, even their memories. Scherer's *stimulus evaluation checks* (SECs) help to determine appraisal profiles for different emotions. Ellsworth and Scherer (2003:573) list the commonly suggested dimensions of the stimulus appraised during the process: "novelty, intrinsic pleasantness, certainty or predictability, goal significance, agency, coping potential, and compatibility with social or personal standards." Below is the hierarchical process of appraising the emotion relevant stimuli. The process and explanatory notes are provided by Scherer (1984, 1999, 2001) and Ellsworth and Scherer (2003).

Novelty / Unexpectedness. The first SEC is to evaluate the stimulus / the situation in terms of its *novelty / unexpectedness*. Scherer (1984:306) says that "a startle reaction to a sudden loud noise may be the immediate result of such a very basic check". Ellsworth and

Scherer (2003) argue that because our environments are not stable and changes may involve dangers, we have to be sensitive to novelty. The detection of familiarity or novelty is carried out by the presence of relevant schemata. Novel events can suggest unusual threats or chances for our goals. Thus novelty detection can be regarded as a gateway to the emotion system. A sudden detention of a novel event or object is supposed to activate the startle reflex that might be followed by fear.

Intrinsic pleasantness / unpleasantness. The second SEC is the appraisal of the *intrinsic pleasantness / unpleasantness* of a stimulus. As a result of this evaluation, the organism would experience pleasure or distress. Whether the stimulus is inherently pleasant or unpleasant is checked at this moment, without considering its pleasantness for one's goals or needs at the moment. Ellsworth and Scherer (2003:577) suggest that "the sense of intrinsic pleasantness or valence determines the fundamental reaction or response of the organism – liking or attraction, which encourages approach, versus dislike or aversion, which leads to withdrawal or avoidance." Detection of pain or danger involved leads the organism to feel fearful.

Goal / need conduciveness. The third SEC consists of the evaluation of the *goal / need conduciveness* of the stimulus. It is "the appraisal of the extent to which the introduction of that particular stimulus or event will advance or hinder the attainment of a specific goal, or the satisfaction of a need, high in priority for the organism at that particular time" (Scherer, 1984:307). If this evaluation check gives negative results for the organism's goal or need, the ensuing emotion will be fear or anger. This dimension of appraisal occupies a central position among others (Ellsworth and Scherer, 2003). The outcome of this check is directly related to the organism's satisfaction of its needs and attainment of its goals. Goal/need refers to any desirable state the organism is motivated to attain, not necessarily the existence of conscious goal / plan structures (Scherer, 2001:119). Is the new event or object conducive or obstructive to the organism's goal or need? If it is obstructive, fear or anger will arise.

Coping potential. The fourth SEC is carried out to determine the *coping potential* of the organism – how it can cope with the outcome of an event or its consequences. Scherer (2001:97) mentions three subchecks: 1) the control check, 3) the power check and 3) the adjustment check. *Control* is a dimension about to what extent an event or its outcome can be controlled or influenced. The direction of a car can be controlled but the weather or the incidence of a terminal illness cannot be controlled (Scherer, 2001). *Power* check is done if *control* (of the stimulus) is possible. While anger represents high power outcomes, fear represents low power outcomes in terms of coping potential checks. For unpleasant stimuli, the organism assesses its ability to cope with the threatening situation, checks the sources at its disposal. Flight or fight depends on the outcome of this check. If you are unable to escape from a

danger, then the level of fear rises. Depending on the type of stimulus, sources of coping involve diverse ones such as "physical strength, money, knowledge, or social attractiveness" (Ellsworth and Scherer, 2003:580). Any imbalance between the emoter's own power and the agent's perceived power will lead to anger or fear, hence action tendencies of fight or flight. *Adjustment* check is to see "how well one can adjust to the consequences of an event if the *control* and *power* checks yield the conclusion that it is not within one's power to change the outcomes" (Scherer, 2001:98).

Norm / self-compatibility. The fifth SEC is the *norm / self-compatibility* check, which "consists of a comparison of stimuli, particularly one's own actions or the actions of others and their results, with external and internal standards such as social norms and various aspects of the real or ideal self-concept" (Scherer, 1984:308). Checking compatibility with social norms (deservedness, justice, legitimacy) is a central element in socialisation and the maintenance of social order. Determining any incompatibility with the social norms or one's self-concept at this stage may result in the emotions embarrassment, shame or guilt. The emoter also needs to evaluate their position or behaviour with reference to "the self-ideal, one's salient social identity or self-concept" (Ellsworth and Scherer, 2003:581). Assessing one's position against others may result in guilt feelings, contempt or pride.

Although the term cognitive appraisal connotes something conscious, the steps above are claimed to be performed automatically and unconsciously. Scherer (1984:308) argues that not all these five SECs are carried out during the appraisal process for every discrete emotion. In contrast, even though appraisals occur sequentially, "the nature of the emotional experience changes each time a new appraisal is added" (Ellsworth and Scherer, 2003:574): that is, different emotions can sometimes be evoked following each check. One reason why we have different linguistic labels for affective states is that the outcome of each SEC can be associated with a disparate emotion. If the stimulus is evaluated to be novel or unexpected, the relevant emotion will be surprise or startle. However, the subsequent SECs determine whether the surprise is negative or positive in terms of the stimulus' pleasantness or goal relevance. If any unexpected hindrance for our goal or need is detected, the previous affective state will be replaced by anger.

Not all the five stimulus evaluation checks mentioned above are performed for all emotion types. What different outcomes and which evaluation checks are involved in the appraisal process help to differentiate emotions from each other. Scherer (2001:94) organizes the nature of stimulus of evaluation checks under four appraisal objectives: 1) Relevance 2) Implications 3) Coping potential 4) Normative significance. The following table on the next page displays the predicted appraisal profile for fear (adapted from Scherer, 2001:115):

Table 1. Predicted appraisal profile for fear

Stimulus Evaluation Checks (SECs)	**Fear**
RELEVANCE	
• Novelty	
Suddenness	high
Familiarity	low
Predictability	low
• Intrinsic pleasantness	low
• Goal/need relevance	high
IMPLICATIONS	
• Cause: agent	other/nature
• Cause: motive	open
• Outcome probability	high
• Discrepancy from expectation	dissonant
• Conduciveness	obstruct
• Urgency	very high
COPING POTENTIAL	
• Control	open
• Power	very low
• Adjustment	low
NORMATIVE SIGNIFICANCE	
• External	open
• Internal	open

The evaluation "open" means that different appraisal results are compatible with the emotion in terms of that stimulus check or the check is irrelevant for that emotion compared to other emotions for which the same criteria of cognitive appraisal checks above are applied.

3.1.2.5.2 Cognitive Appraisal Model of Ortony et al.

The psycho-cognitive model of emotions developed by Ortony, Clore and Collins (1988), whose initials give the model its name – the OCC model– focuses on the cognitive antecedents of emotions since their appraisal plays a vital part in the whole experience of emotion (ibid:172). Ortony et al. argue that their major goals in the OCC model are "to group emotions types together in spaces in terms of similarities and differences in their eliciting conditions, and to specify the variables that govern the intensity of each emotion type" (ibid:192). They also aim to present an approach which explains how people's construal of the world leads them to experience certain emotions (ibid:12). Thus they define emotion as "valenced reactions to events, agents, or objects, with their particular nature being determined by the way in which the eliciting situation is construed" (ibid:13). This suggests for our case that even if something is intrinsically good, it might cause fear with various intensities if it is obstructive for our goals or needs.

Ortony et al. argue that overall structure of emotions corresponds to three ways of our reacting to the world. That is, our valenced reaction to 1) consequences of events, 2) actions of agents and 3) aspects of objects. There are three central variables which determine the intensity of the emotion types: *desirability* for event based emotions; *praiseworthiness* for 'actions-of-agents' emotion type; and *appealingness* for 'reactions-to-objects' emotions.

Whether an event has desirable or undesirable aspects depends on the subjective importance or salience of the event for one's goals or needs (Ortony et al. 1988:51). The intensity of the physiological arousal of the event is determined by the salience of the event understood through the appraisal process. "Positive Event-based emotions (happiness, joy, hope, relief, satisfaction) increase in intensity as the positive component of desirability increases, while negative Event-based emotions (distress, fear, pity, resentment) increase in intensity with increases in the value of the negative component of the desirability variable – that is, with increases in undesirability" (ibid:51).

Ortony et al. mention global variables and local variables that affect the intensity of emotions. The global variables are 1) *sense of reality*, which concerns "the degree to which the event, agent or object that underlies the affective reaction seems real to the person experiencing the emotion" (ibid.:60); 2) *proximity* variable, which refers to the psychological proximity of the event, agent or object; and 3) *unexpectedness*, which evaluates if the situation is novel or not. Ortony et al. also add "the effects of the existing level of *arousal* on the intensity of emotions" (ibid:60). As for the local variables, they state that these influence only particular emotions. For example, the Prospect-based emotions like hope and *fear* involve the local variable of *likelihood* and some others involve the variable of *effort*. The more likely you feel it is for a mugger in the street to mug you, the more intense your fear is (ibid:70). Similarly, the harder you try to achieve something before you fail, the greater the subsequent disappointment is. Your disappointment will be stronger if the effort is unsuccessful. Another local variable is *realization*. It refers to the degree to which the desired or undesired event is realised. "If the degree of realization is high the related positive emotions will be more intense and any related negative ones less intense" (ibid:74). Ortony et al. mention other local variables like desirability-for-other, liking, deservingness and so on.

The concept *fear (*Turkish*, korku)*, some selected tokens of which will be our focus of interest in the present study, is classified by Ortony et al. as *Prospect-based emotions*. They place *fear* in this category of emotions and provide the following table according to their appraisal process (ibid:110):

Table 2. Prospect-based emotions

	APPRAISAL OF PROSPECTIVE EVENT	
STATUS OF EVENT	DESIRABLE	UNDESIRABLE
UCONFIRMED	Pleased about the prospect of a desirable event (e.g., hope)	Displeased about the prospect of an undesirable event (e.g., **fear**)
CONFIRMED	Pleased about the confirmation of the prospect of a desirable event (e.g., satisfaction)	Displeased about the confirmation of the prospect of an undesirable event (e.g., **fears-confirmed**)
DISCONFIRMED	Displeased about the disconfirmation of the prospect of a desirable event (e.g., disappointment)	Pleased about the disconfirmation of the prospect of an undesirable event (e.g., relief)

The Prospect-based emotions are typically reactions to the prospect of an event or reflect one's reaction to its confirmation or disconfirmation. In both cases, the relevant reaction might be BEING PLEASED or DISPLEASED about it (ibid:109). If the prospective event is desirable, we have hope; *if the anticipated event is undesirable, we feel fear*. Satisfaction ensues if the desirable event is confirmed (realised), whereas what Ortony et al. call "fears-confirmed" is the kind of emotion felt if an undesirable event is confirmed. The special affective state in this case corresponds to the Turkish idiomatic expression "*korktuğu başına gelmek*" (literally, *of what one fears to come to their head*). The idiom's actual meaning is *of what one anticipates in fear, to realize or to actually befall them*. Ortony et al. state that there is no linguistic label to describe the emotional state of "fears-confirmed". According to the table above, if a desirable event is disconfirmed, hope is replaced by disappointment. Likewise, if an undesirable event is not actualized, *fear* is replaced by relief.

Ortony et al. use cognitive structural frames to specify 22 emotion types in their book *The Cognitive Structure of Emotions*. Each emotion specification consists of five major parts (ibid:87). The first part in the frame is the emotion *type identification*, which symbolizes a family of emotional states with the prototypical superordinate term in the title (e.g. JOY EMOTIONS). The second component is the *type specification*, which reflects an approximate specification of the necessary conditions for that emotion to be experienced (e.g. pleased about a desirable event). Then we see the title *tokens* –a partial list of tokens available in the language about the emotion. The fourth component is *variables affecting intensity*. Under this title we see major local variables that affect the intensity of the emotion type in question. The fifth component is a prototypical *example* about the emotion. (i.e. a linguistic example that has one of the emotion tokens used in a sentence). Thus the emotion specification for JOY looks like the following (ibid: 86,87):

JOY EMOTIONS (Type identification)

TYPE SPECIFICATION: (pleased about) a desirable event

TOKENS: contended, cheerful, delighted, ecstatic, elated, euphoric, feeling good, glad, happy, joyful, jubilant, pleasantly surprised, pleased, etc.

VARIABLES AFFECTING INTENSITY:

(1) the degree to which the event is desirable

EXAMPLE: The man was pleased when he realized he was to get a small inheritance from an unknown distant relative.

In the book 22 different emotions are specified in this way. Their specification of FEAR EMOTIONS and relevant comments will be included in the next section about fear.

3.1.3. Linguistic Expression of Emotions

3.1.3.1. Lexical Representation of Emotions

The linguistic expression of emotion consists of the expressive and descriptive words in the affective lexicon and figurative expressions – especially metaphorically/metonymically motivated idioms. Kövecses (1995) and Kövecses and Palmer (1999) divide emotion words into two: *expressive* and *descriptive* words. Pure articulation of *expressive* words directly refers to the speaker's emotional experience at the time of speaking. For instance, *yuk* when one is disgusted, *shit*! when angry and *wow*! when enthusiastic, are all expressive emotion-related vocabulary items. What Kövecses means by *descriptive* lexical items are words that "describe (or name) the emotions "they are about"" (Kövecses, 1995:3), such as anger, joy, fear, sadness, etc.

In some cases, a descriptive affective item can both describe and express emotion. When you say "I love you", you actually perform two speech acts at the same time – assertive (descriptive) and expressive speech acts (Kövecses and Palmer, 1999:239).

Some of the descriptive items in the emotion lexicon are more basic than others. Basic emotion concepts like anger, fear, sadness, joy and love occupy the middle level in the emotion hierarchy. At the subordinate level we find subcategories (or hyponyms) of basic level emotions like *annoyance* under *anger* and *worry* or *horror* under *fear*. The subcategories of emotions range from kinds of the relevant emotion to nonemotions, vague but related to the concerned emotion. Subordinate level emotion words denote certain aspects of basic level emotion experience such as cognitive, behavioural, physiological and intensity aspects (i.e. horror – most intensive kind of fear; cower – behavioural response in sudden fear activation; worry – cognitive aspect of fear, etc.)

3.1.3.2. Figurative Expression of Emotion

Apart from lexical items that encode the semantic content of emotions, we have metaphors and metonymies which conceptualise emotional experience figuratively. Figurative expressions do not directly name emotions, but denote such aspects as intensity, cause and control of the emotional event or state. For example, emotion-related idioms rest upon metaphorical conceptualisations of certain aspects of emotions. Primary emotions like anger and fear have many physiological and behavioural effects on the emoter which are often figuratively exploited to express the intensity involved. Besnier (1990:423) states that "in many cultures, talk *about* emotional processes is replete with metaphors." He also adds that many speech communities tend to use somatic metaphors. Turkish idioms involving fear, as we shall see in our analysis of fear-related Turkish idioms, are considerable examples of somatic conceptualisation of the fear event. Obviously, this is a common feature of all emotion metaphors across cultures. Apresjan (1997) argues that emotion metaphors share the same basic structure. "They liken a certain psychological state (feeling) to certain physiological state (sensation) or to another material phenomenon" (ibid:180). Physiological effects of emotions as source domains, which are used to conceptualise certain aspects of the experienced emotion, tend to be uncontrollable, visible or perceptible to an observer, and specific to a given emotion (we *shake* with *fear*, *blush* with *shame* and *weep* with *joy* etc.). Those different aspects are expected to be instantiated with distinct metaphorical and metonymic expressions.

Kövecses (1999:240) mentions *boiling with anger* as a linguistic manifestation of the underlying conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID. As an example of conceptual metonymy for emotions, he mentions *having cold feet* for *fear*. These figurative uses are somatic conceptualisation of the intensity and physiological effects of the relevant emotion experience.

3.1.4. The Emotion of Fear

Like the concept of emotion itself, fear has several definitions depending on the theorist's approach to the notion. Izard (1977), who wrote quite an exhaustive article about fear and forms of anxiety, introduces the notion as follows:

> Fear affects every human being, and at one time or another it leaves its mark on each of us. It locks into our minds experiences that we can often easily recall and that sometimes erupt into consciousness through our dreams. Fear is the most toxic of all the emotions. Intense fear can even kill: Animals, including human beings, are sometimes literally frightened to death. (Izard, 1977:355)

The Turkish Language Association (TDK) defines *korku* (fear) as "apprehension and distress experienced because of a danger or prospect of danger" (www.tdk.gov.tr). According to

Witte et al. (2001:20), fear can be defined as "an internal emotional reaction composed of psychological and physiological dimensions that may be aroused when a serious and personally relevant threat is perceived." Adolphs (2013), who mentions a functional concept of fear, defines fear as an emotion "caused by particular patterns of threat-related stimuli, and in turn causing particular patterns of adaptive behaviour to avoid or cope with that threat" (Adolph,2013:80). The content of the definition of fear varies depending on the emotion theory (motivational, neurofunctional, evolutionary, basic emotion, modular, dimensional, etc.)

Ortony and Turner (1990) state that there are various kinds of fear with each having differing componential structures. One kind is the *basic acute sudden fear* that results from encountering an imminently life-threatening object like meeting a bear in the woods. Such a case of acute fear would reflect the indexes of "open mouth, raised eyebrows, widely opened eyes and a staring expression" (ibid:327). Ortony and Turner claim that many of these components are also observed in surprise and situations of visual vigilance about the environment. Then these two components combine with distress to produce the emotion of fear. The behavioural reaction might be fleeing away from the threatening stimuli. Another kind of fear is a type from which one cannot escape and the component of surprise is absent. That is the kind of fear that you feel which results from the thought that you might have cancer, for example. This is also quite a distressful affective state with elements partially overlapping with the first variety of fear. In either type of fear, the emoter's appraisal and coping potential determines the intensity of the emotion. Still another variety of fear has a rare component of *uncanny feelings* "manifested by such responses as goosebumps, raising of the hair, shivering, "crawling skin", and the like" (Levy 1984, cited in Ortony and Turner, 1990:327). Such fear states occur as a reaction to supernatural events, rather weird sights or sounds. Ortony and Turner argue that "even natural events can elicit this reaction, as when one hears inexplicable noises in one's otherwise quiet home late at night" (ibid:327). Here the subjective appraisal of the situation as eerie or weirdly fearful causes uncanny fear.

Combining the psychology, neurology and sociology of emotions, Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal (2006) point out that "fear, as primary emotion, is grounded in the experienced present and based on the memorized past, processed both consciously and unconsciously, causes freezing and conservatism, and sometimes leads to pre-emptive aggression" (ibid:367). These researchers also describe two varieties of fear. The first kind is *primary fear*, which emerges automatically and unconsciously as a reaction to a sudden imminent threat to the self. LeDoux (1995,1996, cited in Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal, 2006:367) argues that such fears happen through a short neural connection between the thalamus and amygdala in the brain without cortical (conscious evaluation) inference. The second type of fear can be included in what Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal call secondary emotion. Fear as a secondary emotion is aroused through a

conscious appraisal of the situation. It involves various cognitive activities such as recalling, analysing, interpreting, evaluating, planning etc. This kind of fear involves the combination of the thalamus and amygdala with the cortex, in which conscious cognitive interpretations take place. As we shall see, the OCC model of fear suggests this kind of fear in specifying its cognitive structure.

In conclusion, the first type of fear, *primary fear*, has a fast stimulus-reaction relation characterised by spontaneous, automatic and unconscious arousal. It refers to a sudden activation of the fear module phylogenetically evolved with biologically encoded cognitive and affective imprints. It leads to adaptive responses of flight or fight. The sight of a snake in a drawer you have pulled open is highly likely to activate such a kind of fear. The second variety of fear is non-imminent enough to allow for conscious cognitive appraisal of the object or situation in terms of its imminence, novelty, undesirability, force etc. In the case of a *potential/prospective threat* of danger, harm or pain, as in the example of fearing that one might have cancer (above), one begins to feel the effects of such a *secondary fear*. Paul Ekman (2003, cited in Goleman et al. 2003:137) also accepts this distinction between fear experiences. Negative expectations about a cancer test trigger fears whenever your mind thinks about the consequences of the test or anticipation of having cancer. He concedes that this fear is different from spontaneous primary acute fear events.

3.1.4.1. Various Models and Descriptions of a Fear Event

Russel and Barret (1999) use the term prototypical emotion episodes to describe the clearest cases of emotions. They argue that the prototypical episode of fear – a typical primary emotion of experience of fear – "consists of a dangerous situation, a recognition of that danger, feelings of displeasure and arousal, flight, facial and vocal cues, the self-perception of oneself as afraid, and the various physiological happenings that accompany each of these" (ibid:816). This sequence represents an acute fear episode that unfolds in the present time in the face of a danger or threat for the experiencer. The sequence also reflects the general assumption that emotions should be regarded chiefly as mediating between perception and action (Hobbs and Gordon, 2011)

According to the evolutionary theorist Plutchik (1980, cited in Knautz, 2012:353), the fear event emerges and develops through the following reaction sequence:

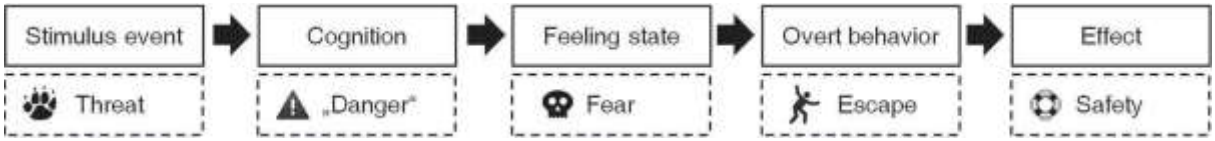

Figure 2. Sequential reactions for fear (adapted from Plutchik 1980)

Knautz (2012) describes the chain reactions for the fear event in the above figure with the following explications:

> The reaction sequence starts with a perceived stimulus which causes a threat, e.g. the emergence of a bear in a forest. The cognitive assessment of this event comes to the conclusion that a threat emanates from this animal and, through physiological reactions (increased autonomic activity), leads to the emotional state of "fear". The next step in Plutchik's sequential model is the activation of an action impulse, like escaping from the bear. This observable behaviour has the biological function of protection against threats. (Knautz, 2012:353).

The sequence is rather fast, spontaneous and automatic, which does not allow for a long time of conscious cognitive appraisals of the features of the threat as it is not a novel thing. Bears pose a biologically encoded threat for people. Furthermore, it is an ontogenetically acquired type of fear – humans are taught to fear this animal during their lifetime.

Öhman and Mineka (2001) contend that humans have an evolved fear module controlled by a special neural circuitry shaped by evolution. The module's ancient origin and location in the brain enables it to get activated automatically in case of primary fear situations and the fast process is relatively impenetrable to cognition (ibid:486). Such fear events are triggered by biologically fear-relevant stimuli such as snakes, spiders, and angry faces (ibid:504,505). Öhman and Mineka agree with LeDoux (1996:483,515) that "once activated, fear runs its course, with limited possibilities for cognitive interventions. They propose four characteristics for what they call "evolved module for fear elicitation":

1) The fear module is preferentially activated in aversive contexts by stimuli that are fear relevant in an evolutionary perspective. Fear relevant stimuli are easily recognised by the module as related to recurring survival threats during the evolution of mammals.
2) Its activation by fear relevant stimuli is automatic with no need for conscious access of the stimulus before a response is elicited.
3) It is relatively impenetrable to cognitive control, thus being encapsulated. If an effective stimulus triggers fear, it runs its course and is uncontrollable with any cognitive means.
4) It reflects the operation of dedicated neural circuitry for fear evocation and fear conditioning, centered in the amygdala of the brain.

These remind us of Darwin's evolution-based explanation of why humans jump back rapidly when a snake strikes at them. He suggests that such reflexes had been entrenched in their brains long ago. It was acquired, repeated and passed on by our ancestors who managed to save themselves from snake strikes. The snake-escape reactions that we have now are the result of having been "programmed by our ancestors' genes into our nervous systems" (Oatley, 2004: 22). To sum up, an organism's ontogenetic (i.e. during the lifetime of a particular member of a species) experiences of similar fearful situations contribute to its phylogenetical development of

a fear evocation and adaptive system which is automatically activated in the presence of fear stimuli in its environment.

Oatley (2004) considers the emergence of emotions in humans as a way of solving certain kinds of problems during the evolutionary adaptation process. Recurrent direct and vicarious experiences of threatening situations led to psychosomatic reactions biologically encoded in the nervous system and thus we now have the emotion module of fear with its relevant stimuli, bodily reactions and action tendencies. Oatley provides the following schema of a fear episode when a human being is confronted with a threat:

> Consider threats. When a threat occurs, a suite from our repertoire is selected. In fear, the mind becomes, as it were, specialized to deal with just this kind of event [cf. Oatley & Johnson-Laird, 1987]. Here is part of the fear suite, brought into readiness when a threat is detected or expected. Stop what you're doing. Freeze. Check what you've just done. Concentrate on the threat, exclude all other issues. Scan the environment for potential information about the threat. Make expressions of social deference. Signal the presence of danger by making alarm calls to others. Prepare to escape. Prepare to fight. Not all these may occur in any one episode, but mind and body are prepared without deliberation by bringing into readiness this suite of potential actions. Consciously the mental tone of this preparedness is fear, or the sustained mood of anxiety. (Oatley, 2004:28)

The schema above reflects the aspects of a primary fear episode: threat, cognitive appraisal, bodily reactions, over-vigilance, action tendencies and so on. All these are considered to be the automatic activation of a phylogenetically constructed fear suite.

Wierzbicka (1992) uses what she calls Natural Semantic Metalanguage to describe the schema of the fear event. Although she aims to describe the semantic content of the emotion by using universal semantic primitives, we include here her schema of the fear prototype based on the English culture (1992:553):

Table 3. Wierzbicka's schema of the fear prototype (1992)

X is *frightened*
X thinks something like this:
something bad can happen
I don't want this
because of this, I would want to do something
I don't know what I can do
because of this, x feels something bad

The above scene of a person who is frightened as described by Wierzbicka reflects the signs of cognitive appraisal theory and cognitive approach to emotions in the OCC model (Ortony et al. 1988). "X *thinks* something like this" corresponds to the appraisal theorists' idea that thought and emotion are inseparable (Cornelius, 1996, 2000; Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003 and Lazarus, 2003 etc). "Something bad can happen" is a description which regards fearing as a prospect-based emotion (Ortony et al. 1998) and the emoter appraises the current situation as undesirable for his / her wellbeing (Parrot, 2001). "I don't want this" also reflects the desirability / undesirability dimension of cognitive appraisals and suggests cognitive fear structure in the OCC model. The next lines "because of this, I would want to do something" and "I don't know what I can do" in the description above reflect action tendencies of the emoter who is hesitant about whether to escape or fight. The lines are also suggestive of freezing reaction in Oatley's fear scenario (2004:28). The last line "because of this, x feels something bad" suggests that all the necessary and sufficient conditions in the other lines above it cause the experiencer to feel a special mixture of distress, desperation, anxiety, and panic, which make up "being frightened" or "fearing."

The OCC model of fear emotions. The model developed by Ortony, Clore and Collins (1988) provides a well-specified cognitive structure of 22 emotions including fear. *OCC* is an abbreviation formed by the initial letters of the authors' last names – Ortony, Clore, and Collins. The OCC model presents the cognitive structure of emotions through appraisal dimensions based on the notions of *consequence of event, action of agent* and *aspect of object*. Steunebrink (2010:20) uses the following table to show the kinds of aspects of a situation that can be appraised on the basis of the OCC model:

Type of percept	*Evaluated against*	*Central variable (positive / negative)*
Consequence of event	Goals	Desirability / Undesirability
Action of agent	Standards	Praiseworthiness / Blameworthiness
Aspect of object	Attitudes	Appealingness / Unappealingness

Figure 3. The kinds of aspects of a situation that can be appraised according to the OCC model

Ortony et al. (1988) classify fear as a prospect based emotion. In their presentation of emotion specifications, each emotion type represents a family of emotional states expressed by a list of related tokens. Ortony et al. (1988:112) present the following specification schema for "fear emotions":

Table 4. The schema for fear emotions according to Ortony et al. (1988:112)

FEAR EMOTIONS
TYPE SPECIFICATION: (displeased about) the prospect of an undesirable event TOKENS: apprehensive, anxious, cowering, dread, fear, fright, nervous, petrified, scared, terrified, timid, worried, etc. VARIABLES AFFECTING INTENSITY: (1) The degree to which the event is undesirable (2) The likelihood of the event EXAMPLE: The employee, suspecting he was no longer needed, feared that he would be fired.

In the model above, the type label (FEAR EMOTIONS) includes 'fear' as a generic label or superordinate term that represents the other tokens in the TOKENS component. The other tokens in the family are kinds of fear with different connotations or intensities. TYPE SPECIFICATION in the model provides the eliciting conditions of the experience of fear (Steunebrink, 2010:21) "Displeased about the prospect of an undesirable event" represents an affective state labelled as fear or other fear related tokens.

The section TOKENS in the model provides a list of fear related emotion words. The tokens included in the fear family show that each member profiles different construals in terms of intensity of displeasure, proximity of the threatening event, cognitive, physical, and behavioural aspects. For example, low intensity of BEING DISPLEASED may be expressed by 'apprehension'; moderately strong intensity suggests the emotion labels 'fear' or 'fright'; and if the intensity is too high, we have the labels 'dread' or 'terror'. For too low intensities, a cognitive state like 'concern' rather than an emotional state is appropriate for description (Ortoney et al. 1988:111). About why there are so many fear-relevant tokens, Ortony et al. provide the following considerations:

> In addition to intensity, members of cell families sometimes differ in other respects. For example, one of the ways in which individual tokens of Fear emotions (DISPLEASED ABOUT THE PROSPECT OF AN UNDESIRABLE EVENT) differ from one another is that some forms relate to a specific object (e.g., being scared) and other to more diffuse causes (e.g, being anxious). Another dimension along which they vary is the subjective proximity of the event being considered. We tend to use words like "fear" and "fright" to refer to relatively imminent situations, particularly when they might threaten bodily harm, whereas we use terms like "worry" and "apprehension" with respect to more remote and possibly less serious threats. In addition, the language provides lexical items that seem to refer to different referential components (see Ortoney, Clore & Floss, 1987) of the same emotion type. For example, in the context of fear, there are words such as "worry" that highlight *cognitive* aspects

> of fear, words like "jittery" that seem to focus on *physical* aspects, and words like "cowering" that emphasizes *behavioral* factors (ibid:111-112).

The inclusion of 'worry', 'anxious', 'apprehensive' and 'concern' in the fear family of tokens suggests that Ortony et al. think like Lazarus (1991:235), who states that "not all psychologists make a distinction between fear and anxiety". Adolph (2013:81) looks upon anxiety, fear and panic as three varieties of fear. He thinks that they "can all be mapped onto a continuum of threat imminence (respectively from more distal to more proximal)". Yıldız (2015: 74, 75) mentions Freud's approach to the issue. He explains that what Freud labels as 'rational anxiety' corresponds to fear in the presence of a threatening event or object. Feeling anxious without any clear threat or object can be labelled as neurotic (or clinical) anxiety. We shall not discuss the finely-grained differences between fear and anxiety as our focus of study is on a selected list of Turkish lexical items which express fear, but do not directly denote anxiety. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that fear is the dominant constituent in anxiety as well (Öhman, 2008; Manav, 2011).

The next section in the OCC model of fear above is VARIABLES AFFECTING INTENSITY. Two variables are given –the degree of undesirability of the event and the likelihood of the threatening event. These are local variables specific to fear emotions. As can be guessed, "high undesirability and high likelihood are likely to result in a high intensity fear" (Steunebrink, 2010:21). Hobbs and Gordon (2011:6) say that "normally the more salient the stimulus, the more intense the emotion, and the more intense the emotion, the more extreme the response."

The last component of the model is EXAMPLE. A sentence is provided to exemplify a situation in which (a type of) fear is elicited (e.g. The employee, suspecting he was no longer needed, feared that he would be fired). This example given about fear shows how vague the label fear is. It has no signs of the primary fear situations which reflect an acute, sudden, automatic and intense fear emotion experienced in the face of a snake strike or a gun directed at you. For such intense primary fear situations, Lazarus (1991) prefers the term 'fright', saying that 'fear' is vague.

Finally, Kövecses' metaphorical understanding of emotions will show us how fear emotions are conceptualised metaphorically. Conceptual metaphors that motivate the use of certain linguistic metaphors about the experience of fear are one of the main focuses of the present dissertation and will be rigorously discussed in the section cognitive conceptualisation of fear, including metonymies and metaphors concerned.

3.1.4.2. Activation of Fear

Izard (1977) states that "fear is a density-increase emotion: it is activated by a rather rapid increase in the density of neural firing" (Izard, 1977:356). He mentions three density-increase emotions: startle, fear and interest. "The most sudden and sharpest increases in density of neural firing activate startle. The next sharpest increases activate fear" (ibid:356). He also argues that fear activation also involves the selective activity of related receptor organs. The amygdala part of the brain is especially regarded as having a key role in activating and processing fear (Barret and Wager, 2006). However, specific neural correlates or brain markers for each emotion like fear and fear-amygdala correspondence still need to be investigated for proof (Barret and Wager, 2006:82). Detailed information about neural circuitry and interactions among the amygdala, thalamus, and cortex in fear events can be found in LeDoux (1995, 2000) and Adolphs (2013).

3.1.4.3. The Causes of Fear

Internal and external events, conditions, situations, objects or cognitively constructed objects may trigger the emotion of fear. The elicitation of fear is said to be influenced by the context, differences in individuals' predisposition and experience (Izard, 1977). Izard divides causes of fear into four classes: (a) environmental events or processes, (b) drives, (c) emotions, and (d) cognitive processes – thinking, remembering, imaging. Causes within each of these classes may be primarily innate [evolutionary genetic tendency] or primarily learned [developmental and socio-cultural processes]." (ibid:357)

For environmental events that trigger fear, Izard mentions natural and cultural clues for fear. Natural clues include "being alone, strangeness, sudden approach, sudden change of stimuli, height and pain" (ibid:358). As Bowlby (1973:84) says, these are natural conditions that can be easily associated with high risks of danger. Izard (1977) refers to darkness, animals, strange objects and strange persons as derivatives of natural fear releasers. For example, fear of darkness may result from combining being alone and strangeness (ibid:358). As for cultural clues for fear, they develop through observation and learning. Many cultural clues for fear are closely related to natural clues. Sociocultural fear clues may as well be "natural clues disguised by some form of misattribution, rationalisation or projection. Fear of imaginary monsters, burglars, or ghosts, for example, may be a rationalization of the fear of darkness" (ibid:359). Izard further claims that "socioculturally based fears can be learned through the process of traumatic conditioning or vicariously through a parent, adult, or sibling who serves as a fearful model" (ibid:383). In a sense, our family members or others in our life teach us what we are

supposed to fear. As one grows up, one learns which objects or events pose physical or psychological threats. That reminds us of a social constructionist approach to emotion.

Drive states like pain and other emotions which are contiguous to fear also instigate it. The activation of startle, excitement, surprise and interest has similarities at the neurophysical level, which makes them conducive to the experience of fear (Izard, 1977:363).

Cognitively constructed causes (e.g. memory or anticipation of a fearful object or event) trigger fear quite often. Even thinking about something or someone that you think to be fearful or threatening may evoke a fear state. Nevertheless, this would not be the same fear as the one you feel when you are suddenly confronted with a lion in the woods. Unrealistic fear about an imaginary object would stand near anxiety on the anxiety-fear-panic/terror continuum (cf. Adolphs 2013). Ortony et al. (1988:109, 110) mention 'retrospective fear' which refers to evocation of fear after the threatening event has already transpired. Imagine that a person missed a plane which later crashed and all the passengers died. Even though the reality of not having died at the plane crash instigates relief, thinking back about how close the prospective event of his being killed was to being realized causes retrospective fear (ibid:109, 110).

As we said earlier, fear is a cover concept or a superordinate term which has many lexical items at the subordinate level or what is called near synonyms which express different aspects or stages in the experience of fear. Therefore, the causes or antecedents of fear being discussed here can be associated with 'fears' of differing intensity and different stages in the fear experience.

3.1.4.4. The Indexes of Fear and Its Effects on the Subject

Bowlby (1973) gives a comprehensive yet tentative list of fear indicators. "They include wary watching combined with inhibition of action, a frightened facial expression accompanied perhaps by trembling or crying, cowering, hiding, running away, and also seeking contact with someone and perhaps clinging to him or her" (Bowlby, 1973:77). These indexes of fear apparently suggest primary, acute fear situations. Bowlby tentatively concedes that not all indexes are observed in all forms of fear.

Shaver et al. (2001), who have a prototypical approach to fear, mentions the following fear indicators: The emoter is weak or low in potency. "The person feels jittery and jumpy, perspires, trembles, and looks quickly around. The person's voice shakes or trembles and he or she verbalizes nervousness or fear" (ibid:43, 44). The other indicators include screaming, crying and pleading or shouting for help. Hiding from the threatening person or object or freezing and keeping quiet reflect coping attempts. Trying to comfort oneself, acting as if not afraid so as to

avert an attack or attacking the target as a last resort are responses indicative of fear (Shaver et al. 2001:44).

In the case of the subjective experiencing of terror, Darwin (1859/1965:77) mentions the fear indexes of "hurried breathing" "a wildly beating heart" "pale skin" and "prostration of the body." Increased heart rate and decreased skin temperature, too low finger temperature, can also be seen in Ekman et al. (1983:1209).

Izard (1977) states that the emoter's perception, thought, and actions reveal clear indications of fear. He describes an extreme fear event as follows:

> In extreme fear the effects on perception have been characterized as "tunnel vision," a condition in which the victim becomes functionally blind to a large proportion of the potential perceptual field. Fear can cause thinking to be slow, narrow in scope, and rigid in form. It brings about a tensing and tightening of muscles and other motor mechanisms, and in terror the individual may "freeze" and become immobile. Fear greatly reduces behavioral alternatives (Izard, 1977:365).

Hançerlioğlu (1993:245) mentions the following indexes of fear: "becoming immobile" "dryness of mouth" "cold sweating" "inhibited respiration" "piloerection" "vasoconstriction" "pale face" and even "paralysis and death" among many other indexes already mentioned by other researchers above.

3.1.4.5. Facial Expression of Fear

Autonomous nervous system causes universal changes in the facial configuration with the activation of facial musculature during some basic emotions like fear. Darwin (1872/1998), along with Ekman (1992) and Izard (1977), argues that discrete facial expressions can be universally associated with discrete emotions. From the information provided by Izard (1977), Matsumoto et al. (2008), Ortony and Turner (1990), Ekman (1992, 1993) and Ekman et al. (1980), we can list the following facial indicators of fear: The person in fear has straight and raised eyebrows. There are horizontal wrinkles extending across about three thirds of the forehead. The eyes are widely opened with the pupils dilated as if bulging outwards. The emoter's lower eyelid is tensed with the upper one slightly raised. The nostrils are also opened to let more air to keep up with the faster respiration observed in shocking fear. During the experience of acute fear, the mouth is also opened and the lips are tightly drawn back, becoming tense. Going pale or blanching tends to accompany the other facial indicators described above.

Matsumoto et al (2008) point out that "facial expressions are part of a coherent response profile" and agree with Darwin (1872/1998) that facial expressions "covary with emotion-specific appraisal processes" (ibid:219). The intensity of the emotion being

experienced is manifested in the facial expression with micro-adaptations. Matsumoto and Willingham (2006, cited in Matsumoto et al, 2008:219) found that "spontaneous facial expressions reliably differentiate whether Olympic athletes have won or lost a medal, and differences in their smiling behavior differentiate what kind of medal they won" Likewise, the varying intensity of fear should also have corresponding altered effects on the facial appearance.

As an emotional outlet of the body, the face poses for different pictures according to the type of emotion, and even various levels of intensity of the same emotion give us different facial appearances. On the continuum of simple apprehension, anxiety, fear, and terror, neural tracks to the forehead, eyes and mouth will be busy with different levels of neural trafficking and corresponding tensions in the relevant facial regions.

3.2. The Conceptual Metaphor And Metonymy

In addition to in-depth corpus (the TNC) analysis of the lexical profiles of Turkish fear verbs for subjective experience including their distinctive cognitive appraisal patterns, the other purpose of our dissertation is to determine the metaphorical profile of fear idioms in Turkish as a subjective experience. It will be clarified whether and to what extent the selected Turkish fear idioms contribute to the metaphoric and metonymic conceptualisation of fear in general and what aspect of the fear event they construe. Any conceptual metaphors and metonymies about fear will also be mentioned in our analysis of the lexical profiling of Turkish fear verbs even though our focus is on detailed analysis of their lexical profiles.

This section covers the definition of metaphor, conceptual metaphor theory, kinds of metaphor, primary metaphor theory, salient aspects of conceptual metaphors, metaphor and emotion, and cognitive conceptualisation of fear in English via conceptual metonymies and metaphors. Kövecses's (1990, 2010) comprehensive list of conceptual metaphors and metonyms for fear which are conventionalised in English will be a strong basis for our exploration of Turkish conceptual metaphors, metonymies and their figurative instantiations.

3.2.1. What is Metaphor?

It is possible to postulate many definitions for the word metaphor. As a figure of speech, Low (1988:126) defines metaphor rather broadly, saying it is "treating X as if it were, in some ways, Y." The definition suggests that we understand a concept in terms of another; that is, we assume that there are partial correlations or resemblances between certain features of the two entities compared. Knowles and Moon's definition of metaphor illustrates the point more clearly: "When we talk about metaphor, we mean the use of language to refer to something

other than what it was originally applied to, or what it "literally" means, in order to suggest some resemblance or make a connection between two things" (2006:2). The definition suggests diachronic meaning extensions such as "heavy" starting to mean "difficult" as a result of a metaphorical extension; image metaphors based on physical similarities (My wife…whose waist is a hourglass) and correlation-based metaphors like "she is a block of ice" highlighting a person's cold/unfriendly attitude. One more definition, given by Barcelona, reflects the contemporary conceptual theory of metaphor introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980): "Metaphor is the cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is partially 'mapped', i.e. projected, onto a different experiential domain, so that the second domain is partially understood in terms of the first one" (Barcelona, 2003:3).

3.2.2. Traditional and Cognitive Views of Metaphor

There are two views concerning metaphor: traditional view and cognitive view. Traditionally, metaphor was studied within the discipline of rhetoric (Evans and Green, 2006). It was seen as a figurative device of speech, called the master trope, which was used to add stylistic decoration to speech. While logical positivists looked upon metaphor as meaningless emotive venting, romantics focussed on its poetic power (Stern, 2008). Stern states that in traditional approaches, "the metaphorical mode of expression is merely stylistic, rhetorical, or decorative, carrying no additional cognitive value beyond what could be expressed literally (…)" (Stern, 2008:276). It is also rather negatively viewed as "parasitic on literal language" or at best as "a mechanism for filling gaps in the language" (Deignan, 2005:2). As Lakoff (1993) says, metaphor was traditionally considered as a matter of language limited to the field of literature and seen outside the conventional everyday language. Lakoff (1993:186) mentions the following classical definition of metaphor: "… a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of their normal conventional meaning to express a "similar" concept." It suggests an implicit comparison between a concept and another. Take the following sentences:

a) Achilles is *very brave* (Literal expression)

b) Achilles is *a lion*. (Metaphorical expression)

The second, metaphorical expression, describes Achilles as a very brave person, "associating him with the lion's qualities of courage and ferocity" (Evans and Green, 2006:293). This association of lions with courage is based on universal ethological observations and it is quite natural in many cultures including English and Turkish to describe a courageous person as being a lion.

Kövecses (2010:IX) summarizes the traditional view of metaphor as follows:

- Metaphor is a property of words; it is a linguistic phenomenon.
- It is used for some artistic and rhetorical purpose
- It is based on a resemblance between the two entities that are compared and identified.
- It is a conscious and deliberate use of words, and you must have a special talent to be able to do it and do it well. Only great poets or eloquent speakers, such as, say, Shakespeare and Churchill, can be its masters.
- It is also commonly held that metaphor is a figure of speech that we can do without; we use it for special effects, and it is not an inevitable part of everyday human communication, let alone everyday human thought and reasoning.

Cognitive view of metaphor has revolutionised the issue of metaphor altogether. With their seminal work on metaphor, *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) challenged all the traditional assumptions of metaphor. For them, metaphor is a pattern of conceptual association between two conceptual domains characterised by a set of mappings or correspondences, rather than individual metaphorical usages of a single underlying conceptual metaphor (Grady, 2007:188). Lakoff (1993:186) points out that "the locus of metaphor is not in language at all, but in the way we conceptualise one mental domain in terms of another." Kövecses (2010:X) lists the features of the cognitive view of metaphor introduced by Lakoff and Johnson, which demolished the long held traditional views:

> "(1) metaphor is a property of concepts, and not of words;
> (2) the function of metaphor is to better understand certain concepts, and not just some artistic or esthetical purpose;
> (3) metaphor is often not based on similarity;
> (4) metaphor is used effortlessly in everyday life by ordinary people, not just by special talented people; and
> (5) metaphor, far from being a superfluous though a pleasing linguistic ornament, is an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning."

According to Lakoff and Johnson, metaphor is omnipresent in thought and everyday language of ordinary people as well as competent orators or poets because they assert that our conceptual system contains thousands of cross-domain mappings that have become conventional conceptual metaphors motivating the use of many linguistic metaphors.

3.2.3. Conceptual Metaphor

In cognitive linguistics, the essence of metaphor is understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993; Gibbs, 1994; Grady, 1997; Kövecses, 2010). In our conceptual system, more concrete, structured, and clearly delineated

concepts (e.g. JOURNEY) are systematically used to structure and comprehend less concrete/more abstract, less structured or unstructured concepts (e.g. LOVE). A conceptual metaphor involves a systematic, partial set of mappings or correspondences between what is called a source domain and a target domain. Kövecses (2010:4) defines these domains as follows: "The conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called the **source domain**, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the **target domain**." A conceptual metaphor is conventionally formulated as A IS B (TARGET CONCEPT IS SOURCE CONCEPT) and is written in small capitals. In the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, for instance, we comprehend and express LOVE (TARGET) in terms of JOURNEY (SOURCE). Ontological entities, inference or knowledge patterns, and image-schematic features associated with JOURNEY are mapped onto corresponding features or aspects of LOVE. About what we mean by source and target domains, Esenova (2011:14) points out the following:

> **the source domain** is predominantly associated with some tangible, physical experiences and therefore it is more concrete than the target domain…It is a conceptual domain that we utilize in order to understand the target. **The target domain** is more abstract than the source domain and it is primarily associated with such intangible, abstract experiences as emotions, ideas, thoughts, etc. The target domain is comprehended and structured in terms of the source domain.

Metaphor involves two levels: linguistic level and conceptual level. At the linguistic level we have linguistic metaphors/metaphorical expressions. At the conceptual level we have conceptual metaphors which motivate the use of linguistic metaphors. Linguistic metaphors are words or expressions that come from the target domain and prove the existence of conceptual metaphors (A IS B) which do not occur in language but do in our conceptual system. Let us examine linguistic metaphors as instantiations of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. They are taken from Lakoff and Johnson (1980:44-45). Note that in cognitive linguistics, linguistic metaphors are conventionally written in italics and conceptual metaphors in small capitals.

LOVE IS A JOURNEY (Conceptual metaphor)

- Look *how far we've come*.
- We're *at a crossroads*.
- We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.
- We can't *turn back* now.
- I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere*.
- *Where* are we?
- We're *stuck*.
- It's been *a long, bumpy road*.

(Linguistic metaphors for LOVE IS A JOURNEY)

- This relationship is *a dead-end street*.
- We're just *spinning our wheels*.
- Our marriage is *on the rocks*.
- This relationship *is foundering*.

The linguistic metaphors written in italics above are not directly understood to be about love, nor is each of them a separate metaphor according to the conceptual metaphor theory (CMT). They are visible manifestations of a single conceptual metaphor in language – the instantiations of LOVE IS A JOURNEY. They *realise* conceptual metaphors; they are the main type of evidence for them (Deignan, 2005:14). As can be seen, the expressions in italics reflect the vocabulary of the domain of JOURNEY and they are not metaphoric but literal if used in a context about JOURNEY. What makes them metaphoric is their use about LOVE; we use a more concrete domain (JOURNEY) to structure an abstract concept (LOVE). Another point to be made about the above sentences is that you do not need to be a competent poet or orator to be able to utter them. These are common expressions of ordinary people which reflect how pervasive the conceptual metaphor motivating them is. Examined altogether, they reflect the existence of a set of systematic mappings between LOVE and JOURNEY (Lakoff, 1980, 1993). The cross-domain mappings involved in LOVE IS A JOURNEY are shown below (Kövecses, 2010:9; Evans and Green, 2006:295):

Table 5. Mappings for the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY

Source: JOURNEY	Mappings	Target: LOVE
TRAVELLERS	➔	LOVERS
VEHICLE	➔	LOVE RELATIONSHIP
JOURNEY	➔	EVENTS IN THE RELATIONSHIP
DISTANCE COVERED	➔	PROGRESS MADE
OBSTACLES ENCOUNTERED	➔	DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED
DECISIONS ABOUT DIRECTION	➔	CHOICES ABOUT WHAT TO DO
DESTINATION OF THE JOURNEY	➔	GOALS OF THE RELATIONSHIP

The metaphorical scenario which reflects our understanding of LOVE in terms of JOURNEY is given by Lakoff (1993:190) as follows:

> The lovers are travelers on a journey together, with their common life goals seen as destinations to be reached. The relationship is their vehicle, and it allows them to pursue those common goals together. The relationship is seen as fulfilling its purpose as long as it allows them to make progress toward their common goals. The journey isn't easy. There are impediments, and there are places (crossroads) where a decision has to be made about which direction to go in and whether to keep traveling together.

Each metaphorical expression which manifests a conceptual metaphor points to a striking correlation between constituents in the conceptual contents of two domains. Let us take the last expression above – This relationship *is foundering*. "Founder" means a ship or boat filling with water, which will end up with sinking if no measures are taken. Then it is a serious problem for the ship and people in it. The metaphoric use of "founder" about "relationship" in the sentence "This relationship *is foundering"* gives the striking message that just as there are serious dangers in a boat taking in water and it is urgent that it be stopped before it sinks, so does a relationship with disastrous problems need urgent remedies to prevent a split-up. Baxter (1992) refers to this expressive power of metaphors, stating "metaphors enable the expression of what is difficult to express at a literal level. In addition, metaphors afford a compactness and vividness of expression difficult to match through other linguistic forms…." (Baxter, 1992:254). Similarly, Gibbs (1994) considers the existence of metaphor as a must because it is an inevitable communicative tool. He proposes the *inexpressibility*, *compactness* and *vividness* hypotheses about the functions of metaphor. According to these hypotheses, metaphor is essential to express what is literally impossible to express; a lot of information can be conveyed in a single metaphorical image (compactness) and literal language cannot capture and transmit the subjective intensity of experience as vividly as metaphor.

3.2.4. Common Source and Target Domains of Metaphors

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that our conceptual system is replete with thousands of metaphorical connections between domains. Many everyday abstract concepts such as *time, states, change, causation* and *purpose* are often metaphorically expressed exploiting the source domains like *container, motion* and *force* (Lakoff, 1993). Kövecses (2010:17-29) provides the most common source and target domains between which there tend to be numberless metaphorical mappings. The most common source domains: *the human body, health and illness, animals, machines and tools, buildings and construction, plants, games and sport, cooking and food, economic transactions, forces, light and darkness, heat and cold, and movement and direction*.

The most common target domains which need metaphorical conceptualisation: *emotion, desire, morality, thought, society, religion, politics, economy, human relationships, communication, events and actions, time, life and death*. Being mostly abstract or at least much less structured than the corresponding source domains, these target domains tend to involve "psychological and mental states and events, social groups and processes, and personal experiences" (Kövecses, 2010:28).

3.2.5. Kinds of Metaphor

Kövecses (2010) mentions two types of metaphor on the basis of conventionality: conventional and unconventional (novel) metaphors. Conventional metaphors refer to both conceptual metaphors and their corresponding linguistic expressions. They are well established and deeply entrenched in a speech community or culture. They are "products of formerly novel metaphors: over time and with frequent use they have seeped down into the main part of the language…" (Deignan, 2005:3).The following metaphors are highly conventional in the English culture:

ARGUMENT IS WAR: I *defended* my argument.
LOVE IS A JOURNEY: We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.
THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS: We have to *construct* a new theory.
IDEAS ARE FOOD: I can't *digest* all these facts.
SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS ARE PLANTS: The company is *growing fast*.
LIFE IS A JOURNEY: He had *a head start* in life. (Kövecses, 2010:34)

These are so conventionalised that English speakers consider them rather ordinary and natural ways of talking about those target concepts.

By unconventional metaphors, Kövecses mean novel metaphoric expressions, adding that it is less easy to find novel conceptual metaphors. What we consider to be unconventional or novel are unconventionally used linguistic metaphors that realise a conceptual metaphor. Changing times, people and technology can breed new expressions that existing conceptual metaphors entail. Let us consider the lyric given by Lakoff (1993:193) *"We're driving in the fast lane on the freeway of love."* This unconventional metaphor can easily be understood owing to our conventional conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. Our knowledge of traveling suggests that driving too fast is exciting but dangerous, so the lovers ought to be careful about the progress of their love relationship. Our ability to comprehend novel metaphoric expressions in an appropriate context is a proof of the conventionality of the relevant motivating conceptual metaphors. The comprehensibility of the lyric above is possible thanks to the well-entrenched conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY.

Kövecses (2010) also classifies metaphor on the basis of its cognitive functions, following and elaborating Lakoff and Johson's (1980) classification in *Metaphors We Live By*.

3.2.5.1. Structural Metaphors

Lakoff and Johsnon (1980/2013:14) argue that structural metaphors are "cases where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another." Kövecses (2010:37) provides a

clear description of this type of metaphor: "The source domain provides a relatively rich knowledge structure for the target subject." The structure of the source concept is thoroughly exploited and therefore many mappings are made, which allows us to structure and thus comprehend the target concept. TIME IS MOTION and ARGUMENT IS WAR are typical examples for structural metaphors. They motivate the use of a large number of linguistic metaphors which correspond to various mappings that provide a basic overall structure to understand notions of TIME and ARGUMENT.

3.2.5.2. Ontological Metaphors

Kövecses (2010:38) points out that the function of ontological metaphors is to "give a new ontological status to general categories of abstract concepts…". Ontological metaphors enable us to conceptualise vague, undelineated concepts like events, activities, emotions, ideas etc. as if they had definite physical properties like entities and substances (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003; Knowles and Moon, 2006; Kövecses, 2010). Source domains of object, substance and container are often used to conceptualise abstract concepts, which allows us "to refer to, quantify, or to identify aspects of the experience that has been made more delineated" (Kövecses, 2010:39). For example, Kövecses argues that conceiving of the emotion fear as an object enables us to refer to it as if it were a possessed object (i.e. *my fear*). We can also quantify it (i.e. *little*, *less* fear). Examples of ontological metaphors include ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE (HOT FLUID) IN A CONTAINER, MIND IS A MACHINE, FEAR IS A POSSESSED OBJECT.

3.2.5.3. Orientational Metaphors

Orientational metaphors have to do with spatial orientation to conceptualise target concepts and exploit domains like up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:14). As the source domains develop as part of our physical embodiment, orientational metaphors have a strong experiential basis. Take MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN. Our repeated observation of a pile growing higher as we add more things to it gradually entrenches MORE IS UP into our conceptual system. Linguistic metaphors for MORE IS UP include:

The inflation is *rising*.

The number of refugees in Turkey is going *up*.

Orientational metaphors give abstract concepts spatial orientations and somewhat coherence. Both Kövecses (2010) and Lakoff and Johnson (1980) demonstrate that all target concepts with positive evaluation are coherently conceptualised via metaphor with upward orientation. Their opposites are coherently conceptualised with downward orientation:

MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN: Speak *up*, please. Keep your voice *down* please.
HEALTHY IS UP; SICK IS DOWN: Lazarus *rose* from the dead. He *fell* ill.
CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN: Wake *up*. He *sank* into a coma.
CONTROL IS UP; LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN: I'm *on top* of the situation. He's *under* my control.
HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN: I'm feeling *up* today. He's really *low* these days.
VIRTUE IS UP; LACK OF VIRTUE IS DOWN: She's an *upstanding* citizen. That was a *low-down* thing to do.
RATIOANAL IS UP; NONRATIONAL IS DOWN: The discussion *fell* to an emotional level. He couldn't *rise above* his emotions. (Kövecses, 2010:40)

The classification of metaphors as structural, ontological and orientational was Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) earlier classification. In the 2003 edition of *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson seem to have revised the earlier classification, conceding that the classification was artificial (2003:264). They also concede that all metaphors are somewhat structural as they map structures to structures; all metaphors are ontological as they create target domain entities and many metaphors are orientational if they map orientational image-schemas. In the new edition of *Metaphors We Live By,* Lakoff and Johnson mention the contribution of the primary metaphor theory developed by Joseph Grady (1997).

3.2.6. Grady's Classification of Metaphors

Grady (1997) made a great contribution to the conceptual metaphor theory, proposing that there are two kinds of metaphor – primary and compound metaphors. He brought about new insights into "the deep relationships between word usage, conceptual structure, and the way we experience the world" (Grady, 2007:192).

3.2.6.1. Primary Metaphors

Grounded in Theory of Conflation by Christopher Johnson (1997), primary metaphors suggest "a systematic correlation between subjective experiences and sensory-motor experiences" (Esenova, 2011:17) which evolve in early childhood. Primary metaphors "conventionally associate concepts that are equally 'basic', in the sense that they (source and target concepts) are both directly experienced and perceived" (Evans and Green, 2006:304). There are perceived resemblances or correlations between target and source concepts, and therefore primary metaphors are like Lakoff and Johnson's MORE IS UP metaphor in that they are totally motivated by experiential basis. The primary metaphor theory suggests that importance and size, similarity and (physical) closeness, knowing and seeing have systematic correspondences gradually built in the embodiment process from early childhood. Primary metaphors are universal "because everybody has the same kinds of bodies and brains and lives

in basically the same kind of environments, so far as the features relevant to metaphor are concerned" (Lakoff and Johson, 1980/2003:257). Primary source concepts include UP, DOWN, HEAVY, BRIGHT, FORWARD, BACKWARD, SWEET. The corresponding target concepts constitute "such basic building blocks of experience as DOMINANT, SAD, DIFFICULT, HAPPY, SUCCESS, THE PAST, APPEALING, AND COMPULSION" (Grady, 2007:193). Grady's findings are very important because it becomes clear why certain source domains tend to occur with certain target domains. Generally, source domain concepts reflect our sensory experience of the world, while target concepts consist of our subjective responses to those bodily experiences, including our judgements, assessments, evaluations and inferences. Grady provides a list of 100 primary metaphors at the end of his dissertation (1997). Some primary metaphors and sample linguistic expressions motivated by them:

SIMILARITY IS NEARNESS

That colour is quite close to the one on our dining room wall.

IMPORTANCE IS SIZE

We've got a big week coming up at work.

QUANTITY IS VERTICAL ELEVATION

The price of shares has gone up.

CAUSES ARE FORCES

Vanity drove me to have the operation.

CHANGE IS MOTION

Things have shifted a little since you were last here.

DESIRE IS HUNGER

We're hungry for a victory.

3.2.6.2. Compound Metaphors

Primary metaphors are simple and universal. Compound metaphors are likely to be culture-dependent. They are motivated by more detailed and specific knowledge structures (Evans and Green, 2013:308). While primary metaphors map simple concepts, we see partial mappings between entities/subparts of target and source concepts in compound metaphors. An example is THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS which has two complex conceptual domains with many subparts, not all of which are mapped. For example, the source domain BUILDING has subparts like WINDOWS, TENANTS etc. but these are not mapped onto the target concept (Evans and Green, 2013). Compound metaphors can be formed by the unification of two primary metaphors. For example, the compound metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS combines two

primary metaphors, namely PERSISTING IS REMAINING UPRIGHT and ORGANISATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE (Evans and Green, 2013:309).

3.2.7. Some Aspects of Conceptual Metaphors

3.2.7.1. Unidirectionality

The unidirectionality of conceptual metaphors means that structure from a source domain is mapped onto a target domain, but the reverse process is not possible (Evans and Green, 2006:296-297). Terms from the source domain are used to talk about the target domain, but not vice versa. Grady (1997) asserts that this fact shows that metaphor is not a matter of pointing out similarities. Take the non-symmetrical relationship between *cold* and *unsympathetic*. The relevant metaphors UNSYMPATHETIC IS COLD and AFFECTION IS WARMTH use terms from the temperature domain to express personal features or social attitudes of people. We can say 'Tom is cold', meaning 'he is unfriendly'. However, the utterance 'The bench is aloof' cannot be interpreted as a statement about unfriendliness, nor can it mean that the bench is cold (Grady, 1997:9). Similarly, we can refer to a person as *warm*, whereas it is meaningless to talk of a cup of tea as *affectionate* (Grady, 2007:191). The asymmetrical directionality of conceptual metaphors is one of the features most strongly emphasised.

3.2.7.2. Partial Nature of Mappings

Cognitive linguists (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003, Kövecses, 2010, Grady, 1997; Knowles and Moon, 2006 and so on) argue that not all entities in a source domain are mapped onto a target. The mappings are only partial (Kövecses, 2010:91). When one concept is conceptualised in terms of another, there are mappings between certain aspects of both concepts. Only some aspects of the target are focussed or highlighted. In this case, some aspects will naturally remain hidden. Therefore, highlighting presupposes hiding. The hidden aspects can be focussed in other conceptual metaphors, so we often see many metaphors about the same target domain because one metaphor makes up for structuring gaps in another metaphor. Kövecses (2010:92) illustrates the case with multiple metaphors about ARGUMENT:

> AN ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER: Your argument has *a lot of content*. What is the *core* of his argument?
> AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY: We will *proceed in a step-by-step* fashion. We have *covered a lot of ground*.
> AN ARGUMENT IS WAR: He *won* the argument. I couldn't *defend* that point.
> AN ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING: She *constructed a solid* argument. We have got a *good foundation* for the argument.

These metaphors about the same target concept highlight partially selected aspects of the concept of ARGUMENT. The following conclusions can be made about the examples above:

- The CONTAINER metaphor highlights the content and basicness of an argument.
- The JOURNEY metaphor focuses on progress and content.
- The WAR metaphor's main focus seems to be the issue of control over the argument.
- The BUILDING metaphor captures the aspects of the construction of an argument and its strength.

This is also the case for FEAR metaphors on which the present dissertation partly focusses. We assume that FEAR as our target domain is conceptualised in terms of many sources, each of which highlights certain aspects of the fear event such as its cognitive appraisal process, physiological and behavioural aspects. The metaphorical profiles of Turkish fear idioms will reveal how body parts are affected or culturally imagined to be affected while the emoter is experiencing acute fear situations. Each idiom seems to be motivated by different metaphors and metonymies with different partial mappings.

