
Metaphor in the discourse of Revolutionary Organisation
November 17: Analysis based on a corpus of the
organisation's communiqués

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To Rodolfos, Popi, and Nikos

ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I examine the use of metaphor by Revolutionary Organisation November 17 (17N). In particular, I am concerned with the way in which 17N used metaphor in 82 communiqués to represent their victims and targets, the political situation Greece was perceived to be in, and the 17N organisation.

My analysis is broadly based on Cognitive Metaphor Theory and placed within the context of studies on the rhetorical and persuasive functions of metaphor. I view metaphor as an important conceptual and linguistic device that reflects and shapes people's beliefs, attitudes, and world views. With the help of corpus analysis methods, I identify particular groups of metaphorical expressions in 17N's texts, which evoke specific source domains, and which are rhetorically exploited by the organisation. During the course of my analysis I use evidence from a background corpus, the Hellenic National Corpus, to support my claims on the frequency and use of metaphorical expressions in 17N's texts. Moreover, I take into account the immediate co-text and context of 17N's communiqués as well as the broader historical and cultural context in which the communiqués were produced.

Based on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of my data I argue that metaphor plays an important part in structuring 17N's rhetorical strategies of legitimising their course of action and de-legitimising the course of action of their opponents and targets. This is achieved mainly via the representation of the organisation's targets in a negative way and the construction of oppositions between 17N and their targets, which result in 17N being represented in a positive way. Moreover, a negative and pessimistic outlook on the Greek political situation of the time is presented in order to justify and legitimise 17N's violent intervention in the country's affairs.

My analysis contributes to the study of metaphor in political discourse and in particular in the genre of terrorist organisations' communiqués. Moreover, it achieves a deeper understanding of 17N's moral code and world view.

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Appendix 1

Appendix 1 contains Tables 1 to 26, which provide detailed information on the metaphorical expressions that evoke the source domains of ARTS, CLEANLINESS AND DIRT, LIGHT AND DARKNESS, HEAT AND COLD, SOUND AND SILENCE, THE HUMAN BODY, WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE, and ANIMALS. These metaphorical expressions are discussed in Chapter 5.

Appendix 2

Appendix 2 contains Tables 27 to 41, which provide detailed information on the metaphorical expressions that evoke the source domains of MOVING AND STOPPING, BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION, LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS, CONTAINER, HISTORY AND POLITICS, FOOD, DRINK AND COOKING, RELIGION, and PROFESSIONS. These expressions are discussed in Chapter 6.

Appendix 3

Appendix 3 contains the Greek text of the MEGA Channel communiqué written by 17N in 1995 and its English translation.

Appendix 4

Appendix 4 contains two tables: The first one presents a chronology of November 17's attacks, and the second one presents November 17's communiqués in chronological order, providing information on the number of words of each communiqué.

Appendix 5 (included in CD)

Appendix 5 contains the electronic corpus of November 17's communiqués, which is based on the book containing all the organisation's communiqués (Kaktos Publications, 2002).

List of abbreviations

17N: Revolutionary Organisation November 17

CMT: Cognitive Metaphor Theory

HNC: Hellenic National Corpus

ILSP: Institute for Language and Speech Processing

MLCT: Multi-lingual Corpus Toolkit

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

On June 29, 2002, a bomb exploded in the hands of the man who was carrying it, in the Greek port of Piraeus. The explosion of that bomb marked the end of one of the most long-lasting and elusive terrorist groups in Europe, Revolutionary Organisation November 17 (17N). The man carrying the bomb was Savvas Xiros, and the serious injuries he suffered from the bomb explosion resulted in his arrest and later conviction for actively participating in the organisation. Xiros' arrest led to the discovery of critical information on the organisation and to further arrests; in December 2003 fifteen members of 17N were convicted after a nine-month trial that took place in Athens.

The Revolutionary Organisation November 17 was active from 1975 to 2002; its members carried out a number of violent hits, which caused the death and injury of many people as well as significant property damage. The organisation produced 82 written texts to ideologically support and justify these acts of violence. In these communiqués, which were sent to newspapers for publication or left near the scenes of the terrorist hits, 17N gave details of the reasons that led them to target particular people and institutions and to choose violent means to challenge the Greek status quo. This thesis examines 17N's communiqués and attempts an analysis of these texts which focuses on particular metaphorical expressions they contained.

The motivation behind the decision to focus on metaphorical expressions in order to study 17N's communiqués relates to the achievements of Cognitive Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Lakoff 1993) and of the subsequent line of research that it gave rise to. Metaphor involves talking about something in terms of something else, and, as proponents of Cognitive Metaphor Theory would argue, also involves thinking about something in terms of something else. Within this theory, metaphor is primarily a conceptual and secondarily a linguistic phenomenon. For example, the expression "the foundations of democracy have collapsed" involves a conceptualisation of a complex political system as a building and talks about it in terms of properties that buildings have, like foundations and the possibility of collapsing.

This particular view of metaphor points out the pervasiveness of metaphorical expressions in language and pays particular attention to conventional metaphorical expressions, which people use largely unconsciously, and which are argued to be evidence of systematic sets of underlying concepts. These conventional patterns of thought which are reflected in the language via interconnected metaphorical expressions are known as conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphors involve sets of correspondences, known as mappings, between conceptual domains. In particular, they involve mappings between a source domain (like, for example, our knowledge about the structure and properties of buildings) and a target domain (like democracy). The transfer of elements from the source to the target domain results in the target domain being partly structured by the source domain; moreover, the target domain may be enriched with elements that it did not contain, when not viewed in conjunction with the

source domain. It is possible, for example, that democracy is conceptualised as something other than a building, in which case it would not have foundations and it would not be susceptible to collapse. Cognitive metaphor theorists stress the grounding of conceptual metaphors on human experience and argue that source domains typically correspond to concrete and physical experiences, which help structure the more abstract, complex, and poorly delineated experiences that typically correspond to target domains. A very important implication that the Cognitive Metaphor Theory view on metaphor has is that metaphors can reflect and shape people's beliefs, attitudes and world-views; this could be achieved, for instance, by highlighting and hiding aspects of the target domain, as elements of the source domain are partially mapped on it.

This particular function of metaphor makes it relevant to analyses of language in contexts where ideology plays a predominant role. In fact, a growing number of researchers have focused on the role metaphor plays in political discourse and rhetoric and on its persuasive potential (to name a few, Lakoff, 1995; Rohrer, 1995; Chilton, 1996; Semino and Masci, 1996; Lakoff, 2001; Chilton, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2005). This line of research deals with claims that the use of particular metaphorical expressions, whether purposeful or not, has an impact on the way people perceive of and react to political events and situations. I consider 17N's communiqués to be texts of political character, as they involve the challenge and negotiation of power in the Greek political arena (Chilton, 2004); in these texts, the organisation's main goal is to persuade the Greek people that the violent hits they carried out were justified and necessary, as the only means that could bring about a change that would ultimately lead to the improvement of Greek society.

In this thesis, I adopt the general framework of Cognitive Metaphor Theory and I place my analysis within the context of studies on the rhetorical and persuasive functions of metaphor. However, I also take into consideration some of the weak points of Cognitive Metaphor Theory, which I try to redress by introducing additional evidence for the claims I make during the course of my analysis. I am referring to the theory's emphasis on the conceptual nature of metaphor, which results in a relative neglect of the linguistic manifestations of the metaphors. Moreover, Cognitive Metaphor theorists have often offered de-contextualized and artificially constructed examples as evidence for their claims. In this thesis, I use authentic, naturally occurring data, and I start from the identification of metaphorical expressions (i.e. linguistic expressions, as opposed to conceptual metaphors) in my texts. When I make claims concerning the conventionality of a particular metaphorical expression I use evidence from a corpus of Modern Greek (the Hellenic National Corpus), which offers information on the way expressions are actually used in Modern Greek written texts. I also use evidence from Modern Greek dictionaries (not corpus-based ones, as there is none currently available for Modern Greek), as well as my intuition as a native speaker of Greek. In this way, my claims of the possible existence of underlying conceptual metaphors and metaphor systems are based on the specific frequencies of occurrence of particular expressions, which makes them more reliable. Finally, I consider the uses and functions of metaphorical expressions in context. I take into account the immediate co-text of each communiqué, the broader co-text of the communiqués as a whole, and the historical and cultural situation of Greece in the decades during which the communiqués were produced.

I will now present my main aims in writing this thesis.

1.2 Aims and objectives of the thesis

My main goal in writing this thesis is, ultimately, to achieve a better understanding of Revolutionary Organisation November 17 and of the reasons behind the violent attacks they carried out. Moreover, I am interested in discovering characteristic features of their discourse, which would help identify the organisation's particular rhetorical style. An examination of the way 17N used metaphorical expressions in their texts and exploited their entailments promotes an understanding not only of the organisation's worldview and value system but also of the way metaphor works to challenge relations of power within a society, to produce the effects of authority, legitimacy, and consensus, and to construct the distinct identities of the discourse participants.

This thesis aims to answer the following overarching research question:

- How do 17N use metaphor in their communiqués to convey their world view and value system?

In order to answer this general question, I will aim to answer the following more specific research questions:

1) What metaphorical expressions can be identified in the communiqués, what source domains do they evoke, and how can they be grouped according to source domain?

2) How are metaphorical expressions used to represent the organisation's victims and targets?

3) How are metaphorical expressions used to represent the overall political and social situation in Greece?

4) How are metaphorical expressions used to represent 17N's identity and role in Greek society? How are metaphorical expressions used to convey 17N's moral code?

5) What are the implications of the metaphorical expressions used in the communiqués and in what ways do these expressions help 17N structure and build their rhetorical strategies?

In the course of this thesis, I will attempt to provide answers to the questions mentioned above. Even though some of these answers may be incomplete, I hope to provide the reader of this thesis with a good overall understanding of the role and significance of metaphor in 17N's discourse.

1.3 A guide to the thesis

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. The first one is the current chapter, which serves as an introduction and a brief presentation of the thesis. The second chapter provides a background to the Revolutionary Organisation November 17. It

includes information on the organisation's history, ideology, and structure, as well as information on the organisation's communiqués. It also provides information on the Greek people and the Greek state's response to this organisation.

The third chapter contains the review of the literature relevant to the thesis. It offers an explanation of why metaphor was chosen as an object of study in the particular set of data and it provides an overview of the influential Cognitive Metaphor Theory, along with some criticisms. Chapter three also includes a section on the study of metaphor in the context of political discourse, and explores the literature on the persuasive function of metaphor, providing an overview of experimental and non-experimental studies on this subject. The chapter concludes with a section on metaphor in relation to the cultural context it occurs in.

Chapter four provides information on the data analysed in this thesis, namely the corpus of 17N's communiqués, and describes the methodology I used to analyse this data. It presents the software tool I used to examine the electronic corpus of communiqués and it describes the Hellenic National Corpus, the general purpose corpus of Modern Greek that I used as a reference point. Moreover, the fourth chapter deals with the issues of metaphor identification and analysis in my data. It explains how I identified metaphorical expressions in my data as well as the decisions I made regarding which metaphorical expressions to focus on in this thesis. Furthermore, this chapter includes a section on the categorisation and grouping of the metaphorical expressions in my data according to source domain. Finally, it provides information on the translation of extracts from my Greek texts to English, focusing on the translation of metaphorical expressions.

Chapters five and six form the analysis of my data. These chapters need to be read in conjunction with the tables in Appendices 1 and 2 which present a detailed picture of the frequency of occurrence of particular metaphorical expressions in the corpus of communiqués and in the Hellenic National Corpus. Chapter five provides an overview of my findings and explains the division of the analysis section in two main chapters, which reflects the predominant rhetorical function of the metaphorical expressions examined in each chapter. It also provides a guide for the reading of the tables in Appendices 1 and 2. Moreover, it includes the quantitative and qualitative analysis of eight prominent source domains that were realised via metaphorical expressions found in 17N's communiqués. These source domains are ARTS, CLEANLINESS AND DIRT, LIGHT AND DARKNESS, HEAT AND COLD, SOUND AND SILENCE, THE HUMAN BODY, WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE, and ANIMALS. Each source domain is analysed in turn; first, a comparison of my findings from 17N's corpus of communiqués with the findings from the Hellenic National Corpus is provided, and then there is a qualitative section that looks at how 17N exploit each source domain for rhetorical purposes, by analysing extracts from the communiqués. Chapter five concludes with a discussion on the use by 17N of the metaphorical expressions related to the aforementioned source domains, and with observations and comments on their frequency, rhetorical function, and role in the construction of the organisation's main rhetorical strategies. One of these strategies is the construction of oppositions between 17N and their targets, and it is structured with the help of metaphorical expressions discussed in this chapter.

Chapter six contains the qualitative and quantitative analysis of another eight important source domains, namely MOVING AND STOPPING, BUILDINGS AND

CONSTRUCTION, LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS, CONTAINER, HISTORY AND POLITICS, FOOD, DRINK AND COOKING, RELIGION, and PROFESSIONS. It is structured in the same way as the previous chapter, and concludes with observations and comments on the use and rhetorical function of the metaphorical expressions related to these eight source domains. These metaphorical expressions were predominantly used by 17N to paint a negative picture of the political and social situation in Greece and to paint a negative and ridiculous picture of 17N's opponents and targets. This is another one of the organisation's main rhetorical strategies. It should be pointed out that there is overlap between the groups of metaphorical expressions I am discussing in the two analysis chapters, in terms of their role in the construction of 17N's rhetorical strategies. This is expected, as 17N combine expressions from various source domains in their communiqués. However, the source domains evoked by the metaphorical expressions discussed in Chapter six participate mainly in the description of an overall situation, rather than the construction of oppositions between the organisation and their targets.

Chapter seven provides a detailed discourse analysis of one of 17N's full texts in order to demonstrate the rhetorical functions of the metaphors that were discussed in the two previous chapters. Chapter eight presents the diachronic analysis of selected metaphorical expressions, tracing their occurrence and changes over the 26 years of 17N's activity. This latter chapter attempts an exploratory study rather than a complete diachronic analysis.

The ninth and final chapter of this thesis includes a summary of my findings and, based on them, attempts a deeper understanding of the particular moral code of

Revolutionary Organisation November 17. It also discusses the implications my analysis has for metaphor theory and analysis. It concludes with a consideration of the limitations and shortcomings of this thesis and with suggestions for further research.

1.4 Style conventions

In this thesis, I follow the style conventions that have become accepted practice in cognitive linguistics. In particular, I use upper case and a smaller font size (small capitals) to represent the conceptual metaphors that underlie metaphorical expressions. The source domains related to the metaphorical expressions I am discussing in my analysis are also represented in this fashion. Moreover, I use smaller font size for all the extracts taken from 17N's communiqués that I include in the thesis. These extracts are in Greek and they are shown in italics; they are always followed by a translation in English, which is also shown in smaller font size and is included in square brackets. All the Greek words and expressions that are included in the thesis are shown in italics and are followed by their English translation. The relevant metaphorical expressions I identified in the extracts from the communiqués are underlined in the Greek original as well as in the English translation.

CHAPTER 2 - THE REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION

NOVEMBER 17

2.1. Introduction

The *Revolutionary Organisation November 17* (from now on, R.O.17N or 17N) started intervening in the political and social life in Greece in 1975. 17N has carried out terrorist attacks and violent hits of various kinds, which resulted in the death and injury of several people and in significant property damage. To accompany and ideologically support its actions, the organisation produced a number of written texts, manifestos and letters that were sent to newspapers for publication. The body of these communiqués is the object of analysis of this thesis.

A consideration of the political and social events that allowed for the establishment and long duration of this organisation is important in order for the communiqués to be fully understood and placed in context. In this way, the subsequent analysis will be placed in an adequate frame, and the reader will be provided with the background knowledge necessary to follow the rationale of the analysis. I will therefore outline the most important historical events that marked the formation of this organisation and I will trace its course from its origins to the recent capture and trial of its members. I will also discuss the organisation's main ideological positions and I will summarise the Greek people's reaction to them.

Finally, I will comment on 17N's texts in terms of their content and the practices around them.

2.2. A history of the organisation

In this section, I will present a brief history of 17N, from the organisation's formation, to the capture and trial of its members.

2.2.1. Social and political climate at the time of 17N's formation

Between 1967 and 1974, Greece was in a state of dictatorship, enforced by a group of generals who were aided by the turbulent political situation in the latter half of the 1960s and the intervention of foreign powers in the country's political life (Kassimeris, 2002). In particular, the United States and the CIA were held largely responsible for the establishment and support of an authoritarian regime. During the dictatorship years there were harsh restrictions in the civilian way of life and a great number of political persecutions that resulted in exile, imprisonment, torture and death. The state's army and police force were the two principal instruments of oppression and violence. Politicians and intellectuals were forced to leave the country and, often, organised their resistance and struggle against the oppressive regime from abroad (Ioakeimoglou and Triantafyllou, 2002). The Greek people eventually revolted

and the upheavals climaxed on the 17th of November, 1973, when university students occupied the buildings of the Polytechnic School of Athens and demanded a change of regime. Thousands of people marched to support them before the episode ended tragically, when army forces used armed vehicles to break in the Polytechnic School courtyard and killed hundreds of students and their supporters. The dictatorship finally collapsed in 1974 and democracy was restored. To honour and commemorate these events, the 17th of November is celebrated as a national holiday in Greece.

The end of the dictatorship in Greece marked the beginning of terrorist activities of a kind that the country had never known before (Nasiakos, 2001). The events of November 1973 had greatly influenced the multitude of extreme left-wing organisations that appeared in the Greek political scene between 1974 and 1976. These were groups of anarchist, Maoist, or Trotskyist beliefs, and the group known as November 17 was one of them (Kassimeris, 2002). They supported a radical reformation of the system of government and doubted that the newly founded democracy, lead by Prime Minister Konstantinos Karamanlis, was democratic enough to carry out serious political changes. 17N and other left-wing organisations of the time perceived the transition from dictatorship to democracy as a superficial change of label rather than a substantial change of regime, and used passionate rhetoric to justify the legitimacy of violent revolutionary practices (ibid.). The fact that Karamanlis was the leader of the Greek right-wing, conservative party did not make the new government more reliable in their eyes. For them, the regime continued to be authoritarian and oppressive, and had failed to punish the supporters and wrongdoers of the dictatorship period, resulting in a deficient democratic image (Kassimeris,

2002). It should be noted, however, that none of these left-wing groups sprung from the two official left/communist parties that still exist in Greece today. So, as Karkagiannis (2002) accurately states, for these groups being left-wing meant sharing some of the ideas, aims and historical traditions of the left wing and not necessarily being related to people and practices within mainstream political life.

2.2.2. 17N: 1975 to 2001

Several sources place the formation of *Revolutionary Organisation November 17* as a separate group sometime in 1975 (Bossis, 2000; Kassimeris, 2002; Ioakeimoglou and Triantafyllou, 2002; Papachelas and Telloglou, 2002; Pappas, 2002; Pretenderis, 2002). A special report compiled by the Greek police and published in the newspaper *Ta Nea* in 2001 places the birth of the group in December 1975. Others, like Karkagiannis (2002), hold that the founders of 17N can be traced around 1972 in Paris, organised as an armed group opposed to the dictatorship. In any case, the first terrorist attack took place on the 24th of December 1975 when the CIA station chief Richard Welch was shot in front of his house in Athens. After that, the organisation carried out 107 terrorist attacks and killed 23 people. A chronology of the attacks can be found in Table 1, Appendix 4.

Just as there is disagreement concerning the formation of 17N, there is dispute regarding the organisation's disbanding, which, for many, is now a fact. In June 2002 a member of 17N was arrested while trying to plant a bomb in the offices of a shipping company located in the port of Piraeus. The bomb exploded in his hands and

the investigation and interrogations that took place during his recovery led to further arrests, a long trial and the convictions of fifteen people as members or active supporters of 17N. Officially, as far as the Greek government is concerned, 17N are disbanded and can now be considered as part of Greek history. Others, however, disagree and hold that many more individuals involved in the group's activities currently escape the authorities and that a new 17N may be formed in due time (Bossis, 2002). The trial, it appears, has not resolved all the questions regarding the organisation, its members, its connections and practices. According to international experts on terrorism, only about 60 per cent of the group has actually been identified and the Greek police have a lot of missing pieces of the puzzle to fit (Makarenko, 2002). In any case, 17N no longer exists in the way it once existed. Their last attack was carried out in June 2001, targeting the Greek Member of Parliament V. Michaloliakos. The hit was accompanied by a communiqué, which is the last document signed by 17N that is considered as genuine (Bossis, 2002).

In the course of its 26 years of activity, 17N displayed a level of professionalism and consistency that safeguarded the organisation's secret identity and durability. The basic characteristics of R.O. November 17, as they are summarized in Bossis (1996), are:

- The extra-parliamentary nature of their ideology as it is presented in their communiqués.

- The absolute secrecy protecting the organisation and the identities of its members, safeguarded by codes and rules shared among the members.
- The organisation's specialized activities and the absence of victims from within the organisation.
- Good knowledge of the target and of its symbolic power but inadequate knowledge of the social group in the name of which the hits are carried out (the Greek people).
- The use of violence, seen as the only means for radical change. (Bossis 1996:118).

These features will be further explained in the following section, where the organisation's ideology will be analysed.

2.3. Ideology, targets and strategy

In this section, I will discuss 17N's ideology, which explains their choice of targets. I will also provide information on the organisation's internal structure.

2.3.1. Left-wing terrorism

It is necessary to place 17N's emergence and activity in the greater context of the appearance of terrorism as it is known today, at least in Europe. Taylor and

Horgan offer a definition of late twentieth-century political terrorism in Europe: it is “the use, or threat of use of violence which in some ways tries to influence the political behaviour of a state, often seeking to destabilize, overthrow, or radically change it” (2000: 83). Terrorism is a phenomenon which still resists a unanimous definition, partly due to its many different manifestations. It has been classified in various ways over the years and, as it evolves, its descriptions are modified to satisfy the needs of each period of time (for an extended discussion, see Bossis 2000). One of the defining characteristics of terrorism is the recurrence of violent acts targeting circumstantial, symbolic or specific victims, this practice being the terrorists’ message towards their main target group (ibid.). The element of recurrence is significant as it distinguishes terrorism from other crime forms or individual incidents (ibid.). One of the most discussed parameters of terrorist acts is the choice of target group, or individual target/victim. This choice is indicative of the terrorists’ aims and ideology and sets the different terrorist organisations apart.

As it is perceived by the western world up to today, terrorism was born during the 1960s (Bossis, 2000). This is, of course, a purposely limited statement as it leaves out all earlier acts of terror, as well as the admittedly problematic issue of whether terrorism can emanate from the state as well as from non-state groups and individuals. I will not deal with these questions here but instead I will focus on the branch of terrorist activity that led to organisations like 17N. Most early terrorist groups were inspired by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and fought against imperialism and colonialism, supporting the national independence movements of third-world countries. Part of these early groups continued the opposition against the state even

after most of them had been incorporated in the state mechanism. These groups were seen as terrorist and due to their ideological proximity with Marxism, were labelled left-wing terrorist. The phenomenon of left-wing terrorism was mainly experienced by France, Germany, Italy and Belgium (ibid.). In Greece, 17N has been the most long-lasting and well known representative of left-wing terrorism.

As far as left-wing terrorist groups' practice is concerned, they made sure they extensively defended their choices and actions and tried to avoid making mistakes, such as injuring or killing someone outside their target group (Bossis, 1996, 2000). In addition, they assumed responsibility for their hits and made sure that they were clearly recognized as the perpetrators. This sets them apart from right-wing terrorist groups which are generally less concerned about specifying their target group and protecting their organisation's reputation (ibid.). Left-wing terrorists are primarily concerned with transmitting a political message and are interested in gaining the public's support. It is important to note that left-wing terrorist groups should be differentiated from recent forms of terrorism in which blind attacks aiming at large numbers of unidentified victims are carried out. 17N and groups of similar ideological background would not normally carry out suicide bombings and hits that would endanger themselves, or involve religion in their ideology. 17N's specific beliefs, structure and approach will be presented in the following sections.

2.3.2 17N's ideological basis

The unusually long-lasting active presence of 17N compared to other European left-wing terrorist groups as well as their written ideological consistency make 17N a unique phenomenon worldwide. As has been mentioned, the organisation belongs ideologically to the extreme left, broadly Marxist-Leninist area, as the communiqués confirm. However, they had an idiosyncratic Marxist-Leninist ideology enriched with patriotism, which they often adapted to suit particular targets (Bossis, 2000). In their choices of targets and in their practices, 17N has been influenced by Greek and international political affairs, by western European revolutionary groups such as the German *Baader-Meinhof* and the Italian *Red Brigades*, and by the ideology and methods of the Greek communist group *EAM/ELAS*, which fought against the occupation of Greece by the Nazis during the Second World War (Kassimeris, 2002).

The organisation's name (*Revolutionary Organisation November 17*) is indicative of the ideology, beliefs and aims of its members, who were inspired by the uprising of November 17, 1973. As I have mentioned, this uprising involved mainly university students, who occupied the buildings of the Polytechnic School of Athens in an effort to fight the regime of dictatorship. The students were supported by thousands of people who marched to their aid. This episode marked the beginning of the end of the dictatorship, which finally collapsed in 1974. The tragic death of hundreds of students and supporters by the armed forces of the time caused this day to become a symbol of the heroic resistance of the people against an oppressive and

cruel regime. It is not known whether any of the original members of 17N participated in the events of that day; however, the choice of the organisation's name is most probably motivated by the positive connotations of the November 17 uprising and its significance for the Greek people.

The organisation's vision was that of a revolution of the people and their strategy was to enforce a societal change through the use of armed violence in cities. They believed that the 17th of November 1973 was the beginning of a revolution that had not been completed and they dreamt of continuing this struggle against state oppression. 17N chose armed struggle because they saw no other way of resistance to the overwhelming power of the state. They aimed at a genuinely democratic regime for their country and disapproved of a government that, in their view, maintained a divide between more and less privileged citizens. They saw violence as constantly present, changing mediums and manifestations but basically remaining at the core of modern states, and they held that violence should remain present as long as part of the population feels they are not represented fairly or do not participate adequately in decision-making.

2.3.3. 17N's targets

The central issues that dominate the organisation's ideology determine their target group. As one observes by reading the communiqués and by their choice of targets, 17N was preoccupied by the following issues: firstly, the role of the Americans in Greece and in the greater area of the Balkans. The USA's

interventionist politics and imperialistic tendencies, as they were perceived by 17N, were constantly denounced in the communiqués, and USA-related targets demonstrate these beliefs. Secondly, 17N were concerned with the Cyprus problem, which is regarded as one aspect of the greater issue of the relationship between Greece and Turkey. Finally, 17N were concerned with the political situation within Greece, where they targeted politicians, policemen, members of the judicial system, publishers, businessmen, public buildings, factories, multinational companies, private and public businesses, Inland Revenue services, and buildings of the political party *PASOK*.

In comparison with other terrorist groups that have been active in Greece since 1974, 17N has shown a preference towards specific human targets, while other groups mainly planted bombs in cars or buildings. 17N's most well-known targets have been people who supported and actively participated in acts of violence and torture during the Junta regime 1967-1974, USA citizens who were perceived by the organisation as threatening Greek interests, businessmen who had broken the law deceiving the state and the people, and politicians accused of corruption. 17N took pains to dissociate acts of violence for revolutionary purposes from terrorism, as they defined it; they extensively referred to their attempts to keep 'innocent' civilians safe. The ideological analysis that followed every hit was a defence and justification of their choice, which was usually symbolic (Bossis, 1996). Their hits were frequently of a vengeful character, retaliating for the harm that had been done to the Greek people; however in some cases the specific targets may have been unknown to a large portion of the people in whose name the executions took place (*ibid.*).

An extract taken from one of 17N's early communiqués, which was written in 1981, can be seen below¹. In this extract, the rationale of 17N's choice of targets is presented in their own words:

Extract 2.1

Η επιλογή του στόχου πρέπει να είναι τέτοια που απ' τη μια να είναι τελείως κατανοητός για τα πλατιά λαϊκά στρώματα, να «μιλάει από μόνος του», ακόμη κι αν δεν περάσει ούτε μια λέξη στον τύπο απ' το κείμενό μας κι απ' την άλλη να μη μπορεί ο τύπος όχι μόνο να αγνοήσει την ενέργεια αλλά ούτε καν να την περάσει καταχωνιασμένη στα ψιλά των μέσα σελίδων οπότε σε κανένα δεν προπαγανδίζεται η λ. βία όπως εξηγήσαμε πιο πάνω.

Η επιλογή του στόχου πρέπει να είναι τέτοια που να μην υπάρξουν αρνητικές επιπτώσεις είτε υλικές είτε πολιτικές στους εργαζόμενους ή στο μαζικό κίνημα του χώρου όπου βρίσκεται ο στόχος, είτε σε τρίτους που δεν έχουν σχέση μ' αυτόν. Γιατί τότε αυτές οι αρνητικές επιπτώσεις, έχουν με τη σειρά τους αρνητικό γενικότερο αντίκτυπο, δημιουργούν λαϊκή δυσφορία και η ενέργεια δεν πετυχαίνει πολιτικά το στόχο της, αφού οι πάρα πάνω επιπτώσεις φαίνονται σα συνέπεια της λαϊκής βίας κι όχι της λαθεμένης επιλογής.

(6:113- 115)

[The choice of target must be such that on the one hand it should be completely understandable for the wide masses, it should “speak for itself”, even if not one word of our text makes it to the press, and on the other hand it should not be possible for the press not only to ignore our action but also to place it in small print somewhere in

¹ The extract is presented in Greek, followed by a translation in English; at the end of the Greek text, I refer to my source, which is the book containing all the organisation's communiqués (November 17, 2002). I follow the numbering of 17N's texts as it is found in this book and I provide the pages the extract was taken from. I will follow this practice throughout the thesis.

the middle pages, in which case there can be no propaganda for popular violence, as we have explained above.

The choice of target must be such that there are no negative consequences, whether material or political, for the workers or for the mass movement of the space where the target is or for third parties that have no relationship to the target. For these negative consequences have themselves a general negative impact, they create discomfort to the people, and the attack does not meet its political aim, as the above consequences seem to be a result of violence and not of a mistaken decision.]

It is obvious from extract 2.1 that 17N were very much interested in getting noticed and in gaining attention with their hits. Perhaps this is why they preferred human targets, since attacks on humans are more sensational. They chose their targets carefully so as not to cause damage to anyone else but the target, and they wanted their victim to have such symbolic power that everyone would understand the attack. As the years went by, however, it became less obvious why the people and institutions 17N attacked ‘deserved punishment’; this may be why their communiqués became longer and more complicated in the later years of the group’s activity.

2.3.4. 17N's internal structure

The numerous police and intelligence investigations into 17N, as well as the recent interrogations of its members, provide a revealing picture of the organisation's internal structure and practices. 17N can be described as an organisation with few members and a strict hierarchical structure, which functioned following the tactics of guerrilla warfare (Nasiakos, 2001). The leading members who formed 17N's ideological platform were very few, but the members executing the hits were more numerous. Overall, about 25 to 30 people are believed to have been directly involved in the organisation. The group is believed to have renewed its active members more than twice, with the recruits being family members or close friends of an older member. In contrast to the organisations with similar ideology that have been known so far in the world (e.g. *Action Directe*, *Red Brigades* etc.), 17N have not aimed at widening their operational activities, thus restricting themselves to the limits of the Greek capital city, Athens, and to a limited number of members (ibid.). This is probably one of the reasons that kept them undercover and safe for so long, even though by choosing this strategy they significantly limited their revolutionary appeal and potential, which is supposedly the essence of their ideology. According to Kassimeris (1995), this organisation lasted so long and had such continuity because it did not aim to broaden its influence nationally; rather, the members kept to the nation's capital.

2.3.5. The periods of 17N's activity

Several analysts divide the activity of 17N into three operational phases in order to link the frequency and intensity of their attacks to the socio-political context of the time (Bossis, 1996; Kassimeris, 2002; Pretenderis, 2002). The first phase (1974-1981) was characterised by strong anti-American feelings and an effort to reform the Greek state and to punish active members of the recent Junta, as the Greek state had not brought them to justice. In the second phase (1983-1990), American targets received less attention, as a variety of prominent politicians and businessmen were attacked. 17N was very active and seemed to be involved in all aspects of Greek political life. During the third phase (1991-2001), 17N continued along roughly the same lines, although there was some modification of its early Marxist-Leninist ideology and some signs of internal disagreement among its members. Lack of discipline and organisation were reflected in the bombings that took place during this period, carried out with 17N's technique, but which 17N did not claim with a communiqué (Nasiakos, 2001). It is argued that this internal lack of discipline and organisation is what led to the wrong timing of the bomb explosion in June 2002 and to the subsequent arrest and conviction of 17N's members (ibid.).