3.2.7.3. Experiential Basis of Metaphor

Embodiment or the central role that the human body plays in our interactions with the world makes up the experiential basis, motivation or grounding for our metaphorical conceptualisations. Especially primary metaphors (Grady, 1997) which reflect mappings between certain concepts are motivated by aspects of our bodily or physical experience. In such universal metaphorical mappings, "what determines the likelihood of a particular metaphorical correspondence is the nature of human experience" (Grady, 1997:12). Connections or associations between UP and MORE; HEAVY and DIFFICULT; SEEING and KNOWING; GRASPING and UNDERSTANDING, BEHAVIOUR OF HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER and SYMPTOMS OF ANGER cannot be arbitrary; the metaphorical pairings have experiential grounds.

Deignan (1997) suggests that the lexicalisation of mental processes and emotions via conceptual metaphors is grounded in bodily experience. Deignan (1997) quotes Gibbs (1993) as contending that "many conceptual metaphors used to talk about emotions are motivated by the physical sensations that we experience when we have these emotions" (Gibbs, 1993, cited in Deignan, 1997:13) The heat and internal pressure when we feel angry leads to the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER (human body). Linguistic interpretations of this conceptual metaphor are 'she got all steamed up' and 'I was fuming.'

Knowles and Moon (2006) provide physical (experience) explanations for Lakoff and Johnson's orientational metaphors exploiting the sources UP and DOWN. The metaphors HAPPY IS UP / SAD IS DOWN are grounded in the following recurrent human experience: "We stand

straighter or move more 'floatingly' when we are happy, but slump or look down when we are unhappy" (Knowles and Moon, 2006:34). Many more examples can be given all of which are basic, primary and highly universal metaphoric mappings. They display "patterns which become entrenched in language and conceptualisation, often as a result of recurring associations in experience" (Grady, 2007:197). They arise from thoroughly pervasive experiences – we encounter scenes which repeatedly show MORE IS UP every day.

About the universality of physical experience-based primary metaphors, Kövecses adds that "embodiment consists of several components and (…) any of these can be singled out and emphasised by different cultures" (Kövecses, 2008:177). It is through the dominant number of linguistic metaphors that we see which component or level of embodiment (of ANGER, for example) is focussed across cultures. While in Chinese the physical symptom of pressure is focussed in linguistic instantiations of ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, a rise in body temperature is focussed in English and Hungarian (Kövecses, 2008).

The analysis of our selection of Turkish fear idioms, whose figurative conceptualisation via metaphors and metonymies lays bare physical and cultural embodiment, gives a detailed picture of how the experience of fear is expressed in Turkish culture.

3.2.8. Metaphor and Culture

The relationship between metaphor and culture is another issue on which cognitive linguistics focusses. They particularly study the ways in which metaphor and culture interact. A vital question as identified by Grady (2007:204) is "which metaphors (if any) are culture-specific or narrowly distributed across cultures, and which ones (if any) are universal or broadly distributed?" As primary metaphors arise directly from bodily experience, they are highly pervasive across cultures. Primary metaphors "have a high likelihood of being found in any language, regardless of location, cultural affiliation, or historical period" (ibid:204). However, certain metaphors occur or are more pervasive in certain cultures. Cultural variation tends to occur in non-primary metaphors and/or metaphorical elaboration via linguistic metaphoric expressions.

Kövecses (2008) states that metaphorical conceptualisation occurs under the influence of two pressures – the pressure of embodiment and that of context, which is determined by local culture. He also suggests that "our profession, personal history, concerns and interest all play a role in how we arrive at the most appropriate source domains for target domains in a given naturally occurring situation" (Kövecses, 2008:181). In order to show the effects of one's profession on metaphorical conceptualisation, Kövecses gives the example of an electrical engineer who understands European Union in terms of an electrical circuit.

Kövecses (2010:215-229) lists three likely possibilities for cultural variation in metaphor: 1) variation in the range of conceptual metaphors, 2) variation in the particular elaborations of conceptual metaphors and 3) variation in the emphasis on metaphor versus metonymy, or vice versa.

The range of conceptual metaphors for particular target domains (especially emotion concepts) varies across cultures. For example, we see many anger-related expressions involving the Japanese concept *hara* ('belly'). As a cultural keyword, *hara* is unique to Japanese culture, and ANGER IS (IN THE) HARA is limited to Japanese. On the other hand, we observe that the seat or container for ANGER is the heart for the Zulu culture. Thus, Zulu has the metaphor ANGER IS (UNDERSTOOD AS BEING) IN THE HEART.

Kövecses (2010) states that the same conceptual metaphor that exists in two cultures can be elaborated differently. Different elaborations or entailments of the same conceptual metaphor become conventionalised in different cultures. For the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, English has the entailment "He's just *blowing off steam*," but it does not occur in Zulu. Likewise, for a very angry person Zulu has the metaphoric expression/entailment "The sky became dark with thunderstorms," but English does not. However, the English and Zulu can correctly comprehend different elaborations by virtue of the common conceptual metaphor of ANGER AS FORCE. Hiraga (1991) compared English and Japanese conceptualisation of life. While Americans tend to frame life in terms of baseball, the Japanese frame it in terms of Sumo. While the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS SPORT occurs in both cultures, the elaboration of the conceptual metaphor will yield distinct linguistic metaphors.

Kövecses mentions two reasons for cross-cultural variations in metaphorical conceptualisation: broader cultural context and natural or physical environment. He says that "[g]iven a certain kind of habitat, speakers living there will be attuned (most subconsciously) to things and phenomena that are characteristics of that habitat, and they will make use of these things and phenomena for the metaphorical comprehension and creation of their metaphorical universe" (Kövecses, 2010:219-220). Dutch spoken in the Netherlands and that spoken in South Africa display different nature metaphors for this reason. Quite naturally, in Afrikaans Dutch, people's conceptual system is peppered with metaphorical conceptualisations reflecting their interactions with (wild) animals in their environment, while in Dutch of the Netherlands we see almost no animal metaphors. Oster concludes that "the metaphorical understanding of emotions is thus increasingly seen as being subject to the combined influence of embodiment, cognition and culture" (Oster, 2008:329). Studies on the effects of culture on metaphorical conceptualisation include Yu (2003a; 2003b), Emanation (1998), Hiraga (1991), Kövecses (1990, 1999, 2000; 2005, 2006, 2010), Boers (1999), Aksan, M (2006) and Aksan and Kantar (2008).

3.2.9. Metaphor and Emotion

3.2.9.1. Metaphorical Conceptualisation of Emotions

It is clear from research into the conceptualisation of emotions that emotion concepts in various cultures are metaphorically structured and understood (Esenova, 2011:21). The role of metaphors is to conceptualise emotions in more sharply defined terms. Kövecses (1990:4) argues that "emotion concepts emerge from metaphors." He also emphasizes that only the particular aspects of emotion concepts are structured by metaphor. He states that "metaphor's role is that of creating the richness of emotion concepts" (ibid:205) so that they do not have poor conceptual contents.

About the conceptualisation of emotion concepts, there are two competing arguments. Are conceptualisations of emotions universal or language/culture specific? Ansah (2010:.2-3) concludes that the first argument suggests that conceptualisations of basic emotions are universal as they are grounded in universal human embodied cognition. With the same body and brain, emotions have universal physiological and psychological effects on the experiencer. The second argument holds that emotion concepts are socio-culturally constructed. The middle wiew held by Kövecses (2005) seems more realistic. According to Kövecses, conceptualisations of emotions may be both universal and culture specific, which leads to the cultural embodied prototype theory.

Basic emotion metaphors are primary metaphors grounded in physical embodiment. Cultural variations occur as a result of different cultures focussing on different aspects of emotions or the amount of elaboration expressed by linguistic metaphoric expressions. Ansah (2010:5) points out that "while the general conceptualisation of such concepts is grounded in universal human experiences, different cultures attach different cultural salience specific realisations, elaborations or construals to these near-universal conceptual metaphors."

Asrepjan (1997:180) argues that "all emotion metaphors have the same basic structure: they liken a certain psychological state (feeling) to a certain physiological state (sensation) or to another material phenomenon." Kövecses (2008:386) makes the similar point that "emotion specific metaphors arise from causes and effects on the self. Kövecses claims that there is only one master metaphor for emotions: EMOTIONS ARE FORCES (whose effects are felt on the body) and many emotion metaphors are just instantiations of this superordinate metaphor.

3.2.9.2. Kinds of Emotion Metaphors

Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) classification of conceptual metaphors – orientational, ontological, structural – does not directly involve a separate classification for emotion metaphors. However, emotion metaphors can be placed under Lakoff and Johnson's earlier classification of metaphors. For example, HAPPY IS UP and SAD IS DOWN can be labelled as *orientational emotion metaphors;* LOVE IS A JOURNEY, LOVE IS WAR and LOVE IS MADNESS are *structural emotional metaphors,* which have more intricate conceptual structures (Esenova, 2011:22). FEAR IS A POSSESSED OBJECT can be regarded as an *ontological emotion metaphor* since the emotion is described in terms of concrete physical entities – which can be possessed and quantified. Examples from Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003:26-27):

- *My fear* of insects is driving my wife crazy.
- There is *so much hatred* in the world.
- I'm changing my way of life so that I can *find true happiness*.

Apresjan (1997) discusses emotion metaphors under a new classification of hers: a) the physiological metaphor type, b) the cognitive metaphor type; c) the cultural metaphor type. Apresjan stresses that "[these] emotion metaphors differ with respect to two factors: phenomena that form the source domain for the metaphorical mapping and the kind of mapping that takes place" (1997:180).

The physiological metaphor type. The mappings are conditioned physiologically – FEAR IS COLD, ANGER IS HEAT, DISGUST IS FEELING SICK. The source domains of physiological emotion metaphors have specific emotion manifestations:

a) they are usually uncontrollable, immediate physiological reactions, physiological states, that are short-lasting in time (to shake with fear, bend down with grief).
b) they are usually visible or otherwise easily perceptible to an observer (to blush, to tremble)
c) they are specific to a given emotion or are, at least, its most salient manifestation (weep with joy). (Apresjan, 1997:180-181).

The source and target domains (i.e. *cold* and *fear*) suggest physiological similarities in terms of their effects on the body. Both *fear* and *cold* lead to the same bodily reactions such as shaking, quaking, temporary paralysis, palor etc. (ibid:181). Hence we encounter the following type of linguistic metaphors about FEAR IS COLD: *to get cold feet, blood runs cold with fear, to freeze with terror, to shake with fear, to freeze one's blood, to chill to the bones* (ibid:182).

The cognitive metaphor type. The examples are GRIEF IS BURDEN, GRIEF IS DEATH, GRIEF IS ILLNESS and LOVE IS SWEET. In this type of emotional metaphor, the source domains may still be based on physiological sensations, but "these sensations are arbitrarily [not obligatorily] chosen and are not the [direct] manifestations of the emotions onto which they are metaphorically

mapped" (Esenova, 2011:23). For example, while *shaking* is the direct effect of fear in physiological metaphor type, *burden, paralysis* and *falling ill* are not direct effects of grief. Then the metaphors are based on cognitive affinity of illness and grief. To put more clearly, the effect of grief on the mind is likened to the effect that illness has on one's body (Apresjan, 1997:19).

The cultural metaphor type. FEELING IS LIGHT metaphor and its subtypes JOY IS LIGHT and ANGER IS DARKNESS are typical examples. The mappings between source and target domains are rather arbitrary and have no objective similarity. Apresjan (1997) says that there is a mental link between positive emotions and light, and negative emotions and darkness. However, the mappings are rather culturally grounded and variations are inevitable. In addition to grey, which connotes darkness, white is also associated with the negative emotions fear or anger although the colour normally connotes light and positivity.

3.2.10. Metonymy

Metonymy is another trope that is often used in a figurative way to refer to an entity indirectly by replacing the target entity with a vehicle entity in the same conceptual domain or idealised cognitive model. The vehicle which stands for the target tends to display a salient aspect of the target. Gibbs (1994:320) defines metonymy as a process where "people take one well-understood or easily perceived aspect of something to represent or stand for the thing as a whole." For example, 'stage' conventionally stands for 'theatre' and 'screen' stands for 'cinema'. Similarly, 'Downing Street' stands for 'the office of the British Prime Minister' and 'Günüz Sokak' (Road Günüz) was used in Turkey to refer to (the ideas or statements of) the ninth president Demirel. There are even cases in which a customer is identified with the food that he/she ordered in a restaurant domain or ICM:

The **ham sandwich** is sitting at table 20 (Nunberg, 1979:149, cited in Deignan, 1997:50)

The context – restaurant ICM– and the co-text –is sitting at table 20– clearly indicate that 'ham sandwich' metonymically stands for the customer who ordered it. It provides an easy access to him/her. There is no similarity or perceived resemblance between 'ham sandwich' and 'the customer' as compared to the case in a metaphorical relationship. The metonymic expression reflects a single mapping between a vehicle entity and a target entity in the same domain – not multiple mappings – between two different conceptual domains. Kövecses (2010: 173) gives the following definition for metonymy: "Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or idealised cognitive model (ICM)."

Like Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003), Kövecses has a cognitive approach and argues that metonymy is conceptual in nature. "Metonymic concepts structure not just our language but our thought, attitudes and actions" (Lakoff and Johsnon 1980/2003:39). Hence we have the term 'conceptual metonymy' which motivates the use of individual instantiations of metonymic expressions. Consider the following: We pay 10 dollars a *head* for this week. In this metonymic expression 'head' stands for 'a person' and the conceptual metonymy that motivates this use is THE PART (STANDS) FOR THE WHOLE.

Further examples for conceptual metonymies (small capitals) and metonymic linguistic expressions (italics) can be found in Kövecses (2010) which include:

THE PRODUCER FOR THE PRODUCT (THE AUTHOR FOR THE WORK)

I'm reading *Shakespeare*.

She loves *Picasso*.

Does he own any *Hemingway?*

THE PLACE FOR THE EVENT

America doesn't want another *Pearl Harbor*.

Let's not let *El Salvador* become another *Vietnam*.

Watergate changed our politics.

THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION

Washington is negotiating with *Moscow*.

The *White House* isn't saying anything.

Wall Street is in a panic.

Hollywood is putting out terrible movies.

THE CONTROLLER FOR THE CONTROLLED

Nixon bombed Hanoi.

Ozawa gave a terrible concert last night.

AN OBJECT USED FOR THE USER

We need a better *glove* at third base.

The *sax* has the flu today.

Although both structure thoughts through mappings, metaphor and metonymy differ in the type of mental mapping involved (Deignan, 1997:51). Metaphoric mappings depend on a similarity, perceived resemblance or correlations between two separate, distant, unrelated entities, whereas metonymic mappings are between two entities which are essentially part of a single thing (Knowless and Moon, 2016:41). Metonymic entities in the mapping are said to be

close or contiguous. To distinguish metaphor from metonymy, Gibbs (1994) employs the '*is like*' test. If one thing *is like* another, we have a metaphoric mapping; otherwise, it is metonymic. Kövecses (2010, p174) mentions the following examples for comparison:

a) The *creampuff* was knocked out in the first round of the fight
   (There is a metaphoric mapping because the boxer *is like* a creampuff in terms of strength)
b) We need a new *glove* to play third base.
   (There is a metonymic mapping because "the third baseball **player** is **like** a **glove**" is not meaningful. Instead, 'glove' stands for 'baseball player').

To sum up, a metonym is used to refer to another thing which is closely linked, while a metaphor is concerned with understanding or talking about one entity or domain in terms of another.

Last but not least, conceptual metaphors may experientially derive from conceptual metonymies (Kövecses, 2010; Knowless and Moon, 2006). Kövecses states that emotions result in physiological effects, so we have the conceptual metonymy THE EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION. Some examples for this metonymy can develop into a conceptual metaphor in time. Kövecses evaluates the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor as having derived from a metonymy:

> Thus, anger can be said to result in increased subjective body heat (among other things). This case of a metonymic relationship between anger and body heat is called CAUSE AND EFFECT in this chapter. The kind of metonymy that applies to this example is EFFECT FOR CAUSE (BODY HEAT FOR ANGER). The conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT arises from a generalization of body heat to heat. In this case, the metonymic vehicle (body heat) becomes the source domain of metaphor through the process of generalization. (Kövecses, 2010: 184)

As can be seen from the example, anger and body heat are two entities in the same domain (human body), so BODY HEAT FOR ANGER forms a metonymy. However, when body heat is generalised into *heat in general,* this 'heat' is no longer only body heat. It is now a distinct domain with respect to which we conceptualise anger. We get the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor. We can apply this to our case arguing that FEAR IS COLD derives from the physiological metonymy COLD FEET/FINGERS FOR FEAR. While 'cold feet/fingers' is still part of the same domain of the human body, when this body coldness is generalised to just cold in the temperature domain, it becomes a distinct domain in terms of which we conceptualise fear. (*Freezing*, *shaking*, *quivering*, and *trembling* are from the lexis of the temperature coldness, but they are used to talk about fear metaphorically). Consequently, some linguistic expressions can share features of both [metonymy and metaphor] (Deignan (1997:54). For example:

He was *trembling* in front of the man with a gun.

The sentence exemplifies both the conceptual metonymy THE EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION (TREMBLING STANDS FOR FEAR) and the conceptual metaphor FEAR IS COLD because 'tremble' is a lexical item from the domain of coldness.

3.2.11. Cognitive Conceptualisation of Fear

Given the metonymic link between physiological effects of fear and the emotion itself, we encounter many metonymic expressions for fear in languages. Kövecses (1990) points out that while metonymic conceptualisation of fear is obvious and inevitable, it does not provide a complete model without metaphoric conceptualisation. We present below both metonymic and metaphoric conceptualisation of fear as discussed by Kövecses (1990 and 2000).

3.2.11.1. Physiological Metonymic Conceptualisation of Fear

Conceptual metonymy occurs when the physiological effects or behavioural reactions associated with an emotion are used to represent the emotion (Oster, 2008:337). As a negative basic emotion, fear has the same physiological effects on the human body across cultures. They are drop in body temperature, blood leaving face, sweat, dryness of mouth, increased pulse (heart beating) rate, high blood pressure, lapses of heartbeat, inability to move, think, or act etc. (Ding, 2012:2389). These bodily symptoms motivate certain metonymic mappings between fear and its physical effects. Thus, Kövecses, defining fear as "a dangerous situation accompanied by a set of physiological and behavioural reactions that typically end in flight" (1990:69), postulates two metonymic principles motivating the conceptual metonymies for emotions including fear: 1) THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION (FEAR) STAND FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR), 2) THE BEHAVIOURAL REACTIONS OF AN EMOTION (FEAR) STAND FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR). Thus, a physical reaction caused by fear stands for the whole of the emotion fear (Athanasiadou, 1998) in such expressions as 'he *trembled* at the sight of the fierce dog' 'she was *shaking*, confronted with a bear' etc. Based on the physical effects and behavioural reactions accompanying fear, metonymic conceptualisation of fear in English is provided in Kövecses's work *Emotion Concepts* (1990:70-73) as follows:

> FEAR METONYMIES
> Titles in capital letters are sources for fear metonymies and the expressions in italics are linguistic manifestations of them.
> PHYSICAL AGITATION (STANDS FOR FEAR)
> He was *shaking* with fear.

She was *trembling like a leaf.*

Snakes give me the *shivers.*

Our enemies must be *trembling in their shoes.*

Dick *quivered* like a rabbit.

INCREASE IN HEART RATE

His heart *pounded* with fear.

My heart began to *race* when I saw the animal.

My *heart leapt into my throat.*

I had *my heart in my mouth* when I went to the bank to ask for more money.

LAPSES IN HEARTBEAT

His *heart stopped* when the animal jumped in front of him.

You made *my heart miss a beat* when you said you had left the money at home.

BLOOD LEAVES FACE

She turned *pale.*

You are *white* as a sheet.

His face *blanched* with fear at the bad news.

He was *grey* with fear.

SKIN SHRINKS

A shriek from the dark gave me *goose bumps.*

The sound of someone coming towards the door made *my flesh creep.*

His skin was *prickling* with fear.

I felt *my flesh crawl* as he described the murder.

HAIR STRAIGHTENS OUT

The story of the murder *made my hair stand on end.*

That was a *hair-raising* experience.

INABILITY TO MOVE

I was *rooted to the spot.*

He was so terrified he *couldn't move.*

She was scared *stiff.*

He was *paralyzed* with fear.

I was *petrified.*

He was *numbed* by fear.

DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE and INABILITY TO MOVE jointly produce

She *was frozen in her boots.*

I was *frozen in my tracks.*

INABILITY TO BREATHE

She was *breathless* with fear.

He *gasped* with fear.

INABILITY TO SPEAK

I was *speechless* with fear.

He was *struck dumb.*

INABILITY TO THINK

My mind went blank with fear.

You scared me *out of my wits.*

She was *out of her mind* with fear.

I was frightened *out of my senses.*

(INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS or BLADDER

I was *scared shitless* when I saw the man with the knife coming towards me.

You scared *the shit out of me.*

I was almost *wetting myself* with fear.

Don't *pee in your pants* just because you see a snake.

SWEATING

The cold *sweat* of fear broke out.

There were *sweat beads* on his forehead as the animal approached.

Her palms were *damp* as she entered the boss's office.

NERVOUSNESS IN THE STOMACH

He got *butterflies in the stomach.*

A cold fear *gripped him in the stomach.*

DRYNESS IN THE MOUTH

My *mouth was dry* when it was my turn.

He was scared *spitless.*

SCREAMING

She was *screaming* with fear.

WAYS OF LOOKING

There was *fear in her eyes.*

DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE

Just the face of the monster was enough *to make my blood run cold.*

It *chilled my blood* to hear a man I thought had been dead for years.

The blood turned to ice in his veins.

I *was chilled to the bone.*

Her blood froze when she had to walk through the cemetery at night.

He *froze* with fear.

I felt *icy* fingers going up my spine.

That movie was a real *chiller.*

The man broke out in *cold sweat* as a gun was put to his head.

I was going to apply for that job but I got *cold feet.*

STARTLE

That noise nearly made me *jump out of my skin!*

You gave me quite a *turn* when you shouted out like that.

You made *me jump.*

FLIGHT

When he heard the police coming, the thief *took to his heels.*

The mouse *scurried into its hole* when the cat appeared.

He fled from persecution.

This is the metonymic fear model of English culture as presented by Kövecses. Even though physical effects are universal and we observe similar or identical metonymic mappings between the effects and fear, they may be profiled differently across cultures. For example, fear's interference with blood circulation may be profiled as paleness, whiteness, yellowness, blueness and so on, depending on the cultural configuration (Maalej, 2007:93). Then we get culturally schematized expressions which reflect imagined scenarios in a culture. For example, in Tunisian Arabic, English and Turkish we have conceptualizations of fear profiling the heart as ascending to the mouth (Turkish, yüreği ağzına gelmek). As we discussed before, many Turkish idioms include body parts associated with fear due to its effect on them and express different intensities of fear felt by the emoter.

3.2.11.2. Metaphoric Conceptualisation of Fear: Fear Metaphors

Kövecses (1990) was the first to prepare a comprehensive list of conceptual fear metaphors for English. Other linguists who studied fear metaphors include Sirvydé (2006), Ansah (2011), Maalej (2007), Athanasiadou (1998), Oster (2010) and Esenova (2011). Except for Kövecses and Esenova, who focussed on English fear metaphors, the other researchers identified their own cultural fear metaphors as compared to those given by Kövecses (1990, 2000) for the English culture.

The physiological aspect of the concept of fear is well elaborated by conceptual metonymies. However, without the rich conceptual contribution of metaphors, the conceptual space of fear would remain opaque and impoverished (Kövecses, 1990:86; 2000:24). Although the metonymic mappings occur between entities in the same domain (human body for emotions), metaphoric mappings for the concept of fear utilize source domains outside the human body like container, force, fluid, illness, being etc. Kövecses (1990:74-79) identified the following conceptual metaphors of fear:

FEAR METAPHORS

Titles in capital letters are conceptual fear metaphors and the expressions in italics are linguistic manifestations of them.

FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER

Fear was *rising in* him.

The sight *filled* her with fear.

She could not *contain* her fear.

He was *full of fear.*

FEAR IS A VICIOUS (OR HIDDEN) ENEMY (HUMAN or ANIMAL)

There was a fear *lurking* in her heart that she wouldn't succeed.

Fear slowly *crept up on* him.

He was *choked by* fear.

He was *hounded by* the fear that the business would fail.

The fear that things wouldn't work out continued *to prey on* her mind.

FEAR IS A TORMENTOR

They were *tortured by* the fear of what was going to happen to their son.

Her parents were *tormented by* the fear that she might drown.

In this metaphor fear is personified as if it were someone afflicting the emoter with great pain.

FEAR IS AN ILLNESS

She was *sick with* fright.

I have *recovered from* the shock slowly.

He couldn't *get over* his fear.

The town was *plagued by* fear.

FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING (GHOST, etc.)

She was *haunted by* the fear of death.

Let's get out of here, this is a *spooky* place!

His *dark* fears lingered on.

It was a *ghastly* scene.

The metaphor depicts fear as a supernatural entity that can cause a great deal of mental anguish to the self.

FEAR IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STUGGLE)

He was *wrestling with* his fear.

Her fear *overcame* her.

Fear *took hold of* him.

I was *gripped by* fear.

She was *besieged by* fear.

They were *seized by* fear.

She eventually *suppressed* her fear.

I was *struggling with* fear.

He was *fighting* his fear but fear *won out.*

He was *in the clutch of fear.*

Fear *gripped* the village.

Panic *overtook* them.

> The ontological correspondences of the metaphor are obvious. The opponent is fear. The physical struggle between the self and the opponent corresponds to the psychological struggle for emotional control. Defeating the opponent is understood as controlling fear and losing to the opponent as fear controlling the self. As can be seen, most of the examples have to do with loss of control over fear (ibid:77)

FEAR (DANGER) IS A BURDEN

He was greatly *relieved* when the danger was over.

Fear *weighed heavily on* them as they heard the bombers overhead.

She looked around and gave a *sigh of relief.*

Her fears were *alleviated* when the neighbors came home.

He was *burdened* by the possibility of not seeing his friend anymore.

When the BURDEN metaphor is used in connection with a target domain, it indicates that the domain in question is considered unpleasant, or bad. Thus, fear and the metonymically related concept of danger are portrayed by the metaphor as unpleasant.

FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE (WIND, STORM, FLOOD, etc.)

Fear *swept over* him.

She was *engulfed* by panic.

There was a *surge* of fear.

He was *flooded* with fear.

I was *overwhelmed* by fear.

Fear *came over* him.

She was *carried away* by fear.

The main focus of the NATURAL FORCE metaphor seems to be that the self is passive in relation to the emotion, that the emotion affects us while we passively undergo its effects.

FEAR IS A (SOCIAL) SUPERIOR

Her fear *prevented* her *from* going into the house.

His actions were *dictated by* fear.

She was *ruled by* the fear that something was going to happen.

Fear *dominated* his actions.

Fear *reigned* in their hearts.

> As can be seen, what the metaphor adds to our idea of fear is that fear is something that can prevent us from doing certain things, that can cause us to perform certain actions, and that in general it is something that can dominate our behavior. (ibid:78)

Kövecses (2000:23) adds two more metaphors for fear:

FEAR IS INSANITY

Jack was *insane with* fear.

THE SUBJECT OF FEAR IS A DIVIDED SELF
I was *beside* myself with fear.

Kövecses (2010:81) adds the metaphor FEAR IS COLD. The following metaphoric expressions points to the conceptualization of fear as being cold.

FEAR IS COLD
The thought *chilled* him.
He had *cold feet* to go inside.
Shivers ran down her spine.

Esenova (2011:72-92) adds the following conceptual metaphors for fear:

FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER (not necessarily a fluid)
Her head was full of fear.

In the metaphoric expression above, the HEAD is seen as the CONTAINER for the SUBSTANCE fear. If the container holds a large amount of the substance, the intensity of fear gets bigger. The CONTAINER may be HEART or VOICE.

FEAR IS A CHILD
…a newly *conceived* fear of dying
Pregnant with fear
In the middle ages, ignorance *gave birth to* fear.

FEAR IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL
She saw fear *slither* his face.
Fear *coiled around* his heart.

FEAR IS A PLANT
Thus the *seeds* of future panic is *sown* (BNC)
Fear *flourishes* in Texas.
I have a *deeply rooted* fear of confined spaces.
…the *root* of all fear is the threat of loss (BNC)
Today, America is *harvesting the bitter fruits* of fear of critical ideas and thought.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003:26-27) FEAR IS A POSSESSED OBJECT can be regarded as an *ontological emotion metaphor* since the emotion is described in terms of concrete physical entities – which can be possessed and quantified.

FEAR IS A POSSESSED OBJECT
My fear of insects is driving my wife crazy.

While the cognitive model of metonymic mappings for fear is simple (danger ➔ fear ➔ flight), the metaphoric model of fear is rich with "features and dimensions missing from the purely metonymic conceptualisations" (Ansah, 2011:211). The cognitive metaphoric model for fear is danger ➔ fear ➔ attempt at control ➔ loss of control ➔ flight. This model is more reflective of the fear event in terms of the cognitive appraisal process and behavioural tendencies involved. About the richer contribution of conceptual metaphors to the concept of fear, Kövecses (1990:79) says:

> Thus, what the metaphors contribute to the concept of fear is the following: a more precise formulation of the properties of danger in some prototypical cases, a clearer understanding of the nature (ontology) of fear, the highlighting of some additional characteristics of fear like our passive relation to it, the introduction into the model of the aspect of control, and a specification of what it involves that the danger is over. Without these, our idea of fear would not be complete.

3.2.12. Studies on Fear Metaphors

Ansah (2011) made a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural analysis of the conceptualisation of ANGER and FEAR in Akan and English in Ghana. Metaphorical conceptualisation of FEAR among native/monolingual English speakers, native/monolingual Akan speakers and Akan-English bilinguals in Ghana was studied. For each case, metaphorical expressions and conceptual metaphors that underlie them were focussed. Among the findings are that English and Akan shared some source domains for conceptualisation of FEAR: THE HUMAN BODY, A CONTAINER, A BEING, A SUPERNATURAL BEING, ILLNESS/DISEASE and OPPONENT. However, the Akan monolingual data does not support the source domains FLUID IN A CONTAINER, TORMENTOR, SUPERIOR, BURDEN, ILLNESS and NATURAL FORCE. The metaphor FEAR IS FIRE IN A CONTAINER was supported only by the Akan data. Ansah's (2011) study reveals that cultural differences occur between Akan and English in terms of fear metonyms and conceptual metaphors as well as linguistic metaphors motivated by them.

Esenova (2011) prepared a doctoral dissertation on metaphorical conceptualisation of anger, fear and sadness in English. Arguing that emotional concepts often arise from bodily experience, she identified metaphorical mappings between FEAR and the source domains CONTAINER, PURE vs MIXED SUBSTANCE, SUPERNATURAL BEING, ANIMAL, BAD, SMELL and PLANT. Providing examples from BNC and internet sources, Esenova demonstrated that FEAR is conceptualised

metaphorically via sources like *horses* (*unbridled* fear, to *harness* fear, to *curb* fear, to *rein* in my fears), *snakes* (fear *slithering* across his face, fear *coiling* around his heart), *birds* (white-weathered game bird as specific to fear), *wild and dangerous animals* (*ferocious* fear of dentists, a *fierce* fear of storms, the fear is *unleashed*). She provides a lot of examples about the metaphor FEAR IS A PLANT (Fear *flourishes* in Texas, a deeply *rooted* fear, fear *stem* from insecurities, *harvesting* the *fruits* of fear). She also showed that both heart and human voice could be containers for fear. She further concludes that "fear may be caused by a great variety of physical, mental and social etc. dangers" (Esenova, 2011:128) and different causes may bring about different kinds of fear, which affect the way it is metaphorised.

Athanasiadou (1998) studied on how the conceptual space of FEAR is lexicalised in Greek. She identified metonymic relationships in the fear concepts. The superordinate term FOVOS (FEAR) and other related concepts were analysed in terms of metonymic relationships, psychological and behavioural aspects of fear and distinct construals were demonstrated for each Greek fear concept. Athanasiadou points out that powerful concepts are expressed by nouns in Greek, adding that the most powerful concepts of fear are *petrono* (petrify) and *apolithona* (turn into stone). In her study she tries to reveal with precision the exact boundaries between concepts which may seem synonymous (Athanasiadou, 1998:249).

Sirvydé (2006) conducted a corpus-based study on fear metaphors in English and Lithuanian. Based on data obtained from the corpora *BNC* and *Donelaitis*, her research enlightens how cultural patterns of thought shape the conceptual metaphors in English and Lithuanian. Among her findings is the metaphor FEAR IS ATMOSPHERE – a metaphor which is culture-specific and does not occur in English. She also found that the FEAR IS COLD metaphor is far more productive in Lithuanian than in English with the ration being 8 to 143; however, its entailments differ with the Lithuanian version having different allusions to animals, birds, insects and human beings. She concludes that both English and Lithuanian communities "associate fear with their own physical experience and things from their environment" (Sirvydé 2006:87).

In her study, Dinçer (2017) focussed on linguistic expression, conceptualisation and cultural aspects of fear in Turkish. She demonstrated that the conceptual metaphors and metonymies identified for English by Kövecses (1990) are largely applicable to Turkish culture. Her study is based on data from proverbs, idioms, clichés, everyday expressions from internet searches. She systematically presents conceptual metaphors and metonomies of fear and then provides linguistic expressions as examples motivated by these figurative devices.

Other researchers include Retová (2008), who studied fear metaphors in Slovak language; Baş (2015), who studied somatic conceptualisation of emotions including fear metaphors and metonyms; Oster (2008), who compared conceptualisation of fear in English

and German with a corpus-based analysis, Oster (2010), who dug into Corpus of Contemporary American English to search for fear metaphors in English and Kövecses (1990,2010), whose detailed study of fear metaphors and metonymies were covered above.

3.3. Lexical Profiling

3.3.1. Introduction

Lexical profiling has to do with finding out the usual collocates, colligates, semantic preference and semantic prosody of a word or a linguistic unit, all of which are involved in construing 'extended units of meaning' (Sinclair, 1996/2004). Sinclair thinks that words are not independently selected as containers of meaning but units of meaning are selected and words are co-selected as if collaborating to convey a certain unit of meaning. Sinclair (2004:20) argues that "[t]he meaning of words together is different from their independent meanings" which means that certain words or units often collocate with certain others to make meanings by their combinations – phraseological tendency (Sinclair, 1996/2004:29). Sinclair (2000:197) goes as far as to contend that "a large proportion of the word occurrence is the result of co-selection – that is to say, more than one word is selected in a single choice" as corpus evidence demonstrates.

The purpose of profiling a lexical item is to present a comprehensive coverage of the characteristic uses of the node (word or phrase under examination) through corpus data (Stubbs, 2002a). Numerous instantiations of the node in the concordance lines provide information about both "paradigmatic and syntagmatic dimensions of choice" (Sinclair, 1998: 14). The concordance also enables us to find out what meaningful relations words enter into with other words around them (Sinclair, 1996/2004:25). Based on Sinclair's works (1996, 1998), Stubbs (2002a:87-9) developed a *model of extended lexical units* by which he examines the lexical environment of a linguistic unit through "successive analysis of collocations, colligations, semantic preferences and discourse (semantic) prosodies" (McEnery and Hardie, 2012:132). A node's habitual co-occurences (collocations) with other words are the keystone in corpus based analyses because the other constituents of lexical profiling – colligation, semantic preference and semantic prosody – are abstractions of collocation. Stubbs (2002a:88) adds three more components into this model of lexico-semantic pattern analysis – strength of attraction, position and positional mobility and distribution in text types.

For lexical profiling of our set of fear type words that express subjective experience of fear (*kork-* (fear), *tırs-* (fear, informal), *ürk-* (get spooked, shy away), *irkil-* (get startled) and *ürper-* (get the goose bumps or shivers)), we will be focussing on Sinclair's (1996/2004, 1998)

basic components – typical collocations, colligations, semantic preference and semantic prosody of the lexical item under examination. As we expect differences in cognitive appraisal patterns of our set of Turkish fear verbs on the basis of Scherer (1984, 1986, 1999, 2000), we also include cognitive appraisal patterns of the items as a parameter in our lexical profiling study. The next part of this section covers a detailed discussion of these components of the model of extended lexical units for lexical profiling.

3.3.2. Collocation

Collocation is the keystone of corpus linguistics and an indispensable part of lexical profiling because "there are always semantic relations between node [word/phrase under examination] and collocates [other words regularly occurring before or after the node], and among the collocates themselves" (Stubbs, 2002b:225). Furthermore, these semantic relations enable the corpus linguist to determine semantic preference and semantic prosody associated with the lexical item, which are the other components of lexical profiling along with colligation.

The term collocation simply refers to "a co-occurrence pattern that exists between two items that frequently occur *in proximity* to one another (…)" (McEnery and Hardie, 2012:123). However, the node and its collocant do not necessarily have to be adjacent or juxtaposed (Stewart, 2010; McEnery and Hardie, 2012). If an item habitually occurs before or after another item or linguistic unit "with greater than random probability in its context" (Hoey, 1991:6-7) we have a collocation pattern and one is the collocate of the other. Then a collocate / collocant is a word occurring within the neighbourhood of a word or phrase focussed as the node (Baker, Hardie and McEnery, 2006:36-7). Even though collocation readily suggests words habitually co-occurring in close proximity, Partington (1998:16-7) extends the co-occurrence pattern of collocation to that between word with phrase, phrase with phrase, phrase with clause and even clause with clause.

Leech (1985:17) defines collocative meaning as consisting of "the associations a word acquires on account of the meanings of words which tend to occur in its environment." A word's collocates contribute to the manifestation of the potential of the word in creating certain units of combinatorial meaning with them, which was expressed by Firth as early as 1957, when he said "you shall judge a word by the company it keeps." Sinclair (1996/2004:29) asserts that "complete freedom of choice, then, of a single word is rare." He argues that language use tends to be largely phrasal. Hunston and Francis (2000:230-1) claim that Sinclair extends the notion of collocation into the 'idiom principle' in that certain groups of lexical items often co-occur with certain others, so a language user does not choose them according to open choice principle but co-selects them to achieve a combinatorial unit of meaning. Hunston and Francis (2000:23)

further argue that this makes the barrier between phrase and non-phrase meaningless. Now we have "a concept of more or less, that is, two or more lexical items collocate with each other more or less strongly, leading to a phraseology that is more or less fixed, more or less in the confirmation with the idiom principle."

To put it more clearly, language use lies between the two extremes of open choice principle and idiom principle (Sinclair, 1996/2004). Partington (1998:19) states that "openness of choice is not available to the same extent at every point along the syntagmatic progression of an utterance…" We both fill slots according to the open choice principle and use preconstructed or semi-preconstructed phrases which are called 'clusters' 'prefabrications' 'prefabs' 'lexical bundles' or 'multi-word units' in the literature. To take an example from Turkish, *elmayı yemek* (eating the apple) involves a simple co-occurrence pattern working according to the open choice principle because anything edible (like elma = apple) can occur with *yemek* (eat), whereas *ayvayı yemek* (eating the quince) is fully idiomatic in Turkish and the two words are thus co-selected as a lexical bundle which means *you are in big trouble and a painful and hard process is awaiting you*. The former co-occurrence stands at the extreme of open choice and the latter (idiom) stands at the extreme of idiom principle. Other types of collocations lie between them on the continuum, but they have degrees of strength of attraction. The stronger the lexical priming or mutual expectancy between the node and its collocate, the nearer the collocative phrase is to the idiom principle. Take Sinclair's (1996/2004) work on the unit *the naked eye* as the node. It frequently collocates with the words *see, visible, invisible* and sometimes with *spot* and *detect*, but does not form new idioms with them although *the naked eye* itself is an idiom. All in all, most content words in a language have lexico-semantic patterns where words are co-selected to achieve some unit of a combinatorial meaning. Furthermore, each lexical item has its own behavioural patterns and dictionaries only list potential meanings of an item which are exploited in certain ways in context (Hanks, 2013).

3.3.2.1. Identification of Collocates

McEnery and Hardie (2012:123) argue that "the only way to reliably identify the collocates of a given word or phrase is to study patterns of co-occurrence in a text corpus." They mean that bare intuition to determine frequent collocates of a word may not be satisfactory. Actually, there are two ways to determine salient collocants of a node: 1) collocation via significance and 2) collocation via concordance. For the former corpus tools such as MI, MI3, log-log, and log-likelihood are employed to see the most salient collocates of the node as determined in a certain span. Each of these tests has advantages and disadvantages. For example, MI gives "high scores to relatively low frequency words" (Baker, 2006:102). Baker

states that MI3 and log-likelihood tend to favour grammatical words, adding that he prefers to use log-log as it focusses on lexical words or collocates. Another point to bear in mind in identifying the most salient or significant collocates of a node is the span before and after the node. Lists of *top* collocates may be deceptive because the top collocates listed by the corpus tool depend on the span chosen. If you intend to see what collocates occur just before and after the node, you choose the span of -1 and +1. Baker (2006:103) provides a table displaying how the collocate list of the node *bachelor(s)* changes with different spans:

Table 6. Top ten collocates of *bachelor*(s), with span changed.

−10 to +10	−5 to +5	−3 to +3	−1 to +1	−5 to +1	+1 to +5
bachelor	eligible	eligible	eligible	eligible	button
eligible	bachelor	button	elderly	bachelor	degree
degree	button	degree	brother	middle-aged	gilbey
button	degree	gilbey	a	elderly	bachelor
degrees	gilbey	males	status	lonely	education
males	spinster	education	confirmed	males	arts
gilbey	males	degrees	days	a	habits
spinster	degrees	elderly	old	degrees	brother
bride	bride	lonely	his	confirmed	science
education	arts	arts	life	degree	status

Baker states that he "decided to use the -3 to +3 span because this was most likely to include words which were included in noun phrases containing the word *bachelor(s)*" (2006: 103). Then we should say that the linguist's purpose of research and the overall semantic and morphological characteristics of the node play a vital role in deciding on the search span for collocates. For Turkish, which has the subject at the beginning and the inflected verb at the end of a sentence, what would be the right span if one wanted to see what kind of subjects an inflected verb tends to collocate with? Such a purpose would force us to extend each concordance line until we see the subject of a sentence because no collocate-span would guarantee the display of sentential subjects in all cases with sentence lengths so changeable.

The second way to determine the salient collocates of a node is *collocation-via-concordance* (McEnery and Hardie, 2012:126). The technique can solve the above problems associated with collocation-via-significance technique. With *collocation-via-concordance*, the linguist gets the concordance lines for a node and "examines each line individually, identifying by eye the items and patterns which recur in proximity to the node word and reporting those that they find of note, possibly with manually compiled frequency counts but without statistical significance testing" (ibid:126). Stubbs (2002a) seems to suggest that when an analysist identifies a collocation, it is pointless to cite a probability of significance level for it.

The identification of the salient collocates of the node must be done carefully because assigning the right semantic preference and semantic prosody to the node depends on that. For our selection of Turkish fear verbs that express subjective experience of fear, accurate and adequate collocate analysis will be required because these verbs can be considered as (if) near synonyms in some dictionaries. Distinct collocational patterns associated with seemingly synonymous words turn out to be strong evidence for the fact that words are idiosyncratic and are rarely intersubstitutable (Xiao and McEnery, 2006:108).

3.3.3. Colligation

Colligation is a special kind of collocation where the node collocates with words denoting grammatical categories such as determiners *a, an, the, prepositions, adjectives, adverbs* etc. (Baker, Hardie and McEnery, 2006:36). For example, many words colligate with *the*; nouns typically colligate with adjectives; certain adjectives colligate with certain prepositions. To determine the colligational properties of a node, one can examine the statistically generated list of collocates by looking for grammatical words or categories that tend to co-occur with the node (McEnery and Hardie, 2012:130).

3.3.4. Semantic Preference

In corpus terms, the term is related to the habitual collocation of the node with words or phrases which share a semantic feature or belong to certain semantic fields (Bednarek, 2008: 120). What is meant when we say that lexical item X has a semantic preference for Y is that X typically co-occurs with certain words whose semantic field or feature can be labelled as Y. Given the list of salient collocates of a node, it is relatively easy to determine its semantic preference through the concordance. We just make a judgement about what semantic set of words that the node habitually co-occurs with. The semantic labels assigned to the semantic subsets of collocates (absence, change, force, energy, medicine etc.) are the linguist's own judgements since "it is s/he who decides how to interpret, categorize, and classify the collocates semantically" (Bednarek, 2008:122).

Stubbs (2002a:65) defines semantic preference as "the relation not between individual words, but between a lemma or word-form and a set of semantically related words." Similarly McEnery and Hardie (2012:137) point out that semantic preference of a node groups its collocates on the basis of semantic similarity or a definable semantic field. For example, the semantic field of most collocants at N -3 of the node "naked eye" can be defined as expressing "visibility" (Sinclair, 1996/2004:33). Sinclair lists the typical verb collocates: *detect, spot, spotted, appear, perceived, viewed, recognised, read, studied, judged* and adjectives *apparent,*

evident, obvious and *undetectable* – all of which share the semantic field of 'visibility.' Both adjectives and verbs are cited as instantiations of the semantic preference of *visibility* because "semantic preference requires us to notice similarity of meaning regardless of word class…" (Sinclair, 1998:16).

Stubbs (2002a) elaborates on the semantic preference of the item *large*, finding that it semantically prefers other words that express 'quantities and sizes' exemplified by the collocates *number, scale, part, amount* and *quantities* (at least 25 percent of the 56000 occurrences – Begagic, 2013:404). Partington (2004) provides the intricate semantic preferences of *sheer*. This word typically co-occurs with words which express 1) magnitude, weight or volume, 2) force, strength or energy, 3) persistence, 4) strong emotion and 5) physical quality (Partington, 2004:145). This clearly demonstrates that a lexical item may have more than one semantic preference. On the other hand, it is also true that different words can have the same semantic preference. Partington (2004) compared the semantic preferences of near synonyms *completely, entirely, totally* and *utterly,* and showed that there is a high degree of collocational overlap between them. These maximizers more or less have the same semantic preference for words expressing 'absence' and 'change.'

3.3.5. Semantic Prosody

Of profiling a lexical item to reveal the extended unit of meaning associated with it, semantic prosody is the most important but equally the most abstract component which can be teased out from corpus analysis. Whitsitt (2005:283) regards semantic prosody as the most controversial and problematic of lexical profiling. Also referred to as discourse prosody (Stubbs, 2002a:61), the term was first introduced by Louw (1993:157) who describes semantic prosody as "[a] consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates." This earlier definition suggests that habitual collocates of a lexical item imbue it with a colour of meaning over time and the item is no longer seen in isolation from a certain prosody. Sinclair (1998:6) also mentions such a flow of meaning from the collocates to the word form. Xiao and McEnery (2006:107) join the choir referring to a Chinese saying: "he who stays near vermillion gets stained red, and he who stays near ink gets stained black – one takes on the colour of one's company (…)." They say that this typically occurs if the typical collocants of a lexical item have affective meanings.

There are several definitions and descriptions of semantic prosody which improve and complete one another. Louw (2000:57) provides a revised working definition of the term: "[A] semantic prosody refers to a form of meaning which is established through the proximity of a consistent series of collocates, often characterisable as positive or negative, and whose primary

function is the expression of the attitude of its speaker or writer towards some pragmatic situation." Sinclair (1996/2004) also emphasizes the pragmatic side of semantic prosody which suggests speaker meaning. Sinclair (ibid:34) makes the following judgment of semantic prosody:

> A semantic prosody (Louw 1993) is attitudinal, and on the pragmatic side of the semantics/pragmatics continuum. It is thus capable of a wide range of realization, because in pragmatic expressions the normal semantic values of the words are not necessarily relevant. But once noticed among the variety of expression, it is immediately clear that the semantic prosody has a leading role to play in the integration of an item with its surroundings. It expresses something close to the 'function' of the item – it shows how the rest of the item is to be interpreted functionally.

According to Sinclair (2000:200), semantic prosody is the junction of form and function. "The reason why we choose to express ourselves in one way rather than another is coded in the prosody, which is an obligatory component of a lexical item." Although it is common practice to label the prosody of a lexical item as good/bad, pleasant/unpleasant or positive/negative, Sinclair (2000 and 1998) says something more illuminating: "The semantic prosody of an item is the reason why it is chosen, over and above the semantic preferences that also characterize it" (1998:20). To explain this, he comments on a corpus analysis of the concordance of 'budge' which roughly means 'move'. 'Budge' semantically prefers collocates expressing *refusal* or *inability*. An English speaker chooses 'budge' rather than 'move' for the following reason: "Something does not budge when it does not move *despite* attempts to move it. From the perspective of the person who wants something moved, this is frustrating and irritating, and the emotions may find expression, because this is the 'semantic prosody' of the use of *budge*" (Sinclair, 1998:20). Therefore, saying 'budge' has a negative or bad prosody is over-simplistic. Likewise, for the semantic prosody of the idiom 'the naked eye', Sinclair (1996/2004:34) does not use such a simple label as good/bad while saying "[t]he speaker/writer selects a prosody of difficulty applied to a semantic preference of visibility." 85 percent of the concordance lines for 'the naked eye' consistently point to the semantic prosody of difficulty with typical collocates like *(not) see, (not) visible, invisible, (too) faint, weak, small* and *difficult*.

Stubbs (2002a) agrees with Sinclair that the pragmatic function of semantic prosody should be emphasised. He no longer uses the term semantic prosody, replacing it with discourse prosody. Stubbs (2002a:65) states that "discourse prosodies express speaker attitude (…) Since they are evaluative, prosodies often express the speaker's reason for making the utterance, and therefore identify functional discourse items (…) 'Pragmatic prosodies' might be a better term (…)." Hunston and Thompson (2000) and Oster and Lawick (2008) also seem to have a pragmatic stance like Sinclair.

Semantic prosody cannot be identified from the lexical item itself, nor does a single concordance line do. Stewart (2010:80) states that "semantic prosody (…) is contingent upon concordancing and lexical profiles, apparently depending upon them for its recognition." Like Hunston (2002:142) and many others, he thinks that semantic prosody and corpus linguistics are inextricably linked because its identification requires us to look at a large number of instances of a word or a phrase. The concordance of a word, with a lot of attested data, reveals "the connotation pervading the vast majority of a word (…)" (Tognini-Bonelli, 2004:20), and makes the prosody 'tangible and observable'. Semantic prosody is a latent component of the lexical item to be extracted from corpus data because while collocations, colligations and semantic preferences are clearly observable from the concordance, semantic prosody is not (Stewart, 2010:80). We need to concordance numerous, repeated examples where we interpret the node's interaction with its co-text, especially typical collocates in its lexical environment (Partington, 2004; Stewart, 2010; Stubbs, 2002a).

The semantic property of the typical collocates of the node (semantic preference) and the semantic prosody that we derive from the node's interaction with them are solid evidence that co-selectional properties of a lexical item are norms for a language community and "if we are thinking of the competence of individual speakers, then they are mental models" (Stubbs, 2002a:96). Then there are three possibilities when a speaker/writer uses collocations incompatible with a lexical item's accepted and expected prosody: 1) the user can be a foreigner –who does not belong in the speech community, 2) they have "a deliberate *ironic* intention" (Louw, 1993:36), or 3) their utterances are *insincere*. In that case, what makes irony possible in a language is the existence of something like 'semantic prosodies" of lexical items. Then we have the phenomenon called collocational 'clash' (Louw, 1993:157), 'dislocation' (Partington, 1995: 34 cited in Bedranek, 2008:126) or 'deviance' (Krishnamurhty, 1995:13 cited ibid:126). For example, it is in the mental lexicon of English native speakers that 'set in' is associated with a negative prosody. Then a language user's deliberate use of 'set in' in a neutral utterance aims to create irony. Partington (2004, p152) cites two utterances from Morley (1998) to show how a language user can exploit prosodic effects:

"Another four whole years of Conservative rule"

"Another four more years of socialism is setting in."

We cannot know whether the speaker approves or disapproves the results of an election if we do not have relevant information about the political views of the speaker of the first utterance. However, the use of 'set in' in the second utterance clearly shows that the speaker is not socialist thanks to their use of 'set in' which has a highly unfavourable prosody. The speaker is against a socialist government, so the election results are very bad news for them. Therefore,

the injection of 'set in' in the second utterance which would otherwise simply express the triumph of socialists in the elections is just like shooting a bullet at what many other people consider to be a positive thing. This is "overt falsehood (irony)" (McEnery and Hardie, 2012: 140). Louw (2000:53) cites Moon (1998:161) for the following collocational clash:

"*President Clinton fanned the flames of optimism in Northern Ireland."*

'Optimism' runs counter to the normal collocates of the phrase 'fan the flames of' as it has a negative prosody while 'optimism' is good. The utterance is ironic and needs unravelling. Low says "…the critical message of the writer is unravelled: the peace process is, ironically, almost as aggressive as the war it is designed to end" (Louw, 2000:53).

As is clear in the above examples and Louw's explication, such ironic uses of lexical items are quite marked, so they are unravelled – slowly processed for ironic interpretation.

3.3.6. Differences between Semantic Preference and Semantic Prosody

Semantic preference and semantic prosody are subtle aspects of meaning which "bind words tightly into their contexts and into linguistic conventions" (Oster and Lawick, 2008: 335). Although they are two closely related aspects of meaning focussing on the node's collocations or lexical environment, distinctions exist between them. According to Partington (2004:151), semantic preference relates a particular node to a semantic set of collocates, while semantic prosody can affect wider stretches of text to make evaluative judgments. Xiao and McEnery (2006:107) state that "semantic preference can be viewed as a feature of the collocates while semantic prosody is a feature of the node word." While semantic prosody "dictates the general environment which constrains the preferential choices of the node item," semantic preference "contributes powerfully to building" the prosody (Partington, 2004:151). The main criterion for the distinction between the two aspects of meaning is that semantic preference refers to the semantic field of the typical collocates, whereas semantic prosody tends to be for positive or negative evaluation (McEnery and Hardie, 2012:137). Sinclair (1996/2004) and Stubbs (2002a) think that the semantic prosody of a lexical item reflects the pragmatic motivation or reason for which it is chosen for an utterance. Sinclair thinks that we should look at not only the typical collocates but also wider texts around the node item to postulate a prosody. He also argues that semantic prosodies are "more specific than merely positive or negative evaluation" (McEnery and Hardie, 2012:138). It is for this reason that Sinclair considers supra-lexical text fragments like *too faint to be seen with the naked eye, it is not really visible to the naked eye* etc., before he postulates the prosody of *difficulty* for the phrase *the naked eye*.

With the node's interaction with its lexical environment being so important, any prosody associated with a lexical item should not be its inherent feature alone. Partington

(2004), Stubbs (2010) and Sinclair (1996/2004; 1998; 2000) seem to agree that the evaluative or attitudinal meaning of a lexical item is related to the whole unit – item plus its co-text. Therefore, the postulation such as "item x has a prosody y" is controversial because it looks as if the prosody belonged to the word alone. Stewart (2010:60) suggests the formulation "the unit of meaning containing node x is characterized by a prosody y."

Sample lexical profiling for the lexical item *undergo.* Stubbs (2002a:89-95) identifies the lexical profile of UNDERGO from its concordance lines (see sample concordance lines for *undergo* below on the next page). According to his analysis of the concordance, the node UNDERGO tends to collocate to the right with words from basically three semantic fields: 1) medicine (surgery, treatment, hysterectomy, brain surgery, operation, etc.) 2) tests (test, tests, examination, training) 3) change (change, changes, transformations). All these point to a very unpleasant prosody for UNDERGO because people involuntarily undergo such unpleasant events like medical procedures (Stubbs, 2002a:89). UNDERGO collocates to the left with words from the semantic field of involuntariness suggested by *must, have to, had to, will have to, be forced to* and *be required to*. Stubbs (2002a:90) makes the summative evaluation that we observe an unpleasant prosody to the right of UNDERGO while a related prosody of involuntariness occurs to the left of the node. All in all, UNDERGO has a very strong unpleasant prosody.

Sample concordance lines for *undergo*

1. f the Oval Test last summer to undergo a cartilage operation. He was not
2. and international institutions undergo a change – Political observers in
3. ould be aware the system is to undergo a historic transformation. Sometime
4. families of the nation did not undergo a major metamorphosis until the op
5. or the first time will have to undergo a means test and a needs assessmen
6. the applicants, asking them to undergo a medical examination, and prepari
7. court today and is expected to undergo a psychiatric examination. 930430
8. r – Discovery will not have to undergo a special fueling test because it
9. ir work, each operative had to undergo a stringent medical examination ev
10. m-you find romantic are due to undergo a transformation on the 4th, and w
11. h John Fashanu being forced to undergo an Achilles tendon operation. The
12. rawling estate are required to undergo an 'eyescan' before being allowed t
13. ge it's led dozens of women to undergo back-alley abortions in countries
14. arnations that the spirit must undergo before it can achieve release from
15. Mr Forbes subsequently had to undergo brain surgery, and his friends and
16. ill Clinton, style is about to undergo dramatic changes. Out for instance
17. former champion Pat Cash will undergo exploratory surgery on an injured
18. s of alcoholic beverages is to undergo extensive food testing. And only i
19. programme for hostages. He'll undergo extensive medical checks and psych
20. now in Bahrain where they will undergo extensive medical examinations bef
21. e championships tomorrow, will undergo extensive skills and fitness train
22. a hospital and insisted that I undergo extensive tests – There was nothin
23. baden in Germany where he will undergo further medical tests at an Americ
24. inal hysterectomy patients may undergo further surgery at a rate as high
25. Robert Mays allow Kimberly to undergo genetic testing. As fiction, the t
26. r Warren, who was scheduled to undergo his eighth open heart surgery afte
27. nd Howey may even be forced to undergo his fourth operation inside a year
28. h to one half of all women who undergo hysterectomy develop some morbidit
29. management know-how. Employees undergo intensive training on the shop flo
30. gories of children required to undergo language testing. The categories o
31. ster. Yesterday, he was due to undergo major brain surgery. On Friday nig
32. undergone and will continue to undergo major cutbacks. If Japan does not
33. atrick Buchanan is planning to undergo major heart surgery tomorrow – His
34. he first established prison to undergo "market testing" and the first for
35. s suggest that women likely to undergo menopause, at about age 50, ought
36. whether or not a woman should undergo more extensive tests where a diagr
37. t that a pioneer product would undergo more testing, he says. Rissler, wh
38. weapon – Police said he would undergo psychiatric examination before any
39. leaders could not be forced to undergo random drug testing in order to re
40. nly two feet in diameter, will undergo several systems checks before bein
41. use the family butcher shop to undergo significant change in appearance a
42. captain, Villiam Hyravy, is to undergo surgery and will take no part. The
43. wait 24 hours before they can undergo the procedure. Doctors must tell p
44. . So who is actually having to undergo the tests? An oceanographer got te
45. e. But it has not been able to undergo the transformation and economic mo
46. ut her ability to continue and undergo the treatment. It was very clear t
47. attempt last year. As recruits undergo training in a Fortitude Valley fig
48. d deed.' Before she agreed to undergo treatment and completed donor cons
49. ages are found, patients often undergo treatment, including bypass surge
50. e Pendennis Shipyard. She will undergo trials locally before sailing to

Figure 4. A sample view of concordance lines for undergo (Stubbs, 2002a:93)

Stubbs (2002a:96) stresses that "a great deal of language in use consists of extended lexico-semantic units." He describes units of meaning around the node as semantic schemas with default values and typical realisations. Each lexical item makes its way into utterances under the constraints of co-selectional properties – certain collocates, certain semantic preferences, and certain discourse prosodies.

3.3.7. Conclusion

Extended units of meaning for a lexical item are identified through lexical profiling based on corpus data. Corpus-driven profiling proves how inadequate dictionary model of meaning is which is based on "rough equation of a word and a unit of meaning" (Sinclair, 1998: 2). Conversely, we encounter units of meanings in texts which consist of collocational patterns constrained by certain semantic preferences and prosodies. In other words, units of meaning tend to be phrasal – phrases more or less occupying a place closer to the extreme of idioms on the continuum of open choice and idiom principles.

Recurrent patterns of a lexical item as observed in its concordance reveal that a speaker's choice of a lexical item is primarily determined by its prosody. The semantic prosody then requires the use of particular collocates in its co-text within a certain semantic preference. When an item is chosen, then all these discourse features are co-selected or selected in batches (Morley and Partington, 2009:139).

By identifying the lexical profiles of our selection of fear type words in Turkish as they occur in the corpus TNC, we aim to show how different or similar their collocational selectivity is, what units of meaning each of them is associated with, why one is chosen in a particular context rather than another in our set of supposedly near synonyms. Elaborating on the lexical profiles of our set of fear type words – verbs expressing subjective experience of fear– will reveal cues about the extent of their intersubstitutability.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1. Corpus-Driven Lexical Profiling Of The Turkish Fear Verbs

This chapter covers lexical profiles and cognitive appraisal patterns of Turkish verbs that express subjective experience of fear. Through a manual concordance analysis of the data obtained from the TNC, the lexical profiles of the verbs *kork-* (to fear), *tırs-* (to fear, informal), *ürk-* (to spook, to shy away), *irkil-* (to get startled), and *ürper-* (to get the shivers/goose bumps) are identified. To this end, typical collocates, colligates, semantic preferences, and discourse prosodies were identified in order to demonstrate *extended units of meaning* for each fear item. In addition to meaning distinctions between the fear verbs above, distinct collocate- and colligate-dependent meanings for individual items are explicated in the section. Cognitive, physiological and behavioural aspects of the fear event are often taken into account in describing the lexical profiles of the verbs. In order to provide deeper insights into the conceptual content of each fear verb, their cognitive appraisal patterns are presented in comparison with that of fear (korku) provided by Scherer (2001:115). Any appraisal discrepancies observed for the Turkish fear tokens (tırs-, ürk-, irkil- and ürper-) as compared to that of fear (korku/kormak) provided by Scherer (2001:115) are specified in bold characters. At the end of the section a comprehensive comparison of the lexical profiles and cognitive appraisal patterns of the fear verbs (kork-, tırs-, ürk-, irkil- and ürper-) are provided.

4.1.1. Lexical Profile Of *Kork*

Kork- is a lexical item representing the generic or superordinate term which prototypically expresses the subjective experience of the emotion of fear in Turkish. It is a semantically vague term which covers the emoter's feelings ranging from simple worry or apprehension to extreme fears of terror. Below in this section we discuss its lexical profile and cognitive appraisal pattern involved in primary/acute fear episodes. The form and meaning are indissolubly linked, so not only collocational but also colligational patterns involving *kork-* will be presented with in-depth semantic interpretations.

4.1.1.1. Colligates of *Kork-*

In İbe's (2004:102) classification, *kork-* belongs to the group of psych verbs whose themes are ablative marked in Turkish. Placed at –N positions, the source or trigger of the emotion verb *kork-* is marked with the ablative case (DAn).

Table 7. Structural type of *kork-* in Turkish

Subject	Object	Sample Sentence
Experiencer (NOM)	Theme(ABL)	Herkes bu sıralar deprem-*den* **kork-uyor**. Everybody these days earthquake-ABL fear-PROG. (Everyone fears the earthquake nowadays) (İbe, 2004:102)

Our analysis of the concordance of *kork-* in the TNC manifested the following colligational features:

Kork- colligates with the ablative marker – (DAn) on nouns and verbal nouns (VN) that express the stimulus or trigger of the psych verb:

(1) Sadece dış değil bir de iç mihrak-lar-**dan kork**-tu-k. (RG22C4A-0022, TNC)
Only external not also internal power-PL-**ABL fear**-PERF-1pl. (We **feared** not only external but also internal powers)

(2) Kıza öyle istekle bakmıştı ki, belli et-mek-**ten kork**-tu. (VA16B2A-0561)
Girl.DAT such lust.INS look.PERF obvious make-VN-**ABL fear**-PERF (He had looked at the girl so lustfully that he **feared** that he would reveal that)

In such instances above, the verb *kork-* expresses the experiencer's valenced reaction to the consequence of a potential event/action that he/she will cause. In some cases, the experiencer fears because another agent's potential action causes the displeasure felt. The agent of the undesirable event is marked with the genitive case - *(n)In* and the nominalized verb has the possessive case marker -*(s)I*. (genitive-possessive construction)

(3) Her an, kapının açılmasından, [o kadı-**nın**] içeriye dalıp emretmeye [*başla*-ma-**sın**-**dan**] **korkarak** ayakta bekledi. (KA16B2A-1335) [that woman-**GEN**] …[*start*-VN-**POSS**-**ABL**] (He stood **fearing** that the door would open suddenly and that woman would rush in and start to give orders)

In genitive-possessive nominal clauses, the ablative marker can also be placed after the future suffix, in which case we have the colligational pattern "– (y) AcAK + POSS+ ABL". The likelihood that the event described by the verb will take place is the potential instigator of the affective state of fear. The nominal clause expresses a threat or obstacle to the emoter in diverse ways such as a threat to their goal pursuit, needs, prestige etc. The experiencer's valenced (negative) reaction to "*consequences of events*" or "*actions of agents*" (Ortony et al., 1988) is what causes the emoter to feel displeased / fearful.

(4) Bir an [telefon-**un**] [aç-ıl-ma-**yacağ**-*ın*-**dan**] **kork**-tu. (RA16B2A-3329)
*[phone-**GEN**]* [open-PASS-NEG-**FUT**-*POSS*-**ABL**] **fear**-PERF. (For a moment he **feared** *that the phone would not be answered/***feared** *lest the phone should not be answered*)

(5) Aetius, [bekle-me-**nin**] Hunları daha fazla [kışkırt-**acağ**-*ın*-**dan] kork**-uyor-du. (OD05A2A-2605) [wait-VN-**GEN**] … [provoke-**FUT**-*POSS*-**ABL**] **fear**-PROG-PST (Aetius **feared** that waiting would provoke the Huns even further)

In the following strange concordance line, before the node *kork*- at –N1 position, we see "ol-", the Turkish helping verb, preceded by a verb in future form. The colligational pattern before the node is –(y)AcAK *olmasınDAN* (ABL), in which the future realisation of the undesirable event seems to be taken for granted – an event certain to take place which causes the fear.

(6) Gökbilimciler ise, dünyaya yansıtılan ışığın [ışık kirliliği-**nin**] yıldızlar üzerinde yapılacak çalışmaları [etkile-**yecek** *ol-ma-sın-**dan***] **kork**-uyor-lar. (LI27D1B-2812] [light pollution-GEN] … [affect-**FUT** *be-VN-POSS-**ABL***] **fear**-PROG-3pl. (Astronomers **are afraid** that the light reflected on the Earth will (certainly?) affect (unfavourably) the studies to be conducted on stars.)

Kork- colligates at –N position with dative [-(y)A] marked verbal nouns (VN), which corresponds to the English pattern *be afraid to do* something. Both in English and Turkish, the dative marked verb – the action that one fears to do in the pattern– reflects what one *wants* or *needs to do*. The pattern reflects the experiencer's lack of courage to perform the action because they fear the potential unfavourable consequences. It corresponds to the stimulus evaluation check "control check" and "power check" which are appraised to be low in case of fear situations (Scherer, 1984, 1999, 2001).

(7) Libyalı diplomat son anda titremeye başladı. Çadırın kapısından içeri [*gir-me-**ye kork**-tu*]. "Kaddafi yüzüme bakıp beni beğenmezse…?" (RE13C3A-1379) [*enter-VN-**DAT fear**-PERF*] (The Libyan diplomat finally began to tremble. He *felt afraid to enter* through the tent door. "What if Kaddafi looks at my face and doesn't like me…?")

(8) Annesi onu evde yalnız [*bırak-ma-ya **kork**-uyor*]. "Sobanın yanına gider, mangalı devirir," diyordu. … Ama bugün öyle gerekiyordu. (UA16B2A-1248) [*leave-VN-**DAT fear**-IMPERF*] (Her mother *was afraid to leave* her alone at home. "She may approach the stove and knock down the brazier," mother thought. …but today she had to leave her alone.)

In this line the mother is afraid to do something which she *needs to, not wants to.* She is afraid of the possible consequences of leaving the child alone at home. In the OCC model (Ortony et al., 1988), she is *displeased about the prospect of an undesirable event* – leaving alone the child who might burn herself.

From the above discussion it is clear that *kork-* colligates with verbal nouns which may be both ablative and dative marked. It would be appropriate here to refer to İbe (2004:105) about possible differences in meaning:

- Ali yurtdışına gitme-**ye** korkuyor. (go-VN-**DAT**) => Ali *is afraid to go* abroad (most probably a single action of *going abroad* –a single future action)
- Ali yurtdışına gitmek-**ten** korkuyor. (go-VN-**ABL**) => Ali *is afraid of going* abroad. (most probably repeated instances of *going abroad* – habitual disposition)

However, when the psych verb *kork-* is in the perfective aspect, the ablative marked form seems to be interchangeable with the dative one even though the dative marked one sounds more natural and common:

Ali yurtdışına gitme-**ye** kork-tu. (go-VN-**DAT**)
= ? Ali yurtdışına gitmek-**ten** kork-tu. (go-VN-**ABL**)
"Ali was afraid to go abroad"

As far as the attested data in the concordance of *kork-* is considered, the selection of VN-DAT (verb+ mA+(y)A) or VN+ABL (verb+mAk+DAn) depends on whether the verbal noun at –N1 position is part of a verb phrase/noun clause which expresses something wanted/needed or something unwanted – something desired to happen/needed to happen or not desired to happen. Compare:

(9) …yalnız kal-*mak*-**tan** kork-uyor-um. (IA16B2A-0563)
….alone stay-VN-ABL fear-PROG-1sg. (I am afraid of being alone) ("Being alone" is something unwanted) => "Being alone" worries me, so it is *not desired* to happen.

(10) Arkadaşlara seslen-*me*-***ye*** kork-uyor-du-m. (TH09C1A-0834)
Friends shout-VN-***DAT*** fear-PROG-PST-1sg (I was afraid *to shout* to friends) ("Shouting to friends" is not a threat, nor is it something unwanted. It is something I wanted to do) => I couldn't shout to friends because I was afraid. I didn't have enough courage to do that. The pattern suggests lack of enough courage to do something desirable or necessary.

At –N position, *kork-* colligates with the Turkish pattern *aorist + subordinator (-(A/I)r diye)*, which may express reason or precaution (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:399).

(11) …çekmecenin birini açar da tabancayı bulup ortalıkta sallamaya [*başla*-***r diye kork***-*tu*-*m*] hep. (SA16B4A-0063) [*start*-***AOR SUB fear***-*PERF-1sg*] (I always [***feared*** *lest he should]* open one of the drawers, find the gun and brandish it to and fro)

(12) Sahiden okuyan, düşünen insanlar çoğaldığında Türkiye [*uyan*-***ır diye kork***-*uyor*-*lar*]. (PD22C2A-

0843] [*awaken-**AOR SUB** **fear**-IMPERF-3pl*] (They [**fear** *lest Turkey should awaken* / get disillusioned] when the number of people who really read and think has increased)

The subordinator "diye" can also follow the future suffix – (y)AcAk which together forms the colligational pattern "–(y)AcAk diye" at –N position of our node *kork-*. If the node *kork-* is in perfective aspect (i.e. marked with "–tu" for this verb – kork*tu*), the whole colligational pattern expresses FEARS DISCONFIRMED in the OCC model (Ortony et al., 1988) – what one fears will happen does not happen and relief probably follows. The disconfirmation of the fear is usually signalled with post-node "*ama*" (but). (which is also the case for the colligational pattern aorist [-(A)r + subordinator "diye" above]

(13) Dilo bey (çocuğu) [*bul-acak-lar diye **kork**-tu*]. *Ama* arayanlar yol değiştirdiler, harebelerin arasında kayboldular. (LA16B2A-0436) [*find-FUT-3pl SUB **fear**-PERF*] (Mr Dilo ***feared*** *that they would find* (the boy). *But* those looking for him changed direction, disappearing among the ruins).

(14) Tabi ki çiftçinin şımarık oğlu üzerime [*bas-acak diye çok **kork**-tu-m*]. *Ama* basmadı. (UI22E1B-2914) [*step-FUT SUB terribly **fear**-PERF-1sg*] (Of course I *was terribly afraid that* the farmer's naughty son *would step* on me. *But* he didn't.)

If the node kork- is in imperfective form with the preceding pattern "–(y)AcAk diye" or aorist [-(A/I)r + subordinator "diye", the focus is on the fear state (anxious anticipation of an undesirable event) with the likelihood of the event taking place being open-ended. The post-node sentence(s) will probably profile the experiencer's efforts or lack of power to avoid the aversive prospective event.

(15) … oğlumu onların içine salmaktan çekiniyorum. Çocuğu [*baştan çıkar-acak-lar diye **kork**-uyor-um*]. Fırsat buldukça uyarıyor, anlatıyorum. (LA16B4A-0687) [*seduce-FUT-3pl SUB **fear**-IMPERF-1sg*] (I refrain from letting my son hang out with them. I ***fear*** *lest they should seduce* the boy. Whenever I can, I talk to and warn him)

(16) Bir yandan da "Bana [*saldır-acak" diye **kork**-uyor-du-m*]. Tüm cesaretimle kadını çekiştire çekiştire evin kapısına götürdüm. (SI22C3A-0559) [*attack-FUT SUB **fear**-IMPERF-PST-1sg*] (On the other hand I ***was afraid*** *lest she should attack* him. I plucked up my courage and dragged the woman to the door to the house)

(17) Yeni yeni yapmaya başladığı devamsızlıklar çoğalırsa okuldan [*at-ıl-ır diye **kork**-uyor-du-m*]. O gece Eda o kadar ağladı ki, ben de kendimi tutamadım. (OA16B2A-0787) [*expel-PASS-AOR SUB **fear**-IMPERF-PST-1sg*] (I *was afraid lest she should be expelled* from school if she continued to be absent from school, which she had started recently. Eda cried so much that night that I also couldn't help crying)

(18) Ben de ayakkabı boyadığım için, daha az para [*kazan-ır-lar diye **kork**-uyor-lar*] herhalde. Oysa ben

onlara karışmıyorum. (OA16B2A-1253) [*earn-AOR-3pl SUB* ***fear****-IMPERF-3pl*] (Because I polish shoes around too, they **are** probably **afraid** lest they should (begin to) earn less. I do not interfere in their affairs, though)

Kork-, as many other verbs do, naturally have a colligation pattern which involves temporal clause converbial (CV) marked with –(y) IncA, which corresponds to English *when* clause to express a sequential cause-effect relation. At –N position, the converbial –(y) IncA marks the cause of the fear verb *kork-*. It marks the temporal point at which the experiencer *enters into the state* of fear.

(19) Savcı çağırt-**ınca kork**-tu-m. **(KE39C4A-0274)** Prosecutor summon-**CV fear**-PERF-1sg. (***When*** the public prosecutor ***summoned*** me, I **feared**)

(20) Avcı nişan almış ateş edecekti. Çoban onun nişan aldığını gör-**ünce kork**-tu. **(SI19E1A-3992)** Hunter aim take fire open. Shepherd his aim take see-**CV fear**-PERF. (The hunter had taken aim and was about to shoot. ***When*** the shepherd ***saw*** him taking aim, he **feared**)

Kork- naturally colligates with the subordinating suffix –(y)Ip, represented as CONJ by Göksel and Kerslake (2005:439). The suffix can be added to almost any other verb. However, what makes it important for us is its ability to profile action tendencies caused by the fear state. This subordinating suffix combines two verbs which express two subsequently occurring actions. The first verb takes the suffix –(y)Ip and then the other verb follows, and the two verbs have equal status in terms of tense/aspect/modality. The suffix becomes "-up" with *kork-* due to vowel harmony in Turkish (i.e. kork-**up**). *Kork-* with this suffixal colligate on the verb (kork-up) is directly followed by what one does as a result of the fear state. Then *kork-**up*** is supposed to collocate with verbs expressing discontinuance of one's goal pursuit, flight or avoidance behaviour.

(21) Kendi seslerinden başka en küçük bir sesten bile [**kork**-*up* hemen suya *atlamalarıyla*] tanınan kurbağalar bile… (TA16B1A-1215) [**fear**-*CONJ* immediately water *jump*] (Even frogs known for **fearing** even the lowest sound other than theirs *AND jumping* into water immediately…)

(22) Ne oluyordu, bizim arkadaşlar [**kork**-*up* bir köşeye mi *sinmişlerdi*?] (NE39C4A-0081) [**fear**-*CONJ* Hide] (What was happening, was it that our fellow friends had **feared** *AND hidden* somewhere?)

(23) Çevrede yaşıyan köylülerin kimi, bu durumdan [**kork**-*up* başka köylerdeki yakınlarının yanına *taşınmışlar*]. (UA16B2A-0398) (Some of the villagers living in the vicinity reportedly **feared** that situation *AND moved* to stay with their relatives in other villages)

Kork- colligates with –(y) ArAk, which functions as 1) a subordinating suffix (CONJ, "and") like –(y)Ip and as 2) converbial suffix (CV) which derives *manner adverbs* from verbs. As a conjunction (CONJ), it normally functions like "and", combining the node *kork-* (kork-ARAK) with the subsequent action that results from the fear event. In such concordance lines, the verb

phrase headed by *kork-arak* expresses the reason for the subsequent action taken by the experiencer. In the concordance lines displaying *kork-arak,* we observed that the verb phrase headed by kork-ARAK tends to function like the non-finite adverbial clause introduced by "*–DIğI için*" in Turkish, which encodes reason (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:210). Therefore, it would be right to describe -ArAk on the node as converbial (CV) rather than conjunction "and (CONJ)". In other cases the suffix –(y) ArAk turns the node *kork-* into an adverb of manner that modifies the subsequent verb – how the action that the other verb expresses takes place. That is, one does the subsequent action while fearing simultaneously.

(24) ABD yönetimi bir ayaklanmanın başlayacağından [**kork-*arak*]** orduyu Kızılderilerin üstüne doğru [harekete *geçir*-**ir**]. (LA16B4A-0289) [***fear-CV***-reason] [*send*-AOR] (***Because*** the US administration ***fears*** that a revolt might break out, it *sends* the army towards the Indians).

(25) Ansızın önüme bir yılan çıktı, beni sokacak bir yılan diye [**kork-*arak*** *öldür-dü-m*.] (HH42C2A-0709) [***fear-CV***-reason *kill*-PERF-1sg] (Suddenly a snake appeared before me, and ***because*** I ***feared*** that it was one that might bite me, I *killed* it.)

(26) Sonra koltukta yatan Peride'ye yaklaştı. İncitmekten [**kork-*arak*]** ince feracesini [*sıyır-dı*] üzerinden. (KA16B2A-0879) [***fear-CV***-manner] [*take*-PERF] (Then he approached Peride, lying on the coach. ***Fearing*** that he might hurt/disturb her (taking care not to disturb her) he *took* her ferace (a formerly worn long coat) off her) (While he was doing the taking-off, he was in a state of fear/caution)

Kork- colligates with the negation suffix –mA as in *kork-ma*, becoming a negative imperative. Even though the imperative form sounds unnatural and marked with state verbs like fear (kork-), the negative imperative *kork-ma,* which is formed with the addition of –mA to the base morpheme, is often used in Turkish. *Kork-* in colligation with –mA, that is *korkma* is said to the (potential) experiencer in order to encourage them against a threat, discontinue an already existing fear to provide relief or to reassure them that there is nothing to worry about the seemingly threat. Sometimes a speaker says "*korkma*" to the experiencer (victim) before giving them harm, thus preventing them from taking measures against the threat (that they are trying to hide, look at the last example below). From the standpoint of cognitive appraisal profile of fear (Scherer, 2001:115), "*korkma"* is said to the experiencer so as to increase their "coping potential" –to raise their "low" power to "high."

(27) Yanına yaklaşıyorum. Tedirgin, başını sakınmaya çalışıyor. ["**Kork**-*ma*"] diyorum. "Sana vurmayacağım." (SA16B4A-0047) [**fear**-*NEG* imperative] (I approach him. Nervous, he tries to protect his head. I say "*Don't* **fear**". "I won't hit you.")

(28) Çabuk kaçalım buradan. YAŞAR: Dur, anne! [**Kork**-*ma*!] O ayı, ayı değil! KARAGÖZ: **Kork**-*ma* hatun!

Benim… (GA14B1A-1501) [**fear**-*NEG* imperative) (Let's run away at once. YAŞAR: Stop, mum! *Don't* **fear**! That bear is not a bear! KARAGÖZ: *Don't* **fear**, wife. It is me…)

(29) Ayakları pedala zor uzanıyor, düşmekten korkuyordu. "Hiç [**kork**-*ma*], ben daima yanında olacağım ve seni tutacağım" dedim. (RE22C1A-0247) [**fear**-*NEG* imperative] (With his feet hardly reaching the pedals, he was afraid of falling. "*Don't* **fear**, I will always accompany and hold you" I said.)

(30) "**Kork**-*ma* **kork**-*ma*. Gelsem bile sana sarkmam. Sadece gözlerindeki yeşil yuvarlakların denizin ortasında daha güzel parlayacağını düşünüyorum…" (IA16B3A-0602) (**Fear**-*NEG* imperative) (Don't **fear**. Even if I come, I won't molest you. I just think that your green eye apples will shine better amid the sea.)

When the node *kork*- colligates with the future suffix –(y)AcAK, it hardly ever means that the subject will fear in future time. Rather, it is used to express that *there is nothing to fear* or that *the addressee does not need to fear*. *Kork-acak* is used to downplay a threat or to reassure the addressee that fearing or worrying is groundless. *Kork-acak* is observed to collocate with multi-word units that means one needn't fear, such as *"bir şey yok" "ne var (ki)" "ne varmış"* or to colligate with the question word *"neden?" or "niye?",* implying there do not seem to be any reasons for fearing.

(31) Onlar bizden korkuyor. Biz *niye* [**kork**-*acak*-mış-ız?] (RD02A3A-1385) (**fear**-*FUT*-EVI-1pl] (They are afraid of us. *Why* are we supposed to be afraid of them?)

(32) "Ne önemi var ki? Yoksa korkuyor musun?" "Ben *neden* **kork**-*acak* mışımki? (RA15B4A-0542) [fear-FUT..] "Does it matter at all? Are you afraid, then?" "*Why* should I fear?")

(33) **Kork**-*acak bir şey yok*. Sadece ayağı kırılmış. (UA16B3A-0716) [**Fear**-*FUT*] (We/You needn't fear / worry. He has only broken his leg)

Kork- naturally colligates with Turkish AORIST – (A/I)r, which usually expresses habitual or repeated actions. Then kork-*ar* profiles one's predisposition to fear certain things. However, what we really focus here will be the colligational pattern "*kork-ar-ım (ki) + statement" [fear-AOR-1sg CONJ "ki"]*. The pattern is followed by a statement expressing an unpleasant event or future contingency. While habitual *"kork-ar"* suggests the emotion fear, the pattern *"kork-ar-ım ki"* usually does not express fear. The first example below concerns habitual fear, whereas the other examples tell a different story as explicated following each example:

(34) *[Deprem-den]* oldum olası çok [**kork**-*ar*-ım]. (PG09C2A-0071) [earthquake-ABL **fear**-*AOR-1sg*] (I always **fear** earthquakes)

(35) … çok üzüleceğin bir haber vereceğim. **Kork**-*ar*-ım babanı kaybettik. (GA16B3A-0374) [**fear**-*AOR*-1sg]. (…You'll be very upset about what I'll tell you now. **I am afraid that** your father has passed away.) (The pattern can be replaced with **I regret to say that** or **unfortunately**)

(36) Yarışmanın kurallarına uymamışsınız. **Kork**-*ar*-ım yarın yarışmada sizi yenik ilan edeceğim. (VA14B1A-1601) [**fear**-*AOR*-1sg] (Reportedly, you have violated the rules of the competition. **I am afraid that** I will declare you defeated) (The pattern can be replaced with **I regret to say that** or **unfortunately**)

(37) Bu durumda [**kork**-*ar*-ım ki], bu köhne yönetim yerinde kalır. (RD30D1B-2179) [**fear**-*AOR*-1sg] (In this case, I **am afraid that** this old-fashioned government will remain in power). (**Unfortunately**…)

This use of *kork*- (to fear) does not suggest the prototypical episode of fear (acute, primary fear) involving an imminent threat, cognitive, psychological and physiological processes in the self and their action tendencies as described in the literature (Russel and Barret, 1999; Ortony and Turner, 1990; Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal, 2006 etc.). The use of *kork*- in the colligational pattern *"kork-AOR-1sg (ki) + statement"* has nothing to do with the linguistic encoding of such an acute fear situation. *"Korkarım ki"* (I'm afraid that) is followed by a statement which expresses an unpleasant completed event or a negative (future) anticipation. In such linguistic frames "*korkarım ki"* can be expressed in English with *"I think (sanırım)", "Unfortunately (maalesef)"* or *"I regret to say that (üzülerek söylüyorum ki)."* The speaker or writer does not really want to express an actual state of fear that he/she experiences. In a concordance line this use of *kork*- is clearly criticised both for English and Turkish speakers:

(38) …Türkçeme hakim olamadığım kadar İngilizceme de hakim değilim **kork**-*ar*-ım. Bu "*korkarım*" "*korkarım*"cıların aslında korkmadığını da biliyoruz; o da ayrı. (RE36E1B-3293).
(**I am afraid that** I haven't got a good mastery of Turkish, nor have I got a good mastery of English. We very well know that those saying "I am afraid that" do not fear in fact; that's the other side of the coin.)

Zero colligation on the node – the imperative form of *kork*-. When *kork*- is used in base form, it forms an imperative. As a state verb, the use of *kork*- in the imperative with zero colligation is weird because we do not normally instruct someone to "fear" (kork-); it must be a marked use with a pragmatic function. *Kork!* in the imperative form usually collocates with *Allah* (God), (*Allah'tan kork*, a formulaic expression) suggesting that the addressee should be conscientious, moderate, fair and merciful about their manners, especially in a specific situation. It is an invitation for the addressee to be fair. When *kork!* in the imperative form does not collocate with Allah, *kork!* is used to urge the addressee to "be careful", "avoid" something or someone with a warning force.

(39) Adam: – Boyundan utanmaz mısın leylek. Tarlanın bir ucunu yedin bitirdin. Bırak da geri kalanını ben biçeyim. *Allah'tan* **kork**. Çoluk çocuğumun rızkı buna bağlıdır. Etme, eyleme... (VA16B1A-

1245) (Man: -You must be ashamed of yourself, stork. You have swallowed up one part of the field (corps). Let me harvest the rest. **Do fear** *Allah* (GOD). The sustenance of my household depends on that. Please don't do that…) (Urging the stork to be fair and merciful, or to stop being greedy/selfish)

(40) "Sen sözümü unutma… o karıdan **kork**… ne verirse versin ye,ama çayını içme…" (JA16B3A-0796)
(Don't forget my words…. **Do fear** that woman….eat whatever she gives you, but don't drink her tea…" (**Be careful** about that woman, who may turn out to be dangerous; the imperative form is used to ensure someone about the gravity of the threat)

Kork- commonly colligates with degree adverbs, mostly at –N1 position [*çok, iyi, iyice* (very much), *öyle ...ki* (so much …that), *nasıl* (how), *biraz* (a little), *bayağı* (quite, rather), *müthiş*, *fena halde* (terribly) and *büsbütün* (absolutely)]. These adverbs express the intensity of the fear state that the experiencer is in.

(41) Her şey çok güzel, bahar kokuları genzime doluyor ama *müthiş* **korkuyordum**. (GA16B1A-1217)
(Everthing was very nice, the fragrances of the spring were in my nose but I was *terribly* afraid)

Below on the next page is a table that displays colligational patterns involved in the use of the superordinate fear term *kork-* in Turkish:

Table 8. Colligational features of *kork-* on the basis of the concordance from TNC Corpus:

COLLIGATION PATTERNS (*Kork* - colligates with)	**EXAMPLES**
ABLATIVE CASE MARKER (ABL) –DAn	*Köpek-**ten*** korktum (I was frightened by the dog) (Noun+ABL) Gitmek-***ten*** korktu (He was afraid to go) (Verbal noun + ABL) Ali'nin gideceğ-in-***den*** (He feared that Ali would/might go) (Genitive-possessive, verbal noun +ABL) Ali'nin gitme-sin-***den*** (He feared that Ali would/might go) (Genitive-possessive, verbal noun +ABL)
THE SUFFIX -(y) AcAk + SUBORDINATOR "DİYE" (Fears disconfirmed)	Çocuğu bul-***acak***-lar ***diye*** korktum. (I feared lest they should find the child) (but they didn't)
AORIST -(A)r + SUBORDINATOR "DİYE"	Onu öldür-***ür diye*** korkuyorduk. (We were afraid lest he should kill him)
TEMPORAL/CAUSAL CONVERBIAL (CV) "–(y) IncA" (at –N position)	Gel-***ince****, gör-**ünce,*** hatırla-***yınca*** etc.
SUBORDINATING SUFFIX (CONJ) "-(y)Ip ("-up" for *kork* - for vowel harmony)	*Kork-**up*** kaçtılar (They *feared* **and** ran away)
-(y) ArAk as SUBORDINATING SUFFIX (coordinating conjunction *and,* or rather as non-finite adverbial clause like *"–DiğI İÇİN"*)	Beni sokar diye *kork-**arak*** yılanı öldürdüm. (***Because*** I *feared* that it might bite me, I killed the snake)
-(y) ArAk as CONVERBIAL SUFFIX (Manner Adverb)	*Kork-**arak*** cesede doğru yürüdük (We walked towards the corpse **fearfully / in fear**)
FUTURE SUFFIX (-(y)AcAK	*Kork-**acak*** bir şey yok. There is nothing to fear/ We/you needn't fear/worry
NEGATIVE SUFFIX –mA	Haklı olduğun mücadeleden *kork-**ma***. ***Don't*** *fear* if you are right in your struggle)
AORIST, AORIST + 1 PERSON SINGULAR - Im (+ CONJ "Kİ")	*Kork-***ar**-*ım (ki)* yarın gelmeycek. ***I am afraid that*** he won't come tomorrow. (=> **Unfortunately / I regret to say that**)
ZERO COLLIGATION– IMPERATIVE FORM	Allah'tan **kork**. (Do fear God => Be fair and merciful)
ADVERBS OF DEGREE at –N1 position	*Çok, iyi, iyice (very much), öyle…ki (so much…that), nasıl (i.e. how much I feared), biraz (a little), bayağı (quite, rather), müthiş, fena halde (terribly), büsbütün (absolutely).*

4.1.1.2. Collocates of *Kork-*

What lexical items or phrases that *kork-* (to fear) collocates with naturally depends on its distinct meaning in a given concordance line. *Kork-*, like the English verb *to fear*, is a generic/superordinate term which has become rather a vague concept that covers semantic construals of what could otherwise be expressed by words ranging from "*to worry, to be apprehensive, to be anxious"* to "to be frightened, to be terrified or to dread." In general terms there seem to be two kinds of fear – acute fear and prospective fear (Ortony and Turner, 1990). Similarly Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal (2006) describe two kinds of fear – "primary fear" experienced in the present with an imminent threat and its observable physiological effects, and

"secondary fear" which arouses with conscious appraisal of a situation involving recalling, analysing, interpreting, evaluating and planning.

Ortony et al. (1998) have the following type specification for fear emotions: "DISPLEASED ABOUT THE PROSPECT OF AN UNDESIRABLE EVENT." They regard fear as a "prospect-based" emotion. They argue that "[w]e often experience emotions in response to expected or suspected events (e.g. fear)(Ortony et al., 1998:109). "In many cases the prospect of an event involves a conscious expectation that it will occur in the future…" (ibid:109). In hundreds of concordance lines of our node *kork-*, we observed that in most lines *kork-* reflects the experience of a kind of fear that is "usually a reaction to an anticipated *future* undesirable event" (ibid:109). Because fear is usually a valenced (displeased) reaction to the prospect of an undesirable event (Ortony et al., 1998), which "may be aroused when a serious or personally relevant threat is perceived" (Witte et al., 2001:20), what makes a potential event threatening or dangerous for an individual is rather diverse and depends on their personal needs or goal pursuits. That is what makes it too hard for us to identify salient collocates for *kork-*, especially when it expresses secondary fear, because what seems to be an undesirable event for the experiencer is usually not something intrinsically bad (Scherer, 1999:647). Many potential '*expected*' or '*suspected*' events can cause worry for the experiencer and their linguistic manifestation in words is hard to categorise into semantic domains.

For all those reasons above we first looked for concordance lines in which *kork-* profiles a primary or acute fear situation and tried to identify collocates that would express fear antecedents, intensity, physiological effects and action tendencies (primary fear collocates below). Secondly we looked at other lines in which we mostly found the experiencer's personal negative reactions to prospects of events that usually profile various degrees of worry or apprehension rather than actual fear (secondary fear collocates below). Last but not least, in some cases collocates are colligation-dependent, which we also analysed separately.

Primary Fear Collocates. Primary fear refers to acute fear situations experienced in the present time. The threat or danger is imminent; the emotion is intense; fear causes observable physiological effects and the experiencer displays certain behaviour/action tendencies. Unfortunately, we came across fewer concordance lines than expected in which an acute fear situation is described. From only about 50 lines that describe acute fear, we conclude that *kork-* (to fear) naturally collocates with words or phrases in different positions in its lexical environment that express *avoidance* or *flight response*.

(42) Birden ürktü. **Korktu**, *kaçtı* yanımdan. (CA16B2A-1308) (She suddenly got spooked. She **feared** and *walked away* from me.)

(43) Öyle **korktu** ki yavrucaklar. *Koştular* alabildiğince … (RG37F1B-2934) (The kiddies feared so much.

They *ran* as far away as they could.)

(44) Halen *saklanıyor!* Arkadaşının cenazesine gitmekten **korkuyor**. (KA16B4A-0462) (He is still *hiding*. He **is afraid** to attend his friend's funeral.)

When it expresses acute fear episodes experienced in the present time, *kork-* naturally collocates with words or phrases that reflect behavioural aspects of fear other than avoidance [*ağlamak* (cry), *çığlık atmak* (let out a scream), *tutun/yapış* (clutch onto/cling to), *sığınmak* (take asylum/refuge)]:

(45) Nasıl *çığlık attı*, nasıl **korktu**, *bağıra bağıra* kaçtı. (GA16B1A-0643) (He *let out* such a loud *scream* and **feared** so much that he ran away *shrieking*.)

(46) Çok **korktu** ve yatağına gidip *ağladı*. (RD39C4A-2646) (She **feared** a lot and went to bed and *cried*.)

(47) **Korktu** kadın, kocasının koluna sımsıkı *yapıştı (i.e.* tutundu*)*. (The woman **feared** and *clutched onto* her husband's arm.) (a typical attachment behaviour)

Kork- collocates with words or phrases that express its physiological effects. [*sarsılmak* (shake, shudder), *titremek* (tremble), *elleri titremek* (of hands, to tremble), *eli ayağı düşmek / dizlerinin bağı çözülmek* (of limbs, to go dysfunctional=> feel like jelly) *kızarmak (to blush)*, *dili tutulmak* (become speechless), *donup kalmak* (freeze), *yüreği atmak/yüreği çarpmak* (palpitate)]:

(48) Bir değil birkaç kişi var kapının gerisinde. **Korktu**. *Eli ayağı düştü. Dizlerinin bağı gevşedi.* (SA16B4A-1492) (There was not a single person, but a few people behind the door. He **feared/was frightened**. *His hands and feet fell. The ligaments of his knees became loose* (These are literal renditions of somatic idioms which actually mean "He *turned to/felt like jelly*")

(49) Libyalı diplomat son anda *titremeye* başladı. Çadırın kapısından içeri girmeye **korktu**. (RE13C3A-1379) [*enter-VN-**DAT fear**-PERF*] (The Libyan diplomat finally began to *tremble*. He *felt afraid to enter* through the tent door.)

(50) Çok **korktum**, *dondum* kaldım. (CD09C2A-0207) (I **was terribly frightened** and *froze*)

(51) *Yüreği çarpıntıyla doldu* adamın, bakmaya **korktu**, ….kaçmak istedi oradan. (CA16B3A-1282) (Literally, the man's heart was filled with palpitations => The man's heart was *palpitating*, and he **was afraid** to look, …he wanted to run away)

Quite naturally, *kork-* collocates with various words or phrases which express sources/causes of fear. Some are natural cues like "being alone, strangeness, sudden approach, sudden change of stimuli, height and pain" (Izard, 1977:358). Izard refers to darkness, animals, strange objects and strange persons as derivatives of natural fear releasers. For example, fear of darkness may result from combining being alone and strangeness (ibid:358). In the

concordance of *kork-*, we see similar triggers of fear that can be evaluated under these categories [*bomboş oda* (completely empty/deserted room), *yalnız* (alone), *yapayalnız* (alone), *gizemli uğultular* (mysterious hums), *terk etmek* (abandon), *silah sesi* (gunshot), *gece* (night), *zifri karanlık* (pitch darkness), *örümcek* (spider), *yılan* (snake), *zehirli* (poisonous), *belirmek* (looming), *arkamda* (just behind me), *ölüm* (death), *intihar etmek* (commit suicide), *dik dik bakmak* (look sternly), *hastalık kapmak* (catch a disease) etc.].

(52) Kendisi çocukları için güvenli bir kucaktı, ama *geceyle* yoğunlaşan *tıkırtılardan* ölesiye **korkuyordu**. (JA16B3A-0999) (She was a safe haven for her children, yet she **was** terribly **afraid** of *rattles* increasing at *night*)

Secondary fear collocates. As we said above, secondary fear refers to potential future events that might threaten one's interests or goal pursuits. Our displeasure about potential future happenings can be placed on a continuum of simple worry-anxiety-fear depending on the clues regarding the likelihood and reality of the anticipated unpleasant event. The concordance lines for the node *kork-* (to fear) revealed that such "fears" (more accurately "worries") about future contingencies seem to be expressed by a non-finite noun clause whose verb *kork-* colligates with at –N1 position. These non-finite noun clauses in Turkish express the source of fear which is now felt about something that might happen in future. Because anything that might happen in future may be a cause of fear depending on the experiencer's goal pursuit or interests (or survival), it is rather difficult to associate salient collocates with *kork-* for such person- and situation-specific worries. Bowlby (1973) labels fearing future uncertainties as fear of future contingencies:

> …during the course of human life the situations that are apt to arouse fear include not only those that are actually present but others, more or less likely, that are forecast. Thus children and adults are frequently apprehensive about events that they believe may be going to occur and of objects and creatures that they suspect may be going to appear. Such fear is concerned with future contingencies… (Bowlby, 1973:122).

It would be reasonable to argue that in many concordance lines *kork-* (to fear) expresses something close to anxiety or simple worry. Öhman (2008:710) makes a clear distinction between anxiety and fear, stating that "(…) anxiety is often "prestimulus" (i.e., anticipatory to [more or less] threatening stimuli), whereas fear is "poststimulus" (i.e., elicited by a defined fear stimulus). However, Adolph (2013) looks upon anxiety, fear and panic as three varieties of fear. He thinks that they "can all be mapped onto a continuum of threat imminence (respectively from more distal to more proximal)" (ibid:81). Because emotions are reactions to personally significant events, various future events in the following concordance lines can be intrinsically

non-threatening but are deemed as such for the experiencer (Scherer, 1999:647), which makes it hard to find salient collocates that can be categorised into common semantic fields. Non-finite clauses expressing the potential undesirable event that one fears might or will happen are underlined in the examples:

(53) Sonunda telefonu aldı, numaraları çevirdi. Bir an telefonun açılmayacağından **korktu**. (RA16B2A-3329) (At last he picked up the telephone and dialled the number. For a moment he **feared** that his call wouldn't be answered)

(54) Sema'nın gazabından korktum, gruptaki yerimi kaybetmekten **korktum**. (QA16B1A-1731) (I feared Sema's wrath, I **feared** lest I should lose my position in the group)

(55) Babam gibi onları bırakıp gitmemden **korkuyor**. (IA16B1A-0094) (She **fears** that I will/might abandon them and go away like my father).

(56) …şimdi kendime pek güvenmiyorum kelimeleri hatırlayamamaktan **korkuyorum**. (KI09C4A-0704) (…now I am not so self-confident. I **fear** that I might not be able to remember the words)

(57) …ninemi yalnız bıraktığım için yegane suçlu ben olacaktım. Yolun bir kenarından diğerine geçerken araba altında kalabileceğinden **korkuyordum**. (IA16B3A-0630) (…I was to be found guilty of leaving my grandmother unattended. I **was afraid** that she might be run over by a vehicle while crossing a street)

In each case the experiencer is "displeased about the prospect of an undesirable [future] event" (Ortony et al., 1998:110). This is the general type specification that Ortony et al. formulated about 'fear emotions.' The likelihood of the event being realised and the degree to which it is undesirable determine the intensity of the displeasure. In the concordance of *kork-* (to fear), it is observed that *kork-* has become a vague, ambiguous concept covering emotional states ranging from simple worry or apprehension to dread. As we said before, the future contingencies underlined above should not necessarily be intrinsically threatening; they are personally significant as triggers of fear or anxiety with regard to one's interests or goals. As such the lines do not allow for clear-cut assignation of collocates to distinct semantic domains.

However, some concordance lines allowed us to assign the semantic domain to a group of collocates which express "loss or separation." In such cases *kork-* collocates with the following verbs or phrases [*kaybetmek, yitirmek* (to lose), *bırakıp gitmek* (to abandon and go away), *terk etmek* (to abandon), *başını alıp gitmek* (to leave away), *yalnız kalmak* (to be left alone), *peşinden gitmek* (to leave and go with another person), *yok olmak* (to disappear)]

(58) Puslu gözleriyle periye baktı. Onu *kaybetmekten* **korktu**. (UA16B2A-0884) (He looked at the fairy with hazy eyes. He **feared** lest he should *lose* her).

(59) Babam gibi onları *bırakıp gitmemden* **korkuyor**. (IA16B1A-0094) (She **fears** that I will/might *abandon* them and *go away like my father*).

(60) Belki de senin söylediğin gibi *yalnız kalmaktan* **korkuyorum**. (IA16B2A-0563) (Perhaps I **fear** that I will *be left alone* as you said)

4.1.1.2.1. Colligation-Dependent Collocates

Sometimes collocates of a node are inevitably determined or affected by the colligational pattern that the node is part of. The colligational patterns "verb+ –(y)AcAk diye kork", "kork+ –(y)AcAk (kork-acak)", "kork+ –(y)Ip (kork-up)", "kork+ –(y)ArAk (kork-arak)" and imperative form of the node (kork! with zero colligation on the node) will probably dictate different semantic primings in their lexical surroundings. This is confirmed by Baker (2006:97), who states that "some collocates are dependent on particular words forms." When certain suffixes are added to the node, some collocations disappear or occur with low frequencies. We touched on the issue while discussing the colligates of *kork-* above; nevertheless, we deem it right to discuss in detail the relationship between salient colligational patterns and selection of collocates below.

Verb + AORIST (A/I(r)) diye + kork- / Verb + –(y)AcAk diye + kork- (fear disconfirmed)

This frame as a whole often collocates/colligates with "*ama*" (but), especially when the node is in perfective aspect (kork-**tu**). In some lines we see the collocate "*bir an / bir ara*" to mark the short duration of the fear to be disconfirmed. The phrases or clauses after "*ama*" reveal that the fear is disconfirmed and therefore relief occurs. This is linguistically encoded by a verb semantically opposite to the verb that marks the fear instigator before "*ama*" or the same verb is negated to mean that the initial fear was disconfirmed. If we apply 'force dynamics' (Talmy, 1988) to this collostructure, the function of "*ama*" (but) here is to signal *the removal of the force* exerted by fearfully/anxiously anticipated event.

(61) Merter'de trafik sıkıştı, *geç kalacağız* diye **korktum** *bir ara ama yetiştik* işte… (JI09C4A-1294)
(There was a traffic jam at Merter; I **feared** that we would be late for a moment *but* we arrived on time) (*bir ara* (for a moment) => short duration of fear; *ama* (but) => adversative conjunction to imply the disconfirmation of the feared threat or misfortune; *geç kalacağız* (would be late) and *yetiştik* (arrived on time) => semantically opposite verbal phrases)

(62) Tabi ki çiftçinin şımarık oğlu üzerime *basacak diye çok* ***korktum***]. *Ama basmadı*. (UI22E1B-2914)
(Of course I *was terribly afraid that* the farmer's naughty son *would step* on me. *But* he *didn't (step)*) (*would step* and *didn't step* are two verbal phrases that show what was anxiously anticipated did not happen. The verbal phrase that expresses the anticipated event is repeated after "*ama*" (but), yet negated)

Then after *ama* (but), this collostructure tends to have the collocation, or rather the co-occurrence of a verbal phrase which means the opposite of the one before *ama* (but). It is also true that it is not possible to identify a collocation list under specific semantic domains because the verbs would be different in each case.

Kork+ – (y)Ip => Kork-*up*

As we said above, *kork*- with this colligate on the verb (kork-*up* for vowel harmony) is directly followed by what one does as a result of the fear state. Then *kork*-**up** is likely to collocate with verbs expressing discontinuance of one's goal pursuit, flight or avoidance behaviour or action/behavioural tendency. Typical collocates are [*kenara çekil* (step aside), *kaçmak* (to escape, run away), *geriye sıçramak* (to jump back), *koşmak* (to run (away)), *sinmek* (to hide or to cower), *sakınmak* (avoid), *çekinmek* (to hold back/refrain from), *sığınmak* (to take shelter), *susmak* (go/keep silent), and *ağlamak* (to cry).

(63) Müberra Hanım **kork-*up*** *susmuştu,* yardım ister gibi Hüsrev Bey'e bakıyordu. (DA16B4A-0082) (Ms Müberrra had **feared *and*** *gone silent*, looking at Mr Hüsrev as if begging for help.)

(64) Kaptan **kork-*up*** *geriye sıçradı*. (SA16B2A-1199) (The captain **feared *and*** *jumped back*)

(65) İçine baktığımda halamın horozu **kork-*up*** *kaçtı*. (IA16B1A-0094) (When I looked inside, my aunt's rooster **feared and** *escaped*)

(66) …bomba yangınlarının alevlerinden *kork-**up*** *ağlamaya* başladığımda… (DA16B4A-0288) (…When I **was frightened** by the flames of bomb fires ***and*** began to *cry* …)

More sample lines were given in the section "colligates of kork" above.

Kork + –(y)AcAk => Kork-acak

Although **kork-acak** has the future suffix –(y)AcAk on it, it hardly expresses future in the concordance. Instead, it is followed by phrases with which it builds the collocative meaning of "there is/was nothing to fear." The phrases and words that *kork-acak* tends to co-occur with are [*bir şey yok* (there is nothing (to fear)), *ne var ki / ne varmış* (what is there (to fear/worry)?), *niye / neden* (why). Such phrases including *kork-acak* are used to downplay a threat or to reassure the addressee that fearing or worrying is groundless. They can be used to encourage someone to do something. If used by an ill-intentioned person, these phraseologies can be harmful or dangerous vehicles to persuade someone to consent to something bad which is painted in good. (Sample lines were given in the section "colligates of kork" above)

Kork + – (y)ArAk => Kork-arak

a) *Kork-arak* as an adverb of manner (motion verb performed against a counterforce)

The suffix –(y) ArAk can turn the node *kork*- into an adverb of manner that modifies the subsequent verb. That is, one does the subsequent action while fearing at the same time. *Kork-*

arak answers the question *how* then. A few colligation dependent collocates are [*bakmak* (to look), *seyretmek* (to watch), *beklemek* (to wait). More interesting is the collocation of this manner adverb with verbs of motion [*yürümek* (walk), *ilerlemek* (to advance), *yaklaşmak* (to approach)]. Quite unnaturally, the motion is towards, not away from, the source of the fear. The experiencer's motion is like walking *against the wind* or swimming *up a river*. In three lines kork-arak + motion verb further collocates with phrases expressing the counterforce [*yavaş yavaş* (quite slowly) and *usul usul* (slowly and carefully). The manner adverb "*kork-arak"* implies that "fearing" slows down or hinders one's movement. In Talmy's (1988:52) terms of force dynamics, fear is an opposing power – "a kind of force or barrier opposing" the tendency of moving towards what is feared. Talmy states that *against* and *despite* are two linguistic markers to express such a counterforce. To sum up, if one is performing a motion verb like *yürümek* (walk) or *yaklaşmak* (to walk closer/approach) *fearing* at the same time (i.e. fearfully or in fear), it means that one moves *despite* or *against* a counterforce (of fear).

(67) …kumların üzerinden *yavaş yavaş* gecenin uyku sükununu bozmaktan **kork-*arak*** *ilerledi*. (FA16B2A-1369) (…he advanced/walked *quite slowly* on the sand **fearing** lest he should spoil the quiet of the night)

(68) Çocuk *yavaş yavaş* **kork-*arak*** babasına *yaklaşıyor*. (RG37C1A-0844) (The child *slowly approaches* his father **fearing/ in fear**.)

b) *Kork-arak* as implying the cause of the subsequent action (kork-*arak* = kork-*tuğu için*)

In many cases the suffixal "–arak" on kork- (kork-*arak*) introduces a non-finite clause of reason just like "*–DIğI için*" in Turkish, which also encodes reason (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005: 210). Therefore, it would be right to describe "–arak" on the node as converbial (CV) rather than conjunction "*and* (CONJ)". *Kork-arak* tends to collocate with words or phrases which express action tendency or physiological effects of the emotion [*sığınmak* (to take shelter), *geriye/geri çekilmek* (to move back), *göç etmek* (to migrate), *kaçmak* (to escape), *terk etmek* (to abandon/to flee), ağlamak (to cry), *dili tutulmak* (to go speechless), *çığlık atmak* (to let out a shriek)

(69) …yanlışlıkla kıbtînin ölümüne sebep oldu. Bunun üzerine **kork-*arak*** Mısır'ı *terk etti*. (RI42E1B-2940) (..he accidentally caused the Coptic man's death. Therefore, **because** he **feared**, he *fled* Egypt)

(70) …yanındaki iki çocuk saklanmaya çalışırken sol ayağı iyice seken annelerine destek oluyor, bir yandan da **kork-*arak*** *ağlıyorlardı*. (PD03A1A-3341) (… while the two children with her were trying to hide, they were also supporting their mother, whose left leg was crippled, and at the same time **because** they **were afraid**, they were *crying*)

Kork+Negative Imperative => Kork-ma!

When the node in imperative form colligates with the negation suffix –mA to form a non-affirmative imperative (**kork-*ma*!**), it collocates with words or phrases that express reassurance. *Kork-ma* does not reflect the subjective experience of fear; it is used to encourage the addressee and relieve them of their fear. Typical collocates from the domain of reassurance are [*sakin olmak*, (to keep calm), *geçti* artık (it is over now), birazdan *geçecek* (everything will be fine now), *bir şey olmaz* (nothing bad will happen), ben hep *yanında /* ben varım *arkanda* (I am with you/ I will back you up). *Korkma* (*don't fear*) seems to more accurately correspond to *don't worry* in English.

(71) **Kork-*ma*** güzelim. Birazdan *geçecek*. (LA16B1A-1252) (***Don't* fear** sweetie. Everything *will* soon *be fine*).

(72) Coşkun **kork-*ma***, korkuya kapılma! diye bağırdım. Sakın telaşlanma. *Sakin ol!* (HA16B1A-1501) (Coşkun, ***don't* fear**, don't be taken with fear, I shouted. Never worry. *Be calm*!)

Sample lines and detailed explanation were provided in the colligate section above.

Kork + Positive Imperative => kork! (zero colligation on the node) (Be careful/Avoid)

We often see the imperative *kork* with the word *Allah* at –N1 position, with which *kork* forms a lexical bundle –the phraseology "*Allah'tan kork*" (Do fear God). The combinatorial meaning is that with the effect of fearing God the addressee should be conscientious, moderate, fair and merciful about their manners, especially in a specific situation. It is a critical invitation for the addressee to be fair and merciful.

(73) Adam: – Boyundan utanmaz mısın leylek. Tarlanın bir ucunu yedin bitirdin. Bırak da geri kalanını ben biçeyim. *Allah'tan* **kork**. Çoluk çocuğumun rızkı buna bağlıdır. Etme, eyleme... (VA16B1A-1245) (Man: -You must be ashamed of yourself, stork. You have swallowed up one part of the field (corps). Let me harvest the rest. **Do fear** *Allah* (GOD). The sustenance of my household depends on that. Please don't do that…) (Urging the stork to be fair and merciful)

When *kork* in the imperative form does not collocate with *Allah (*God*)*, *kork* is used to urge the addressee to "be careful about", "avoid" something with a warning force. It is not an instruction for the addressee to begin experiencing the emotion of fear, which is implausible. *Kork* is used to advise or urge someone to be careful about a threat. *Kork* does not directly express the subjective experience of fear; it does so implicitly. That is, the speaker shares with the addressee what he/she already fears (is careful about). The grammatical object of the imperative *kork* should naturally be a threat or a source of fear. However, in many cases these 'sources of fear' do not seem to deserve to be a threat or against the addressee's interests until

they are made known to the addressee. The imperative *kork* can then be used as a "threat-producer." With the imperative *kork* the speaker introduces a person or something as (or as if) a threat, then explaining why the addressee should fear (be careful about) them or it. Because diverse things can be used as (or as if) a source of fear, it is hard to identify a label of semantic domain under which to list certain collocates on the basis of object selection. For instance, in the first example below "*evil people*" deserve to be feared – be careful about –, but in the second "*people who everybody likes*" is presented as (as if) a threat – which needs unravelling.

(74) Hayvanlardan değil korkacaksan *insanların kötüsünden* **kork**…! (QA16B2A-0378) (What you should really fear is not animals; do fear *evil people*…)

(75) *Herkesin sevdiği insanlardan* **kork**, kelleni alanı önce o [onlar] affeder. (RA16B4A-1265) (**Fear (Be careful about)** *people who everybody likes*; it is they who forgive your killer first)

Sometimes two options of threats are given with the latter emphasized to be *particularly/in fact* feared. *Kork* is part of a phraseology like "X'den *değil* Y'den kork" (Fear Y, *not* X), "X'den *korkma* Y'den *kork*" (*Don't fear* X, but *fear* Y) or "***asıl*** X'den kork" (Fear X ***in fact/particularly/actually***).

(76) Pirincin içindeki *siyah taşlar*dan *değil*, *asıl beyaz taşlar*dan **kork**. (QI42E1B-2937) (What you should **fear** (be careful about) is *not black stones*, but *white stones* in rice) (As white stones are hard to see in rice, which is also white, they pose a subtle, invisible threat)

(77) *Kanser*den korkma *geç kalmak*tan **kork**. (FA16B3A-0986) (Don't fear *cancer*, **fear** *being late*) (be careful not to be too late for an early diagnosis)

From the explication and examples above it is clear that one salient collocate of kork in the imperative form is *Allah (God)* in the fixed phrase "Allah'tan kork". In other cases unclassifiable diverse lexical items occur in *kork's* surroundings. Perhaps the word "*asıl"* (in fact, actually, particularly) can be regarded as a salient collocate.

Table 9. Collocational behaviour of *kork-*

TYPES OF FEAR	TYPICAL COLLOCATES
Primary / Acute Fear	**Source/Trigger of Fear:** *bomboş oda* (completely empty/deserted room), *yalnız* (alone), *yapayalnız* (alone), *gizemli uğultular* (mysterious hums), *terk etmek* (abandon), *silah sesi* (gunshot), *gece* (night), *zifri karanlık* (pitch darkness), *örümcek* (spider), *yılan* (snake), *zehirli* (poisonous), *belirmek* (looming), *arkamda* (just behind me), *ölüm* (death), *intihar etmek* (commit suicide), *dik dik bakmak* (look sternly), *hastalık kapmak* (catch a disease)
	• **Avoidance/Flight:** *kaçmak* (escape), *koşmak* (run away), *saklanmak* (hide)
	• **Behavioural Aspect of Fear:** *ağlamak* (cry), *çığlık atmak* (let out a scream), *tutun/yapış* (clutch onto/cling to), *sığınmak* (take asylum/refuge).
	• **Physiological Effects of Fear:** *sarsılmak* (shake,), *titremek* (tremble), *elleri titremek* (of hands, to tremble), *eli ayağı düşmek / dizlerinin bağı çözülmek* (feel like jelly) *kızarmak (to blush)*, *dili tutulmak* (become speechless), *donup kalmak* (freeze), *yüreği atmak/yüreği çarpmak* (palpitate)
Secondary Fear (Future contingencies)	• **Vague/Diverse Triggers:** Non-finite noun clauses expressing prospective events that cause concern or anxiety for the experiencer. Suspected or anticipated fear sources are too personally-relevant to be classified.
	• **Loss / Separation:** *kaybetmek, yitirmek* (to lose), *bırakıp gitmek* (abandon and go away), *terk etmek* (abandon), *başını alıp gitmek* (leave away), *yalnız kalmak* (be left alone), *peşinden gitmek* (go with another person), *yok olmak* (disappear)
Colligation-dependent Collocates	• **Verb+Aorist + diye + kork- / Verb+(y)AcAk + diye + kork-:** *ama* (but), *bir an, bir ara* (for a moment)
	• **Kork+(y)Ip (Kork-up due to vowel harmony):** *kork-up* tends to be followed by words or phrases expressing action or behavioural tendency: *kenara çekil* (step aside), *kaçmak* (escape, run away), *geriye sıçramak* (jump back), *koşmak* (run (away), *sinmek* (hide or cower), *sakınmak* (avoid), *çekinmek* (hold back/refrain from), *sığınmak* (to take shelter), *susmak* (go/keep silent), and *ağlamak* (cry)
	• **Kork+(y)AcAk (Kork-acak):** *bir şey yok* (there is nothing (to fear)), *ne var ki / ne varmış* (what is there [to fear]?), *niye / neden* (why). Such phrases including *kork-acak* are used to downplay a threat or to reassure the addressee that fearing or worrying is groundless or unnecessary.
	• **Kork+(y)ArAk (Kork-arak)** **a) As manner adverb:** *bakmak* (look), *seyretmek* (watch), *beklemek* (wait) or motion verbs such as *yürümek* (walk), *ilerlemek* (advance), *yaklaşmak* (approach). The counterforce that *korkarak* (fearing) poses for the motion verb is sometimes expressed with *yavaş yavaş / usul usul* (slowly and carefully). **b) Converbial Expressing Reason:** When *kork-arak* functions like *kork-tuğu için,* it collocates with the consequence of fear– action tendency or physiological effects such as *sığınmak* (to take shelter), *geriye/geri çekilmek* (to move back), *göç etmek* (to migrate), *kaçmak* (to escape), *terk etmek* (to abandon/to flee), ağlamak (to cry), *dili tutulmak* (to go speechless), *çığlık atmak* (to let out a shriek)
	• **Kork+NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE (Kork-ma): Kork-ma** (Don't fear) collocates with words or phrases from the domain of *reassurance* or *encouragement* such as *sakin olmak*, (to keep calm), *geçti artık* (it is over now), birazdan *geçecek* (everything will be fine now), *bir şey olmaz* (nothing bad will happen), ben hep *yanında /* ben varım *arkanda* (I am with you/ I will back you up)
	• **Kork (Zero colligation on the node) as affirmative imperative form:** It often collocates with Allah (God) at –N1 position and forms the lexical bundle *Allah'tan kork* (Do fear Allah), which is used to invite or urge someone to be fair and moderate in their manners or judgements. • **Kork** also functions as threat-producer and is used to warn someone against or exercise caution about something or someone that the speaker considers as a threat for the addressee. Then *kork* means *be careful/ cautious*.

4.1.1.3. Semantic Preference of *Kork-*

The whole discussion and the collocation table above reveal that the semantic preferences motivating certain collocates in the proximal or distal lexical environment of *kork-* are primarily determined by the type of fear expressed by the node. Different types of fear and colligation patterns on the node naturally dictate distinct collocates, and thus suggest distinct semantic preferences (Baker, 2006 and Partington, 1998).

Primary/acute fear experienced in the present with an imminent threat is universal in terms of its antecedents, embodied physiological effects, and behavioural aspects. For primary fear situations, *kork-* (to fear) has semantic preferences for the following domains:

a) Source of fear
b) Behavioural aspect, especially avoidance / flight
c) Physiological effects of fear

When it comes to the use of *kork-* so as to describe **secondary fears** (suspected / anticipated future events), *kork-* follows nominal clauses expressing future contingencies which are personally (in many cases *not intrinsically*) undesirable for the experiencer. This makes it too hard to classify co-occurences into semantic domains of preference. However, in some cases such secondary fears, which are more close to worry/anxiety, have a semantic preference for the domains of ***loss*** or ***separation***.

As for salient colligational features of the node *kork-* (certain suffixes on the node), the diversity and vagueness of collocates diminish and we can associate each form of *kork-* (kork-up, kork-acak, kork-arak and kork-ma) with clear-cut semantic domains; hence distinct semantic preferences:

a) *Kork-up* has a semantic preference for the domain of action/behavioural tendency
b) *Kork-acak* has a semantic preference for the semantic category of unnecessity (one needn't or shouldn't fear according to the speaker)
c) *Kork-arak* often means kork-*tuğu için* (a converbial encoding reason for the subsequent action, i.e. *because of* fearing) and a semantic preference similar to that of *kork-up*. The collocates reflect a semantic preference for fear's behavioural and physiological effects.
d) *Kork-ma* (negative imperative form) has a semantic preference for the domain of reassurance and encouragement.

Table 10. Semantic preferences of *kork-*

Type of fear or Form	**Domains of Semantic Preference**	
Primary/Acute fear	Fear source Fear behaviours, especially flight Physiological effects	
Secondary Fear	Diverse, unclassifiable prospective fear Loss or separation	
Colligation-Dependent use	*a) Kork-up*	Fear behaviours especially flight
	b) Kork-acak	Unnecessity (of fear)
	c) Kork-arak	Fear behaviours or physiological effects
	d) Kork-ma	Reassurance and encouragement

4.1.1.4. Semantic Prosody of *Kork-*

Semantic or more accurately discourse prosody is an obligatory component of a lexical item – it is the pragmatic reason for which the item is selected (Sinclair, 2000 and Stubbs, 2002a). The discourse prosody of a lexical item then dictates a lexical and contextual environment where one finds certain collocates. Following Sinclair (1996/2004) and Xiao and McEnery (2006), we looked at not only lexical collocates but also supra-lexical wider texts to postulate right prosodies for the node *kork-* in general and some of its colligational forms built by certain suffixes.

As a superordinate term, *kork-* has an unfavourable discourse prosody because it encodes the most debilitating emotion. When *kork-* is used to express *primary / acute fear* situations with an imminent threat, the item suggests a situation which directly poses a threat to the survival or health of the self. In this sense *kork-*, if it is to express primary fear, is pragmatically selected to reflect the whole fear episode with its antecedents and cognitive, physiological and behavioural aspects. In other words, in *primary fear*, *kork-* has the discourse function of *framing a fearful event holistically*.

When *kork-* is used to express *secondary fears*, it profiles a pre-stimulus displeasure felt about a future contingency. No clear-cut emotion antecedents, no physiological effects or flight behaviour are expressed in the node's lexical environment. *Kork-* in this sense is pragmatically chosen to reflect the experiencer's worry or apprehension about a prospective event. This use of *kork-* has a prosody of *worrying about an undesirable future possibility*.

As far as different forms of *kork-* produced by the addition of certain suffixes are concerned, we see different pragmatic motivations for their selection for an utterance. *Kork-up* suggests primary fear and has the discourse prosody of *escaping or suffering physiological effects*. *Kork-acak* with the future suffix on –(y)AcAk on it does not express an event to happen in future. *Kork-acak* is followed by phrases (*bir şey yok, ne var, niye*) which suggest fearing is unnecessary, so it is selected to downplay a threat or reassure the addressee. *Kork-acak* has the

discourse prosody of *underestimating and encouraging*. *Kork-arak* can be a manner adverb to modify the subsequent verb in an utterance, but in many cases it means *kork-tuğu için* (because one fears/feared) in the concordance and so expresses the reason for the ensuing action tendency. In this sense, *kork-arak* is like *kork-up* as explained above. As for *kork* (its positive imperative form), it does not express an instruction for the addressee to enter into a state of fear because an emotional state verb is normally not used in imperative form. Its use should be marked. Rather than fear, the imperative *kork* means "be careful/cautious about." Then *kork* has the discourse prosody of *warning someone to be careful about something or someone*. The negative imperative *kork-ma* does not simply mean "don't fear", nor does it directly suggest there's nothing to fear. Conversely, *korkma* has the discourse prosody of *reassuring someone who fears* or *will fear* when they are exposed to something. *Korkma,* if used by the speaker to persuade the addressee to consent to their subtle ill-intentions, has the very bad prosodic function of *victimising* the addressee (e.g. for sexual pleasure)/ or hiding the truth.

4.1.1.5. Cognitive Appraisal Pattern for *kork-*

In the Theoretical Framework section, we discussed in detail the stimulus evaluation checks for the cognitive appraisal process grouped under appraisal objectives (relevance, implications, coping potential and normative significance, Scherer, 2001:94). The cognitive appraisal patterns for many emotions were identified by Scherer (1984, 1999, 2001). Because the experience of actual, primary fear episodes is universal, the cognitive appraisal pattern provided by Scherer (2001) will also be the same for the Turkish *kork-* when it profiles primary fears. In the table below, the first two columns are what Scherer (2001:115) identified for an acute fear situation, which also represents the appraisal pattern for Turkish *kork-* for primary fears. The third column displays the cognitive appraisal pattern for secondary fears that we discussed above, which are about prospective events deemed to be undesirable for the experiencer and which are more like *worry.* In fact, the third column displays Scherer's appraisal pattern for anxiety/worry (2001:114).

Table 11. Cognitive appraisal pattern of *kork-*

Stimulus Evaluation Checks (SECs)	**Fear-1 (*Kork-* as primary Fear)**	***Fear-2 (Kork-* as secondary fear, much more like *worry*)**
RELEVANCE		
Novelty		
Suddenness	high	**low**
Familiarity	low	**open**
Predictability	low	**open**
Intrinsic pleasantness	low	**open**
Goal/need relevance	high	**medium**
IMPLICATIONS		
Cause: agent	other/nature	other/nat.
Cause: motive	open*	open*
Outcome probability	high	**medium**
Discrepancy from expectation	dissonant	**open**
Conduciveness	obstruct	obstruct
Urgency	very high	**medium**
COPING POTENTIAL		
Control	open	open
Power	very low	**low**
Adjustment	low	**medium**
NORMATIVE SIGNIFICANCE		
External	open	open
Internal	open	open

*The evaluation "open" means that different appraisal results are compatible with the emotion in terms of that stimulus check or the check is irrelevant for that emotion compared to other emotions for which the same criteria of cognitive appraisal checks above are applied.