Most analysts agree with the three-period division, especially as far as the first and second phases are concerned; it seems that there was a noticeable change of direction for the group after 1980 (Ioakeimoglou and Triantafyllou, 2002; Pappas, 2002; Pretenderis, 2002). However, these three periods should not be seen as reflecting major changes in the organisation's focus; overall, 17N's stuck to its initial

beliefs and aims, even though the changing socio-political circumstances brought about, at first, a broadening of their activities, and, as the years went by, a gradual loss of confidence and orientation (see also Karkagiannis, 2002:153-165). One of the group's own members, when interviewed, stated that the organisation had a uniform ideology and never diverged from its initial beliefs and goals (Koufontinas, quoted in *Eleutherotypia*, 2002). Therefore, one should approach the three-phase division as a useful indication of 17N's evolution over the years, which facilitates the examination of such a long-lasting and active organisation, rather than as a rigid separation of different phases of 17N's activity.

17N's first hit immediately put them on the map as a dangerous and distinct organisation, since their chosen target was Richard Welch, CIA's station chief in Athens. Interestingly, their professionalism and the accuracy of the hit gave the government, police and media the impression that an already established terrorist group had committed the murder, which prompted the organisation to write a text claiming the hit as their own, both in terms of conception and execution. From that point on, they made sure they used the same weapon for their executions so that they would not be mistaken for any other organisation. 17N carefully chose their first victims and made sure the symbolism of their execution was clear in the eyes of the Greek public. Their anti-American, anti-authoritarian actions and their image as the public avenger gained them recognition and the sympathy of a big portion of the Greek public, at least initially.

The second phase in the organisation's course is marked by the coming to power of the Greek socialist party *PASOK* and begins with 17N announcing, in a long

text, the suspension of its activity for three years, so as to give the new party a chance to fulfil its pre-election promises. Interestingly, as Pappas (2002) argues, there might be another reason why 17N remained inactive from 1980 to 1984. This is the period when several members of the first generation may have decided to abandon the organisation, as they deemed that enough had been done against the Americans and the supporters of the former dictatorship. Two or three years were necessary for new members to be recruited (ibid.). Pappas (2002) also notes that it wouldn't have been in 17N's best interest to go against the obvious support that *PASOK* had from the Greek people, the very people that 17N was supposed to be fighting for. In 1984, however, judging that *PASOK* had not proved to be very different from the previous governments, 17N resumed action. Revenge was no longer such a pressing issue, so they broadened their activity to become more aggressive and more 'terrorist', ideologically speaking: within this period the group made clear that they would hit not only influential Americans or representatives of the extreme right, but also anyone who could qualify as their follower and supporter. In this way, members of the Greek political life and government, as well as the economically powerful, were immediately targeted. Other victims of this period were industrialists, ministers and well-known surgeons, as 17N attacked any domain of life they perceived as malfunctioning at the expense of the poorer classes. They killed or injured their targets hoping to frighten and discourage from corruption the social group their victims represented.

From the 1990s onwards the group moved further away from its initial Marxist analyses of the political status quo and continued to verbally and physically

attack the ruling classes, while simultaneously weaving conspiracy theories and scenarios about the authorities. In this last operational phase Pavlos Bakogiannis, a Greek politician belonging to the right-wing party of *Nea Dimocratia*, was assassinated; he was the first Greek politician ever to be killed by terrorists (Papachelas and Telloglou, 2002). His murder triggered the greatest disapproval so far of 17N's actions by the public, as Bakogiannis was not known for corruption and therefore his assassination could not be justified, even by 17N's standards. As Pappas (2002) notes, this last phase was also characterised by 17N becoming a weapon for political confrontations and attacks between the two principal and most powerful political parties, namely *PASOK* (socialist) and *Nea Dimocratia* (conservative, right-wing).

2.4. The Greek people's response to 17N

The significant role that the American intelligence services have played in recent Greek history has left a substantial proportion of the Greek public negatively disposed towards Americans, especially following their involvement in the coup d'état of 1967. During the dictatorship years and the ones that followed the change of regime in 1974, for many people it was almost criminal to co-operate with the police, as police officers were considered instruments of American interests in the country. Traces of this attitude have survived up to this day, which explains, to some extent, why the Greek public have not revealed information they possibly had regarding 17N members and why they have repeatedly been accused by foreign governments to be a

terrorist-fostering people. In fact, 17N often claimed in their texts that they enjoyed the support and approval of a big part of the Greek population.

Several surveys and polls have been carried out over the years to test the Greek public's opinion on terrorism and particularly on 17N. In a survey carried out by *DIMEL* in 1989, the question was posed to the public whether they would vote for 17N if there were to be elections on the following day. 86.5 percent of the population answered negatively, 5.82 percent answered positively, and 7.67 percent did not answer (quoted in Pappas, 2002). Even though the overwhelming majority of the population did not intend to vote for 17N, 17 percent of the informants stated that they agreed, in general, with the content of 17N's texts (*ibid.*). The same survey investigated whether Greeks read 17N's communiqués and came up with a large percentage of the population (72.3 percent) stating that they read the texts (Bossis, 1996).

Thirteen years later, in April 2002, there was another survey, the results of which showed that 23.7 percent of Greek citizens generally agreed with 17N's ideological stance, and, surprisingly (as 17N is ideologically close to the left), 23.6 percent of this group supported the traditionally right-wing party of *Nea Dimocratia* (Pappas, 2002). This survey was published in *Press* magazine by *MWG ALKO* only a few days before the first member of 17N was arrested. More extensive results of the survey are quoted in Pretenderis (2002): Apparently, the respondents tended to agree with 17N's ideological positions but not with its violent practices. When asked what they would suggest 17N should do, 31.3 percent stated they would rather 17N stopped being active and turn themselves over to the police. 57.8 percent suggested they

should simply stop, and 4.6 percent wanted 17N to continue as long as they did not harm Greeks. When asked how they would characterise the members of 17N, 64.5 percent answered they considered them to be terrorists, 23.9 percent stated ignorance and 11.8 percent considered them to be ‘social fighters’. In July 2002, after the injury and arrest of the terrorist who was a member of 17N, *Metron Analysis* published the results of yet another survey in the newspaper *Imerisia*. Surprisingly, a significant 23 percent of the respondents still agreed, at that time, with the organisation’s beliefs and aims, and 19 percent believed them to be ‘social revolutionaries’ (Pretenderis, 2002).

Perhaps the most enlightening results on this issue come from a qualitative survey, carried out by the Ministry of Public Affairs in 2002 (quoted in Pretenderis, 2002, and Pappas, 2002). Using carefully selected informants, from different ages, genders, and social class groups, the survey showed that most people did not feel threatened by 17N because the organisation targeted very particular people and not large groups, its members maintained that they were fighting for social justice, and they were letting the ruling and powerful classes know that the working classes had rights they were ready to stand up for. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of the respondents (89.2 percent) condemned 17N’s use of violence and would rather the organisation choose more peaceful means to make its voice heard.

2.5. 17N’s communiqués

From the very first years of their existence, 17N spelled out in writing the reasons that motivated their actions. Their usual practice was to leave a typed text near

the location of the attack or to send it to one or more newspapers, requesting publication. There exist now 82 such communiqués, which present the rationale behind the hits and respond to comments and accusations by political personalities and journalists. In particular, 17N, wanting to make their ideological identity clear, often used the communiqués to react to publications in the Greek press that accused them of anarchist activity and of distorting the Marxist-Leninist ideal. Moreover, with the communiqués 17N commented on Greek and international affairs and tried to convince their readers that their targets were guilty and deserved to be attacked, as no peaceful means could stop them from breaking the law and causing suffering. In this way they explained and attempted to justify their decision to use violence.

The communiqués, apart from being the medium the terrorist group used to communicate its message, were also used by the press for commercial purposes, i.e. to sell more newspapers, given the sensational nature of terrorist attacks. 17N's communiqués especially were read by a large number of people, as the organisation's impact was much bigger than that of other Greek terrorist groups. The communiqués' popularity can also be deduced from the reactions against the prohibition to publish terrorist texts that took effect for a small period of time in Greece, in the early 1980s. Several editors chose temporary incarceration rather than to stop publishing communiqués (Kassimeris, 1993). Recently, 17N's texts were all grouped and published in a book (Kaktos Publications, 2002), which forms the data for this thesis. Information on the communiqués' length and on the frequency of their production can be found in Appendix 4, Table 2.

2.5.1. The communiqués' content

The basic argument that informs all the communiqués has to do with the culpability of the chosen victims. Terrorist groups repeatedly raise the issue of the victim being guilty, while governments, analysts and the media usually try to construct the victims of terrorist hits as innocent (Bossis, 1996). The ethics of terrorist groups have been the object of much discussion, especially as their victims tend to be members of the establishment (see Bossis, 2000 for an analysis on terrorists' ethics). Along these lines, in their texts, 17N urged the Greek people to use violent means to punish powerful individuals who engaged in criminal activities but who were beyond the reach of the judicial system, as their wealth, power and connections protected them.

In the first communiqué, written in 1975 to explain and justify the murder of R. Welch, it was made clear that 17N believed that the people should fight based on their own strength and power and should take their fate into their own hands, especially when legal means of protest have proven ineffective. Similarly, in its 1977 text, the organisation stated that its struggle was for a revolution, the revolution of the people against imperialism, for socialism, democracy and the people's sovereignty.

Even though the organisation considered itself to belong to the political space of the extreme left, it used the communiqués to state that it had no links with other communist and left-wing parties and organisations, and so placed itself in a separate and unique ideological position. 17N scorned the activities and practices of these parties, seeing their struggle as non-existent and superficial. The first of 17N's texts

that provided the reasons for its foundation and outlined its beliefs and strategy is the 1977 one entitled “Reply to the parties and organisations” (Kaktos, 2002). In this long text the group attacked the organisations and political parties of the left wing and dismissed them as ineffective and useless, claiming that 17N was the only group of people who genuinely and actively supported a communist ideology. 17N also rejected the charges of terrorism and held that the political circumstances in Greece called for armed struggle on the part of the people in order to defend and support their victory over fascism. For the country to attain true socialism, the text argued, it was necessary for armed fighting to take place.

17N took care to differentiate their position from the other armed groups of similar ideology that planted bombs or carried out terrorist attacks. In their 1981 text, which is of similar length and importance to the 1977 one mentioned above, 17N outlined their theory of an organised, armed, revolutionary group and set out their principles for successful revolutionary practice. They also criticised other groups’ terrorist attacks since, according to 17N, they did not fulfil revolutionary criteria. 17N made sure to clarify that they would not support attacks which could result in the deaths of ‘innocent’ civilians. Similarly, in its 1992 manifesto, the group set out its ideological stance, this time in comparison with the Italian Red Brigades and in contrast to the political parties of the time.

The three operational phases of the group that were described in a previous section are also mentioned by Greek analysts with respect to their writings. Papachelas and Telloglou (2002) argue that around 1986-87 the particular style of writing of the second generation of 17N members starts becoming obvious in their

communiqués. Large parts of the texts refer to the organisation of the Greek state and particularly the police, and make suggestions to alter the status quo for one that would give the working class greater authority. As the years went by, the communiqués' content moved from being subversive and revolutionary to criticising mainly the political situation in Greece without mentioning a possible subversion of the political status quo. In addition, the organisation's ideology developed and was oriented towards more nationalistic matters, like the relationship between Turkey and Greece. However, analysts like Karkagiannis (2002) do not think the changes of style in the group's texts after 1984 had any particular importance or were significant enough to justify the division of 17N's writings into phases. Still, Karkagiannis recognises that the group's writings reflect their ideological development and, consequently, their length, content and purpose vary in different periods.

2.5.2. Existing comments on the communiqués' style

Several analysts have commented on the style and tone of 17N's texts. However, their observations have largely been brief and have been presented in their books and articles as general comments, without referring to specific excerpts from the communiqués. Apart from Kassimeris (2001, 2002), analysts' comments rarely mentioned actual words or phrases that 17N used in their writings; communiqués were included in appendices or not at all. In other words, the approach taken on 17N's texts has never, so far, had a linguistic focus. Official analyses of 17N's writings have been impossible to access, as the Greek anti-terrorist division keeps them in a

classified archive (personal communication with Vassiliki Karadimou, a graphologist working for the Greek anti-terrorist force). In this section I will summarise the points analysts made on 17N's writing style, even though their primary focus was not the language of the texts as such.

In existing analyses of 17N, it is often stated that the communiqués are written from the point of view of the 'wise instructor/mentor' (Kassimeris, 1995; Kassimeris, 2001; Papachelas and Telloglou, 2002; Pappas, 2002). By this is meant that 17N construct themselves as a group of people who know what is really going on in the Greek and international political scenes and who are willing to share their knowledge with the public, in order to protect and defend the people. They state, for instance, in their 1989 text:

Extract 2.2

Βέβαια είναι γνωστό ότι η κοινωνία παντού και πάντα συκοφαντούσε τα επαναστατικά κινήματα και παραποιούσε τις θέσεις τους [...] το ίδιο λοιπόν γίνεται και σήμερα και δεν υπάρχει καμία πρωτοτυπία, όπως εμείς ξέρουμε.

(15: 216)

[...it is of course well known that every society, always and in all places, has defamed all the revolutionary movements and has distorted their ideological positions [...] the same thing is going on today, without any originality, as only we can know.]

In a similar tone, they often repeat that their presence in Greece has protected the people from greater suffering, in statements such as the one below:

Extract 2.3

Μόνο το επαναστατικό κίνημα ένοπλης πάλης κατόρθωσε να αποτρέψει ίσαμε τώρα τα χειρότερα.

(58: 630)

[Only the revolutionary movement of armed struggle has so far managed to prevent worse things from happening.]

In addition, 17N are convinced about the justice and necessity of their actions and they frequently produce emotionally charged and colourful statements, where metaphorical expressions are often employed. In their 1975 text, for example, they write about violent action as sweeping away with brooms, and they depict their targets as dirty:

Extract 2.4

...να πάρουμε τη σκούπα για να ζαποστειλούμε όλους τους βρωμερούς, στυγνούς πράκτορες, επαγγελματίες εγκληματίες των λαών που αλωνίζουν ανενόχλητοι.

(2: 23)

[...we must take our brooms and send all the dirty, atrocious agents away, those professional criminals who roam free.]

In his 2002 book on 17N, Pretenderis observes that the communiqués are full of hatred for the rich and socially successful members of the Greek society, and he suggests that envy could have been behind the group's motivation and choice of

targets. The rhetoric of 17N, he adds, is based on the failure of politics and the lack of vision in modern societies and takes advantage of the fears of the less powerful people, rather than actually suggesting an alternative (ibid.). Pretenderis has described the organisation's discourse as a "combination of murderous mania and ideological delirium" (2002:23) and calls the group's texts "infantile incoherence" (ibid, 24). Moreover, he claims that, in their texts, 17N "regurgitate (the) foolishness" that many journalists publish in daily political newspapers, making a living out of repeating the same facts and arguments (ibid, 121).

Karkagiannis' (2002) comments on 17N's texts and manifestos are along the same lines. They are, he says, "verbose, of low theoretical level and often raving, in their attempt to match in absurdity and provocativeness the actions that go along with them" (2002:36). The arguments set forth in the texts are seen as absurdly naïve and showing lack of analytical thinking (ibid.). Karkagiannis stresses that "verbose communiqués do not constitute political action" (2002: 73). He sees 17N's activity as a kind of "primitivism" which is in line with the "naivete, barbaricism and cynicism of the communiqués, but mostly with the lack of clear political aim of their choice of targets" (ibid. 129). Like Pretenderis, he notes a certain lack of originality in the arguments set forth in the communiqués, and he claims that 17N's politico-philosophical views have been presented elsewhere more eloquently and more fully, but they did not have a wide appeal precisely because they were not accompanied by murder (ibid. 155). He concludes that whatever value 17N's communiqués have is that they provide the reader with a cynical description of the passage from conceit to murder (ibid. 165).

Kassimeris, in his 2002 book on the organisation, discusses about 50 communiqués that he had studied at the time. He makes extensive use of passages from the texts, mainly as evidence regarding 17N's choice of particular targets. He rarely comments on the text's language other than to describe it as "dramatic" and "sensational", "difficult to understand and polysyllabic" (2002: 153). Kassimeris observes that 17N usually produced very long texts with confused syntax and intense rhetoric. He notes a change in the texts taking place roughly after 1993, whereby the language became "more pompous, repetitive and monotonously denunciatory", while the "abstract, idiomatic Marxist vocabulary ended up undermining their (17N's) positions" (2002: 242). Kassimeris also made the important remark that 17N, though very productive in terms of writing texts, never actually wrote analyses like the ones circulated by Brigade Rosse in order to make their strategic positions known. Rather, they wrote texts to blame and punish their targets in print as well as in real life.

Finally, members of the French newspaper *Liberation*, to whom the first ever 17N text was sent for publication, decided not to publish it because of its style, which was considered provocative and cynical (Papachelas and Telloglou, 2002).

To sum up, both the content and the language of 17N's texts have been the subject of attack and criticism from Greek and foreign journalists and analysts. In all of these cases the analysts' comments were based on readings of a number of communiqués, and they did not use any particular method of text and discourse analysis. Obviously, the analysts were not primarily concerned with the texts' language; they made brief comments in passing, as their main concerns were different. Features of the communiqués like their length, the length of the sentences in

them, the use of many strong adjectives and the, often convoluted, syntax that was found in the texts were mainly commented upon. Even though I agree with the main gist of existing comments on the communiqués, I find that a linguistic-oriented approach to these texts comes to fill a gap in the existing studies.

2.6. An early assessment of 17N's influence on Greek society and on the Greek political scene

17N enjoyed a lot of support in the early years of their activity, when the need for justice and revenge was urgent among the Greeks. However, this support quickly faded, as the political climate of the country settled down and the organisation attacked targets of dubious culpability. Looking at the communiqués, one can see that 17N believed that it had massive support even during the 1990s, even though this is questionable (see section 2.4 above). In fact, they never gained the full backing of the Greek people that could have led to the armed revolution they envisioned.

As Karkagiannis (2002) aptly states, it is not possible for a group of individuals to represent a whole people simply because they say so. Even though they were motivated by perceived deficiencies in the regime of the time, they were never chosen as representatives. The violence practised by 17N was not the result of social struggles and democratic inadequacy (even though these may have been present as well) but the result of the private initiative of a small group of people who decided to interpret the social and political events of the time in their own way. They cannot be

justified simply because, as Pappas observes, they had "...the illusion that they were the armed pioneers of the working class and they believed that with the murders and the bombs [...], they could wake the masses from their [...] sleep" (2002:35). The Greek people perceived the paradox of this organisation and were never influenced in a way that would lead to a generalised use of violence.

A valuable point is raised by Bossis (2000) and Pretenderis (2002). 17N, they claim, was not a revolutionary organisation at all because they did not really offer an alternative way of thinking and evaluating reality; on the contrary, they were preaching the same views that Greek people were commonly discussing in taverns and coffee shops. Their ideology was limited to accusations and vague criticisms, as well as easy denunciations of anything that displeased them. 17N did not develop their own ideology in depth and did not really try to change Greek society; they only tried to punish it, or rather to punish a portion of it. Similarly, the majority of ideologically related terrorist organisations, like *RAF* in Germany, *Action Directe* in France and *Brigate Rosse* in Italy, did not suggest solutions of a political or economic nature but limited themselves to pinpointing the evils of the government and society (Bossis, 1996, 2000). They expected the people to follow them in a mass uprising and rid societies of wrongdoing. When the people did not see a distinctive political programme to follow and no concrete alternative suggestions, these organisations' influence gradually faded.

17N however, unlike these groups, survived the failure to stir the masses to a revolution and continued to be active long after it had become obvious that the mass uprising it had suggested in its early stages was no longer feasible. It lasted much

longer in spite of its “existential dead-end” (Bossis, 2000: 172), and would still be active had it not been for the accident of June 2002. This suggests, perhaps, that the organisation came to serve other purposes in the later years of its activity. Several scenarios have been suggested, claiming that the two major competing political parties (*PASOK* and *Nea Dimokratia*) allowed and encouraged the existence of 17N for their own purposes, and hypotheses have been raised according to which 17N had degenerated to a group of regular criminals who hid behind an ideological mask (Bossis, 2000). In the latter case, 17N are said to enjoy the economic benefits of organised crime while retaining their revolutionary cover in order to justify their actions, however weakly. It is probably too soon to know if any of these scenarios are even partly true. Whatever the truth may be, 17N has been a significant part of Greek society and has evolved with it, as well as playing a major part in the formation of policies and in Greece’s image internationally. It is because of 17N’s activity that many of Greece’s anti-terrorist laws and other restrictive policies have been enforced over the years (see, for example, the anti-terrorist laws of 1978, 1990, in Kassimeris, 1993). Nevertheless, it is still early to attempt a proper assessment of its influence on Greek life, especially as there are so many unresolved questions even after the arrest and conviction of many of its members.

2.7. Conclusion

In attempting to analyse a form of terrorism and a particular manifestation of this form (in this case, terrorist communiqués), it is necessary to place it in a specific

historical period and context, as this chapter has tried to do. It is also valuable to distinguish among the various forms terrorist acts can take and to try to understand each one separately. In this case, 17N had a remarkably individual character as an organisation and one that is probably issued by the extreme ideology of its founders and members (Pappas, 2002). This group believed in the use of violence but had a particular theory on how and when to use it. They did not use violence randomly, against large groups of citizens: on the contrary, they chose their targets carefully and wrote long texts justifying their choices and explaining in depth the precautions they took in order for passers-by not to be injured. 17N did not aim at terrorising what they perceived to be the working class people but they wanted to terrorise the economic and political establishment, the rich upper classes, and the police. 17N aimed at symbolic targets, as, naturally, they could not kill or injure every representative of the social classes they fought against. They tried to completely disconnect their victims from their human nature and offered a variety of reasons that would legitimise violence. All these characteristics should be kept in mind when analysing the writings they produced.

Having said that, it is not contested in this thesis whether 17N has or has not been a group of terrorists and whether they were 'social fighters' instead. I will be considering them as terrorists even though I accept the problematic meaning and connotations of the term, and even though they may not have been perceived as a threat by the entirety of the Greek population. In my opinion, their choice of targets did not make them any less violent or terrorist, and their use of violent means was not

justified by the political situation within which they acted, despite their claims for total corruption and lack of democratic principles in Greece.

CHAPTER 3 - LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will present an overview of Cognitive Metaphor Theory, on which I base my analysis. I will also provide a brief background on Blending Theory, as I have found it useful for the analysis and explication of particular metaphorical expressions in my data. Furthermore, I will define the concept of metaphor scenarios, of which I make use throughout the data analysis. I will also discuss metaphor in the context of political discourse, focussing particularly on its persuasive potential, and I will provide an overview of experimental and non-experimental studies on the persuasive ability of metaphor. Finally, I will discuss metaphor in relation to its cultural context.

3.1 Introduction

In this thesis, I will use ‘metaphor’ to mean the phenomenon whereby we talk and potentially think about something in terms of something else. The expression “bureaucracy is the cancer of today’s society”, for instance, that 17N have used in their communiqués, talks about public administration in terms of an illness. This way of talking about bureaucracy may reflect, reinforce, and influence a particular way of thinking about it in terms of a grave and potentially terminal illness. Moreover, the aforementioned expression involves a way of talking about society in terms of a human

body which can become ill. In the next section, I will present the theoretical background within which metaphor is approached in this thesis.

3.2 Principles of Cognitive Metaphor Theory

I will discuss the main principles of Cognitive Metaphor Theory (henceforth, CMT) (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Lakoff, 1993), a most influential paradigm that provides the basic framework for my analysis. Lakoff and his colleagues noted the presence of large numbers of conventional metaphorical expressions in language, which people use without consciously being aware of their metaphoricity. They highlighted the pervasiveness of metaphorical expressions in language and observed that conventional metaphorical expressions tend to form systematic sets. Consider, for example, the sentences below, where the italicized expressions describe aspects of a love relationship (in this case, negative aspects) in terms of travelling and moving in space:

The relationship isn't *going anywhere*.

We may have to *go our separate ways*.

Our relationship is *off the track*.

Our relationship has hit a *dead-end street*.

(Lakoff, 1993:206. Italics in original)

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argued that many such related sets of metaphorical expressions exist in English. Their observations on these occurrences formed the basis of their argument that these expressions are not simply ways of talking about one thing in terms of another but they also suggest that we may think about one thing in terms of another. The sentences shown above, thus, suggested to them that we think of love relationships in terms of travelling and moving in space.

According to CMT, sets of expressions like the ones mentioned above reflect conventional patterns of thought which are known as conceptual metaphors. These are systematic sets of correspondences, or mappings, across conceptual domains. The notion of 'conceptual domain' is basic within CMT; conceptual domains are mental representations that include various elements, relations, and patterns of inference. They are portions of background knowledge on particular phenomena and experiences. These portions of background knowledge allow a target domain (for example, our knowledge regarding love relationships) to be partly structured in terms of a source domain (our knowledge and experience of travelling and journeys). So, sets of conventional metaphorical expressions (like the aforementioned ones referring to love) are seen as linguistic realisations of conventional conceptual metaphors. For example, the expressions referring to love relationships are considered to be linguistic realisations of a conventional conceptual metaphor which could be phrased as LOVE IS A JOURNEY². The target domain of love relationships, thus, is partly structured via the source domain of travelling. This involves correspondences between travelling companions and partners in a relationship, different stages of the relationship and

² The practice of referring to conceptual metaphors using small capitals, which originated in early CMT research, is one that I will follow throughout this thesis.

different stages on the road, breaking-up and following different destinations, and so on.

In CMT, it is emphasized that target domains typically correspond to areas of experience that are complex, abstract, unfamiliar, and difficult to delineate, such as love, time, life, and emotions. These areas of experience are structured with the help of source domains which typically correspond to areas of experience which are more simple, concrete, familiar and well-defined, such as moving in space, physical objects, and bodily phenomena. The notion of 'image schema' has been proposed within CMT to account for simple and basic mental representations that capture fundamental physical experiences (Johnson, 1987). Image schemas are elementary knowledge structures that consist of basic elements; for example, the PATH image schema is related to the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, and consists of two locations, a path between the two locations, and a direction of movement from one location to the other (ibid.).

Grady (1997) has proposed a version of CMT whereby conceptual metaphors such as LOVE IS A JOURNEY result from more basic and abstract conceptual mappings such as PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. These more basic mappings are called 'primary metaphors' and are grounded on systematic correlations between physical experiences (e.g. arriving at a destination) and intangible, subjective experiences (e.g. achieving a purpose). In this version of CMT, the structuring potential of basic experiential correlations for target domains is stressed, perhaps even more than in the original version.

It is important to point out that in the process of the target domain being partly structured by the source domain, new structure can be projected to the target domain. This means that the source domain can project elements to the target domain that may not have been part of the target domain independently of the metaphoric mapping. For example, in the TIME IS MONEY conceptual metaphor, time can be invested, used, and wasted, as shown by some of its linguistic realisations: “You’ve used up all your time”, “I have invested a lot of time on that project” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, quoted in Semino, 2008). These aspects of TIME may not have been part of the domain independently of the metaphor.

Even though previous approaches to metaphor were based on similarities between unlike entities (Black, 1962; Searle, 1979, quoted in Semino, 1997), in CMT the notion of similarity does not feature prominently, as conventional conceptual metaphors are grounded on experiential correlations. However, CMT proponents recognize that not all metaphors can be viewed as based on experiential correlations, but some are based on perceived similarities between different entities or areas of experience, which are culturally determined. For example, metaphors that talk of humans in terms of animals are based on the perceived resemblances between the characteristics of the source domain with the target domain (see Grady, 1999). Consider the phrase ‘John is a pig’; this expression cannot be motivated by recurrent experiential correlations but is rather a result of perceived similarities, which are shaped by the cultural context the phrase is used in.

A central distinction within the theory is the one between metaphors as conceptual phenomena and metaphorical expressions as linguistic phenomena. Another

distinction within the cognitive metaphor view is that of metaphorical expressions that we use largely unconsciously, and those that attract our attention with their originality. Conceptual metaphors are underlying notions which can be expressed, linguistically, in a variety of novel or conventional ways. Conventional metaphorical expressions have become conventionalized and established within a cultural context or a linguistic community, constituting a fundamental part of its conceptual system (Lakoff and Turner 1987; Lakoff 1993). Novel expressions are creative and less frequent than conventional ones, and they might or might not become conventionalized with time. Novel metaphorical expressions are often creative exploitations of conventional mappings. Recent research within the paradigm has suggested that metaphor novelty (or conventionality) is a matter of degree rather than a clear-cut distinction and that it is largely dependent on the context and the circumstances of use of particular metaphorical expressions (Hanks, 2006; Martin, 2006; Semino, 2006). I will return to this issue in Chapter 4.

So far, we have seen that the most important tenets of the cognitive approach are that metaphor is pervasive in language and that it is closely connected to one's everyday thought and action, rather than being a decorative device in spoken and written language. Metaphors, as they are seen within this paradigm, have the potential to influence people's perception of the world as they actively participate in structuring varied understandings of reality. Through metaphor, abstract and complex domains of human experience can be organised and better understood using more familiar or tangible concepts; moreover, the partial mapping of elements of the source domain to the target domain implies that metaphor can highlight certain aspects of things, while

simultaneously hiding others. This makes metaphor a conceptual and linguistic phenomenon of primary importance which merits the attention it has been given over the past three decades. Moreover, it hints at the rhetorical potential of metaphor, which I will discuss in detail in section 3.6 below.

In fact, conventional patterns of metaphor in particular discourses have a noteworthy ideological dimension, which has been the object of numerous recent studies (among others, Dirven, Frank, and Ilie, 2001; Goatly, 2002a, 2007). Given that ideology can be defined as social representations shared by members of a group, which lead them to form social beliefs and to act according to them (Van Dijk, 1998), it follows that metaphor has an important role to play in the formation and reflection of particular ideologies. This is because metaphorical language participates in the way states of affairs are presented, and has the potential to influence the way states of affairs are perceived, as Semino (1997) put it. Before I elaborate further on the ideological dimension of metaphor, I will present and discuss some criticisms of CMT.

3.3 Criticising Cognitive Metaphor Theory

CMT focuses primarily on conceptual metaphors and regards metaphorical expressions in language as secondary. This has been criticised, as CMT shows a general lack of consideration for the manifestations of metaphor in discourse, and for the linguistic form of metaphorical expressions (see, for example, Cameron and Low, 1999; Semino, Heywood, and Short, 2004). Moreover, the linguistic evidence that has been postulated as proof for underlying conventional mappings has mainly been based

on researcher's intuitions and on invented examples. This does not take into account the actual occurrence of metaphorical expressions in naturally occurring discourse, which is a much more complex phenomenon (Steen, 1999; Low, 2003). The analysis of metaphor in discourse requires an explicit set of methodological criteria in order to extrapolate conceptual metaphors from linguistic data, a fact that has recently been recognized by most metaphor researchers (for example, Cameron, 2003; Musolff, 2004a; Deignan, 2005; Pragglejaz Group, 2007). These criticisms raise doubts as to the exhaustiveness of the CMT account of metaphor in language as well as the reliability of claims concerning conventional conceptual metaphors.

Distinguishing between literal and metaphorical expressions is one of the problematic issues within the theory, which relates to problems in the identification of metaphorical expressions in discourse. Recent approaches to metaphor identification in isolated texts as well as in large corpora suggest that the examination of a metaphorical expression's co-text as well as of its larger context usually provides enough information in order to tell apart its literal and metaphorical senses (Deignan, 2005). Explicit procedures that aid the reliable identification of metaphorical expressions in texts have recently been proposed (Pragglejaz Group, 2007). These procedures allow metaphor identification projects to be replicated, and therefore add validity to approaches which previously were highly subjective. Moreover, the formal and grammatical aspects of metaphorical expressions have also been neglected within traditional CMT, a fact that has recently begun to be addressed (Cameron, 2003; Deignan, 2005, 2006).

Another problematic aspect of the theory is the extent to which linguistic expressions can account for the existence of deeper, conceptual structures (see Murphy, 1996, for a discussion). To this, Lakoff (1993) has partly answered by stating that correspondences between linguistic expressions and conceptual metaphors need to be systematic in order to account for the existence of underlying conceptual structures. Therefore, adequate linguistic evidence should be provided before underlying conceptual structures can be argued to exist. In this respect, the use of language corpora can be of significant help; I will discuss the contribution of corpus-based approaches to metaphor research in Chapter 4.

Finally, CMT has been criticised for not being able to provide a satisfactory account for cases of metaphorical mappings whereby elements that do not form part of the source domain are found in the target domain, as a result of the metaphorical mapping. In other words, CMT has been criticised for not providing adequate explanation about more complex metaphor-related phenomena, which may require the postulation of additional input (apart from the source domain) in order to be explained. This particular weak point of CMT has, to a great extent, motivated the formulation of Conceptual Blending Theory, which allows for the existence of multiple conceptual domains that combine to form an integrated final product. I will introduce this theory in the next section.

CMT is a theory concerned with broad and general issues such as why particular metaphorical mappings occur in particular languages, and the extent to which basic conventional conceptual mappings are universal. The study of metaphor in discourse, however, includes the consideration of details on the particular context

metaphorical expressions occur in, and on the roles, identities, and relationships of the discourse participants. The relevant co-text and the cultural context also need to be taken into consideration, and recently this has been increasingly the case (Cienki, 1999; Eubanks, 2000; Kövecses, 1999, 2005). I will discuss this issue in detail in section 3.7 below. Taking the criticisms and the limitations of CMT in mind, I rely on naturally occurring data when making claims about underlying conceptual mappings and I use evidence from language corpora to support my claims. I also pay attention to the particularities of individual occurrences of metaphor in a specific context, as well as to the conventionality of frequent metaphor uses. The way I approach my data and my methodology will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

3.4 Conceptual Blending Theory

I will provide some information on Conceptual Blending Theory, even though I only use it for a few particular cases that I came across in my data. I believe, however, that this background is necessary in order to explain my motivation for using the theory in my analysis.

Conceptual integration, or conceptual blending, is a broad theoretical framework that includes a set of interconnected operations for the combination and integration of information. It involves the building and the dynamic conceptual processing of a network of mental spaces, which are linked via projection mappings and other crucial relations in a way that prompts creative meaning construction. Conceptual blends, as the products of conceptual integration are known, are often

novel and highly creative structures, but blending operations are argued to play a crucial role in the understanding and production of virtually any form of concept combination. In the past, however, authors tended not to focus on the “general blending capacity” that characterises human beings; rather, they saw instances of blending as “exotic” and “marginal” (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002: 37). Similar statements have been made about metaphor, before Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) claims concerning its ubiquity in language and thought started a new tradition in the study of metaphor.

Conceptual blending has been proposed and developed mainly by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, and is based on Fauconnier’s notion of mental spaces (1994). A complete account of the development of the theory can be found in their book, *The Way We Think* (2002), which includes examples and discussions present in their earlier work (Fauconnier and Turner 1998; Turner and Fauconnier 1998; Fauconnier and Turner 2000). In their book, the two authors pose the question of how it is possible for human beings to perceive of one integrated concept, when the complexity of the perceived concept can in fact be great. To answer this question, the authors propose the integration networks model.

Integration networks consist of an array of interconnected mental spaces. These are small, dynamic conceptual constructs, useful for understanding and acting locally, during the production and interpretation of discourse (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002). One of their most advantageous characteristics is that they can be remodelled and modified in the on-line construction of meaning and inference. As Turner (2000) explains, the human brain can hold about 15-20 spaces available for use at any moment, but seems to focus on 2-5 spaces each time, while, in discourse, hundreds of

others may come up, which may be used wholly or partially. This gives great flexibility to the mental construct at hand, but also restricts the “primed” mental spaces that can be dealt with extensively each time. The cognitive foundation of mental spaces supports the network model proposed by Fauconnier and Turner to account for the way mental spaces are linked with each other.

This network model consists of mental spaces, whose contents are structured by frames, and projections and mappings between them. A typical and basic blending network consists of two (or more) input mental spaces, a generic space, and a blended space. The input spaces provide the information that will be combined with other elements for the integrated blend to occur. Counterparts in the input mental spaces are connected with cross-space mappings, and their common elements are projected to a generic space. The blended space contains elements projected from the two input spaces, with some details preserved and others omitted, and a blended product is constructed which, in most cases, exhibits emergent structure of its own. In the blended space, that is, one finds information that can be traced back to the input spaces and generic space, but not exclusively so: a number of operations play their part for the blend to be enriched with its own unique content. This feature of integration networks carries a special significance. Finally, I should note that conceptual integration networks are not limited to two input spaces or even to one blended space: there can be several inputs to a blend as well as several blended products, not to mention that multiple blends can also occur, whereby a network functions as an input for another one. Fauconnier and Turner have categorised integration networks according to the structure of elements in the mental spaces involved (2002).

Examining a particular blend will illustrate the characteristics and possibilities of the integration network. The example is taken from Turner and Fauconnier (1998):

If Clinton were the Titanic, the iceberg would sink.

In this blending network there are two input spaces: one with Bill Clinton and another one with the Titanic and the incident with the iceberg. Obviously, Clinton and the Titanic are counterparts and a cross-space mapping takes place between them, which in this case happens to be metaphorical. The iceberg also has a counterpart connection with the famous sexual scandal that involved Clinton; both are obstacles, or adversities, in the ways of Clinton/the Titanic. There is a generic space that captures the more abstract structure of the events brought together in the input spaces: a powerful entity that is threatened by an enormous obstacle in its way. In the blended space, Clinton is the Titanic and the sexual scandal is the iceberg, only this time Clinton is the winner and, instead of the Titanic, the iceberg is sinking. The blend has a humorous effect as it deals with Clinton's apparent immunity to external attacks: another politician would have collapsed had he been involved in such a scandal and even admitted his guilt. It also exhibits an unmistakably new meaning: the Titanic does not sink, the iceberg does; in the blend, new structure and new meaning has emerged, which does not originate and is not projected from the input spaces. This example also illustrates the role background knowledge, framing, co-text and context play in the production and understanding of blends. As they deal with the on-line construction of meaning, blends may seem alien or difficult to comprehend in different circumstances.

In fact, the cross-space projections do not happen arbitrarily, or in completely new, unheard-of ways. There are cultural rules that guide selective projection and facilitate some mappings over others. In the previously mentioned example, Clinton's fusion with the Titanic is based on a conventional metaphor, that of activity being a journey on a path towards a destination. This mapping is entrenched in common cultural knowledge. Co-text is an important factor in specifying how the spaces will be set up, which projections are going to take place, and what operations are going to be run in the blend.

In the example discussed above, the *if...then* construction employed, which is a conditional indicating a counterfactual, entails that Clinton is not, in fact, the Titanic. With blending, incompatible input spaces can be combined to provide striking and creative results. Clashing spaces, held together in an integration network, provide the means for rich and emotively powerful emergent meaning, as can be found in humorous, ironic, and metaphorical expressions; in fact, metaphor can be a means to realise the function of irony. Blends are creative in their construction and operation, in that they are not merely compositional, and they are not deterministic: an acceptable blend can be constructed in more than one ways, and may involve pieces of incompatible information.

Emergent structure has generally been considered as one of the most striking features of the integration network that comes to light while "running the blend" – in a way, emergent structure is evidence for a blend's existence as a separate cognitive construct, different from the mere composition of elements from its inputs. It is the emergent meaning that renders conceptual blends remarkable and impressive, be they

linguistic constructs or other manifestations of the blending capacity. For this reason the majority of analyses of blends describe and characterise the differences between input space structure and blended space structure (Coulson and Oakley, 2000).

Even though addressing the issue of the emergence of new meaning is one of the strongest points of blending theory, it is not always plain how much new meaning, if any, emerges, and how strong a criterion this should be for the postulation of blending processes. Interestingly, emergent structure is not an indispensable feature of each and every blend, as Grady, Oakley and Coulson note: some blends, they argue, are “truth-functionally compositional” (1999: 122). In their recent work, Fauconnier and Turner (2002) seem to account for the existence or the absence of observable emergent structure by their categorisation of integration networks into simplex, mirror, single-scope and double-scope. Hence, not all kinds of networks exhibit the same degree of emergent structure in the blend.

Blending theory is useful in that it deals with some of the issues that theories like cognitive metaphor theory did not resolve, like the emergence of new meaning and the links between linguistic expressions and cognitive processes (Gibbs, 2000). Ritchie also points out how blending theory escapes the inherent circularity of previous theories on metaphor because it is grounded on general experience rather than an already metaphorical relationship (2003). However, it has been criticised for being unnecessarily complex and for being too general and all-encompassing, in a way that it becomes non-refutable (Harder, 2003). In addition, Grady notes that, in combining cognitive elements within a society, we usually need to serve “some conceptual or communicative purpose” (2000: 342), a factor that has not been adequately developed

within the theory. Finally, Harder grounds his criticism regarding the ubiquity of networked mental spaces on the theoretical principle that “complexities in theoretical assumptions must be motivated by complexities in the data” (2003: 92); thus, particularly complex data may adequately be accounted for by this framework, while simpler data may better be accounted for by other theories.

Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 309-352) list six optimality principles to counter the criticism that blending theory may be too general and all-encompassing: for blends to run smoothly, they claim, optimality principles need to be observed. Topology, relevance, integration, and unpacking principles are at work, as well as pattern completion and web-related (network-related) rules. These principles work cooperatively or antagonistically towards achieving as many or as relevant goals of the network as possible, so that the final outcome is an integrated story, where “many” is compressed to “one”, vital relations are strengthened, and human-scale global insight is achieved. The interacting principles limit the blending process but, simultaneously, empower it, by allowing well-integrated blends to occur again and again. In this way, useful blends may become entrenched and may function as inputs for new blends.

In the course of the analysis of my data, I will exemplify why the use of Conceptual Blending Theory in some cases may appear necessary and helpful, while in other cases it might have unnecessarily complicated the analysis.

I will now introduce the concepts of metaphor scenarios and systems, as I will be using them throughout the analysis of my data.

3.5 Metaphorical scenarios and systems

Musolff (2004a, 2006) raises important issues regarding the parts that make up a given conceptual domain and the relationship among them. In his 2004 book, for example, he deals with aspects of European politics being talked about in terms of health and illness. He sees the need for a metaphorical interpretation of expressions found in his corpus as arising from the interaction of two sets of presuppositions: one set of presuppositions related to background assumptions on the topic, namely economic and political relations in Europe, and another set related to background assumptions on the general theme of health and illness (2004a:80-81). These latter presuppositions, or general aspects of background folk knowledge, represent properties and relations that are attributed to the topic of European politics. So, within this context, an utterance that is interpreted as metaphorical will also be informed by the evaluative presuppositions commonly associated with the source domain. These, in turn, can be exploited for argumentative purposes. Musolff defined these “prominent sub-sets of presuppositions within a specific thematic dimension or perspective” (2004a: 81) as scenarios. A metaphorical scenario consists of the interaction of sets of presuppositions, which are prominent because they are frequent and well-distributed in a given corpus. These scenarios form the basis for examining the role of source domain concepts when applied to the target domain, which in Musolff’s case is European politics.

Musolff (2006) also noticed that not all the elements of source domains were equally important, nor were they equally represented in discourse. For example, this is

the case with the conceptual domains of HEALTH/STRENGTH and LOVE/MARRIAGE/FAMILY, which he frequently encountered in his data, describing the political relationships between different countries of the European Union via metaphorical expressions used in the press. Only some of the features of LOVE and MARRIAGE, for instance, were exploited in this particular context; and different features of the domain were used for different rhetorical purposes. Countries of the EU could be seen as married couples, as the third person in a relationship, as illegitimate lovers, etc. depending on the point that needed to be made. Elements of the source domain could also be creatively extended: families, for instance, were discussed as having multiple parents, in the context of different countries participating in the EU.

Moreover, he observed that a single source domain may include contrastive conceptualisations of the target topic, as Lakoff (1995), too, had remarked: in conceptualising the US nation as a family, two competing models for the parents in this family (the STRICT FATHER and the NURTURANT PARENT models) provide the scenarios on which the two major American political parties (the Republicans and the Democrats, respectively) build their political identities. Given the importance and status of the concept of domain in Cognitive Linguistics, on the one hand, and the apparent fact that there are subdivisions within this category, which may even be contrastive, on the other, Musolff (2006) opts for the narrower concept of scenario. Thus, he describes the elements of a conceptual domain that are given prominence in a specific discourse and foregrounds the attitudinal stance of the metaphor producer.

Musolff links his definition of scenarios with Fillmore's "conceptual scenes" (Fillmore, 1975, quoted in Musolff, 2006), Lakoff's "idealized cognitive models"

(Lakoff, 1987, quoted in Musolff, 2006) and Turner and Fauconnier's "scenarios", as dynamic schemas operating in the mental space created by a conceptual blending (2002). Taking a certain stereotypical element, which is usually inherent in common knowledge, into consideration, Musolff further elucidates scenarios as "set(s) of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about 'typical' aspects of a source-situation, for example, its participants and their roles, the 'dramatic' storylines and outcomes, and conventional evaluations of whether they count as successful or unsuccessful, normal or abnormal, permissible or illegitimate, etc." (2006: 28). Such scenarios appear to be very frequent in public discourse and shape the way target topics are presented by outlining and constructing the values, tendencies and biases in a particular discourse community.

It is important to take into account the background, common knowledge that resides in a metaphor's source domain and that is used, often selectively, to conceptualise elements of the target topic. Metaphor scenarios carry the metaphor producer's political and attitudinal biases, inherent stereotypes, as well as rhetorical and argumentative nuances. I would add that scenarios, apart from enhancing our understanding of the way source and target domains interact, also interconnect, when source domains share some of their constituents. In this way they form larger systems which function like binding, coherent elements that structure the discourse of a group. Localized scenarios thus are the building elements of larger conceptual structures, which create whole systems of concepts.

If we now take the broad group of 17N's opponents and targets as roughly equivalent to an extensive target domain, this is talked about in the communiqués via

background knowledge inherent in the various source domains of the metaphors found in the corpus of communiqués. This broad, hypothetical metaphorical mapping would answer to the question: How are 17N's targets metaphorically presented in the organisation's texts? The notion of diversification, proposed by Goatly (1997: 259-261) to describe the interplay of metaphors in texts, could also be helpful to understand this mapping. Goatly defines diversification as the use of different source domains to describe a single target domain. He uses an example from a well-known novel, namely William Golding's 'The Inheritors', to illustrate this notion. Lok, who is the central character of the novel and belongs to a Neanderthal tribe, uses various source domains to describe his feelings towards the new people he encountered, who were Homo sapiens. Among other things, he describes the newcomers as "forest fire", "cat", "honey" and "river" (see Goatly, 1997: 260). These different source domains carry with them particular features and conventionally known traits, which enable the reader to infer the attributes Lok is ascribing to the new people, and also his feelings towards them. Moreover, they highlight different aspects of the target domain, that is, different characteristics of the new people.

In the case of 17N, the scenarios inbuilt in the source domains contain elements familiar to the average Greek reader that are then exploited by 17N for rhetorical and argumentative purposes. Metaphors that are frequent and well-distributed in the communiqués build metaphorical systems that bring different scenarios together. These systems are among the tools 17N use to build their basic argument which structures and informs all the communiqués without exception: that it was just and legitimate to

attack the people and institutions they attacked, in the violent way they chose to do it, because they were guilty.

To sum up, the notion of scenario facilitates the observation and analysis of the way source domain constituents interact with the target domain and with their actual context of use, in order to render the overall mapping comprehensible. Often, the source scenario is a creative extension of the elements of the source domain or a very flexible version of it. Most importantly, it carries normative and evaluative assumptions and, often, it is emotionally charged in a positive or negative way. Cultural bias and culturally shared values feature strongly, too. The argumentative exploitation of this information, however, depends on the interests and goals of the discourse community that handles it.

I will now turn to a discussion of metaphor in political discourse.

3.6 Metaphor in political discourse

With the advent of Cognitive Metaphor Theory and its subsequent influence on metaphor study, the literature on metaphor has become vast and touches on various domains of human endeavour, like literature, science, education, journalism, and the business world, to name but a few. The products of research in all these domains have yielded valuable insights on the form and function of metaphor. For the purposes of this thesis, I will focus on metaphor in the political arena.

The domain of politics is difficult to define, as it involves a variety of interrelated individuals, institutions and types of activities. It is clear, however, that at

the centre of political activity is the negotiation of power which, as Semino points out, can be exercised, maintained and lost in local, national and international contexts (2008: 85). Chilton sees power as involving the control of resources and capabilities, and also as the discursive power to disseminate concepts which can influence the people's opinions and behaviour (2004). It follows that language plays a central role in politics, since political action is to a great extent linguistic action, manifest in political texts, speeches, debates etc. (Chilton, 1996, 2004; Semino, 2008). Political discourse, therefore, is a complex human activity which entails the negotiation of power in different contexts, and mirrors and constructs the tensions between power and resistance that take place in the political arena.

The purposes of political discourse can be multiple, such as informative, persuasive, ludic, etc. (see Chilton and Schäffner 1997: 208-215). It follows that linguistic expressions in politics can also fulfil different functions. Chilton has identified three important, strategic functions of linguistic expressions in politics which are: coercion, legitimisation and delegitimation, and representation and misrepresentation (2004: 45-50). Coercion has to do with impinging on others' behaviour by, for example, passing laws and issuing commands. Legitimation and delegitimation have to do with affecting one's credibility and value as a holder of power within a social group. Representation and misrepresentation have to do with controlling the amount and content of information one receives and with inducing particular views of reality. These functions are closely interrelated, as the (mis)representation of a situation or individual may accordingly legitimise or delegitimise a course of action which in turn may form the basis for coercion, by

setting a particular agenda. Metaphorical expressions are especially linked to the representation function of language in politics, as information from the source domains on metaphors is projected to the target domains, evoking particular representations of people or situations.

The communiqués written by 17N have an undoubtedly political character, since they accompanied the organisation's violent actions and provided explanation and justification for them. They were also a means to comment on Greek and world politics and to make 17N's views on political issues known to the public. An essential aim of these writings is to influence the Greek citizens' opinion on political affairs and to persuade them of the validity and truthfulness of 17N's claims. Given the nature of my data, therefore, I will provide an overview of research on metaphor and persuasion in the political domain, which will place my analysis in an adequate framework and support my subsequent suggestions on the possible effects of 17N's use of metaphor.

Before that, however, I should note that 17N's communiqués are texts with a unique position as a separate genre within political discourse, because of their purpose and of the circumstances of their production and dissemination. Genres are conventionalised uses of language linked to particular activities (Semino, 2008). Rarely does a political text have the openly stated purpose of claiming and justifying violent attacks with the intention to cause people's death, as have 17N's texts. It is also important to underline that the author(s) of the communiqués had to remain unknown, as had to be the circumstances of writing. At the same time, there had to be a way in which to recognise that the texts claimed by 17N were indeed written by them, so the same typewriter was always used by the organisation's members. The communiqués

were written according to the purpose, the needs and the characteristics of a closed and secret organisation, and their authors could not be named and located. The only way one could reply to these texts and challenge them was through newspapers and other media, which were the ones that brought the texts to the public in the first place. One can see there is a particular ritual that the communiqués had to go through in order to reach their desired audience. For these reasons I see them as a distinct text type within political discourse.

It is impossible to enter into a discussion of metaphor in political discourse without being primarily concerned with the persuasive power attributed to it. Metaphor has been seen as ubiquitous in persuasion contexts from politics (Lakoff, 1991; Mio, 1997) to business and the economy (Deignan, 2000) to consumer advertising (Goatly, 1997). It is, however, an essential part of political discourse and has been argued to provide political figures with a powerful means of presenting policy issues and influencing the public's perception of events (Rohrer, 1991, 1995; Lakoff, 1995; Semino and Masci, 1996). Because political discourse is characterised by communicating different opinions and ideas in a manner that needs to be convincing and win assent, it follows that metaphor will very likely be used rhetorically to achieve these purposes. Hence, its role in public utterance has long been considered as a predominantly persuasive one.

Recent research in the tradition of cognitive metaphor theory has emphasized the important role metaphor plays in communicating beliefs and opinions and in influencing them. Whether used purposely or unconsciously, metaphor contains aspects

of the speaker's world-view, and presents them in a way that often anticipates opposing views and pre-empts counter-arguments (see Deignan, 2000).

Moreover, metaphors often suggest a biased regard on situations, by bringing together items in the source and the target domain which are different and dissimilar. This is the function of metaphor that has to do with highlighting certain aspects of the target domain while inevitably hiding and downplaying others. A metaphor suggests a similarity between elements of the source and the target domain, but leaves the interpretation open, and it is up to the receiver of the message to decide which of the metaphor's inferences to accept and which to reject. This fluidity of interpretation makes metaphor a powerful device for manipulating the point of view on a situation.

As metaphors are used par excellence to help us make sense of abstract and complicated concepts, they frequently tend to simplify what they are trying to explain. This feature of metaphor makes it a useful educational tool (see Cameron 2003) but also makes it a suitable device for manoeuvres in discourse, especially political discourse.

3.6.1. Metaphor and persuasion

The literature on metaphor and politics can be divided into two main sections, having to do with the assumptions researchers made in dealing with their data. A great number of researchers assume that metaphor works indeed persuasively and apply this premise to their theoretical analyses and to analyses of samples of political discourse.

They work out the entailments of the metaphorical expressions they analyse and try to explain how these work on influencing their audience towards modes of action. Other researchers question whether metaphor is indeed persuasive and whether it is more effective than literal language, and carry out experimental research in order to validate or disprove their hypotheses. Overall, there seems to be a relative lack of adequate empirical evidence to ascertain the extent to which metaphor in political rhetoric is actually effective, even though there is support for the assumption that it does work persuasively. It seems that some of the experimental evidence coming from empirical studies on metaphor has produced ambivalent results. I will present an overview of both experimental and non-experimental research, highlighting the main assumptions and concerns of each approach.

3.6.2 Non-experimental research on metaphor and persuasion

Proponents of Cognitive Metaphor Theory have often dealt with the persuasive potential of metaphorical expressions. One of the basic tenets of the theory is that metaphor is one of our principal means of conceptualising the world. Through metaphor we understand one domain of our experience in terms of another; for instance, we understand life in terms of travel or time in terms of money (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). The more abstract or complicated areas of our life are thus structured with the help of metaphorical reasoning, and the conclusions we reach via this reasoning can form the basis for action (Chilton and Lakoff, 1995). Thus, as Chilton and Lakoff (1995) argue, metaphors, and in particular sets of interrelated metaphors,

embody ways of thought and structure, concerning the world around us. They not only represent modes of discourse but, more importantly, modes of thinking, and therefore have great persuasive ability.

Influencing the reasoning process of the public is of great consequence in politics, in order, for instance, to win support and consent for a certain policy or in order to initiate a course of action. Different policies are often proposed by suggesting different metaphors, that is, different ways of structuring and understanding reality (Lakoff, 1995). Lakoff argues that the sets of metaphors and their entailments that one chooses to follow, or to propagate by active political involvement, constitute one's ideology. A case in point is the Liberal and Conservative parties in the U.S., whose ideology Lakoff unravels as a set of metaphorical conceptualisations of reality and morality (1995). He argues that their opposing understandings of what is just and moral, reflected in their choice of metaphor, makes it virtually impossible for them to agree on fundamental policy issues.

In presenting the metaphor system used by the US media to describe the 1991 Gulf War, Lakoff describes what he calls the "fairy tale of the just war" (1991:online:<http://philosophy.uoregon.edu/metaphor/lakoff-1.htm>), a scenario based on a set of metaphors which helped the US government of the time to justify its decision to go to war:

The fairy tale has an asymmetry built into it. The hero is moral and courageous, while the villain is amoral and vicious. The hero is rational, but though the villain may be cunning and calculating, he cannot be reasoned

with. Heroes thus cannot negotiate with villains; they must defeat them. The *enemy-as-demon* metaphor arises as a consequence of the fact that we understand what a just war is in terms of this fairy tale (1991: online: <http://philosophy.uoregon.edu/metaphor/lakoff-1.htm>).

Thus, as Lakoff aptly observes, a war, any kind of war, can be justified on moral grounds, if it is made to fit this fairy-tale frame. Several metaphors would then apply, filling in the slots in the above scenario. The US government is “metaphorically defining”, as Lakoff would have put it, the situation they are in, in order to justify their decisions and actions (ibid.).

Rohrer (1995) studied the metaphors used by George Bush to conceptualise the political situation in the Persian Gulf before the Gulf War, and argues that the acceptance of Bush’s metaphors and the sharing of his understanding of the situation actually led to the war. He provides examples that support Lakoff’s (1991) argument, which was not based on specific linguistic data. Rohrer carefully unravelled the implications of the metaphors used in this situation, and argued that the portrayal of Kuwait as a rape victim would justify any military intervention in order to rescue an ‘innocent’ nation.

Rohrer, moreover, draws our attention to the importance of cognitive entrenchment for metaphors to become an integral part of everyday conversation and thinking, which is in line with other researchers’ arguments. Public opinion is influenced by simple metaphors that are frequently repeated and become familiar, rather than by sweeping, novel ones that may be used precisely to mobilize it,

according to Edelman (1964, quoted in Mio, 1997). It is remarkable how this suggestion is reminiscent of Lakoff and Turner's (1987) argument that conventional metaphors are often much more influential in forming opinion than creative ones, as they are part of what is perceived as the ordinary way of thinking, and so they tend to go unnoticed.

Stone (1988, quoted in Mio, 1997) makes a point similar to Lakoff (1991), connecting politics and stories or fairy tales. She talks about metaphors strategically representing issues in policy analysis, and frequently implying whole stories, which are, in reality, prescriptions for action (*ibid.*). These stories include heroes and villains, and the battle of good against evil. Like any story, they are structured with a beginning, a middle part, and an ending. The metaphorical representation of political issues, in this sense, prompts the audience to think, and possibly act, in accordance with the requirements of the underlying story. Similarly, Schön (1979, quoted in Bosman, 1987) notes that the, often metaphorical, setting of a problem already entails the solutions to it. For example, slums may be referred to as "diseased areas" of a city that should, naturally, be "cut away" (*ibid.*: 97).

Mio (1997) stresses the importance of metaphor in conveying information in a compact and concise manner (see also Ortony, 1993), and in becoming symbolic of broader issues. He also sees metaphor as having the power to simplify political events and to make them more accessible to the public. Quoting Edelman (1964, 1971), Mio (1997) discusses metaphors used by politicians to reassure the public during difficult times, their soothing powers lying in their potential to evoke a part-whole relationship. Thus, solving part of a problem that has been metaphorically represented in a certain

way would, in the eyes of the public, be as good as solving the whole problem, as for instance happened in the U.S. during the Great Depression: when Roosevelt's New Deal metaphor started to be materialized through certain public programmes that were successfully put in place, the direction of the whole country was thought to be that of progress and success, which ultimately helped to bring the country out of Depression (ibid.). In addition, metaphors have the potential to stir emotions and reach the audience in an indirect way, by triggering particular concepts (Edelman, 1964, quoted in Mio, 1997).

Finally, as Deignan (2000) observes, metaphor can be used as a tool of persuasion because it creates feelings of intimacy between the producer and the receiver of the message, and also because it has the potential to convey opinions covertly. Metaphors are often language and culture specific, and can only be figured out by members of a community with shared background knowledge. This is easily understood when trying to translate metaphors into a different language or to move them to a different context. All sorts of explanations and clarifications are then necessary to convey the meanings encapsulated in the metaphor. A feeling of belonging and shared grounds with the producer of the message can thus be cultivated, especially when idiomatic uses of words and phrases are incorporated in a metaphorical expression (see also Gibbs, 1994). As far as conveying arguments covertly is concerned, metaphors rarely spell out the entailments necessary for making sense of the link between different domains of experience that are being brought together. So, metaphors can be taken for granted and accepted as facts, or they can be

questioned and challenged; in the first case, a covert message can get across without the receiver consciously realising it.

So far, I have presented research based on the analysis of metaphor in political discourse that does not include feedback from the receivers of the message, which would be valuable in validating the aforementioned arguments and hypotheses. In the next section there is an overview of attempts to experimentally verify metaphor's persuasive effectiveness.

3.6.3. Experimental research on the persuasive potential of metaphor

The first to conduct experimental research on the persuasive effects of metaphor was Bowers (1966, quoted in Mio, 1997), who concluded that metaphorical language can be successful in persuading because it circumvents the negative effect that extremely intense language often has on the receiver (known, in the literature, as the boomerang effect). Experimental studies on the persuasive power of metaphor have evolved since then, and are presently closely linked with the Cognitive Metaphor paradigm. Several experimental studies have yielded inconsistent results, which led researchers to focus more on the particular contexts metaphor is used in (Mio, 1993; Sopory and Dillard, 2002).

One such example is Johnson and Taylor's study (1981, quoted in Mio and Lovrich, 1998). The participants in this study were asked to read short passages about male politicians, half of which contained positive metaphors and half containing negative metaphors describing the politicians. Even though the participants rated more

favourably the politicians described in the passages containing positive metaphors, only those participants who were politically sophisticated were actually influenced by the metaphors. This result went against the initial hypothesis by Johnson and Taylor, who had expected that the politically sophisticated individuals would resist the metaphors as attempts to shape their opinions. It seems, though, that the extra information some of the participants had on political issues made it easier for them to relate to the metaphors and to use them to recall previous relevant information that reinforced the positive message conveyed by the metaphors (see Fiske and Kinder, 1981, on persuasion, quoted in Mio and Lovrich, 1998). On the contrary, the politically unsophisticated participants did not have such knowledge of extra information so the metaphors were less noticeable and less memorable to them.

Other studies focused on different parameters of metaphor's persuasive potential. Bosman (1987) focused on how the source domain of a metaphor influences the representation of the target. He used questionnaires to examine the inferential possibilities of specific metaphors used to describe the Dutch Centre Party (CP), a small extreme right-wing party. The aim was to see whether the metaphors influenced the way the participants thought about the CP. Bosman then substituted the CP for the National Socialist Movement (NSB), an extreme right-wing party which was active before World War II, and tested another group of participants, hypothesizing that the CP will be more substantially represented and more differentiated as a concept. This hypothesis was based on the fact that the participants only knew the NSB from history books, while the CP was part of their political reality. Bosman carried out an experimental study consisting of two groups of participants, each having to answer

questions about a different political party that acted in different historical times, but both parties were described using the same two metaphors. He used different targets, one historical and one contemporary, assuming the participants' knowledge for each to be, accordingly, extended or limited.

Even though his study rested on a complex of variables, he concluded that the choice of metaphors structures their domain of application. When the same metaphors are used to describe different domains, in this case the CP and the NSB, different aspects of the metaphors are illuminated in each case. Therefore, different interpretations and effects of metaphors are at hand according to the participant's knowledge of the target domain. Metaphors, Bosman argued, do not merely transfer an emotional load from source to target, but structure the target and require a lot of input from their receivers.

Bosman and Hagendoorn (1991) went on to compare the effectiveness of literal and metaphorical language in the process of persuasion. They replicated Bosman (1987) and added literal paraphrases of the metaphors that described the CP and the NSB. In this way they tested the effects on two political parties of two metaphors and their literal paraphrases. Their findings suggested that literal messages are just as effective as metaphorical messages in forming the participants' perceptions of the two parties. Literal messages actually had larger persuasive effects, but not significantly so. Their study also showed the significance of the participants' political orientation and gender in forming positive or negative evaluations of the received message. In this sense, the outcome of this study contrasted with the expectation, based on Bosman (1987), that the target domain would affect persuasiveness. Rather, a more complex

picture emerges that has to take into consideration the particulars of context, background information, possibly also that of gender, subject of study, and political beliefs.

Mio and Lovrich (1998) examined the extent of recall of persuasive messages about the Iran-Contra hearings held in the summer of 1987 in the U.S. These hearings were part of an official investigation that took place after a political scandal came to light in 1986, during the Reagan administration. The scandal had to do with an arms-for-hostages deal between the U.S. and Iran, and the subsequent funding provided by the U.S. for the Nicaraguan Contras group. In particular, the U.S. agreed to ship weapons to a politically influential group of Iranians, in return for them using their influence to release six U.S. hostages who were held in Iran. Later modifications to this plan resulted in a portion of the proceeds from the weapons being used to fund the anti-communist rebels known as Contras, in Nicaragua. When the scandal came to light, Reagan appeared on TV to claim that no arms-for-hostages deal had taken place, a statement which he later admitted to be false. During the course of the investigation into this affair, a great number of documents was either destroyed or withheld from investigators by Reagan administration officials. The hearings resulted in the conviction of eleven Reagan officials and the acquittal of Reagan, as no evidence was found that he was aware of the arms-for hostages deal.