The increased number of words "open" in the third (worry) column and three replacements of "medium" for "high" in the second (fear) column all demonstrate that simple *worry* is much less intense than actual *fear*. In our Turkish data, the use of *kork-* about personally undesirable future contingencies can in many cases be replaced with *endişelen-* (worry).

4.1.2. Lexıcal Profıle Of *Tırs-*

This section deals with co-selection properties of the Turkish fear type verb *tırs-* in terms of its colligates, collocational behaviour, semantic preference(s) and semantic prosody. Thanks to the Corpus (TNC) data, though scanty for *tırs-*, we identified its idiosyncratic properties in certain contexts.

4.1.2.1. Colligates of Tırs-

Like *kork-* (fear), *tırs-* has the following structural type in Turkish as a psych verb (Akcan, 2010:56). As can be seen, the theme is ablative-marked and expresses the stimulus or trigger of the psych verb.

Table 12. Structural type of *tırs-* in Turkish

Subject	Object	Sample Sentence
Experiencer (NOM)	Theme(ABL)	Gazi dayı-**dan**, …, gardiyanlar da **tırs-ar**. (CE09C3A-0382, TNC) Gazi uncle-**ABL**, …, guard-PL too **fear**-AOR (The guards fear uncle Gazi too.)

The verb *tırs-* occurs 70 times in TNC corpus and proves to be the least frequently occuring fear type verb in our list. This probably results from the fact that it tends to ocur in highly informal contexts. However, from the scanty corpus data we were able to tease out the habitual colligates of t*ırs-* as follows:

Tırs- colligates with ablative marked nouns and verbal nouns (VN) that express the stimulus or trigger of the psych verb:

(1) Ben o tarz dergi-ler-**den** ağır **tırs**-ıyor-um. (PI27D1B-2822, TNC Corpus)
I that type of journal-PL-**ABL** a lot **fear**-PROG-1sg (I fear a lot and avoid that type of journals)

(2) Tartış-mak-**tan** … **tırs**-ma-ya-lım arkadaş. (FA16B3A-0986, TNC Corpus)
Discuss-VN-**ABL** …**fear**-NEG-OPT-1pl (Let us not be afraid to discuss issues)

Tırs- also seems to colligate at –N position with dative [-(y)A] marked verbal nouns (VN), which corresponds to the English pattern *afraid to do* something.

(3) …ahbaplarının bile ilk adı ile kendisine (*hitap et-me-**ye tırs**-tığ-ı)* eski Adolf yeni Führer kitabı toplattı. (UA16B4A-0909, TNC) (*address*-VN-DAT fear-VN-POSS) (...formerly Adolf and now Führer, even close friends of whom were *afraid to address* him by his first name, recalled the book copies from the market)

Another colligation pattern involves temporal clause converbial (CV) marked with –(y) IncA, which corresponds to English *when* clause to express a sequential cause-effect relation. At –N position, the converbial –(y) IncA marks the cause of the fear verb *tırs-*.

(4) Yakışıklı kavalye işin ciddiyetini kavra-**yınca** iyice **tırs**-tı**.** (OA16B4A-0046, TNC Corpus)
Handsome cavalier graveness of the situation grasp-**CV** a lot **fear**-PERF (When the handsome cavalier grasped the graveness of the situation, he became so afraid)

Tırs- colligates with the Turkish pattern aorist +subordinator (-Ar diye), which may express reason, purpose, precaution (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:399):

(5) …bu seyisin adı Rey ol-ur-sa, olay Dallas'a (dön-er diye **tırs**-tı-k). (PI43C1A-0522, TNC)
(…this hostler's name Rey be-AOR-COND, event Dallas-DAT (become-AOR SUB **fear**-PF-1pl)
(If this hostler's name happened to be Rey, we feared lest the situation should turn into something like Dallas)

Tırs-, like any other verb, naturally colligates with the subordinating suffix –(y)Ip, which is represented as CONJ by Göksel and Kerslake (2005:439). In this colligational pattern, *tırs-* has the suffix –(y)Ip and is followed by another verb. The two subsequent verbs, the first of which takes the suffix (tırs-*ıp – -ıp for vowel harmony*), have equal status with respect to tense/aspect/modality. This suffix, which can be expressed with "*and*" in English, is quite functional because after a verb with it (in our case, *tırs-**ıp**)* we see an action that immediately follows it in time. Therefore, we get the answer to what one does immediately after or because one fears (*tırs-*). We have six such concordance lines, in 4 of which tırs-ıp is followed by collocates expressing avoidance or flight behaviour:

(6) …neden birazcık eleştiri ve hakaret görünce [***tırs**-ıp ülkeni terk ettin*]? (QD36C2A-0451) [***fear**-CONJ your country left*] (…why did you **fear** *and leave* your country when you came up with some criticism and insult?)

Lastly tırs- commonly colligates with degree adverbs, mostly at –N1 position [acayip, fena, ağır, amma (terribly), çok, nasıl da, iyice, enikonu (very), öyle bir (so), bayağı (rather), biraz (a little), hafiften, ufaktan (slightly)], which demonstrates that tırs- as a psych fear verb is highly gradable in various intensities

(7) ...bir şeylerden **fena** *tırs*mış durumda **(**TE36E1B-3354, TNC) ...**terribly** frightened of something
(8) …o dev "kılıç"larla dönerin başında duran ustalardan da **ufaktan** *tırs*arım yıllardır.
(SE36E1B-3294, TNC) …for years I have **slightly** *feared* men standing near döner (spit-roasting meat) with those huge "swords".

Table 12. Colligational features of *tırs-* on the basis of the concordance from TNC Corpus:

COLLIGATION PATTERNS (*Tırs-* colligates with)	**EXAMPLES**
ABLATIVE CASE "-DAn" (esp. at –N1 position) Noun or verbal noun + DAn	Karım-**dan**, fıskiyeler-**den**, ustalar-**dan** etc. Gelişin-**den**, aramasın-**dan**, tartışmak-**tan** etc.
DATIVE CASE "-(y)A" on verbal noun (esp. at –N1 position) (one example)	Hitap etme-**ye**
TEMPORAL/CAUSAL CONVERBIAL (CV) "–(y) IncA" (at –N position)	Yürü-**(y)ünce**, gör-**ünce**, kavra-**(y)ınca** etc.
SUBORDINATING SUFFIX (CONJ) "-(y)Ip ("-ıp" for *tırs-*for vowel harmony)	Tırs-**ıp** kaçacak (will fear **and** escape), tırs-**ıp** ülkeni terk ettin (feared **and** left/fled your country)
AORIST (A/I)r + SUBORDINATOR *diye* at –N position	Dön-**er** *diye* (lest he should return), gir-**er**-ler *diye* (lest they should enter)
ADVERBS OF DEGREE at –N1 position	Acayip, fena, ağır, amma (terribly); çok, nasıl da, iyice, enikonu (very); öyle (bir) (so); bayağı (rather); biraz (a little); hafiften, ufaktan (slightly)

4.1.2.2. Collocates of *Tırs-*

Among our selection of fear type verbs *tırs-* is the most informal verb and the least frequently occuring in the corpus TNC. From as few as 70 concordance lines it seems unreasonable to determine habitual collocates of tırs- in terms of number of occurrences. It collocates with *acayip* twice and *hemen* four times. *Acayip* basically means *strange* or *odd*, but as a degree adverb that modifies negative emotions like *nefret et-* (hate) *kork-* or *tırs-* (fear), it more or less corresponds to the English adverb *terribly*. *Hemen* occurs at +N position, usually as the first word of the subsequent sentence and means *immediately* or *at once.*

(9) Yani süründüren, o test senin, şu endoskopi benim "doktorluğunu konuşturan" doktorlardan **acayip tırsıyorum**. (PI13C4A-1531, TNC) (I mean, I am **terribly afraid** of doctors who want numberless tests and endoscopies "simply to demonstrate their expertise in medicine")

If the goal pursuit or present situation of the experiencer is compared to a path, the emoter, when they *tırs-* (fear in this way), perceives or feels a threat or danger on the path, slams on the brakes to stop suddenly and takes flight back or to change their course. The dominant component of the conceptual content of *tırs-* is avoidance or flight in fear. The experiencer sometimes faces the threat or danger, the emotion of actual fear is felt and they escape, while at other times they simply suspect or feel the danger, but they still choose to keep away from the situation in prospective fear. In actual confrontation with the danger or threat, one fears (*tırs*) and yields or surrenders to the source, obeying the feared person's demands. *Hemen* (immediately/at once) as a collocate of *tırs-* signals the subsequent reaction of avoidance or submission to human trigger.

(10) Üzüldü bana vurduğu için, kaldırdı, bir mezar taşına oturttu beni. **Tırstım** gece rüyama girerler diye, **hemen** ayağa kalktım… (SI22F1D-4710, TNC) (He was sorry to hit me, he lifted me and sat me down on a grave stone. I feared that they (dead souls) might give me nightmares at night, (so) I stood up **at once**)

(11) Ulan zaten hayatta neden **tırssam** gelir beni bulur. Saklanacaktım ama nereye. **Hemen** çalıların arasına saklandım. (SI22F1D-4710, TNC) (Whatever I **fear** in life just befalls me. I was going to hide, but didn't know where. I hid among the bushes **at once.)**

(12) Öğretmen gür sesiyle bu çocuk gürültüsünün haddinden gelmeye karar verdi ve SUSUN BAKIYIM OTURDUĞUNUZ YERDEN PARMAK KALDIRIN diye gürledi. **Tırstınız** tabii. **Hemen** yerinize oturup o gün parmak kaldırmak denen şeyin oturarak yapılması gerektiğini öğrendiniz. (UI22C1A-0430, TNC) (The teacher decided to stop that noise of children thunderously and shouted STOP TALKING AND RAISE HANDS WITHOUT STANDING UP. Of course you **feared**. You probably sat down **at once** and learnt to raise your hands sitting.)

Throughout the present dissertation we adopt *collocation-via-concordance* technique (McEnery and Hardie, 2012), which involves obtaining the concordance and examining each line manually by hand and eye technique. Rather than pure frequencies of co-occurrences we focus on semantic motivations underlying the collocation of a word with another word or phrase. Following Partington, (1998:16-7), not only individual lexical items but also phrases, and even clauses were considered for collocational analysis of *tırs*-. As part of determining the lexical profile of a lexical item, its typical collocates have to be found so that one can assign semantic preference(s) depending on their common semantic features. Because the concordance lines provided by the TNC for the node *tırs*- are too few to identify its typical collocates on the basis of frequency analysis, we scrutinised the concordance lines individually, extending texts whenever necessary, to focus on lexical items and phrases non-recurring themselves in the scanty concordance but sharing semantic domains, thus being highly likely to recur. That is, even if a word or phrase occurred with *tırs*- only once, we considered it as a collocate provided that it shared a semantic domain with other occurrences.

Our close analysis of the lexical environment of *tırs*-, especially post-node words, phrases and clauses revealed that *tırs*- collocates with words or phrases which share the semantic fields of *surrender*, *flight* and/or *avoidance.*

In case of there being a human source of threat, the experiencer of *tırs*- (fear) tends to *yield* or *succumb* to that human's demands or expectations, which are manifested in post-node expressions.

(13) Ha yapmadun mu, keserim kolonyanı o olir." Yeniden nefret ettiği hacıyağına dönüleceğinden **tırsan** Kemal'in fazla *pazarlık şansı yoktu*. Biraz daha mırın kırın ettikten sonra makus talihine *boyun eğmek zorunda kaldı*. (SA16B2A-1199) (If you do not agree to do so, I will simply stop giving you cologne." Kemal, who **feared** that he would again have to settle for hacıyağı (detestable strong perfume used by simple people), *didn't have much chance to argue further*. He had to *concede/succumb* after muttering in discontent for a short while)

(14) Lan bıdı bıdı etme de ne yazdırcaksan yazdır işte diye yürüdüm üzerine; ben öyle üzerine yürüyünce **tırstı** bu, *tamam* yaz dedi madem öyle. (TI41C2A-1175) (I attempted to come at him saying "stop mumbling and dictate whatever you want to." When I did that, he **feared**, and said *alright* write then)

Among other words or phrases from the semantic domain of '*surrender/yielding'* that occur in post-node lexical environment are <*hayır* (sana demedim) [*No*, I didn't mean you] / *hemen* (yerine oturup) [*immediately* sat back on his seat] / (tırstı kamçıyı indirdi) *usulca* [he feared and lowered the whip *obediently*] / (tırstı görüşünden) *döndü* [He feared and *gave up on* his argument*] /* (elimdeki kırık şişeden tırsmış) *pek zorlamıyor*, [afraid of the broken bottle in my hand, so he *doesn't push his luck*] / x *diyebildi [was just able to say x]*>

Likewise, the emoter tends to escape (*flight* behaviour) when faced with a human or non-human threat with which they cannot cope. Although the general fear event involves fight or flight as a last step in its scenario, *tırs-* just connotes escaping, not fighting or struggling. Naturally, *tırs-* collocates with words or phrases that imply this action tendency of fleeing away:

(15) Yakışıklı kavalye işin ciddiyetini kavrayınca, iyice **tırstı**. 'Yaa kusura bakmayın, ama benim gitmem lazım' diyerek **uzaklaştı**. **(**OA16B4A-0046) (When the handsome cavalier grasped the graveness of the situation, he **became** so **afraid**. "I am sorry but I must *go*" said he and **walked away**)

(16) Ulan zaten hayatta neden **tırssam** gelir beni bulur. **Saklanacaktım** ama nereye. **Hemen** çalıların arasına **saklandım**. **(**SI22F1D-4710, TNC) (Whatever I fear in life just befalls me. I was going to **hide**, but didn't know where. I **hid** among the bushes **at once**.)

(17) Halbuki bütün öğrenciler bir olup, haşin bir şekilde şöyle iki-üç adım atsalar bakın bakalım ÖSS sınavı **yaklaşabiliyor mu**! - **Tırsıp kaçacak** öyle değil mi? (PI43C1A-0522) (But if all students merged their powers and took a few harsh steps towards it, **could** ÖSS exam **dare to approach** them! – It would ***tırs*** (**fear**) and **flee away**, wouldn't it?)

In the above figurative example the University Entrance Exam (ÖSS) is personified and *gets frightened* of students if they ever attack it and *runs away*. In many cases, the constituents of avoidance and flight are salient in the conceptual structure of *tırs-* rather than the emotion of fear. Therefore, when we say "one tırs-**tı** (fear**ed**)" in perfective aspect, it automatically connotes flight or avoidance as part of its semantic prosody like a recoiling gun.

Another semantic domain from which *tırs-* selects words or phrases is *avoidance*. Attitudes or action tendency of avoidance involve two scenarios as far as the verb *tırs-* is concerned. One schema is that the experiencer suspects or perceives traces of threats about an object, human or event and feels apprehensive or worried – cognitive aspects of fear (Ortony et al, 1988) – about it and avoids confrontation with the seemingly threat. Their so-called perceived threats may be unrealistic and remote, yet they still *tırs-* (worry) and decide not to approach but to stay back from the perhaps false stimulus. To put more clearly, one *fears* and *stays back* before they face the actual stimulus. Another schema is that one habitually avoids certain people or things as he or she sees they have potential dangers for him or her. Actual events of fear are not experienced as one avoids the stimuli. They exercise caution not to get their fears confirmed. In such cases *tırs-* will probably be more commonly seen in imperfective viewpoint (tırs**ar**ım, tırsardım, tırs**ıyor**um, tırsıyordum). All these should be manifested in the lexical environment of *tırs-*. We have not identified distinct recurring collocates about *avoidance* because of our limited fata but the contexts of the lines point to the pattern *worry/fear+avoid* in the combinatorial meaning of *tırs-*.

(18) "Hadi" dedi. "Şuraya girelim." Gösterdiği yerin adı: MALİBOR de Lüks filan. Gerçekten. MALİBOR adı. Lale de katıldı Altan'a. Ben **tırstım** ama ikisi birden -*Peki oldum*. Daldık Malibor'a. (PI13C4A-1531) ("Come on", said he. "Let's enter that place." The name of the place he pointed to: MALİBOR de LUX. Really. Its name was MALİBOR. Lale joined Altan too. I **feared** [*to enter*], *but* both of them [insisted] – I *reluctantly* said *alright*. We got into MALİBOR)

In this example the experiencer is afraid to enter the pub MALİBOR on unrealistic grounds. Simply on the strength of its name, especially the word LUX, he/she hesitates and avoids entering there. At the persistent request or pressure of Altan and Leyla, he/she reluctantly enters the pub. This corroborates cognitive appraisal theorists' suggestion that "it is not the objective nature of a stimulus but the organism's [human subject's] "evaluation" of it that determines the nature of the ensuing emotion" (Scherer, 1999:647).

(19) …o dev "kılıç"larla dönerin başında duran ustalardan da ufaktan ***tırs*arım** yıllardır. Allah muhafaza abimizin canını sıkarsak bir anda ortalık karışabilir… **(**SE36E1B-3294, TNC) (…*for years* I **have** slightly **feared** men standing near döner (spit-roasting meat) with those huge "swords". God forbid. If you ever annoy the man, he may prove to be too dangerous with that "sword.")

(20) Ben o tarz dergilerden ağır **tırsıyorum**, hiçbirini *alıp okuyamıyorum* yıllardır. (PI27D1B-2822) (I ***fear*** that type of journals a lot, so I *haven't been able to buy or read* any of them for years. (I *avoid* buying and reading them)

Table 13. Collocational behaviour of *tırs-*

Domain of Surrender/Yielding	Domain of Flight/Avoidance	Others
Boyun eğ- (yield/surrender) Zorunda kal-(have to) Şansı (yok) (no chance) Tamam (okay, alright) Usulca (obediently) Dön- (give up on one's argument) Zorlamamak (not push one's luck) Diyebildi (hesitantly just said)	Uzaklaş- (move away) Saklan- (hide) Kaç- (flee, run away) Yaklaşamama-(unable to approach) Hemen (immediately + behaviour of flight/avoidance)	Acayip+tırs- (terribly fear) Hemen (immediately, at once)

4.1.2.3. Semantic Preference Of *Tırs-*

Judging by the collocates of *tırs-*, its lexical environment seems likely to have words, phrases or clauses that reflect semantic fields of *surrender/yielding/succumbing* (to the human stimulus of threat/danger); *flight* (escaping, not fighting) and *avoidance* (stay away, turn back from actual or suspected threat). Then we can talk of more than one semantic preference for *tırs-* just as Partington (1998) identifies 5 semantic preferences for *sheer*.

4.1.2.4. Semantic Prosody Of *Tırs-*

As a hyponym of kork- (fear) in Turkish, it is quite natural that *tırs-* has an unfavourable, negative semantic prosody in general terms. Sinclair (2000:200) asserts that semantic prosody is the junction of form and function, adding that ""[t]he reason why we choose to express ourselves in one way rather than another is coded in the prosody, which is an obligatory component of a lexical item." Semantic prosody is the reason or pragmatic motivation for which a lexical item is chosen and is the most important component of lexical profiling to reveal the extended unit of meaning associated with it. Then the semantic prosody of *tırs-* should be clear enough to establish why it is chosen in a context rather than other fear type words in Turkish (namely kork-, ürk-, ürper-, irkil-). Kork- (fear) is the general, superordinate term in Turkish with the other tokens expressing distinct aspects or types of fear.

Like Sinclair (1996/2004), Xiao and McEnery (2006) emphasize that not only typical collocates but also wider texts, supra-lexical text fragments, surrounding the node in the concordance should be considered to postulate the right discourse prosody for an item. Because we had only 70 concordance lines for *tırs-*, we focussed on phrases, clauses and even sentences, especially post-node ones as well as collocates which reflect the node's semantic preferences.

We conclude that *tırs-* has the discourse prosodies of 1) *discontinuance of one's goal pursuit out of realistic or unrealistic fear and staying back*, 2) *yielding to the human trigger of fear* and *obeying their demands*. Accordingly, for the first prosody we could say that if you feel or suspect a threat or danger about an object in your way, you decide not to approach it but turn away when you *tırs-*; if you feel unsure about a place, you decide not to enter or approach it; if it is a human, you are too cautious to face them. In such contexts, you feel concern or some fear and take backward steps before you are directly/actually confronted by the threat or danger in which case you would fear more. However, if you actually face the threat, you try to flee away, not fight. For the second prosody of *tırs-*, if you are faced with a human trigger and fear, you are forced to act obediently, succumbing to, not resisting them. To sum up, the prosody of *tırs-* can be summarised as *worry+avoid* (like ürk-), *fear+flight* or *fear+yield*.

4.1.2.5. Cognitive Appraisal For *Tırs-*

Even though lexical profiling of an item concerns its collostructural behaviours and any distinct meanings that can be associated with each pattern, identifying the cognitive appraisal pattern for an emotional verb necessitates actual realizations of the verb in past tense (perfective viewpoint or progressive aspect describing an ongoing emotion event). To put it more clearly, for lexical profiling of an emotion related verb, all forms of the verb are relevant, whereas the cognitive appraisal pattern can only be identified from the concordance lines that express actual realizations of the emotion. Therefore, we have to examine the contextual environment of the emotion verbs in simple past, past perfect, past continuous tense (i.e. tırstı, tırsmıştı, tırsıyordu) to see through the cognitive steps of an emotional event. On the other hand, the verb in habitual aspect either with the aorist *-(A/I)r* and the imperfective marker *–(I)yor* reflect the agent subject's general valenced *attitude* to certain events or objects, not actually experienced emotion episodes.

In the Theoretical Framework section, we discussed in detail the stimulus evaluation checks for the cognitive appraisal process grouped under appraisal objectives (relevance, implications, coping potential and normative significance, Scherer, 2001:94). The cognitive appraisal pattern was identified by Scherer (2001) for the emotion of fear (korku) as our superordinate term. The cognitive appraisal patterns for other fear tokens in Turkish (tırsmak, ürpermek, irkilmek etc) will be presented in comparison with that of fear (korku) provided by Scherer (2001:115). Any appraisal discrepancies observed for other fear tokens in Turkish will be specified in bold characters in tables from now on. To remember, tırs- describes two fear scenarios with slight alterations on the basis of its discourse prosodies of 1) *discontinuance of one's goal pursuit out of realistic or unrealistic fear and staying back* (fear and flight), 2) *yielding*

to the human trigger of fear and *obeying their demands* (fear and yield). In the following table the first two columns displays Scherer's (2001:115) cognitive appraisal pattern for fear and the latter two columns show how the two semantic prosodies of *tırs-* are reflected in in their respective appraisal patterns:

Table 14. Predicted cognitive appraisal pattern of *tırs-* in comparison with *fear* (*kork-*):

Stimulus Evaluation Checks (SECs)	**Fear**	**Tırs-1** Fear+flight	**Tırs-2** Fear+yield
RELEVANCE			
Novelty			
Suddenness	high	high	high
Familiarity	low	low	low
Predictability	low	low	low
Intrinsic pleasantness	low	low	low
Goal/need relevance	high	high	high
IMPLICATIONS			
Cause: agent	other/nature	other/nature	other/nature
Cause: motive	open*	open	open
Outcome probability	high	high	high
Discrepancy from expectation	dissonant	dissonant	dissonant
Conduciveness	obstruct	obstruct	obstruct
Urgency	very high	very high	very high
COPING POTENTIAL			
Control	open	open	open
Power	very low	very low	very low
Adjustment	low	low	**high**
NORMATIVE SIGNIFICANCE			
External	open	open	open
Internal	open	open	open

*The evaluation "open" means that different appraisal results are compatible with the emotion in terms of that stimulus check or the check is irrelevant for that emotion compared to other emotions for which the same criteria of cognitive appraisal checks above are applied.

Tırs- is an informal verb that expresses the emotion korku (fear) in Turkish, so the appraisal pattern for tırs-1 (fear and flight) is the same as the pattern for fear determined by Scherer (2001) in the first two columns. In the last column that displays the appraisal of tırs-2 (fear and yield), the stimulus check *adjustment* is high because adjustment refers to adjustment (yielding) to the consequences of an event. As we said before, in such instances the experiencer does not resort to flight but yield to the human trigger.

Last but not least, *tırs-* is quite similar in meaning potential to the superordinate term kork- (to fear) in Turkish. They both denote all forms of fear – acute fear, prospective fear and uncanny fear (Ortony and Turner, 1990; Levy 1984, cited in Ortony and Turner, 1990:327; and Jarymowicz and Bar-Tal, 2006). The main discrepancies are that *tırs-* is used in informal contexts and that it is much less frequent than *kork-*.

4.1.3. Lexical Profile Of *Ürk-*

This section covers the lexical profile of the Turkish fear type verb *ürk-*. Over 300 concordance lines from the Turkish National Corpus (TNC) were analysed to identify the co-selection properties of the verb *ürk-* in terms of its colligates, collocational behaviour, semantic preference(s) and semantic/discourse prosodies. Any distinct meanings associated with salient collocates and colligates as well as sense nuances oozing from its lexical environment are to be incorporated into our interpretations.

The Turkish fear type token *ürk-* has a conceptual content that feeds on the English near equivalents of *shy (away from), spook (at), get spooked, balk (at), blench, get nervous, feel uneasy about (be slightly afraid of), worry (about), get disturbed (out of threat anticipation), get frightened, get scared.* It is known that "emotion lexicons in different languages do not perfectly map onto each other" (Mesquita and Ellsworth, 2001:239). Therefore, in the translations of the sample concordance lines we usually preferred the superordinate term *fear* or *afraid* in several cases. However, when the context was clear enough, we used the most appropriate verb from English, especially in our analyses of semantic distinctions observed in typically diverse contexts in which *ürk-* persistently occurs.

4.1.3.1. Colligates Of *Ürk-*

The psych verb *ürk-*has the following structural type in Turkish (İbe, 2004):

Ayşe rüzgar sesin-den bile ürk-üyor-du. (İbe, 2004:102)
Ayşe.NOM wind sound-ABL even fear-IMPERF-PST (Ayşe feared even the sound of the wind)

As observed with *tırs-* and *kork-*, the theme/source for *ürk-* is ablative-marked and expresses the stimulus or trigger of the psych verb.

Table 15. Structural type of *ürk-* in Turkish

Subject	Object	Sample Sentence
Experiencer (NOM)	Theme(ABL)	(Ben) alacağım cevap-**tan** ürk-tü-m. I-will-get answer-**ABL** fear-PERF -1sg. (I was afraid of/nervous about the answer I would get)

Below are the salient colligates of *ürk-*:

Ürk- colligates with ablative-marked nouns and verbal nouns (VN) which refer to the source or the trigger of the concerned fear state:

(1) Yüzü yine gerildi, konuk onun *bakış-lar-ın-**dan ürk**-tü*. (JA16B3A-0999, TNC Corpus)

His face again turned stern, the guest his *look-PL-POSS-**ABL fear**-PERF.* "His face turned stern again, and the guest feared (felt uneasy about/spooked at) his glances."

(2) Tüfek ses-ler-in-**den ürk**-müş serçeler uçuştular. (DA16B4A-0470)
Rifle *sound-PL-POSS-**ABL fear**-PERF* sparrows flew away. "The sparrows which had spooked at the riffle shots flew away."

(3) Başını tekrar yastığa *koy-mak-**tan ürk**-tü*. (EA16B2A-0046)
Her head again pillow *rest-VN-**ABL fear**-PERF.* "She felt afraid to rest her head on the pillow again."

Only a few instances were found in the concordance where *ürk-* colligates at –N position with dative [-(y)A]-marked verbal nouns (VN), so as to express that one avoids (in fear/anxiety) doing something.

(4) Başımızı kaldırıp sınırların ötesine (*bak-ma-**ya ürk**-üyor-uz*). **(**OI37E1B-3058) *(look-VN-DAT **fear**-PROG-1PL*) "We are *afraid to look* up beyond the boundaries"

(5) Pırıl pırıl bir güneş ve inanılmaz bir sessizlik…(*konuş-ma-**ya ürk**-üyor-sunuz*). (TI19E1A-4015) (*speak-VN-**DAT fear**-PROG-2pl*) "A bright sun and an incredible silence…you are *afraid to speak*/break the silence"

Ürk- colligates with temporal clause converbial (CV) suffix –(y) IncA, which corresponds to English *when* clause to express a sequential cause-effect relation. Such clauses, whose verbs with –(y) IncA colligate with *ürk-* at –N1 position, express the trigger of the fear state whether the event in the clause or its anticipated implications involve a threat or not.

(6) 1964 Kıbrıs olayları (*başla-**yınca ürk**-tü)*. (MI22C1A-0428) (*start-**CV fear**-PERF*) "When the 1964 Cyprus problems started, he *feared/got spooked."*

(7) Ama ormanda silahlar *patla-**yınca** ürk-müş* olacak ki işini olabildiğince tez elden bitirip helikopterin yanına döndü. (DA16B3A-2680) (*fire-**CV fear**-PERF)* "But when guns fired in the forest, he must have *feared/got spooked*, because he hurried back to the helicopter, finishing his job as fast as he could"

Ürk-, like any other verb, naturally colligates with the subordinating suffix –(y)Ip, which is represented as CONJ by Göksel and Kerslake (2005:439). In this colligational pattern, *ürk-* has the suffix –(y) Ip and is followed by another verb. The two subsequent verbs, the first of which takes the suffix (ürk-*üp – as required by the vowel harmony*), have equal status with respect to tense/aspect/modality. Strangely enough, when *ürk-* colligates with this suffix, it denotes a strong fear which causes flight/avoidance behaviour. In other words, *ürk-üp* almost always collocates with verbs denoting rapid escape and discontinuance of goal pursuit – both for humans and animals. A strong lexical priming exists between *ürk-üp* and *flight* words or

phrases. This is a salient semantic property because, as we will discuss further in this section of lexical profiling, in many contexts where *ürk-* is selected, we observe that the experiencer *continues* their goal pursuit *despite* this kind of fear. Below are some examples where the fear state of *ürk-* results in flight with the fear verb colligating with –(y) Ip (-üp for ürk-, for vowel harmony in Turkish):

(8) …bir domuz ateşten (*ürk-**üp** kaçmaya)* başladı. (UGO3A2A-1143)
…a pig fire-ABL (fear-CONJ escape-VN-DAT) start-PERF "A pig *spooked* at the fire ***and*** started to *escape."*

(9) …aradığınız insanı gerçekten bulsanız hemen koşar mısınız onun yanına, yoksa (*ürk-**üp** geri mi çekilirsiniz*?) (JH13C4A-1319) (*fear/worry-CONJ move back/avoid*?)
"If you came across the person of your dreams, would you just run towards them or *fear* **and** *move back*?"

Ürk- colligates with –(y)ArAk (-EREK for *ürk-*) as a result of two distinct semantic or pragmatic motivations. The suffix itself has two functions: 1) a subordinating suffix just like –(y) Ip and 2) Converbial suffix which derives *manner adverbs* from verbs. Examples:

- *Ürk-**erek*** kaçtı => He / she / it feared/shied/spooked **and** escaped.
- *Ürk-**erek*** yaklaştı=>He/she/it was worried/nervous/uneasy/cautious while approaching something. (approached cautiously/a bit fearfully)

As can be seen from the intuitive examples, the suffix functions like a conjunction in the first one and is followed by a verb from the semantic domain of flight/avoidance, whereas the second usage turns the fear verb *ürk-* into a manner adverb. However, this time it is followed by verbs or phrases that express "cautious continuation of goal pursuit/keeping one's course of action or motion despite some worry".

The first usage above is another version of –(y) Ip, which is used to juxtapose two verbs which occur one after another. While the colligate (–(y)Ip) on the verb *ürk-* (ürk-*üp*) directly connotes subsequent flight/avoidance behaviour, - (y) ArAk as a colligate is likely to be followed by either aversive behaviour or cautious continuation of goal pursuit (cautious non-aversive behaviour). Whichever action tendency the emoter resorts to depends on the grammatical function of the suffix –(y) ArAk. If it functions as a subordinating suffix (CONJ, like "and") on the verb *ürk-* (ürk-*erek*), it is like the suffix –(y) Ip (-üp for ürk-) and followed by expressions of flight / avoidance. In contrast, if it functions as a converbial suffix (CV, ürk-*erek* => manner adverb), it tends to be followed by expressions of cautious continuance of one's goal pursuit or approaching the potential threat or pseudo-threat despite the worrying disturbance felt. Examples from the corpus:

(10) ….Bora'ya bakıyor uzun uzun. Sonra da (*ürk-**erek** uzaklaşıyor)*. (*fear-**CONJ** walk away*) (VI19E1A-4028) "She stares at Bora for a long time. Then she *feels disturbed/gets spooked **and** walks away*." (Flight/avoidance)

(11) Kedi daha da (*ürk-**erek** kaçtı*) bir uca. (got spooked ***and*** *ran away*) (PG37E1B-2923) "The cat *got* even more *spooked **and** ran away* to a further location." (Flight/avoidance)

(12) Gözlerine (*ürk-**erek** baktım*). (*fear-**CV** looked*) (LA16B2A-0514) "I looked into her eyes *nervously/ in a worried manner/ shyly*." (Non-flight/non-avoidance, *ürkerek* = manner adverb modifying the following verb)

(13) (Güvercin) çerez tabağımdan *ürk-**erek** leblebi otlanıyor*, kafayı yan çevirip beni kesiyor. (*fear-**CV** eats roasted chickpeas)* (OA16B4A-0061) "The pigeon is eating roasted chickpeas *cautiously / shyly* from my snack platter, looking at me intermittently with its head turned aside." (Non-flight/non-avoidance, cautiously continued goal pursuit)

Ürk- also colligates with the subordinator "*diye*" (SUB), which expresses reason for the fear state. The syntactical pattern tends to be as follows: *"the source of fear/worry" (in quotation marks) + diye + ürk-*.

(14) **"**Evet öyle, ama açıkçası yanlış yorumlanır**" *diye** ürk-üyor-um*. (SA16B4A-0269).
"Yes true, but frankly wrongly interpret-PASSIVE" ***SUB** fear-PROG-1sg.*
(I am afraid/worried that it might/will be understood wrongly)

(15) Birden, **"**Beni Uygar buldu,**" *diye** ürk-tü-m* ve arkama dönüp bakamadım. (SI22C3A-0559)
Suddenly, "Me Uygar (has) found" ***SUB** fear-PERF-1sg* … (Suddenly, I *feared* (*felt uneasy* about) the thought that Uygar had found me and I couldn't look back)

(16) **"**Acaba bu sevdiğim, güzel delikanlı da, benim hakkımda kötü bir söz mü duydu?**" *diye** ürk-müştü* herhalde. (TG37E1B-2936) "I-wonder this love.REL beautiful young-boy too, my about bad one utterance question-particle hear-PAST?" ***SUB** fear-PST.PERF* probably. (She probably *worried **because*** she was wondering if that handsome young boy who she loved had heard something bad about her)

The above examples demonstrate that the experiencer of *ürk-* in such contexts feels uneasy, anxious or nervous about just a possibility, – something undesirable but uncertain. In quotation marks, we see cognitively constructed, usually unrealistic sources of the fear state. For such fear states where the "threat" is remote, non-imminent, Ortony et al. (1988) use "worry" "concern" or "apprehension." In such contexts *ürk-* itself connotes a vague form of fear that can be expressed with "feel disturbed/ uneasy / worried/nervous." What evokes a vague fear state in the emoter is the possibility that something unpleasant will happen or has already happened. The experiencer is uncertain about the truthfulness of the unpleasant fear trigger given in quotation marks, so they are a bit anxious about it. If they were certain about the

quoted undesirable thoughts, they would really feel a fear state more intense than *ürk-*. Then in such contexts and certain others we will discuss in the collocation analysis, the sources of *ürk-* simply disturb the fear mechanism or fear module rather than actually activate it. This does not include cases where especially animals experience a real fear state and take flight out of fear (i.e. when a horse spooks or shies (*ürk-*), it is really frightened and flees uncontrollably (Blocksdorf, K. 2016)).

Ürk - colligates with various degree adverbs, mostly at –N1 position: *fena*, *delice*, (terribly), *çok, iyice* (very), *öylesine, öyle* (so), *oldukça* (rather), *biraz* (a little), *büsbütün* (absolutely), *ciddi ciddi* (really, seriously), *son derece* (extremely).

Table 15. Colligational features of *ürk-* on the basis of the concordance from TNC Corpus:

COLLIGATION PATTERNS (Ürk- colligates with)	**EXAMPLES**
ABLATIVE CASE "-DAn" (esp. at –N1 position) Noun or verbal noun + DAn	Köpek-**ten**, seslerin-**den**, elbise-**den**, kaydolmak-**tan** etc.
DATIVE CASE "-(y)A" on verbal noun (esp. at –N1 position) (few instances)	Bakma-**ya**, konuşma-**ya**, geçme-**ye** etc.
TEMPORAL/CAUSAL CONVERBIAL (CV) "–(y) IncA" (at –N position)	Uyan-**ınca**, patla-**yınca**, başla-**yınca**, eklen-**ince**, gör-**ünce** etc.
SUBORDINATING SUFFIX (CONJ) "-(y)Ip ("-üp" for ürk-for vowel harmony)	Ürk-**üp** kaçmaya başladı (feared **and** started to run/walk/fly away)
-(y) ArAk as SUBORDINATING SUFFIX (coordinating conj)	Ürk-**erek** geri çekildi (feared **and** moved back / retreated)
-(y) ArAk as CONVERBIAL SUFFIX (Manner Adverb)	Ürk-**erek** yürüyordum (I was walking **shyly/worriedly/cautiously/in fear**)
SUBORDINATOR "diye" (reason, precaution) (at -N1position)	"..yılan çıkar mı" **diye** ürküyordu (He felt uneasy/worried **because** a snake might appear out of nowhere)
ADVERBS OF DEGREE at –N1 position	Epeyce (considerably), fena, delice, (terribly), çok, iyice (very), öylesine, öyle (so), oldukça (rather), biraz (a little), büsbütün (absolutely), ciddi ciddi (really, seriously), son derece (extremely)

4.1.3.2. Collocates of *Ürk-*

Ortony and Turner (1990:327) state that emotions are "formed from sets of elements, it is natural to think of fear as being variously embodied." They also argue that we have various types of fear "each consisting of somewhat different components." Then *ürk-* as a fear type word in Turkish must have some different components compared to other fear tokens. It is clear that any slight difference in the meaning or function of the verb *ürk-* will lead to different collocational tendencies. Through our scrutiny of the concordance of *ürk-*, we identified several nuances of meanings and differing collocates to be associated with each saliently distinct meaning. Described below are different hues of meaning and collocates that each distinct meaning dictates.

One distinct use of *ürk-* describes ethological behaviour – animal fear and their action tendencies. In such contexts *ürk-* refers to a real acute fear felt by an animal which results in the animal getting out of control and fleeing. The ongoing activity is stopped and the animal is phylogenetically predisposed to take flight. Animals are highly sensitive to any changes in the immediate environment as part of their survival instincts and display fear to natural happenings like 'moving leaves or grass'. Horses for example *spook* or *shy at* a sound or an object that they do not understand and display a startled jump sideways and resort to a quick change of direction to flee (Blocksdorf, 2016). When they *ürk-* (fear in this way), they demonstrate such an intense fear as humans do in the face of a real danger. In concordance lines about the use of *ürk-* for animals, this verb tends to collocate usually at –N1 position with words expressing sound and at +N1 position or at further post-node positions with flight words.

(17) Sıpacık şaşırdı, **ürktü**. Değnek gibi zayıf bacakları üzerinde sıçraya sıçraya *kaçtı*.
(CA16B1A-1916). "The colt got surprised, **spooked.** It *ran away* jumping on thin stick-like legs."

(18) …tüfek *seslerinden* **ürkmüş** serçeler *uçuştular*. (DA16B4A-0470)
"The sparrows which had **spooked** at the riffle *shots* (*sounds*) *flew away*."

(19) Balıklar *gürültüden* de **ürküyorlar**. Kirlilikten de *kaçıyorlar*. (OA16B2A-1004)
"The fish **shy** at the *noise.* They *swim away* from pollution."

(20) Ayak *sesimizden* **ürküp** *fırlayan* sansar. (EA16B2A-0448)
"The marten which **spooked** at our *footsteps* and *dashed away."*

The collocates in the concordance from the sound domain as the source of fear include *çatırdama* (crackling, crushing), *ses* (sound, noise), *koşuşma* (bustling), *bağırma* (shouting), *gürültü* (noise), *nara* (loud cry), *vraak* (sound of a frog). The collocates from the flight domain include *koşmak* (running away), *uçuşmak* (flitting about), *kaçmak* (running/flying/walking/swimming away), *geri çekilmek* (moving back, retracting), *yuvasına gitmek* (going to its nest/hole/lair etc.), *gözden kaybolmak* (disappearing), *kaçışmak* (running together), *uçmak* (flying away), *havalanmak* (getting airborne), *uzaklaşmak* (moving away), *saklanmaya çalışmak* (attempting to hide), sığınmak (taking shelter).

Some animals get out of control when they *ürk-* (fear in this way). They display action tendencies expressed by words or phrases from the semantic domain of uncontrollability. In such contexts about animals, *ürk-* collocates with *azgın* (fierce), *şaha kalkmak* (rearing up), *çifteler atmak* (kicking with two hind legs), *sırtındakileri fırlatmak/düşürmek* (of a beast of burden, throwing off or dropping the things), *delice çekmek* (drawing the horse cart crazily).

When used about humans, *ürk-* rarely denotes an actual acute state of fear. It tends to describe a fear situation where the human experiencer gets uneasy, a bit anxious, about a threat-related stimulus. He/she becomes alert/vigilant about the 'source' which might harbour

potential risks or dangers for the emoter. One may *avoid* the source of concern, or in many cases one *cautiously continues* one's goal pursuit or one's course of action despite this kind of fear state. When you *ürk-*, you may carry on your goal pursuit or keep your ongoing activity cautiously, mentally alert or vigilant, highly attentive to potential risks that might come from a stimulus. You feel unsure about a source – human agents or other things; you feel suspicious of or unconfident about their reliability or safeness. You just get uneasy or worried (slightly fearful) that something or someone might harbour latent risks whose potential implications would be disadvantageous for your goals. In such cases, *ürk-* does not denote acute fear situations where you are faced with an actual concrete threat/danger. It denotes secondary fear or worry/anxiety. Freud (1959, cited in Izard, 1977:376) labels it as "signal anxiety (fear anticipation)" which does not result from from exposure to danger, but "from perceived threat of danger". The seemingly sources are indirect and imprecise; "the identification of objects as causes of fear may not always be correct" (Izard, 1977:357). *Ürk-* connotes precaution/preparedness for potential threats that might arise from sometimes *unreasonable sources* of fear. You may avoid the source or continue your ongoing activity cautiously. *Ürk-*, in such contexts, is like knocking the door of the fear module/mechanism despite vague sources involving no imminent or direct risks, which still activate the experiencer's defence mechanism of being vigilant and cautious. Sample lines from the concordance:

(21) Ama ormanda silahlar patlayınca **ürkmüş** olacak ki işini olabildiğince tez elden bitirip helikopterin yanına döndü. (DA16B3A-2680). "But when guns fired in the forest, he must have *got spooked*, because he hurried back to the helicopter finishing his job as fast as he could" (distant threat, goal pursuit continued)

(22) Biraz **ürkerdim** ondan ama, arakadaşlık etmek hoşuma giderdi. (RA16B2A-0441).
"I used to get a bit spooked at him but I liked his company." (cautiously keeping friendship)

(23) Ayşe'nin annesi öğretmenin bu çıkışından **ürkmüştü**. Ama gerilemedi. (FA16B3A-1234). "Ayşe's mother had **felt uneasy** about (spooked at) that admonishment of the teacher, but she did not move back/retracted) (cautiously keeping goal)

(24) Genç kadın **ürkmüş bir halde** ağır ağır tuvaletin kapısına yaklaşır. (HC03A1A-2054). "The young lady slowly got closer to the door of the toilet **uneasily/worriedly**." (cautious approach)

The continuance of one's goal pursuit or keeping one's course of action may be explicitly marked with the converbial suffix –(y)*ArAk* on the verb, which makes it an adverb of manner, or with post-node (+N) colligates expressing adversative conjunctions such as *fakat/ama (but), yine de/ gene de (still)*.

(25) Adam geldi, çekinerek, **ürk-*erek*** elindeki zarfı S…ağabeye uzattı. (FH13C2A-0864).

"The man approached and gave the envelope in his hand to brother S… timidly, **shyly** (feeling uneasy/anxious).

(26) Garson kız bir tavşan gibi **ürk-*erek*** ne içeceğimi soruyor. (PA16B2A-3301). "The waitress asks what I will drink as **timidly/shyly** as a rabbit."

(27) Meraklı **ürkmüştü**; *yine de* bir taraftan neler olduğunu anlamaya çalışıyor, diğer taraftan … (OA16B4A-1197). "Meraklı **had spooked**; *but/still* she was trying to figure out what was going on…"

In such contexts, *ürk-* does not collocate with words or phrases that express avoidance or escape. However, in some contexts such as those below, the experiencer displays avoidance behaviour although the source of threat does not directly threaten them. They are in an affective state of "what ifs" – "what if the seemingly source of threat harms them?" In such cases the node *ürk-* collocates with words or phrases expressing simple avoidance or moving away:

(28) Delikanlı, ustanın dediklerine pek anlam veremez ama, ciddi duruşundan **ürkmüştür**. Orta kıyım bir hacet sandığa benzeyen çantasını alır ve *kahveden çıkar*. (SI22C4A-0822). "The young man cannot make sense of what the master has said but gets spooked at (worried about) his severe stance. He picks up his bag, which looks like a middle size wooden box and *leaves* the coffee house. "

(29) "…edebiyatı bir kariyer konusu yapmaktan **ürkmüş**, *kaçmıştım* hep." (TI09C3A-1229). "I was always **uneasy/worried** about making a career of literature and *avoided* it."

(30) Duyduğu uğultudan **ürkmüştü**, eve *git*meye karar verdi. (KA16B2A-0879). "He **had felt worried** about the buzz he heard, so he decided to *go* home (leaving that place)" (no rapid escape, simple moving away)

Ürk- seems to collocate with words or phrases that express unreasonable sources as fear instigators. When decontextualized, many "fear triggers" that *ürk-* collocates with do not connote any threats or danger! However, "it is not the objective nature of a stimulus but the organism's [human subject's] "evaluation" of it that determines the nature of the ensuing emotion" (Scherer, 1999:647). With *ürk-*, the experiencer considers things or people as potentially threatening for their goals. The concordance analysis showed that *ürk-* collocates with unreasonable threat sources (all of them occur with the ablative source marker –DAn) such as: *güzellik (beauty), beyaz elbise (white dress), ulusal gurur (national pride), ışığın gölgeleri (shadows of light), şehrin gürültüsü (the noise of the city), kızlar (girls), ritüel olan (what is ritual), tanımadığı yemek (unfamiliar meal), sevgiden bahseden kadınlar (women speaking about love), diriler (those alive), aydınlık (brightness), klasik müzik (classical music), gölgem (my shadow), ayak sesi (footsteps), alacağım cevap (the reply I'll get), bu delice cesaret (that madly courage), konuşma yeteneği (speech talent, rhetoric), taş (stone), rüzgar ve yağmurun hışırtısı (rustle of wind or rain) etc.* Why should one feel fear of such sources? *Ürk-* as a fear state apparently

results from the emoter's groundless worries or anxieties in case they should cause trouble or be indications of underlying trouble for him/her. These unreasonable sources do not stand in front of the experiencer or have any volition to frighten the experiencer. These subjective '*sources of fear'(!)* are probably not aware of the fact that they frighten the experiencer. The emoter feels disturbed or displeased in case these 'sources' might cause trouble for them. They sense the threat potential, but do not face a threat. In addition to words or phrases that express threat-related stimuli that seem unreasonable to fear, *ürk-* can sometimes occur as a feeling *for no apparent reason*, in which case it collocates with *nedense* or *her nedense*.

(31) Bu sözü işitince, birdenbire **ürktü** *nedense*. (RA16B2A-0035) "When he heard this, he suddenly **feared/got nervous** *somehow / for some reason or another*."

(32) Avrupa'dan Ayrılmak'tan **ürküyordu** *her nedense*. (HI13C4A-1940) "He **was afraid** to leave Europe *for some reason or another*."

As we mentioned while discussing the colligational patterns of *ürk-* above, when *ürk* colligates with the subordinator suffix –(y)Ip (as *-üp* for ürk => ürk-üp), it collocates with fear-related sources at –N and especially *flight* or sometimes *avoidance* words or phrases at +N positions. Then *ürküp* profiles mostly realistic fear-related stimuli with higher sense of reality and threat imminence and subsequent action tendency of fleeing or avoidance. This is true in the majority of cases for "ürküp", which occurs 50 times in the TNC corpus. The collocates expressing *flight*/*escape* or *avoidance* persistently occur to the right of the node whether the subject of *ürk-* is an animal, a human being or a personified object:

(33) Kuyunun yanındaki ağaçtan bir kuş **ürküp** *havalandı*. (TA16B2A-0325) "A bird **spooked and** *flew off* the tree near the well." (animal reflex)

(34) Bu adam nereye kaybolmuştu? Acaba son gelişmelerden **ürküp** yurt dışına mı *kaçmıştı*? (SA16B2A-0738) "Where the hell had that man gone? Might he have **feared** the recent developments **and** *escaped* abroad?" (human action tendency)

(35) Reco'nun aynaya çizdiği helicopter ve uçan adam resmi Ali'nin sertliğinden **ürküp** *buharlaştı*. (CA16B2A-0159) "The figures of a helicopter and a flying man that Reco had drawn on the mirror **spooked** at Ali's stern gaze **and** *evaporated* (away)." (The figures are personified– a personified non-living thing escapes from a threat-related stimulus!)

Ürk- also collocates with words or phrases that express one's appearance, stance, especially facial expressions as sources of this type of fear. Especially eyes are outlets for the human trigger's inner world that might harbour risks or dangers for the experiencer. Rather

than the entire face, the eye region contains information about the human trigger's threatening inner state (Fox and Damjanovic, 2006).

(36) Yüzü yine gerildi, konuk onun *bakışlarından* **ürktü**. (JA16B3A-0999) "His face got stern again, the guest **felt nervous/uneasy** about his (stern) *glare*/*look*."

(37) …*gözlerindeki kin* o kadar belirgindi ki ben bile **ürktüm**. (OA16B4A-0046) "*the hatred in her eyes* were so conspicuous that even I **got nervous/frightened**."

The other collocates that express facial expression or overall appearance include *bakışlarından* (his/her glare/look/eyes –most frequent), *yüzündeki tiksinti* (disgust/revulsion on his/her face), *görünüşünden* (appearance), *halinden* (his/her stance/manners), *sertliğinden* (stern look/glare), *ciddi duruşundan* (his/her serious look/stance) etc.

In economic contexts *ürk-* collocates with *sermaye* (capital) and *para* (money or capital) or economic institutions like *sigorta şirketi* (insurance agency). The *capital* is personified with the companies or the monetary assets metonymically standing for people owning them – investors. Strangely enough, in the English corpus BNCWeb we come across identical uses of *ürk-* for which "shy/spook" is used. *Ürk-* in Turkish and "shy/spook" in English prototypically connotes a special kind of animal way of fearing: Just like any small change or sound in the environment which an animal appraises as threatening, any unpredictability, any negative speculation or any potential social upheaval in a country or region is enough for investors to avoid, escape from or be cautious about it in terms of making investments or keeping their economic assets in that place. The following BNCWeb examples show that in such contexts from our own corpus (TNC) we can safely use "*spook/shy away"* for "*ürk-"*:

(38) The huge *demand* emerged despite City warnings that leading institutions would **shy away** unless better commissions were offered. 'This just shows how hungry *institutions* are for commissions.' (A7T, BNCWeb XML edition)

(39) *Business*, faced with the prospect of a faltering government and the likelihood of another election within months, may **shy away** from investment decisions and postpone long-term commitments. (AHN, BNCWeb XML edition)

Examples from the TNC concordance of *ürk-*:

(40) *Talep* **ürkerse** …. İşadamlarının çoğunluğu bildiğini okumaya devam ederse, enflasyon hedefi tutturma imkanı kalmayacak. (MF10E1B-2864) "(What) if the *demand* **shies/spooks**(?)… If the majority of the businessmen continue to act however they like, it will not be possible to achieve the inflation target."

(41) *Sermaye* kargaşadan **ürker** ve kaçar. Türk ekonomisi kendi içinde tutarlı, devletle birlikte başarısızdır. (LI22C1A-0776) "The *capital* **shies away from** chaos. The Turkish economy is consistent/stable in itself, but unsuccessful with the state."

(42) Türkiye'deki bürokrasiden **ürken** *Amerikalılar* (*businessmen*), projeden vazgeçtiler. (IF09C3A-1008) "Americans (business circles) who **spooked/shied at** Turkish paperwork gave up on the project."

These are instantiations of submetaphors INVESTORS ARE ANIMALS, PRODUCTS ARE ANIMALS and COMPANIES ARE ANIMALS, inherited from more general metaphors PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and INSTITUTIONS ARE ANIMALS. They are meant to demonstrate "how relevant characteristics of animals and animal behaviour (source domain) are mapped onto the financial market participants, people and institutions (target domain)" (Silaški, 2011:566). In her work Silaški shows "how certain aspects of different animals, their instinctual and behavioural patterns can be mapped onto people and institutions in business and financial vocabulary." (Silaški, ibid). In the concordance examples above, the Turkish *ürk-* and English *shy/spook* are used as if intended to refer to animals while they refer to investors or companies. Animals' oversensitivity to any changes or uncertainties in their environment make them *shy* or *spook* and subsequently *flee* or *avoid* just as finance circles avoid or flee risk-detected business environments.

In the 9 such lines that we came across in the concordance of *ürk-*, we observed that in economic discourse *ürk-* collocates with items expressing the discontinuance of goal pursuit like *proje (project)*, *plan (plan)*, *maliyet (cost)*; non-human 'experiencer' of ürk- like *para* (money, capital), *sermaye* (capital), *sektör* (sector), *yatırımcı* (investor), *talep* (demand); action tendencies of capital flight like *vazgeç-* (give up on), *iptal* (cancellation), *kaç-* (escape), *kapatma* (close-down); and the trigger of *ürk-* which causes unpredictability like *kargaşa* (chaos), *terör* (terror), *yasa dışı eylemler* (illegal actions), *bürokrasi* (paperwork) etc.

Lastly *ürk-* seems to be a perfectly appropriate lexical item to describe uncanny fear- another variety of fear – which is usually triggered by uncanny feelings of nervousness about strange, supernatural things or inexplicable eerie noises which may even be caused by natural events or things (Ortony and Turner,1990:327). The strange environment gives you the creeps. Such feelings can also evoke responses like "goosebumps, raising of the hair, shivering, "crawling" skin, and the like" (Levy, 1984, cited ibid). Such a variety of human fear probably results from the central meaning of *ürk-*, which prototypically describes animals' low threshold of fear. As a result of their subjective cognitive appraisal, they are readily frightened of "traces" of threat or danger like "moving leaves" or "trivial noises" whose unpredictability evokes a stronger fear in them than when *ürk-* is used to describe how humans feel. Strange sounds, things or novel/unfamiliar environments can evoke in humans relatively less intense feelings of worry or nervousness, making them vigilant or cautious. On the other hand, any traces of

uncanny threat like strange noises or a moving shadow turn the "ürk-" kind of anxiety into an intense fear. The human victim is desperate because there is no direction of flight; the whole eerie environment – backward, forward and sideways –may harbour the threat that would suddenly approach. In animal way of "ürk-" the animal experiencer balks and won't take a single step forward but flee away usually backwards or perhaps sideways. In contrast, the human victim of uncanny fear is all surrounded by the risky environment with no way to escape. Sometimes the threat-related stimuli are groundless. Below are some sample concordance lines that display uncanny fear:

(43) Kimi de sokak boyu zıplayan ışık demetini görünce *cin* gördüm zanneder, **ürkerek** ilahi kuvvetlere sığınırdı. (UA16B2A-0884). "And some would think they saw a *genie* when they saw the light beams moving along the road. They would **feel spooked** at it and pray to divine powers for safety"

(44) "…bazıları *karanlıkta* uyumaktan **ürker**." (PC01A2A-3312) "…some **are scared** of sleeping in *darkness*" (they tend to **feel very anxious** although there are no apparent threats)

(45) Bazı geceler *gürültüler* geliyormuş *o* evden. İnsanlar *geceleyin oraya* gitmekten **ürker** hale gelmişti. (JA16B1A-1728) "On some *nights* [peculiar] *noises* are said to come from *that* house. People had begun to **feel afraid (spooked)** to go *there* at night." (or **shy away from** that house)

(46) Bahçede, ağaçların arasından geçerken, rüzgarın ve yağmurun *hışırtısından* biraz **ürkmüştü**. (DA16B4A-0082). "He/she had **got** slightly **spooked/worried** because of the *rustle* of the wind and rain while walking through the trees in the garden."

In case of uncanny fear, the word *ürk-* swims in a pool of collocates which connote non-human sources which feel unpredictable, unfathomable and msyterious such as *karanlık* (darkness), *gece* (night*)*, *cin* (genie), *yalnız* (alone), *gölge* (shadow*)*, *ışık* (light), *mezar* (grave), *sessizlik* (silence*)*, *uğultu* (buzzing), *sesler* (noises*)*, *esrarengiz* (weird, enigmatic), *görüntü* (image, silhouette), *peri* (fairy*)*, *boş* (empty), *gizem* (mystery). These are mostly intangible entities.

Table 16. Collocational behaviour of *ürk-*

SUBTYPES OF FEAR	TYPICAL COLLOCATES
Animal Fear	• **Fear Source:** *çatırdama* (crackling, crushing), *ses* (sound, noise), *koşuşma* (bustling), *bağırma* (shouting), *gürültü* (noise), *nara* (loud cry), *vraak* (sound of a frog).
	• **Flight/escape:** *koşmak* (running away), *uçuşmak* (flitting about), *kaçmak* (running/flying/walking/swimming away), *geri çekilmek* (moving back, retracting), *yuvasına gitmek* (going to its nest/hole/lair etc.), *gözden kaybolmak* (disappearing), *kaçışmak* (running together), *uçmak* (flying away), *havalanmak* (getting airborne), *uzaklaşmak* (moving away).
	• **Uncontrollable behaviour:** *azgın* (fierce), *şaha kalkmak* (rearing up), *çifteler atmak* (kicking with two hind legs), *sırtındakileri fırlatmak / düşürmek* (of a beast of burden, throwing off or dropping the things), *delice çekmek* (drawing the horse cart crazily).
Human Fear	• **Vague/Distant/Unreasonable Sources:** *güzellik (beauty), beyaz elbise (white dress), ulusal gurur (national pride), ışığın gölgeleri (shadows of light), şehrin gürültüsü (the noise of the city), kızlar (girls), ritüel olan (what is ritual), tanımadığı yemek (unfamiliar meal), sevgiden bahseden kadınlar (women speaking about love), diriler (those alive), aydınlık (brightness), klasik müzik (classical music), gölgem (my shadow), ayak sesi (footsteps), alacağım cevap (the reply I'll get), bu delice cesaret (that madly courage), konuşma yeteneği (speech talent, rhetoric), taş (stone), rüzgar ve yağmurun hışırtısı (rustle of wind or rain) etc.*
	• **Uneasy/worried for no apparent reason:** *nedense*, *her nedense*
	• **Uneasy/worried + cautious continuance of goal pursuit:** words or phrases that express non-avoidance despite the displeasure about an indirect threat. In such cases ürk- colligates with f*akat/ama* (but), *yine de/ gene de* (still)**.**
	• **Simple Avoidance:** *ayrılmak*, *terketmek* (leave), *gitmek* (go).
	• **Facial Expression/Overall Appearance:** *bakışlarından* (his/her glare/look/eyes –most frequent), *görünüşünden* (appearance), *yüzündeki tiksinti* (disgust/revulsion on his/her face), *halinden* (his/her stance/manners), *sertliğinden* (stern look/glare), *ciddi duruşundan* (his/her serious look/stance) etc.
	• **Colligation-dependent persistent collocates: Ürk-*üp* + flight words or phrases:** flight/escape words or phrases like those listed above
	• **Uncanny Fear:** *karanlık* (darkness), *gece* (night*)*, *cin* (genie), *yalnız* (alone), *gölge* (shadow*)*, *ışık* (light), *mezar* (grave), *sessizlik* (silence*)*, *uğultu* (buzzing), *sesler* (noises*)*, *esrarengiz* (weird, enigmatic), *görüntü* (image, silhouette), *peri* (fairy*)*, *boş* (empty), *gizem* (mystery)
Economic Fear / Capital Flight (figurative meaning)	• **Discontinued goal pursuit**: *proje (project)*, *plan (plan)*, *maliyet(cost)*
	• **Non-human (metonymic) 'experiencer' of ürk-**: *para* (money, capital), *sermaye* (capital), *sektör* (sector), *yatırımcı* (investor), *talep* (demand)
	• **Action tendencies of capital flight** : *vazgeç-* (give up on), *iptal* (cancellation), *kaç-* (escape), *kapatma* (close-down);
	• **The trigger of *ürk-*** which causes unpredictability like *kargaşa* (chaos), *terör* (terör), *yasa dışı eylemler* (illegal actions), *bürokrasi* (paperwork) etc.

4.1.3.3. Semantic Preference of *Ürk-*

As can be understood from the collocation table and the explanatory text about the distinct meanings and functions of *ürk-*, it has several semantic preferences just as Partington (1998) lists five semantic preferences for the lexical item *sheer*. The collocates of *ürk-* manifest the following semantic preferences:

1) to describe animals' fear, its collocates have semantic preferences for a) *sounds b) rapid flight c) uncontrollability,*
2) to describe human fear, the collocates have semantic preferences for *a) indirect / unreasonable causes b) caution c) simple avoidance d) facial appearance e) entities connoting uncanny feelings*
3) to describe fear in economic discourse, the collocates are selected from the domains of: *a) monetary assets* or *financial institutions* (as metonymic 'experiencers' of fear standing for people who own or manage them) *b) capital flight c) instability*.

4.1.3.4. Semantic Prosody of *Ürk-*

It is inevitable to identify distinct collocational patterns for our set of fear type words covered by the present dissertation which express subjective feeling of fear. Sinclair (2000: 200) argues that semantic prosody is the junction of function and form and the obligatory component of lexical profiling because why we choose a lexical item rather than any other near synonym is encoded in the item selected. The distinct semantic prosody of an item dictates a lexical environment to be occupied with certain collocates. Therefore, distinct collocational patterns for seemingly near synonymous words are strong evidence for the fact that words are idiosyncratic and rarely intersubstitutable (Xiao and McEnery, 2006:108).