Mio and Lovrich's basic concern was to examine to what extent the metaphors which are used in the political arena can be memorable, as a direct influence on how persuasive they are. They hypothesized that the variety of attitudes towards the Iran-Contra hearings and the intense emotion surrounding this issue would produce diverse

metaphors in the public's recollection of these events. They compared the metaphors used to describe recollections of these hearings with the metaphors used to describe recollections of college freshmen about their first day on campus. The data collection, for which questionnaires were used, was carried out in two phases, the second taking place six weeks after the first. As Mio and Lovrich had suspected, the essays on the Iran-Contra hearings were longer and more densely populated by metaphors than the ones about the first day on campus. More importantly, the metaphors on the Iran-Contra hearings more clearly expressed positive or negative attitudes and opinions towards the individuals involved in the situation, and were influenced by the metaphors used by the media. The metaphors in the first day on campus were less expressedly positive or negative and related to internal, emotional processes rather than opinions. The participants in this study were homogeneous in terms of political sophistication. The findings support Ortony's (1975) prediction that metaphors are widely used when describing emotionally charged political events. One's first day on campus, though emotionally laden, does not need to be expressed in a way that supports and justifies opinions.

Mio and Lovrich (1998) further questioned the originality of the metaphors their participants had used in their essays. They proceeded to a further study to test this originality, requesting a new group of participants to interpret these metaphors in and out of context. Metaphors that are easily remembered, they hypothesized, will carry with them the opinions and attitudes that could render them persuasive in the long run. They concluded that, in the political arena, metaphors are more memorable than in the non-political arena. The participants predominantly employed the metaphors

previously used by the media, but they could attach more creative meanings to them. Overall, their study seems to reinforce the persuasive power of metaphor in politics, with the media playing a major role in the diffusion of particular metaphorical expressions.

On the whole, experimental studies seem to support the idea that metaphor as an integral part of political discourse is indeed influential and persuasive, although it is not certain to what extent this is the case. Further research is needed to look into the persuasive effects of metaphor in specific circumstances and possibly in relation to other types of figurative language that can also be used to persuade, such as irony and rhetorical questions. As Mio (1997) and other researchers observed through their experiments and analyses, it is of great importance to specify the exact context of metaphor use and to distinguish its persuasive force into more specific parameters, always taking the receivers of the message into consideration. This point brings me to the final section of this chapter, which examines the relationship of metaphor to its cultural context.

3.7 Metaphor in culture

Cognitive Metaphor Theory holds that entrenched metaphors reveal important information on culture, since conventional conceptual metaphors are based upon shared perceptions that unite a cultural community. This is one of the important contributions of CMT to the study of metaphor. As Gibbs (1999) notes, our understanding of the conceptual nature of metaphor involves significant aspects of cultural experience, some

of which are closely related to our embodied behaviour. On the other hand, important parts of metaphoric thought and language are part of the cultural world, as are mental representations in people's heads; moreover, embodied metaphor arises from the body's interaction with the (cultural) world. Kövecses (2005) also argues that the socio-cultural context, the environment, and the communicative situations of groups of people or individuals provide them with specific experiences; so, the metaphors people produce are influenced by all these factors, as well as the body.

However, as culture is a complicated concept and cultural communities are characterized by diverse discourse activities (Eubanks, 2000), caution is required regarding the extent and the way in which conceptual metaphors are taken to be culturally pervasive. One needs to pay attention to the communicative occasion, the topic, the conventional values of a specific community, and the purposes of communication in the use of metaphor; in short, one needs to take into consideration the discourse context of metaphor, with all its interrelated variables.

Variation in the use of metaphor has been elaborated on by Kövecses (2005). He observes that the use of metaphor varies across cultures and within the same cultural community, as well as across languages and within the same linguistic community. Within-culture variation in metaphor use involves variation due to gender, ethnicity, social class, personal style, etc. In addition, personal and cultural histories, as well as particular situations, shape the use of metaphor; studies have shown that the metaphors people choose are the ones relevant to them at particular points in time (see also Deignan, 2005: 124-142). These individual concerns and interests may be built into the culture or be personal. Moreover, Kövecses (2005) argues that even universal

aspects of metaphor can be overridden by the socio-cultural context or by personal cognitive preferences, and adds that, often, individual and even idiosyncratic uses of metaphor in language merge with social and historical factors and produce particular effects (see, for instance, Semino and Swindlehurst, 1996).

The varied functions of metaphor in different cultural contexts and communities can also be constrained by the particular concerns of specific communities, which are often reflected in their rhetorical use of metaphor. The rhetorical potential of metaphor is closely related to the pervasiveness of certain metaphors in particular cultures. As Eubanks (2000) notes, communities influence how their members speak; for example, rules that hold for basic mappings which may be present in different cultural and discourse communities are not necessarily adhered to in different communities. On the contrary, they are often modified and exploited for different rhetorical purposes.

Eubanks' description of 'community' gives a concise picture of the role cultural communities play in influencing and constraining the rhetorical use of language:

“Community – in the sense that communities embody intersubjective construals of external circumstances and constrain responses to our lived-in worlds – encompasses the particularity of our rhetorical lives. We converse about known circumstances and controversies not just in the context of a vast discursive world but in coordination with immediate and visible concerns held in common with others”. (2000:158)

As metaphor is an important tool, as well as an important product, of rhetoric, it follows that it cannot be studied outside of the particular cultural community within which it is produced and disseminated. In the course of my analysis, I will discuss the cultural situatedness of several of the metaphorical expressions that I will be analysing. Moreover, I will show that their rhetorical exploitation by 17N is directly influenced and constrained by the immediate and broader cultural context within which the organisation's communiqués were written.

I will now present a detailed account of the data I use in this thesis and of my methodology.

CHAPTER 4 -DATA AND METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

Metaphor research is a challenging field of study, incorporating many contributing fields and theoretical frameworks, and numerous diverging methods for metaphor analysis. The lack of set, explicit methods for metaphor identification creates further difficulties and complications for the metaphor analyst's job. It is therefore essential to clarify the aims of each project and the criteria and tools used for identifying, categorising and analysing metaphorical expressions. In this chapter I will describe the method I followed in order to select and handle the data that form the basis of this thesis.

This study is based on a text corpus, namely the corpus of 17N's communiqués, and is supported by a second, background corpus, the Hellenic National Corpus. The corpus of communiqués as a whole will be subject to quantitative analysis, while selected extracts from it will be the object of qualitative analysis. The background corpus will be used as a reference point, providing information on the standard use of language in Modern Greek texts. These analyses of 17N's language use will provide information related ultimately to the conceptual system manifest in 17N's texts. This will give rise to a discussion aiming to reach assumptions regarding the organisation's particular moral code and way of understanding and dealing with the political situation around them. The organisation's conceptual system is not seen here as deriving from

their use of language but rather as informing it; language and conceptual system are perceived as being in a mutually constitutive relationship.

In the following sections I will present the two corpora I used for this analysis as well as the software I used to investigate the corpus of 17N's communiqués. Further, I will explain how I defined and identified the metaphorical expressions of interest in my corpus, as well as how I counted them and how and why I divided them into categories. Finally, I will discuss some issues on the translation of my data in English. I will comment particularly on the translation of metaphorical expressions.

4.2. The corpus of 17N's communiqués

The data I will be discussing for the purpose of this analysis are the communiqués written by Revolutionary Organisation November 17, as they were published by Kaktos Publications in 2002. This data has been scanned and transferred to machine-readable form, creating an electronic corpus, which consists of 82 texts and 256,882 words. The communiqués have already been presented and their content and main features have been discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.5.

4.2.1. What is an electronic corpus, and why use it?

The term 'corpus' has been used to refer to any collection of naturally-occurring texts, stored in machine-readable form (Deignan, 2005). There are, however, certain criteria that should be met in order to have a 'corpus', as any set of texts

haphazardly put together does not necessarily qualify for the term. In Tognini-Bonelli (2001) there is a discussion on the definition of a corpus, mentioning different arguments on what constitutes a corpus and what the aim of a language corpus should be. The discussion concludes that, in discourse analysis terms, a corpus is a collection of texts or pieces of language which are brought together according to specific criteria and are taken to be in some way representative of a group of people; this group should be using the kind of language encountered in the corpus in “genuine communication” (ibid. 55). The corpus is thus designed to give insights in the use of language by a specific group of people, in a specific historical time. This is what the corpus of 17N’s texts is designed to do. Depending on its size and constitution, a corpus is also considered useful in making broader generalisations about the language. This, of course, is not the case for the corpus of communiqués, though it does apply to the Hellenic National Corpus, which I am using as a background corpus and which I will discuss below (section 4.4).

By using an electronic corpus I was able to describe particular features of the way 17N communicated in a more reliable way than if I had simply used the communiqués in hard copy. With the help of computer software the instances of usage of a word or phrase can be traced from thousands of words of text, quickly and accurately, in order to achieve an exhaustive quantification. An analyst working with long texts like the communiqués would be prone to mistakes and miscalculations, and would need a lot of time and effort in order to extract and group linguistic metaphors. As I am focusing on metaphorical expressions, which are difficult to extract automatically from texts, I had to do a lot of manual analysis too, and for this purpose I

used the hard copy version of the corpus. Unfortunately there is no way to automatically extract metaphorical expressions from corpora, and no reliable method for finding metaphors in large quantities of data; manual analysis is still necessary for work within the Cognitive Metaphor Theory paradigm, as “conceptual mappings are not linked to particular linguistic forms” (Stefanowitsch, 2006: 2). However, the electronic corpus was invaluable for counting the metaphorical expressions, extracting concordances that offer information on them, and having easy access to the totality of the communiqués whenever necessary.

Software that includes a concordancing program has several advantages that facilitate the analysis. Apart from showing the most frequent uses of a word or phrase, it enables the analyst to see the most typical co-texts a word occurs in. In this way one can decide when it is used metaphorically and when it is not and observe the relative frequency of the literal and metaphorical uses. Moreover, it is possible to detect the connotations related to the literal and metaphorical uses of the node word. An example will help illustrate this point. Below is the concordance for the word *φως*/ light, which I extracted from my corpus when I noticed it was used metaphorically on several occasions. I am presenting a simplified version of the concordance here, excluding the different cases and inflections of *φως*/ light, which have a different form (for instance, the plural is *φώτα* and the possessive case is *φωτός*). I am only doing this to make my present point more easily; in my analysis, I am taking into account all the different morphological variants of *φως*/ light. At the end of each concordance line, you can see the coded name of the communiqué that the line was extracted from.

Table 4.1: Concordance table for *φως*/ *light*, and its translation in English

00001: α τη Δυτική κοινότητα. Ρίχνει άπλετο αποκαλυπτικό αξία των λεγόμενων αρχών του, τόσο : 1988AuT.txt	φως	στην ισχύ και
00002: της τρίτης περιόδου. Ρίχνουν άπλετο αποκαλυπτικό σημερινού κοινοβουλευτικού συστήματος : 1988N.txt	φως	στη φύση του
00003: ι οι διαβουλεύσεις των τριών αρχηγών που είδαν το δημοσιότητας συνιστούν ένα πολυσήμαντο πολιτι : 1990pm.txt	φως	της
00004: οίηση τους. Η αθωωτική απόφαση υπήρξε το πράσινο σημερινή χιονοστιβάδα των σκανδάλων που συ : 1992papd.txt	φως	για τη
00005: μου και του ΚΚΕ, αλλά επί πλέον σήμανε το πράσινο χιονοστιβάδα των νέων σκανδάλων που συγκλό : 1993vran.txt	φως	για τη
00006: αρθρωθεί η 17N. Η συμπεριφορά αυτή ρίχνει άπλετο πομπώδεις διακηρύξεις περί ιερότητας της ανθ : 1995meg.txt	φως	στις
00007: στους Τούρκους. γ) Η κυβέρνηση έδωσε το πράσινο παραπλανώντας τον Οτζαλάν ακόμη και την ύστατη στ : 1999Ots.txt	φως	
00008: ΚΡΑΤΟΣ Η προδοσία Οτζαλάν ρίχνει νέο άπλετο στα Ίμια. Αν τα εξετάσουμε σήμερα μέ : 1999Ots.txt	φως	στα γεγονότα
00009: αρδίζουν την Αγγλία. Επί ένα μήνα περίπου, υπό το βομβάρδιζαν καθημερινά, αποκλειστικά : 2000Sa.txt	φως	της ημέρας,
00010: ίαρχων αμερικάνων και κατ' επέκταση ρίχνει άπλετο της ψήφισης του τρομονόμου και τους : 2001mix.txt	φως	στους λόγους

1. ...the Western community. It sheds abundant and revealing **light** on the power and value of his so-called principles... 1988AuT.txt
2. ...of the third period. They shed abundant and revealing **light** on the nature of today's parliamentary system 1988N.txt
3. ...the consultations of the three leaders that saw the **light** of publicity are a very important political 1990pm.txt
4. ...the decision to acquit them was the green **light** for today's snowball of scandals... 1992papd.txt
5. ...mine and the KKE's, but in addition it gave the green **light** to the snowball of new scandals ... 1993vran.txt
6. ...this behaviour sheds abundant **light** to the pompous declarations on the sanctity of human... 1999Ots.txt
7. ...to the Turks. C) the government gave the green **light** misleading Oztalan even in the last moment... 1999Ots.txt
8. ...STATE. The betrayal of Oztalan sheds new abundant **light** to the events at Imia. If we examine them today with 1999Otz.txt
9. ...bombing England. For about a month, in the **light** of day, they bombed every day, exclusively 2000Sa.txt
10. ...Americans and in consequence sheds abundant **light** to the reasons for which the terrorist law was voted and... 2001mix.txt

The first thing to notice from this concordance is that $\varphi\omega\zeta$ / light is used literally only once, namely in extract 9. The rest of the extracts involve metaphorical uses of the word. It is also noteworthy that $\varphi\omega\zeta$ / light tends to appear in close vicinity to words like “abundant”, “revealing”, and “green”, as if it were the component of more or less set phrases: “abundant and revealing light”, “the green light”. Extract 3 includes the only metaphorical use that does not collocate with one of the aforementioned words: “saw the light”. However, even this phrase is, to a degree, fixed, and it is often the case that $\varphi\omega\zeta$ / light occurs in this construction.

As far as the meanings and the values ascribed to metaphorical $\varphi\omega\zeta$ / light are concerned, we notice that it is mainly used with two meanings. The first one occurs when it collocates with “abundant” and “revealing”, and it refers to things being disclosed that were previously hidden or kept secret and unclear. The second meaning occurs when it collocates with “green”, which refers to giving permission or allowing for something to happen. This use presumably originates from the use of green in traffic lights. In the first case it is seen as something positive, the light being there to reveal the truth. In the second case, the result of the green light being given is not positive but rather the beginning of an unfortunate series of events, such as political scandals. There is also a degree of fixedness of these closely occurring words, “the green light” being more fixed than the constructions involving “abundant” and “revealing”. As Cameron and Deignan (2003) note, the findings from this specialised corpus will, in some cases at least, reflect 17N’s idiosyncratic use of words and not necessarily their most frequent and ordinary use in the language. Especially the first meaning ascribed to light, that of a revelatory force, is an example of a general theme

that underlies 17N's discourse and has to do with 17N knowing and seeing hidden matters which they are subsequently in a position to reveal to the Greek people. These brief analytical comments give us a taste of what kind of information a concordance can provide concerning the use of a word or phrase in 17N's communiqués. More generally, they provide an initial indication of the usefulness of corpus-based methods in metaphor analysis.

4.2.2. Designing the corpus of communiqués

The corpus I compiled is representative: it includes all the texts produced and divulged by 17N, from their first hit to their disbandment (1975 – 2001). It contains the organisation's written discourse and it constitutes 17N's only other means of communicating apart from violent terrorist attacks. It is what Deignan (2005) calls a specialised corpus, as opposed to a non-specialised or general corpus which is designed in such a way that it allows generalisations about the language as a whole.

When a corpus is designed, decisions need to be made regarding the amount, length and type of texts it will include. In the case of designing 17N's specialised corpus, these decisions were easy to make. I included all the known communiqués of the organisation in the corpus, as they were originally published in newspapers and later collected in a book. Given that there has been a debate regarding the authorship of some of the more recent texts (two, in particular), I decided to exclude them from my corpus. Thus, even though 17N was disbanded in 2002, I am only using the communiqués written until 2001. Moreover, the communiqués are authentic

communicative moments and instances of naturally-occurring language, fulfilling the previously mentioned criteria for a corpus, shared among corpus linguists (among others, Stubbs, 2001; Tognini-Bonelli, 2001; Deignan, 2005).

17N only made itself visible as an organisation through its terrorist attacks and its communiqués. So, this corpus is a self-evident totality: it is the only available way to study the distinct features of 17N's discourse, similar to analysing a collection of texts written by a particular author. The difference between the two cases, apart, of course, from the genre difference, is that the circumstances of the communiqués production are not really known, although they were most probably the product of more than one author's collaborative work (see also chapter 2).

4.2.3. My approach to the corpus

The way I deal with my corpus is a combination of what is known as “corpus-based” and “corpus-driven” research in corpus linguistics (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001; Deignan, 2005). Corpus-based research starts with specific concerns stemming from existing theoretical models and uses the corpus as a tool to investigate them. Corpus-driven research, on the other hand, starts without previous assumptions and focuses on the corpus itself, making it possible for new categories to come into view and new intuitions to be generated. The distinction between corpus-based and corpus-driven research is not in any case a clear-cut one, and most research that uses corpora mixes the two approaches to some degree (Deignan, 2005). Recently, this distinction has been characterised as an artificial one (McEnery and Gabrielatos, 2006). It is, in fact,

reasonable to combine the two approaches, as they can effectively complement each other, depending of course on the researcher's specific purposes and interests. In any case, using the terms 'corpus-driven' and 'corpus-based' is sometimes useful in distinguishing the different ways one can go about handling a corpus.

My approach is corpus-based, in that I investigate the corpus having specific concerns in mind, and I use it to answer them. On the other hand, there are also elements of corpus-driven research in my approach. The actual content of the communiqués modified my initial questions and expectations regarding the organisation's discourse. I initially read the communiqués several times before I decided that certain groups of expressions were significant and merited further analysis. The particular characteristics of the corpus led me to make decisions as to which groups of metaphorical expressions I need to focus on and what categories of expressions can be formed. As a result, I decided to focus on those metaphorical expressions that referred to 17N's targets, given that the communiqués deal mainly with the organisation's 'enemies'. I also decided to include in my analysis the expressions that referred to 17N, even though they were not very numerous, in order to contrast the way 17N present themselves in their texts with the way they present their targets.

4.3. The Multi-lingual Concordancing Tool (MLCT)

The electronic version of the collection of communiqués allowed me to handle the data with the help of computer software specially designed to process written texts. In particular, I used the Multi-Lingual Concordancing Tool (MLCT) that has been developed by Scott Songlin Piao when he was working at Lancaster University. This tool is ideal for languages like Chinese and Greek, which often have limited options for analysis with other widely used concordancing programs such as Wordsmith. The reason for these limited options is the non-roman fonts that these languages are written with, as I will explain below.

I initially attempted to use Wordsmith, but I was seriously impeded by the program's irregular handling of Greek fonts and, chiefly, by the insufficient co-text it provided for the words and phrases I wanted to investigate. The main problem with using the Wordsmith concordancing package for languages with non-roman fonts is that, on entering the lemma one wishes to examine (the node word), the concordance list that appears contains very few words on the right and left of the lemma, and there is no option to increase this number of words. The immediate co-text of the lemma is thus extremely limited, which often makes it impossible to decide with accuracy when an expression is used metaphorically. It is very important, especially when metaphorical expressions are concerned, to have access to the wider context in order to be able to disambiguate the senses of the words. The MLCT, on the contrary, allows for unlimited co-text to be provided around the node word, which made it easier for me

to distinguish the expressions that were used metaphorically out of the ones that appeared in the concordance.

Scott Piao's Multi-Lingual Concordancing Tool is a flexible tool which is still under development, but it is being used more and more, especially by students and researchers of languages like Chinese. The MLCT does not yet provide all the functions that are available via Wordsmith; for instance, it does not provide a function similar to Wordsmith's dispersion plot, whereby the precise location of a metaphorical expression in a text can be traced. This is useful in order to check how metaphorical expressions are grouped together and whether their location in a text can be explained with reference to the text producer's aims and motivation. The potential effects of groups of metaphorical expressions can be better assessed by looking at their dispersion in a text (see, for instance, Koller, 2003). The MLCT does, however, show which communiqué each expression is extracted from, which is more than enough for my purposes, as I can then skim through the communiqué and manually extract the rest of the information that I need. This information is shown at the end of each concordance line (see Table 4.1 above).

Further information on the MLCT and its currently available functions can be found in Scott Piao's webpage:

[\(http://personalpages.manchester.ac.uk/staff/scott.piao/\)](http://personalpages.manchester.ac.uk/staff/scott.piao/).

One can also download the tool from this webpage and use it for free for research purposes.

4.4. The Hellenic National Corpus (HNC)

Apart from the small corpus I designed, I used a different type of corpus to assist my analysis and to test my findings against the background of the Modern Greek language. For this purpose I needed a broader corpus, a “general-purpose” corpus of Modern Greek (Leech, 1991; Stubbs, 1996). This is the Hellenic National Corpus (HNC), consisting of more than 45 million words of written text and constantly increasing in size, developed by the Institute for Language and Speech Processing (ILSP) in Greece (for more information on the ILSP, go to www.ilsp.gr). The HNC currently contains 45,613,435 words, 2,359,096 sentences, and 50,274 texts, according to the information taken from the ILSP website on 15/02/07. This corpus contains samples of written language exclusively; oral samples have not been incorporated in this version of the corpus, but they will be included in the future as it increases in size. The HNC is meant to be used as a representative collection of Modern Greek written texts, containing different genres and subgroups of text, which the user can consider separately or in combination.

In the context of this analysis, the HNC serves as measure against which to evaluate the characteristics of 17N’s discourse, and to appreciate the idiosyncratic use of some of 17N’s expressions. The rationale behind using the HNC as a reference corpus is that 17N’s use of metaphorical expressions will be compared to the conventional use of these expressions in Modern Greek. This is meant not only with respect to their relative frequency of occurrence, but also to their context of use and to their negative or positive connotations in the 17N corpus and in the HNC, respectively.

Some expressions used by the organisation may not be present in the reference corpus, or may be present only in different contexts of use, a fact that might indicate their original and creative use by 17N. Other expressions may be very frequent in the HNC as well as in 17N's communiqués, because they are generally common in Modern Greek; still, they may play a central role in structuring 17N's argument. These findings will be discussed in the following three chapters, and, along with regularities and patterns in the expressions used, they will provide evidence of what is characteristic of 17N's discourse. In this way I hope to arrive at conclusions regarding 17N's "way of putting things", as McEnery and Wilson (1995) put it, always with a special focus on metaphorical expressions.

The HNC is a necessary point of reference and an invaluable aid for making generalisations concerning Modern Greek; without it, any claims regarding typical word meanings and the use of expressions in everyday contexts would be much less reliable. It has been shown that, even though we are all capable of using language in everyday situations and we have all the relevant information stored in memory, we are very poor at describing our own language use (Sinclair, 1991). Therefore, it would be unsound to make claims about the particularities of 17N's discourse in the communiqués without the HNC to fall back on.

4.4.1. Description of the HNC

All the texts in the HNC have been selected so as to present a picture of everyday written language use, as much as this is possible, following specific criteria. Firstly, texts written in highly idiomatic language have been excluded from the corpus. By highly idiomatic, I mean texts written in local dialects and local varieties of Greek. Several novels and works of fiction which have been written in such language variations, for example, are not included in the HNC. Secondly, most texts have been selected based on their high readability and wide accessibility (high circulation newspapers, best-selling books etc.). I should point out that the internet is not included in the wide accessibility category, at least not as much as would probably be expected by the readers of this thesis. In Greece, the internet has not been widely spread and easily accessible, until very recently. Perhaps this is why only 0.30% of the HNC's texts come from the internet, as I will discuss below. Finally, in order to include different types of language, texts from several media, belonging to different genres and dealing with various topics, have been selected. Most of the texts in the HNC have been written after 1990, and fewer have been written in the 1980s. So, they represent Modern Greek as it has been used in the past twenty years or so. As can be seen below, the HNC is not very inclusive of different varieties of the language and it contains a large proportion of journalism, so it could be argued that it does not meet its purpose of presenting a realistic picture of written Modern Greek. Even though there is an issue with representativeness, however, it is the best alternative to invented data that exists at

the moment so any criticism should take this important fact into consideration (see also section 4.4.2 that follows).

Below is a classification of the HNC texts according to the publication medium they belong to, and a table showing which percentage of each medium is included in the corpus.

The HNC texts are classified according to medium into the following categories:

- Books: any kind of book
- Internet: texts taken from the internet
- Newspapers: published daily or weekly
- Magazines: published every week, fortnight, month etc.
- Miscellaneous: any kind of text that does not belong to

any of the above categories, such as:

leaflets, pamphlets, brochures, flyers etc.

typed material, including all kinds of reports and documentation

According to the texts' publication medium, the HNC is currently composed as follows:

Table 4.2: The HNC texts, according to publication medium

TYPE OF PUBLICATION	PROPORTION OF HNC
Books	8.28%
Internet	0.30%
Newspapers	62.79%
Magazines	5.19%
Miscellaneous	23.44%
Total	100%

(Adapted from www.ilsp.gr . Last revised 15/02/07)

4.4.2. Limitations of the current version of the HNC

The value of the HNC as a reference corpus for this study is diminished by the fact that it has been compiled recently and it contains texts dating from the late 1980s onwards, while 17N's first communiqué was written in 1975. Moreover, it contains written material taken from newspapers and magazines for the most part, at the expense of literature and other genres. Thus, for a corpus of exclusively written texts, it is not ideally balanced. It would be preferable to have a more varied reference corpus; in this way I could arrive at some conclusions concerning the similarity or difference of 17N's discourse with other genres. As I have mentioned previously, however, the HNC

belongs to the category of “monitor” corpora that are being added to over time (Sinclair, 1991); so, hopefully these problems will be overcome in the near future, as it is developing fast. Still, its current version has to be used as it is, with all its shortcomings, as an alternative and a complement to native speaker’s intuition. In order to compensate, at least partly, for the limited nature of the HNC, I will also be using Modern Greek dictionaries, as valuable sources of information on the literal and metaphorical uses of most of the lemmas I will be dealing with. In particular, I will use Mpampiniotis’ *Dictionary of Modern Greek* (2002), Vostantzoglou’s *Dictionary and Thesaurus of the Greek Language* (2004), and the *Dictionary of Modern Greek* published by the Manolis Triantafyllidis Institute (1999).

Even though the contribution of different genres to the HNC is not balanced, the predominance of newspaper discourse is not necessarily a negative feature of this corpus, at least for the purposes of my analysis. It makes sense for November 17’s discourse to be compared with what has been written in the Greek press. Newspapers were one of the main sources of information for the members of the organisation. They are also an important locus for political debate and bring the political developments to the citizens, and in addition newspapers are the media that published 17N’s communiqués in the first place. In fact, newspaper articles are frequently mentioned, commented and quoted in the communiqués. The close relationship of the communiqués with newspaper articles is indicated even by communiqués’ titles, such as: “A reply to an article by G. Votsis” (1988), “Comments on press releases” (1989), “A reply to an article by V. Filias” (1989), “A reply to Eleutherotypia (a popular Greek newspaper) on the attack against MEGA Channel” (1995) and others. Moreover, a

wordlist search from the corpus of communiqués and from the HNC reveals that some of the most frequently used words are common for the two corpora, which provides evidence for the proximity of the two corpora. In particular, the words *κυβέρνηση/government*, *Ελλάδα/Greece*, *πολιτική/politics* are among the most frequent content words for both corpora. Therefore, it is not completely out of place to use the HNC as a comparison corpus for the communiqués. In fact, even if the HNC were a complete and balanced reference corpus, it would still make sense to compare the communiqués with its newspaper-based subsection.

Finally, it is worth noting Deignan's (2005) point on the representativeness of large corpora which contain big proportions of journalism. Apart from the fact that newspapers are the cheapest and easiest sources for collecting machine readable text, they are also an important source of language input for many language speakers. Moreover, newspapers and magazines consist of different and heterogeneous texts written by various writers, who may follow the house style of the publication they work for, but may still retain traces of their personal style. This makes the question of how much journalism to include in a corpus of written texts difficult to answer, as a corpus aims to represent the average language user's experience. Newspaper and magazine texts seem to reflect a central part of the written language experience of an average reader.

4.4.3. Using the HNC

In section 4.2.1. above, I presented a concordance of the word *φως*/ light extracted from the corpus of communiqués. I will now briefly discuss a concordance of the same word extracted from the HNC, in order to exemplify how I will use the reference corpus in the next chapters. I ran a concordance of *φως*/ light that yielded sixty instances of the node word in the HNC. Once again, for the purposes of this brief presentation, I only took into consideration the form *φως*/ light and not all the different cases and inflections of the word, which is why the instances are not many. From these sixty instances, fifteen involve a literal use of *φως*/ light, where the light is seen as a material thing, as in the extract below:

Extract 4.1

Πολλοί απ' αυτούς κοιμούνται πάντα με το φως αναμμένο.

[Many of them always sleep with the light on.]

In the remaining cases, *φως*/light is used metaphorically in various constructions, many of which are similar to the ones in the extracts taken from the communiqués. The metaphorically used words are underlined in the following extracts. In particular, the phrase *το πράσινο φως*/ the green light, along with verbs such as *δίνω*/ give and *ανάβω*/ switch on, appears eight times in the HNC concordance:

Extract4.2

Ο πρωθυπουργός έχει δώσει το πράσινο φως για την υλοποίηση του σχεδιασμού.

[The Prime Minister has given the green light for the realisation of the plan.]

So, it is quite common to use this linguistic construction to talk about permission being given by an authority, as well as about a situation being the cause of another, negative or positive, state of affairs. In fact, it is an expression that is always used metaphorically: there is no instance of a literal use in either of the two corpora. However, the source of *το πράσινο φως*/ the green light is still probably transparent to most readers who would most likely link it with the everyday experience of traffic lights. The phrase is relatively more frequent in the corpus of communiqués than in the HNC: in particular, per thousand words, the relative frequency of the word in the corpus is 0.0350 and in the HNC it is 0.0009. Interestingly, it is always used by 17N to indicate the onset of a negative situation:

Extract 4.3

...σήμανε το πράσινο φως για τη χιονοστιβάδα των νέων σκανδάλων...

(21:280)

[...signalled the green light for the snowball of new scandals...]

On the other hand, the phrase *ρίχνει άπλετο αποκαλυπτικό φως*/ sheds abundant revealing light does not appear at all in the HNC. The most common metaphorical use of *φως*/ light in the HNC occurs in versions of the phrase *δω το φως*/ see the light and *έρχομαι στο φως*/ come to light:

Extract 4.4

Η Ελλάδα του παρελθόντος έρχεται στο φως, μέσα από δυο εξαιρετικά ενδιαφέρουσες εκθέσεις.

[The Greece of the past comes to light through two exceptionally interesting exhibitions.]

The absence of this characteristic construction from the HNC could indicate that in 17N's discourse *φως*/ light is used more prominently as a revelatory force that exposes the wrongdoings of those who 'deserve' the organisation's punishment, thus fitting in the overall rhetorical strategy 17N employ. More in depth discussion of this strategy and the comparative use of the two corpora will take place in the next chapter.

Before I move on to discussing metaphor identification and analysis, I should make a note regarding the way I ascertained the instances of metaphoric usage of particular words in the HNC. When a particular expression occurred less than 500 times in total in the HNC, I checked every occurrence in order to decide whether it was used metaphorically or not. This is the case, for instance, for the expression *ρόλος*/ role/part, shown in Table 1, Appendix 1, which occurs 392 times in the HNC and displays 284 instances of metaphoric usage. For expressions which were much more frequent, however, I checked a random sample of 500 occurrences in the HNC and counted the instances of metaphorical usage for this sample. As the HNC provided me with the total occurrences of a particular word in the corpus, I then calculated an estimation of the number of metaphorical occurrences, based on the random sample. This is what I did for *φωνή*/ voice, shown in Table 12, Appendix 1. This expression occurred 4156 times in total in the HNC, and I calculated that approximately 3990

times it was used metaphorically, based on the examination of a random sample of 500 occurrences.