All the fear type words in our set naturally have unpleasant semantic/discourse prosodies. Rather than this simplistic evaluation, we have to identify the function of the lexical item which makes it the right word for a context. Especially Sinclair (1994/2004; 2000) and Stubbs (2002a) emphasize the pragmatic side of semantic prosody; that is, the prosody reflects speaker attitude – why he/she chooses a particular lexical item in a context. Then each item in our list of fear concepts (kork-, tırs-, ürk-, irkil-, ürper-) is selected for a context simply because it has a distinct component in its conceptual content which makes it the appropriate choice. From our analysis of the concordance of *ürk-*, we conclude that *ürk-*, when used with human experiencers, has the semantic prosody of *becoming worried and vigilant about a suspected threat and continuance of our goal pursuit cautiously* or *avoiding the seemingly threat source*

without really confronting it (WORRY+CAUTIOUS GOAL PURSUIT or SIMPLE AVOIDANCE, **ürk-1**). When used to describe uncanny fear, *ürk-* has the prosody of *getting uneasy or anxious about the possibility of there being strange or supranatural things around*; *anxious mental alertness that may turn into a sudden intense fright at any moment* (ANXIOUS+ALERT FOR INTANGIBLE TRIGGERS, **ürk-2**). When used to describe animals' affective state, *ürk-* has the prosody of *sensing a threat through its indicators and feeling an intense fear and subsequent flight or uncontrollable behaviour* (SENSE+SPOOK(fright)+RAPID ESCAPE, **ürk-3**). When used in economic discourse, *ürk-* has the prosody of *flight from or avoidance of a potential threat noticed in a market* (FEAR OF RISKY INVESTMENTS+FLIGHT, **ürk-4**). In such contexts the "experiencer" – capital, business, company, investment etc. – metonymically stands for people that own these monetary assets. These non-human experiencers are conceptualised as animals because they are used with *–ürk-* which tends to refer to animal fear. This use manifests instantiations of metaphors INVESTORS ARE ANIMALS and COMPANIES ARE ANIMALS.

4.1.3.5. Cognitive Appraisal for Ürk-

Ortony et al. (1988:111-112) specify fear emotions as "displeased about the prospect of an undesirable event." The amount of displeasure, that is, the intensity of fear, depends on subjective (psychological) proximity of the event or threat imminence and its likelihood. Then we have a continuum of threat imminence ranging from more distal to more proximal. Distinct fear words from simple uneasiness or worry to highly intense dread or terror and those between them profile different construals and are located at different points on the continuum. Our analysis of the concordance of the Turkish fear word *ürk-* reveals that it has different subconstruals for humans and animals which can be seen from its semantic prosody. Hobbs and Gordon (2011:6) state that "normally the more salient the stimulus, the more intense the emotion, and the more intense the emotion, the more extreme the responses [action tendencies]." For humans *ürk-* tends to encode less intense fear – beginning to feel disturbed/uneasy/worried about a suspected/indirect/distal threat and becoming cautious or avoidant towards it. In contrast, for animals, *ürk-* encodes the invocation of a strong fear whose antecedents – moving leaves/grass, or sounds – must seem strong/proximal indicators of threat while they may seem insignificant to human appraisal. When animals *ürk-* (spook/shy), they are frightened, balk and resort to rapid escape or uncontrollable behaviour. The use of *ürk-* to describe uncanny fear has elements from human fear of inexplicable, strange environments or entities and *ürk-* in economic discourse about capital flight has elements from animal oversensitivity to threats.

In the table below on the next page the first and the second columns show the cognitive appraisal pattern of the superordinate term fear on the basis of Scherer's work (2001:115). The other columns display the Turkish fear word *ürk-* on the basis of its distinctive subconstruals. For the column marked capital flight, the metonymic "experiencers" (capital, money, investment) have no cognitive functions, so the appraisals reflect those of the people that they stand for.

Table 17. Predicted cognitive appraisal pattern of *ürk-* in comparison with *fear* (*kork-*):

Stimulus Evaluation Checks (SECs)	**Fear**	**Ürk- 1** Human, Indirect Trigger	**Ürk-2** Human, Uncanny Fear	**Ürk-3** Animal Spook/shy	**Ürk-4** Economy, Capital Flight
RELEVANCE					
Novelty					
Suddenness	high	**low**	high	high	high
Familiarity	low	**open**	**very low**	**open**	**open**
Predictability	low	low	**very low**	low	low
Intrinsic pleasantness	low	**open**	**very low**	low	low
Goal/need relevance	high	**medium**	high	high	high
IMPLICATIONS					
Cause: agent	other/nature	other/nat.	other/nat.	other/nat.	other/nat.
Cause: motive	open*	open*	open*	open*	open*
Outcome probability	high	**medium**	**open**	**open**	high
Discrepancy from expectation	dissonant	**open**	dissonant	dissonant	dissonant
Conduciveness	obstruct	obstruct	obstruct	obstruct	obstruct
Urgency	very high	**medium**	very high	very high	very high
COPING POTENTIAL					
Control	open	open	**very low**	open	**low**
Power	very low	**low**	very low	very low	**low**
Adjustment	low	**medium**	**very low**	**very low**	**very low**
NORMATIVE SIGNIFICANCE					
External	open	open	open	open	open
Internal	open	open	open	open	open

*The evaluation "open" means that different appraisal results are compatible with the emotion in terms of that stimulus check or the check is irrelevant for that emotion compared to other emotions for which the same criteria of cognitive appraisal checks above are applied.

The bold words in the table show how differently the concerned appraisal criterion is evaluated for the relevant type of *ürk-*. For instance, the third column which displays appraisal pattern of Ürk-1 highly corroborates that of Scherer (2001:114) for anxiety/worry rather than acute fear situations as it refers to the uneasiness felt towards an indirect source that *might* harbour a threat or trouble for the experiencer.

4.1.4. Lexical Profile of *İrkil-*

İrkil- corresponds to the *startle* response "which refers to a defensive reflex, evoked by abrupt, intense stimulation, which functions to protect the body from potential harm" (Amodio & Harman-Jones, 2011:47). Izard (1977:356) states that of the density-increase emotions like surprise-startle, fear-terror, and interest-excitement, "the most sudden and sharpest increase in density of neural firing activates startle." The *startle* reflex is a bodily reaction resulting from a sudden, unexpected *auditory*, *visual, tactile* or *cognitive* stimulus which rapidly and momentarily shakes the fear or surprise mechanism of the brain. The adaptive purpose of the startle reaction is to make us vigilant during the reaction itself and immediately afterwards. It makes us hypervigilant (Wildman, 2013), so we soon visually explore the environment to see what is happening. Lazarus (1991:54) argues that getting startled (*irkil-*) is "an initial reaction to uncertainty" and "some researchers have called it the "What is it?" reaction."

While Izard (1977) regards *startle* and *surprise* as emotions, Lazarus (1991) considers non-reflex reactions such as "curiosity, surprise, attentiveness and "the orienting reaction" of *startle* as *pre-emotions.* They prepare the animal or a person to evaluate what is happening" (Lazarus, 1991:54). *İrkil-* (be startled) functions "to alert the person to a condition whose personal significance is hinted at but is not yet evident, and which will be subsequently appraised as irrelevant, harmful, threatening, or beneficial" (ibid:54).

This section covers the lexical profile and appraisal pattern for *irkil-*. Because the event structure of *irkil-* reflects a rather complicated semantic frame, we had to analyse about 500 concordance lines to get the most out of the corpus to clarify the *irkil-* scene. Our inquiry reveals its colligational patterns, collocates exhibiting the sources and the resultant affective state and action tendencies following the *irkil-* / startle response. Salient units of extended meanings which *irkil-* motivates with its lexical environment will be interpreted on the basis of (co-selected) collocates, semantic preferences and discourse prosodies.

4.1.4.1. Colligates of *İrkil-*

The source or trigger of the *irkil-* is marked with instrumental case (INST) "ile" or "-(y)lA." In terms of the experiencer and the object (inducing the stimulus for *irkil-*), the following structure is pervasive in Turkish:

Ali patlama sesi-*yle* **irkildi**. ("**Ali was startled** *by* the sound of an explosion.")
Ali.NOM explosion sound-*INST* **was startled**.

Table 18. Structural type of *İrkil-* in Turkish

Subject	Object	Sample Sentence
Experiencer (NOM)	Theme (INST)	**Ahmet** ani bir fren sesi-*yle* **irkil-di**. **EXP**.NOM sudden one braking sound-*INST* **get startled-PERF**. "Ahmet was startled by the sudden sound of breaking."

We identified the following colligates of *irkil-* from its concordance analysis:

İrkil- colligates usually at –N1 position with the instrumental case marker "ile" or its suffixal form –(y)lA, which corresponds to the English words "with" or "by". These instrumental case markers display startle (irkil-) inducing stimuli:

(1) Bir gürültü, bir patırtı *ile* **irkil-**di-m. (OI22E1B-2908, TNC corpus).
One noise, one clamor *INST* **get startled**-PERF-1Sg. "I **was startled** *by* a noise, a clamor."

(2) Koşarken sağ tarafından gelen ses-*le* **irkil**-di. (RA16B3A-0257)
While running right side from come-REL sound-*INST* **get startled**-PERF.3Sg. "While running, he **was startled *by*** a sound coming from his right."

İrkil - colligates with temporal converbial (CV) suffix –(y) IncA, which corresponds to English *when* clause to express a sequential cause-effect relation. Such clauses, whose verbs with –(y) IncA colligate with *irkil-* at –N1 position, mark the temporal point at which the startle (irkil-) response was evoked.

(3) Birden, arkasında simsiyah parıldayan gözleri [*gör-ünc*e **irkil-di**.] (JA09B2A-0042). [*see-CV* **get startled-PERF**] "*When he* suddenly *saw* the jet black glaring eyes behind him, he **was startled**."

(4) Tıp tıp …diye küçük küçük yankılanan ayak seslerini [*duy-unca* **irkil-di-m]**. (CA16B1A-1916).
[*hear-CV* **get startled-PERF-1Sg.**] "*When I heard* the footsteps sounding tıp tıp echoing slightly, I **was startled**"

The subordinating suffix –(y)Ip on the startle verb *irkil-* (İrkil-**ip**) is important because it functions like the conjunction "**and** (CONJ)" which profiles two actions immediately following one another. This suffix is quite significant in that the fear-related verb with this colligate directly displays what action tendency or cognitive operation the experiencer engages in after that affective state (or startle / irkil- reaction here). Because humans are the same everywhere in terms of basic emotions and reflexes, findings will be similar across languages. In short, the pattern *irkil-**ip** + another verb* (*irkil- **and** another verb*) will show "the first thing that the experiencer of the startle reflex tends to do." Then this colligate should place limitations on the semantic domains of the collocates as well since it is something universal how the experiencer will feel or what they will do just after the startle / irkil- reflex. Izard (1977:281) quotes Tomkins (1962) as saying "channel clearing emotion" about startle/surprise. Izard states that the function of the startle/surprise (which she discusses both together and as emotions) is "to

clear the nervous system of ongoing activity that would interfere with adjustment to a sudden change in our environment" (ibid:281). The actions of the experiencer after "startle" include "trying to understand cause" (exploring/scanning the immediate environment), and "regaining control of self or situation" among others (ibid:282). Then in the post-node lexical environment of *irkil-ip* we are likely to see similar post-startle feelings and action tendencies in Turkish. As soon as one gets startled, characterised by "suddenness", one stops one's ongoing activity or mental activity and becomes bodily mobilised and mentally conscious to deal with the emergent situation.

(5) Dalgın dalgın çalışan Sabri, *irkilerek ayağa fırladı*. Çetin de [**irkil-*ip*]** bir adım *geri çekildi*. (KA16B4A-0712). [**get startled-*CONJ***]. "Sabri, engrossed in his work, *was startled and jumped to his feet*. And Çetin ***was startled and*** *took one step back*. (Bodily mobilisation about the emergency)

(6) Kadın sesimi duyunca birden [**irkil-ip**] *toparlandı*. (OA16B2A-0800) [**get startled-CONJ**] "When the woman heard my sound (me), she ***was startled and*** *collected herself/came to her senses***."** (regaining control of self or situation)

(7) Kadın korkuyla [**irkil-ip**] *etrafına bakındı*. (PI42E1B-2938) [**get startled-CONJ**] "The woman **was startled** in fear **and** *looked around*." (for visual check/with anxious curiosity)

More elaborate and illustrative sample concordance lines about the cause of startle (irkil-) reflex, the state of the experiencer just before the reflex and their feelings and actions just after the reflex will be discussed in "collocates" section ahead. The event schema of *irkil-* and its corresponding linguistic schema as reflected by its co-selection properties will emerge clearly through our concordance analysis.

Just like any verb*, irkil-* colligates with –(y)ArAk which functions as 1) a subordinating suffix (CONJ, "and") like –(y)Ip and as 2) converbial suffix (CV) which derives *manner adverbs* from verbs. We include the suffix –(y)ArAk as a colligate rather than many other suffixes for its salient functions. The suffix can mark consequences of the startle (irkil-) reflex, with its function as a manner adverb being highly unlikely because *irkil-* construes a temporal event. How can its seemingly manner adverb form (*irkil-erek*, getting startled) modify another verb? What action can one do while also *irkil* + *ing* at the same time? Any verbs that *irkil-* could modify like a manner adverb would probably be temporary like it. Another possibility is multiple event reading– one *irkil*s repeatedly while doing something just like trembling. It might be for this reason that we came across few and controversial examples in the concordance although there are quite a few examples for the "–(y)Ip function" of –(y)ArAk, which manifests subsequent action or behavioural tendencies.

(8) MUSA, Rıza'nın ötüşüyle uyandı, [**irkil-*erek*** *doğruldu*]. (JA16B3A-0796) [**get startled-*CONJ*** *stand*

up-PERF] "When Rıza shouted, MUSA **was startled *and*** *stood up*." (Ongoing activity of lying or sleeping is interrupted by startle (irkil-) and he proceeds to a state of sudden awareness of the surrounding)

(9) Mahkum, akrep lafını duyunca [**irkil-*erek*** *yerinden fırlar*]. (JA16B2A-1304) [**gets startled-*CONJ*** *leaps up, –narrative present*]. "When he hears the word scorpion, the prisoner **gets startled *and*** leaps *up*." (Action / behavioural tendency of hypervigilance)

(10) O gece Vildan [**irkil-*erek*** *uyandı*]. (HA16B4A-0016) [**get startled-*CV*** *wake up-PERF*) "That night Vildan *woke up* **gett*ing* startled**." (Manner adverb – "getting startled" modifies or accompanies the action of waking up. Both actions are short and simultaneous to some degree)

(11) Alican …tek sayfalık bir metni Muhsin Candan'a uzattı. Muhsin Candan [**irkil-*erek*** ve dehşete kapılarak *okudu*]. (MA16B3A-0379) [**get startled-*CV*** *..read*-PERF) "Alican …handed a single-page text to Muhisn Candan. Muhsin Candan *read* it *getting startled* and in horror." (Manner adverb – multiple event reading for "getting startled." Apparently the text had various points as sources of fear or anxiety, so Musa Candan got startled many times while reading the text)

İrkil- colligates with a few degree adverbs and less frequently as compared to *tırs-* and *ürk-*. The adverbials observed at –N1 positions are *fena halde* (terribly/severely), *hafifçe* (slightly), *biraz* (a little), *derinden* (deeply).

(12) Gardırobunun kapısını açınca *fena halde* **irkildi**. (OA16B2A-0572) "When she opened the door of his wardrobe, he **was** *terribly* **startled**."

(13) …onun kömür siyahı gözlerini görünce *hafifçe* **irkildi**. (RA15B4A-0542) "When he saw her coal-black eyes, he **was** *slightly* **startled**."

İrkil- colligates with the postposition "gibi" (like) and manner converbial "mış gibi" (as if) to form an adverbial clause of manner. "The verb in the subordinate clause is marked with the evidential perfective suffix –mIş (EV/PF)…" (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:403). Such adverbial modifications of the verb *irkil-* describe how intensely the reflex occurs. In clauses of *–mIş gibi*, the content of the clause is non-factual.

(14) Bir hayvan *gibi* **irkildi**. O ince, ama bir o kadar güçlü titreyiş beni büyüledi. (OA16B2A-0095) "He **got startled** *like* an animal. That delicate, but rather severe quake impressed me."

(15) Misafir sözcüğünü duyunca [iğne bat-*mış gibi* **irkilir]**. (EA14B1A-1616) [pin prick-EV/PF like get startled] "When he hears the word guest, he [**gets startled** *as if* pricked by a pin]." (a flinching reflex)

(16) Dürbünü nasıl kullanılacağını gösterdiğimde, ilkin [tokat ye-*miş gibi* **irkildi]**. (QA16B1A-0775) [slap have-EV/PF like get startled] "When I showed him how to use the binoculars, first he **got startled** *as if slapped*." (a severe startle reaction)

When the source of the startle/*irkil*- response is from the *cognitive* domain, an unpleasant thought or idea suddenly crosses one's mind which is otherwise positive or neutral. The sudden speculatively worrisome thought shakes or disrupts one's ordinary flow of thought. In such contexts, the experiencer somewhat *irkil*-s (gets startled) in Turkish and begins to worry about the cognitively constructed, speculative threat often in colligation with "**(ya … -sA/-(y)sA)"** – discourse connector *ya* followed by a verb with the conditional suffix –sA or –(y)sA, which corresponds to "what if…" in English (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:443). In such contexts we also observe *irkil*- colligates with modal adverbs ***acaba*** (roughly "I wonder if") which "indicates doubt or curiosity" (ibid:269) and the inferential connective ***yoksa,*** (roughly "then") "which "indicates a sudden realization on the speaker's part that the situation might be different from what s/he expected" (ibid:269).

(17) "**Ya** bacağına yaslandığım kişi filmde aranan gibi katil-**se**" *diyerek* **ilkildi**. (RI22E1B-2911) "**What if** the person whose leg I am leaning against is a murderer like the wanted one in the film?" she *thought* and **got startled**. (sudden worrisome thought + startle/*irkil*-)

(18) "**Yoksa** beni mi takip ediyor" *düşüncesiyle* **irkildi**. (VA16B1A-2632) "He **was startled** by the *thought* 'Is he following me, **then**?'" (sudden worrisome thought + startle/*irkil*-)

(19) "**Acaba** yanlış bir iş mi yaptık?" *diye* **irkilir**. (NF32D1B-2721) "**I wonder if** I have done something wrong" he *thought* and **was startled**. (sudden worrisome thought + startle/*irkil*-)

In the example with ***yoksa*****,** the translation equivalent ***then*** given by (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:269) seems inadequate as a marker signalling a thought of potential threat. "**Yoksa** beni mi takip ediyor" could better be understood as "**I hope** he is ***not*** following me."

Table 19. Colligational features of *irkil*- on the basis of the concordance from TNC Corpus:

COLLIGATION PATTERNS (İrkil- colligates with)	**EXAMPLES**
INSTRUMENTAL CASE MARKER (INST) ile or –(y)lA	Ses-***le,*** sesi ***ile,*** heyecan-***la*** etc.
TEMPORAL/CAUSAL CONVERBIAL (CV) "–(y) IncA" (at –N position)	Duy-***unca,*** çarpış-***ınca*** etc.
SUBORDINATING SUFFIX (CONJ) "-(y)Ip ("-ip" for irkil- for vowel harmony)	İrkil-***ip*** susar (got startled ***and*** went silent), irkil-***ip*** ayağa fırladı (got startled ***and*** jumped to his feet) etc.
-(y) ArAk as SUBORDINATING SUFFIX (coordinating conjunction *and*)	irkil-***erek*** "hayır" dedi (got startled ***and*** said "no." irkil-***erek*** Melek'in arkasına doğru kaçar (gets startled ***and*** runs behind Melek.
-(y) ArAk as CONVERBIAL SUFFIX (Manner Adverb)	Irkil-***erek*** uyandı (woke up (*by*) gett*ing* startled) "irkilerek" has an adverbial function to modify "woke up"
POSTPOSITION *gibi*, MANNER CONVERBIAL *-mIş gibi, -mIşçasına* (Such expressions reflect an association between the source of the startle reflex and its intensity)	bir hayvan ***gibi*** (***like*** an animal) iğne bat***mışçasına***, iğne batırıl***mış gibi***, iğne bat***mış gibi*** (***as if*** pricked by a pin/needle), tokat ye***miş gibi*** (***as if*** slapped), suçüsütü yakalan***mış gibi*** (***as if*** caught red-handed), bir zaman tüneline

	gir***miş gibi*** (***as if*** one had suddenly entered a time tunnel), ilk kez duy***muş***um ***gibi*** (***as if*** I heard it for the first time) etc.
ADVERBS OF DEGREE at –N1 position	*fena halde* (terribly/severely), *hafifçe* (slightly), *biraz* (a little), *derinden* (deeply).
MODAL ADVERBS	**Yoksa** (then), **acaba** (I wonder if), **ya…-sA/ -(y)sA** (discourse connector…conditional suffix) (These colligates occur in utterances expressing sudden thoughts of worry or curiosity)

4.1.4.2. Collocates of *İrkil-*

Sinclair (2000:197) argues that most word occurrences result from co-selection– "more than one word is selected in a single choice." The corpus data allows us to identify what meaningful relations words enter into with other words around them to create combinatorial (extended units of) meanings (Sinclair, 1996/2004; Stubbs, 2002a). Some words which we often see around a node are not coincidental. They add hues of meanings to the complete picture motivated to be drawn by the node. Especially the most salient collocates of a node function as if they were the close members of its family tree or the most faithful men of an important person who often act together or around him/her. Some are close guards, while others follow him/her from more distal points.

The concordance provides a unique window into the co-selectional properties of a node. Our observation of the node *irkil-* in the TNC corpus has demonstrated that *irkil-* is not a stray word, but often occurs with certain other words which reflect its schematic nature (physical and psychological background, sudden/unexpected stimulus, startle reaction –expressed by *irkil-* –, scanning for the cause with anxious curiosity or interest and the resultant emotion – fear, surprise/astonishment or anger). Below is a discussion of the collocates of *irkil-* on the basis of their semantic domains. Most examples are given with *irkil-di* in perfective viewpoint because it is in that form that *irkil's* lexical environment fully displays the whole schema of the reflex.

İrkil- collocates with words or phrases which express the pre-reflex background which is characterised by the experiencer totally engrossed in an ongoing activity or thought. That is, *irkil-* collocates at –N positions with items expressing *dalgınlık* (*thoughtfulness / absence / engrossment*) or *durgunluk* (*stillness / silence*) which is abruptly broken and the startle reflex occurs. Stimuli that induce *irkil-* (the startle response) are like a stone which suddenly falls onto a still body of water, producing a strong impact and subsequent vibrations. In some concordance lines, the word *dalgın* (absent/thoughtful/engrossed) occurs explicitly in the pre-node co-text.

(20) Nermin Hoca *dalgın dalgın* kağıtlara bakarken birden **irkildi**. (EA16B2A-0744) "While Lecturer Nermin was glancing at the exam papers *absently/thoughtfully*, she suddenly **got startled**."

(21) Yıkıntılar arasında *düşünceli düşünceli* ilerlemeye başlamıştık ki, bir çocuk sesiyle **irkildik**.

(RG37F1B-2934) "We had started to advance *thoughtfully* through the ruins when we **were startled** by a child's voice."

(22) Olur olmaz *bir **düşünce** alıp götürmüştü beni ötelere*. "Haa, öyle değil mi, Durali" demesiyle **irkildim**. (CA16B2A-1308) "A casual *thought* had taken me away. I **got startled** when he said "Isn't it so, Durali?" (My mental absence/transportation is broken by his (sudden) speech).

(23) Pembe el ilanına *dalmıştım*, taksi şoförünün sesiyle **irkildim**. (TA16B2A-0325) "I *was engrossed* in looking at the pink leaflet, and I **got startled** by the voice of the taxi driver."

Logically, for a stimulus to be appraised as sudden to the experiencer, they must be fully engrossed in an ongoing physical or mental activity, which is what is interrupted when the startle (irkil-) reflex is aroused. Therefore, words or phrases expressing activities in progressive aspect can be accepted as indirect collocates of "dalgınlık" (engrossment or absence). This can be a colligational feature of *irkil-* as well as a collocational one if certain verbs tend to be suddenly/abruptly interrupted by *irkil-* inducing stimuli. Then the primary collocates from the domain of engrossment/absence/thoughtfulness are lexical items or phrases that directly denote it in Turkish such as *dalgın, dalgınca, dalgın dalgın, dalmışken, daldığı, dalmışım, dalmışlardı, dalmak, dalmış olan, dalgınlığından sıyrılarak, kapıldım, düşünceli düşünceli, tembel tembel, kendinden geçmişti*. The secondary or indirect collocates which suggest one's engrossment or absence refer to certain activities, often in progressive aspect. However, verbs expressing those activities are far from sound classification into precise semantic domains: *bakıyordum* (look/watch-PROG, *ölçüp biçiyordu* (consider-PROG), *yürüyordu* (walk-PROG) etc. They are indirectly suggestive of the agent's engrossment/absence.

İrkil- is supposed to collocate with words or phrases that express the source of the startle reaction. The most common instigator is a "sudden loud sound" which suggests the first appraisal criterion for fear – novelty of the stimulus (Scherer, 1984:306). However, for the startle (irkil-) reflex to occur, the sufficient condition is "suddenness" rather than "loudness of a sound," yet "ses" (sound, voice, noise) is still the most frequent stimulus (about one third of the cases). Furthermore, the experiencer's sudden/unexpected perception of an object, scene, person, thought or touch all stimulate the startle reflex. Then the collocates expressing the source of *irkil-* can be 1) *auditory*, 2) *visual*, 3) *tactile* or 4) cognitive motives, all of which must be sudden or unexpected, so we are highly likely to come across *birden aniden, ansızın* (suddenly, abruptly, all at once) usually before the node with *birden* most frequently occurring.

(24) Orhan, bu düşüncelerle ağır ağır yürüken *ansızın* tanıdık bir sesle **irkildi**. (OA16B2A-1253) "While Orhan was walking slowly preoccupied with these thoughts, he *suddenly* **got startled** by a familiar voice."

(25) Laika "kaya bahçesi" sözünü duyunca *birden* **irkildi**. (IA16B2A-1499) "When she heard the words

"stone garden", Laika **was startled** *all at once/suddenly*."

(26) Dönüyor saatlerce yatakta. Pat pat ayak seslerini duyunca **irkiliyor** *aniden*. (SA16B4A-1492) "He moves restlessly in his bed for hours. Upon hearing the footsteps pat pat (assonant doublet), he **gets startled** *abruptly*."

"*Ses"* (sound/voice/noise) is the most frequent collocate from the ***auditory*** domain because it is a cover term for acoustic stimuli; other items as the trigger of the irkil- response include *patırtı* (clatter), *çalma* (ringing), *gürleme* (roaring), *gürültü* (noise), *çatırdama* (crunch), *patlama* (explosion), *zil* (bell), *siren* (siren), *çığlık* (cry, scream), *kahkaha* (horse laugh), *seslenme* (shouting), *homurtu* (grunting). It must be borne in mind that it is not the intrinsic property of these sound sources that evokes the startle reaction but that they occur suddenly or unexpectedly. A sudden whisper or a simple low sound producing "tıp" in Turkish can activate the *irkil-* reflex. A phone starting to ring is often seen in the pre-node lexical environment as a sudden breaker of silence or stillness.

(27) İşte tam aklından bunları geçirirken *birden* masanın üzerindeki *telefonun çalmasıyla* **irkildi**. (SA16B3A-1144) "He was just thinking about these when he **got startled** by the *phone* on the table *ringing suddenly*.

(28) Şimdiye dek hiç duymadığı bir kuş *sesiyle* **irkildi** genç yazar. (OI22E1B-2908) "The young writer **got startled** by a bird's *sound* that he had never heard before."

(29) Tam gölgesine girmiştim ki yukarılardan gelen bir *çığlıkla* **irkildim**. (QA16B3A-3326) "I had hardly entered its shade when I **got startled** by a *scream* coming from above."

(30) …merdivenden gelen *gürültüyle* **irkilmişti**… (RA16B3A-0257) "he **had got startled** by the *noise* coming from the stairs…"

(31) Yanağından süzülüp kucağındaki kitabın üstüne düşen damladan çıkan *"tıp" sesiyle* **irkildi**. (OA16B4A-0777) "She **was startled** by the *sound "tıp"* produced by the teardrop running down her face falling on the book in her lap." (sudden, very low simple sound)

Our second kind of startle trigger is ***visual*** events. A sudden or unexpected appearance of a person or an object evokes the startle reflex. The pleasantness or unpleasantness of the suddenly emerging person or object determines whether the ensuing emotion will suggest fear or surprise synonyms. We are going to focus on subsequent affective states while we discuss post-node collocates. Again abruptness, suddenness, unexpectedness are crucial components of the scene. The usual schema is that the experiencer is busy, engrossed, absent (psychologically) or thoughtful, or there might be silence. Something or someone abruptly appears in the experiencer's visual scope, which startles them. An outsider's intrusion into the experiencer's visual field which is otherwise empty or occupied with things that they have long been aware of evokes stronger reactions of *irkil-*. Collocates of *irkil-* which denote visual triggers include:

(32) *Birden*, arkasında simsiyah parıldayan gözleri *görünce* **irkildi**.] (JA09B2A-0042). "When he *suddenly saw* the jet black glaring eyes behind him, he **was startled**." (fear expected to ensue or accompany startle)

(33) …ufka bir dev silueti gibi yaslanan bir adanın muhteşem *görüntüsüyle* **irkildiler**. (KA16B1A-0722). "They **got startled** by the *magnificent appearance* of an island leaning against the horizon like a silhouette of a giant." (surprise / astonishment expected to ensue startle)

(34) …burnunda bir serum bulunan, gözleri kapalı fotoğrafını *görünce* dehşetle **irkildi**. (QE39C4A-0060) "When she saw his [husband's] photograph [in the newspaper] displaying his eyes closed and a serum bottle attached to his nose, she *got startled* in horror." (fear expected to ensue or accompany startle)

(35) ...*ölünün solgun yüzü çıktı ortaya*. Dede ile Süha aynı anda **irkildiler**. (GA16B4A-0048) "…*the pale face of the corpse/dead came into sight*. Grandpa and Süha **got startled** at the same time." (fear expected to ensue startle)

Turkish lexical items and phrases that *irkil-* collocates with from the visual domain are naturally various inflected forms of the verbs *gör-* (see), *bak-* (look), and *göz at-* (have a look); some indirect verb phrases that express visual events like *gözlerine rastla-* (meet one's eyes), *karşısına dikil-/ çık-* (appear just before one's eyes), *önünde belir-* (emerge/come into sight before one); and nouns expressing (sudden) visual stimuli like *siluet* (silhouette), *uyarı ışıkları* (warning lights), and *patlayan flaşlar* (popping flashes).

The third kind of startle (irkil-) trigger is sudden ***tactile*** contacts. Then we should expect to see collocates from this domain in *irkil-*'s lexical environment. In some contexts a simple sudden touch of the experiencer suffices to evoke the startle reflex, while in others stronger unexpected touches or even strikes combine with the afflicted pain to evoke stronger startle reactions. Sudden approach, sudden change of stimuli and pain are among fear triggers (Izard, 1977:358). As soon as the experiencer gets startled, the *momentary* uncertainty or unpredictability of forthcoming events that might follow the sudden physical contact activates some kind of fear or anxious probing, pending the appraisal of the nature of the trigger as threatening or surprising. A human experiencer will immediately check and understand whether the physical contact is conducive to fear or only a simple touch.

(36) …karşıdan gelen birinin *omzuna indirdiği yumrukla* **irkildi**. (TA16B3A-3348) "He **was startled** when someone coming from the opposite direction *punched him on the shoulder*." (likely to evoke fear)

(37) Kızının *omzunu sarsmasıyla* **irkildi**. (FA16B2A-0872) "She **was startled** by her daughter *shaking her shoulder*." (full-fledged fear is unlikely to ensue)

(38) …kapıcının *sırtımı sıvazlamasıyla* **irkildim**. (NA16B2A-0742) "I **was startled** by the doorman's *giving me a pat on the back*." (full-fledged fear is unlikely to ensue)

If the physical contact gives pain, such as when a needle / a pin pricks the experiencer, or the *irkil-* reaction is described as such, *irkil-* may collocate with words or phrases which suggest that the fear mechanism is activated as soon as the startle reflex occurs, or the reflex and the fear can be contiguous enough to say they are simultaneous. Izard (1977:171) states that drive states like pain can instigate it, adding that "[f]or most people acute and unexpected pain is likely to elicit fear, or startle followed by fear." The startle reaction evoked by sudden pain is usually expressed by *flinch* in English.

(39) Parmaklarının arasında küçülen sigaranın *elini yakmasıyla* **irkildi**. (GA16B3A-1009) "He **flinched / got startled** when the cigarette getting smaller between his fingers *burnt his hand*." (no further appraisals necessary about the nature of the source)

(40) ...bir kadın *ensesine* aniden *inen şaplakla* **irkildi**. (UE36E1B-3296) "a woman **got startled/flinched** with a *slap* suddenly *delivered to her neck*." (further appraisal required to understand the threat)

(41) "Otuzundan sonra gelinlik giymek çok saçma" diye düşündü. Bir *iğne battı*, **irkildi**. (HA16B1A-1665) "It is stupid to put on a bridal dress after the age of 30," she thought. *A pin pricked her* and she **flinched / got startled**." (no further appraisals necessary about the nature of the source)

(42) …bulunduğu ortama alışmaya çalışıyordu. Midesine *saplanan sancıyla* **irkildi**. (SA16B4A-3367) "…he was trying to get used to the environment. He **was startled** by a *pang/pain striking* his stomach." (some further worrisome appraisal may follow to find out the source of the pain)

In these examples Turkish is understood to express with *irkil-* what English prefers *flinch* or *wince* for. The collocates of *irkil-* from the tactile domain that we came across in the concordance include *sars-* (shake), *sıvazla-* (give a pat), *yumruk vur (yumrukla-)* (punch), *iğne bat-* (of a pin, to prick), *şaplak/tokat* at- (deliver a slap), *sancı saplan-* (pang striking) and *zıpkın ye-* (be struck with a harpoon). *Tokat yemiş gibi* (as if slapped), *iğne batmış gibi* (as if picked with a pin) and *zıpkın yemiş gibi* (as if struck with a harpoon) are used to describe the intensity of the startle reflex.

The sensorimotor reaction of *irkil-* can sometimes result from ***cognitive*** stimuli. A sudden thought that occurs to us, if it portends threat/trouble for us or if it makes us curious, may evoke the startle reaction. As we discussed in detail in colligation section above, the statements that express mental state usually given in quotation marks often include the colligates "**(ya … -sA/-(y)sA)"** (what if…), modal adverbs ***acaba*** (roughly "I wonder if") and ***yoksa***, (roughly "then"). These colligates directly signal that the utterance expressing the suddenly occurring thought has elements of *worry* or *curiosity* for the experiencer. However, the linguistically decoded content of the thought in the concordance is lexically various because what is worrisome or curious depends on the experiencer's personality or current goals. As a

result, we cannot list a certain list of repeating collocates, but we could say that thoughts suddenly inducing worry/curiosity have various lexical items expressing unpleasant potentials like trouble or difficulty. Here again the indispensable factor inducing the *irkil-* reaction – suddenness or unexpectedness – should be borne in mind. In addition to the examples given in the colligation section above, the following can also be considered:

(43) Birden **irkildi**. **Yoksa** Hayali'nin dükkana gelişi, olup biten her şey tezgah mıydı? (TA16B4A-0090) "She suddenly **got startled**. Was it a plot **then** that Hayali came to the shop, and what was all that happened?"

(44) Evlerinin kapısına geldiğinde içinde bir endişe duydu. "**Acaba** ben o şifreyi çözebilecek miyim?" Birden **irkildi**. (TI42E1B-2942) When she reached the door of her house, she felt anxious. "**I wonder if** I will ever be able to decipher that code?"

(45) Bir süre sonra sokakta yürümeye korkacağım, *düşüncesiyle* **irkildi**. (QA16B4A-0152) "He **was startled** by the *thought* that he would soon be afraid to walk in the street."

On the right side of the node *irkil-*, we see post-reflex behaviour or attitude of the experiencer. The startle (irkil-) reflex makes the experiencer hypervigilant to scan the environment to understand what is happening, and what the true nature of the source of the *irkil-* is. However short the intervening time is between the startle reaction and understanding its potential for fear or surprise / astonishment, that time seems to be spent with curious and inquisitive appraisals. If the trigger is a very loud sound or sudden touch from behind which portends fear, we see post- startle anxious curiosity about how pertinent it is to the experiencer. Non-reflex reactions such as "curiosity, surprise, attentiveness and "the orienting reaction" (Lazarus, 1991:54) will follow. The results of such appraisals can prove to be "harmful, threatening or beneficial" (ibid:54). If the trigger of the startle is understood to be non-threatening, the experiencer's anxious curiosity ends in relief, which corresponds to what Ortony et al. (1988:110) describe as *relief* – "pleased about the disconfirmation of the prospect of an undesirable event." If the trigger which rings the doorbell of the fear module with the initial reaction of *irkil-* is understood to be really dangerous or threatening, then we feel "fear confirmed" – "displeased about the confirmation of the prospect of an undesirable event" (Ortony et al., 1988:110). The importance of universal facts about the whole startle/irkil- event schema for our lexical profiling of *irkil-* is that all these about post-reflex feelings, action tendencies, appraisal patterns etc. naturally dictate a lexical environment where we see certain collocates expressing them.

Below are sample concordance lines that display post-startle scanning of one's surrounding as part of automatic orienting reaction. The trigger of irkil- is probably a sound which can come from any direction, so that it needs to be unravelled:

(46) Koşarken sağ tarafından gelen *sesle* **irkildi**. "Allah kahretsin." *O yöne döndüğünde* … (RA16B3A-0257) "While running he **was startled** by a noise coming from his right. "God damn it" When he *turned in that direction*…"

(47) Kadın korkuyla **irkilip** *etrafına bakındı*. Bebekle kendisinden başka kimse yoktu. (PI42E1B-2938) "The lady **was startled** in fear and *looked around*. There was nobody other than the baby and her."

The collocates in other concordance lines that express "scanning the environment or orientation towards the source" include *dön-* (turn), *kafasını/ başını çevir-* (turn one's head), *bakışlarını dolaştır-* (direct one's look), *etrafını incele-* (examine the surrounding), *o yöne dön-* (turn in the direction of), *başını kaldır-* (look up), *bak-* (look) and *bakın-* (look around). Indirect scanning phrases include *pencereye koş-* (rush to the window), *dışarı çık-* (go out to look), *fırlayıp sokağa çık-* (rush out into the street to see what's happening) etc.

The following are examples for lexical or phrasal collocates that express post-startle *anxious curiosity* or *fear anticipation*. Fear may be confirmed or disconfirmed.

(48) Apartmanın balkonunda oturan yaşlı aile, sert fren sesiyle **irkiliyor**. Çaresiz ihtiyarlar, "*Bakalım ne olacak?*" diye bekliyorlar. (MA16B1A-0689) "The elderly couple sitting in the balcony of the apartment **get startled** by a driver's standing on the brakes. The poor elderly couple wonder "*What will happen next?"*

(49) Duasını bitirmişti ki gelinin baba diyen sesiyle **irkildi**. Yataktan sıçrayıverdi. *–Ne var ne oldu kızım?* (KA16B2A-0784) "He had just finished his praying when he was startled by his daughter-in-law's calling 'father'. He jumped out of the bed. *"What's the matter, what happened, daughter?"*

(50) Dışarıdan gelen ikinci *patlamayla* bir kez daha **irkildi**. Öylece *donup kaldı*. Bir süre *devamını bekledi*. (RA16B3A-0257) "He **was startled** again by the second *explosion* outside. He *was just frozen*. He *expected other explosions*."

Not always does startle (*irkil-*) connote worry or fear. It can also be activated by something surprising or astonishing. As Izard (1977:280) says, "…surprise and fear have similar or overlapping components at the neurophysiological level." These are manifested in *irkil's* lexical environment by words or phrases expressing *curiosity, interest* or *inquisitiveness.* The trigger tends to be pleasant, impressive or awesome. The emoter gets startled by a sudden appearance, a sudden occurrence or the sudden utterance of what is surprising.

(51) ...sekerek kapıya gitti, kapının aralığından içeri baktı. Gördüğü *güzel yüzle* **irkildi**. Yataktaki bu kız Tarık beyin karısı olamayacak kadar gençti. *Kızı olmalıydı* yada *yeğeni* gibi bir şey. (KA16B2A-0879) "He tiptoed to the door and looked through the door ajar. He **was startled** by the *beautiful face* he saw. The girl in the bed was too young to be Mr Tarık's wife. She *must have been his daughter* or someone like his niece." (unexpected perception of beauty + startle + astonishment + interest)

(52) …dağınık saçların o örtünün altında nasıl gizlendiğini düşünürken *güzelliğiyle* **irkildim**. *Büyülenmiş* bir durumda neler olabileceğine bakıyordum. (PA16B3A- 0686) "…thinking how her unkempt hair was hidden under the cover, I **was startled** by *her beauty.* I was enchanted and curious about what would happen." (unexpected perception of beauty + startle + astonishment + interest)

(53) Annesi başını gökyüzüne kaldırıp, uzun uzun içini çekti. *"Babanla…"* Aylin **irkildi**. Annesi pek babasından söz etmezdi. *Soluğunu tutarak bekledi*. (PA16B2A-0748) "Her mother looked up into the sky and sighed deeply (and said). "*With your father*..." Aylin **was startled** (by this). (Because) Her mother did not use to speak of her father very often. She *waited holding her breath*." (Unexpected utterance + startle + curiosity)

(54) Birdenbire duyduğum bu ses bir kadına ait. Sesi duyunca *şaşkınlıkla* **irkiliyorum**. *Yoksa* yanlış mı duydum? *Pür dikkat sesin yeniden gelmesini bekliyorum*. (FI09C2A-0715) "That voice I heard all of a sudden probably belongs to a woman. Hearing the voice, I **get startled** *in surprise.* May I have been mistaken about it? I *wait in all ears* (highly attentively) for the voice to come again." (sudden unidentified voice + startle + curiosity/interest)

Especially when the surprising or astonishing trigger is related to humans, collocates expressing *inquisitiveness* about the trigger are displayed in the form of inner talk or explicitly questioning the person whose surprising words or action evoke the startle reaction. Naturally we notice plenty of collocates/colligates of question words.

(55) …bir türlü çıkaramıyordum ama bir ara Türkçe "bronz" kelimesini duyunca **irkildim**. "*Ne* konuşuyorlar?" diye Mustafa'ya *sordum*. (CG22C2A-0424) "…I couldn't understand at all but I **was startled** to hear the Turkish word "bronz." "*What* are they talking about?" I *asked* Mustafa. (startle + inquisitiveness)

(56) Mustafa söyledi. İTÜ'lü bir arkadaş. Paşa bir anda **irkildi**. –Aha, *hangi* Mustafa bu lan? Galatasaray mezunu filan olmasın? (TA16B3A-0450) "Mustafa said that. A friend from İTU (University Name). Paşa suddenly **got starled**. – Aha, *which* Mustafa is that? Can he be a graduate of Galatasaray University by any chance? (startle + inquisitiveness)

(57) …kesik kesik bir hıçkırık sesiyle **irkildi**. Ağlayan Şebnem'di. *Niye* ağlıyordu acaba? (RA16B2A-0840) "…she was startled by someone sobbing intermittently. It was Şebnem that was crying. *Why* was she crying, who knows? (startle + inner questions)

(58) "Onu artık bulamazsınız, beyefendi," dedi, kadın. Sinan **irkildi**. "*Neden*?" diye sordu. "Taşındı." "Taşındı mı, *ne zaman*?" "Dün" (SA16B3A-1144) "You can't find him any longer, sir," said the woman. Sinan **was startled**. "*Why*?" asked he. "Moved" "Did he move?, *when*?" "Yesterday." (startle + inquisitiveness)

In such cases we observe collocates / colligates of question words *ne (what), neler (what on earth), ne var (what's the matter), niçin (why), neden (why), hangi (which), ne zaman (when)*, *nerede* (where).

There is a special case of the startle schema where we see *irkil-* (startle) collocates with *korkuyla* (in fear, 12 times), and *dehşetle* (in horror, 17 times) at –N1 position. In such cases we do not observe the typical tendency of anxious and vigilant detection until realising whether the trigger is threatening or not. Fear and startle are simultaneous –startle is not a pre-emotion then if the sudden trigger is clearly and readily frightening. These collocates also disambiguate sentences with *irkil-* about whether the reflex is to be associated with fear or surprise. *İrkil-* is readily associated with fear or worry rather than surprise. However, in some cases *dehşetle* simply suggests the strength of the startle reflex.

(59) Ateşli başıma elini koyuyor. *Dehşetle* **irkiliyor**. Sonra dereceyle ateşimi ölçüyor. Telaşı daha da artıyor. (EA16B2A-1205) "He puts his hand on my hot forehead. He **gets startled** *in horror*. Then he takes my temperature. He becomes even more worried."

(60) Cesur olmaya çalışarak perdeyi araladılar. Bir anda, *korkuyla* **irkilerek** geriledi̇ler. Net seçilemiyordu, ama bahçedeki yaşlı çınar ağacının üzerindeki, dev bir kuş vardı sanki! (QI22E1C-2910) "Trying to pluck up their courage, they drew the curtains a little open. Suddenly, they **got startled** *in fear* and stepped back. It was not clear, but there seemed to be a huge bird on the old oak tree in the yard."

Table 20. Collocational behaviour of *irkil-* (*startle*)

Schema	SEMANTIC DOMAIN	TYPICAL COLLOCATES
Pre-startle situation	**Absence** **Engrossment** **Thoughtfulness** **Silence**	*Dalgın, dalgınca, dalgın dalgın* [absent(ly), thoughful(ly)], *dalgınlığından sıyrılarak* (leaving one's thoughtfulness aside), *dalmışken, dalmışım dalmışlardı, dalmış olan* (various forms of the verb *dal-* which means engrossment or absorption in some activity/thought), *kapıldım* (get lost, absent in something), *düşünceli düşünceli* (thoughtfully), *tembel tembel* (lazily), *kendinden geç-* (be entranced)
TRIGGERS	**Auditory domain**	Ses (sound, voice, noise), *patırtı* (clatter), *çalma* (ringing), *gürleme* (roaring), *gürültü* (noise), *çatırdama* (crunch), *patlama* (explosion), *zil* (bell), *siren* (siren), *çığlık* (cry, scream), *kahkaha* (horse laugh), *seslenme* (shouting), *homurtu* (grunting).
	Visual domain	*gör-* (see), *bak-* (look), and *göz at-* (have a look); indirect verb phrases expressing visual events like *gözlerine rastla-* (meet one's eyes), *karşısına dikil-/ çık-* (appear just before one's eyes), *önünde belir-* (emerge/come into sight before one); and nouns expressing (sudden) visual stimuli like *siluet* (silhouette), *uyarı ışıkları* (warning lights), and *patlayan flaşlar* (popping flashes).
	Tactile domain	*sars-* (shake), *sıvazla-* (give a pat), *yumruk vur (yumrukla-)* (punch), *iğne bat-* (of a pin, to prick), *şaplak/tokat* at- (deliver a slap), *sancı saplan-* (pang striking). *Tokat yemiş gibi* (as if slapped), *iğne batmış gibi* (as if picked with a pin) and *zıpkın yemiş gibi* (as if struck with a harpoon) are used to describe the intensity of the startle reflex.
	Cognitive domain	Diversely worded thoughts whose significance depends on the emoter's personality or current goal. In such cases, *irkil-* typically colligates with *acaba, yoksa, ya….-sa/-(y)sa.* See the colligation analysis above.
Post-startle actions or feelings	**Hypervigilance** **Visual scanning** **Orienting reaction**	*dön-* (turn), *kafasını/ başını çevir-* (turn one's head), *bakışlarını dolaştır-* (direct one's look), *etrafını incele-* (examine the surrounding), *o yöne dön-* (turn in the direction of), *başını kaldır-* (look up), *bak-* (look) and *bakın-* (look around). Phrases of motion to scan include *pencereye koş-* (rush to the window), *dışarı çık-* (go out to look), *fırlayıp sokağa çık-* (rush out into the street to see what's happening) etc.
	Curiosity **Interest** **Inquisitiveness**	** Various collocates* like *donup kalma* (frozen astonishment), *büyülenmiş* (enchanted), *soluğunu tut-* (hold one's breath), *seyret-* (watch), *şaşır-* (get surprised), *pür dikkat* (in all ears). ** Evaluative phrases* like *güzel* (beautiful), muhteşem (magnificent, pre-node). ** Question words* to satisfy curiosity such as *ne (what), neler (what on earth), ne var (what's the matter), niçin (why), neden (why), hangi (which), ne zaman (when)*, *nerede* (where).
	Others	*Korkuyla* (in fear), *dehşetle* (in horror). They suggest either that fear or horror are triggers of *irkil-* or the intensity of the startle reaction.

4.1.4.3. Semantic Preference of *İrkil-*

From the concordance analysis and collocation and colligation tables above, it can be concluded that the universal startle reflex, expressed by the Turkish verb *irkil-*, has an event schema which manifests itself in a linguistic schema filled by certain paradigmatic and syntagmatic preferences. Like many words, *irkil-* has a semantic frame which is "a collection of facts that specify "characteristic features, attributes, and functions of a denotatum, and its

characteristic interactions with things necessarily or typically associated with it" (Alan, 2001: 251). The prototypical *irkil-* schema especially for a sudden acoustic trigger which takes a while to unravel is as follows:

Silence/engrossment/thoughtfulness => unexpected stimulus (usually sound) => *irkil-* (startle, pre-emotion) => coming to one's senses => scanning for the trigger/anxious curiosity => ensuing real emotions fear, surprise, or anger.

This schema is supposed to dictate a lexical environment in which each step in the schema is expressed by lexical or phrasal collocates from the appropriate semantic domains. Then *irkil-* prefers collocates from the semantic domains of:

a) Absence, thoughtfulness, engrossment, absorption, (dalgınlık, dalmışlık)
b) Suddenness, abruptness, unexpectedness (anilik)
c) Acoustic, visual, tactile and cognitive stimuli (işitsel, görsel, dokunsal ve bilişsel/zihinsel uyaranlar)
d) Orientation and hypervigilance (Uyarana yönelme, aşırı dikkatlilik)
e) (anxious) curiosity, surprise, interest (tedirgin merak, şaşkınlık, ilgi)

4.1.4.4. Semantic Prosody of *İrkil-*

Unless evoked or immediately accompanied by fear, *irkil-* has a neutral prosody because the trigger could be intrinsically bad or good and the resultant affective state might be fear/worry or astonishment/amazement. On the other hand, as we did in our analyses of other fear-related words before, our focus here will be on this word's pragmatic function; that is, the reason why *irkil-* is chosen rather than other fear type tokens. What motivates the language user to use *irkil-* in his / her utterances. That is how Sinclair (1994/2004; 2000) and Stubbs (2002a) regard *discourse* prosody.

Lazarus (1991:54) describes startle reflex as preparing the experiencer – animal or human – to evaluate what is happening. He illustrates the orienting reflex vividly as follows:

> "…the orienting reaction or reflex is what a dog does, for example, when there is a noise or some other event that it doesn't yet understand. It perks up its ears, opens its eyes wide, turns in the direction of the stimulus, and responds bodily with a kind of vigilant attention until the animal can tell whether the stimulus has any significance for action and grasps what is to be done. ….an initial reaction to uncertainty."

Then in a typical case when a sudden loud sound is heard, the individual gets startled as a first reaction to that sudden stimulus. If the suddenly heard sound needs unravelling and careful appraisals before an emotion is actually evoked, then *irkil-* (startle) is like knocking the door to the fear or surprise module. Because appraisals are made by milliseconds, it is still too early for a full-fledged fear for example. The experiencer becomes highly vigilant and scans the environment for the nature of the sound in somewhat anxious curiosity. If the stimulus is found to be threatening, the door to the fear module opens and the person begins to feel certain intensities of fear depending on the gravity of the situation. If the stimulus is identified as non-threatening, the worrisome anticipation turns into relief and the door to the fear mechanism remains closed; if it is already ajar with the effect of fear anticipation, it closes. Then surprise synonyms like interest, curiosity, astonishment or amazement will ensue.

Another analogy can be drawn between the event schema of sound-induced *irkil-* and the following car engine schema. With a sudden unfamiliar sound as the car key, the engine of the stationary car (as the absent, thoughtful experiencer) is ignited just like rapid neural firing but it ticks over without moving until the sound is identified as threatening or safe. This is a time period spent in anxious curiosity however short it is. If the source of the sound is found to portend danger or threat, the car driver as the real experiencer drives away. If not, the car stops running. Fear is disconfirmed and relief is evoked. Other affective states might follow.

Then for unfamiliar and sudden acoustic stimulus, *irkil-* has a discourse prosody of *an initial psychophysiological reaction to a sudden uncertain stimulus followed by anxious hypervigilance.* (**sudden stimulus + irkil- reaction + anxious scanning**)

If the sound already portends fear like a bomb, then the startle reaction and fear are temporally adjacent or even concurrent. Then the discourse function of *irkil-* is not only the reflex but also the fear felt simultaneously or just after it. (**sudden clear fear stimulus + irkil- reaction + fear**)

For visual and tactile stimuli, the experiencer who suddenly gets startled needs a very short time to understand the valence of the stimulus. Therefore, fear or surprise is evoked without a long lasting vigilant scanning. In such contexts, the discursive function of the use of *irkil-* is sudden awareness of fear or surprise stimuli. **(sudden appearance or touching of a stimulus + irkil- reaction + immediate fear or surprise)**

For cognitive stimuli, we mean a sudden thought or idea which the experiencer thinks to be relevant to their goal pursuit. For example a sudden unpleasant idea of a possible threat for one's present or future situation is likely to evoke a less intense *irkil-* reaction as compared to a reaction to a sudden loud sound or a painful touch. *İrkil-* colligates with modal adverbs *yoksa* ("then" with negative expectation) and *acaba* (I wonder if…). These sentence-initial words spray the sentence or utterance under their effect with anxiety. We have an unfavourable prosody.

Then the discursive motivation for the language user's selection of *irkil-* about these facts is clear – **sudden worrisome thought + physically less intense irkil- reaction + entry into a state of worry**.

In conclusion, whereas *irkil-* is as simple as a first reaction to a sudden stimulus – usually an acoustic one, the semantic frame of the whole *irkil-* event is rather complicated. *İrkil-* is not an emotion, but a pre-emotion reaction which clears the neural channels to prepare a person for a hypervigilant assessment of the nature of the stimulus only after which fear, surprise, astonishment, anger or embarrassment are evoked. As Lazarus (1991:54) states, "the startle (irkil-) is neutral emotionally until the personal significance of the eliciting stimulus has been appraised." He also states that "startle does not involve emotion without added meaning." In this part we have demonstrated these "added" meanings oozing from *irkil-*.

4.1.4.5. Cognitive Appraisal for *İrkil-*

Because *irkil-* reaction (the startle reflex) is not an emotion but an initial reaction to a sudden stimulus, Scherer's (2001) table of cognitive appraisal patterns for emotions do not include a separate colon for *irkil-*. However, while discussing the novelty check/criterion for any emotion, Scherer (1984:306) states that "a startle reaction to a sudden loud noise may be the immediate result of such a basic check." Then *irkil-* is only a reaction that takes place as part of the cognitive appraisal check of novelty for fear or surprise. Therefore, in the second (*irkil-*) column of the table below, all the other stimulus evaluation checks after the novelty check is irrelevant for *irkil-* as we do not know what emotion or whether any emotion will follow the reflex. *İrkil-* just licences eventual reading –an event that takes place in time, but not an emotive state that obtains in time per se.

Table 21. Predicted cognitive appraisal pattern of *irkil-* in comparison with *fear* (*kork-*):

Stimulus Evaluation Checks (SECs)	**Fear**	**İrkil-**	
RELEVANCE			irkil
Novelty			
Suddenness	high	**very high**	
Familiarity	low	**open**	
Predictability	low	low	
Intrinsic pleasantness	low	**open**	
Goal/need relevance	high	**open**	
IMPLICATIONS			ensuing emotion
Cause: agent	other/nature	other/nat.	
Cause: motive	open*	open	
Outcome probability	high	**open**	
Discrepancy from expectation	dissonant	**open**	
Conduciveness	obstruct	**open**	
Urgency	very high	**open**	
COPING POTENTIAL			
Control	open	open	
Power	very low	**open**	
Adjustment	low	**open**	
NORMATIVE SIGNIFICANCE			
External	open	open	
Internal	open	open	

*The evaluation "open" means that different appraisal results are compatible with the emotion in terms of that stimulus check or the check is irrelevant for that emotion compared to other emotions for which the same criteria of cognitive appraisal checks above are applied.

From the table it is clear that *irkil-* (startle) reaction is only relevant to the appraisal of novelty sub-checks. For example the only and most pertinent factor is suddenness. It is the necessary condition for the reflex to occur. While *familiarity* is *low* for fear, it is open for *irkil-* because as we discussed in this section, a *familiar* stimulus can evoke *irkil-* as long as it is sudden. For example, we are habituated to the ringing of a telephone or a doorbell – we have "stored schemata that match the input" (Scherer, 2003:576). However, if we are engrossed in an activity or psychologically absent or thoughtful, the ringing of a phone or a doorbell is "sudden" and evokes the *irkil-* reflex. While *intrinsic pleasantness* of the stimulus is *low* for *fear*, it is *open* for *irkil-* because we have examples from the corpus above that reveal that one can *irkil-* (get startled by) with a suddenly appearing beauty. While *goal/need relevance* is *high* for *fear*, it is *open* for *irkil-* because *irkil-* can occur when we suddenly perceive something surprising or astonishing. Both pleasant and unpleasant triggers are involved with differing results for the experiencer.

To sum up, all we have discussed about *tırs-, ürk-* and *irkil-* in terms of their collocational, colligational and appraisal properties demonstrate that these words presented to us in Turkish dictionaries as synonyms are rather different and far from intersubstitutability. As Ersoylu (2011:255) states, rather than preparing dictionaries of concepts under the name of "dictionary of synonyms", corpus-driven analyses should be made so as to identify context-dependent semantic and pragmatic differences of seemingly synonymous lexical items. As we dig through the corpus for our fear type words, registered as synonymous in some Turkish dictionaries, it is highly likely that we will come across many idiosyncratic facts about each item.

4.1.5. Lexical Profile Of *Ürper-*

4.1.5.1. Introduction: What Exactly is the Reaction of *Ürper-*?

> "Imagine swimming in a lake on a hot summer day. The water is quite warm, but the wind is strong and the moment you leave the water you *feel chilly* and *get* "*goosebumps*." So you change clothes and move inside to warm up. You make a nice cup of tea, get under a blanket and switch on the radio. Suddenly, you hear a song from a long time ago, the song your grandmother used to sing to you when you were a child. Again, you *feel a chill* on your back and again, you *get goosebumps*. Why do such seemingly unrelated events elicit the same body reaction? The reason for this is the physiology of emotions." (Bubenik, 2003:1)

Ürper- is prototypically the *pilomotor reflex* which is stimulated by *cold* or *fear* and is known as *piloerection* or *horripilation*. "Goosebumps" in the English idiomatic expression comes from the appearance of the skin of a goose whose feathers have been plucked. The pilomotor reflex, which results in muscle contractions and hair elevations, made our much more hairy ancestors appear bigger and scarier according to a theory (Lynch, 2011, p1.). Rising of the hair or piloerection is one of the effects of especially uncanny fear in the literature (Ortony and Turner, 1990). It is the body's attempt to keep warm against cold or scare away the enemy – a frightened experiencer tries to frighten the enemy by looking bigger. It is a phylogenetically evolved biological response to *cold* and *threats*. However, as can also be seen in the quoted paragraph above, *ürper-* (reaction) is not only evoked in response to *cold* or *fear* but also as a physiological effect of other strong stimuli like *excitement* – felt in the present time or remembered from the past.

As far as our work on Turkish fear type words is concerned, *ürper-* is not an emotion but expresses the physiological effect of the emotion fear. In both English and Turkish, the lexical

items and idioms expressing *ürper-* as an effect of fear naturally manifest metonymical and metaphorical conceptualisations of this basic emotion (Kövecses, 1995). Thus in addition to connoting "cold", *ürper-* often tends to connote "fear" and we have the metonymic mapping THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION (FEAR) STAND FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR) (Kövecses, 1990; Apresjan 1997). In English we observe that the following expressions correspond to what we Turks use *ürper-* for in various contexts:

"Get goose bumps" – typical expression about cold, fear, awe, excitement
"Get goose pimples / flesh" – infrequently used for the same purpose
"Get the creeps" – sudden fear or uncanny fear
"Get the shivers/chills" –quite commonly used expressions about fear, cold or excitement
"Feel shivers/chills/a shiver down one's spine"– other expressions about fear, cold, excitement
"Shiver/chill" – simple common verbs

In some contexts we see that the English lexical items *shiver*, *chill*, *tremble*, *quiver*, *shudder, quake* – all of them expressing more or less the trembling of the body as a component of the fear or cold situation – are used as renditions of the Turkish *ürper-* which typically construes the pilomotor reaction of "getting goosebumps" or "feeling shivers / chills" through the body. The above words of *tremble* can be regarded as either accurate or inaccurate attempts to conceptualise the largely systemic electrification of the body involved in the *ürper-* reaction to cold and intense fear rather than the visible movement of the body as in the *irkil-* (startle) reflex we discussed before. It must be clear now that *ürper*– as the common physiological reaction to cold and fear and secondary lexical items or phrases chosen from the domain of coldness manifest the conceptual metaphor FEAR IS COLD (Kövecses, 2010).

In this section we analyse the concordance of *ürper-* to identify its colligational and collocational patterns and certain extended meanings that its lexical environment dictates. Especially what triggers the reaction of *ürper-*, whether the type of the trigger changes its intensity, when and how we "*ürper*" will become clear enough for a non-Turkish observer to see through its actual conceptual content.

4.1.5.2. Colligates of *Ürper-*

The source or trigger of *ürper* - is most commonly marked with instrumental case (INST) "ile" or "-(y)lA." However, in very few cases ablative marker "–DAn" is also observed. In many concordance lines, sources of the *ürper-* reaction are not explicitly marked; that is, they are indirectly understood from the co-text prior to the node or the surrounding context. As for the

instrumental case (INST) and ablative case (ABL), they are mostly on the source-expressing word at – N1 position.

Table 22. Structural type that *ürper-* licenses in Turkish

Subject	Object	Sample Sentence
Experiencer (NOM)	Theme (INST)	**Ali** birden korkunç bir ihtimal-*le* **ürper-di**. **EXP.NOM** suddenly awful one possibility-*INST* **get**-PERF **the shivers/goosebumps**. "Suddenly Ali **got the shivers** *with* an awful possibility."
Experiencer (NOM)	Theme (ABL)	**(Ben)** mutluluk**-tan ürper-di-m.** **(I.deleted subject)** happiness**-*ABL* get-PERF-1Sg the shivers** **"**I **got the shivers *out of*** happiness**."**

Other salient colligates of the lexical item *ürper-* are discussed below:

Ürper- colligates usually at –N1 position with the instrumental case marker "ile" or its suffixal form –(y)lA, which corresponds to the English words "with". They refer to the source of the *ürper-* reaction (the pilomotor reflex):

(1) Ülev, Tiraje Hanımın buz gibi bakışları-*yla* **ürper-di**. (TA16B2A-1188)
Ülev, Ms Tiraje's cold stare-*INST* **get-PERF the shivers**. "Ülev **got the shivers/goosebumps** with (i.e.because of) Ms Tiraje's icy (cold) stare ."