4.5 Metaphor analysis

I will now discuss some issues pertaining to the identification and analysis of the metaphorical expressions in my data.

4.5.1. Issues of metaphor identification

Steen points out that “the reliable identification of metaphors in ongoing discourse” (2002: 386) is one of the most important problems in cognitive metaphor research. Not only is it difficult to decide whether a particular word or expression is intended metaphorically or not, but also, on occasion, to infer conceptual metaphors from linguistic expressions. As Heywood, Semino, and Short remark:

“The process of distinguishing between literal and metaphorical expressions is clearly the most basic and crucial stage in any study of the nature and patterning of metaphors in language, and is therefore fundamental to any attempt to extrapolate conceptual metaphors from linguistic data.” (2002: 35).

Authentic and spontaneous discourse leaves the researcher with numerous metaphorical expressions that are used in a variety of ways, taking various linguistic

forms and fulfilling different purposes. This is the case with 17N's communiqués, too: both the manual and the corpus searches produced a multitude of diverse words and expressions, displaying different degrees of metaphoricity, which render the identification and consequent quantification process a challenge. It should be made clear that by identification in this section I refer to identifying linguistic metaphors in the communiqués. The issue of inferring, from these linguistic metaphors, underlying conceptual metaphors, is a different one, which I will deal with at the end of this chapter.

A general theoretical framework about metaphor, an operational definition of metaphor in discourse, and a method of discourse analysis, are identified by Steen (2002) as the basic parameters needed in order to decide which expressions count as metaphorical, within cognitive metaphor research. I would add that the use of corpora can be a significant aid to this purpose. Steen further draws attention to distinguishing metaphor identification from metaphor recognition: metaphor analysts use their technical knowledge to extract metaphorical expressions from texts, but people's understanding of metaphors is a combination of metaphor recognition, processing metaphor in context, and other factors (*ibid.*). I am concerned here with metaphor identification rather than metaphor recognition; it is outside the scope of this project to discover whether the expressions analysed were intended to be metaphorical, or whether they were interpreted as such by readers of the communiqués. To use Cameron's (1999) terms, I am operating at the theory level of metaphor analysis, where theoretical analysis and categorization of metaphor takes place, and not at the processing level, which deals mainly with people's on-line processing of metaphor.

Work within the processing level results in the identification of process metaphors, i.e. metaphors which were processed as such on a particular occasion. Linguistic metaphors, on the other hand, are seen as words or phrases with metaphoric potential (ibid.).

That said, I should point out that the processing and the identification of linguistic metaphors and process metaphors is not very easily set apart (see also Goatly, 2002b). Metaphor analysts, too, recognize metaphors in similar ways that non-analysts do, and add their technical knowledge. In addition, when analysing metaphor at the theory level, it is important to keep in mind that the outcomes of the analysis should produce, at least, “plausible hypotheses about the conceptual structures of individuals involved in the discourse events in question” (Semino, Heywood, and Short, 2004: 1283). In any case, it is not possible to identify metaphors in a vacuum, ignoring completely the element of processing them in context or using one’s background and cultural knowledge to appreciate them. Besides, a discourse perspective on metaphor, as Cameron (2003) states, places metaphor in context and deals with it as it is used by specific people in specific circumstances. Discourse context is an essential criterion in deciding whether a word or phrase is to be analysed as metaphorical or not. “Theatre”, for instance, would not be metaphorical in the context of, say, art reviewing, but it is definitely metaphorical in the context of 17N talking about political manoeuvres among politicians belonging to different parties. In the following extract, θέατρο/ theatre is identified as a metaphorical expression and thus underlined, a practice that I will follow throughout the thesis for all relevant metaphorical expressions:

Extract 4.5

(Η εφημερίδα) Δεν τολμάει να πει στο λαό ότι ένα τμήμα του αποδοκιμάζει το θέατρο που γίνεται απ' την κυβέρνηση και τα κόμματα σε βάρος του.

(41:440)

[(The newspaper) does not dare tell the people that part of them condemns the theatre that the government and the political parties are making (performing) at their expense.]³

4.5.2. Identifying metaphorical expressions in 17N's texts

The decision to focus on metaphorical expressions in 17N's discourse left me with the difficult task of having to extract them from the communiqués, thus separating metaphorical from non-metaphorical language. Deciding which expressions are metaphorical and which are not is by no means a straightforward procedure. Following Boers (1999) and Semino (2002), I counted as metaphorical every expression that could be analysed as involving a mapping between two separate conceptual domains. Mappings between two domains are sets of connections that structure one domain of experience in terms of another; the conceptual correspondences between these domains

³ I should note that, in the extract above, performing is in parentheses to facilitate the English-speaking reader's understanding of the Greek sentence; in the Greek original, however, the corresponding verb is *γίνεται*/ making, so the metaphorical expression identified here is the underlined *θέατρο*/theatre. See also section 4.7 which discusses the translation of my data in English.

are realised in discourse by means of metaphorically used words (Crisp, Heywood, and Steen, 2002). This is in line with the Cognitive Metaphor Theory tradition (Lakoff, 1993, etc: see Chapter 3), which considers metaphor as a matter of primarily conceptual and secondarily linguistic nature, and as a set of correspondences between two different conceptual domains. My basic criterion, thus, is this: a word/expression is regarded as metaphorical if it can be analysed as involving a mapping between at least two distinct domains of knowledge. I say ‘at least’, as some cases, especially cases of novel and creative expressions, may involve mappings between more than two conceptual domains, which can be better analysed based on Fauconnier and Turner’s theory of Conceptual Blending (2002). I will refer to cases like these in the following chapters.

I should make clear that the number of words included in the expression involving the mapping may vary; most of the time, I will be dealing with one-word expressions, like *στρουθοκάμηλος*/ ostrich, used metaphorically. There are, however, instances of expressions consisting of more words, like *παραμύθι της Χαλιμάς*/ Chalima’s tale. In addition, the number of words of metaphorical expressions may differ in the two languages, Greek and English; I will discuss this issue in section 4.7 in this chapter, which deals with the translation of my data into English. The issue of deciding how many words a linguistic metaphor consists of, and indeed whether metaphorically used words count as one instance of a metaphor, however, is not unproblematic. Especially when the analysis involves counting the number of metaphorical expressions in texts, it is important to decide what counts as one metaphor (see also Heywood, Semino, and Short, 2002). In this thesis, I counted

separately the metaphorical expressions which involved different words, even if they were used to realise the same main underlying mapping. I will demonstrate how this rule worked in my data in the qualitative analysis of my findings in the following chapters. For the moment, consider the following extract, which will be analysed in detail in Chapter 7. In this extract I have underlined three metaphorical expressions which can be seen as instantiations of the same underlying mapping.

In this communiqué, 17N refer to the Greek state selling three important cement companies, namely Chalyps, Chalkis Cements, and AGET – Hercules, to private businessmen. 17N describes the way these businessmen will take advantage of the cement companies in terms of a big *τσιμπούσι/* feast, where Chalyps is the *ορντέβρ/* hors d’oeuvres and the other two companies are the main courses. I have counted the three underlined words as three instances of metaphorical expressions, even though the main metaphorical mapping underlying this extract is the same, and evokes the source domain of FOOD (see Chapter 7, section 7.5).

Extract 4.6

Και ότι το ξεπούλημα της Χάλυψ δεν είναι παρά το ορντέβρ, στο μεγάλο τσιμπούσι της τσιμεντοβιομηχανίας, αφού θα ακολουθήσουν τα πλούσια πιάτα που λέγονται Τσιμέντα Χαλκίδας και κυρίως ΑΓΕΤ – Ηρακλής.

(48: 526)

[Chalyps’s sellout is nothing but the hors d’ oeuvres in the big feast of the cement industry, since the rich courses called Chalkis Cements, and mainly AGET- Hercules, will follow.]

This mapping could perhaps be phrased as: BUYING AN INDUSTRY IS EATING IT.

The possibility of establishing a mapping between two domains and the consideration of the general context are not the only criteria I took into account in identifying metaphorical expressions in my corpus. The existence of a current literal meaning was used as an additional criterion for judging that a certain word or expression was being used metaphorically. The literal use of an expression, as defined by Goatly (2002a), involves either a more concrete and material referent, which may often be related to bodily movements and functions, or a historically older meaning (see also Pragglejaz Group, 2007). The use of Modern Greek dictionaries and of the HNC helped me establish whether an expression had a current literal meaning, and the extent to which it was used literally or metaphorically. For example, the lemma *κραυγαλέος*/ vociferous, which will be discussed in Chapter 5, section 5.5.1, occurred in the corpus of 17N's communiqués and in the HNC on instances which I judged to be metaphorical. I did not encounter a literal occurrence of this lemma in any of the two corpora. However, my intuition suggested there was a current literal use of *κραυγαλέος*/ vociferous in Modern Greek, and dictionary evidence confirmed my intuition. Indeed, this lemma is used literally and refers to crying, loud voices and shouting, often with grief and pain. In other cases, I came across literal as well as metaphorical occurrences of a lemma in the HNC, which helped me tell apart the lemma's different senses in Modern Greek.

The issue of etymological metaphors was not straightforward to deal with. Etymological metaphors are defined as expressions which are not usually recognized as metaphorical anymore and whose etymology and origin are opaque to the average

language user, even though it provides the clue as to why they were metaphorical in the first place (Goatly, 1997). As this analysis does not include research on metaphor processing, I was unable to assess whether such expressions could be perceived as metaphorical or literal by language users. I used my personal intuition to help me towards this direction. However, I consulted dictionaries, which provided useful information concerning the current status of a word in the metaphorical-literal scale. I should note that, more than once, I manually identified metaphorical expressions in the communiqués which my intuition did not necessarily perceive as etymological metaphors; the HNC, however, contained only metaphorical uses of them, even when they were very frequent, and dictionaries did not list current literal meanings for them. I decided not to include such metaphors in my data and therefore I will not examine such cases in the course of the quantitative and qualitative analysis.

Like most contemporary metaphor researchers, I take a broad, inclusive approach to metaphor, including in my analysis both conventional and novel expressions. The nature of my data demands that I take conventional metaphorical expressions into consideration, not only because they are numerous in the communiqués but also because conventional metaphorical expressions, rather than impressive novel metaphors, are the main means for disseminating ideology as they are rhetorically used to structure and support an argument (Lakoff and Turner, 1987; Rohrer, 1995; Mio, 1997). Besides, it is conventional metaphorical expressions that tend to occur repeatedly; novel expressions may be present few times in the data, but with their creativity and originality they play an important part in strengthening the organisation's argument in particular texts. Koller's comment on conceptual domains is

relevant here: she argues that the importance of a conceptual domain (or a combination of domains) for metaphor generation is conveyed not by the frequency of metaphors alone, but also by the creative extensions of the metaphors (Koller, 2002). I take novelty and conventionality to be a matter of degree rather than clear cut, distinct categories, as evidence from recent research supports (for instance, Hanks, 2006). However, I will use the terms ‘conventional’ and ‘novel’ in the course of the analysis; these should be seen as loose definitions rather than fixed terms. An example of a metaphorical expression that I consider conventional is *βήμα*/ step, related to the source domain of MOVEMENT, which I will discuss in Chapter 6. This lemma occurs 36 times in 17N’s communiqués and it is always used metaphorically. In the HNC, 88.3 percent of its occurrences are metaphorical. This information can be seen in Table 28, Appendix 2. An example of a novel expression is *σφογγοκολάριος*/ arse-wiper, which is found three times in 17N’s corpus and not at all in the HNC. This is an insulting expression that 17N use to attack their opponents and which evokes the source domain of THE HUMAN BODY. It can be seen in Table 15, Appendix 1.

Moreover, I deal with metaphorical expressions regardless of the part of speech they belong to. I include nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions in my findings. A great number of the metaphorical expressions I have traced consist of, or contain, content words, and I have also included function words. The latter are more frequent in the MOVING AND STOPPING and LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS source domains. I am not deeply concerned with the grammatical aspect of metaphor in this analysis, though it has proven to be very significant, especially in recent research (for instance, Cameron, 2003; Deignan, 2005; Semino, forthcoming). Different word

classes have been shown to function differently metaphorically in English, and it would be interesting to see what the case is for Modern Greek as well. This will have to be included in future research.

I will be including simile in my findings, as well as idiomatic expressions that include mappings between two conceptual domains. Similes have been seen as belonging to the broad category of expressions which realise linguistically a cross-domain mapping; the treatment of similes as a variety of metaphorical expressions is common in the Lakoffian tradition of metaphor research (Low and Cameron, 2002). Thus, the explicitness of a simile, often introduced by “as” or “like”, has not been seen as needing separate handling. This is the case in Greek, too, though not always so; sometimes a linguistic construction involving one of the explicit simile markers (usually *σαν*/ like/as) would be quite different if *σαν* were omitted. Indeed, similes are not the same as metaphors, as Semino (2008) points out; nevertheless, I have included them in this thesis alongside metaphor, as I believe they play an important role in structuring 17N’s arguments.

Metaphorical idioms are lexically more fixed than other expressions and carry a non-literal meaning that can usually only be conveyed by this semi-fixed combination of words. The component words of the expression do not straightforwardly correspond to a component of the idiom’s meaning (Deignan, 1999). Indeed, the metaphorical idioms in my findings were categorised as such because of their occurrence as fixed or semi-fixed expressions (Gibbs, 1994; Nattinger and De Carrico, 1992, quoted in Deignan, 1999). Knowledge of the literal meaning of the parts of the idiom, that is, does not entail understanding the meaning of the whole expression. Semantic opacity,

nevertheless, is not always a necessary attribute of idioms, and recent research suggests it is a matter of degree (Knowles and Moon, 2006). Furthermore, and most importantly for the purposes of this thesis, not all idioms are metaphorical; I have, here, only included the ones that involve the possibility of establishing a mapping between different conceptual domains.

Finally, a note is necessary concerning the treatment of metonymic expressions in my data. When using metonymy, something is talked about in terms of something else which is closely associated to it; for instance, the name of a location refers to events that took place there, or the name of a country refers to the country's government (see Markert and Nissim, 2003). In the phrase "the White House issued a statement", for instance, 'the White House' refers to the American President and administration in terms of the building which houses the President and administration and which is closely associated to them (Semino, 2008: 55). The two elements of the metonymy belong to the same conceptual domain rather than to different domains, as is the case in metaphor. Instances of metonymy are very frequent in political discourse, and they are very significant, too (Partington, 2003). The examination of metonymy in 17N's discourse would merit separate handling, and metonymic expressions would need to be counted differently from metaphorical ones. As the cross-domain mapping criterion does not apply to them, I decided not to include metonymies in my findings. However, I have not excluded the cases where the phenomenon of metonymy co-occurs or overlaps with metaphor, i.e. cases when a particular metaphorical expression can also be seen as metonymic.

4.5.3. Choosing which metaphorical expressions to focus on

17N's communiqués contain numerous metaphorical expressions, and it would be impossible to analyse every one of them. My discussion will therefore have to be selective. For reasons I will explain in this section, I chose to focus on the metaphorical expressions that referred to three specific topics or target domains. These are:

1. 17N's victims/targets and their conduct,
2. The 17N organisation, and
3. The political condition Greece was perceived to be in.

Initially, I read the entire corpus of communiqués several times, in order to familiarize myself with 17N's writing and to achieve a good understanding of the overall meaning and purpose of the texts. This is the first, basic step in being able to establish the meaning of expressions in context, in order to identify when they are used metaphorically (see Pragglejaz Group, 2007). On the basis of several careful readings of the communiqués, I noticed that 17N's most basic arguments were presented and supported with the aid of expressions which were used in the texts to portray, describe, and comment on 17N's opponents and targets, on the general political situation in Greece, and on 17N themselves.

It should be noted that the communiqués are texts written to justify attacking well-known and influential people, institutions and organisations, and that a great part of their content refers to the particular target that was attacked, placing the target in the overall socio-political context of the time. It follows that a great number of the metaphorical expressions in these texts will inevitably refer to 17N's targets, to the

Greek political situation of the time, and to the 17N organisation. Hence, my analysis takes into consideration a significant proportion of the totality of metaphorical expressions in the communiqués. In any case, my aim is not to study every metaphorical expression present in the discourse of 17N, but to show the significant role metaphor plays in structuring the most important and pervasive rhetorical strategies of the organisation.

One of 17N's main argumentative strategies is to discredit and blame their targets as well as any other (like, for instance, journalists and politicians) opposed to their views and to their perception of a just society. In this way they paint a picture of Greek political reality that would, in their view, justify the use of violence and murder as punishment for the ones responsible for the country's corrupt state. The metaphorical expressions I discovered in the communiqués were used to present 17N's targets and opponents negatively, and 17N positively. There is an opposition constructed between 17N and their targets and between 17N as a representative of the Greek people, on the one hand, and the people and institutions comprising the country's status quo, on the other. The construction of this opposition in the texts is partly achieved by the metaphorical expressions 17N employ.

I went through every communiqué, reading them carefully and underlining all relevant metaphorical expressions, before using the concordance program to examine the electronic version of the corpus. Apart from the initial readings of the texts, which served to give me a general understanding of 17N's writings, I carried out the process of reading and underlining the relevant expressions three times for every communiqué. In this way, I made sure that the resulting list of metaphorical expressions would be as

exhaustive as possible. I then used the electronic corpus to confirm the frequency of occurrence of each expression. So, I examined every page of every communiqué three separate times and I underlined every metaphorical expression that referred to the three topics mentioned in the beginning of this section. All these words and expressions play a major part in conveying the group's world view and in achieving particular rhetorical effects.

I will now exemplify the metaphor identification procedure by showing the expressions I underlined in the same sample of a communiqué which I went through three different times. The decisions I made regarding which linguistic expressions counted as metaphorical but also as relevant to the three aforementioned topics sometimes changed from the first to the second reading, while the third reading usually finalised my decision as to whether I should include a particular expression in the findings. I should mention that I used three different copies of 17N's texts, so as to be able to look for metaphorical expressions in a new, unused copy every time.

The short sample is taken from the communiqué written by 17N in 1995 which refers to the attack by the organisation of the Greek TV channel Mega Channel with rocket bombs. The Greek text can be found in Appendix 3 along with the English translation. This communiqué has been analysed extensively in Chapter 7, which is why I am using part of it as an example: in this way the reader can appreciate the metaphor identification procedure in a text which can be read in its totality. Below are paragraphs 1 and 2 of the communiqué:

Extract 4.7

Την Τετάρτη 15 Μάρτη 17N χτύπησε με δύο ρουκέτες τις εγκαταστάσεις του MEGA στην Παιανία, στη διάρκεια του βραδυνού δελτίου ειδήσεων στις 8.30. Τόσο τα τηλεοπτικά ρεπορτάζ που ακολούθησαν όσο και ολόκληρος ο Τύπος τις επόμενες μέρες παρουσίασαν το χτύπημα σαν "τυφλό".

Ισχυρίστηκαν ότι η 17N δεν είχε προειδοποιήσει κανέναν πριν από την εκτόξευση βάζοντας έτσι σε σοβαρό κίνδυνο τους εργαζόμενους στο MEGA. Η αλήθεια είναι τελείως διαφορετική.

[On Wednesday the 15th of March 17N used two rocket bombs to hit MEGA Channel's buildings in Paiania, during the evening newscast of 8.30. The TV reports that followed, as well as the whole press, presented the hit as "blind".

They claimed that 17N had not warned anyone before the launch, putting the people who work in MEGA Channel in serious danger. The truth is totally different.]

In the above extract I have not yet underlined any relevant metaphorical expressions. My first attempt to identify them led to the following result:

Extract 4.8

Την Τετάρτη 15 Μάρτη η 17N χτύπησε με δύο ρουκέτες τις εγκαταστάσεις του MEGA στην Παιανία, στη διάρκεια του βραδυνού δελτίου ειδήσεων στις 8.30. Τόσο τα τηλεοπτικά ρεπορτάζ που ακολούθησαν όσο και ολόκληρος ο Τύπος τις επόμενες μέρες παρουσίασαν το χτύπημα σαν "τυφλό".

Ισχυρίστηκαν ότι η 17N δεν είχε προειδοποιήσει κανέναν πριν από την εκτόξευση βάζοντας έτσι σε σοβαρό κίνδυνο τους εργαζόμενους στο MEGA. Η αλήθεια είναι τελείως διαφορετική.

[On Wednesday the 15th of March 17N used two rocket bombs to hit MEGA Channel's buildings in Paiania, during the evening newscast of 8.30. The TV reports that followed, as well as the whole press, presented the hit as "blind".

They claimed that 17N had not warned anyone before the launch, putting the people who work in MEGA Channel in serious danger. The truth is totally different.]

I have underlined three linguistic expressions in the extract above, namely *χτύπησε*/ hit, *τυφλό*/ blind, and *βάζοντας*/ putting. These expressions refer to an action carried out by 17N, a comment made by the Greek media, and the report of an action by 17N, respectively. The fact that *τυφλό*/ blind is in quotation marks attracted my attention, as it not only signals the metaphorical expression but it also presents it as ascribed, rather than claimed by 17N. I have not underlined *ακολούθησαν*/ followed even though it is not used literally, because it does not refer to the three topics of interest; rather, it is a conventional metaphorical expression that refers to the TV reports. Moreover, I have not underlined the preposition 'in', which is found in the English translation, because it does not correspond with an equivalent preposition in the Greek text. The Greek word *σε* which is present in the original text is a highly delexicalised function word that does not have a meaning similar to 'in'. In fact, both occurrences of 'in' in the second paragraph of the English translation do not have equivalent prepositions in the Greek text, and therefore have been omitted from the findings.

A second reading of the text, however, led me to omit *χτύπησε*/ hit from the list of metaphorical expressions:

Extract 4.9

Την Τετάρτη 15 Μάρτη η 17N χτύπησε με δύο ρουκέτες τις εγκαταστάσεις του MEGA στην Παιανία, στη διάρκεια του βραδυνού δελτίου ειδήσεων στις 8.30. Τόσο τα τηλεοπτικά ρεπορτάζ που ακολούθησαν όσο και ολόκληρος ο Τύπος τις επόμενες μέρες παρουσίασαν το χτύπημα σαν "τυφλό".

Ισχυρίστηκαν ότι η 17N δεν είχε προειδοποιήσει κανέναν πριν από την εκτόξευση βάζοντας έτσι σε σοβαρό κίνδυνο τους εργαζόμενους στο MEGA. Η αλήθεια είναι τελείως διαφορετική.

[On Wednesday the 15th of March 17N used two rocket bombs to hit MEGA Channel's buildings in Paiania, during the evening newscast of 8.30. The TV reports that followed, as well as the whole press, presented the hit as "blind".

They claimed that 17N had not warned anyone before the launch, putting the people who work in MEGA Channel in serious danger. The truth is totally different.]

Initially, I had included *χτύπησε/* hit, following the rationale that 17N did not actually hit, using their hands or another object, the buildings of MEGA Channel. I then realised, however, that a material sense of hitting is very much present in the action carried out by the organization, as they launched the rocket bombs that caused damage to the TV channel's buildings. This pass at the data eliminated one of the expressions that I had previously identified as metaphorical, and the third reading of the text confirmed the results of the second pass. So, the end result is Extract 4.9.

4.5.4. Limitations of the metaphor identification process

When identifying metaphor in texts, the data have to be revisited several times and the process of identification needs to be refined and repeated, ideally from more than one researcher. I did go through my data several times, but, unfortunately, it has not been possible for me to check my identification procedure against that of another analyst. The fact that the data is in Greek while research is taking place in England is a restrictive parameter that makes it difficult to find a second analyst, as they should be both a metaphor expert and fluent in Greek. My main issue, however, had to do with the controversial nature of my data: the communiqués written by a criminal, terrorist group are not meant to be disseminated or even disclosed to the public, and these laws are stricter in some countries than in others, as I discovered when I began working with the texts in the UK. I have obtained permission to work with this data but I would hesitate to share it with others, following the legal advice I received when I started this thesis. It seems that, even though the communiqués have been published in a book in Greece, they are still regarded as illegal in the UK due to recent anti-terrorism laws.

With these limitations, I had to be particularly careful in establishing and identifying linguistic metaphors in the communiqués, in order to avoid or at least minimise the analyst bias that might be present when one is engaged with a project. I therefore used my knowledge of the language, my knowledge of the context of production and dissemination of the communiqués, the MLCT concordancing program, the HNC, and dictionaries, which allowed for individual words to be studied easily in their immediate and extended co-text. I follow this method because of my interest in

the rhetorical effects of the expressions I deal with, as well as in the way they set 17N apart as a distinct organisation with its own, idiosyncratic language use, rather than in examining every metaphor in the communiqués, as I have mentioned earlier.

Finally, a problem that kept reoccurring during the identification and quantification of the linguistic metaphors had to do with 17N's inconsistencies in spelling and in following syntactic and punctuation rules. This made it difficult to completely trust the results of the MLCT, as, by entering a certain word or phrase in the program to check how it was used in the corpus of communiqués, some instances might be omitted in the resulting concordance, because they would be spelled differently in different parts of the texts. For example, I found *δάχτυλο*/ finger spelled as *δάκτυλο*, which is an accepted alternative spelling, but also as *δάχτιλο*, and *δάκτιλο*, which are both inaccurate spellings. I took notice of 17N's inconsistent and mistaken spellings, and their arbitrary use of stress marks, apostrophes and other punctuation marks, during the manual analysis. This helped me to compensate, partly, for the incomplete concordances the MLCT sometimes produced; still, it is difficult to work with electronic corpora that include texts where the form of words is not always consistent. Currently, no programs are available for the normalization of Greek spellings in corpora.

4.6. Grouping and categorising my findings

After I had extracted all the expressions of interest from the communiqués, I divided them into groups, using the source domain of each metaphorical expression as

a criterion for categorization. Following Deignan (1995), I grouped together words and expressions used to talk about broad domains of human experience that were used metaphorically in the communiqués. This approach produced several sets of expressions. Each group or category that I formed is, in some cases, further divided into more specific subgroups, and the length and size of each category varies. The results of this process can be seen in Appendices 1 and 2, where the categories I formed are presented in tables, showing the number of occurrence of the metaphorical expressions in the communiqués.

This categorisation stems from the patterns I discovered when I examined closely the metaphorical expressions I extracted from my corpus. I noticed that some of them shared certain attributes. For instance, there was a variety of words around the arts (theatre, music, dancing), which were frequently used metaphorically, so I gathered them all under the category ARTS. There were also expressions related to light and darkness, as shown earlier in this chapter. Similarly, a variety of expressions referred to moving and different kinds of movements, so I gathered them under the category MOVING AND STOPPING. These expressions constitute one of the ways 17N employed to talk about their targets and about their perception of the political and social situation of their country. So, this grouping is helpful in showing which source domains 17N predominantly draw upon in their effort to discredit their victims and to support their violent ideology. In addition, it is a useful device in that it structures my findings according to the frequencies that result from the use of the electronic corpus and, consequently, it informs the qualitative analysis. Besides, dividing a large and heterogeneous group of expressions into smaller categories that share certain features is

necessary in order, on the one hand, to process and observe them more easily, and on the other hand, to present them in a clear and comprehensible way. Finally, it facilitates the understanding of the significance and productivity of certain source domains.

I will now present some background on the notion of category and the process of category formation in order to make my approach and my motivation in forming these categories of expressions more obvious.

4.6.1. On categories and category formation

As Croft and Cruse note, when we are categorising an entity, we are conceiving it as an instantiation of a more abstract entity that also includes other entities, whether they are potential or actual (2004: 74). These abstract entities are known as conceptual categories. Croft and Cruse add that some members of a category are more basic and are perceived as more central to the category than others, but this can vary according to the age, the abilities and the specific culture of the person doing the categorisation (ibid.). Lakoff (1987), too, stresses that both human reason and imagination play a role in forming categories, and makes a similar point concerning the members of a category: they are not equal, and therefore categories are not symmetrical entities. Rather, some of their members are perceived as more characteristic or basic than others, and this is known as prototype effect (Rosch, 1978, quoted in Lakoff, 1987).

Apart from being characterized by prototype effects, Lakoff adds that some categories are radial, and in particular they have radial structure within them (1987: 91). They have a central subcategory and other, noncentral extensions, variants of the

central subcategory, which may be extended as times change and they are learned one by one. The noncentral variants cannot be generated from the central model by a set of general rules. The category 'mother', for instance, is a radial category, including several known types of mother (e.g. biological mother, foster mother etc). As times change, new variants are added to the category, like 'surrogate mother', which could not have been imagined earlier on. In addition to being asymmetrical and possibly radial, Lakoff emphasizes that categories, though stable, do not have fixed boundaries but that one of their basic features is the fuzziness and indeterminacy of their boundaries.

Croft and Cruse (2004) opt for a concept of categories not as stable and fixed entities with fuzzy boundaries, but as inherently variable, created on-line as and when needed (2004:92). Past experience, immediately preceding mental activities, and context, are the three factors that determine the dynamic construction of a category (ibid.). Boundaries need not be fuzzy, then; they can be sharp and dynamic (changing when/as needed). Interestingly, this shifts the emphasis from the category as an abstract entity to the person forming or perceiving the category. Categories are constantly being modified, whether this is seen as movement of their boundaries or change of the whole category, but the purposes/abilities of the person creating or recognizing a category, as well as the context, are also important factors in category formation. Adding to this, McEnery and Wilson (1996) observe that corpora are useful in showing how often a linguistic construction falls into a particular category rather than in another one, thus demonstrating that categories are not to be treated as static and as having definite boundaries.

4.6.2. My groups of metaphorical expressions

Keeping in mind the aforementioned comments on some of the features of categories and on their dynamic character, I will now turn to the way I categorised my data. The first category-related decision I made is, of course, my decision to focus on metaphorical expressions, choosing a special category of linguistic devices over other categories (like, for instance, pronouns or deictic expressions or hypothetical reported speech, which were also interesting in my data). Having made this first essential decision, I moved on to distinguish the source domains of the metaphors I discovered.

Prototype effects take place in the categories I have formed to facilitate my analysis. Some members of the categories I devised are better, or more prototypical, examples of them than others. Take, for instance, the category ANIMALS: ‘Lamb’ could be seen as a better example than ‘fly’, and, perhaps, ‘fly’ is a more prototypical animal than ‘leech’ or ‘parasite’. One could argue that a fly is an insect, and that it should be in a separate category, or in a separate sub-category, since I have included sub-categories. Similarly, a parasite could form a sub-category of its own. However, I have decided that I should keep the number of categories to a minimum, as my purpose is to organize the source domains of the metaphorical expressions for ease of analysis and presentation, and not to insist on detail. So, most of the categories have been kept broad, and of course category boundaries were moved as with every new word I encountered I tried to fit it into already existing categories, if possible.

Finally, I had to sort out the issue of expressions that could belong equally well to any of two categories. *Φαρισαίος*/ Pharisee is one such example: as shown in Appendix 2, Table 39, I have included this expression in the RELIGION source domain. It could also be included in the HISTORY source domain, though, as Pharisees are historical figures; I included them in RELIGION as their use in the communiqués emphasized their link with religion and religious matters, rather than presenting Pharisees as historical figures. In a similar way, I dealt with expressions that could have been argued to belong equally well to two different groups of source domains.

4.7. Translating metaphorical expressions

The data I am using for this thesis is in Greek, and my analysis is based on the original language. However, my research is taking place within an English-speaking university and my results are meant to be read by English speakers. I therefore provide a translation of all the extracts taken from 17N's communiqués that I am including in the thesis, as well as of all the information on my data and findings that is provided in the appendices. Perhaps the translation of all the communiqués in English would have been helpful to the reader, as they would be provided with the complete picture of my data. However, this would have been a very time-consuming task, given the length of 17N's texts. For this reason I decided against it.

The fact that 17N's communiqués are written in Greek presents a twofold challenge for their analysis in English. Not only are they to be discussed in a language

other than the one they were originally written in, but also they are discussed in terms of the metaphorical expressions they contain, which present an additional complexity when translated. As Knowles and Moon observe, “Translators [...] have to balance the importance of maintaining the rhetorical style of the original against the need to avoid distracting lexical devices by translating word for word” (2006: 92). This is often difficult to achieve, as it is not always the case that a metaphorical expression in Greek finds an adequate counterpart, or even less so an exact translation, in English. Rather, it is often the case for a Greek metaphorical expression to be nearly untranslatable in another language, and to require a lot of additional information to be given along with the translation, in order for the analyst to provide the reader with enough background to understand the sense of the metaphor. In these cases I followed Aeginitou (1995), and Altani (1993), and tried to provide enough background knowledge to facilitate the interpretation of my Greek examples by non-Greek readers.