(2) Herşeyi yeniden hatırladık, güldük, heyecan-*la* **ürper-di-k**, kork-tu-k. (PA16B4A-0162)
Everything, again remember-PERF-1Pl, laugh-PERF-1Pl excitement-*INST* **get-PERF-1pl the shivers,** fear-PERF-1Pl. "We remembered everything again, laughed, **got the shivers/goosebumps** *with* excitement, (and) feared."

Ürper- colligates with ablative-marked nouns (noun+*DAn*) which refer to the source or the trigger of the reaction:

(3) Tabii ikisi de bu [temas-*tan* ürper-miş-ler-di]. (PA16B4A-0089) [touch-*ABL* **get-PERF-3pl-PST. COP the shivers**] "Naturally they both **had got the shivers** *from* (because of) that contact/touch."

(4) Doğru dürüst yüzme de bilmem. [Kork-um-*dan* **ürper-iyor-um**.] (CA16B2A-1205) [fear-1.POSS-*ABL* **get-PROG-1sg the shivers**] "I can't swim well enough. I **am getting the shivers** *from* (out of) fear."

Ürper- colligates with temporal converbial (CV) suffix –(y) IncA and in very few cases with another semantically similar converbial *-DIğIndA* which correspond to English *when* clause to express a sequential cause-effect relation. These non-finite when-type clauses with their verbs being at the clause's final position occur at –N1 position and mark the temporal point or causal point at which the *ürper-* reaction was activated. Notably, the verbs that carry these

suffixes are *usually* perceptive and cognitive (hissedince, duyunca, görünce, düşününce – when x felt/sensed, heard, saw/noticed, thought/remembered, respectively); that is, their occurrence provides a linking connection between a source (stimulus) and the ensuing *ürper-* reaction. Would any possible stimuli/sources of *ürper-* activate it without the experiencer sensing, hearing, seeing or thinking of them?

(5) …sonsuza kadar onun hayaliyle yaşamayı tercih ederdi. Bunu [düşün-*ünce* **tüy-ler-i ürper-di]**. (K16B3A-0550) [*think-CV* **feather-PL-POSS shiver/raise-PERF**] "…he would rather live dreaming of her for ever. *When he thought* that, he **got goosebumps**."

(6) Fakat yakından bir yerden çığlıklar [işit-*ince* tüy-ler-i **ürper-di**]. (RA16B2A-0087) [*hear-CV* **feather-PL.POSS shiver/raise-PERF**] "But *when he heard* screams nearby, he **got goosebumps**"

(7) Kiraz, ilkokul öğretmenini [gör-*ünce* apaçık **ürper-di**.] (DA16B2A-0888) [*see-CV* obviously **get-PERF goosebumps**] "*When she saw* her primary school teacher, Kiraz **got the shivers/goosebumps.**"

(8) Bahattin girdi koluna. "Ne haber" diye [sor-*duğunda* birden **ürper-di**.] (UA16B4A-0320) [*ask-CV* suddenly **get-PERF the shivers**] "Bahattin took his arm. *When he asked* "What's up?" he suddenly **got the shivers**."

Ürper- colligates with –(y)ArAk which functions as 1) a subordinating suffix (CONJ, "and") and as 2) converbial suffix (CV) which derives *manner adverbs* from verbs. Although any verb may licence this suffix and other suffixes, we include –(y)ArAk as a colligate for its salient functions. The suffix profiles the consequence of the *ürper-* reaction when it functions as CONJ "and" or turns the verb *ürper-* into an adverb of manner to modify another verb. In the concordance we have 62 cases of *ürper-erek,* 51 of which function as an adverb of manner while only 11 of them having conjunction "and" function (ürper- + and another verb for subsequent action). There might be some motivations for this which need to be interpreted:

Manner of adverb function

Verbs modified by *ürper-erek* cluster around perceptive and cognitive domains (feel, sense, notice, watch, look, remember, realise, think, grasp) and receptive activity verbs of *reading* and *listening*. The objects of those verbs modified by *ürper-erek* trigger the affective state (fear, awe, excitement and cold) which evokes the *ürper-* reaction.

(9) Amerika'daki çocuk katillerini tüylerimiz [*ürper-**erek** seyrettik*]. (KF32D1B-2576) [*get-**CV*** the shivers *watched*) "We *watched* the murderers of children in the USA *getting goosebumps/shivers*."

(10) Ansızın bastıran yağmur bir an ormanı ta içine kadar aydınlattı. Işıyan ağaç gövdelerine [*ürper-**erek** baktılar*]. (NA16B2A-1001) [*get-**CV*** the shivers *looked*) "The suddenly starting downpour (with lightenings) lit up the forest far deeper. They *looked* at the glaring trunks of the trees *getting goosebumps/shivers*."

(11) O anda karanlık bir enerjinin dizlerimden kalbime, oradan da beynime yürüdüğünü [*ürper-**erek***

hissettim]. (RA16B2A-0316) [*get-**CV*** the shivers *felt*) "Just then I *felt* (*getting* goosebumps/shivers) a dark energy moving from my knees to my heart and then to my brain."

Conjunctive ("and") function

In one-sixth of the cases of *ürper-erek,* the suffix has the conjunctive "*and*" function introducing two subsequent verbs, in which case the consequence of the *ürper*- reaction is profiled. Oddly enough the subsequent verb phrase tends to express avoidance or withdrawal. One feels goosebumps/shivers *and* draws back. The suffix functions like –(y)Ip.

(12) Ani bir içgüdüyle arkasına döndüğünde, [*ürper-**erek** geriledi*]. (TA16B3A-0786) [get goosebumps / shivers **and** *drew back.*] "When he turned back with a sudden instinct, he *got goosebumps/shivers* **and** *drew back*."

(13) Kuyunun başına geldiklerinde tavşan [*ürper-**erek** geri çekildi*]. (RA16B1A-1209) [get goosebumps / shivers **and** *drew back.*] "When they reached the well head, the rabbit *got goosebumps/shivers* **and** *drew back*."

Ürper- seems to infrequently colligate with the subordinating suffix "-(y) Ip" (*and* function). In hundreds of lines in its concordance, only 10 cases have the colligational pattern *ürper-**ip,*** which is supposed to profile the consequence or action tendency immediately following the *ürper*- reaction.

(14) …çamaşır sandığında unutulmuş buruşuk elma kokusunu tekrar duydum ben, duyunca da *ürper-**ip*** yavaş yavaş yorganın altında *ellerimin titrediğini hissettim*. (IA16B4A-0025) "…once again I sensed the smell of the rotten apple forgotten in the laundry basket, and when I sensed it, I *got goosebumps/ shivers **and** felt my hands trembling gradually* under the quilt."

(15) Serin rüzgar yüzümü göğsümü okşuyor. *Ürper-**ip** hırkamı giyiyorum*. (PA16B4A-0877) "The cool wind touches my face and chest. I *get the goosebumps **and** put on my cardigan*." (the trigger is cold)

Ürper- colligates with various degree adverbs, mostly at –N1 position: *hafifçe (slightly), şiddetle (severely), çok (a lot), derinden (deeply), and öyle bir (so much).* As we said before, the prototypical *pilomotor reflex* (*ürper-*) which is stimulated by *cold* and *fear* is a systemic electrification of the body. The strength or intensity of this reaction is more clearly profiled in Turkish with idiomatic expressions rather than simple adverbs of degree. We discuss them under the subheading "idiomatic collocates" in the section *collocates of ürper-*.

In contexts of sudden worrisome thoughts - both prospective and retrospective – which evoke the *ürper*- reaction, the node may colligate with modal adverb ***acaba*** (roughly "I wonder if") which "indicates doubt or curiosity" (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:269), "**(ya … -sA/-(y)sA)"** – discourse connector *ya* followed by a verb with the conditional suffix –sA or –(y)sA, which corresponds to "what if…" in English (ibid:443) or the inferential connective ***yoksa***, (roughly

"then") "which "indicates a sudden realization on the speaker's part that the situation might be different from what s/he expected" (ibid:269). (Remember that these three colligates are also observed with *irkil-*)

(16) Önce **ürpermişti**; *yoksa* avukat yeni bir fesatlık peşinde miydi? (SA16B3A-1144) "At first he **had got the shivers**; *is it possible then that* the lawyer was in pursuit of a new corruption?" (worrisome thought + shiver)

(17) Birden içi **ürperdi**. *Acaba* bu zor görevi tek başına başarabilcek miydi? (SA16B2A-0738) "Suddenly he **shivered** inwardly. He *wondered if* he could cope with that hard task." (worrisome thought + shiver)

(18) ***Ya*** biri görüyor-***sa***, diye mırldanıp **ürperdi**. İçinde bilemediği bir duygu takip edildiğini söylüyordu ona. (PI22E1B-2909) "***What if*** someone sees me? he murmured and **got the shivers**. He had a strange hunch that he was being followed." (worrisome thought + shiver)

Table 23. Colligational features of *ürper-* on the basis of the TNC concordance:

COLLIGATION PATTERNS (*Ürper-* colligates with)	**EXAMPLES**
INSTRUMENTAL CASE MARKER (INST) ile or –(y)lA	sesi-***yle***, heyecan-***la,*** korku **ile** etc.
ABLATIVE CASE MARKER (ABL) –DAn (Marginally as a source marker for *ürper-*)	*Sen-**den*** ürperdim (I got the shivers *from (because of) you*.
TEMPORAL/CAUSAL CONVERBIAL (CV) "–(y) IncA" (at –N position)	gel-***ince***, *gör-**ünce,*** hatırla-***yınca*** etc.
TEMPORAL/CAUSAL CONVERBIAL (CV) "*-DIğIndA*" (at –N position) (marginally in place of "-(y)IncA")	et-***tiğinde***, sor-***duğunda*** *etc.*
SUBORDINATING SUFFIX (CONJ) "-(y)Ip ("-ip" for *ürper* - for vowel harmony)Marginally used with *ürper-*	ürper-***ip*** yavaşladı (got the shivers **and** slowed down)
-(y) ArAk as SUBORDINATING SUFFIX (coordinating conjunction *and*)	ürper-***erek*** geri çekildi (got the shivers **and** drew back)
-(y) ArAk as CONVERBIAL SUFFIX (Manner Adverb)	ürper-***erek*** uyandım (woke up (*by*) gett*ing* the shivers/goosebumps) "ürpererek" has an adverbial function to modify "woke up"
MODAL ADVERBS	**Yoksa** (then), **acaba** (I wonder if), **ya…-sA/ -(y)sA** (discourse connector…conditional suffix) (These colligates occur in utterances expressing sudden thoughts of worry)
ADVERBS OF DEGREE at –N1 position	*hafifçe (slightly), şiddetle (severely), çok (a lot), derinden (deeply),* and *öyle bir (so much)*

4.1.5.3. Collocates of *Ürper-*

Ürper- is a concept which expresses our physiological response to the sources of cold, fear and excitement in general. Especially in the concordance lines displaying *ürper-di* (perfective grammatical aspect) we see a more detailed event schema of this bodily reflex. The sources or triggers of the *ürper-* reaction, the relevant intensity and the subsequent action

tendencies are our focus of interest in the node's lexical environment. As we progress in our analysis of its typical collocates, it will become gradually clear below what motivates a Turkish speaker to select *ürper-* for their utterances or statements and whether the lexical item denotes the same or different senses in each case.

If *ürper-* expresses the body's phylogenetically coded 'fight' response to cold weather, the experiencer typically gets goose bumps or pimples with the hairs standing thick on end. In the concordance *ürper-* naturally collocates with words or phrases from the *cold* temperature domain, even though it is not always clear whether the experiencer actually develops goosebumps in each case or just shivers/chills in varying intensities and durations.

(19) Hava *soğudu* sanki. İçim **ürperdi**. (UA14B1A-1594) "The weather got *cold*. I **shivered** inwardly.

(20) …ormanın rutubeti ve *serin esintisi* ile çıplak vücutları **ürperdi**. (EA16B3A-0490) "…with the damp and *cool breeze* in the forest their naked bodies **shivered/got the goosebumps**."

(21) Köşkün kapısından içeri girdiğimiz zaman elimde olmadan **ürperdim**. Dışarıda hava *soğuktu* ama binada *dondurucu* bir hava vardı. (QE37C4A-0402) "When I entered the mansion, I couldn't help but **get the shivers/ goosebumps**. The weather was *cold* outside but inside it was *freezing*."

In some cases any pure mention of the domain of coldness tends to have semantic priming effects on the selection of the lexical item *ürper-* although there is no implication of the weather being cold. Coldness may figuratively refer to someone's unfriendliness or give an idea about the intense of shivering.

(22) Bir ara, ***kar*** *üstüme yağıyormuş gibi* **ürpererek** uyandım. (IA16B2A-2672) "Then I woke up **shivering** *as if it were* ***snowing*** *upon me*." (describes the intensity of shivering / getting goose bumps)

(23) Ülev, Tiraje Hanımın *buz gibi bakış*larıyla **ürperdi**. (TA16B2A-1188) "Ülev **got the shivers / goose bumps** with (i.e. because of/at) Ms Tiraje's *icy (cold) stare*." ("icy/cold stare" has nothing to do with weather; it connotes unfriendliness and aversion)

The words and phrases that *ürper-* collocates with from the domain of cold include *üşü-* (feel cold), *soğu-* (get cold), *buz gibi* (like ice), *buzlu dalga* (icy wave), *soğukluk*, *soğuk* (cold), *serin* (cool, chilly), *esinti* (breeze), *serin esinti* (cool breeze), *hava* (weather), *rüzgar* (wind), *dondurucu* (freezing), *yağmur* (rain), *ayaz* (frost), *yel* (wind), *bulutlar* (clouds), *kar* (snow), *suyun serinliği* (coolness of water).

Ürper- collocates with words or phrases from the *fear* domain. As we mentioned in the introduction part of this section, *ürper-*, if taken prototypically, is a phylogenetically encoded response of the organism to cold and fear. With the erected hairs it looks bigger and more

deterrent to scare the predator away. In modern times, humans do not have feathers or thick hair skins to do that; nevertheless, the reaction remains – sometimes as a physiological effect of really developing goose bumps or pimples in intense fear situations or as simple shivers or tingling or crawling sensations in milder cases, which are still expressed with phrases "get the goose bumps" in English and "tüyleri ürper-" or "tüyleri diken diken ol-" in Turkish. Piloerection or horripilation is often used in English to label the event of hair rising. The lexical items *kork-* and *korku* with different suffixes are often explicitly observed in the lexical environment of *ürper-*. In other cases, its collocants are words or phrases expressing things involved in frightening scenes. Sample lines where the language user is motivated to use *ürper-* so as to mark the consequence of a fear/threatening situation:

(24) Koca bina …. yüzlerce gözünü üzerine dikmiş *korkunç* bir dev gibi geldi. Birden içi **ürperdi**. (SA16B2A-0738) "The huge building … looked like a *frightening* giant with hundreds of eyes staring at him. He suddenly **got the shivers** (shivered inwardly)." (explicit fear word)

(25) …kolunu bana gösterdi. *Dehşetle* **ürpermiştim**. Sol kolu, …hemen hemen kopacak hale gelmiş… (ME39C3A-2597) "…he showed his arm to me. I **got the shivers / goosebumps** *in horror*. His left arm …was almost broken off (with a shot)…" (explicit fear word)

(26) Bu olay hatırına her düştüğünde başının buğulanmasından *korkarak* tekrar tekrar **ürperirdi**. (UH39E1B-2929) "Every time he remembered that event, he **used to get the shivers** again and again, *fearing* that his mind might get foggy…" (explicit fear word)

Lines for collocates from a terrifying scene portending fear – fear word is not explicit:

(27) *Ölen* benmişim gibi **ürperiyorum**. Gözünü kırpmadan suya gömecek *cesedi*. (HA16B4A-0310) "I **get the shivers / goosebumps** as if it were me who has *died*. He is going to bury the *corpse* in the water without hesitation.

(28) Fakat yakında bir yerden *çığlıklar* işitince tüyleri *ürperdi*. (RA16B2A-0087) "But when he heard *screams* from nearby, he **got goosebumps**."

(29) *Aklından şüphelenmeye* başlamış, nereye gittiğinin merakıyla *titremiş*, tekrar *Azrail'in yakınında* olduğu hissiyle **ürpermişti**. (VA16B1A-2632) "He had started to *get suspicious of going crazy*, *trembled* worrying about where he was going, and **got the shivers / goosebumps** feeling as if the *Angel of Death* was *near him* again."

The words and phrases that *ürper-* collocates with from the domain of fear and horrific scenes include *kork-* (to fear), *korku* (fear), *korkunç* (frightening) *dehşet* (horror, terror), *dehşet verici* (terrifying), *telaşlan-* (to get worried/nervous), *manzaranın ürkütücülüğü* (spooky/scary scene), *aniden belir-* (to loom suddenly), *katliamdan görüntüler* (massacre scenes), *vahşet*

(savagery), *ceset* (corpse), *öl-* (to die), *öldür-* (to kill), *ölümün kokusu* (smell of death), *ölümcül* (deadly), *savaş* (war), *mezarlık* (cemetery), *hırlayan gölge* (growling shadow), *kan* (blood) etc.

People get the shivers or goosebumps (*ürper-*) when they are in awe. Awesome sights and accounts instigate the *ürper-* reaction. In the concordance of *ürper-* we identified cases where one **ürper-*s*** at *awesome religious accounts.* Awe denotes great respect and fear, which is the foundation of religious life. God's and Prophet's words, religious rituals, influential sermonizers, vivid portrayals of the afterlife etc. have always evoked strong emotions in humans which also trigger horripilation or shivers and chills expressed by Turkish *ürper-*. The selection of the item *ürper-* is motivated by hidden or explicit "fear/awe of God" underlying religious utterances. People mention spiritual chills, spiritual goosebumps, holistic chills or prayer chills on forums in several internet sites https://www.reddit.com/r/Christianity/comments/44p0ur/spiritual_goosebumps_during_prayer_can_anyone/ and (https://forums.catholic.com/showthread.php?t=626755, to cite two examples). Sample lines from the TNC:

(30) …karşılaştığı her çehrede *Hakk'ı* hatırlar ve **ürperir**, onun simasının müşahedesinde hep *Hak* hatırlanır. (LE39E1B-3031) "…upon confrontation with any face, he remembers God and **gets the shivers**, the sight of their faces always reminds him of *God*."

(31) …insanın *mükemmel yaratılışı* karşısında *âcizliğimizi* anlıyor, *hayretle* **ürperiyoruz**. (SI42E1B-2941) "… we become aware of *our impotency* in the face of the *perfect creation* of man and **get the shivers** in *astonishment*."

(32) O da diğerleri gibi *huşu* içindeydi. *Zikrin* hızlandığı ve *coşkunun* arttığı anda Kübra'nın narin bedeni **ürperdi**. (VA16B4A-1030) "She was in *awe* (of God) like the others. When *zikr* (collective religious, worshipping performance) quickened and the *frenzy*/enthusiasm increased, Kübra's delicate body **shivered**."

(33) Allahuekber!...Allahuekber!.. Ezan okunuyordu. Gökten bir ses yağmuru yağıyordu. Tüyleri **ürperdi**. Bu, güzel, *yürekten taşma* bir ürperti idi. (OA16B1A-0509) "God is almighty! God is almighty!... It was call to prayer. It felt as if it were a rain of (holy) sounds from the sky. He **got goosebumps**. It was a nice, wholehearted shiver."

An example of spiritual trigger of shivering from an English corpus:

(34) With that decision people came face to face with the expectation known to the early Christians soon after the Crucification and to the deeply religious who **shivered** at the approach of the year A.D. 1000 – the expectation that they might indeed see the end of the world in their lifetime. (ACS) British National Corpus (XML edition): *powered by CQPweb.*

Ürper's lexical environment in religious texts is rich in words concerning prayer, God, Prophet, afterlife, heaven, hell. The words are too scattered to form any adjacent collocations

with *ürper-*; that is, phrasal collocations that *ürper-* is part of are not observed in about twenty concordance lines. The following distal collocates can be mentioned: *Allah*, *Hak* (God), *Muhammed* (Prophet's name), *âhiret, öte dünya, öbür dünya* (the afterlife), *cennet* (heaven), *cehennem* (hell), *kalp, yürek* (heart, to express sincerity or intensity of shivering), *içi ürper* -(to shiver inwardly), *kutsal* (holy) and (awe-inspiring) words expressing God's power like *azamet* (grandness), *muazzam* (great, enormous), and *mükemmel* (perfect, impeccable).

The ürper- reaction can also result from a strong emotion like sexual excitement. Texts about sexual arousal cordially welcome *ürper-* as a significant guest in their lexical gatherings. *Ürper-* often collocates with words expressing erotic tactile stimuli, as evidenced by both Turkish National Corpus and English corpus examples. The somatosensory erotic stimulation evoked by affective touches is said to be particularly stronger in human hairy skin because "C tactile afferents" which evoke sexual feelings are associated with hair follicles (Jönsson et al., 2015). Judging by the fact that love is a strong emotion, erotic touch of someone's skin obviously triggers the pilomotor reaction of *ürper-* with ensuing goosebumps and shivers. This can be seen from *ürper's* lexical environment peppered with words expressing sexual arousal, particularly tactile sexual stimuli:

(35) …Dilek'le *dudak dudağa* geldiler. Serkan biran bütün *bedeninin* **ürperdiğini** hissetti. Dilek *dudaklarını* Serkan'ın *dudaklarında* gezdirirken…" (PA16B2A-0748) "…he happened to find himself *lip to lip* with Dilek. For a moment Serkan **felt shivers** all over his body (down his spine). While Dilek was running her *lips* over Serkan's *lips*…."

(36) Elimin *dokunacağı* yüzün *temas* anını düşünerek **ürperiyorum**. Derin bir boşluğa düşme korkusu duyuyorum. (JA16B4A-0146) "I **shiver** at the thought of the moment of *contact* with the face that my hand will *touch*. I feel a fear of falling into a deep void."

(37) Esin, *göğüslerinde dolaşan elin* karnına doğru, oradan da daha *aşağıya ilerlediğini* hissedince **ürperdi**. (VA16B4A-1030) "Esin **got the shivers/goosebumps** when she felt *the hand caressing* her *breasts run down* her belly and then *go to lower parts* (of her body)."

Similar lines from English corpora:

(38) I **shivered** at the thought of his *hands caressing* my *back* and my *bottom*. (2186502, 50% sample of ukWac, powered by CQPweb)

(39) He *reached for her breast* and *nibbled on her shoulder*. As she **shivered** and warmed *under his hand*, he murmured, "one more thing?" (AmE06 p23, American English 2006, powered by CQPweb)

It may also be true that what makes the erotic touch so exciting as to evoke *ürper-* (shivers/goosebumps) results from the novelty of the toucher. That is, a new person or a new lover's first touches start a sexual experience harbouring uncertainties.

Words and phrases that *ürper-* collocates with from the domain of sexual arousal or erotic tactile stimuli include *öpücük* (kiss), *öpmek* (to kiss), *öpücük kondur-* (put a kiss on…), *okşa-* (caress), *sarıl-* (hug), *dolaşan el* (running/stroking hand), *dokunuş* (touch), *dokun-*, *değ-* (to touch), *tut-* (to hold) *temas* (tactile contact), *ten* (skin). Stroked body and body parts associated with sexual arousal naturally occur quite often in such concordance lines [*vücut/beden* (body), *göğüs* (breast), *dudak* (lip), *el* (hand) etc.]

What is quite noteworthy about the concordance of *ürper-* is that this item collocates with words or phrases from the domain of mental operations. Memory retrievals, reconstructions of past memories, retrospective or prospective unpleasant things or even pleasant things that suddenly cross one's mind, evocation of mental images from long term and episodic memories can all instigate the *ürper-* reaction. We observed that a large number of cases of *ürper-* involve mental events – something that happens within the mind. Therefore, the lexical item ürper- frequently collocates with cognitive words like *düşünmek / düşünce* (thinking / thought), *hatırlamak / anımsamak* (remember), *anlamak / fark etmek* (realise) and *akıl / us* (mind). Over one third of the concordance of *ürperdi* (perfective aspect) display *ürper-* with *düşünmek, akıl*, and *akla gelmek.* This corroborates the study of Grewe et al. (2010) in which they stress that "chills [shivers and goose bumps] are also elicited by mental self-stimulation – even without any external stimulus" (ibid:220). They call it 'mind chills'. In some cases, the experiencer remembers and shivers (*ürper*) at *fearful*, *saddening* or *exciting* things from the past that left indelible marks on them. In others, they shiver (*ürper*) when they think about the likelihood of something unpleasant having happened (retrospective feelings of fear or anxiety) or the likelihood of something bad happening in future (prospective feelings of fear/ fear of future contingencies–Bowlby, 1973:102). Both retrospective and prospective anxious feelings caused by a sudden looming of fear-relevant thoughts can be categorised simply as "sudden worrisome thoughts" which evoke *ürper-*. Sample concordance lines exhibiting cognitive operations are given below with brief follow-up interpretations:

(40) Bu garip ziyareti belki binlerce kez *aklımda* yeniden yaşadım, yeniden **ürperdim**, heyecanlandım, yeniden o sahneyi başka nasıl oynayabileceğimi *düşündüm*. (PA16B4A-0162) "I experienced that strange visit *in my mind* thousands of times, I **got the shivers** once again, I was excited and *thought* how I could play that scene in another way." (mental operation of memory retrieval, reconstruction / revisualisation + shiver)

(41) …küçüklüğü ve zavallılığı ile kendi küçüklüğüm *aklımda* birbirine karıştı da **ürperdim**. Çünkü kendi çocukluğumu *düşünmek*, … (KA16B2A-0056) "…his/her childhood and poorness mixed with mine *in my mind,* so I **got the shivers**. Because *thinking* about my childhood…" (mental operation of memory retrieval + shiver)

(42) …heykellerin koyu gölgeleri, otlar üzerinde devasa şekiller yaratıyordu. **Ürperdi**. *Aklına* üç sene

önceki olaylar geldi birden. (PA16B2A-0692) "…the dark shadows of the sculptures created immense figures on the grass. He **felt shivers**. It suddenly came to *his mind* what happened three years ago." (remembering something unpleasant + shiver)

(43) Dönüşte göreceği işkenceyi *düşünerek* bir an **ürperdi**. (KE09C2A-0307) "For a moment he **shivered** *at the thought* of getting tortured on his return." (thinking of prospective fear/ sudden worrisome thought + shiver)

(44) Hikayeyi dinleyen Halil'in *aklına* Fatma'nın kötü yola düşmüş olabileceği *gelince* **ürperdi**… (IA16B3A-0630) "Halil, who listened to the story, **got the shivers** when it *came to his mind* that Fatma might have become a prostitute…" (thinking of the likelihood of something having happened => sudden worrisome thought + shiver)

As can be seen in our discussion of colligates of *ürper-* above, when *ürper-* is triggered by sudden worrisome thoughts about something to happen or having happened, it may colligate with modal adverb *acaba*; *"(ya … -sA/-(y)sA)"* and *yoksa* (inferential connector). See sample lines 16, 17, and 18 above.

One of the most important mental operations is *remembering* – *hatırla-* or *anımsa-* with which *ürper-* collocates. Memory retrieval from long term memory reactivates dormant past events or situations which left indelible marks on the individual. Remembering is like arriving at mental destinations in retrospective journey in time where we had *exciting, frightening* or *saddening* experiences of our life. This is suggestive of the conceptual metaphor REMEMBERING IS ARRIVING AT A LOCATION (Gibbs et al., 1997:152). Remembering is putting back those memories on the stage of the working memory. These revisualisations or mental reconstructions of important past situations evoke the *ürper-* reaction. Grewe et al. (2010:.233) state that chills/shivers were reported by their participants in their study when they "recalled strong emotional events of both negative and positive valence." Backward travel in time involves temporal destinations in mind such as *çocukluk* (childhood), *o an* (that moment), *o günler* (those days), *o gece* (that night) etc. and distances temporally covered as expressed by units of time *aylar* (months), *yıllar/seneler* (years) etc. with which *ürper-* is observed to co-occur. Cognitive operation of remembering itself can be triggered by the sight of an associated place or a song (for songs as a trigger of chills (ürper-), see Grewe et al., 2005). Sometimes nostalgia – a sentimentality for the past – shares the context of *ürper-*. Both the main collocant *hatırla-/anımsa-* (remember/recall) and accompanying secondary collocates expressing units of time and temporal points in memory are written in *italics* below:

(45) Yine hicran dolu *günleri andım*. *Yıllar* birbirine karışıp gitmiş. **Ürperdim** ve yerimde kalakaldım. (NH42C2A-1324) "Once again I *remembered* those *days* of sorrow. *Years* felt as if mixed with each other. I **got the shivers** and was frozen where I was."

(46) *O günleri hatırlayınca* **ürperdi** birden. (UA16B2A-0884) "He suddenly **got the shivers** when he

remembered those days."

(47) *O geceyi* nasıl geçirdiğimi *anımsadıkça* hâlâ ürperiyorum. (EA16B2A-1205) "Whenever I *remember* how (hard) I spent *that night*, I still **get the shivers**."

(48) Bombay'daki otelde düşle gerçek sarmalına düştüğü *anı anımsadı*. Tepeden tırnağa **ürperdi**. (UA16B2A-0398) "He *recalled the moment* when he was trapped in a spiral of dream and reality at the hotel in Bombay. He **shivered** down his spine/from head to toe"

(49) Bu da galiba bendim. Korkuyla **ürperdim**. Geçmişe, *çocukluğumun* uçsuz bucaksız tarlalarına dönüyordum. (HG37C3A-0598) "And that was probably me. I **got the shivers/goosebumps** in fear. I felt as if returning to the endless fields of my *childhood*."

(50) …*anımsattı* Peren'e – kırları ve dinginliği; anne ve babasıyla *güneşli bir günde* yaptıkları pikniği. Ansızın onların özlemiyle içi **ürperdi**, gözleri doldu. (SA16B2A-1196) "…*reminded* Peren –of the countryside and quietness; and of the picnic she had on *a sunny day* with her parents. Suddenly she **shivered** inwardly at the nostalgia/longing for them, getting tearful."

We identified one line displaying song-induced reaction of *ürper*- in the concordance, even though we see the deverbal noun form of *ürper*-. People feel chills in response to songs not only because of their capacity to evoke "aesthetic awe or social loss" (Grewe et al., 2010:237) but also because they have the power of bringing back memories from the past, so there might have been more examples.

(51) Bugün de dinlediğim her *türküde* gözlerim yaşarıyor, içimde garip **ürpermeler** oluyorsa bunu şüphesiz radyonun krallık *günlerine* borçluyum. (VI19E1A-4052) "Now I still become tearful and feel strange **shivers** inwardly with every folk *song* I listen to, which I owe to the days when the radio was the only king (in music)."

Idiomatic collocations: *Ürper*- is part of an idiom in many cases. Then the whole phrase is chosen in bulk as fixed lexical bundles. In the syntagmatic progression of an utterance, these phrases are selected on the basis of idiom principle, not open choice principle of paradigmatic freedom. Language use lies between the two extremes of open choice principle and idiom principle (Sinclair, 1996/2004; Partington, 1998; Hunston and Francis, 2000). The idiomatic expressions (including the word *ürper*-) will naturally occupy the idiom end of the collocation continuum, the other extreme of which is occupied by openly chosen items or non-phrases.

Basic emotions like anger and fear have many physiological and behavioural effects on the emoter which are conceptualised via figurative language like idioms. We often see somatic and ethological conceptualisation of the aspects of the fear event in Turkish. The idioms give ideas about how an emotion or its effect on the emoter is experienced and usually clarify the intensity involved. In the above concordance lines about *ürper*- and other items from the fear domain, we sometimes included collocants accompanying the node from distal points in its

lexical environment. Now we exemplify all the cases where the lexical bundle including the item *ürper-* is fully idiomatic, thus forming adjacent collocations. We identified from the concordance the following idiomatic expressions in which *ürper-* collocates with certain words:

Table 24. The collocates of *ürper-* in idioms

Idiomatic Expression	**Literal Meaning for Turkish**	**The English Rendition**
1.İçi ürper-	Of one's interior/inside, to shiver	To shiver inwardly
2.Tüyleri ürper-	Of one's feathers, to shiver	To get goose bumps
3.İliklerine kadar ürper-	To shiver/chill to one's marrows	To chill to the bone/marrow
4.Tepeden tırnağa ürper-	To shiver/chill from top to nail	To shiver/chill from head to toes
5.Baştan aşağı ürper-	To shiver/chill from head down	To shiver down one's spine
6.Bütün hücreleri ürper-	Of all of one's cells, to shiver/chill	Of one's entire being, to shiver
7.Yüreği ürper-	Of one's heart, to shiver	It may mean "to shiver inwardly" or "of one's heart to beat faster"
8.Bedeni/vücudu ürper-	Of one's body, to shiver/chill	To have shivers or goose bumps down one's back or spine
9.Teni ürper-	Of one's skin, to shiver/chill	To have shivers or goose bumps on one's skin

All the idioms above are motivated by somatic conceptualisation – the physiological effects of strong affective states or maybe of coldness – and express intense reactions to strong emotional states. Especially the idioms 3,4,5 and 6 above suggest systemic thrills in response to strong emotional states. The most frequently observed idioms in order of frequency are (tens of) *içi ürper-, tüyleri ürper-,* and *tepeden tırnağa ürper-* (only about ten cases). These are also samples of embodied metaphors. Attested examples from the concordance:

(52) …kapılarından biri açılıp da o adam içeri çekiverecekti Betül'ü. [**İçi ürperdi**]. Koşarak kamarasına gitti. (EA16B4A-0688) "…she felt as if one of its doors might open and that man would simply pull Betül inside. [Literally, **Her interior shivered/chilled** => She shivered inwardly]. She ran to her cabin." (anxiety + intense shiver)

(53) Ben odaya girince [**tüylerim ürperdi**]. Nasıl yani? Biz bu odada mı kalacaktık? (SE09C4A-0832) "When I entered the room, [Literally, **my feathers shivered** => I got the shivers/goose bumps]. How might that be? Would we stay in that (bad) room?" (shock/disappointment + intense shiver)

(54) ...sanki içimdeki hayvan ayağa kalkıp gerinmeye başlamış gibi, [**iliklerime kadar ürperdim**]. Hatta şimdi size, tir tir titredim bile diyebilirim. (FA16B3A-0080) "…it was as if the animal inside me had stood up and started to stretch itself out, [Literally, **I shivered/chilled to my marrows** =>I shivered to the marrow/bone]. I could even possibly say I shuddered violently." (fear + intense shiver)

(55) ...kocasının kızı her görüşünde [**tedepen tırnağa ürperdiğini**] biliyordu. (HA16B2A-0031) "…she knew her husband [literally, **shivered/chilled from top to nail** => shivered/chilled from head to toe] every time he saw the girl. (sexual arousal + intense shiver)

Below is the collocational behaviour of ürper- on the basis of their semantic domains:

Table 25. Collocational behaviour of *ürper-*

SEMANTIC DOMAIN	TYPICAL COLLOCATES
The temperature "COLD" domain as stimulus of *ürper-*	*üşü*-(feel cold), *soğu*- (get cold), *buz gibi* (like ice), *buzlu dalga* (icy wave), *soğukluk*, *soğuk* (cold), *serin* (cool, chilly), *esinti* (breeze), *serin esinti* (cool breeze), *hava* (weather), *rüzgar* (wind), *dondurucu* (freezing), *yağmur* (rain), *ayaz* (frost), *yel* (wind), *bulutlar* (clouds), *kar* (snow), *suyun serinliği* (coolness of water)
The domain of "FEAR"	• **Fear words**: *kork*- (to fear), *korku* (fear), *korkunç* (frightening) *dehşet* (horror, terror), *dehşet verici* (terrifying), *telaşlan*- (to get worried/nervous), *manzaranın ürkütücülüğü* (spooky/scary scene), *aniden belir*- (to loom suddenly) • **Horrific scenes:** *katliamdan görüntüler* (massacre scenes), *vahşet* (savagery), *ceset* (corpse), *öl*- (to die), *öldür*- (to kill), *ölümün kokusu* (smell of death), *ölümcül* (deadly), *savaş* (war), *mezarlık* (cemetery), *hırlayan gölge* (growling shadow), *kan* (blood) etc.
The domain of "SEXUAL AROUSAL/ TACTILE SEXUALITY"	*öpücük* (kiss), *öpmek* (to kiss), *öpücük kondur*- (put a kiss on…), *okşa*- (caress), *sarıl*- (hug), *dolaşan el* (running/stroking hand), *dokunuş* (touch), *dokun*-, *değ*- (to touch), *tut*- (to hold) *temas* (tactile contact), *ten* (skin). Body parts involved in sexual arousal occur quite often: *vücut/beden* (body), *göğüs* (breast), *dudak* (lip), *el* (hand) etc.
The domain of RELIGION (spiritual chills)	The following distal collocates can be mentioned: *Allah*, *Hak* (God), *Muhammed* (Prophet's name), *âhiret, öte dünya, öbür dünya* (the afterlife), *cennet* (heaven), *cehennem* (hell), *kalp, yürek* (heart, to express sincerity or intensity of chills), *içi ürper* (to shiver inwardly), *kutsal* (holy) and words expressing God's power like *azamet* (grandness), *muazzam* (great, enormous), and *mükemmel* (perfect, impeccable) etc.
The domain of cognitive operations – "MENTAL DOMAIN" (Internal stimuli)	• ***First group****: düşünmek / düşünce* (thinking / thought), *hatırlamak / anımsamak* (remember/recall), *anlamak / fark etmek* (realise) and *akıl / us* (mind), *akla gel*- (come to mind) • ***Second group (Nostalgia)***: a) *Temporal points* in backward travel in time: *çocukluk* (childhood), *o an* (that moment), *o günler* (those days), *o gece* (that night) etc. b) *Units of time* covered in life: *aylar* (months), *yıllar/seneler* (years) etc.
IDIOMATIC COLLOCATES (somatic domain)	*"içi" ürper*- (shiver inwardly), *"tüyleri* (feathers/hairs)" *ürper*- (to get goose bumps), *"iliklerine* (marrow) *kadar" ürper*- (to shiver to the bone/marrow), *"tepeden tırnağa" ürper*- (to shiver from head to toes), "*baştan* (head) *aşağı*" *ürper*- (to shiver down one's spine), *"bütün hücreleri* (cells)" *ürper*- (of one's entire being, to shiver), *"yüreği* (heart) *ürper*- (to shiver inwardly, with the heart beating faster), *"vücudu/bedeni* (body)" *ürper*- (to have shivers or goose bumps down one's back), *"teni" ürper*- (to have shivers or goose bumps on the skin)

4.1.5.4. Semantic Preference of *Ürper-*

The concordance enables us to see what meaningful relations words enter into with other words around them (Sinclair, 1996/2004:25). The model of *extended lexical units* (Stubbs, 2002a:87-9) is also meant to identify the co-selective properties of a lexical unit to generate combinatorial meanings. As a member of our fear-related words, *ürper*- naturally tends to collocate with words or phrases which express pertinent kinds of stimuli that trigger the *ürper-*

reaction (*pilomotor reflex).* Words or phrases sharing a semantic feature or field tend to cluster around the node *ürper* as expected. The semantic labels assigned to the semantic subsets of collocates (i.e. domain of 'coldness' or 'fear') are the linguist's own judgement because it is their task to make categorisations and classifications on the strength of the common features of the node (Bednarek, 2008:120). Our observation of the concordance of *ürper-* revealed that this item has preferences for the following domains:

a) temperature domain of COLD
b) domain of FEAR or HORRIFIC SCENES
c) SEXUAL AROUSAL esp. with EROTIC TACTILE stimuli
d) domain of RELIGION – spiritual chills
e) domain of COGNITIVE OPERATIONS – mind chills
f) SOMATIC DOMAIN for idioms

4.1.5.5. Semantic Prosody of *Ürper-*

It must have been understood so far that Turkish speakers use *ürper-* so as to express the (usually) systemic electrifications at the cellular or perhaps subcellular level that manifest themselves as goose bumps (piloerection/horripilation), shivers or chills in response to cold, fear and strong sentimental situations occurring in the present or in the reactivated past. Sudden thoughts of both negative (mostly) and positive valence can also send shivers down your back or spine. Depending on the intensity of the affective state, piloerection or goose bumps may or may not appear on the skin or you simply feel shivers/thrills usually down the scalp (head) and/or the spine.

The general semantic prosody of *ürper-* is negative as it is evoked as a physical reaction to unpleasant situations such as cold, fear, worrisome thoughts or nostalgia – which connotes 'loss.' *Ürper-* is selected to express systemic tremors or thrills occurring in the face of the following stimuli, most of which are negative (cold, fear, sudden worrisome thought, religious awe, memory retrievals, sexually tactile arousal). Except for the trigger of cold, *ürper-* connotes bodily response to worry or fear.

The stronger the stimulus, the more likely it is for goose bumps or piloerection to accompany the shivers or chills (*ürper-*). For instance, in case of cold weather and intense fears and strong drive state of sexual arousal, *ürper-* will construe not only systemic thrills but also goose bumps. In other cases where Turkish speakers choose *ürper-*, this physiological reaction may or may not include goose bumps or piloerection. In such cases, *ürper-* can simply express chills, shivers or tingles in the experiencer.

4.1.5.6. Cognitive Appraisal for *Ürper* -?

Ürper**-** is not an emotion, but a physiological reaction to strong emotions of fear and excitement, and cold weather. Because it is not an emotion but a consequence of intense affective states, it would be irrelevant and even an exercise of futility to try to determine a cognitive appraisal pattern for *ürper*-. If we agree with Lazarus (1991:54) that the startle (*irkil*-) reflex is a *pre*-emotion, then the pilomotor reaction *ürper*- should necessarily be regarded as a *post*-emotion. As cognitive appraisals concern emotions, something like 'cognitive appraisal pattern of *ürper*-' is rather absurd. *Ürper*- can be included at the end of Scherer's (2001:115) cognitive appraisal pattern for fear, not as part of it.

4.1.6. Comparison Of The Lexical Profiles Of Fear Type Verbs

In this section we compare the lexical profiles of fear type verbs which express subjective experience of fear, namely *kork*-, *tırs*-, *ürk*-, *irkil*-, and *ürper*-. Salient colligational and collocational features, semantic preferences and discourse prosodies assigned to the lexical items are compared below. At the end of the section cognitive appraisal patterns for each fear concept are also included.

4.1.6.1. Colligational Similarities and Differences between Turkish Fear Verbs

Table 26. Colligational features of the fear verbs studied

NODE-EXTERNAL COLLIGATES		**Kork-**	**Tırs-**	**Ürk-**	**İrkil-**	**Ürper-**
Ablative marker on the source (–DAn)	Noun (-N1)	+	+	+	-	+
	Verb (-N1)	+	+	+	-	-
Instrumental marker on the source ["*ile*" or "–(y)lA"]		-	-	-	+	+
Dative marker "–yA"on the verbal noun for purpose [Verbal Noun (-mA) + "-yA" at – N1 position]		+	+	+	-	-

Table 26. Read More

Temporal/causal converbial [–(y) IncA] at -N		+	+	+	+	+
Aorist (-A/I)r + Subordinator "*diye"* at –N position		+	+	+	-	-
Future suffix "–(y)AcAk" + Subordinator "*diye"* at –N position		+	+ int[1]	-	-	-
Modal adverbs "Yoksa" (then), "acaba" (I wonder if), "ya…-sA/-(y)sA" (discourse connector…conditional suffix)		+M[2]	-	+M	+	+
Manner Converbial [*-mIş gibi, -mIşçAsInA]* at -N		+M	M	+M	+	+M
Adverbs of degree		+	+	+	+	+
NODE-INTERNAL COLLIGATES: SOME SUFFIXES		**Kork-**	**Tırs-**	**Ürk-**	**İrkil-**	**Ürper-**
Subordinating Suffix (CONJ) "-(y)Ip" ("and" function) Node Verb + "(y)Ip" + Verb		+	+	+	+	+
Suffix -(y) *ArAk*	Subordinator ("and")	+	+ int	+	+	+
	Converbial (manner adverb)	+	+ int	+	+	+
	Converbial (reason, -dIğI için)	+	+ int	+	+	+
Future suffix [-(y) AcAk]		+	+ int	+ int	-	-
Zero Colligation – Positive Imperative (Be careful)		+	-	-	- int[3]	-
Negative Imperative suffix ["-mA"] (Reassurance)		+	+int	+M	-	-

Notes:

1) "+ int" means that although no examples were found in the concordance, examples were identified through Google search.
2) "m" means that the feature is highly marginal for the lexical item.
3) "– int" means that *irkil-* does not licence imperative form in the same sense as *kork-* in the TNC or in internet sources (web as a corpus), but was found to be part of another meaning in imperative form according to the internet research. (see the explanation in "m" below)

Comparison notes about colligates of fear type words with reference to the table above:

a) While the ablative marker on a noun (fear trigger) does not occur with *irkil-*, verbal noun + ablative marker occurs neither with *irkil-* nor *ürper-*.

b) Instrumental marker (ile / -(y)lA) is a salient feature of *irkil-*, which usually occurs with a sudden loud sound or other sudden stimuli. The marker is also seen with *ürper-*, though less frequently.

c) Verbal noun (verb+-mA) + dative marker (-yA) occurs with *kork-*, *tırs-* and *ürk-* so as to suggest the experiencer's lack of enough courage to do something in future and roughly corresponds to the English phrase "be afraid to do something." The colligational feature is not observed with *irkil-* and *ürper-* both of which are physiological reactions to present or past events or objects – something happening or something that (has) happened, not something that the experiencer will do.

d) Temporal / Causal marker [–(y) IncA] on a verb before the node marks the temporal point at which the experiencer gets into the affective state of fear or experiences the bodily reactions *ürper-* and *irkil-*. The converbial with [–(y) IncA] usually marks the cause or source of the fear emotion or reaction and almost always occurs with all of them at –N1 position.

e) Aorist (A/I)r + Subordinator "*diye"* at –N position also expresses future contingencies; that is, suspected or anticipated events that might hinder or prevent the experiencer's goals or harm their interests. The colligational feature, which occurs with *kork-*, *tırs-* and *ürk-*, signals uneasiness or worry about prospective events, thus expressing secondary fears. *İrkil-* and *ürper-* do not seem to profile such construals concerning anxieties about future contingencies.

f) Future suffix "–(y)AcAk" + Subordinator "*diye"* at –N position + fear word. This pattern expresses disconfirmed fears. The most frequent collostructure is "*verb+(y)AcAk diye* ***kork-*** *PERF, ama (but)*" and is often observed with *kork-*. The colligational pattern was not detected with the other fear type words in the TNC; however, an internet search showed it occurs with *tırs-* too. Consider this example from an internet site: Dıştan belli olmuyor ama terse [dön-*eceğ*-iz *diye tırstım* vallahi, *ama*] adrenalin iyidir =>…[I was afraid that we (the vehicle) would turn over, but]… (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CsEMKwaDzWQ)

g) Modal adverbs like "yoksa" (then), "acaba" (I wonder if), and the structure "ya…-sA/-(y)sA" (discourse connector…conditional suffix) are salient colligates for *irkil-* and *ürper-*. The modal adverbs "yoksa", "acaba" and the structure "ya…-sA/-(y)sA" introduce undesirable events and correspond to cognitive stimuli that instigate the reactions *irkil-* and *ürper-*. An unpleasant thought or idea, or in other words, a speculatively worrisome thought, suddenly crosses the experiencer's mind, causing them to display the reactions *irkil-* or *ürper-* and some form and intensity of fear. These colligational features are possible but marginal for *kork-* and *ürk-*, but no instance was identified for *tırs-*.

h) Manner converbial [*-mIş gibi, -mIşçAsInA]* at –N is a salient colligate of *irkil-*. It describes the intensity of the startle (irkil-) reflex [iğne bat***mışçasına***, iğne batırıl***mış gibi***, iğne bat***mış gibi*** (***as if*** pricked by a pin/needle), tokat ye***miş gibi*** (***as if*** slapped), suçüsütü yakalan***mış gibi*** (***as if*** caught red-handed)]. The colligational pattern occurs rather infrequently with the other fear words – you can see a few similar examples only if you conduct a particular search.

i) All the fear type lexical items in our group colligate with degree adverbs. However, *ürper-* and *irkil-* colligate with the fewest such adverbs because they describe the body reactions for them, not affective states. For example, how intensely one gets startled (*irkil-*) is expressed with comparisons (-mış gibi, in the previous paragraph above).

According to the table above, some suffixes on the node (node-internal colligates) suggest various units of meaning:

j) Subordinating suffix "–(y)Ip" on the node functioning as the conjunction "and" has the unique power of displaying *behavioural tendency* or *physiological effects* which immediately follow the verb expressing the fear state (*kork-, tırs-*, and *ürk-*) or the psychophysiological reactions (*irkil-* and *ürper-*). The subsequent verbs after kork-*up,* tırs-*ıp* and ürk-*üp* are all usually from the semantic domain of flight or avoidance. If *ürk-* describes animal fear, ürk-*üp* may be followed by verbs expressing *uncontrollability* as well as rapid escape. After the bodily reaction irkil-*ip (startle reflex),* not only verbs expressing simple avoidance but also hypervigilance to understand the cause and regaining control of self (Izard, 1977:282) are highly likely to occur. As for *ürper*, strangely enough, the suffix "-(y)Ip" occurs highly infrequently (ürper-*ip*). In hundreds of concordance lines for *ürper-*, *ürper-ip* occurs only in 10 cases where the subsequent verb following it does not distinctly express flight or avoidance. We see semantically diverse verbs like tremble, slow down, wear a cardigan, look carefully, lose oneself etc.

k) The suffixal colligate –arak/erek on the node basically has two functions – it either functions like –(y)Ip ("and") or turns the fear type verb into an adverb of manner modifying the following verb. All the fear verbs in our study colligate with –arak/erek. Only *tırs-arak* does not occur in the corpus (TNC), in which the lemma *tırs-* occurs only 95 times! But the suffix was found to be used with *tırs-* as a result of Google research, which is marked in the table above as "int". Consider the sample sentence from the web: *Tırs-arak* oturduğum sandalyeyle birlikte geriledim ve ellerimi masaya koydum => I withdrew with the chair on which I sat *fearing* and put my hands on the table. (https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=nMRNCwAAQBAJ&pg=PT118&lpg=PT118&dq=t%C4%B1rsarak&source=bl&ots=AmE3q7YnNt&sig=ZvzVggZIlh1xpOFx7gC7xge9N0M&hl=tr&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiHvJTYzOrVAhUD1xoKHW0cC304RhDoAQgzMAU#v=onepage&q=t%C4%B1rsarak&f=false). Generally, when this suffix has the function "and", it is followed by another verb expressing avoidance or physiological effect. When the suffix turns the node (fear word) into a manner adverb, the following, modified verb might as well express "cautious continuance of one's goal pursuit despite the kind of fear felt". The node as a manner adverb is like a counterforce against the realisation of the subsequent verb in different intensities. For example, *kork-arak* and *tırs-arak* have strong counterforces like swimming against the current. *Ürk-erek* suggests a weaker counterforce when it expresses human fear; that is, the experiencer keeps their course of action or motion despite some worry and caution. *İrkil-erek* as a manner adverb is not frequent and when used, it may suggest multiple event reading that modify simple verbs like oku-(to read), dinle- (to listen)

etc. Oddly enough, *ürper-erek* as a manner adverb modifies verbs that cluster around *perceptive* and *cognitive domains* (feel, sense, notice, watch, look, remember, realise, think). Last but not least, the suffix –arak/erek can function like –dIğI için (causal converbial, "because") when it is used with *kork-*. In many occurrences of *kork-arak*, we get the meaning "**Because** one **fears/feared**, …"; hence the verb phrase headed by *kork-arak* and the subsequent verb phrase express cause-effect relationship.

l) The corpus data revealed that the future suffix –(y) AcAk on the node *kork-* does not mean that the fear state will occur in future. Rather, *kork-acak,* along with its multi-unit collocates *bir şey yok, ne var (ki), ne varmış,* is selected by a Turkish user to downplay a threat or to reassure the addressee that their existing fear or future possible fear or worrying is groundless. This colligate has a salient pragmatic feature with *kork-*, while the other fear state verbs *tırs-* and *ürk-* do not occur with –(y) AcAk on the node in the TNC. However, our intuition urged us to do a google search which showed that –(y) AcAk also occurs with *tırs-* and *ürk-* in this meaning. That possible use is marked as "int" in the table above. To sum up, we are much more likely to come across or use "**kork-***acak bir şey yok"* than "**tırs-***acak* / **ürk-***ecek bir şey yok*. *Ürper-* and *irkil-*, physiological effects of fear, do not colligate with –(y)AcAk in this sense.

m) Zero colligation means the use of the base form of the fear verb in imperative form. Normally state verbs are not used in imperative form as they are not volitionally activated (Smith, 1997:40). With a closer look at many such instances in the concordance, we realised that *kork*(!) in imperative form does not denote fear, but means "be careful/cautious about something or someone." It is used to warn someone against something that the speaker considers as a threat. The other fear type items do not licence such a use except for *irkil-*. *İrkil-* does not occur in imperative form in the corpus. Nevertheless, in the internet imperative form of *irkil-* occurs, but has a different meaning compared to that of *kork*. We see the lexical bundle "*irkil de/ve uyan*" or *"irkil ve kendine gel*" ("get startled and wake up" or "get startled and come to yourself", respectively). These phrases are used to "raise awareness" or "urge people to become sensitive to a collective problem". The addressee's (the community) indifference to a problem like injustice or terror or raising inflation whatsoever, is profiled as "sleeping" from which they are urged to get startled and wake up. As the concordance lines and our world knowledge clearly show, if one wakes up with a startle reflex, they are not drowsy; they become wide awake. *İrkil-* (startle) is defined by Tomkins (1962, cited in Izard, 1977:281) as "channel clearing emotion", which makes the experiencer hypervigilant. Those sloganist phrases like "irkil de uyan/kendine gel" are motivated by these facts. The speaker urges the (sleeping/indifferent) addressee (masses) to become fully aware of/disillusioned about a problem of a threat for the community and

get ready to take action. The other fear items (*ürk-*, *tırs-* and *ürper-*) do not occur in imperative form in the corpus.

n) The negative imperative form of ***kork-*** (korkMA, *don't* fear/worry) occurs 615 times in the TNC. *Korkma* is used to *encourage* someone against a threat, to discontinue their already existing fear or to *reassure* them that they needn't worry. *Kork-**MA*** shares a similar discursive function with "*kork-**acak*** bir şey yok" "*kork-**acak** ne var (ki)*": they may be used by an ill-intentioned person as a pragmatic device to victimise the addressee. To this end, these expressions may be used by the speaker before they give harm to the addressee so as to hide or downplay a threat or danger that the speaker will cause. While korkMA frequently occurs in the TNC, ürkME occurs twice and tırsMA as an imperative does not occur. Nevertheless, as an informal near synonym of kork, tırsMA seems to occur in this function as demonstrated by an internet search. Consider the web example: "Kim olduğumu merak ettiysen imzadaki yazıyı oku ama sakın *tırsma" =>* If you are interested in who I am, read the signature, but *do not fear/worry* (https://board.tr.metin2.gameforge.com/index.php/Thread/103916-Koroglu14-bayrak-de%C4%9Fi%C5%9Fikli%C4%9Fi/). *İrkil-* and *ürper-*, which tend to profile physiological reactions to various stimuli including fear, do not colligate with –mA to form negative imperatives to give a sense similar to that of korkMA.

4.1.6.2. Comparison of Turkish Fear Verbs in Terms of Their Collocates and Semantic Preferences

Because we studied on Turkish fear type verbs that introduce subjective experience of fear, it is natural that the typical collocates should reflect the fear episode – collocates concerning emotion antecedents/stimuli, the emoter's action tendencies and physiological effects of fear on the experiencer. The emotion of fear forms a continuum with acute/primary fear at one extreme and a simple worry or apprehension at the other extreme. Various intensities, effects or even stages of fear are profiled differently with each lexical item. Furthermore, the same lexical item can at times become a component of different units of meaning with changes in its colligation and collocation patterns (Sinclair, 1996, 1998; Hanks, 1996; Stubbs, 2002; Edmonds and Hirst, 2002 etc). Because the typical collocates of the lexical items (kork-, tırs-, ürk-, irkil- and ürper-) are too many and diverse to be tabulated, they are grouped into domains of semantic preference in the tables below. In Table 27 the lexical items directly relevant to fear (kork-, tırs-, and ürk-) are compared, and in Table 28 the items *irkil-* and *ürper-* profiling the experiencer's psychophysiological reactions are compared. The tables

provide general insights, so we included explications about some salient and idiosyncratic features after the tables as well.

4.1.6.2.1. Comparison of Collocation Profiles and Collocative Meanings of Fear Verbs (KORK-, TIRS- AND ÜRK-)

Table 27. Collocation profiles of fear verbs (kork-, tırs- and ürk-) by semantic preference

FEAR VERB	DOMAINS OF SEMANTIC PREFERENCE FOR COLLOCATES		
Kork-	**Kork-1** Primary fear	Fear source Fear behaviours, including flight Physiological effects of fear	
	Kork-2 Secondary fear	Diverse, unclassifiable collocates about prospective fear Loss or separation	
	Colligation-dependent Collocates	*Kork-up*	Fear behaviours especially flight
		Kork-acak	Unnecessity (of fear)
		Kork-arak	Fear behaviours or physiological effects
		Kork-ma	Reassurance and encouragement
Tırs-	Domain of surrender/yielding (yielding to the human trigger of fear)		
	Domains of flight and avoidance		
Ürk-	**Ürk-1** Animal fear	Various sounds as fear source Rapid flight Uncontrollable/wild behaviour	
	Ürk-2 Human fear	Indirect/unreasonable fear sources Caution (cautious continuance of goal pursuit) Simple avoidance Facial appearance Entities connoting uncanny fear	
	Ürk-3 Economic fear (capital flight)	Monetary assets or financial institutions Capital flight Instability	

The scanty corpus data for *tırs-*, with 70 concordance lines analysed, allowed us to see that *tırs-* is an informal fear word which occurs infrequently in the corpus. What distinguishes *tırs-* from the other two items of fear is that it automatically connotes flight or withdrawal and that one who fears in this way does not choose to fight but surrenders or succumbs to the human source of fear. Sometimes one worries about 'traces' of threats or pseudo-threats and avoids a source of threat, thus feels something like a human way of *ürk-* and either stays back

from those "threats" or simply move away from them when they have to face them. In conclusion, the concordance of t*ırs-* clearly displayed two kinds of semantic domains of collocates – collocates expressing avoidance or escape and surrender/yielding (obediently) to a human when they pose a threat.

In Table 27 above *kork-1* and *ürk-1* reflect intense primary fear situations. However, they have different collocates even when the same semantic domains are considered, with the former having a human experiencer and the latter an animal one. Both collocate with words or phrases expressing *sources of fear*, but the sources that cause intense fear are different. Ürk-1 is the typical meaning of the item *ürk-* which directly connotes a special fear and post-fear behaviours of animals, especially horses. While ürk-1 ('animal ürk') collocates with expressions encoding 'traces' of threats for their survival, usually sounds and any movements in their immediate environment, kork-1 (acute fear for humans) collocates with more realistic threats, not 'traces' of threats.

Both *kork-1* and *ürk-1* collocate with words or phrases expressing *escape/flight;* however, human *kork-1* emoter can be associated with collocates encoding human way of escaping [(kaç-(escape), koş- (run), uzaklaş- (go/walk/drive away), saklan- (hide)], whereas animal ürk-1 experiencer escapes in their own way depending on the animal [balık=>yüzerek kaçmak (fish-swim away); kuş/böcek=>uçarak kaçmak (bird/insect=> fly away); kara hayvanı=>koşarak kaçmak (land animal=> run away) etc.]. These will naturally be reflected in collocates of flight response of kork-1 and ürk-1.

Moreover, animal ürk-1 experiencer gets out of control and becomes wild when they *ürk*. For example, a horse's fear behaviour can be seen in collocates like *azgın* (fierce), *şaha kalkmak* (rearing up), *çifteler atmak* (kicking with two hind legs) etc. In human kork-1 we see behaviours such as *ağlamak* (cry), *çığlık atmak* (let out a scream), *tutun/yapış* (clutch onto/cling to), *sığınmak* (take asylum/refuge).

The concordance for human kork-1 displays collocates expressing physiological effects of the acute fear on the human such as *sarsılmak* (shake,), *titremek* (tremble), *elleri titremek* (of hands, to tremble), *eli ayağı düşmek / dizlerinin bağı çözülmek* (feel like jelly) *kızarmak (to blush)*, *dili tutulmak* (become speechless), *donup kalmak* (freeze), *yüreği atmak/yüreği çarpmak* (palpitate). On the other hand, some of these collocates cannot be associated with animals though they can *tremble* (titremek) or their hearts can beat fast (palpitate). Yet the concordance of ürk-1 does not display such collocates.

Ürk-1 (get spooked) is the prototypical sense of the item which describes an animal's experience of fear. Ürk-2, used to describe a human's affective or cognitive state, is an extension of ürk-1 – part of ürk-1's conceptual content is mapped onto ürk-2. Therefore, a comparison needs to be made between two distinct senses. When *ürk-* (get spooked) is used to describe

human fear, that is ürk-2 in the table above, it has the partial content of ürk-1 (animal fear), which is an animal's (especially a horse's) *oversensitivity to or over-suspicion about smallest sounds and movements* nearby to survive possible threats, regardless of their intrinsic dangerousness. Similarly, when a human ürk-s (fears in this way), the salient component of ürk-1 – that *ürk-* is evoked on the basis of "traces" of fear sources rather than an actual confrontation with an imminent threat– leads to a concern or uneasiness in humans. They begin to be cautious against a potential threat. They become alert or vigilant about the 'source' which might harbour potential risks or dangers for them. When the experiencer ürk-s (begins to feel uneasy/worried about) something or someone on the basis of "traces" of threat (like animals' hypersensitivity to smallest sounds or movements), first grains of worry, apprehension or doubt are sown in the experiencer's cognition. Now we observe radical differences between ürk-1 (animal) and ürk-2 (human). While an animal displays wild behaviour and rapid escape, a human mostly continues their goal pursuit cautiously. Therefore, in the concordance lines describing human way of ürk-, we occasionally see a few simple avoidance words or phrases. While an animal's action tendencies are highly visible, a human, when they *ürk*, does not resort to visible wild actions. Ürk-2 (human) then connotes precaution and preparedness for potential threats that might arise from (commonly) *unreasonable sources* of fear. In some cases, ürk-2 collocates with words or phrases expressing vague or *totally unreasonable sources* (*güzellik (beauty), beyaz elbise (white dress), ulusal gurur (national pride), ışığın gölgeleri (shadows of light), şehrin gürültüsü (the noise of the city), kızlar (girls), ritüel olan (what is ritual), tanımadığı yemek (unfamiliar meal), sevgiden bahseden kadınlar (women speaking about love), diriler (those alive), aydınlık (brightness), klasik müzik (classical music), gölgem (my shadow) etc*). These collocates run counter to expected collocates dictated by *ürk's* prosody. They are context-dependent ironical uses which need unravelling. Their selection against the expected prosody of the node reflects the speaker/writer's intention of creating irony (Louw, 1993).