Metaphor interpretation is in fact, to a great extent, culturally conditioned, in the sense that shared knowledge is often necessary for the producer and the interpreter of the metaphorical expression to communicate (Kövecses, 2005). When these two belong to different linguistic communities, the distance between them may render the meaning of certain expressions opaque. In addition, many important connotative elements and culturally conditioned values carried by words in a metaphorical expression may be lost by the interpreter. Besides, metaphorical expressions are always, to a degree, open to interpretation, at least on the level of fine detail: the detailed description of the exact mappings between the source and the target domain of a metaphor, for instance, are usually doubtful. As Dobrzynska aptly observes, “the

sense of a metaphor always remains open and its status is only hypothetical” (1995:597).

The cultural dependence of metaphors has been argued to vary according to the universal or specific character of the domain of experience they belong to (Deignan, 2003). More basic metaphors having to do with aspects of the world that are universal across languages and cultures, therefore, are more likely to be common and easily understood by speakers of different languages; consequently, they may be easier to translate, as well. On the contrary, culturally-specific metaphors may be lost for speakers of another language. It seems, however, that the link between metaphor and culture is not such a straightforward one and that it cannot be predicted how a metaphor will be translated, or even received, by speakers of a different language, based on these parameters (Deignan, 2003). One of the reasons for this is that metaphors are often derived from historical situations that may no longer be experienced by speakers of a language, even if the metaphorical expression is frequently used in the language (ibid.) While translating the expressions that can be seen in Appendices 1 and 2, allocated to various groups according to source domain, I noticed that the point made by Deignan is manifest in my data as well. Even though it can be suggested that it is more straightforward to translate some categories rather than others (for instance, ANIMALS could be regarded as more universal than HISTORY), in reality it cannot be predicted where a culture-specific expression may occur that will render the translation a challenge.

Kövecses (2005) found that the linguistic form that the same conceptual metaphor takes when translated in different languages is, most of the time, different

than the original; so, there is variation of the linguistic expression of the same conceptual metaphor in different languages. This variation involves the different elaboration of a particular conceptual metaphor in different language, that is, the number of linguistic expressions it gives rise to. It also involves the morphology and the grammatical status of the linguistic expressions; whether they are single-word, multi-word, etc. Moreover, Kövecses noted that different languages, while drawing on the same conceptual metaphor, may realise different aspect of a source domain; for instance, the aspect of pressure is more prominent in Mandarin realisations of ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A PRESSURISED CONTAINER, while English draws more on the heat aspect. In addition, the degree of conventionalization and specificity, as well as the degree of metaphorical transparency of a particular metaphorical expression, are influenced by the change in language. These terms refer, respectively, to the degree of conventionality vs. the stylistic marking of an expression, to how specific its referents are in a given language, and to whether it is used in both the target and source domains or only in the target domain. Variation also involves the scope of a particular linguistic expression in different languages, which is the number of distinct uses it can have in different target domains. Kövecses (2005) further observes that, even if the linguistic expressions that realise the same conceptual metaphor are the same or very similar in different languages, they may display differences in the cultural and ideological background, which reflect the different ways in which conceptual metaphors function in different cultures.

In the case of Greek metaphorical expressions being translated into English, I came across different degrees of difficulty in translation. Some expressions were easy

to translate as they have an equivalent in English, which can be received as metaphorical in English as well as in Greek: an example is *το πράσινο φως*/ the green light, which is found in Extracts 2 and 3 in this chapter, as well as the following extract:

Extract 4.10

Να χτυπήσουμε τους μεγαλοκαρχαρίες απατεώνες καπιταλιστές, υπεύθυνους της κρίσης.

(42: 458)

[Let's hit the big sharks, the impostor capitalists, who are responsible for this crisis.]

Other expressions require further explanation and background to be provided, as they are particular to the Greek culture:

Extract 4.11

Και τίποτα δεν είναι πιο αηδιαστικό από τα καραγκιοζιλίκια του Γερμανού πρέσβη.

(17: 251)

[Nothing is more disgusting than the German ambassador acting like Karagkiozis]

Extract 4.12

(...) οι απατεώνες αλλά και καραγκιόζηδες Μητσοτάκης και Παπακωνσταντίνου.

(41: 429)

[(...) the impostors but also Karagkiozides Mitsotakis and Papakonstantinou]

The metaphorical expressions in the extracts above are underlined, but they are not directly translatable in English as there is no English equivalent for Karagiozis. Karagiozis is a very well known and popular character of the Greek traditional shadow theatre, a performance where two-dimensional puppets play behind an illuminated white sheet and the audience watches their shadows. This kind of spectacle dates back to when Greece was a province of the Ottoman Empire and therefore includes many references to what it is like being a poor slave and a subject to the Turks. The character Karagiozis is a middle-aged hunchbacked family man, with a long nose, who is too poor to feed his children properly and so he has to resort to all sorts of tricks and cunning plans to earn money or food. Shadow theatre is gradually dying away in modern Greece but Karagiozis as a character is deeply entrenched in Greek culture as part of the people's heritage.

In order to make the meaning of this metaphorical mapping clearer to the reader, I have added an explanatory paragraph, giving additional information that helps the reader appreciate the sense of the metaphor. I will follow this practice whenever an expression cannot be directly translated in English. The same holds for instances when an expression's meaning is lost to the reader because it is the result of wordplay meaningful only in Greek:

Extract 4.13

Και δεν είναι τυχαίο ότι ο λαός μας, με το αλάθητο πολιτικό του κριτήριο, τους αποκαλεί σήμερα Τσίρκους χωρίς βέβαια να εννοεί μόνο τον Κύρκο.

(41: 449)

[It is not accidental that our people, with their unmistakable political judgement, today call them Circuses, referring to more than just Kyrkos.]

This extract, which will be further analysed in Chapter 5, includes a pun on the name of a left-wing politician of the time, Kyrkos, whose surname rhymes with *τσίρκοι*/ circus. In this case, not only is it necessary to have adequate knowledge of the Greek language, but also of the Greek political scene of the time, in order to appreciate the pun. Even Greek native speakers might not have noticed the allusion had Kyrkos' name not been added at the end of the sentence. In these cases, too, an explanatory note allows the reader to appreciate the wordplay.

Furthermore, in translating extracts from my data to English, I sometimes resorted to using more than one word of English to translate a single word of Greek which was used metaphorically. Such an example is the expression *αχούρι*/ dirty stable, which can be found in Appendix 1, Table 6. In Greek, this is a one-word expression, which has an inherent negative value as it connotes a dirty place; originally, it referred to stables where the animals slept, which were dirty by definition. I could not translate it with a single word in English; perhaps this is the result of my own limited knowledge of the English language, however I found that 'dirty stable' expressed more precisely the meaning that I wanted to convey to the English-speaking reader. For the same reason, some Greek expressions are provided with two alternative English translations.

Finally, there is the case of the English translation containing more or different metaphorical expressions than the Greek text, as a result of my attempt to preserve 17N's tone and rhetorical style in the English text. In this case, I do not underline the metaphorical expression which is present only in the English translation; I only

underline the expressions which are metaphorical in Greek, as in the extract that follows:

Extract 4.14

Έτσι όταν μεθαύριο θα βλέπουμε σ' αυτό το θέατρο που λέγεται Βουλή να παίζεται η καλύτερη θεατρική παράσταση της χρονιάς, ας μην ξεχνάμε ότι αυτοί οι κύριοι που με συγκινητική ομοψυχία και συναίνεση, παρουσιάζουν τη 17N, την «τρομοκρατία» και τη λαϊκή βία να απειλούν δήθεν τη δημοκρατία, μας λένε και πάλι χοντρά ψέματα και έχουν άλλους στόχους.

(13: 185 – 186)

[So, when the day after tomorrow we will be watching the best theatrical performance of the year performed in this theatre called The Parliament, let us not forget that these gentlemen, who with touching unanimity and consent present 17N, “terrorism”, and the people’s violence as an ostensible threat to democracy, are again telling us fat lies and have other aims.]

Here, the expression “touching unanimity”, which has metaphorical potential in English, does not correspond to a metaphorical expression in Greek. I could not, however, find an adequate non-metaphorical expression that would convey the meaning of the Greek phrase *συγκινητική ομοψυχία*. It seems that sometimes it is impossible to avoid translating non-metaphorical phrases with metaphorical ones, and vice versa, as each language has its own way of expressing specific concepts.

Finally, I should explain the reason why the English translations may sometimes seem syntactically awkward. This is because I have tried to preserve the

awkward syntax of the Greek original, as I believe it conveys 17N's tone and it allows the reader to appreciate the complicated and, at times, confusing way they wrote.

I will now proceed to the analysis of my data.

CHAPTER 5 - DATA ANALYSIS: CONSTRUCTING

DICHOTOMIES

5.1. Introduction

The ideological bias of political texts has often been the object of analysis and discussion, by different linguistic approaches that focussed on various features of the text. This bias is even more obvious in texts written by terrorist groups, which are produced to accompany and justify their violent acts. Taking Cognitive Metaphor Theory as a starting point and as a basic frame, this study investigates how 17N use language, and in particular metaphor, to create ideologically charged meaning. The main reason supporting this decision is the claim that conceptual metaphors are important devices for structuring knowledge domains, which in this case have to do with how the information on the political situation in Greece is organised and presented to 17N's audience.

Studying metaphor in the discourse of 17N involves making sense of the way a great number of linguistic metaphors, and underlying conceptual metaphors, have formed a coherent net, via which part of 17N's worldview is potentially conveyed to the reader of their texts. As Popova observes, "A study of texts in terms of conceptual metaphors is a study of metaphoric systems, rather than of mere words." (2003:50). Taking a broad and integrated view of 17N's communiqués, I looked not merely for isolated metaphors but for patterns in the occurrence and interaction of the metaphorical expressions in my data. The use of corpora was an invaluable aid towards

this goal, as it informed the quantitative analysis and enriched the qualitative part of the analysis.

My study of the texts revealed that the most frequent metaphorical patterns in 17N's texts are drawn from source domains related to the human body and its functions, travelling and moving in space, the arts, the animal kingdom, history, religion, food, etc. These source domains are conventionally applied to a range of different target domains, but in my data they refer mainly to the people and the institutions that the organisation targeted and fought (see also sections 2.3.3 and 4.5.3). In researching metaphorical expressions in context, as they occur naturally, there is room for detailed discussion and for a rich interpretation of the findings. My analysis of extracts taken from 17N's texts has tried to do justice to the richness and complexity of the data, as much as this is possible within the space of this thesis.

In this chapter, I will present one of the most prominent metaphorical systems employed by 17N and the entailments of the metaphorical expressions it involves. In this way important elements of the conceptual universe the group operated in will be illuminated in an effort to achieve a deeper understanding of the organisation. First, however, I will present an overview of my findings, which I discuss in Chapters 5, and 6.

5.1.1. An overview of my findings

I will now proceed to a brief description of my findings, which are presented in the form of tables and can be found in Appendices 1 and 2. In this analysis, I am

including a total of 41 tables, which show the most important tendencies in my data, in terms of the frequency of occurrence of metaphorical expressions in 17N's communiqués. I have assigned these expressions to particular source domains. More specifically, the tables present the way in which I classified 3169 metaphorical expressions into sixteen different source domains, as shown in Table 5.1 below. The tables also illustrate the frequency of occurrence of an expression in the corpus of communiqués and in the HNC, respectively. They provide detailed information on the occurrence of each expression, which allows for an overview of the communiqués; however, for in-depth analysis, I will refer to extracts taken from the communiqués to show the use and the interplay of the linguistic metaphors in context.

I have divided the 3169 metaphorical expressions into two major groups, which I discuss in detail in Chapters 5 and 6. In Chapter 7 I provide a detailed discourse analysis of a full communiqué, in order to show the rhetorical functions of particular metaphorical expressions in context. Finally, in Chapter 8 I attempt a diachronic analysis of selected metaphorical expressions that have been discussed in the previous three chapters. The metaphorical expressions I extracted from the communiqués were generally exploited to paint a negative picture of the situation in Greece, to criticise 17N's targets and opponents, and to present a positive picture of 17N; therefore, they were not straightforward to divide into sub-groups in order to structure my analysis. I divided them into two groups according to the main rhetorical function they were used to perform and to conceptual relationships between the various source domains, bearing in mind that there is overlap amongst the groups. The tables corresponding to each one of these groups can be found in the appendices. The first group, presented in

Appendix 1, includes the source domains of ARTS, THE HUMAN BODY, LIGHT AND DARKNESS, CLEANLINESS AND DIRT, HEAT AND COLD, SOUND AND SILENCE, WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE, and ANIMALS. These source domains were found to be frequently realised by means of expressions used to construct oppositions between 17N and its targets. The second group of expressions, found in Appendix 2, includes the source domains of MOVING AND STOPPING, BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION, LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS, CONTAINER, FOOD, DRINK AND COOKING, RELIGION, HISTORY AND POLITICS, and PROFESSIONS. These domains were frequently employed by 17N to produce metaphorical expressions that gave a negative and pessimistic picture of Greece's political and social situation. These expressions provide support to 17N's main argumentative strategy by discrediting their targets, to which they attribute negative and sometimes ridiculous characteristics. So, the division of my findings into two groups of source domains is mainly motivated by the different rhetorical functions of the expressions belonging to these domains, although this is not to be seen as an exhaustive criterion. The aim of this division is to facilitate the presentation of the analysis.

In Table 5.1 below I provide a summary of the source domains I will be dealing with. They are presented according to the number of tokens of metaphorical expressions belonging to them that were found in my corpus. I am also including the percentages of the metaphorical expressions in each source domain out of the total number of metaphorical expressions.

Table 5.1: Tokens of the metaphorical expressions found in 17N's corpus, allocated to source domain

SOURCE DOMAIN	NUMBER OF RELEVANT METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS IN 17N CORPUS	PERCENTAGE OUT OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS
MOVING AND STOPPING	772	24.4
THE HUMAN BODY	466	14.7
LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS	352	11.2
ARTS	289	9.1
CLEANLINESS AND DIRT	288	9
BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION	226	7.1
CONTAINER	164	5.2
WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE	138	4.3
ANIMALS	107	3.4
LIGHT, DARKNESS AND COLOUR	92	2.9
HISTORY AND POLITICS	82	2.6
FOOD, DRINK AND COOKING	64	2

RELIGION	48	1.5
SOUND AND SILENCE	40	1.3
PROFESSIONS	30	0.9
HEAT AND COLD	11	0.3
TOTAL	3169	100

As the tables in Appendices 1 and 2 reveal, there are subdivisions within many of the source domains mentioned above. For instance, the source domain of ARTS includes PERFORMANCE ARTS, MUSIC, LITERATURE, etc. The source domain of ANIMALS includes KINDS OF ANIMALS, ANIMAL BODY PARTS, and PRACTICES OF/AROUND ANIMALS. The term ‘domain’, thus, is used here at a high level of generality, as some of my domains include several sub-domains. These subdivisions are in fact more specific source domains themselves, which have been included together in a larger group in order to facilitate the organisation of the findings and their presentation (see also Chapter 4, section 4.6).

At this point, I should add that there are a few more source domains that emerged from analysing 17N’s metaphorical expressions, which I am not including in the present analysis. These have to do with SLEEP, SPORTS AND GAMES, DEATH, SCIENCES, FAMILY, and VARIOUS OBJECTS. I decided to omit them because they were very limited (for example, the source domain of SLEEP only included three tokens of expressions and two different types). The omitted source domains include very few expressions which, naturally, cannot be so frequent and dispersed in the

communiqués. I therefore believe that leaving them out does not affect the representativeness of the analysis, which focuses on the characteristic manner in which 17N used metaphor. Having said that, I will be including in the analysis expressions that occur only once in my data, if the overall source domain they belong to shows more types. This is the case with the expressions *Τσίρκους/* Circuses and *Τζαίημς Μποντ/* James Bond, for instance, which occur only once in the corpus of communiqués but they have been included in the source domain of SHOW/PERFORMANCE ARTS.

I will now present a brief description of my quantitative findings, in order to facilitate the reading of Tables 1-41 in Appendices 1 and 2.

5.1.2. Description of the quantitative findings

I will now explain how the tables in Appendices 1 and 2 can be read by using Table 1: SHOW/PERFORMANCE ARTS as an example. Table 1 relates to the source domain of ARTS, which includes also includes as sub-domains LITERATURE, MUSIC, and OTHER ARTS. The rest of the tables can be read exactly as Table 1.

In the table there are nine columns: the first column from the left contains the linguistic expressions referring to performance and show. These have been arranged in order of frequency, starting from the one that was found to be used metaphorically the most times in 17N's corpus. One can trace the occurrence of these linguistic expressions in the communiqués and in the HNC by following the rows in the table which begin with each expression.

The expressions are presented in the singular number, nominative, or infinitive and present tense, depending on the part of speech they belong to. In other words, I am presenting them in their basic form, and I will refer to them as lemmas, following Koller (2004a) and Deignan (2005). However, the number of occurrences of each expression, which is noted in the second and third columns for 17N's corpus, and in the sixth and seventh columns for HNC, includes the different tenses, numbers, cases, and any other declension and inflective feature that has been found in the two corpora (17N's *communiqués* and the HNC). For instance, *ρόλος/role*, which is the first expression found in the first row of the table, stands also for *ρόλοι/roles*, *ρόλων/roles* – possessive case, *ρόλους/roles* – plural, possessive case. In the same way, to take a verb as an example, *σκηνοθετώ/to stage* includes *σκηνοθέτησα/I staged*, *σκηνοθετούσα/I was staging*, *σκηνοθετούμε/we are staging*, etc. The same holds for adjectives and participles; with adverbs and prepositions it is not necessary to distinguish the forms a word can take, as they remain unchanged.

I decided not to include all the different forms each expression can take in the first column because it would unnecessarily complicate the reading of the tables. In this analysis, I am not concerned with a categorization of my findings in terms of the different parts of speech and I will not go into depth concerning the grammatical aspects of metaphor. Moreover, the Greek language includes many more different forms of nouns, verbs, and adjectives, than the English language, because of the various endings, as well as the changes the base of the word undergoes, when the number, tense, case etc. change. Undoubtedly, these are important observations to make and they would be very interesting to analyse in relation to metaphor. Deignan,

for instance, has found that, in English, the morphological variants of an expression can have different metaphorical uses (2005: 145-167). Cameron (2003) makes a similar point. It would be worth examining whether this is the case for Modern Greek, too, but this will have to be included in a future analysis. In this thesis, I will limit myself to simply mentioning any patterns related to word form that I observed in the course of the analysis, as I am interested mainly in the source domains and in their entailments, as I am focusing on 17N's rhetorical strategies. Therefore, my first column would have been too detailed and complicated, had I included all this information.

The remaining eight columns shown in Table 1 contain numerical data. The first four refer to 17N's corpus and the last four refer to the HNC. The second column from the left, labelled "Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus", presents the number of times each expression was found to be used metaphorically in the corpus of communiqués. For quick reference, this number can also be referred to as "M17", as shown at the top of the column. For instance, the word *παράσταση*/ performance was used metaphorically six times in the communiqués. Next to it is the total number of occurrences of an expression in 17N's corpus, whether it was used literally or metaphorically. *Παράσταση*/ performance, for example, occurred nine times in the communiqués. The next column provides the percentage of metaphorical occurrences of an expression in 17N's corpus, vs. the non-metaphorical occurrences; in this way, one can easily check which use prevails in 17N's discourse: 66 percent of the instances of *παράσταση*/ performance are metaphorical. The fifth column is the final one referring to 17N's corpus and serves as a link with the data found with the help of the HNC. It presents the metaphorical occurrences of an expression in the communiqués

(M17), calculated per 1000 words. The purpose of this column is to facilitate a comparison of the frequency of the metaphorical instances of an expression between the two corpora.

Moving on to the final four columns of the table, there are two columns that provide information on the metaphorical and total instances of occurrence of an expression in the HNC. *Παράσταση/* performance, for example, does not occur as a metaphorical expression in the HNC at all, in the way 17N used it, even though there are 3453 instances of the expression in general. *Καραγκιόζης/* Karagkiozis, on the other hand, occurs 325 times in the HNC, 165 of which are used metaphorically. In the eighth column comes the percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical use of an expression in the HNC: for instance, 50.7 percent of the total occurrences of *Καραγκιόζης/* Karagkiozis are metaphorical in the HNC. One can compare this figure directly with the equivalent percentage in 17N's corpus, which is 100 percent, and observe that *Καραγκιόζης/* Karagkiozis is used metaphorically by 17N all the time, even though this is not the norm in the language. Finally, the last column of the table provides the metaphorical occurrences of each expression in the HNC, calculated per 1000 words. For *Καραγκιόζης/* Karagkiozis, these numbers are 0.046 in the communiqués and 0.003 in the HNC.

With the organisation of my findings in these tables I aim to provide the reader with a detailed picture of the way a particular expression is used by 17N, on the one hand, and in the HNC, on the other. I include the data from both corpora on the same page so as to enable an immediate comparison between the two corpora. At the end of each broad source domain, like ARTS, I provide the total number of metaphorical

expressions belonging to this source domain that were found in the communiqués, as a way to summarize the extent of this domain: for ARTS, this number was 289.

I will now examine in detail each source domain I have assigned to the first group of expressions. I will first compare my findings from 17N's corpus with the findings from the HNC, and then I will look at how 17N exploit each domain for rhetorical purposes, by looking at extracts from the communiqués. As I have previously mentioned, the source domains in this chapter are discussed together because they are exploited by 17N in order to set up oppositions between the organisation and their opponents and targets. The order in which I will be discussing the source domains is not according to the number of expressions each one contains; Rather, it follows the rationale of discussing first the source domains which are exclusively used to create dichotomies and then the source domains which are also partly used to present a negative picture of the situation in Greece. As I mentioned in the introduction, the separation of expressions according to rhetorical function should not be seen as a rigid division but rather as two parts of a continuum that facilitates the presentation of the findings and also the appreciation of 17N's use of various source domains. In this way a smooth link will be provided with the following chapter.

In Table 5.2 below, I provide a summary of the source domains I am focussing on in this chapter.

Table 5.2: Source domains discussed in Chapter 5

SOURCE DOMAIN	NUMBER OF METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS IN 17N CORPUS	PERCENTAGE OUT OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF EXPRESSIONS
THE HUMAN BODY	466	14.7
ARTS	289	9.1
CLEANLINESS AND DIRT	288	9
WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE	138	4.4
ANIMALS	107	3.4
LIGHT, DARKNESS AND COLOUR	92	2.9
SOUND AND SILENCE	40	1.3
HEAT AND COLD	11	0.3
TOTAL	1431	45

5.2. The ARTS source domain

As shown in Table 5.1, the ARTS source domain includes 9.12 percent of the total number of metaphorical expressions that I am including in this analysis. This makes it the fourth largest source domain in my data.

I am beginning my analysis from the ARTS domain because it is primarily realised via expressions that serve the rhetorical function of constructing oppositions between 17N and their targets and also because, even though it is not the largest domain in terms of the number of metaphorical expressions it contains, it is particularly important in 17N's discourse, as will be shown below.

5.2.1. Quantitative analysis

The group of expressions referring to the arts is one of the most pervasive ones in my data, including 289 tokens of metaphorical expressions and four groups of source sub-domains, as we can see in Tables 1 – 4 in Appendix 1. Within this group, there are numerous metaphorical expressions that play a crucial role in constructing 17N's argument. I frequently encountered expressions having to do with performing arts and especially theatre, but also expressions drawing from the source domains of LITERATURE, MUSIC and OTHER ARTS. Below is a summary of my findings from 17N's corpus, which shows the number of tokens and the number of different types of an expression, according to the sub-domain of ARTS that it belongs to.

Table 5.3: ARTS

SOURCE DOMAIN	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/token ratio
SHOW/PERFORMANCE	26	196	0.13

ARTS			
LITERATURE	9	59	0.15
MUSIC	6	18	0.33
OTHER ARTS	4	16	0.25
TOTAL	45	289	0.15

The source domain of SHOW/PERFORMANCE ARTS is by far the most productive sub-domain, in terms of tokens; however, it has the lowest type/token ratio, which indicates that it includes expressions that are repeatedly used. In particular, 196 tokens and 26 types of expressions relating to performance arts were noted, as we can see in Table 5.3. As far as LITERATURE is concerned, I found 59 tokens and 9 types of expressions, while MUSIC included 18 tokens and 6 types of expressions. Finally, expressions relating to other arts were less frequent, but more varied, accounting for 16 tokens and 4 different types.

The significance of the source domain of ARTS for 17N's discourse can be appreciated if it is compared with other source domains which are also frequently used and productive. One such domain as the HUMAN BODY domain, which is the larger one within the first group of expressions I am examining. As we can see in Tables 5.1 and 5.2, it accounts for 466 tokens of expressions and 70 different types. However, the human body as source domain of metaphorical mappings is very conventionally applied to a wide range of target domains, since it is one of the most basic domains that humans use to make sense of the world (see Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Johnson, 1987; Lakoff and Johnson, 1989; Sweetser, 1990, Kövecses 2002). Johnson's (1987) notion

of embodiment, in particular, elaborates on the use of our bodies and parts of our bodies as means to understand the world around us and to structure abstract concepts. Therefore, it is not surprising, nor particular to 17N, to employ numerous metaphorical expressions drawing from the human body.

This point is supported with evidence from the HNC, which is observable in Tables 1 through 4, especially if we compare the columns presenting the percentages of the metaphorical vs. literal uses of the same expression in the two corpora (17N and HNC, respectively). If we examine the first and larger subgroup of expressions for each source domain, namely PERFORMANCE ARTS (Table 1) and PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY (Table 14), we can see that metaphorical expressions drawing from PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY are frequent both in 17N's corpus and in the HNC, for the greater part. As far as PERFORMANCE ARTS are concerned, however, they seem to be used mostly literally in the HNC, and often exclusively metaphorically in the discourse of 17N. So, one of the most significant features of the ARTS domain is that it accounts for expressions which are particular to 17N's discourse, to the extent that, in some cases, they are not found in the HNC at all as linguistic metaphors. Alternatively, if they do occur in the HNC, they are not used metaphorically in the way 17N employed them. This is because 17N sometimes used novel expressions or newly coined words and phrases, as the qualitative analysis will show.

Having established the importance of the source domain of ARTS, I will now mention specific expressions of interest within the domain. These are either very frequent expressions (like *ρόλος*/ role), which appear at the top rows of Table 1, or expressions characteristic to 17N, because of their originality or because 17N has

coined them (like *Τσίρκους*/ Circuses, used as a proper name). *Ρόλος*/ role, *θέατρο*/ theatre, *Καραγκιόζης*/ Karagkiozis, *σκηνή*/ scene, *μάσκα*/ mask, *οπερέτα*/ operetta and *παράσταση*/ performance, are among the frequent ARTS expressions that 17N used metaphorically to refer to its targets. *Ρόλος*/ role is the most frequent among them, and it is found only as a metaphor in the communiqués. In the HNC, too, it is used mainly metaphorically, but there is a considerable proportion of literal uses, which is not surprising: newspapers often include articles on actors, for instance, who talk about their actual roles. It is interesting to note that *μάσκα*/ mask and *οπερέτα*/ operetta are very rarely used metaphorically in the HNC: indeed, comparing their occurrences as calculated per 1000 words, they are 0.031 and 0.023 compared to 0.0002 and 0.0001 in the HNC. Dictionaries, however, confirm their conventionality as metaphorical expressions. *Παράσταση*/ performance, on the other hand, does not even exist as a metaphor in the HNC; the only performances mentioned in the background corpus are artistic ones. Nevertheless, dictionaries list the metaphorical sense of *παράσταση*/ performance.

At this point I should bring to the reader's attention the fact that the HNC, sometimes, yields results that are surprising to the intuitions of a native speaker of Greek. It is surprising for a corpus of millions of words not to contain metaphorical uses of the word *παράσταση*/ performance, which is often found in political discourse and refers to the behavior of political personalities. As I have mentioned in Chapter 4, however, the HNC is a corpus under construction, with limitations in terms of its contents, structure and representativeness. It is used as a point of reference in this analysis but not as an absolute reflection of the language; rather, it is a useful, albeit

imperfect and incomplete, picture of a large portion of written Modern Greek. Consequently, any unexpected results should be treated with caution and with the limited nature of the HNC in mind. For this reason, I am also using the Modern Greek dictionaries mentioned in Chapter 4 (section 4.4.2.), especially in cases when the degree of novelty or conventionality of an expression is in question.

Another noteworthy example is *θέατρο/* theatre. It is used metaphorically 20 times in 17N's corpus, which accounts for 74 percent of its overall occurrence in the communiqués. In the HNC, however, *θέατρο/* theatre occurs 6536 times and is always used literally, in the most basic sense of the word, which, in Greek, has to do either with acting on stage or with the building where the performances take place. The occurrences of *θέατρο/* theatre in 17N's corpus surpass those of any other expression in the arts domain in the 17N corpus, but there is not one instance of a metaphorical expression involving *θέατρο/* theatre in the background corpus. Even if we accept the incomplete nature of the HNC, which is consolidated by dictionary evidence supporting *θέατρο/* theatre as a conventional linguistic metaphor, this is still a strong indication that 17N use *θέατρο/* theatre in an idiosyncratic, particular way.

Καραγκιόζης/ Karagiozis also deserves attention, as it is always metaphorical in 17N's corpus, while half of the occurrences in the HNC are literal, referring to the protagonist of traditional Greek puppet theatre. As we will see in the extracts that follow, *Καραγκιόζης/* Karagiozis, when used metaphorically, is an offensive and derogatory term. Finally, a couple of expressions referring to performance arts should be noted because of their originality: these are *Τσίρκους/* Circuses and *Τζαίημς Μποντ/* James Bond. Predictably, they do not occur at all in the background corpus, apart from

a reference to James Bond as a movie hero. They do not occur in dictionaries, either. Even though they occur only once in the communiqués, they are noticeable and memorable, as they combine metaphor with humorous and ironical qualities. (these expressions I have included even though they occur only once because they are seen as part of larger source domains. Had they been treated as realising other source domains they would have been omitted, see beginning of chapter). They are also interesting examples of how 17N elaborate on the conventional metaphorical mapping POLITICS IS SPECTACLE , creating new and unconventional ways of speaking about aspects of spectacles like circus and cinema.

In the LITERATURE domain, *παραμύθι*/ fairy tale and *μύθος*/ myth are the most frequent expressions in the communiqués. As Table 2 shows, they are also quite particular to 17N's discourse, as, in the HNC, 16.9 percent and 56 percent of their occurrence, respectively, are metaphorical. *Μυθιστόρημα*/ novel and *Ταρτούφος*/ Tartuffe were not found in the HNC as metaphorical expressions, even though they were frequently used literally. For *μυθιστόρημα*/ novel, in particular, there were 1945 instances in the HNC. As a Greek native speaker, I have come across these two expressions in metaphorical uses; my Modern Greek dictionaries confirmed my intuition, as they listed metaphorical senses for both lemmas. For *Ταρτούφος*/ Tartuffe, actually, there was only one entry in the dictionary, and that was the metaphorical sense; the literal sense was included in small print, as part of the word's etymology. This could be another indication of the incomplete nature of the HNC, as it does not contain the sense of a lemma that a dictionary lists as the main one; alternatively, it could be an indication of the imperfect nature of dictionaries, especially when they are

not corpus-based. Most likely, both hypotheses are, at least partly, true. In any case, *Ταρτούφος/ Tartuffe* is used only twice in the communiqués, once literally and once metaphorically, and the dictionary evidence is enough for me not to treat it as a novel metaphorical expression.

As far as MUSIC is concerned, *παλινωδία/ palinode* is the most frequent expression which, however, seems to be used metaphorically in the language as a whole. It is indeed a rather set expression, which is not often used in everyday language, and is usually found in particular circumstances. Dictionary evidence, however, provides a literal meaning which I have also come across in other texts. *Παλινωδία/ palinode* originally meant a song which reverses the meaning of a previous song; Ancient Greek poet Stesichorus, for instance, wrote an ode insulting Helen, and a subsequent palinode in which he praised her beauty. Metaphorically, the word refers to the reversal of opinion or stance in a certain matter, or a lot of subsequent reversals of opinion which render the speaker unreliable. Its use by 17N reflects a characteristic of political discourse, which is the frequent use of clichéd phrases, which may contradict each other, for rhetorical purposes. The great number of newspaper articles in the HNC would also contain this use; indeed, all 102 instances of *παλινωδία/ palinode* in the HNC are metaphorical.