Then humans sometimes get suspicious of unreasonable sources in case they should harbour latent risks whose potential implications would be disadvantageous for their goals. This is an adaptive response to protect themselves against threats. To sum up, ürk-1 and ürk-2 have different conceptual contents which are manifested in their collocates. Another conclusion from this discussion would be that ürk-2 (for humans) expresses secondary fear in the form of getting uneasy or concerned and reflects cognitive aspect of fear (Ortony et al. 1988). It is also similar to what Freud (1959) calls signal anxiety or fear anticipation. Ürk-2 is then similar to another Turkish verb *huylan-*, which may express a human's having initial doubts about the potential danger or disadvantage that something or someone might harbour.

With ürk-2 having been made clear, a comparison can be made between ürk-2 and kork-2 (secondary fear) in the table above. Even though they both express non-primary or secondary

fears which are close to worry on the worry-fear-dread continuum, ürk-2 profiles the emergence of a displeasure in mind due to (subjectively accepted) traces of threat emanating from *objects* or people (noun collocates as unreasonable source of fear). On the other hand, kork-2, labelled as secondary fear in the table, construes worries about prospective events and collocates with (the verbs of) *non-finite noun clauses* that reflect fear anticipation or future contingencies. From the standpoint of kinds of collocates that secondary fears ürk-2 and kork-2 display in the concordance, we should say that they do not collocate with words or phrases from the domains of *behavioural aspects* (like crying, screaming, clutching onto someone, rapid flight/escape) or *physiological effects* (like trembling, shuddering, rapid heartbeat, wide open eyes). Then in both kinds of fear verbs, the experiencer feels nervousness and caution about a suspected threat in their mind, without displaying explicit fear indexes to be seen from an outsider, because these verbs express what the experiencer feels before they are confronted with an actual threat as in acute fear situations.

It should be borne in mind that as we saw in the comparison of colligates of fear verbs above, colligation-dependent collocates are accountable for any collocation profiles different from what we have discussed here (for instance, ürk-2 does not connote collocates of flight, while when it colligates with –(y)Ip, ürk-*üp* always collocates with flight expressions).

Ürk-3 combines semantic motivations underlying ürk-1 (animal fear; to get spooked) and ürk-2 (human fear). Business world is personified and ürk-3 is the figurative use of ürk-. Human kind of *ürk-* (ürk-2) is a metaphorical extension of ürk-1 (animal kind of ürk-). In terms of the correlation between a human's detection of 'traces' of a suspected threat/danger and becoming uneasy and cautious about them and an animal's detection of smallest movements and sounds around and displaying fear behaviours, ürk-2 for humans is motivated by the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. When it comes to ürk-3 (economy type of fear), which figuratively describes business world's withdrawal from risky environments once a smallest possible unfavourable development has been detected that might bring about a profit loss, we could say that this form of *ürk-*, which results in capital flight from areas of suspected risks, includes elements both from animal ürk- (ürk-1) and human ürk-(ürk-2). The concordance lines about ürk-3 are instantiations of conceptual metaphors COMPANIES/INVESTORS ARE ANIMALS, inherited from PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS (Silaški, 2011:566). Animals' oversensitivity to any changes and uncertainties in their environment causes animal way of fear; that is ürk-1 (to spook at, to shy at/away from). Just like animals, business world/finance circles are oversensitive to any emerging risks in their investment areas, so they are ready to escape like animals. On the other hand, *talep* (demand), *sermaye* (capital), *sektör* (sector) etc are grammatical subjects of ürk-3, so how will these non-human and non-animal entities resort to escape behaviour? These are personified, so they will display flight behaviour like humans. To sum up, ürk-3 (business type

of ürk-) conceptualises a kind of fear which takes ANIMAL as a source domain and feeds on animals' acute sense of traces of danger but humans' way of escape or avoidance. *Talep* (demand), *sermaye* (capital), *sektör* (sector) etc do not swim away or run like a horse to escape, but as they are metonymies for people (investors), flight behaviour is expressed with human terms. It is for these reasons that ürk-3 collocates with the general term *kaç-* (*escape)* or *vazgeç-* (give up on), *iptal et-* (cancel), *kapatma* (close-down), all of which exhibit human ways of escaping. And collocates for fear sources are not like "moving leaves" or sounds as in the case of animals, but *kargaşa* (chaos), *terör* (terör), *yasa dışı eylemler* (illegal actions), *bürokrasi* (paperwork), which cause unpredictability and possible risks for investors.

Conceptual metaphors are formed by partial mappings between correlated entities in two domains (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003, Kövecses, 2010, Grady, 1997; Knowles and Moon, 2006, Barcelona, 2003). Then the metaphor COMPANIES/INVESTORS ARE ANIMALS, inherited from PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, as demonstrated by ürk-3 has the following correspondences:

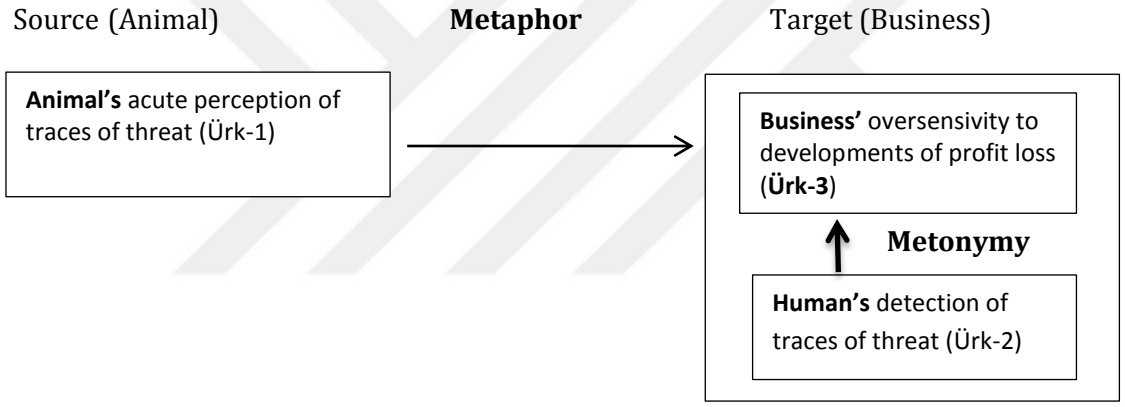

Figure 5. Cognitive representation of ürk-3 in terms of *stimulus detection* for animals, humans and business world

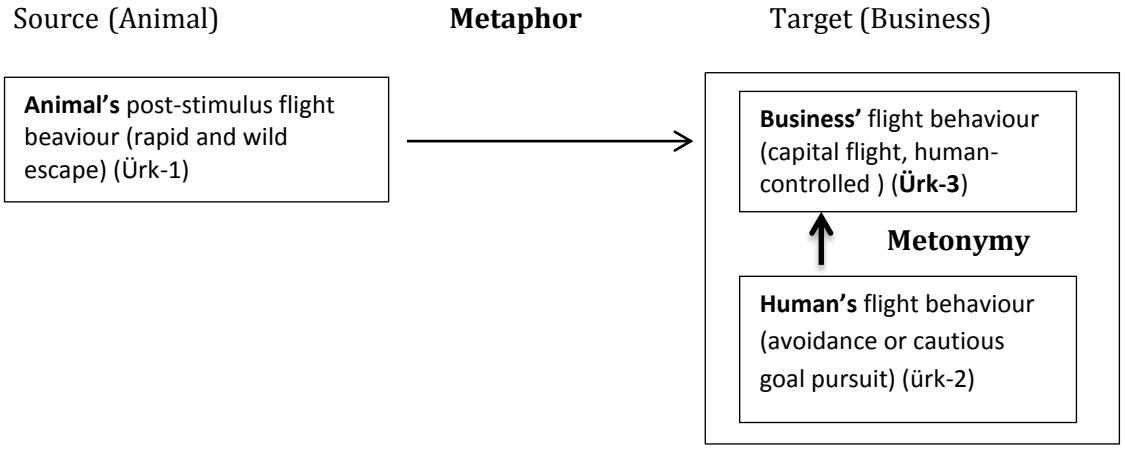

Figure 6. Cognitive representation of ürk-3 in terms of *flight behaviour* for animals, humans and business world

The metonymic mappings in the figures above should be understood as personification of entities of business world like *talep* (demand), *sektör* (sector), *şirket* (company) etc. Although the figures display the whole frame of ürk- in terms of animal, human and business effectees, they correspond to Goossens's (1990) metaphtonymic schema of *metonymy within metaphor/metonymic expansion of a metaphoric target* if we focus on the figures from the standpoint of ürk-3 (business/economy fear). In fact, the figures represent the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, and for ürk-3, which expresses capital flight from an area after detection of unfavourable developments, Business (entities like companies, investments, demands, etc.) metonymically stands for human – through personification. As emotion antecedents and action tendencies of animals and humans are different, ürk-1, and ürk-2 (which also affect ürk-3) naturally have different collocates.

4.1.6.2.2. Comparison of Collocation Profiles of İrkil- and Ürper- (Fear Reactions)

İrkil- (startle) as a pre-emotion (Lazarus, 1991) and *ürper-* (get the shivers/goosebumps) as a post-emotion are indispensable lexical items in fear literature. On the basis of corpus (the TNC) data, we had a detailed coverage of extended units of meaning for these concepts through analyses of their lexical profiles in the relevant sections above. Both these items proved to have quite rich schematic natures not only because of manners of their evocation and also linguistic realisations. Collocational behaviours of these items are tabulated below on the basis of their semantic domains and explications are included below the table.

Table 28. Collocation profiles of *irkil-* and *ürper-* on the basis of semantic preference

PSYCHOPHYSIOLOGICAL REACTION VERB	DOMAINS OF SEMANTIC PREFERENCE FOR COLLOCATES
İrkil- (Turkish verb for startle reaction)	a) Absence, thoughtfulness, engrossment, absorption b) Suddenness, abruptness, unexpectedness c) Acoustic, visual, tactile and cognitive stimuli d) Orientation towards the stimulus and hypervigilance e) (anxious) curiosity, surprise, interest
Ürper- (Turkish verb for "get the shivers / goosebumps)	a) Temperature domain of cold b) Domain of fear or horrific scenes c) Sexual arousal esp. with erotic tactile stimuli d) Domain of religion – spiritual chills e) Domain of cognitive operations – mind chills f) Somatic domain for idioms

'Chills' – frisson manifested as goose bumps or shivers (Grewe et al., 2010:220) – corresponds to the noun form of the verb *ürper-* in Turkish. Grewe et al. (2010) successfully demonstrated what we discovered from the Turkish National Corpus – the *ürper*– reaction (chills/shivers/goose bumps) can be evoked by different *acoustical, visual, tactile* and *gustatory*

stimuli. (We did not come across any concordance lines where the experiencer is understood to *ürper-* (chill/shiver) in response to gustatory stimulus like eating grapefruit or lemon, so we did not include it in the table above.)

A brief comparison must be made between *ürper-* and *irkil-* because both physiological reactions can result from *acoustical, visual, tactile* and *cognitive* stimuli. First of all, the eventuation of either reflex is different. When the irkil- (startle) reflex occurs, your body makes sudden visible movements like extending your hands, bending your knees, pulling down your rib cage over the diaphragm, feet grabbing the floor (Wildman 2013). The body visibly moves and bends as if to jump. A strong *irkil-* reaction is described in a concordance line as if the body were 'a fish struck with a harpoon' (TNC corpus, PA16B4A-0511). On the other hand, the *ürper-* reaction (pilomotor reflex) is manifested by chills/shivers/goose bumps. It involves rather systemic electrifications especially on the skin or chills sent down the scalp and/or the spine. Therefore, while the *irkil-* (startle) reflex is clearly visible to an outsider from quite a distance, the *ürper-* (pilomotor) reaction can only be perceived if an observer looks carefully from a proximal point. However, if *ürper-* is selected to express how one reacts to something sour (gustatory stimulus), it will connote a temporary act of trembling which is also visible.

The fact that both *irkil-* and *ürper-* can be evoked in response to *acoustic, visual, tactile* and *cognitive* stimuli might as well mislead us to conclude that these lexical items have collocational overlaps in Turkish. The concordances of *irkil-* and *ürper-* tell rather different stories. As a rule, **suddenness** and **unexpectedness** are a salient characteristic of *irkil-* inducing stimuli and this is overtly seen in its lexical environment. *İrkil-* is an initial 'what is it?' reaction to something uncertain and the experiencer scans the environment to understand what's happening – which is also linguistically explicit from collocates expressing anxious scanning in the post-node context. In contrast, the *ürper-* reaction is almost always evoked in response to something certain. The experiencer is aware of the valence of the stimulus: if it is visual or acoustic, it is fearful or nostalgic; if it is (sexually) tactile, the sexual excitement by the affective touch evokes shivers/goose bumps; if it is a simple tactile stimulus, *ürper-* may immediately follow the preceding *irkil-* reaction itself.

What appears perplexing at first glance is that the Turkish speaker both selects *irkil-* and *ürper-* when certain cognitive stimuli are involved. Both domain overlapping and collocational overlapping are observed in cognitive domain indeed. Especially in contexts which reflects the experiencer's **sudden worrisome thoughts**, we see both *ürper* and *irkil-* as reaction words. Replacing *irkil-* with *ürper-* in the following lines that we discussed in the lexical profile of *irkil-* is perfectly possible. But does it mean that in response to sudden worrisome thoughts a Turkish speaker can use these lexical items interchangeably?

(56) "**Ya** bacağına yaslandığım kişi filmde aranan gibi katil-**se**" *diyerek* **ilkildi**. (ÜRPERDİ?)
(RI22E1B-2911) "**What if** the person whose leg I am leaning against is a murderer like the wanted one in the film?" she *thought* and **got startled**. (SHIVERED/CHILLED?) (sudden worrisome thought + startle/*irkil*-)

(57) "**Yoksa** beni mi takip ediyor" *düşüncesiyle* **irkildi**. (ÜRPERDİ?)
(VA16B1A-2632) "He **was startled** (SHIVERED/CHILLED?) by the *thought* 'Is he following me, **then**?'" (sudden worrisome thought + startle/*irkil*-)

(58) "**Acaba** yanlış bir iş mi yaptık?" *diye* **irkilir**. (ÜRPERİR?) (NF32D1B-2721) "**I wonder if** I have done something wrong" he *thought* and **was startled** (SHIVERS/CHILLS?). (sudden worrisome thought + startle/*irkil*-)

The above lines seem natural with *ürper*-. Nevertheless, this does not mean *ürper*- and *irkil*- are cognitive synonyms or near synonyms. Although *irkil*- and *ürper*- are physiological reactions that may be evoked in the face of fear-related situations, they have different construals. The Turkish speaker's choice of the former or the latter does not result from their intersubstitutability. The experiencer may have both got startled and shivered simultaneously or consecutively and may have chosen only one of the corresponding Turkish words (irkil- or ürper-) to show whatever physiological reaction they want their utterance to profile.

From the domains of collocates in the table above, two salient features that make *ürper*- clearly distinct from the startle reflex *irkil*- are 1) that *ürper*- is a physiological reaction not only to fear sources but also to coldness and 2) that while *irkil*- is not part of somatic idiomatic collocation patterns, *ürper*- collocates with words from somatic domain to form quite a few idioms [*"içi" ürper*- (shiver inwardly), *"tüyleri* (feathers/hairs)" *ürper*- (to get goose bumps), *"iliklerine* (marrow) *kadar" ürper*- (to shiver to the bone/marrow), *"tepeden tırnağa" ürper*- (to shiver from head to toes), "*baştan* (head) *aşağı*" *ürper*- (to shiver down one's spine), *"bütün hücreleri* (cells)" *ürper*- (of one's entire being, to shiver), *"yüreği* (heart) *ürper*- (to shiver inwardly, with the heart beating faster), *"vücudu/bedeni* (body)" *ürper*- (to have shivers or goose bumps down one's back), *"teni" ürper*- (to have shivers or goose bumps on the skin)]

Last but not least *irkil*- and *ürper*- are physiological reactions. Kövecses (1990:69) postulates a relevant metonymic principle for emotions including fear: THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION (FEAR) STAND FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR). *Ürper*- is evoked mainly as a reaction to fear or cold. *İrkil*-, though typically a pre-emotion reflex, sometimes occurs as a result of a sudden stimulus portending fear like a bomb explosion. Then it can be concluded that *irkil*- and *ürper*- are manifestations of the conceptual metonymy THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION (FEAR) STAND FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR).

4.1.6.3. Comparison of Turkish Fear Verbs in Terms of Their Semantic / Discourse Prosodies

Being the most controversial and problematic constituent of lexical profiling (Whitsitt, 2005:283), the term semantic prosody was first introduced by Louw (1993:157), who re-defined it later (2000:57) and provided a working definition of the term: "[A] semantic prosody refers to a form of meaning which is established through the proximity of a consistent series of collocates, often characterisable as positive or negative, and whose primary function is the expression of the attitude of its speaker or writer towards some pragmatic situation." It is also referred to as discourse prosody (Stubbs, 2002a:61), and Sinclair (1996/2004:34) emphasizes the pragmatic side of semantic prosody which suggests speaker meaning, saying that "[i]t expresses something close to the 'function' of the item – it shows how the rest of the item is to be interpreted functionally." Though it is common practice to label the prosody of a lexical item as pleasant/unpleasant or positive/negative (McEnery and Hardie, 2012), Sinclair (2000 and 1998) highlights its pragmatic side: "The semantic prosody of an item is the reason why it is chosen, over and above the semantic preferences that also characterize it" (1998:20).

We have already completed lexical profiling of Turkish fear verbs (*kork-*, *tırs-*, *ürk-*, *irkil-* and *ürper-*) and made their *extended units of meaning* clear in their relevant sections. In their analysis we saw that for a single lexical item, different semantic preferences and discourse prosodies associated with them are applicable. As summarised above, the discursive function of an item is the main determinant of combinatorial meaning, so rather than assigning binary values to the items like pleasant/unpleasant or positive/negative, we focus on discourse functions of the items – why the speaker selects each of them while there are other items. In general all the items have unpleasant prosodies. Detailed analyses can be found in relevant sections of the item studied.

Used in informal contexts to express a kind of fear, *tırs-* has the discourse prosodies of 1) *discontinuance of one's goal pursuit out of realistic or unrealistic fear and staying back*, 2) *yielding to the human trigger of fear* and *obeying their demands*. The prosody of *tırs-* can be summarised as *worry+avoid* (like ürk-), *fear+flight* or *fear+yield*.

Ürk- (to spook, to shy at/away), prototypically connotes animals' way of fear episode after detecting traces of threat. When used to describe animals' fear, *ürk-* has the prosodic function of *sensing a threat through its indicators and feeling an intense fear and subsequent flight or uncontrollable behaviour* (SENSE TRACES+SPOOK (fright)+RAPID ESCAPE). For human experiencers, *ürk-* has the semantic prosody of *becoming worried and vigilant about a suspected threat and continuance of our goal pursuit cautiously* or *avoiding the seemingly threat source without really confronting it* (SENSE TRACES+WORRY+CAUTIOUS GOAL PURSUIT or SIMPLE

AVOIDANCE). When used in economic discourse, *ürk-* has the prosody of *flight from or avoidance of a potential threat noticed in a market* (SENSE TRACES+FEAR OF RISKY INVESTMENTS+FLIGHT). Then the common prosodic motivation underlying the selection of *ürk-* is that it connotes animals' *acute sense of traces of threat* and subsequent fear reactions.

Irkil- (startle) has a schematic nature. Because of different kinds of stimuli, all of which are, however, characterised by *suddenness*, its selection in utterances/statements is based on different discourse functions. Unless evoked or immediately accompanied by fear, *irkil-* has a neutral nature until the trigger has been detected and appraised, because the stimulus could be intrinsically bad or good and the resultant affective state might be fear/worry or astonishment/amazement. *Irkil-* is "an initial reaction to uncertainty" (Lazarus, 1991:54). For unfamiliar and sudden acoustic stimulus, *irkil-* has a discourse prosody of *an initial psychophysiological reaction to a sudden uncertain stimulus followed by anxious hypervigilance.* (SUDDEN STIMULUS+ İRKİL- REACTION + ANXIOUS SCANNING). If the sound already portends fear like a bomb, then the startle reaction and fear are temporally adjacent. Then the discourse function of *irkil-* is not only the reflex but also the fear felt simultaneously or just after it. (SUDDEN CLEAR FEAR STIMULUS + İRKİL- REACTION + FEAR). For visual and tactile stimuli, the experiencer who suddenly gets startled needs a very short time to understand the valence of the stimulus. Therefore, fear or surprise is evoked *without a long lasting vigilant scanning*. In such contexts, the discursive function of the use of *irkil-* is *sudden awareness of fear* or *surprise* stimuli. (SUDDEN VISUAL OR TACTILE STIMULUS + İRKİL- REACTION + IMMEDIATE FEAR OR SURPRISE). Cognitive stimuli, sudden worrisome thoughts or ideas, evoke a less intense *irkil-* reaction as compared to a reaction to a sudden loud sound or a painful touch. The unfavourable prosody or the discursive motivation for the selection of *irkil-* is clear – (SUDDEN WORRSIOME THOUGHT + physically less intense İRKİL-REACTION + ENTRY INTO A STATE OF WORRY). To sum up, when a Turkish speaker's use of *irkil-* is motivated by *physical reaction* to *suddenness* of a (mostly acoustic) stimulus (and *hypervigilance/orienting towards the stimulus)*.

As a concept which expresses a physiological response to the sources of cold, fear and excitement in general, *ürper-* (get the shivers/goosebumps) has an unfavourable prosody like other fear verbs. *Ürper-* is selected to express systemic tremors or thrills experienced when one encounters the following stimuli, most of which are negative: cold, fear, sudden worrisome thought, religious awe, memory retrievals, sexually tactile arousal. Except for the source of cold, *ürper-* readily connotes *worry* or *fear*. As a reaction to memory retrieval of a past event through a song or just by remembering, *ürper-* has a negative prosody of *nostalgia*, which connotes *loss* or *separation*.

Kork- (to fear) is the generic term in Turkish to express affective states ranging from simple worry to dread. Because the concept provides the generic conceptual content out of

which other fear verbs in our lists are tailored, *kork-* itself does not have an idiosyncratic prosody other than being negative. The concordance citations of *kork-* revealed that in few cases it profiles acute fear situations, but in most of the cases it seems to have become a vague term expressing worry with various intensities. That is, as a secondary fear, *kork-* encodes displeasure about the prospect of future events rather than getting frightened of a dangerous entity or person in the present time.

Different inflected forms of the same item may have different semantic preferences and prosodic properties (Baker, 2006 and Partington, 1998). For example, *kork* and *korkma* as positive and negative imperative forms respectively have different pragmatic motivations, hence prosodies different from that of kork- as a generic term. *Kork*! (fear!) as a positive imperative has the discourse prosody of *warning someone to be careful about something or someone*. It can function as a pragmatic device to *disillusion* someone about a threat. Korkma! (Don't fear/worry!) as a negative imperative has a discourse prosody of *reassuring someone who fears* or *will fear* when they are exposed to something. *Korkma* can connote the speaker's attempt to convince the addressee of the triviality of a threat. Another form, *kork-acak* with a future suffix has a semantic aura of *unnecessity of fearing*. Both *korkma* and *korkacak* have the similar prosody of *underestimating a fear source and encouraging*.

4.1.6.4. Comparison of Turkish Fear Verbs in Terms of Their Cognitive Appraisal Patterns

Kork- and *tırs-* reflect the cognitive appraisal profile provided by Scherer (2001:115), which was shown in the relevant sections about *kork-* and *tırs-*. The only difference is that while for *kork-* stimulus evaluation check ADJUSTMENT is appraised to be *low*, it was found to be *high* for *tırs-* because when the trigger of *tırs-* is a human being, the experiencer succumbs to the new situation and yields to the antagonist. This can be regarded as *having to ADJUST to the new situation*, though unwillingly, out of the low coping potential felt by the emoter of *tırs-*. With the exception of this salient feature of *tırs-*, the cognitive appraisal patterns of *kork-* and *tırs-* are the same. However, when *kork-* expresses secondary fears – worry about future contingencies – its appraisal pattern is almost the same as the one provided for worry/anxiety by Scherer (2001).

Compared to the appraisal pattern of *kork-*, *ürk-* has a different appraisal profile. When it refers to *ürk* for humans, it highly corroborates Scherer's (2001:114) appraisal pattern for worry/anxiety, not fear. As for *ürk-* for animal fear, it expresses acute fear evoked by perhaps trivial (traces of) threats. The cognitive appraisal pattern for *ürk-* for animals is highly similar to that of *kork-* (to fear) with three differences in stimulus evaluation checks. Detailed information about the appraisal patterns for different subconstruals of *ürk-* can be seen in the relevant section of *ürk-*.

Table 29. Comparison of cognitive appraisal patterns for Turkish fear verbs of subjective experience

Stimulus Evaluation Checks (SECs)	**Fear-1 (*Kork*-primary Fear)**	***Fear-2 (Kork*-secondary fear, much more like *worry*)**	**Tırs-1** Fear+flight	**Tırs-2** Fear+yield	**Ürk- 1** Human, Indirect Trigger	**Ürk-2** Human, Uncanny Fear	**Ürk-3** Animal Spook/shy	**Ürk-4** Economy, Capital Flight
RELEVANCE								
Novelty								
Suddenness	high	**low**	high	high	**low**	high	high	high
Familiarity	low	**open**	low	low	**open**	**very low**	**open**	**open**
Predictability	low	**open**	low	low	low	**very low**	low	low
Intrinsic pleasantness	low	**open**	low	low	**open**	**very low**	low	low
Goal/need relevance	high	**medium**	high	high	**medium**	high	high	high
IMPLICATIONS								
Cause: agent	other/nature	other/nat.	other/nat.	other/nat.	other/nat.	other/nat.	other/nat.	other/nat.
Cause: motive	open*	open*	open	open	open*	open*	open*	open*
Outcome probability	high	**medium**	high	high	**medium**	**open**	**open**	high
Discrepancy from expectation	dissonant	**open**	dissonant	dissonant	**open**	dissonant	dissonant	dissonant
Conduciveness	obstruct	obstruct	obstruct	obstruct	obstruct	obstruct	obstruct	obstruct
Urgency	very high	**medium**	very high	very high	**medium**	very high	very high	very high
COPING POTENTIAL								
Control	open	open	open	open	open	**very low**	open	**low**
Power	very low	**low**	very low	very low	**low**	very low	very low	**low**
Adjustment	low	**medium**	low	**high**	**medium**	**very low**	**very low**	**very low**
NORMATIVE SIGNIFICANCE								
External	open	open	open	open	open	open	open	open
Internal	open	open	open	open	open	open	open	open

*The evaluation "open" means that different appraisal results are compatible with the emotion in terms of that stimulus check or the check is irrelevant for that emotion compared to other emotions for which the same criteria of cognitive appraisal checks above are applied.

As for the lexical items that express physiological responses, namely *irkil-* and *ürper-*, they do not have distinct cognitive appraisal patterns because they are not emotions. *İrkil-*, as a startle reaction to a sudden, usually unfamiliar stimulus, can be placed in the **relevance** part of appraisal of emotions (Scherer, 2001). *İrkil-* (startle reflex) is a pre-emotion, to be followed by fear or surprise type emotions. *Ürper-* (to get the shivers/goosebumps) is a post-emotion reflex, to be commonly evoked in response to fear or cold. *Ürper-* occurs after the cognitive appraisal has been completed and fear has occurred; therefore, *ürper-* can be placed after the fear column, outside the following table.

Table 30. Cognitive appraisal pattern for emotions – comparison of *kork-*, *irkil-* and *ürper-*

Stimulus Evaluation Checks (SECs)	**Korku, kork- (fear)**	***İrkil- (startle)***	***Ürper- (get the shivers / goosebumps)***
RELEVANCE			
Novelty			
Suddenness	high	**very high**	**FEAR**
Familiarity	low	**open**	
Predictability	low	low	
Intrinsic pleasantness	low	**open**	
Goal/need relevance	high	**open**	
IMPLICATIONS			**COLD**
Cause: agent	other/nature	other/nat.	
Cause: motive	open*	open	
Outcome probability	high	**open**	
Discrepancy from expectation	dissonant	**open**	
Conduciveness	obstruct	**open**	
Urgency	very high	**open**	**SURPRISE**
COPING POTENTIAL			
Control	open	open	
Power	very low	**open**	
Adjustment	low	**open**	
NORMATIVE SIGNIFICANCE			
External	open	open	
Internal	open	open	**ETC.**
			ÜRPER- (Get the shivers / goosebumps)

irkil — ensuing emotion

*The evaluation "open" means that different appraisal results are compatible with the emotion in terms of that stimulus check or the check is irrelevant for that emotion compared to other emotions for which the same criteria of cognitive appraisal checks above are applied.

4.1.6.5. Conclusion

Through our corpus (the TNC) analyses of the concordances of the Turkish fear concepts (kork-, tırs-, ürk-, irkil-, and ürper-) that are restricted to subjective experience of fear, we have gained valuable insights into their lexical profiles and cognitive appraisal patterns. Based on Sinclair's (1996, 1998, 2004) and Stubbs' works (2002a), a "*model of extended lexical units*" that involve "successive analysis of collocations, colligations, semantic preferences and discourse (semantic) prosodies" (McEnery and Hardie, 2012:132) was used to see through each item's idiosyncratic properties and distinct meanings. We added to the lexical profiling the parameter of *the profile of cognitive appraisal pattern* for each fear verb within the framework of Scherer's stimulus evaluation checks for emotions (1984, 1987, 1993, 1997, 1999, 2000 and 2001). We have often associated our corpus observations on each fear item with cognitive, behavioural, and physiological aspects of the emotion of fear.

Our study revealed that each fear verb has its own behavioural patterns in terms of colligational and collocational tendencies. In some cases we observed that not only collocational but also colligational features reflect different meanings and pragmatic motivations such as *kork-ma* (negative imperative), and *kork-acak* (future suffix) both of which imply the unnecessity of fearing, or underestimation of a threat. Similarly, zero colligation on *kork-* (to fear), that is, *kork!* (imperative form) means "be careful/cautious about" someone or something introduced as (or as if) a threat by the speaker. In relevant sections about the lexical profiling of each fear verb, many hidden collocative meanings, colligation-dependent meanings, and figurative extensions (e.g. extension of ürk- to people and business world) became clear thanks to the concordance citations of the TNC, which represents the mental models of the Turkish speech community. The concordance analyses also revealed each fear verb's semantic preferences and discourse prosodies that can only be identified from a corpus. The lexical profiling of each fear verb also allowed us to compare their cognitive appraisal profiles with the one that Scherer (2001) provided for the emotion of fear and sometimes the emotion of worry/anxiety. Both the central meanings of lexical items themselves and secondary meanings of the same item have become clear enough to be located on the (fear) continuum from the extreme of simple worry to the extreme of intense fear, dread.

In the relevant sections about the lexical profiling of each verb, one can find what emotion antecedents/emotion sources invoke the affective state expressed by the verb, what cognitive processes the emoter goes through, how intense the fear felt is, what action tendencies the experiencer displays, whether a certain collocative meaning can also be expressed by another near synonym, and what specific semantic preferences and discourse prosodies each verb has. In the comparison section above, the Turkish fear verbs that we

studied were compared in terms of the criteria of lexical profiling and cognitive appraisal patterns. Lastly, our findings about the conceptual contents and behavioural patterns of the fear verbs have demonstrated that the items are far from intersubstitutability. Then it is absolutely wrong that some Turkish lexicographers present these items as synonyms or near synonyms. As Ersoylu (2011:255) states, rather than preparing dictionaries of concepts under the name of "dictionary of synonyms", corpus-driven analyses should be made so as to identify context-dependent semantic and pragmatic differences of seemingly synonymous lexical items. Corpora are representative of mental models of speech communities and waiting for linguists to dig through them to see what cannot be known merely by intuition.

4.2. Metaphorical And Metonymic Profiles Of Turkish Idioms Of Fear

4.2.1. Introduction

Kövecses and Szabó (1996:326) provide what they claim to be the most common definition of *idioms* as "linguistic expressions whose overall meaning cannot be predicted from the meanings of the constituent parts." Langlotz (2006) and Ayto (2006:518, cited in Baş, 2015: 21) seem to focus on the conventionality and institutionalisation of idioms in their definitions. Langlotz defines an idiom as "an institutionalized construction that is composed of two or more lexical items and has the composite structure of a phrase or a semi-clause which may feature constructional idiosyncrasy" (Langlotz, 2006:5).

Traditionally regarded as frozen and unanalysable phrases as can be understood from such definitions as above, idioms are evaluated differently by cognitive linguists studying on the conceptual motivations underlying them (Kövecses 1990, 1995, 1998, 2000; Kövecses and Szabó, 1996; Langlotz, 2006; Ansah, 2010; Maalej, 2007; Yu, 2008; Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2005, to cite a few). They do not consider idioms as frozen semantic units with arbitrary meanings; on the contrary, they argue that idioms are motivated by conceptual metaphors, metonymies and conventional knowledge. For instance, Langlotz (2006:121) suggests:

> … psychological experiments prove conceptual metaphors to be one central cognitive parameter for the motivation of semantic regularities in idioms. Conceptual metaphors can thus be assumed to work as extensive and coherent conceptual backgrounds underlying and shaping the internal semantic structure of idioms.

Likewise, Kövecses and Szabó (1996), who think that most idioms are based on conceptual metaphors and metonymies, state that "the meaning of many idioms appears to be motivated rather than arbitrary in the sense that there are cognitive mechanisms, such as

metaphor, metonymy, and conventional knowledge, that link literal meanings to figurative idiomatic meanings" (ibid:351). Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005) also think that idioms are motivated language chunks and draw our particular attention to the role of image component in rendering an idiom transparent as well as conceptual metaphors and metonymies.

As one of the basic emotions, the embodiment and conceptualisation of fear will reflect universal similarities because humans have the same bodies regardless of their nationalities or cultures and experience the same physiological and psychological effects of fear. However, when fear expressions are compared, some cultures profile certain aspects of fear with partial conceptual mappings, while others use a different cultural filter and can display different figurative conceptualisations. As in other cultures, Turkish fear idioms naturally manifest and conceptualise the embodiment process inevitably involved in the subjective experience of fear. Ansah (2010:3) mentions that there are two competing arguments as to the conceptualisation of emotions. The first argument is that it is the same across cultures, that is, it is universal, because it is grounded in human embodied cognition. The second argument holds that conceptualisation of emotions is culture specific, reflecting the social constructive perspective (Prinz, 2004 and Averill, 1980) that emotion concepts are culturally constructed, not biologically evolved. The third argument – the cultural embodied prototype theory (Kövecses, 2000, 2005; Maalej, 2007; Yu, 2008) – is hybrid in that "the conceptualisations of emotion concepts across cultures may be universal and culture-specific at the same time" (Ansah, 2010:3). Ansah states that "different cultures attach different cultural salience specific realisations, elaborations or construals to these near-universal metaphors" (ibid:5).

Lexical profiles of the items focussed in our dissertation which express subjective experience of fear in Turkish [*kork-* (fear), *tırs-* (fear, informal), *ürk-* (spook/shy), *irkil-* (startle) and *ürper-* (get goosebumps/shivers)] reflect certain aspects of the fear event. What is missing or incomplete in the lexical profiles of these concepts from the overall picture about the fear episode is how the physiological and psychological effects and intensity of fear are conceptualised in Turkish culture. This gap is rightly and properly filled by somatic fear idioms. Almost all of the fear idioms in Turkish that we analysed in our study express somatic conceptualisation of acute fear situations. Owing to the semantic contribution of idioms, lexically inexpressible aspects of the emotion of fear such as its intensity or the body part culturally thought to be affected by fear become more concrete. It is possible to literally say "X was in extreme fear" to describe the high intensity of X's fear. On the other hand, the Turkish idiom "X'in ödü patladı" (Literally, "X's gallbladder has ruptured") reflects a culturally schematised embodiment of extreme fear because, as Dinçer (2017:779) states, "*öd*" (gallbladder) metonymically stands for *courage* in Turkish culture (as in Chinese culture, Yu, 2003), so its sudden rupture implies that the emoter has lost all their courage, which directly

expresses acute fear. The idiom conceptualises fears activated by sudden, unexpected threats and those with high intensities.

4.2.2. Conceptual Metaphors and Metonymies about Fear

It is a universal fact that emotion concepts and somatic idioms that display physiological, psychological and behavioural effects of emotions are metaphorically structured and understood (Esenova, 2011). Kövecses (1990:205) states that "metaphor's role is that of creating the richness of emotion concepts." Emotion metaphors including fear metaphors motivating Turkish idioms have a common feature, which Asrepjan (1997:180) summarizes as "all emotion metaphors have the same basic structure: they liken a certain psychological state (feeling) to a certain physiological state (sensation) or to another material phenomenon." Kövecses (2008:386) associates emotion metaphors with causes and effects, suggesting that there is only one generic metaphor for emotions including fear: EMOTIONS ARE FORCES (whose effects are felt on the body) and many emotions are just instantiations of this superordinate metaphor. Thus somatic conceptualisation of idioms in Turkish is not arbitrary. Kövecses (2010) ranks the HUMAN BODY first among the most common source domains and quite interestingly, EMOTION ranks the first among the most common target domains which need to be structured and comprehended through metaphor. Hence, the majority of fear idioms in Turkish are body-part based –somatically motivated.

From Kövecses (1990, 2000, 2010), Esenova (2011), Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) and Ansah (2011), it can be concluded that the following conceptual metaphors underlie fear expressions: FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER; FEAR IS A VICIOUS (or HIDDEN) ENEMY (HUMAN or ANIMAL); FEAR IS A TORMENTOR; FEAR IS AN ILLNESS; FEAR IS A SUPERNATURAL BEING (GHOST etc.); FEAR IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE); FEAR (DANGER) IS A BURDEN; FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE (WIND, STORM, FLOOD, etc.); FEAR IS A (SOCIAL) SUPERIOR; FEAR IS INSANITY; THE SUBJECT OF FEAR IS A DIVIDED SELF; FEAR IS COLD; FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER (not necessarily a fluid) ; FEAR IS A CHILD; FEAR IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL; FEAR IS A PLANT and FEAR IS A POSSESSED OBJECT.

Metonymy is another figurative trope to refer to an entity indirectly by replacing the target entity with a vehicle entity in the same conceptual domain or idealised cognitive model, with the human body being the common domain for emotion. Although both structure thoughts through mappings, metaphor and metonymy differ in the type of mental mapping involved (Deignan, 1997:51). Metaphoric mappings depend on a similarity, perceived resemblance or correlations between two separate, distant, unrelated entities, whereas metonymic mappings are between two entities which are essentially part of a single domain (Knowless and Moon, 2016:41). Regarding conceptual metonymies motivating emotion concepts and idioms, Oster

(2008:337) states that conceptual metonymy occurs when the physiological effects or behavioural reactions associated with an emotion are used to represent the emotion. As a negative basic emotion, fear has the same physiological effects on the human body across cultures. They are *drop in body temperature*, *blood leaving face*, *sweat*, *dryness of mouth*, *increased pulse* (heart beating) *rate*, *high blood pressure*, *lapses of heartbeat, inability to move, think, or act* etc. (Ding, 2012:2389). These bodily symptoms motivate certain metonymic mappings between fear and its physical effects. Thus, Kövecses, defining fear as "a dangerous situation accompanied by a set of physiological and behavioural reactions that typically end in flight" (1990:69), postulates two metonymic principles motivating the conceptual metonymies for emotions including fear: 1) THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION (FEAR) STAND FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR), 2) THE BEHAVIOURAL REACTIONS OF AN EMOTION (FEAR) STAND FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR). Thus, a physical reaction caused by fear stands for the whole of the emotion fear (Athanasiadou, 1998) in such expressions as 'he *trembled* at the sight of the fierce dog' 'she was *shaking*, confronted with a bear' etc. Based on the physical effects and behavioural reactions accompanying fear, metonymic conceptualisation of fear in English is provided in Kövecses's work *Emotion Concepts* (1990:70-73). The following source domains conceptually stand for fear: PHYSICAL AGITATION (shaking, trembling, quivering etc.), INCREASE IN HEART RATE, LAPSES IN HEARTBEAT, BLOOD LEAVES FACE, SKIN SHRINKS, HAIR STRAIGHTENS OUT, INABILITY TO MOVE, DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE, INABILITY TO BREATHE, INABILITY TO SPEAK, INABILITY TO THINK, (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS OR BLADDER, SWEATING, NERVOUSNESS IN THE STOMACH, DRYNESS IN THE MOUTH, SCREAMING, WAYS OF LOOKING, STARTLE and FLIGHT.

4.2.3. Metaphoric and Metonymic Motivations Underlying Turkish Idioms of Fear

Our approach to the cognitive analysis of the Turkish fear idioms draws upon the role of cultural embodiment of idioms as well as the physiological one. Cognitive conceptualisation of emotional experiences through metaphors and metonymies passes through the cultural filter; consequently, certain aspects of emotions are partially mapped onto somatic targets. Kövecses (2000, 2005), Yu (2008) and Maalej (2007) are among the most salient linguists who repeatedly emphasize the role of culture in metaphoric and metonymic conceptualisation of emotional experience. Yu (2008:249) makes the following point on the issue:

> … for conceptual metaphors, body is a source, whereas culture is a filter. That is, while body is a potentially universal source domain from which bodily-based metaphors emerge, cultures serve as a filter that only allows certain bodily experiences to pass through so that they can be mapped onto certain target-domain concepts.

Maalej (2007), who also stresses the significant role of culture, analyses the embodiment of fear expressions in Tunisian Arabic under three headings: 1) Physiologically realistic expressions, 2) Culturally schematized expressions, and 3) Culturally selective expressions. The first group of expressions directly profile the somatic effects of acute fear situations. The second group have nothing to do with the real physiological effects of fear, but reflect culturally imagined scenarios in which a body part is culturally imagined to be affected by fear although it is not. The last type of expressions involve a body part really affected by acute fear but a culture specific category is used to express the physiological effect on the part concerned. For example, "face cottoning" corresponds to "face going pale/white" which is a physiological index of fear, with the former being a culturally constructed category that reflects the metonymy BLOOD LEAVING FACE for fear.

We compiled Turkish idioms about fear from the idiom dictionaries by Aksoy (1995), Parlatır (2008) and Yurtbaşı (2013). We also referred to the TDK online dictionary for proverbs and idioms. The study covers conceptual metaphors, metonymies, image component and conventional knowledge that motivate the creation and comprehension of the fear idioms. The idioms of our selection are largely analysed on the basis of Maalej's (2007) classification of fear expressions as is mentioned above.

4.2.3.1. Physiologically Grounded Idioms: Physiologically Realistic Expressions and Culturally Selective Expressions

Although Maalej (2007) studied *physiologically realistic expressions* and *culturally selective expressions* separately, we decided to combine the two under the overarching classification *physiologically grounded fear idioms* for practical reasons because each classification is about physical effects of fear. However, we deem it right to summarise below how Maalej (2007) describes *physiologically realistic expressions* and *culturally selective expressions*.

Physiologically realistic expressions refer to cases in which language profiles the physiologically embodied construals, usually via metonymy (Maalej, 2007:92). Lexical items which denote the effects of fear on the body are in this group (i.e. shake, quake, tremble, shiver, disrupted breathing and heartbeat etc.). Rather than lexical items in the brackets, idiomatic phrases are to be focussed with respect to whether any idioms directly profile the effects of fear on a body part. Any conceptual metaphors and metonymies that motivate physiological linguistic metaphors in idioms can also be subsumed under Apresjan's (1997:180-181) classification of *physiological metaphors*.

Culturally selective expressions are also grounded in physiological effects of fear on body parts. Nevertheless, culturally selective expressions (i.e. idioms in our case) involve culture

specific categories to express a real physiological effect of fear. For example, going pale or white is an effect of fear on the face, but the way this is expressed in Tunisian Arabic sentences "his face turned the colour of the hull of a grain of wheat out of fright" or "his face turned [the colour] cotton out of fright" displays culture-specific categories like "the hull of a grain of wheat" and "cotton" (Maalej, 2007:98).

Below in Table 31 are *physiologically grounded idioms* expressing fear in Turkish with notes about their literal translations, intended meanings (English renditions) and special idiomatic meanings. The table is followed by explications of each idiom in terms of cognitive motivations such as figurative and image-schematic ones.

Table 31. Physiologically grounded idioms of fear in Turkish

Idiomatic Expression	**Literal Meaning for Turkish**	**The English Rendition**	**Special Idiomatic Meaning**
1.Tüyleri ürpermek	Of one's feathers, to shiver	To get goose bumps out of fright	To fear intensely
2.Tepeden tırnağa ürpermek	To shiver/chill from top to nail	To shiver from head to toes	To fear intensely
3.Tüyleri diken diken olmak	Of one's feathers, to become thorns	To get goose bumps out of fright	To fear intensely
4.Eli ayağı buz kesilmek	Of one's hands and feet, to become ice-frozen	To become immobile or frozen out of fright	To fear intensely
5. Beti benzi atmak/uçmak/kül kesilmek / kireç kesilmek	Of one's face, to throw (change suddenly)/to fly / to turn ash-colour / to turn lime-colour	To become pale in the face suddenly; of face colour to blanch/whiten suddenly out of fear	To fear intensely
6. Rengi atmak	Of one's colour (of face) to throw	To become pale in the face suddenly	To fear intensely
7. Kaskatı kesilmek	To be cut absolutely rigid	To become immobile/frozen out of fright	To fear intensely
8.Dili dolaşmak/ tutulmak	Of one's tongue, to get tangled/stuck	To become temporarily speechless	To fear intensely
9.Nutku tutulmak	Of one's speech, to be stuck	To become temporarily speechless	To fear intensely
10.Altına etmek	To urinate or shit under oneself	To urinate or shit out of fear	To fear intensely

As can be seen from the table, the fear idioms usually conceptualise the emoter's sudden and intense fear. In 1, *tüyleri ürpermek* (Literally, of feathers to shiver, rise. It means "to get goose bumps") refers to the pilomotor reflex that causes muscle contractions and hair elevations, which made our much hairy ancestors appear bigger and scarier against predators (Lynch, 2011:1). It was also the body's attempt to keep warm against cold weather. The idiom

connotes both cold and fear and is motivated by FEAR IS COLD. Because humans do not have *tüy* (feathers) like animals, *tüyler* metonymically stands for *hairs* on our skin and the idiom is an instantiation of the conceptual metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS, because the idiom uses the lexis of the physiology of animals. The master metonymy for emotions THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION (FEAR) STAND FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR) is applicable to the idiom in that in case of fear situations HAIR STRAIGHTENS OUT stands for fear (Kövecses, 1990:71). When one experiences sudden uncanny fear or intense fear, piloerection (the rising of hair) occurs, so *tüyleri ürpermek*, as a physiological effect of fear, is used to conceptualise fear metonymically.

In 2, *tepeden tırnağa ürpermek* (İng. to shiver from head to toes) refers to a strong fear experience when the whole body has shivers, or chilly electrifications. Image-schematic contribution in the idiom is the use of *tepe* (top = the uppermost of the *head*) and *tırnak* (*nail/ toe,* the lowest body part) in such a way that the shivering involves a systemic electrifications or tremors – a completely hair-raising effect all over the body. Although it is an example of the conceptual metaphor FEAR IS COLD since *ürpermek* is a shared lexim to metaphorically conceptualise fear and cold, the idiom more often connotes a sudden intense fear. The conceptual metonymy THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION (FEAR) STAND FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR) also underlies this idiom. The subtype of this overall metonymy for this idiom is PHYSICAL AGITATION STANDS FOR FEAR. *Tepe* (top = the uppermost of the *head*) and *tırnak* (*toe,* the lowest body part) are culturally chosen concepts to imply that the whole body between them is physiologically affected by fear. That is similar to English conceptualisation of *send shivers down the spine*.

In 3, *tüyleri diken diken olmak* (lit.of one's feathers, to become thorn-like) is similar to the first idiom *tüyleri ürpermek*. The fundamental metaphoric and metonymic motivation is the same; FEAR IS COLD and THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION (FEAR) STAND FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR), respectively. *Tüyler* (feathers) metonymically stands for *hair* as part of the metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS. *Diken diken olmak* (lit, to become *thorn*-like) adds a culture-specific category to the physiological effect of piloerection (hair rising). The use of *diken* (thorn) to conceptualise the erection of hairs on the skin as a result of muscle contraction is specific to Turkish culture. Therefore, it is a *culturally selective expression* (Maalej, 2007) to refer to a real physiological effect of fear – hair rising. The first three idioms in the table about skin contractions and hair-rising seem to be near synonyms. However, as Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005:21) argue, it is necessary to consider the image-schematic component to make a finely grained analysis of near-synonymous idioms. Longlotz (2006) also encourages us to analyse conceptual constituents of an idiom to render it transparent, thus arguing that some idioms are semantically decomposable. For example, the idiom *tüyleri diken diken olmak* (lit. *of feathers*/*hairs* to become *thorn*-like) displays the hair raising fear event most vividly thanks to

the concept *diken,* comparing erected hairs to thorns. The image of thorns is taken from the domain of plants and suggests the metaphor HUMANS ARE PLANTS (Sylwia, 2016; Kövecses, 2010) because human *hairs* (Turkish, *kıllar*), which are replaced metonymically by *feathers* (Turkish, *tüyler*) in the idiom, are conceptualised as *thorns* (Turkish, *dikenler*), which are hard and upright parts of some plants. It is a culture specific and vivid example of the metonymy HAIR STRAIGHTENS OUT stands for fear (Kövecses, 1990:71).

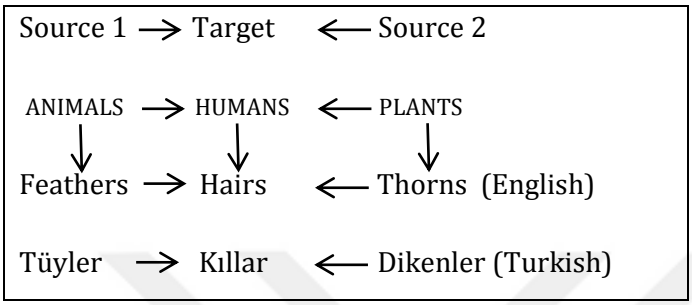

Figure 7. The cognitive motivation behind the idiom *tüyleri diken diken olmak*.

As can be seen in the figure, Target (humans, for *hairs*) has mappings both with Source 1 and Source 2. Both "feathers" from the source ANIMALS and "*thorns*" from the source PLANTS are used to refer to the erection of "*hairs"* in humans as part of the horripilation reaction in acute fear. The resultant conceptualisation is humans' hair becoming thorn-like, erect, rigid and hard as a reaction to a proximal, sudden and intense stimulus.

In 4, *eli ayağı buz kesilmek* (of one's hands and feet to become ice-frozen) is an instantiation of the metonymy DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE stands for fear. The idiom is also an example of the conceptual metaphor FEAR IS COLD because especially cold fingers are among the symptoms of fear (Ding, 2012:2389). "Cold feet" and "icy fingers" seem to occur in English culture to conceptualise an intense fear as instantiations of the metonymy DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE STANDS FOR FEAR (Kövecses, 1990:72).

In 5, *beti benzi atmak / uçmak / kül kesilmek / kireç kesilmek* corresponds to facial index of fear (Ortony and Turner, 1990; Ekman 1992, 1993; Ekman et al., 1980). The words *beti benzi* together refers to one' face and *atmak* and *uçmak* are two verbs that suggest sudden change of colour – going pale or blanching out of fear. *Kül kesilmek* (Eng. turn ash-like in colour) and *kireç kesilmek* (become lime-like in colour) also suggest the fear indicator of *blood leaving face* in acute fear. This effect is of course indicative of the master metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES, whose effects cause the physiological changes in the emoter (Kövecses, 2008:386). The Turkish idiom in 5 in the table above, which is lexically variable after the first two words *beti benzi*, is an instantiation of the conceptual metonymy BLOOD LEAVES FACE stands for fear. This metonymy, though motivated by universal physiology of fear, is instantiated with different lexical items

across cultures. Maalej (2007:98) says that Tunisian Arabic conceptualises fear in the face with words like *sfaar* (turn yellow, like the hull of a grain of wheat) and *cottoning* (turn white) and name these expressions *culturally selective expressions* (for the universal blanching in the face in fear). Then Turkish culture's use of *kül* (ash) and *kireç* (lime) to describe the fear index of face *going pale* or *blanching* can be considered *culturally selective expressions of Turkish culture.*

In 6, *rengi atmak* (of one's colour to change) also connotes a sudden change of colour in the face, which occurs in case of sudden fear. It is also motivated by the same metonymy and metaphor mentioned in the above paragraph. Nevertheless, the whitening that occurs on the face when one fears is not mentioned but implicit in the idiom and clear from our conventional knowledge.

In 7, kaskatı kesilmek (to become absolutely rigid or frozen) is an index of fear listed as freezing by Shaver et al. (2001:44) and *rigid in form* by Izard (1977:365). *Kaskatı kesilmek* corresponds to INABILITY TO MOVE in Kövecses' metonymy list (1990:71). "*Katı*" means *rigid* or *hard* in the first word and the preceding "*kas*" in "*kaskatı*" is an intensifier for emphatic reduplication, which connotes that the emoter in strong fear becomes *absolutely frozen.* This shows how big a force it is that an intense fear exerts on the body and the idiom is a perfect example of the master metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES. Kövecses (1990:71) argues that this frozenness is a joint result of the metonymies DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE and INABILITY TO MOVE with the former suggesting the metaphor FEAR IS COLD as well. Just as something becoming frozen at a very low temperature also gets rigid, someone fearing extremely becomes frozen and rigid.

In 8, *dili dolaşmak / tutulmak* (Lit. of one's tongue to get entangled/stuck) refers to the situation in which the experiencer of a strong fear becomes temporarily speechless. As Maalej (2005:95) states, hyperbole is used to enhance the cultural conceptualisation of fear. That is, a tongue is not literally entangled (Turkish, *dolaş-*) in actual terms in case of an intense fear situation, but our culture describes a fearful person's inability to speak properly in this way. Similarly, a tongue is not literally stuck (Turkish, *tutul-*). What happens is that one cannot use one's tongue to speak properly as a result of physiological effects of fear or cognitive disruption. This idiom is motivated by the metonymy INABILITY TO SPEAK stands for fear. It also suggests the disruptive force that acute fear exerts on the emoter, thus naturally exemplifying the master metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES.

In 9, *nutku tutulmak* (Lit. of one's speech to be stuck), in which the first word means *speech* in Arabic, also instantiates the conceptual metonymy INABILITY TO SPEAK and the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES. Although *dili dolaşmak/tutulmak* and *nutku tutulmak* can be subsumed under the same conceptual metonymy and metaphor as mentioned in the previous sentence and can be considered near-synonymous idioms, we need to look at

their image-schematic components to make a finely grained analysis (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen, 2005:21). Image-schematically, a tongue entangled like threads or a tongue stuck in dili dolaşmak/tutulmak gives us a more vivid description of the inability to speak compared to nutku tutulmak, which suggests that one's speech becomes discontinuous or stuck with no body part like tongue occurring in the idiom.

In *10, altına etmek (lit. do (urinate or shit) under oneself)* has the composite meaning to pass urine or shit out of fear. In intense fear situations people are known to lose control of their bowels and urinary tracks with the result that they pass urine or shit. The idiom is an instantiation of the conceptual metonymy (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS OR BLADDER. Whether or not the emoter really urinates or shits as a possible physiological symptom of strong fears, this idiom is often metaphorically used to describe the high intensity of fear. Involuntary release of bowels and bladder as profiled in the metonymy is motivated by the conceptual metaphor EMOTION IS PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER (Kövecses, 2000:65), as a specific-level of the master metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES. The metaphor EMOTION IS PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER as applied to the idiom *altına etmek* has the mappings that emotion is fear; pressure is the high intensity of fear; and container is the human body.

4.2.3.2. Culturally Schematized Expressions

In fear idioms that can be subsumed under this classification, idioms involve a body part which is not physiologically affected by fear, but culturally imagined to be so. In other words, "culturally schematized expressions of fear in T. Arabic describe what is schematically imagined to occur to the parts of the body as a result of fear" as Maalej (2007:96) says. Therefore, idioms in this group will manifest an imagined scenario of cultural embodiment. For example, in T. Arabic, "my heart fell" (Turkish, "yüreğim düştü") is not motivated by a physiological fact about the effects of fear; it is something culturally constructed. That is, "the heart's falling" is not among the somatic effects of acute fear states. Maalej (2007:96) quotes Palmer (1996:36) as saying "cultural linguistics is primarily concerned not with how people talk about objective reality, but with how they talk about the world that they themselves imagine." In the same vein, all the Turkish idioms below conceptualise what is culturally imagined to occur to the emoter in acute fear situations rather than what really occurs to them.

Table 32. Culturally schematized Turkish idioms of fear

Idiomatic Expression	**Literal Meaning for Turkish**	**The English Rendition**	**Special Idiomatic Meaning**
1.Kan kaşanmak*	To urinate blood	To be frightened enough to lose control of one's urinary track	To fear intensely
2.Aklı başından gitmek	Of one's mind, to go out of the head	To become unable to think properly out of fear	To fear intensely
3.Aklı çıkmak	Of one's mind, to go out	To lose mental capabilities out of fear	To fear intensely
4.Aklı bokuna karışmak	Of one's mind, to flow into one's faeces	To lose mental capabilities out of fear	To fear intensely
5.Yüreği titremek	Of one's heart, to tremble	Of one's heartbeat to quicken suddenly in strong fear	To fear intensely
6.Yüreği ağzına gelmek	Of one's heart, to come to their mouth	Of the heart to beat as wildly as if to ascend to the mouth in extreme fear.	To fear intensely
7.Dizinin bağı çözülmek	Of one's knees' ligaments, to get loose	Of one's knees to turn to jelly; to quake in terror	To fear intensely
8.Korkudan çıldırmak	To go insane out of fear	To go insane out of fear	To fear intensely
9.Ödü patlamak / kopmak	Of one's gallbladder, to rupture / split off	To feel terribly frightened suddenly	To fear intensely
10.Ödü bokuna karışmak	Of one's gallbladder/bile, to flow into one's faeces	To feel terribly frightened suddenly	To fear intensely
11.Dehşete düşmek/kapılmak	To fall into / to be caught in terror/horror	To be intensely terrified or horrified	To fear intensely
12.Kaçacak delik aramak	To look for a hole to flee into	To desperately look for a way to escape from a dreadful threat	To fear intensely
13.Süt dökmüş kedi gibi olmak	To become like a cat that has spilled milk	To fear to speak or act as one is guilty	To feel frightened and guilty
14.Ecel teri dökmek	to drop sweat of death	To sweat bullets (of fear); to experience intense, extreme fear for one's life	To fear intensely

*This idiom describes the ethological reaction of urinating blood when an animal is exposed to a huge burden, beyond its normal capacity of carrying. (See *"Kan Kaşanmak" Deyimi Üzerine*, Yaşar ŞİMŞEK (2013)

In 1, *kan kaşanmak* (to urinate blood) was originally used to refer to a beast of burden urinating blood under the influence of too heavy loads, but over time it began to mean "to experience extreme fear" by metaphoric extension (Şimşek, 2013:2544). Şimşek states that the idiom, which was often used in Old Anatolian Turkish, survives in Azerbaijan and Anatolian dialects. From a cognitive view, the idiom is motivated by the ethology based metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS because it was originally used to describe especially horses and donkeys' inability to carry unmercifully loaded heavy burdens, which resulted in the beast of burden's urinating blood. The idiom's use for humans connotes very intense fears or terror – they are almost scared to death and lose control of their urinary tracks. Of course, humans are not expected to urinate blood as it is connoted about animals, but unbearable burdens which cause the animal

to urinate blood are correlated with the psychophysiological pressure that strong fears exert on humans. The idiom reflects the conceptual metonymies INABILITY TO MOVE and (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS OR BLADDER. Not only does the overloaded animal find it hard to move but it also loses its control over its bladder and urinates. Likewise, FEAR IS A BURDEN (as part of the master metaphor EMOTIONS (FEAR) ARE FORCES) underlies the idiom describing a human in extreme fear urinating as a physiological effect. However, humans do not actually urinate blood like beasts of burden, so it is culturally schematised as such to express strong fears.

In 2, *aklı başından gitmek* (of one's mind, to leave one's head) is also a culturally schematised expression because a human's mind does not actually leave their head as a result of extreme fright. It is motivated by the metonymy INABILITY TO THINK STANDS FOR FEAR, which suggests the physiological effect of cognitive disruption experienced in case of strong fear situations. The idiom makes use of the schemas of CONTAINER (baş = head) and FORCE. "*Akıl*" (the mind) is forced to leave the head under the influence of the strong fear, which is an instantiation of the EMOTIONS ARE FORCES metaphor. It is also motivated by the conceptual metaphor THE MIND IS AN ENTITY (Lakoff and Johsnon, 1980). It is understood as if it were a tangible entity that can move out of the head. Furthermore, the resultant head without mind is suggestive of temporary insanity, thus also suggesting the metaphor FEAR IS INSANITY.

In 3, *aklı çıkmak* (of one's mind, to go out) is similar to the previous idiom. For a person in extreme fright, it is culturally schematised that their mind is understood to go out of their head (Turkish, *baş*) although *head* is an implicit constituent of the phrase. The idiom, just like the one above, is motivated by the schemas of CONTAINER (baş = head) and FORCE, the metonymy INABILITY TO THINK, and the conceptual metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES and FEAR IS INSANITY. The conceptual metaphor THE MIND IS AN ENTITY (Lakoff and Johsnon, 1980) can also be applied to describe the mind as an entity forced out of its container head under the influence of fear.

In 4, *aklı bokuna karışmak* (Lit. of one's mind, to flow into one's faeces) also focusses on the mind leaving the head. Even though in the previous two related idioms mind's whereabouts is not implied after it leaves the head, in this idiom the mind leaving the head is culturally schematised as flowing into one's faeces. The mind is conceptualised as a substance to mix with faeces. The idiom of course does not describe a physiological effect of fear because the mind is only culturally imagined to be a mobile entity flowing into one's faeces. According to the cultural scenario, the faeces that the mind flows into is also mobile as expressed by the metonymy (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS OR BLADDER STANDS FOR FEAR. The emoter in great fear of a proximal threat loses control of both their bowels and mind and they leave the body together as dictated by the force schema of fear (EMOTIONS ARE FORCES). The mind is conceptualised as an entity that can leave its location, which is an instantiation of the conceptual metaphor THE MIND IS AN ENTITY (Lakoff and Johsnon, 1980). The mind being out of its normal somatic location, a

temporary insanity is also visualised and the idiom activates the metaphor FEAR IS INSANITY. Under such traumatic fears, the emoter also loses their capacity of thinking and the resultant disrupted cognition suggests the metonymy INABILITY TO THINK stands for fear.