Finally, *ανάγλυφο/ relief* is the most frequent expression in the OTHER ARTS domain. Though not very frequent in the HNC, it is always used metaphorically. This expression is also part of set phrase which is found frequently in politicians' discourse: *δείχνω ανάγλυφα/ to show in relief*, meaning to show clearly, to make obvious.

Nevertheless, the literal meaning of *ανάγλυφο*/ relief is very much alive in Modern Greek, but in art-related contexts.

In making the above observations, the differences in genre and purpose of the texts comprising the two corpora that I am comparing becomes more apparent. It would not make sense for a terrorist group to write communiqués and manifestos talking about the arts in a literal manner, especially when their purpose is to present their victims as worthy of their punishment. On the other hand, the newspapers and magazines that comprise the bulk of the HNC contain a variety of texts on subjects of general interest, such as sports, leisure, health, politics, and art in all its forms. So, it is not so surprising that there is a disparity in the metaphorical use of such terms between the two corpora, and that most of the times the linguistic expressions presented have a much higher metaphorical use in 17N's corpus.

5.2.2. A qualitative approach to the ARTS source domain in 17N's corpus

I will now examine several extracts from the communiqués that demonstrate how 17N exploited expressions relating to the arts to represent their targets. The extracts are presented with the Greek original in italics and the English translation following in square brackets, both in smaller font size. After each extract there is the number of the communiqué it was taken from and the page number where it can be found, according to the numbering of the communiqués in the book published by Kaktos Publications (2002). The relevant metaphorical expressions are underlined.

I should point out that, at times, the English translation may contain linguistic metaphors which are not metaphorical in the Greek text, and therefore have not been underlined (see Chapter 4, section 4.7, for a discussion on the translation of the Greek extracts). For example, in Extract 5.2 I have used the expression ‘touching unanimity’ to translate ‘συγκινητική ομοθυμία’. ‘Touching’ is metaphorical, of course, but it was the best way I could find to translate ‘συγκινητική’, which is not metaphorical in Greek. Moreover, the English translation may at times seem syntactically awkward (as, for example, in Extract 5.5). This is not a result of the translation, but of the awkwardness of the original text.

In Extract 5.1, 17N verbally attack the judiciary system and the politicians that took part in a trial, during which Koskotas, a prominent businessman, was tried for a number of economic crimes. The Koskotas affair has been characterized as “the biggest financial scandal in Greek history, with devastating effects for the economy and humiliating consequences for the country’s image abroad.” (Kassimeris, 1993: 294).

Extract 5.1

Τέλος η συνεχιζόμενη δίκη-οπερέτα για το σκάνδαλο Κοσκωτά δείχνει πιστά την κατάσταση της χώρας. Ανυπόληπτα και θλιβερά ανθρωπάκια προσπαθούν ματαίως ν’ αποκτήσουν κύρος φορώντας τήβενο ενώ λοιδορούνται κι εξευτελίζονται καθημερινά και κατ’ εξακολούθηση από επαγγελματίες ψευδομάρτυρες, αποβράσματα και άλλους θεατρίνους.

(57:625)

[Finally, the on-going operetta-trial for the Koskotas scandal faithfully shows the country’s situation. Disreputable and sad little people are trying in vain to acquire

authority by wearing a toga, while they are abused and humiliated every day by professional false witnesses, scum, and other thespians/ showmen.]

17N refer to the Koskotas trial as *οπερέτα/ operetta* - trial and to the witnesses (mainly members of the government and of the opposition of the time) as showmen, or *θεατρίνους/ thespians*. The judges as well as the witnesses are portrayed as participating in a semi-ridiculous spectacle, where there is no place for the truth to be revealed. In a similar vein, 17N accuse the members of the Greek parliament of pretending to be serving the people, while in reality they are serving their own interests:

Extract 5.2

Έτσι όταν μεθαύριο θα βλέπουμε σ' αυτό το θέατρο που λέγεται Βουλή να παίζεται η καλύτερη θεατρική παράσταση της χρονιάς, ας μην ξεχνάμε ότι αυτοί οι κύριοι που με συγκινητική ομοψυχία και συναίνεση, παρουσιάζουν τη 17N, την «τρομοκρατία» και τη λαϊκή βία να απειλούν δήθεν τη δημοκρατία, μας λένε και πάλι χοντρά ψέματα και έχουν άλλους στόχους.

(13: 185 – 186)

[So, when the day after tomorrow we will be watching the best theatrical performance of the year performed in this theatre called The Parliament, let us not forget that these gentlemen, who with touching unanimity and consent present 17N, the notion of “terrorism”, and the people’s violence as an ostensible threat to democracy, are again telling us fat lies and have other aims.]

Here, the Greek parliament is presented as a theatre where the MPs are the actors of performances aiming to mislead the people. 17N refer, in this extract, to the anti-terrorist laws that the government tried to enforce in the early 1980s, as a response to 17N's violent hits. The parliamentary sessions that would lead to these laws being voted are seen by 17N as a deceitful attack against what the MPs called "terrorism", but, for 17N, was well-justified behaviour. It is interesting to see how 17N present themselves as being one with the Greek people, while the lying politicians are opposing them and their rightfully violent actions. The linguistic metaphor "*χοιρρά ψέματα*/ fat lies" which is also present in this extract draws from a different source domain, which will be analysed later on; it is common in 17N's discourse to combine metaphorical expressions from different domains in one sentence, as it is common in language generally.

The frequency of expressions drawn from the source domain of the ARTS and especially of PERFORMANCE in the data can be explained in terms of a number of factors. First, this domain has traditionally been linked with politics, and even more so in modern times. Beer and De Landtsheer (2004) mention that metaphors taken from source domains related to drama and spectacle offer a significant way of understanding politics, and propose the basic POLITICS IS SPECTACLE mapping. According to this mapping, five key terms taken from drama, namely 'act', 'scene', 'agency', 'agent', and 'purpose', provide basic means of understanding the motives of political events and situations. Nowadays, political developments are being related to the public via the media, thus adding to the performance-like element of aspects of political behaviour (Mayer, 2002). Politicians appear on television screens regularly and often undergo the

same preparations that actors undergo before appearing on screen, such as the application of make-up. The POLITICS IS SPECTACLE mapping, therefore, seems to be partly literally-based. Moreover, it is known to the public that politicians often have image-makers who help them speak, move, and stand in effective ways, which communicate their messages more clearly and facilitate their reception by the people. Zinken (2003) also notes that the source domain of THEATRE is often found in metaphorical expressions used to interpret politics, and points out that it is one of the most negative ways to depict politics.

Second, I would suggest that in the Greek culture there is a close connection between the concepts of deception and theatre, even a linguistic one: the Greek word for hypocrite, *υποκριτής*, initially meant actor or impersonator (Μρampiniotis, 2002). Its metaphorical use, hypocrite, has prevailed in Modern Greek and in other European languages like English and French. When using the term *υποκριτής*/ hypocrite in modern times, one can refer to an impostor or to an actor; it is the context that clarifies the meaning in each case. It is therefore much easier for Greeks to make the connection between deceitful politicians and theatre actors or performers of another kind, as the earlier meaning is readily available.

Third, there are some terms like *ρόλος*/ role and *σκηνή*/ scene, which are so much entrenched in political discourse that there is no alternative to using them. Take, for example, the phrase *διεθνής πολιτική σκηνή*/ global political scene, or *Ελληνική πολιτική σκηνή*/ Greek political scene: in Modern Greek, at least, there is no way of replacing *σκηνή*/ scene with another term in this context. Still, the connection with performing arts is there for 17N to exploit in a way that suits their argument.

Finally, the domain of theatre and show is a broad and varied one, which can be conveniently applied to describe almost any human activity. It is also very likely that the public easily receives it as suitable. Performing arts mimic, reproduce and reveal aspects of life; therefore they can be exploited as source domains and selectively used for metaphorically representing politics. The arts contain all elements of human behaviour: the tragic, the comic, the ridiculous, the courageous, the heroic, etc. 17N choose to activate and highlight the unethical and the ridiculous elements of the scenarios inherent in the art-related source domains in order to portray their targets; they keep the more positive components to depict themselves.

I will now present two extracts that contain linguistic metaphors drawing from the source domain of LITERATURE.

Extract 5.3

Οι πολιτικοί συντάκτες μετατράπηκαν σε συγγραφείς αστυνομικών μυθιστορημάτων.

Γράφτηκε στην κυριολεξία ότι είναι δυνατόν για να κρυφτεί η αλήθεια.

(2:21)

[The political editors have been transformed to writers of crime novels. Literally, anything has been written to hide the truth as much as possible.]

Extract 5.4

Και δεν πάει πολύς καιρός που ο Παπανδρέου διηγήθηκε ένα παραμύθι για μικρά παιδιά για να εξηγήσει τη δημιουργία του καπιταλιστή χωρίς δραχμή.

(36:403)

[Not long ago, Papandreou told a fairy tale for little children, to explain the creation of the capitalist without a drachma.]

In Extract 5.3, 17N is targeting the journalists writing on the organisation's first hit. Their articles are labelled crime novels, containing fictional information and trying to discover who was responsible for that first hit, even though the press had already received 17N's first communiqué, which assumed responsibility for the hit. Journalists and especially political editors are expected to be as objective as possible, and to carefully check their sources of information; novelists, on the other hand, are known for inventing and imagining plots, characters and situations. The use of *κυριολεξία*/literally next to *μυθιστορημάτων*/novels intensifies the significance of this information by creating a contrast between works of fiction and writing in a literal fashion. The elements of background knowledge that are inherent in the concept of novelist are the material on which 17N build to discredit the aforementioned political editors. And it is this scenario, in Musolff's (2004a, 2006) terms, that 17N aim to evoke, in a context where imagination and inventiveness are negatively evaluated.

Similarly, in extract 5.4, the Prime Minister of the time, Papandreou, is shown as recounting fairy tales to the Greek people. The fairy tale is a fictional construct, so again Papandreou is presented as a liar. More importantly, fairy tales are normally addressed to young children, so the Greek people are being belittled as well as deceived. In the context of a country leader addressing the people, a fairy tale scenario brings forth elements which are negatively valued and highlighted by 17N, in order for Papandreou to be seen as an impostor.

Extract 5.5 is typical of 17N's discourse, in the sense that it contains metaphorical expressions from various source domains, as well as hints of irony and hyperbole, combined in a rather long and awkwardly structured sentence.

Extract 5.5

Όσο γι' αυτούς που περιμένουν με αγωνία την από στιγμή σε στιγμή, χιλιοαναγγελθείσα άλλωστε στο παρελθόν, εξάρθρωση της 17N από τους τρομερούς Σέρλοκ Χολμς του Κουτσόγιωργα και Τσούρα, δυστυχώς γι' αυτούς θα τους απογοητεύσουμε και πάλι: Δηλώνουμε υπεύθυνα ότι όλα τα συντρόφια της 17N όχι μόνο χαίρουν άκρας υγείας αλλά και διασκεδάζουν δεόντως με όλο αυτό τον θίασο των όλο ματαιοδοξία νεόπλουτων μανδαρίνων του ΠΑΣΟΚ, που σπάνε τα μούτρα τους αναμεταξύ τους, θέλοντας να παίζουν τους Τζαίμς Μποντ.

(11: 173)

[As far as these people are concerned, who are waiting for the, any moment now, and announced a thousand times in the past, disbandment of 17N by the terrific Sherlock Holmes of Koutsogiorgas and Tsouras, unfortunately for them we will disappoint them again: We declare responsibly that all the comrades in 17N are not only enjoying full health but also having lots of fun with all this theatrical company of the newly rich, full of vanity, PASOK mandarins, who are breaking their faces among themselves, wanting to play James Bond.]

The source domain of ARTS is prominent, as there are three expressions drawing from it, all referring to politicians belonging to the political party PASOK, which was in government at the time. These politicians are portrayed as Sherlock Holmes, James Bond, and a theatrical company: literature, cinema, and theatre are at

play here. Both Sherlock Holmes and James Bond are famous for always being successful in their endeavors, but 17N likens them to the politicians who had repeatedly failed to uncover and disband them. This is a combined use of irony and metaphor and results in an attention-grabbing, creative construct.

The rest of the linguistic metaphors draw from the source domains of HISTORY/POLITICS and THE HUMAN BODY, which will be further analysed later on. Their presence in the same sentence as the aforementioned expressions enriches the effect of this extract, as further scenarios are activated: *μανδαρίνοι*/ mandarins are brought into the picture, with all the ambitious plotting and scheming that is conventionally attributed to them, and they are seen as *σπάνε τα μούτρα τους*/ breaking their faces, that is, miserably failing and unable to agree among them. *Μανδαρίνοι*/ mandarins has been used metaphorically to emphasise the rich and extravagant lifestyle attributed to the particular group of PASOK politicians. Mandarins were Chinese aristocrats, not only very wealthy but also politically prominent and ambitious, who frequently conspired against the Chinese emperor. The likening of members of the government to mandarins is doubly offensive: firstly, it is implied that they are enjoying riches at the expense of the Greek people, and secondly, that their political ambition impedes the fulfilment of their duties as representatives of a democratic people. Moreover, mandarins are linked with meanness and sometimes with sterile bureaucracy. Their successive failures, caused by their lack of cooperation, correspond to them breaking each other's faces while fighting. Expressions having to do with humiliating oneself and failing are often metaphorical in Greek and include the 'breaking' or 'eating' of one's face. I should also note that *μούτρα*/ faces is used

metonymically here to stand for the politicians, exploiting the “part for whole” relationship (Kövecses, 2002).

Lakoff and Turner (1989) and Kövecses (2002) elaborate on the creative processes of combining metaphorical expressions, and of using conventional and novel mappings and expressions together to achieve a rich and gripping effect. Kövecses, in particular, notes that the combination of different conceptual metaphors “is perhaps the most powerful mechanism to go beyond our everyday conceptual system” (2002:49). Kövecses refers to the process of combining different conventional conceptual metaphors to create unconventional language; Extract 5.5 is an example of this kind of combination, which is manifest in different linguistic metaphors. As Lakoff and Turner (1989) argued, this process results in complex and powerful structures, frequently found in poetic texts. Kyratzis (1998) also notes that metaphors working in combination can be more effective: he argues that “The clustering of different metaphors defining one single concept results in a complex and varied perspective through which the concept can be seen” (1998: 134).

It is, however, questionable, whether the ironical effect of the realisation of the James Bond expression and the ironical and humorous note of the Sherlock Holmes mapping can be adequately captured and explained by the tools of cognitive metaphor theory alone. More specifically, the process of combining and composing conventional and novel metaphors in the way that Lakoff and Turner (1989) suggest may not explain well enough how an integrated concept is formed from different source domains, a concept that sometimes contains elements that cannot be projected by the source domains alone, or that are contrary to the inherent structure found in the source

domains. And there is an integrated, albeit complex, image of Greek politicians that emerges after reading the excerpt.

Perhaps Blending Theory could further illuminate the combination of mappings in the above extract. Following Turner and Fauconnier (1999), Grady, Oakley, and Coulson (1999), Coulson and Oakley (2000), and Fauconnier and Turner (2002), one could see the different mappings in Extract 5.5 as involving different mental spaces, each corresponding to elements from the source domains mentioned above, and bringing different bits of information to the final concept. The combination of these spaces results in a conceptual blend, in which politicians behave in a vain, flamboyant, and hypocritical way, while failing to achieve victory over their opponents. The final blend is characterized by emergent structure, consisting of new elements, which may not have been present in the mental spaces functioning as inputs to the final product. This emergent structure explains the humorous and ironical effects of the James Bond, and even more, the Sherlock Holmes mappings.

In particular, the latter mapping involves transfer of elements from the source domain of fictional private investigators to the target domain of 17N's opponents. Sherlock Holmes is chosen as a well-known, almost archetypal figure of the detective who has figured out all the details of his cases, in stark contrast with the ignorant Greek policemen and secret agents. However, the resulting concept is that of detectives who bear no resemblance whatsoever to the fictional Holmes, just like PASOK politicians are nothing like James Bond. To further elaborate, I could claim that the emergent structure is that of an incompetent Sherlock Holmes; since the source domain of Sherlock Holmes does not originally include any element of incompetence, it can be

argued that this is a clear instance of a conceptual blend, with elements that cannot be accounted for satisfactorily within the cognitive metaphor theory framework. A blending framework incorporates and explains the contradiction of using a perfect detective as a source domain for an incompetent one, in a way that cognitive metaphor theory cannot.

A useful account of instances of metaphor like the ones realised in Extract 5.5 above, but also 5.6 later on, is also provided by Zinken (2003). He distinguishes two different types of metaphor, correlational metaphor and intertextual metaphor. He draws attention to the different motivation of these types of metaphor: correlational metaphors (a term originating in Grady, 1999, and employed by Zinken to refer to both conceptual and linguistic metaphors) are motivated by projection of knowledge schemata originating in universal body experience. Correlational metaphors are typically cited in Cognitive Metaphor Theory research, where the importance of the notion of the image schema (Johnson, 1987) has been particularly stressed. Intertextual metaphors, on the other hand, are “different from the classic examples of Cognitive Metaphor Theory, (as they) play the most important part in negotiating and popularizing an understanding of poorly known phenomena” (Zinken, 2003: 507). These metaphors are particularly relevant in discourse on political topics, or on scientific topics like genetics, especially when the need arises to incorporate new events in a given cultural community: discourse participants use them to get a grip on new events. Zinken (2003) observes that intertextual metaphors are primarily culturally grounded: they are the products of culturally salient texts, films, pieces of art, stereotypes, school knowledge, etc. Obviously, they vary greatly in different

cultural contexts, since the intertextual metaphor producer makes use of imaginative resources that rely on a particular cultural structure.

Intertextual metaphors play a prominent role in 17N's discourse, and provide an additional perspective on expressions that contain specific references to cultural models like movie stars or literary heroes, such as James Bond and Sherlock Holmes. The social and political phenomena presented in the communiqués are consciously interpreted via these cultural models, with which their readers are also familiar, as members of the same cultural community. There is an element of shared knowledge and information which, combined with the ironical and humorous elements found in Extract 5.5, possibly makes 17N's argument more direct and influential for their readers.

In addition, 17N's ideological standpoint is made explicit by the intertextual metaphors they choose. An important feature of metaphorical expressions used in political contexts, which is highlighted by Zinken's notion of intertextual metaphors, is whether the metaphor producer consciously chooses particular linguistic expressions or whether the use of metaphorical expressions is unconscious and subliminal, as Charteris-Black (2004) puts it. In the case of intertextual metaphors, the factor of consciousness is somehow more obvious; correlational metaphors, on the other hand, may be more suitable candidates for subliminal use. The purposeful choice of particular cultural models or stereotypes makes 17N's negative evaluation of their targets clear, as is the case with Extract 5.6 below.

Extract 5.6 is as complex and rich as the preceding one, but involves different scenarios. In this extract, there is a combination of mappings drawing from the different domains of ARTS, RELIGION, and LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS.

Extract 5.6

Απατεώνες καπιταλιστές και τραπεζίτες, προσωπικότητες της οικονομικής ζωής του τόπου, βουλευτές, υπουργοί και πολιτικοί, ένα ένοχο και σε πλήρη ανυποληψία κοινοβούλιο, συνένοχοι διοικητές τραπεζών, μια ανύπαρκτη Δικαιοσύνη, με φαύλους συνένοχους δικαστές, ένας αναξιόπιστος Τύπος, συνένοχοι φαρισαίοι εκδότες μεγάλων δημοσιογραφικών συγκροτημάτων, καραγκιόζηδες δημοσιογράφοι Ταρτούφοι πάσης φύσης παίζουν πρώτο ρόλο σ' αυτήν την συγκλονιστική παράσταση που παίζεται σε βάρος του ελληνικού λαού.

(30: 348)

[Capitalist impostors and bankers, personas of the country's financial life, representatives, ministers and politicians, a guilty and completely disreputable parliament, bank managers who are accomplices, a non-existent Justice, with villain accomplices-judges, an unreliable Press, Pharisees publishers of big journalist units, karagkiozides journalists Tartuffes of every kind play the lead role in this earth-shattering show performed at the expense of (weighing on) the Greek people.]

In this extract, hypocrisy is the main theme that brings together *φαρισαίους/ Pharisees*, *καραγκιόζηδες/ Karagkiozides*, and *Ταρτούφους/ Tartuffes*, who are all playing roles in a show. The ARTS source domain is prominent again: the pattern of political life being portrayed as a performance is apparent, enriched with the *φαρισαίους/ Pharisees* scenario, including characters well known from the Bible to

behave in a hypocritical manner. The expression *σε βάρους*/ weighing on (the Greek people) enhances the negative effect that this deceitful behavior has for the people of Greece. 17N bring together more or less the totality of the Greek society's prominent infrastructure and, starting from literal accusations, closes the sentence with the aforementioned metaphorical expressions, along with hyperbole (*συγκλονιστική*/ earth-shattering). In this way the message is communicated in a gradual way that climaxes at the end of the sentence. This intensifying effect of using multiple source domains, and also of mixing the literal with the metaphorical, has also been documented by Goatly (1997). The intertextuality of *Ταρτούφους*/ Tartuffes, *φαρισαίους*/ Pharisees, and *καραγκιόζηδες*/ Karagkiozides is again evident in this extract, as these metaphorical expressions are culturally motivated and their power rests on shared cultural grounds; especially in the case of *καραγκιόζηδες*/ Karagkiozides, which is a particularly Greek cultural figure.

In Extract 5.6, the particular expressions 17N employ bear a negative evaluation in the particular context, but also in their wider cultural community. Moreover, and perhaps precisely for this reason, they do not display the ironic and humorous twist of Extract 5.5, which makes the contribution of Conceptual Blending Theory particularly relevant. In principle, this extract, as well as previous ones, could be analysed as an instance of conceptual blending, but the concept of emergent structure would not be as useful as in Extract 5.6. The notion of discourse prosody (Stubbs, 2001) will help illustrate my point in this case.

Words often have the tendency to occur in particular contexts which, when predictable, may charge them with evaluative meaning, which can be negative or

positive. Beyond the basic and stable aspects of meaning of a word, which are independent of context of use, words can have different associations that vary from person to person, or across different discourse and cultural communities. Discourse prosodies (Stubbs, 2001), also referred to as the connotational meaning of lexical units, provide information on the discourse function of a lexical unit as well as on the attitudes of the utterance producer or speaker (see also Louw, 1997, on ‘semantic prosodies’). In the case of *φαρισαίοι*/ Pharisees, the discourse prosody is negative, as evidence from the HNC supports: from the 71 instances of metaphorical *φαρισαίοι*/ Pharisees, shown in Table 39, Appendix 2, 69 are found in co-texts that invest them with negative value, referring to hypocritical behaviour. In the case of Sherlock Holmes, the discourse prosody is positive: all six metaphorical occurrences of the expression in the HNC, shown in Table 2, Appendix 1, connect it with the positive qualities of intelligence and analytical thinking. I believe that changing the context an expression occurs in often involves a change in the way it is evaluated. However, in cases such as Sherlock Holmes, who, within a particular cultural frame, is connected to a set of specific (positive or negative) qualities, conceptual blending may provide useful analytical tools to explain their use in discourse extracts such as the one I analysed above.

So far, I have analysed extracts containing expressions that belong to the ARTS sub-domain, whether on their own or in combination with metaphorical expressions drawing from other domains. Before I go on to examine another source sub-domain, I would like to make a few comments on the role of creative metaphors in the communiqués, especially in the light of a further extract belonging to ARTS.

Consider the example below:

Extract 5.7

Και δεν είναι τυχαίο ότι ο λαός μας, με το αλάθητο πολιτικό του κριτήριο, τους αποκαλεί σήμερα Τσίρκους χωρίς βέβαια να εννοεί μόνο τον Κύρκο.

(41: 449)

[It is not accidental that our people, with their unmistakable political judgement, today call them Circuses, referring to more than just Kyrkos.]

In extract 5.7 17N play with the sound of the name of a left-wing politician of the time, Kyrkos. They call him Circus, and then extend this wordplay to all the left-wing politicians, calling them Circuses. The mapping draws from the source domain of CIRCUS, activating those elements that have to do with playing games and putting up a show. More importantly, 17N place these expressions in the mouth of the Greek people, claiming that it is the people who invented these characterisations. In this way they are coming closer to their audience, who they also flatter referring to their excellent political judgement.

In 17N's discourse there is ample evidence of conventional metaphorical expressions and many of the very frequent ones are indeed well-entrenched in Greek culture (see, for example, *ρόλος/ role*, *παλινωδία/ palinode*, *σενάριο/ scenario*, in Tables 1-3, Appendix 1). However, some of them are creatively extended and result in novel ways of exploiting a conventional mapping. Moreover, there are instances of 17N coining a completely new word or expression. Even though they are not numerous, creative expressions play, I believe, an important role in 17N's discourse,

because they are noticeable and they are easily remembered, as wordplay and humorous phrases often are (see also Gibbs, 1994). In addition, they add vividness and originality to the texts, even though they are used to insult or even swear. Furthermore, as Semino and Masci argue, “(the) partly creative use of conventional metaphors [...] can be an effective way of presenting one’s own view of reality as ‘natural’ and ‘common-sense’ and of reducing the chances that the audience will notice and challenge the metaphors involved.” (1996: 245). Many of 17N’s novel metaphorical expressions occur very few times or only once in the communiqués, and they are usually non-existent in the HNC, especially when they are words that 17N has coined.

Müller (2005) raises the important issue of the interdependence between style and cognition, as this is reflected in the choice of metaphor. He puts the use of metaphor by politicians under the spotlight and underlines the frequent use of worn-out, clichéd, and ready-made metaphorical phrases in the political sphere. On the opposite side of these are creative and novel metaphors, which include wordplay or phrases uncommon and new in political discourse. These metaphors are considered as creative in a linguistic environment that is constrained by specific norms and rules, which differ from those of other contexts; political discourse does not display the same kind and degree of creativity that, for instance, literature and poetry do. It would be needlessly complex and marginally unacceptable for a politician to address his/her audience using poetic metaphors. On the other hand, creativity is vital even for politicians whose primary goal may be to persuade and to create a common ideological ground with their audience using conventional and easy to catch expressions. Müller

(2005) underlines the necessity for politicians to adapt to new situations and to the demands that the ever-changing social context brings.

17N's discourse falls into the broad category of political discourse; however, I would argue that there is more freedom in how an organisation which keeps its identity hidden, handles the way its communiqués are written, than in the way a politician addresses the Parliament or the media. 17N do not expect to be voted in over an antagonist, though they do expect to gain recognition, support and followers with their actions and texts. This is one of the reasons that their texts often use strong, insulting language, and perhaps a reason for them to exploit wordplay and express their inventiveness more freely. In the following sections I will examine more creative metaphorical expressions as they were used in the communiqués, and I will provide a summary of the use of creative expressions in 17N's discourse in Chapter 9.

5.3 The CLEANLINESS AND DIRT source domain

The third largest source domain in this first group of expressions, which were used in descriptions of 17N's targets but also of the organisation, is the domain of CLEANLINESS AND DIRT. As Table 5.2 shows, this domain includes about the same number of expressions as the ARTS domain (288 and 289, respectively). However, it is less varied, as it involves two sub-domains (CLEANLINESS and DIRT) and fewer types of expressions.

5.3.1 Quantitative analysis

As we can see in Table 5.4 below, most of the metaphorical expressions in this domain, namely 242 out of the 288, belong to the CLEANLINESS sub-domain. CLEANLINESS has a very low type/token ratio of 0.02; this is because more than half of the expressions on cleanliness are in fact different forms of *καθαρός*/ clean. In Table 5, Appendix 1, *καθαρός*/ clean is shown to occur 141 times metaphorically in the communiqués. The sub-domain of DIRT, on the other hand, includes 46 tokens and 11 types of expressions. *Βρώμικος*/ dirty is the most frequent expression in the DIRT sub-domain, as shown in Table 6, Appendix 1.

Table 5.4: CLEANLINESS AND DIRT

SOURCE DOMAIN	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/token ratio
CLEANLINESS	6	242	0.02
DIRT	11	46	0.23
TOTAL	17	288	0.05

As shown in Table 5, Appendix 1, *καθαρός*/ clean occurs mostly metaphorically in the communiqués; 95.9 percent of its occurrences are metaphorical. In the HNC, on the other hand, 55.8 percent of its occurrences are metaphorical. It

seems that this expression has a well-entrenched metaphorical use in the language but that 17N employ it almost exclusively in metaphorical constructions. In dictionaries, the literal and the metaphorical senses of *καθαρός*/ clean are listed side by side, and the metaphorical sense includes the concept of moral blamelessness. This is the sense with which 17N use the expression in their texts.

It is interesting to notice that the expression *αλάσπωτος*/ clean from mud, which is also shown in Table 5, is not found in the HNC, nor in Modern Greek dictionaries. As a Greek native speaker, I have come across this expression many times before, and therefore I do not consider it novel. It is, rather, a more informal version, bordering on slang language. *Αλάσπωτος*/ clean from mud is the opposite of being covered with mud, and therefore the opposite of being dirty. What this expression clearly demonstrates is that being clean can be defined as not being dirty; similarly, being dirty can be defined as not being clean. This shows the interdependence of the domains of CLEANLINESS and DIRT, which has led me to present them together, due to their antonymic relationship. I have done the same with other domains that involve dichotomies, such as LIGHT and DARKNESS, and SOUND and SILENCE. It is this semantic interdependence that aids the rhetorical exploitation of these domains by 17N.

Not surprisingly, 17N tend to use expressions relating to cleanliness to refer to themselves, and expressions relating to dirt to refer to their opponents. However, it is interesting to observe that there are also expressions in the CLEANLINESS domain which refer negatively to the targets; the CLEANLINESS domain, thus, shows instances of lemmatic extension (Koller, 2004a; Semino, 2007), while there are no such instances in the DIRT domain. *Κάθαρση*/ cleansing and *εκκαθάριση*/ expurgation, both with a

high metaphorical percentage in both corpora, refer to practices of 17N's opponents which are valued negatively by the organisation. In the HNC, the negative or positive evaluation of these two expressions depends on their context of use; however, both the negative and the positive senses are present in the corpus.

Predictably, all the expressions related to dirt are used for insulting and discrediting purposes by 17N. These can be conventional expressions such as *βρωμιά*/ dirt, or novel, coined phrases like *Ελεύθερος Ρύπος*/ Free Dirt, which paraphrases the name of a Greek newspaper. *Φρόκαλλο*/ trash, which is absent from the HNC like *Ελεύθερος Ρύπος*/ Free Dirt, is not a novel expression, but a swear word in Modern Greek; this is probably why it is not found in the background corpus.

I will now examine expressions from this source domain in context.

5.3.2. A qualitative approach to the CLEANLINESS AND DIRT domain in 17N's corpus

In Extract 5.8, 17N refer to the fabrication by the Greek police of a fake communiqué, which took place in an attempt to trap members of 17N. The organisation presents itself as clean, while the police's fabrication resulted in a dirty image of 17N being presented to the Greek people:

Extract 5.8

...αναγνωρίζουν έμμεσα ότι η 17N είναι γνήσια επαναστατική πολιτική δύναμη, τελείως καθαρή, και αναγκάστηκαν να κατασκευάσουν μια δικιά τους πλαστή βρώμικη για να τη χτυπήσουν.

(53:586)

[...they (the police) indirectly recognize that 17N is a genuine revolutionary political force, completely clean, and they had to manufacture a fake dirty one, in order to attack it.]

The Greek police are one of 17N's main targets. Here, they are accused of fabricating evidence in order to provoke a reaction from 17N's members, which would make them more susceptible to revealing themselves. This fake evidence involved unfavorable information on the organisation which presented them as guilty and dirty. Evidently, cleanliness has positive connotations and dirt has negative ones; 17N exploit this conventional way of seeing cleanliness and dirt, and subvert the image their opponents tried to create. In addition, they present the police as trying to deceive both 17N and the Greek people, combining the CLEANLINESS AND DIRT domain with the theme on deception and hypocrisy that has been analysed in relation to the ARTS domain. *Πλαστή/* fake is right next to *βρώμικη/* dirty in Extract 5.8, creating a double opposition between cleanliness and dirt, and truth and lies.