In 5, *yüreği titremek* (Lit. of one's heart, to tremble, to quake) is another Turkish idiom which reflects a culturally schematised embodiment. "*Yürek"* and *"kalp"* are both translated into English as "*heart."* However, they have rather different collocational patterns and are therefore often different units of meanings (Çetinkaya, 2007; Baş, 2015). *Yürek* (heart) in the idiom *yüreği titremek*, is associated with courage; it is culturally schematised as a CONTAINER in which COURAGE resides. As a result, people without *yürek* (heart) are conceptualised as cowards. Now let us look deeper into the image-schematic structure of the idiom *yüreği titremek*. Literally it means "*of one's heart to tremble* or *quake"*. Presumably, the emoter suddenly experiences such a strong fear that their *yürek* (heart), the container for courage in Turkish culture, begins to *quake* like our dear homes during an earthquake. The container for courage is under threat because any interference with this vital organ's rhythm is detrimental. The idiom connotes that an acute fear causes the heart to beat faster suddenly. Such an intense fright can be conceptualised as an enemy attacking the source of courage –*yürek*. The idiom is motivated by the conceptual metaphors FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER (HEART here) and FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY. The idiom is also an instantiation of the conceptual metonymy INCREASE IN HEART RATE FOR FEAR because trembling, quaking, quivering and shaking, all of which can be subsumed under the Turkish concept *titremek*, are the physical manifestations of acute fear, the idiom would normally be an example of the metonymy PHYSICAL AGITATION FOR FEAR. Nevertheless, in the idiom not the visible body or limbs but the unseen heart is conceptualised as trembling or shaking – which is of course not true. It is only culturally schematised thus. *Titremek* (tremble) as a constituent of the idiom is also a lexim from the temperature domain of COLD. Hence, the idiom can also be associated with the conceptual metaphor FEAR IS COLD.

In 6, we have another *yürek* (heart)-related idiom which reflects the embodiment of a cultural schema. *Yüreği ağzına gelmek* (Lit. of one's heart, to come to one's mouth) describes what is schematically imagined to occur to the heart during an acute fear event. This culturally imagined scenario is not restricted to the Turkish culture; similar idioms occur in Tunisian Arabic and English as well (Maalej, 2007:97). The idiom makes use of ascension (UP) schema with *yürek* (the heart) being dislocated and forced to go to the *mouth* (Turkish, *ağız*). This is not a physiological effect of fear, but "culturally imagined and constructed" in Maalej's (2007:97) terms. Because a force that can dislocate *yürek* (heart) and send it UP to the mouth is supposed to be very big considering a push upwards requires more energy, the particular fear felt by the emoter should be equally intense. The idiom is a good instantiation of the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES. While the metonymy INCREASE IN HEART RATE FOR FEAR for this idiom would

be physiologically real, the realistic increase in heart rate is culturally exaggerated to such an extent that it is profiled as if the quickening in the heartbeat were powerful enough to displace it and send it UP to the mouth.

In 7, *dizinin bağı çözülmek* (Lit. of the ligaments of one's knees, to get loose) corresponds to the English expression "of one's legs/knees to turn to jelly because one is frightened or ill." Fear as a force makes dysfunctional the knees which help people to move and stand stable. Image-schematically, the idiom reflects a cultural embodiment which conceptualises the effect of fear on the knees as follows: the ligaments of the knees of the experiencer of an intense fear, which should stay firmly interconnected become disconnected or loose. This makes the experiencer unstable because the knees should stay strong and healthily flexible for someone to stand and move properly. Someone in this situation also has to bend at the knees as they do when they have to under heavy loads. All in all, the idiom is an instantiation of the conceptual metaphor FEAR IS FORCE and its subtype FEAR IS BURDEN. The metonymic motivation behind the idiom is INABILITY TO MOVE STANDS FOR FEAR. In addition, when someone has a weakening illness, they feel knee joints as too powerless to keep standing erect and move properly; hence, the idiom is implicitly suggestive of the metaphor FEAR IS A DISEASE (Maalej, 2007:97). The situation of the knees described by the idiom is such that the *ligaments* (Turkish, *bağlar*) in the knee which keep the upper and lower legs together and in coordination *are untied* (Turkish, *çözülmek*) due to the force of strong fear and the knees become jelly. The knees in such a situation would also shake, so the idiom is also motivated by the general metonymy PHYSICAL AGITATION STANDS FOR FEAR.

In 8, *korkudan çıldırmak* (to go insane out of fear) reflects the conceptual metaphor FEAR IS INSANITY (Kövecses, 2000:23). The idiom profiles an acute fear situation in which the emoter is faced with a serious proximal danger and feels no coping potential as a result of their cognitive appraisal of the stimulus (Scherer, 1984, 1999, 2001). It is a fear index that "fear can cause thinking to be slow, narrow in scope, and rigid in form" (Izard, 1977:365), which means that cognitive disruptions occur to such an extent that one may behave like a mad person. The idiom does not necessarily mean that the experiencer of strong fear goes insane, though they may at times, but it alludes to the high intensity of the fear felt.

In 9, *ödü patlamak / kopmak* (Lit. of one's gallbladder to rupture/split off) often profiles a fear situation where one is terribly frightened by an especially sudden threat or danger. Gallbladder is not a body part that is listed as physiologically affected by fear, so the idiom is a product of a culturally schematised scenario. The idiom "X'in ödü patladı" (Literally, "X's gallbladder ruptured") expresses the experience of extreme fear because "öd" (gallbladder, more accurately the bile in it) seems to metonymically stand for *courage* in Turkish culture (Dinçer, 2017:779) as it is the case in Chinese culture (Yu, 2003). The *gallbladder* is culturally

schematised as a container for courage (Then it is true that COURAGE IS A SUBSTANCE in the gallbladder). For instance, the Turks label a totally cowardly person as *ödsüz* (without *öd*-gallbladder or bile), so its sudden rupture implies that the emoter has lost all their courage – which is automatically conducive to extreme fear. Sometimes the idiom with a lexical variation as "*ödü kopmak*" (Literally, of someone's gallbladder, to split off) is also used to describe an extreme fear – be scared to death. Both variations of the idiom are motivated by the metaphors FEAR IS AN ENEMY and FEAR IS A DEADLY FORCE. If this hollow organ is really ruptured, it proves to be deadly. According to the cultural scenario underlying the idiom, a sudden attack of fear on culturally a very vulnerable point – *öd* (gallbladder) in which courage resides – destroys it or splits it off its location with fear invading the territory evacuated by courage.

In 10, *ödü bokuna karışmak* (Lit. of one's gallbladder or the bile in it, to flow into one's faeces) also expresses a very strong fear, usually when someone is suddenly terribly frightened. Judging by the fact that the gallbladder is culturally accepted as a container for courage, which can be thought of as a liquid – the bile, the cultural schematisation motivating the idiom becomes clear. The idiom is similar to *aklı bokuna karışmak* (Lit. of one's mind, to flow into one's faeces), whose cognitive motivations we explicated above. The idiom *ödü bokuna karışmak* reflects a cultural scenario in which the gallbladder or the bile in it is forced to leave its location and flows into or mixes with one's faeces under the influence of strong fears. It is motivated by the metonymy (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS OR BLADDER STANDS FOR FEAR and the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES and its subtype FEAR IS A DEADLY FORCE because the dislocation of gallbladder or loss of its content (bile), which stands for courage, is physiologically dangerous for health and portends fear. The idiom reflects a terrible fright on the part of the experiencer because they both lose their gallbladder/bile and are forced to shit under the influence of the strong fear. I think both *ödü patlamak / kopmak* (of one's gallbladder to rupture/split off) and *ödü bokuna karışmak* (Lit. of one's gallbladder/bile, to flow into one's faeces) are motivated by our cultural attitude to and knowledge about the delicacy of the gallbladder. Butchers meticulously cut the gallbladder off a slaughtered animal flesh because if it is ruptured and the bile contaminates the meat, it will become inedible. Therefore, when naïve "butchers" accidently rupture the gallbladder of an animal slaughtered, especially the owner of the animal feels the situation "fears confirmed" (Ortony et al. 1988:110) because people often *fear* that naïve butchers might damage the gallbladder. Another reason why rupture or loss of the gallbladder is associated with fear is the medical fact that its rupture causes death. For these reasons, the idioms about the relationship between gallbladder and fear allude to strong fears. Because the gallbladder is not a body part that is really affected physiologically during the fear event, all that these idioms express is a *culturally schematised* scenario as Maalej (2007) labels it. Last but not least, the image schematic differences between the near synonymous idioms *ödü patlamak /*

kopmak and *ödü bokuna karışmak* render their meanings more transparent and allow for a finely grained analysis (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen, 2005:21).

Idiom 9 *ödü patlamak / kopmak* (Lit. of one's gallbladder to rupture/split off) and idiom 10 *ödü bokuna karışmak* (Lit. of one's gallbladder or the bile in it, to flow into one's faeces) can be analysed in terms of Talmy's (2000:409) theory of force dynamics – "how entities interact with respect to force" ("exertion of a force, resistance to such a force, the overcoming of such a resistance, blockage of the expression of a force, removal of such a blockage"). If we put these idioms in Talmy's context, FEAR IS AN ENEMY FORCE, and it exerts a force on the gallbladder – container for courage. Fear is the antagonist and the gallbladder is the agonist failing to resist that force and loses its unity or location.

In 11, *dehşete düşmek / kapılmak* (Lit. to fall into / to be caught in terror/horror) means that one is intensely terrified or horrified. The emoter is desperately in horror, even though it is not rare that the idiom also expresses surprise or sudden disappointment. The idiom is lexically varied with *düşmek* (fall) profiling horror/terror as if it were a container full of fear and *kapılmak* (to be caught in/to be swept away in) profiling terror/horror as a liquid or flood in which case the emoter is absolutely desperate and at the mercy of the horror sweeping them away and has no coping potential in terms of their cognitive appraisal of the stimulus (Scherer, 1984, 1999, 2001). The idiom has no somatic component but is motivated by the conceptual metaphor EMOTION/FEAR IS AN EXTERNAL FORCE. *Kapılmak,* if understood as "*to be swept away* in terror", alludes to the conceptual metaphor FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE (like floods taking away things). If *dehşet* (horror) is conceptualised as a liquid/flood to be caught in/to be swept by, it is external to the emoter; therefore, the self leaves the body and falls into horror or is caught in its flood. This alludes to the conceptual metaphor THE SUBJECT OF FEAR IS A DIVIDED SELF (Kövecses, 2000:23). By this metaphor Kövecses (ibid:24) means that "the self that is normally inside the body container moves outside it."

In 12, *kaçacak delik aramak* (Lit. to look for a hole to flee into) means *to desperately look for a way to escape from a dreadful threat/danger*. "*Delik*" (hole) in the idiom refers to an animal's home/shelter in Turkish and animals under a proximal threat rush into their "*holes*" (nest or den). "Flight is usually towards the refuge of the nest or den or the family group" (Riba, 2011:24), yet the idiom profiles an animal desperately looking for any "hole" (shelter) rather than its own as a last resort. Then the idiom is based on ethological behaviour we observe in animals in case of threatening situations. The idiom reflects the behavioural aspect of fear, that is, flight. The cognitive motivation behind the idiom is the conceptual metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS (Silaški, 2011). With their coping potential and control being very low, the animal or human experiencer of fear resorts to flight. The idiom also reflects the metonymic principle THE

BEHAVIOURAL REACTIONS OF FEAR STAND FOR FEAR because *kaç-* (escape) expresses flight behaviour. FLIGHT standing for fear is listed as a conceptual metonymy (Kövecses, 1990:73).

In 13, *süt dökmüş kedi gibi olmak* (Lit. *to become like a cat that has spilled (the) milk*) refers to the state of a person who remains too quiet and fearful to speak or act because they are guilty, and feel likely to be punished. This is not a somatic idiom, but ethology-based. The cultural scenario that motivates the idiom reflects the conceptual metaphor GENERIC IS SPECIFIC (Lakoff, 1993), which is applied for analogic reasoning. The scenario that reflects analogic reasoning to compare the situation of the cat to that of a person is as follows: A cat has spilled one's milk and is now aware of its fault. Faced with the owner of the milk spilt, the cat is anxious about punishment and behaves shyly and apologetically, desperately hoping not to be punished. This specific scenario is metaphorically generalised to human behaviour as it is often done as a result of the HUMANS ARE ANIMALS metaphor. Knowledge schema about an animal in a particular situation is mapped onto people in a similar situation. When the ethological scenario of the guilty, fearful cat is mapped onto a human, we have a human being who has done something wrong. He/she is anxious about his/her wrongdoing when faced with someone who would get angry at his/her wrongdoing. Fearing that he/she will be punished, he/she looks worried and quiet, and behaves obediently. The idiom profiles one's fear caused by one's wrongdoing – an affective state in which feelings of guilt and fear of punishment are mixed.

In 14, *ecel teri dökmek* (Lit. to drop sweat of death) profiles a situation in which one sweats beads of fear when faced with a life-threatening danger. The danger is imminent and the emoter is terribly frightened as if actually about to die. "*Ter dökmek*" (to sweat) in the phrase is a physiological effect of acute fear and suggests the metonymy *SWEATING* STANDS FOR FEAR. "*Ecel*" (death) in the idiom is used as a modifier of "*ter*" (sweat), which makes it different from ordinary sweat as a reaction to heat or exercise. "*Ecel teri*" (Lit. sweat of death) alludes to sweating with extreme fear in life-threatening situations. Then the idiom expresses a very high intensity of fright, typically with no coping potential or control on the part of the emoter. Even though *ter* (*sweat*) is a universal physiological effect of fear, *ecel teri* (sweat of death) is a manifestation of a culture specific conceptualisation. This is something that corroborates *the cultural embodied prototype theory* (Kövecses, 2000, 2005; Maalej, 2007; Yu, 2008).

Kövecses (1996:330) argues that many idioms are "products of our conceptual system, and not only simply a matter of language." He thinks that idioms are motivated by cognitive mechanisms of metaphor, metonymy and conventional knowledge. The following figure shows how Kövecses looks upon the conceptual motivation for many idioms:

Idiomatic meaning
the overall special meaning of an idiom
Cognitive mechanisms
metaphor, metonymy, conventional knowledge (=domain(s) of knowledge)
Conceptual domains
one or more domains of knowledge
Linguistic forms and their meanings
the words that comprise an idiom, their syntactic properties together with their meanings

Figure 8. The conceptual motivation for many idioms (Kövecses, 1996:331)

For the Turkish idioms of fear we analysed above, we placed the constituents of this figure in columns and tabulated the conceptual motivation underlying our selection of Turkish idioms of fear:

Table 33. Conceptual motivation for physiologically grounded Turkish idioms of fear

Turkish Idioms about fear	**Idiomatic meaning**	**Cognitive mechanisms**	**Conceptual domain(s)**	**Linguistic forms and their meanings**
1.Tüyleri ürpermek	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES FEAR IS COLD HUMANS ARE ANIMALS Metonymy HAIR STRAIGHTENING OUT stands for FEAR	FEAR TEMPERATURE ETHOLOGY HUMAN BODY	Tüyler = feathers Ürper- = get Goosebumps/get the shivers
2.Tepeden tırnağa ürpermek	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES FEAR IS COLD Metonymy PHYSICAL AGITATION stands for FEAR	FEAR TEMPERATURE HUMAN BODY	Tepe = top (head) Tırnak = toe Ürper- = get the shivers
3.Tüyleri diken diken olmak	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES HUMANS ARE ANIMALS HUMANS ARE PLANTS Metonymy HAIR STRAIGHTENING OUT stands for FEAR	FEAR ETHOLOGY HUMAN BODY PLANTS	Tüyler = feathers Diken diken = like thorns Ol- = become
4.Eli ayağı buz kesilmek	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES FEAR IS COLD Metonymy DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE stands for FEAR	FEAR TEMPERATURE HUMAN BODY	El = hand Ayak = foot Buz = ice Kesil - = become
5. Beti benzi *atmak / uçmak / kül / kireç kesilmek*	To be terribly frightened	Metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES Metonymy BLOOD LEAVING FACE stands for fear.	FEAR HUMAN BODY COLOUR	Beti benzi = face At - = throw (change) Uç-= fly Kül = ash Kireç = lime Kesil-= become
6. Rengi atmak	To fear a lot suddenly	Metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES Metonymy BLOOD LEAVING FACE stands for fear.	FEAR HUMAN BODY COLOUR	Renk = colour At-= throw (change)

Table 33. Read More

7. Kaskatı kesilmek	to be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES FEAR IS COLD Metonymies DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE stands for fear. INABILITY TO MOVE stands for fear.	FEAR TEMPERATURE HUMAN BODY	Kaskatı = absolutely rigid/frozen Kesil- = become
8.Dili dolaşmak/ tutulmak	to be terribly frightened	Metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES Metonymy INABILITY TO SPEAK stands for fear.	FEAR HUMAN BODY	Dil = tongue Dolaş-= get tangled Tutul- = get stuck
9.Nutku tutulmak	to be terribly frightened	Metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES Metonymy INABILITY TO SPEAK stands for fear.	FEAR HUMAN BODY	Nutuk = speech Tutul- = get stuck
10.Altına etmek	to be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES EMOTION IS PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER Metonymy (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS OR BLADDER stands for fear.	FEAR HUMAN BODY	Altına = in underpants Et-= to pass urine or shit

Table 34. Conceptual motivation for culturally schematized Turkish idioms of fear

Turkish Idioms about fear	**Idiomatic meaning**	**Cognitive mechanisms**	**Conceptual domain(s)**	**Linguistic forms and their meanings**
1.Kan kaşanmak*	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES EMOTION IS PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER FEAR IS A BURDEN Metonymies (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS OR BLADDER stands for fear INABILITY TO MOVE stands for fear	FEAR ETHOLOGY HUMAN BODY	Kan = blood Kaşanmak= urinate
2.Aklı başından gitmek	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES THE MIND IS AN (MOVING) ENTITY FEAR IS INSANITY Metonymy INABILITY TO THINK stands for fear	FEAR HUMAN BODY HUMAN MIND DAMAGE	Akıl = mind Baş = head Git- = go, leave

Table 34. Read More

3.Aklı çıkmak	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES THE MIND IS AN (MOVING) ENTITY FEAR IS INSANITY Metonymy INABILITY TO THINK stands for fear	FEAR HUMAN BODY HUMAN MIND DAMAGE	Akıl = mind Çık - = go, leave
4.Aklı bokuna karışmak	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES THE MIND IS AN(MOVING) ENTITY FEAR IS INSANITY Metonymies (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS OR BLADDER stands for fear INABILITY TO THINK stands for fear	FEAR HUMAN BODY HUMAN MIND DAMAGE	Akıl = mind Bok = faeces Karış- = flow into
5.Yüreği titremek	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY Metonymies PHYSICAL AGITATION stands for fear INCREASE IN HEART RATE stands for fear	FEAR HUMAN BODY	Yürek = heart Titre- = tremble / quake
6.Yüreği ağzına gelmek	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES Metonymy INCREASE IN HEART RATE stands for fear	FEAR HUMAN BODY	Yürek = heart Ağız = mouth Gel- = come, reach
7.Dizinin bağı çözülmek	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES FEAR IS A BURDEN FEAR IS A DISEASE Metonymies PHYSICAL AGITATION stands for fear INABILITY TO MOVE stands for fear	FEAR HUMAN BODY DAMAGE	Diz = knee Bağ = ligament Çözül- = get untied
8.Korkudan çıldırmak	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES FEAR IS INSANITY (DISEASE) Metonymy INABILITY TO THINK (PROPERLY) stands for fear	FEAR HUMAN MIND MENTAL DISEASE	Korku = fear Çıldır- = become insane, go crazy
9.Ödü patlamak / kopmak	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES FEAR IS A DEADLY FORCE FEAR IS AN ENEMY COURAGE IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER (IN THE GALLBLADDER) Metonymy THE GALLBLADDER / BILE stands for COURAGE	FEAR HUMAN BODY DAMAGE	Öd = gallbladder / bile Patla- = rupture Kop-= split off

Table 34. Read More

10.Ödü bokuna karışmak	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES FEAR IS A DEADLY FORCE Metonymy (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS OR BLADDER stands for fear	FEAR HUMAN BODY DAMAGE	Öd = gallbladder / bile Bok = faeces Karış-= flow into
11.Dehşete düşmek/kapılmak	To be terribly frightened	Metaphors EMOTIONS ARE FORCES FEAR IS AN EXTERNAL FORCE FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE THE SUBJECT OF FEAR IS A DIVIDED SELF	HORROR FLOOD	Dehşet = horror / terror Düş- = fall Kapıl-= get caught in or get swept away by
12.Kaçacak delik aramak	To be terribly frightened	Metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS Metonymy FLIGHT stands for fear	FEAR ETHOLOGICAL BEHAVIOUR (FLIGHT)	Kaç-= escape Delik=hole, shelter Ara-= look for
13.Süt dökmüş kedi gibi olmak	To feel worried and embarrassed	Metaphor HUMANS ARE ANIMALS GENERIC IS SPECIFIC	FEAR ETHOLOGICAL BEHAVIOUR (AVOIDANCE)	Süt = milk Dök- = spill Kedi = cat Gibi = like Ol=become/behave
14.Ecel teri dökmek	To be scared to death	Metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES Metonymy SWEATING stands for fear	FEAR DEATH HUMAN BODY	Ecel = death Ter = sweat Dök-= drop

4.2.4. Conclusion

In this chapter we have revealed the cognitive motivations underlying Turkish idioms of fear. It is clear from all the explications above that what renders the idioms fully transparent is not the literal meanings of their lexical constituents but any conceptual metaphors, metonymies, conventional knowledge and image-schematic facts. For the *physiologically grounded fear idioms* in Turkish, we observe the evidence of the universally accepted metonymic principle PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF THE EMOTION (FEAR) STANDS FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR). While the effects of fear on the body are universal, culture specific linguistic labels can be used to conceptualise them. For instance, Turkish culture's use of *kül* (ash) and *kireç* (lime) to express the facial fear index of *face going pale* or *blanching* make the idioms including the words *kül* and *kireç culturally selective expressions* (Maalej, 2007). Likewise, the idiom *tüyleri diken diken olmak* (of one's feathers to become thorn-like) is used in Turkish to express the pilomotor reflex involved in acute fear. It is the manifestation of the fear indicator of *hair rising* or *becoming erect* (piloerection) which is universally expressed on the conceptual level by the metonymy "HAIR STRAIGHTENS OUT stands for fear." However, the wording in the idiom shows that Turkish culture utilizes the rigid and hard appearance of *thorns* (*diken*) from the domain PLANTS to convey the

intensity of the fear experienced because human hair (expressed by *tüyler*/feathers) becomes as erect and rigid as thorns (Turkish, *dikenler*) – a strong piloerection/horripilation reflex in accordance with the intense fright.

Almost all of the Turkish fear idioms are motivated by the generic metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES. Nevertheless, Turkish uses such hyperboles to convey the force of the emotion fear that this metaphor should be modified. When we have a close look at the *culturally schematised* idioms of fear which display cultural scenarios about what is culturally imagined to occur to the emoter or their body parts, fear is understood to seriously damage the body part or disrupts its function. Then the universal conceptual metaphor FEAR IS A FORCE should be modified for the Turkish culture like FEAR IS A VERY HARMFUL AND DESTRUCTIVE FORCE, because as can be understood from the idioms, fear causes the following damage to the body parts involved:

Table 35. Cultural scenarios concerning the damage caused to body parts by acute fear as a destructive force

Body Part / Organ	**Damage or disruption caused by fear as a destructive force**
Heart (k*alp*)	Quakes, dislocated and sent to the mouth
Mind (*akıl*)	dislocated, lost (insanity), or sent to mix with faeces
Tongue (*dil*)	entangled or stuck
Gallbladder (*öd*)	ruptured and overflows, split off and dislocated to flow into faeces
Knees (*dizler*)	ligaments harmed/rendered dysfunctional
Urinary track (*sidik yolu*)	loss of control, urination of blood
Bowels (*barsaklar*)	loss of control, involuntary disembowelment
Sweat glands (*ter bezleri*)	bullets of death; as profuse as if one is dying

Another striking fact about Turkish fear idioms is that the intensity of fright figuratively expressed by them seems almost ungradable; that is, almost all the idioms profile acute fear being experienced with very high intensities. They profile a terrifying affective state in the face of proximal, mostly sudden, highly destructive threats. In terms of cognitive appraisal process for fear (Scherer, 1984, 1999, 2001), the emoter is a desperate victim with no coping potential or control over the stimulus.

As for the image schema component involved in the idioms, it provides concrete criteria to make finely grained distinctions between near synonymous idioms (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen, 2005:21). For example, tüyleri ürpermek (Literally, of one's feathers, to shiver; get the goosebumps) and tüyleri diken diken olmak (Literally, of one's feathers, to become thorn-like) profile the piloerection reflex involved in extreme fear differently in terms of intensity, with the second connoting a stronger fear and reaction.

5. CONCLUSION

As a mainly corpus-driven study about lexical profiling of the Turkish fear verbs, the study focuses on semantic and pragmatic description of five verbs that express subjective experience of fear through corpus (the TNC) data. Stubbs' (2002a) *model of extended lexical units*, drawing upon Sinclair's works (1996, 1998), was employed which involves "successive analysis of collocations, colligations, semantic preferences and discourse (semantic) prosodies" (McEnery and Hardie, 2012:132). As the Cognitive Commitment requires in cognitive linguistics, the study on the lexical units describing the emotion fear combines cognitive, psychological, physiological and behavioural aspects of fear in the analyses of the concordance data. Since emotions emerge as a result of cognitive appraisal of a stimulus, the identification of the lexical profiling of each fear verb also adequately enabled us to see through the differences in their cognitive appraisal patterns compared to the pattern determined for fear by Scherer (2001: 115). All in all, the analyses of the five Turkish fear verbs (*kork-, tırs-, ürk-, irkil- and ürper-*) on the basis of the above criteria provided an exhaustive insight into their semantic and pragmatic subtle differences which locate them in certain positions in the conceptual space of the concept of fear.

The second aim of the study is to show how the somatic idioms of fear express this emotion in Turkish culture. The metaphoric profiling of the somatic idioms which tend to profile an intense fear being felt at present time was studied in accordance with the conceptual metaphor theory in general (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993; Grady, 1997 and 2007; Gibbs, 1994; Kövecses, 1990, 1999; 2000; 2005; 2006; 2008 and 2010). Our metaphorical and metonymic analyses of the somatic fear idioms in Turkish were carried out in parallel with the metaphoric profile of fear in English as documented by linguists such as Kövecses (1990, 1990, 1999; 2000; 2005; 2006; 2008 and 2010); Esenova (2011); Ansah (2011), Maalej (2007), Athanasiadou (1998), and Oster (2010). 24 Turkish idioms were analysed by focusing on the cognitive mechanisms motivating them (conceptual metaphors and metonymies, and the image-schematic component involved). The study confirmed "the combined influence of embodiment, cognition and culture," (Oster, 2008:329); the fact that "the conceptualisations of emotion concepts across cultures may be universal and culture-specific at the same time" (Ansah, 2010: 3), and the cultural embodied prototype theory stated in Kövecses (2000, 2005), Maalej (2007) and Yu (2008).

The dissertation covers 1) the corpus (TNC)-driven lexical profiling of Turkish fear verbs that express subjective experience of this emotion and 2) metaphorical profiling of fear idioms in Turkish. The conclusions that we drew from each area of our analysis are presented under two subtitles below:

5.1. Conclusions about the Lexical Profiles of the Turkish Fear Verbs (kork-, tırs-, ürk-, irkil- and ürper-)

The conclusions for the research questions about the lexical profiling of the Turkish fear verbs that express subjective experience are presented below.

Collocates Analysis: From the corpus findings, it can be concluded that the vague term *kork-* has varying collocates depending on the type of fear expressed – namely primary/acute fear, secondary fear (future contingencies) and colligation-dependent collocates. When *kork-* profiles primary fear, the node collocates with words or phrases expressing sources of fear, avoidance, behavioural and physiological effects of fear. In cases of secondary fear about future contingencies, *kork-* has a more vague meaning close to *worry* and accordingly collocates with personally significant diverse fear triggers linguistically expressed by non-finite noun clauses. In this sense, *kork-* also collocates with words or phrases that denote loss or separation. As for *kork's* colligation-dependent collocates (kork-up, kork-acak, kork-arak, kork-ma, kork (imperative), verb+AOR diye, verb+ (y)AcAk diye), it has different collocates with which it creates semantically and pragmatically diverse meanings. The fact that different forms of a word (node-internal colligates) have collocates different from those of its base form corroborates Baker (2006:97). For instance, *kork-*, when it colligates with –(y)Ip (kork-*up*), collocates with flight behaviour; kork-*acak* with phrases underestimating a threat or reassuring the addressee; kork-*arak* with verbs performed under the influence of the counterforce expressed by the manner adverb *korkarak* or with phrases expressing behavioural and physiological aspects of fear because *korkarak* means 'because one fears' in some contexts. Kork-*ma* as a negative imperative collocates with words or phrases expressing encouragement and reassurance of the addressee, underestimation of a threat, sometimes for the pragmatic purpose of victimising the addressee. Lastly, the zero-colligate *kork* in the imperative form means 'be careful/cautious about'; therefore, it is a pragmatic device for the speaker to warn the addressee about real or false threats. It is used as a device to create threats which can in most cases be nothing to fear (e.g. *sen seven insanlardan kork*/fear (=> be careful about) people who like you). This use of kork will naturally have unclassifiably diverse collocates. The section covering the lexical profile of *kork-* provides a detailed discussion of its collocates and extended meanings that it creates with them.

Our second fear type verb *tırs-* turned out to be the least frequent in the TNC with 70 concordance lines analysed. *Tırs-* is an informal word used to express fear in Turkish. It seems to dominantly collocate with words or phrases that express surrendering or yielding to a human trigger of threat, and avoidance. The salient feature of *tırs-*, as can be understood from

collocates, is to keep away from a real or perceived threat and yield to a human threat when the emoter confronts them. In other words, the constituents of avoidance and flight are salient in the conceptual structure of *tırs-* if the emoter has a chance, while they are forced to yield to a human trigger if it is too late to avoid it. In some cases, *tırs-* is semantically close to *ürk-*, which often profiles the emoter's refraining from a potential threat on unrealistic grounds. When *tırs-* is close to *ürk-* in meaning, fearing personally significant traces of a so-called threat, the experiencer is more likely to retreat like a recoiling gun compared to their action tendency in case of *ürk-*.

The third fear token we studied is *ürk-* (spook at, shy away, get spooked). *Ürk-* was found to profile three types of fear: animal fear, human fear and personified business fear. Each type naturally proved to have its own characteristic collocates. In each type of *ürk-*, the sources or triggers of fear are rather different indeed. In describing animal fear, *ürk-* collocates with words or phrases which express fear sources like trivial sounds or movements in the surrounding which are appraised by animals as traces of threat. In the ethology of fear, *ürk-* collocates words or phrases denoting animal way of escaping from danger such as running, flying, walking, swimming away. *Ürk-* also collocates with items displaying wild behyaviour of animals in response to the perceived threats. When *ürk-* is used with human agents, it collocates with words or phrases which express rather vague distant and unreasonable sources of fear. It describes a human being being uneasy or worried about odd sources like *güzellik* (beauty), *şehrin gürültüsü* (the noise of the city), *ritüel olan* (what is ritual), *sevgiden bahseden kadınlar* (women speaking about love) etc. *Ürk-* also collocates with words or phrases which express cautious continuance of goal pursuits, simple avoidance like *ayrılmak, terketmek* (leave), uncanny fear sources such as *karanlık* (darkness), *gece* (night), *sessizlik* (silence). Strangely enough, when *ürk-* colligates with the suffixal colligate –(y)Ip (ürk-*üp*), it was found to behave like acute/real fear, and lexical or phrasal expressions about flight follow the node. The third type of fear construed by *ürk-* is related to business world's oversensitivity to risks just like animals' susceptibility to any sounds or movements that might pose a risk for them. In such concordance lines, *ürk-* selects for itself a personified figurative agent like *para* (money, capital), *sermaye* (capital), *yatırımcı* (investor), *talep* (demand) etc. In such contexts, *ürk-* collocates with words or phrases about inanimate (business) experiencers, capital flight and triggers of the so-called emotion of *ürk-*! Rather than emotion, *ürk-*, when used about business, readily connotes the behavioural reaction of fear – flight from risky environments. This aspect of *ürk-* is motivated by the conceptual metaphor INVESTORS/COMPANIES ARE ANIMALS (Silaški, 2011:566). Animals' oversensitivity to any trivial risks is mapped onto business circles' uneasiness about risk-detected environments, in which case both animals and business sectors flee away.

Another fear verb we studied is *irkil-*, the startle reflex which is evoked in response to sudden, novel stimuli. It was found that *irkil-* has a clearly delineated schematic nature which the corpus (the TNC) successfully unearthed. The special schema will be given when we discuss semantic preferences of *İrkil-*. As required by its schematic nature, *irkil-* occurs when the experiencer is thoughtful/absent, engrossed in another activity or when there is silence. Then a stimulus, usually a sound, suddenly evokes this 'what is it?" reaction of the body (Lazarus, 1991: 54). The experiencer becomes hypervigilant, scanning the environment for the (nature of the) source. Then anxious curiosity ensues. The schematic nature of *irkil-* dictates a lexical environment in which it collocates with words or phrases expressing absence/thoughtfulness, engrossment or silence [*dalgın, dalgınca* (absently/thoughtfully), *düşünceli düşünceli* (in deep thoughts), various activities in progressive aspect can also be considered as engrossment]. *İrkil-* collocates with words or phrases about four groups of triggers –auditory, visual, tactile and cognitive domains. On the right of the node *irkil-*, we see collocates expressing the experiencer's post-startle behaviour such as hypervigilance, visual scanning and orienting reaction. *İrkil-* is not truly a word that describes an emotion. Rather, it is the experiencer's first bodily reaction to a sudden novel stimulus. Therefore, it is called a pre-emotion (Lazarus, 1991). *İrkil-* functions "to alert the person to a condition whose personal significance is hinted at but is not yet evident, and which will be subsequently appraised as irrelevant, harmful, threatening, or beneficial" (Lazarus, 1991:54). Hence, it is also possible to observe collocates in its post-node lexical environment concerning how the reaction ends up – surprise, astonishment or fear.

The last fear-related verb whose profile we studied is *ürper-*. It prototypically refers to the pilomotor reflex stimulated by fear or cold. *Ürper-* (get the shivers/goose bumps) is the physiological effect known as piloerection or horripilation which suggests the rising of the hairs on the body in most contexts. *Ürper-* collocates with words or phrases from the temperature domain of cold, fear words, or phrases about horrific scenes. The collocates expressing triggers from tactile (often sexually tactile), religious (spiritual chills) and mental domain (internal, cognitive stimuli) often co-occur with *ürper-*. The node *ürper-* was also found to form somatic idioms in which the high intensity of the psychophysiological reaction is profiled. *Ürper-* and its collocants that form the nine somatic idioms we observed in the TNC tend to allude to this reaction's systemic and intense nature [e.g. *içi ürper* (shiver inwardly), *iliklerine kadar ürper-* (to shiver to the bone/marrow), *tepeden tırnağa ürper-* (to shiver from head to toes) *vücudu/bedeni ürper-* (to have shivers down one's back) etc.]. It was also among our findings that although both *irkil-* and *ürper-* select collocates from similar domains in some cases (tactile, cognitive and auditory), they are not truly intersubstitutable because *irkil-* is a pre-emotion while *ürper-* is a post-emotion. That is, *irkil-* is an initial reaction to stimuli whose nature is uncertain, whereas

ürper- is evoked in responde to known stimuli, after fear or cold has been felt, for instance. It is inevitable that these all determine their selection of collocates.

Colligate Analysis: The concordance analysis revealed innumerable colligational features associated with the fear verbs of our focus. It was seen that the colligational features per se have roles in creating certain meanings as well as dictating the priming of certain collocates which would not coccur if the colligational feature did not exist, thus creating what is called colligate-dependent collocates. Such instances profile what the Turkish speakers convey by using fear verbs in certain ways. The detailed features and a comprehensive comparison between the fear items are provided in the section (Chapter 4) *Colligational Similarities and Differences between Turkish Fear Verbs*. With respect to the colligational profiles of the lexical items, the salient features are summarised here.

It can be concluded from the colligation analysis that the fear verbs studied have idiosyncratic colligational habits. *Kork-, tırs-,* and *ürk-* colligates with the ablative marked nouns or verbs at –N1 positions, while *irkil-* does not and ürper- rarely does (with nouns only). The ablative marked words mark the source of fear. On the other hand, *irkil-* and *ürper-* colligate with the instrumental marker carried by nominals expressing the source of these reflexes. While *kork-*, *tırs-*, and *ürk-* colligate with verbal nouns with the dative marker –yA to express *being afraid to do something, irkil-* and *ürper-* do not because they profile reactions to a stimulus that has already taken place ("something happened now" in Wierzbicka's terms (1992)), not something which will happen in future. Understandably, people do not '*ürk*' or '*irkil*' to do something in future, but display these reactions, not emotions, because something happened. All the five fear verbs colligate with temporal converbial –(y)IncA on a verb mostly at –N1 position to refer to events or actions which evoke the emotion or reflex. Whereas *kork-*, *tırs-* and *ürk-* colligate with the aorist + subordinator 'diye' – N position to refer to uneasiness felt about future contingencies, *irkil-* and *ürper* – do not. While *kork-* colligates with a verb with future suffix followed by subordinator 'diye' (verb +AcAk diye + the node kork) so as to express disconfirmed fears, no example for tırs- was found in the corpus, though it was also observed to have this colligational pattern when the internet was consulted as a corpus. *Ürk-*, *irkil-* and *ürper-* were found not to have this feature. The manner converbial (-mIş gibi, -mIşçAsInA), which corresponds to "as if" in English, was found to occur with *irkil-* to emphasize the intensity of the psychophysiological reaction. On the other hand, these colligates are rather rare with the other items in our study. All the fear verbs were found to colligate with adverbs of degree whose variety and number change from item to item.

The fear verbs we focussed on naturally colligate with the conjunctive suffix –(y)Ip with "and" function to express successive actions. This suffixal colligate on the fear verb followed by another verb is used to reveal behavioural and physiological reactions to the emotion, or post-

reflex action tendencies in case of the node being *irkil-* or *ürper-*. The subsequent verbs after the node with –(y)Ip (kork-up, tırs-ıp and ürk-üp) are post-node collocates expressing flight response or physiological effects of the fear concerned. After *irkil-ip*, which is rare, we see the colligation-dependent verbal collocates expressing simple avoidance or the experiencer's hypervigilance or collecting themselves */"regaining control of self or situation*" (Izard, 1977: 282). The suffixal colligate –(y)Ip hardly ever occurs with *ürper-* – only 10 cases in hundreds of the concordance lines. The suffix - (y)ArAk as a node-internal collicate occurs with *kork-*, *ürk-*, *irkil-* and *ürper-* in the TNC. However, *tırs-* has no such example even though we found examples in the internet. The suffix has three functions – "and", "converbial forming adverbs of manner" and "converbial of reason." It is quite interesting that - *arak* in *kork-arak* dominantly turns the verb into a converbial of reason like "because one fears/feared." The "and" function of the suffix is like –(y)Ip and followed by collocates expressing avoidance or physiological effects of the emotion. When the suffix –ArAk has the function of manner adverb, it modifies the subsequent verb – how the following verb is performed by the experiencer despite the counterforce exerted by the type of fear depending on the node (ürkerek, korkarak, tırsarak, irkilerek and ürpererek). Another node-internal suffixal colligate is –(y)AcAk, which was found to have a pragmatic function that is quite noteworthy. It does not denote future tense but is used to downplay a threat or to reassure the addressee that their existing fear or possible future fear is groundless. With multi-word collocates at +N positions like *bir şey yok, ne var (ki)*, we have *kork-acak bir şey yok* (=there is nothing to fear/worry about). In this sense, we did not come across examples for *tırs-* and *ürk-* in the corpus (the TNC), even though we noticed examples on the internet. *İrkil-* and *ürper-* do not have this colligational feature. As the last colligational idiosyncrasy the negative imperative suffix –mA can be mentioned. *Kork-* often colligates with this suffix, forming *kork-ma* (615 times in the TNC). Kork-ma is used to encourage the addressee against a threat, or reassure them that they needn't worry. In some cases, *kork-ma* is used as a pragmatic device to victimize the addressee so as to hide or downplay a threat or danger that the ill-intentioned speaker will cause. The colligational idiosyncrasies and extended units of meanings that the colligates participate in are exemplified and explicated in finer detail in the sections about the lexical profiles of each fear verb in the study.

Semantic preference: The fear verbs focussed were found to have various semantic preferences depending on the individual verbs, their polysemous natures or their differing forms when the colligational suffixes discussed above are on the verb. Baker (2006:97) and Partington (2004:145) argue that the same node may have more than one semantic preference, which would also lead to different semantic prosodies for some items. The same lexical item can at times become a component of different units of meaning with changes in its colligation and collocation patterns (Cf. Sinclair, 1996, 1998; Hanks, 1996; Stubbs, 2002; Edmonds and

Hirst, 2002, among many others). Then it is not surprising that we determined various semantic preferences for the nodes.

Our corpus research has revealed that *kork-* either profiles a primary fear, in which case it has semantic preferences from domains of SOURCES OF FEAR [*gizemli uğultular* (mysterious hums), *silah sesi* (gunshot), *gece* (night), *zifri karanlık* (pitch darkness), *örümcek* (spider), *yılan* (snake), *zehirli* (poisonous), *belirmek* (looming) etc], AVOIDANCE [*kaçmak* (escape)*, koşmak* (run away)*, saklanmak* (hide)] and PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS [*sarsılmak* (shake,), *titremek* (tremble), *elleri titremek* (of hands, to tremble), *eli ayağı düşmek / dizlerinin bağı çözülmek* (feel like jelly) *kızarmak (to blush)*, *yüreği atmak/yüreği çarpmak* (palpitate) etc]. On the other hand, when *kork-* expresses a secondary fear just like worrying about future contingencies, what is feared usually reflects personally significant future anticipations with unclassifiably diverse collocates about prospective fear. For this reason, no clearly delineated semantic domain can be determined to describe *kork's* semantic preferences in such cases. However, in some cases *kork-*, denoting a secondary fear, has semantic preferences for domains of LOSS or SEPARATION. When certain suffixal colligates on the node are considered, we have a different but clearer picture; *kork-up* has a semantic preference for collocates from the domain of fear behaviours especially FLIGHT; *kork-acak* a semantic preference for collocates expressing UNNECESSITY OF FEAR; *kork-arak* has a collocative preferential tendency for semantic domains of AVOIDANCE/FLIGHT or the emotion's PHYSIOLOGICAL aspect. *Kork-ma,* as typical of *kork* in negative imperative form, has a semantic preference for the domain of REASSURANCE/ENCOURAGEMENT. This idiosyncrasy was not observed in the other nodes (*irkil-me, *ürper-me) or did not seem to have the same pragmatic function (i.e. victimizing the addressee) with the others (ürk-me, tırs-ma).

As an informal word for *kork-*, *tırs-* was found to have semantic preferences for collocates from the domains of SURRENDER/yielding [*Boyun eğ-* (yield/surrender), *zorunda kal-*(have to), *şansı yok* (no chance), *tamam* (okay, alright), *usulca* (obediently) etc.] when the threat is a human. The collocates of *tırs-* also reflect the semantic domains of FLIGHT or SIMPLE AVOIDANCE [*Uzaklaş-* (move away), *saklan-* (hide), *kaç-* (flee, run away), *yaklaşamama-*(unable to approach)]

Ürk- prototypically connotes animals' low threshold of fear and their susceptibility to any trivial changes or sounds in the surrounding as part of their phylogenetical survival instincts. *Ürk-* was found to profile three types of fear with corresponding semantic domains for its collocates. When *ürk-* profiles an animal fear, it has semantic preferences for collocates from the domains of (threatening) SOUNDS, RAPID FLIGHT, and WILD REACTION. If *ürk-* describes a human's affective state, it has semantic preferences for the domains of UNREASONABLE FEAR (!) SOURCES, CAUTION, SIMPLE AVOIDANCE, and UNCANNY FEAR SOURCES. The third type of

fear expressed by *ürk-* is figurative, in which case business terms are personified and investments, sectors, demand etc. are extremely sensitive to any small threats (like animals) and avoid (capital flight) the risky area (like humans for whom the business words stand metonymically). This special meaning of *ürk-* inevitably dictates a lexical environment where we identified its semantic prefereces as being from the domains of MONETARY ASSETS, CAPITAL FLIGHT and INSTABILITY.

As for the semantic preferences of *irkil-*, the corpus (TNC) revealed a very clear picture, demonstrating that *irkil-* (the startle reflex described as pre-emotion, Lazarus, 1991) has a highly schematic nature. The following figure both shows the schema of an *irkil-* event and suggests the semantic domains for which the word is bound to have semantic preferences. The prototypical *irkil-* schema especially for a sudden acoustic trigger which takes a while to unravel is as follows:

Figure 9. The schema of *irkil-* and semantic domains dictated by the schema

This schema quite naturally dictates that *irkil-* has semantic preferences for domains of 1) THOUGHTFULNESS,(mental) absence/engrossment, 2) SUDDENNESS, abruptness, unexpectedness, 3) ACOUSTIC, VISUAL, TACTILE and COGNITIVE STIMULI, 4) ORIENTATION, HYPERVIGILANCE and 5) (ANXIOUS) CURIOSITY, surprise, interest.

The last word whose concordance lines we slept on was *ürper-*. It expresses the body's piloerection or horripilation reaction to typically cold or fear. The corpus and internet search proved that the reaction was also instigated by other stimuli similar to those of *irkil-*. The collocate analysis revealed that *ürper-* has semantic preferences for collocates from the domains: 1) temperature domain of COLD, 2) domain of FEAR or HORRIFIC SCENES, 3) SEXUAL

AROUSAL esp. with EROTIC TACTILE stimuli, 4) domain of RELIGION – spiritual chills, 5) domain of COGNITIVE OPERATIONS – mind chills and 6) SOMATIC DOMAIN for idioms.

Semantic/Discourse Prosody: Although it is common practice to label the prosody of a lexical item as pleasant/unpleasant or positive/negative (McEnery and Hardie, 2012), Sinclair (2000 and 1998) highlights its pragmatic side: "The semantic prosody of an item is the reason why it is chosen, over and above the semantic preferences that also characterize it" (1998:20). The fear verbs that we studied by means of concordance analysis naturally have negative prosodies as they are linguistic expressions of a negative basic emotion. However, following Sinclair (1996, 1998, 2000, 2004) and Stubbs (2002a), we determined the pragmatic or discourse function of each verb, laying bare the reason for which a Turkish speaker chooses one rather than another fear verb in their utterance or sentence. We concluded that *kork-* as a superordinate term has a negative prosody, but has become so vague a term that it is chosen whether it expresses a real acute fear or simple worry about possible future events. However, different inflected forms of a node may have different semantic preferences and prosodies (Baker, 2006 and Partington, 1998). This is absolutely true for *kork-* because its inflected forms such as *kork, korkma,* and *korkacak* have idiosyncractic prosodic features. *Kork* as an imperative has a prosody of *warning* someone *to be careful* about a possible threat; *korkma* as a negative imperative has a prosody of *reassurance* of the addressee or *underestimation* of a threat and *korkacak* has nothing to do with future fears – it has the discourse prosody of *unnecessity of fearing.* Both *korkma* and *korkacak* are used to underestimate a threat to reassure the addressee, sometimes to victimise them by hiding the gravity of a threat so that the speaker can *harm* the addressee to their advantage.

It was determined that *tırs-* has the pragmatic function of profiling discontinuance of one's goal pursuit out of realistic or unrealistic fear and staying back. Whenever a human trigger is present, *tırs-* is chosen in utterances or sentences to express the fact that the emoter in this kind of fear readily yields to the human source of fear and obeys their demands. Thus the discourse prosody of *tırs-* can be summarised as *avoidance in worry* like *ürk-* or *fear+flight* or *fear+yield.*

Ürk-(to spook, to shy away) typically connotes animal way of fearing any trivial traces of threat. In ethological sense, *ürk-* has the prosodic function of *sensing traces + spook (fear)+ rapid escape*. It has the semantic aura of animals' *hypersensitivity* to any traces of threat and *display of extreme fear* reactions. When used for humans, *ürk-* does not connote extreme fear felt towards a trivial trace of threat. Instead, it expresses an initial inception of worry about someone or something in our cognition and the resultant caution or vigilance towards the suspected threat. People in this kind of fear do not escape or get out of control like animals. They continue their goal pursuit but carefully. Then human kind of *ürk-* has the discourse prosody of *sensing traces*

+worry+cautious goal pursuit or simple avoidance. The word suggests the initial conception of worry in our mind and our subsequent caution or vigilance. This is merely cognitive aspect of fear as Ortony et al. (1988:111-112) labels a worry or apprehension "with respect to more remote or possibly less serious threats." When *ürk-* profiles business kind of fear, that is, when it is used in economic sense, it expresses *human way of avoidance* or *flight* after *animal way of detention of a possible threat in a market* like chaos or instability in a region or country. To put more simply, *ürk-* in this sense has the discourse prosody of *capital flight caused by instability* or *negative market fluctuations*.

As we said before, *irkil-* (expressing the startle reflex), unless evoked by a stimulus portending fear, has a neutral nature until the trigger has been detected and appraised because the stimulus can be intrinsically bad or good and the ensuing affective state might be fear/worry or astonishment/amazement. It has the discourse prosody of *anxious scanning* of one's surrounding after a *sudden* stimulus to be followed by fear/worry or surprise. The sudden stimulus ranges from a visual, auditory, tactile one to sudden worrisome cognitive source. In conclusion, *irkil-* is typically chosen by a Turkish speaker to profile a *physical reaction to suddenness of a (mostly acoustic) stimulus (and hypervigilance/orienting towards the stimulus)*. In other words, *irkil-* has the prosodic/discursive function of reflecting *"coming to senses" and "anxious scanning."*

Our last verb expressing subjective experience of fear is *ürper-* (get the shivers/goose bumps) expresses the pilomotor reaction to cold or fear and has a *negative prosody*. *Ürper-* denotes the body's systemic tremors or thrills in response to the stimuli of fear, cold, sudden worrisome thought, religious awe, memory retrievals, erotically tactile arousal. With the exclusion of cold, *ürper-* readily connotes fear or worry. When instigated by past memories or emotional songs, *ürper-* has a negative prosody of *nostalgia*, which suggests *loss* or *separation*. The Turkish speaker selects *ürper-* for its typical function of encoding systemic electrifications over and through the whole body with one's hairs raising.

Cognitive appraisal patterns: As can be understood from Table 29 about the comparison of the Turkish fear verbs in terms of their cognitive appraisal patterns compared against the pattern provided for fear by Scherer (2001:115), *kork-*, when it expresses acute/real fright, has the same cognitive appraisal pattern as that given by Scherer. However, when *kork-* encodes secondary fears about future contingencies, its cognitive appraisal pattern is similar to the pattern provided for worry/anxiety by Scherer (2001:114). *Ürk-* has various patterns depending on what type of fear it profiles – animal fear, human fear (uncanny/real fear or worry), business or market fear. Table 30 about cognitive appraisal patterns (!) of *irkil-* and *ürper-* shows that *irkil-* as a pre-emotion corresponds to Scherer's relevance check [*novelty* (i.e. suddenness, familiarity, predictability), *instrinsic pleasantness* and *goal/need relevance*] as a first

evaluation of a (sudden/novel) stimulus. The emoter's evaluation of these checks is different from those given for fear. *İrkil-* is not an emotion; rather, it is a physiological reaction to be followed by fear or surprise later. *Ürper-* has no place to occupy in Table 30 because it is a post-emotion. That is, *ürper-* as a physiological reaction occurs after the experiencer has already appraised the stimulus or situation, so we placed *ürper-* out of the table (Table 30) of cognitive appraisal pattern provided by Scherer (2001:215).

Our last research question about lexical profiling was the distinctions and similarities (if any) between these fear verbs in terms of the components of lexical profiling. This question has been adequately addressed above in section 4.1.6, titled *Comparison of the Lexical Profiles of Fear Type Verbs*. The detailed analyses in the relevant individual sections about each fear verb and an overall comparative evaluation in section 4.1.6 clearly show that the fear verbs we focussed have idiosyncratic stories in terms of their collocational, colligational, semantic preferences, discourse prosodies and cognitive appraisal patterns as part of their co-selectional properties entrenched in Turkish speakers' minds. The corpus (TNC) findings are truly reflective of the mental lexicons of the Turkish speech community in terms of the node's extended units of meaning motivated by their co-selectional properties. The verbs which directly suggest fear (*kork-*, *tırs-* and *ürk-*) and those suggesting physiological reactions (*irkil-* and *ürper-*) proved to have propositional, stylistic, expressive and collocational differences as expected from near synonyms (Edmonds and Hirst, 2002:109). *Kork-* seems to have become a vague term that can express from simple worries to acute fears such as horror, thus replacing *tırs-*, and *ürk-* as well as *endişe et-/kaygılan-* (worry) in certain contexts. *İrkil-* and *ürper-* seem to have collocational overlaps to a certain degree, even though they stand at different locations in the cognitive appraisal pattern of the fear event. These two words, which display different reactions of the body, often metonymically stand for *kork-*; they can both suggest the experiencer's entry into a state of fear in response to a stimulus.

Ortony and Turner (1990:327) state that emotions are "formed from sets of elements, it is natural to think of fear as being variously embodied." They also argue that we have various types of fear "each consisting of somewhat different components". In our case, the profiles of the five fear verbs revealed that they each have different conceptual contents and behavioraul patterns. The findings about the conceptual contents and behavioural patterns of the fear verbs have revealed that these items are far from intersubstitutability. Then it is absolutely wrong to present these items as synonyms. In one sense a lexical item might seem similar to another, which is of course a context-dependent phenomenon. On the other hand, so-called synonymous items have to have fine-grained differences to survive in a language because languages abhor absolute synonymity (Cruse, 1986:270) and semantic and pragmatic differences between near synonyms are good for a language because they enable a language to become more expressive

and descriptive (Murphy, 2003:166). Therefore, Turkish lexicographers should be careful about what is called "dictionary of synonyms." Ersoylu (2011:255) objects to preparing dictionaries of concepts under the name of "dictionary of synonyms", but argues that corpus-driven analyses should be made so as to identify context-dependent semantic and pragmatic differences of seemingly synonymous lexical items. Distinct collocational patterns associated with seemingly synonymous words are indicative of the fact that words are idiosyncratic and are rarely intersubstitutable (Xiao and McEnery, 2006:108). In our study, the Turkish National Corpus (TNC) proved to be representative of mental models of the Turkish speech community and to be an indispensible tool waiting for linguists to dig through it to see what cannot be known about a lexical item merely by intuition.

5.2. Conclusions about the Metaphorical and Metonymical Profile of the Turkish Fear Idioms

While the lexical verbs whose lexical profiles we identified above can construe cognitive inspection of fears/worries before the experiencer really faces the threat, the somatic idioms of fear describe the emoter's situation during an acute fear. That is, *the idioms profile an individual's psychophysiological state in the middle of an intense fear* as compared to the lexical fear verbs which profile various states from simple worries (before any threat is visible) to moderate fear to intense fears (dread, terror).

The fear idioms are motivated by the metonymic principle THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION (FEAR) STAND FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR) (Kövecses, 1990:69) and the generic metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES (whose effects are felt on the body, Kövecses, 2008:386). The fear idioms in Turkish are somatic idioms that conceptualise the physiological effects of the FORCE exerted by fear upon the body parts. However, in Turkish as well as other languages, cognitive conceptualisation of fear through metaphors and metonymies pass through the cultural filter, which causes certain aspects of fear to be partially and selectively mapped onto somatic targets (Kövecses, 2000, 2005; Yu, 2008 and Maalej, 2007).

Drawing upon Maalej (2007) and Apresjan (1997), we analysed the Turkish idioms that we compiled from idiom dictionaries under two general headings: 1) physiologically grounded idioms and 2) culturally schematised idioms. The former refer to the idioms that directly profile the effects of fear on the body. We assigned 10 such idioms to this category. They are: *Tüyleri ürpermek, tepeden tırnağa ürpermek, tüyleri diken diken olmak, eli ayağı buz kesilmek, beti benzi atmak/uçmak/kül kesilmek/kireç kesilmek, rengi atmak, kaskatı kesilmek, dili dolaşmak/tutulmak,* and *nutku tutulmak*. For each idiom we analysed possible cognitive mechanisms that motivate the way they are linguistically expressed (conceptual metaphors,

metonymies, and image-schematic components). The metaphors motivating such idioms were found to be: EMOTIONS ARE FORCES, FEAR IS COLD, HUMANS ARE ANIMALS, HUMANS ARE PLANTS, EMOTION (FEAR) IS PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER. The metonymies that underlie the idioms are HAIR STRAIGHTENING OUT, PHYSICAL AGITATION, DROP IN BODY TEMPERATURE, BLOOD LEAVING FACE, INABILITY TO MOVE, INABILITY TO SPEAK, (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS OR BLADDER (*STAND FOR FEAR*).

The conceptual domains that the idioms feed on were found to be FEAR, HUMAN BODY, TEMPERATURE, ETHOLOGY, PLANTS, COLOUR. It was observed that almost all the physiologically grounded idioms of fear denote intense, acute fear. For this reason, the idiomatic meaning assigned to each somatic idiom was expressed as 'fear intensely' or 'to be terribly frightened' in the relevant discussions and the tables about the figurative profiles of the fear idioms above. The literal meanings, their English renditions and in-depth explication of each idiom were provided in the relevant sections above in the study.

The second group of fear idioms are culturally schematised expressions in which the body part chosen is not physiologically affected by fear but described as if it were as a product of an imagined scenario of cultural embodiment. We compiled 14 such idioms as follows: *kan kaşanmak, aklı başından gitmek, aklı çıkmak, aklı bokuna karışmak, yüreği titremek, yüreği ağzına gelmek, dizinin bağı çözülmek, korkudan çıldırmak, ödü patlamak/kopmak, ödü bokuna karışmak, dehşete düşmek/kapılmak, kaçacak delik aramak, süt dökmüş kedi gibi olmak, ecel teri dökmek*.

The cognitive (metaphorical, metonymic and image-schematic) mechanisms motivating the culturally schematised idioms were found to be: EMOTIONS ARE FORCES, EMOTION IS PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER, FEAR IS A BURDEDN, THE MIND IS AN (MOVING) ENTITY, FEAR IS INSANITY, FEAR IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER, FEAR IS A VICIOUS ENEMY, FEAR IS A DISEASE, FEAR IS A DEADLY FORCE, FEAR IS AN ENEMY, COURAGE IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER, FEAR IS AN EXTERNAL FORCE, FEAR IS A NATURAL FORCE, THE SUBJECT OF FEAR IS A DIVIDED SELF, HUMANS ARE ANIMALS, GENERIC IS SPECIFIC. From this enormous number and their meanings, it can be concluded that culturally schematised idioms exaggerate the intensity of fear to unrealistic scales.

The metonymies that motivate such idioms were determined as follows: (INVOLUNTARY) RELEASE OF BOWELS OR BLADDER, INABILITY TO MOVE, INABILITY TO THINK, PHYSICAL AGITATION, INCREASE IN HEART RATE, INABILITY TO MOVE, FLIGHT, SWEATING (*STAND FOR FEAR*), THE GALLBLADDER/BILE STANDS FOR COURAGE. The conceptual domains that the metaphors and metonymies are associated with were found to be: FEAR, ETHOLOGY, HUMAN BODY, HUMAN MIND, DAMAGE, MENTAL DISEASE, FLOOD, HORROR and DEATH.

Each idiom was analysed in detail in the relevant sections above in terms of the cognitive mechanisms that motivate them. The literal meanings on the basis of the linguistic

forms making up the idiom and their English renditions were provided. All the idioms under the category of culturally schematised expressions denote highly intense fear.

Apparently, different cultural filters around the world create different cultural models for idiomatic conceptualisation of fear. For physiologically grounded idioms, we observe the universal metonymic principle THE PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION (FEAR) STAND FOR THE EMOTION (FEAR). On the other hand, although the effects of fear or fear indexes are universal, culturally selective expressions (Maalej, 2007) can be used to express them. For instance, Turkish culture uses *kül* (ash) and *kireç* (lime) to express the facial index of fear going pale or blanching, while *cottoning* is used to express blanching of the face in Tunisian Arabic.

Nearly all the fear idioms in Turkish are motivated by the superordinate metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES. Hyperboles are used in Turkish to exaggerate the effect of FORCE on the body. When the culturally schematised idioms are considered, the metaphor EMOTIONS ARE FORCES (FEAR IS A FORCE) should be modified because in such idioms fear is understood to seriously damage the body parts or disrupts their proper function (as Dinçer, 2017:797, also states). Therefore, the generic metaphor FEAR IS A FORCE can be more appropriately expressed as FEAR IS A VERY HARMFUL AND DESTRUCTIVE FORCE. In the culturally schematised idioms, the emoter is profiled like a desperate victim with no coping potential or control over the threat in Scherer's (1984, 1999, 2001) words as far as his cognitive appraisal pattern for fear is concerned. Thus, in Turkish cultural model, intense, sudden fear is conceptualised as if causing serious damage to the following body parts or organs:

Heart => quakes, dislocated and sent to the mouth

Mind => dislocated, lost (insanity), or sent to mix with faeces

Tongue => entangled or stuck

Gallbladder => ruptured or overflows, split off and dislocated to flow into faeces

Knees => ligaments harmed/rendered dysfunctional

Urinary track => loss of control, urination of blood

Bowels => loss of control, involuntary disembowelment

Sweat glands => bullets of death; as profuse as if one is dying

To sum up, the meaning of Turkish fear idioms is not arbitrary as in other cultures (Kövecses and Szabó, 1996) but motivated by cognitive mechanisms – metaphors, metonymies, image schemas, conventional knowledge entrenched in the mental lexicon of our speech community. Our study here confirms the arguments that emotions are conceptualised through "the combined influence of embodiment, cognition and culture," (Oster, 2008:329); that in figurative expressions, "body is a source, whereas culture is a filter" (Yu, 2008:249) and that "the conceptualisations of emotion concepts across cultures may be universal and culture-specific at the same time" (Ansah, 2010:3), which is expressed by the cultural embodied

prototype theory (Kövecses, 2000, 2005; Maalej, 2007; Yu, 2008). Different elaborations, entailments, and mappings seem to be inevitable across cultures in metaphoric and metonymic conceptualisation of emotions including fear.

5.3. Further Research

The present study has identified the lexical profiling of five fear verbs that express subjective experience of fear in Turkish in connection with cognitive, physiological and behavioural aspects of the fear state. TNC-driven co-selectional properties of each verb especially collocative and colligation-dependent meanings were identified as well as where each verb stands when compared to the cognitive appraisal pattern of fear identified by Scherer (2001). The fear idioms that we studied on the basis of the cognitive mechanisms (metaphor, metonymy, image-schematic component and conventional knowledge) clearly displayed Turkish way of construals of the intensity aspect of fear. Further research could be conducted on Turkish proverbs about fear which would provide insights into how behavioural aspects of fear draw upon animal behaviour in many cases. Unlike the fear idioms, which reflect depictions of the experience of a highly intensive fear through its physiological and cognitive effects, the fear proverbs seem to manifest general judgements about fear, hyperboles, and animal behaviour. Another further research area might as well be corpus-driven lexical profiling of Turkish verbs that express anxiety-related items such as *kaygılan-, endişelen- tasalan-* and *huylan-*. Corpus-driven studies on lexical profiling of seemingly synonymous verbs in particular would enable Turkish lexicographers to see through fine-grained, subtle differences in word meanings and uses.

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