In Extract 5.9, just as in Extract 5.10 further down, 17N employ expressions originating in the CLEANLINESS domain, namely *κάθαρση/* cleansing and *εκκαθάριση/* expurgation, which had a positive value when first used by Greek politicians. 17N question this use, making the terms signify mockery instead of a desired or necessary set of political activities. *Κάθαρση/* cleansing is in quotation marks in Extract 5.9, which shows that 17N disassociate themselves from the way this expression is used by others. Eubanks (2000) would say that the metaphorical expression is 'ascribed', rather than 'claimed'.

Extract 5.9

*Ούτε ένας απ' τους ψηφοφόρους της βάσης του Συνασπισμού δεν πιστεύει ότι η ΝΔ μπορεί να κάνει «κάθαρση» και η βάφτιση αυτής της κυβέρνησης σε κυβέρνηση «κάθαρσης» αποτελεί μέρος του όλου εμπαιγμού και της εξαπάτησης των ψηφοφόρων.
(41: 432)*

[Not one of the voters of Synaspismos' base believes that ND (Nea Dimokratia) can perform a “cleansing”, and to baptise this government a government of “cleansing” is part of the whole mockery and deception of the voters].

Κάθαρση/ cleansing is a term often used by Greek politicians to refer to measures they take in order to rid the country of negative elements, like, for instance, crime or corrupt political behavior. These negative elements are metaphorically described as dirty. 17N employ the term *κάθαρση/* cleansing in order to attack the politicians using the politicians' own expressions, and so they incorporate this particular metaphorical expression in their communiqués. This instance of intertextuality links the discourses of Greek politicians and 17N, since a conventional metaphorical expression, associated with the discourse of a group of politicians, is used in a different way according to the purposes of another group. The intertextual coherence provided, which is often present in political discourse (see Chilton and Schäffner, 2002), is exploited by 17N, who alter its original intended meaning.

17N use the term *βάφτιση/* to baptise, from the source domain of RELIGION, very close to *κάθαρση/* cleansing, in order to highlight again the element of deception that seems to be omnipresent in their discourse. To baptise, in this context, means to

give a name to a process, in order to hide the true intentions of the agents behind it; 17N regards this action as unethical and equivalent to euphemism. Moreover, the ritual of baptising traditionally involves water, which is related to CLEANLINESS and is the most basic means used to fight dirt. Thus, a portion of Greek politicians baptising the government as clean indicates a failed effort to, on the one hand, clean themselves, and on the other hand, present themselves as clean, regardless of their condition.

The CLEANLINESS domain is also combined with the domain of HEALTH, in the following extract:

Extract 5.10

Αυτοί λοιπόν οι ένοχοι και συνένοχοι πουναι βουτηγμένοι μέχρι το λαιμό μέσα στο βούρκο της ληστείας, της απάτης και της διαφθοράς ζητάνε εκκαθάριση και εξυγίανση!!!

(30: 352)

[So, these guilty ones and their accomplices who are sunk up to their throats in the mire of robbery, of deceit, and of corruption, are now asking for expurgation and sanitation!!!!]

Combining the source domains of CLEANLINESS and HEALTH is often the case, as is documented in Charteris-Black (2004) and Musolff (2004a). The expression *βουτηγμένοι μέχρι το λαιμό*/ sunk up to their throats provides a more detailed image of dirty human bodies, linking the aforementioned source domains with the broad domain of the HUMAN BODY. The reader is also expected to perceive the irony of people who are themselves very dirty asking for general cleansing to take place. It is worth noting

the intensity of the expression *βούρκος*/ mire in the above extract: *Βούρκος*/ mire has a very negative semantic prosody, as evidence from the HNC suggests. As Table 6, Appendix 1 shows, there are 40 occurrences of metaphorical *βούρκος*/ mire in the HNC; all of them are used with strong negative connotations and refer to crime and dangerous situations. Consider the following concordance extract, taken from the HNC:

Table 5.5: Concordance for *βούρκος*/ mire, and its translation in English

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ελάττωμά του, τόσο αποκρουστικό, που στην αρχή ένιωσα ότι έπεσα σε πηγάδι με βούρκο. 2. σπίτι τους που θύμιζε κάτι χειρότερο από βούρκο και πήραν τη νίκη με κόλπα διάφορα 3. τόσοι και τόσοι άλλοι, βουτηγμένοι ως το λαιμό στο βούρκο της διαφθοράς 4. ξεδιάντροπα και αναισχυντα παρασέρνοντας μαζί τους στο βούρκο την ανίδειη νεολαία 5. κάτω βαθιά, στο σκοτεινό και βρώμικο βούρκο που τον έφερναν τα άγνωστα συναισθήματα 6. σου λέω, μην το συζητάς, σκέτος βούρκος, βρωμάει από παντού η υπόθεση 7. από το βούρκο του λιμανιού της Νέας Υόρκης μέχρι τα αφρισμένα γιγάντια κύματα 8. παλιότερα, στους αγωνιστικούς χώρους με το βούρκο των στοιχημάτων και των παιχτών 9. οπωσδήποτε νέα άτομα, χωρίς το βούρκο των παλιών χρησιμοποιημένων ιδεών 10. της νέας παράταξης, πέφτοντας στο βούρκο των ψεμάτων και των φτηνών δικαιολογιών | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. ...defect, so hideous, that in the beginning I felt like I was in a well full of mire. 2. ...their house which reminded something worse than a mire and they won with various tricks 3. ...so many others, plunged up to their throats in the mire of corruption 4. ...shamelessly and audaciously taking with them in the mire the ignorant youth 5. ...deep down in the dark and dirty mire where unknown feelings brought him 6. ...I'm telling you, don't discuss it, this situation is a mire, it stinks 7. ...from the mire of New York's port until the giant foamy waves 8. ...in the past, in the fields with the mire of betting and the players 9. ...definitely new people, without the mire of old used ideas 10. ...of the new party, falling in the mire of lies and cheap excuses |
|--|---|

In using this term, 17N add to the negative evaluation inherent in the rest of the metaphorical expressions found next to it in the extract.

In the following excerpt, 17N creatively exploit the sub-domain of DIRT:

Extract 5.11

...το φύλλο των πιο μεγαλόσχημων μιζαδόρων της δεξιάς Ελεύθερος Ρύπος.

(52: 556)

[...the newspaper Free Dirt, which belongs to the most grandiose defrauders of the right wing.]

This phrase is indicative of 17N's use of wordplay and humour against their antagonists. The newspaper's original name is *Ελεύθερος Τύπος*/ Free Press, but in Greek, *τύπος*/ press rhymes with *ρύπος*/ dirt. With this pun, 17N want to show that the particular newspaper is full of lies that make 17N look dishonest, and also that the newspaper does not hesitate to defame whoever they choose. This wordplay alters a concept familiar to 17N's audience, namely that of the press, by offering a double meaning to the word that has been phonetically changed. Angenot (1995) ranks metaphorical puns among the most frequent linguistic devices used by authors of pamphlets and manifestos, as the combination of humour and insult seems to have a direct appeal to a wide audience. Of course, verbal attack of this type is safe for anonymous pamphlet producers, as well as for 17N, since they keep their identity hidden.

Goatly (1997) mentions that the use of metaphorical puns increases the hearer's (in this case, the reader's) contribution to the decoding of the message presented by the

pun producer. On the one hand, the reader puts extra effort in dispelling the initial confusion caused by the change of known elements, and on the other hand, jokes and humour are “classic ways of cementing relationships between individuals” (Goatly, 1997: 166). The strengthening of the emotional bond between 17N and their reader is at play here, achieved by the creative exploitation of scenarios related to the metaphorical use of dirt. Strengthening this bond potentially weakens the bond between the readers and 17N’s target, which in this case is the particular newspaper, as readers may form a kind of alliance with the pun producers against the object of their mockery.

I will now examine another domain used by 17N to construct an opposition between themselves and their targets.

5.4. The LIGHT, DARKNESS, and COLOUR source domain

The LIGHT, DARKNESS, AND COLOUR source domain includes 92 tokens of metaphorical expressions and is presented in detail in Tables 9, 10, and 11, Appendix 1. It is more limited than the ARTS and the CLEANLINESS AND DIRT domains, as it accounts for only 2.9 percent of the metaphorical expressions in 17N’s texts that I am focusing on.

5.4.1. Quantitative analysis

As shown in Table 5.6, the sub-domain of LIGHT accounts for more than half of the expressions in this domain, i.e. 45 out of 92. COLOUR comes second with 25 tokens, and DARKNESS follows with 22 tokens. The type/token ratio is higher in the COLOUR sub-domain, indicating that this sub-domain is relatively more varied in terms of types.

Table 5.6: LIGHT, DARKNESS, AND COLOUR

SOURCE DOMAIN	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/token ratio
LIGHT	8	45	0.17
DARKNESS	4	22	0.18
COLOUR	7	25	0.28
TOTAL	19	92	0.20

In Table 9, Appendix 1, we can see that *λαμπρός/* brilliant and *φως/* light are the most frequent expressions belonging to the LIGHT sub-domain. *Λαμπρός/* brilliant is found only as a metaphorical expression in the communiqués, while for *φως/* light there is one non-metaphorical instance. In the HNC, 96.9 percent of the occurrences of *λαμπρός/* brilliant are metaphorical, but the percentage for *φως/* light is lower,

amounting to 59.8 percent. It seems that the literal sense of *φως*/ light is frequently found in the background corpus, a fact that agrees with my intuitions, too. So, these two lemmas are conventionally used in the language in metaphorical expressions, and *λαμπρός*/ brilliant, in particular, is very frequently metaphorical.

Most of the expressions in the LIGHT sub-domain are used only metaphorically in the communiqués, while in the HNC the percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical uses varies. The only exception is *διαφωτιστικός*/ illuminating, which occurs only as a metaphorical expression in both the HNC and 17N's communiqués. In the dictionary, however, there is a literal sense of this lemma listed together with the metaphorical ones, and in particular following them; even though it is not very frequent, the literal sense still exists in the language.

In the DARKNESS sub-domain, presented in Table 10, *σσκοτίζω*/ to darken/obfuscate is the most frequently found expression. It is always metaphorical in the communiqués, with a few literal occurrences in the HNC. This is in fact a very conventional metaphorical expression, often found in contexts that have to do with hiding things and presenting an unclear picture of the facts. It is also used literally in specific contexts, especially relating to the use of materials that block the natural sunlight (like, for example, thick curtains.)

As far as the COLOUR sub-domain is concerned, shown in Table 11, the most frequently used term is *μαύρο*/ black, and the second most frequent one is *άσπρο*/ white. In comparison with the HNC, the two colours are used metaphorically much more frequently by 17N. The same holds for *κίτρινος*/ yellow: in the HNC, only 4.8 percent of instances of this expression are metaphorical. As for the expressions

λευκαίνω/ to bleach and *ασπροπρόσωπος*/ white-faced, even though they are always metaphorical in both corpora, they are still used literally in their colour-related sense, as evidence from Modern Greek dictionaries supports.

I will now present extracts from the communiqués that demonstrate the use of these expressions in context.

5.4.2. A qualitative approach of the LIGHT, DARKNESS, AND COLOUR domain in 17N's corpus

In Extract 5.12, 17N combine the use of metaphor and irony to criticise the political and business activity in Greece. The situation in Greece is compared with the political and business world in Italy, where several scandals had been uncovered at the time this communiqué was written.

Extract 5.12

Βλέπουμε λοιπόν ότι ο όμορφος πολιτικός και επιχειρηματικός κόσμος δεν είναι προνόμιο μόνο της δύσμοιρης Ιταλίας. Ευδοκμεί λαμπρός και σε μας.

(73: 759)

[We can see that the beautiful political and business world is not a privilege of unlucky Italy alone. Here, too, it thrives, brilliant.]

Apart from the metaphorical mapping connecting physical light with positive qualities, which are then transferred to the domain of politics and business, irony is very noticeable in this extract. Irony and sarcasm involves attacking one's

target verbally by appearing to praise them and showing one's pleasure, while making obvious that the exact opposite is the case (Angenot, 1995). Sarcasm, in particular, involves ridicule, which other forms of irony do not include (see Gibbs, 1994). Sarcastic irony, as Ching (1999) observes, always involves an antagonist, an intended target or victim, and is a strategy for handling this antagonist by offending and ridiculing him/her. Ching also notes that it is frequent in discourse to produce ironic effects by using the "praise for blame" method, whereby a positive assertion is to be interpreted as a negative one (1999: 140).

This is precisely what 17N do in Extract 5.12, by using *λαμπρός*/ brilliant to describe a negative situation. The adjective "unlucky", which characterizes Italy, the country with which Greece is compared, is a further hint towards an ironic interpretation of the extract. Irony, like humour, functions as a bonding element for 17N and the readers of the communiqués, since a common understanding is assumed between them. The whole point of being ironic is "not having to explain the meaning to kindred spirits" (Booth, 1974, quoted in Ching, 1999). Moreover, it is a rather safe and socially acceptable way of expressing hostility (Kreuz, 2000). Finally, the combination of metaphor with irony has been suggested to require extra processing effort on the part of the message receiver, as the message producer's beliefs need to be taken into consideration (see, for example, Gibbs, 1994; Colston and Gibbs, 2002). This indicates that combining metaphorical with ironic expressions is a significant rhetorical device to add to 17N's linguistic arsenal, as it is a means to foreground their beliefs.

I would like to suggest that the presence of a sarcastic twist combined with metaphor in Extract 5.12 could also be accounted for by using the tools of Conceptual

Blending Theory, as in Extract 5.5 in a previous section. The use of *λαμπρός*/ brilliant to describe a particular political situation as negative bears an inherent contradictory element; 17N employ a positively evaluated source domain to describe a situation that they evaluate negatively. The concept of emergent structure is very useful for such cases, where the final product displays features which are not available as information in the input mental spaces. This is why it is particularly relevant in instances of irony, wordplay, humour, etc.

To return to the LIGHT AND DARKNESS domain, in Extract 5.13, the pronoun “they”, in the second sentence, refers to 17N’s communiqués: they are the ones that shed light, and therefore reveal the nature of the Greek parliamentary system.

Extract 5.13

Ρίχνουν άπλετο αποκαλυπτικό φως στη φύση του σημερινού κοινοβουλευτικού συστήματος.

(28: 336-337)

[They shed abundant and revealing light on the nature of today’s parliamentary system.]

In contrast, the government of the time uses darkness to cover up what they do not want the Greek people to know or realise, as shown in Extract 5.14:

Extract 5.14

Παρουσιάζοντας το κράτος-έθνος σαν αναχρονιστικό θεσμό πούχει ξεπεραστεί από την πρόοδο της οικονομίας, συσκοτίζουν το γεγονός ότι ο δι-εθνικός μονοπωλιακός όμιλος δεν είναι ούτε αν-εθνικός ούτε υπερεθνικός.

(80: 847)

[By presenting the nation-state as an anachronistic institution which has gone out because of the progress of the economy, they are darkening/obfuscating the fact that the bi-national monopolist company is neither non-national nor beyond-national.]

As Charteris-Black (2004) points out, “The source domain of light has traditionally been linked with the target domains of understanding” (2004: 100). Light is associated with seeing and knowledge, and at the same time, it is contrasted with darkness, which is associated with ignorance and hiding. Light and darkness provide prototype notions which are rhetorically exploited by 17N to create a contrast between good and evil: light conveys a positive evaluation, or positive discourse prosody in Stubbs’ (2001) terms, and darkness a negative one. In political discourse, in particular, these source domains are frequently exploited because of their potential for antithesis, as I mentioned in the previous section on CLEANLINESS AND DIRT (see also Charteris-Black, 2005: 50-53). 17N are therefore contrasted with their targets, since they offer light and knowledge to the Greek people, while their targets try to keep them in darkness and ignorance.

Similarly, in Extract 5.15, 17N refer to the outcome of journalists and writers that wrote about a number of political scandals of the time. There is a combination of the two sub-domains of COLOUR and DARKNESS in the same sentence.

Extract 5.15

Οι μετρημένοι στα δάκτυλα του ενός χεριού τίμιοι δημοσιογράφοι ή συγγραφείς, πούχαν το θάρρος να το καταγγείλουν, καταστράφηκαν επαγγελματικά και τους έπνιξε το μαύρο σκοτάδι.

(63: 662)

[The very few honest journalists or writers who had the courage to denounce this, have been professionally ruined and drowned by black darkness.]

Darkness here becomes a symbol of death, and in particular professional death. Adding the black colour strengthens the negative and threatening associations of this metaphorical expression. The scenario activated by *μαύρο σκοτάδι*/ black darkness is not very specific in this case, but its vagueness makes it even more successful, as the point is to demonstrate the Greek people's ignorance of what goes on. Here, 17N construct an opposition between themselves and their targets, but also between themselves and the Greek people, as 17N imply the possession of special knowledge that the people do not have. Thus, 17N indirectly show themselves as enlighteners and benefactors of the Greek people.

I will now examine two more conceptual domains that fulfill a similar rhetorical function.

5.5 The SOUND AND SILENCE source domain

With a total of 40 metaphorical expressions, the source domain of SOUND AND SILENCE is quite limited, accounting for 1.26 percent of the expressions in the communiqués. It is presented in Tables 12 and 13 in Appendix 1.

5.5.1. Quantitative analysis

The two sub-domains of SOUND and SILENCE are presented in Table 5.6 below. SOUND includes 35 tokens and 10 types of expressions, while SILENCE only includes 5 metaphorical expressions.

Table 5.7: SOUND AND SILENCE

SOURCE DOMAINS	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/token ratio
SOUND	10	35	0.28
SILENCE	1	5	0.2
TOTAL	11	40	0.27

Expressions relating to sound in the communiqués mainly have to do with the organisation's voice being silenced, or with its targets making nonsensical sounds. As we can see in Table 12, most of the expressions are quite conventional, with *φωνή/*

voice being the most frequent among them. There are two expressions, namely *βοώ/* to shout and *κραυγαλέος/* vociferous, which appear to always be metaphorical in both corpora: again, the results from the HNC have been compared with evidence from Modern Greek dictionaries, which corroborated my impression that these two expressions also have current literal meanings.

I will now discuss an extract from 17N's texts which exemplifies the way metaphorical expressions from this domain were exploited by the organisation.

5.5.2. A qualitative approach to the SOUND AND SILENCE domain in 17N's corpus

In the following extract, 17N's texts are presented as the organisation's *φωνή/* voice. Written texts are thus seen as able to speak aloud. The Greek status quo is afraid of this voice and is silencing it using a muzzle, which is a law that forbids the publication of 17N's communiqués.

Extract 5.16

Η απαγόρευση της δημοσίευσης των προκηρύξεων αποτελεί επίσημη ομολογία και αναγνώριση της φερεγγυότητας και αξιοπιστίας τους. Ομολογία ότι η μόνη φωνή που λέει σήμερα την αλήθεια στον ελληνικό λαό είναι αυτή του επαναστατικού κινήματος και της 17N, ομολογία ότι το καθεστώς φοβάται αυτή τη φωνή και γι' αυτό τη φιμώνει.

(54: 595)

[The prohibition to publish our communiqués is a formal confession and recognition of their validity and credibility. A confession that the only voice telling the truth to

the Greek people today is that of the revolutionary movement of 17N, a confession that the status quo is afraid of this voice and is silencing/muzzling it.]

17N is presented here as the only means the Greek people have to access the truth, via the communiqués the organisation writes. The government is constructed as the enemy again, an enemy that cannot be reasoned with, since they resort to oppressive measures in order to silence the voice of truth. The scenario activated by the expression *φιμώνει*/ silencing/muzzling involves an element of violence on the part of the government. This is why I have chosen to translate it using two English words, one of which conveys the Greek expression's meaning while the other makes the associations connected with *φιμώνει* clearer to the reader. The violent and oppressing use of a muzzle is the image 17N try to evoke in this excerpt; claiming that their targets are violent is part of the organisation's rhetorical strategy, as a violent opponent legitimises the use of violence on the part of the organisation, too.

5.6 The HEAT AND COLD domain

The HEAT AND COLD domain is the smallest one in this group, including only 11 lemmas and amounting to 0.34 percent of all the metaphorical expressions. In fact, this is the most limited domain in my data, as can be seen in Table 5.1. It is further divided in two sub-domains, HEAT and COLD.

5.6.1. Quantitative analysis

The source domain of HEAT AND COLD does not include a large number of expressions. COLD is the largest sub-domain, with 9 tokens and 2 types of expressions, and HEAT includes 4 tokens and 3 types of expressions. HEAT is more varied as we can see from the type/token ratio presented in the table below, however this is immediately obvious as the expressions included in this domain are relatively few.

Table 5.8: HEAT AND COLD

SOURCE DOMAINS	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/token ratio
HEAT	3	4	0.75
COLD	2	9	0.22
TOTAL	5	13	0.38

As shown in Tables 7 and 8, the metaphorical expressions in this domain are mainly conventional. *Υποδαλίζω/* to spark and *εν ψυχρώ/* in cold (blood) are conventional expressions, with a high metaphorical percentage in both corpora. *Υποδαλίζω/* to spark, in particular, has no literal occurrence in the HNC; dictionary evidence, however, has confirmed the existence of a literal meaning. On the other hand, *καίω/* to burn, *φωτιά/* fire, and *παγωμένος/* frozen are frequently used in their

literal senses, which are based on physical experience. This is the case in the HNC as well as in 17N's texts.

5.6.2. A qualitative approach to the HEAT AND COLD domain in 17N's corpus

I will present one metaphorical expression from each sub-domain in context in order to demonstrate how 17N exploit expressions related to heat and to cold:

Extract 5.17

Όχι μόνο δεν αφοπλίσαν τον UCK, αλλά υποδαυλίζουν την εθνικιστική βία απ' τη μεριά των Αλβανών τώρα, αφήνοντάς τον ανενόχλητο να εκκαθαρίζει βίαια τους λίγους εναπομείναντες Σέρβους.

(80: 837)

[Not only they (the Americans) did not disarm UCK, but they are sparking nationalist violence on the Albanian side now, leaving him (Milosevic) undisturbed to violently expurgate the few Serbs who have remained.]

In this extract, 17N attack the American foreign policy in the Balkans, accusing the Americans of promoting violent conduct. The source domain of HEAT is used in the realisation of this expression, which connects heat with violence. In particular, the notion of heat and fire is linked to explosions. There is a negative evaluation of heat in this context, unlike the use of heat which is connected with warmth or with light, documented in the discourse of politicians by Charteris-Black (2004, 2005). The

negative evaluation extends to *εκκαθαρίζει/* expurgate, which is modified by the adjective *βίαια/* violently, further highlighting the cruelty attributed to Milosevic's actions.

Extract 5.18

Με ποιο ηθικό δικαίωμα κλείνουν στις φυλακές με πολύχρονες καταδίκες δυστυχημένους χρήστες ναρκωτικών, καταστρέφοντάς τους, δολοφονώντας τους εν ψυχρώ, ενώ αφήνουν ελεύθερους τους μεγάλους εμπόρους ναρκωτικών, τους οποίους ποτέ δεν παραπέμπουν;

(27: 328)

[With what moral right they incarcerate, with many-year convictions, those unhappy drug users, destroying them, murdering them in cold (blood), while they let the big drug dealers go free, and they never bring them to trial?]

In this case, COLD is connected with the absence of compassion and feeling for drug users, who are treated unfairly compared to the treatment big drug dealers receive. The Greek authorities and especially the judicial system are targeted and accused of injustice. By focusing on a very real and complex social problem, 17N show their awareness of the troubles the Greek people go through, and indirectly construct themselves as just, since they are opposed to the unfair judicial system. Coldness is associated with lack of humanity; I should point out that the Greek expression does not contain “blood”, but only cold. This is why I have added parentheses for “blood” and I have not underlined it. The reason I chose the expression “in cold blood” to translate *εν*

ψυχρῶ is that it conveys both the meaning and the syntactical fixedness of the Greek expression. So, I rejected the option of, for instance, an adverb like “coldly”.

I will now turn to the HUMAN BODY source domain.

5.7 The HUMAN BODY source domain

The HUMAN BODY source domain is the second most pervasive domain in my data, with 466 tokens of metaphorical expressions and a percentage of 14.7 out of the total number of expressions. It is presented in detail in Tables 14-21, in Appendix 1. As I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the HUMAN BODY is a very broad source domain, including various sub-domains, some of which are more relevant than others to the rhetorical function of constructing oppositions between 17N and its targets. For example, the sub-domains of HEALTH and ILLNESS, and CLOTHING and NAKEDNESS, are mainly realised via expressions that participate in the discourse construction of two opposing sides. On the other hand, the domain of MOVEMENTS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BODY is linguistically realised via expressions some of which participate in the construction of oppositions, while others are mainly used to talk about the negative and depressing situation that Greece is perceived to be in. I will present and discuss these sub-domains in Chapter 5 as well, so as not to separate the metaphorical expressions that belong to the same source domain.

5.7.1. Quantitative analysis

As Table 5.8 shows, I have divided the HUMAN BODY domain in eight sub-domains, namely PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY, MOVEMENTS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BODY, ILLNESSES AND CONDITIONS OF THE BODY, HEALTH, MEDICINE, CLOTHING, NAKEDNESS, and SEX.

Table 5.9: HUMAN BODY

SOURCE DOMAINS	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/token ratio
PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY	19	244	0.07
MOVEMENTS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BODY	16	70	0.22
ILLNESSES AND CONDITIONS OF THE BODY	12	65	0.18
HEALTH	2	16	0.12
MEDICINE	2	7	0.28
CLOTHING	7	30	0.23
NAKEDNESS	4	23	0.17

SEX	7	11	0.63
TOTAL	69	466	0.14

The PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY sub-domain is the largest one, including 244 tokens and 19 types of expressions. The type/token ration is quite low, as several expressions, like *μέλος/ limb*, are repeated many times in the texts. The most frequent expressions in this sub-domain are *μέλος/ limb*, *χέρι/ hand*, *μάτι/ eye*, and *εγκέφαλος/ brain* (Table 14, Appendix 1). Metaphorical expressions referring to parts of the human body are very conventional in the Greek language, and this is the case for most of the lemmas presented in Table 14. Some of these expressions are primarily metaphorical in the HNC, while some others have a higher percentage of literal use in the HNC. *Εγκέφαλος/ brain*, for instance which has a 95.8 percentage of metaphorical use in the communiqués, has a 38.8 respective percentage in the HNC. No novel expressions were found in this sub-domain.

The MOVEMENTS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BODY sub-domain includes 70 tokens of expressions and sixteen different types. *Χειραγωγώ/ to guide (by the hand)* is the most frequent among them. This expression, like *ποδηγετώ/ to lead (by the feet)*, involves the concept of guiding or leading somebody using their hands or feet, and is conventionally used metaphorically in Modern Greek. We can see in Table 15 that all the occurrences of these two expressions are metaphorical; however, dictionary evidence suggests that the literal use is also existent in the language. In Table 15 we also observe a novel expression that occurs three times in the communiqués, but does

not exist in the HNC, or in dictionaries: it is *σφογγοκολάριος*/ arse wiper, an insulting word that 17N have coined, obviously to belittle their opponents.

The ILLNESSES AND CONDITIONS OF THE BODY sub-domain, presented in Table 17, includes 65 metaphorical expressions, most of which occur only once in 17N's corpus. *Χονδρός*/ fat, *τυφλός*/ blind, and *παράλυτος*/ paralyzed, are the most frequent expressions in this sub-domain. The HEALTH sub-domain, on the other hand, presented in Table 16, is related to only two different types of metaphorical expressions, which are quite conventional in Modern Greek. The same holds for the MEDICINE sub-domain, shown in Table 18. The prominence of the ILLNESS sub-domain compared to the HEALTH sub-domain shows that 17N concentrated on the negative aspects of Greek society and perceived their environment as primarily dysfunctional and ill.

In the CLOTHING sub-domain, shown in Table 19, there are 30 tokens and seven types of metaphorical expressions. It is interesting to see how the metaphorical expressions from 17N's texts are rarely used metaphorically in the HNC, with the exceptions of *μανδύας*/ cloak and *ζωνάρι*/ belt. On the contrary, metaphorical expressions related to nakedness frequently occur as metaphors in both corpora, as we can see in Table 20. The NAKEDNESS domain involves more conventional instances of expressions; to an extent, it is quite particular to 17N that they used the CLOTHING ITEMS domain to produce linguistic metaphors that portrayed their opponents in a negative way.

Finally, the SEX sub-domain, presented in Table 21, involves instances of strong and insulting language, which, predictably, are not very frequently found in the

background corpus or in dictionaries. Neologisms like *σοσιαλαννάνες*/sociomasturbators and swear words like *πηδιέμαι*/to fuck are unlikely to occur in the HNC.

I will now discuss several extracts from the communiqués, containing expressions that realise the aforementioned source domains.

5.7.2. A qualitative approach to the HUMAN BODY domain in 17N's corpus

In Extract 5.19, the political party PASOK is described as being dominated by blind party members, while healthy party members are very few. A contrast is created between healthy and unhealthy powers within the same political party, and unhealthy powers are shown to be stronger and dominating. As PASOK is a socialist party, 17N identifies with part of the ideology PASOK promotes; obviously, this is the part that is depicted as healthy, and contrasted with elements within the party that are characterized as fascist, as well as blind. Apart from the element of illness, or disability, that is inherent in blindness, there is also an element of being insufficiently qualified to lead a political party and of lacking initiative and responsibility, which is alluded to in the extract below:

Extract 5.19

Σήμερα οι υγιείς λαϊκές δυνάμεις μέσα στο ΠΑΣΟΚ όλο και λιγοστεύουν, στο κομματικό και κρατικό κυρίαρχόν οι καριερίστες φασιστοπασόκοι, τυφλά όργανα της προδοτικής κλίκας Παπανδρέου, Κουτσόγιωργα, Τσοχατζόπουλου.

(14: 208)

[Today the healthy popular powers within PASOK are becoming fewer, and the careerist fascist-PASOK-members dominate the party and the state, blind instruments of the traitorous clique of Papandreou, Koutsogiorgas, Tsoxatzopoulos.]

The construction of adversities and problems in the political sphere as illness is a well-known theme and one that has been used rhetorically in political discourse at various points in history. Angenot cites examples from the early 1600s where political adversaries were referred to as “viruses” and the social situation of the time was described as “gangrenous” (1995: 260-262). These images are usually found together with their antonymic images, which describe positive situations as being “healthy” (ibid.). ILLNESS metaphors have been shown to be common in American rhetoric (see Sontag, 1988), and they are present in Greek political discourse, too (Kyratzis, 1998). Illness and disease imply that there is a cure that will heal those affected; therefore, they are often exploited for rhetorical purposes, as Chilton (2004) also states. In this particular extract, blindness involves the inability to see, and it is connected with the source domain of LIGHT that I discussed previously.

In the following extract, the cure against the country’s illness is realised via a prescription, which involves privatizations in the economic sector. This type of cure is perceived by 17N as doomed to failure:

Extract 5.20

Η γνωστή συνταγή του φιλελευθερισμού και των ιδιωτικοποιήσεων παρουσιάζεται σε μια χώρα όπου η ιδιωτική πρωτοβουλία έχει αποτύχει.

(53: 582)

[The well-known prescription of liberalism and of privatizations is presented in a country where private initiative has failed.]

Extract 5.20 implies that Greece is ill and that Greek politicians, assuming the role of medical doctors, prescribe various remedies in order to restore the country to health. In Extract 5.21, we find a clearer image of Greece being conceptualised as an entity with a human body. Capitalists are shown to be looking at the paralyzed body of the Greek state that has kneeled before them:

Extract 5.21

Οι καπιταλιστές το αντικρίζουν από τα σαλέ της Ελβετίας γελώντας ηχηρά και τρίβοντας τα χέρια τους, [...] για το γεγονός ότι έχει γονατίσει παράλυτο θύμα του προμελετημένου εκβιασμού τους και πληρώνει γι' αυτούς.

(7: 129)

[The capitalists look at it (the state) from their Swiss chalets, laughing loudly and rubbing their hands, [...] because it has kneeled, a paralyzed victim of their premeditated blackmail, and it is paying instead of them.]

The HUMAN BODY metaphor has been found to underlie political discourse, both historical and contemporary (Beer and De Landtsheer, 2004). Musolff (2004b)

provides an overview of the historical course of the mapping A POLITICAL ENTITY IS A HUMAN BODY. In the above extract, the Greek state is shown in this precise manner. This mapping, Musolff observes, is part of the conceptual metaphor complex of the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING, which is a system of ontological correspondences among higher-order concepts (like social institutions) and lower order ones (like animals and plants). In this hierarchy, the concept of society as a ‘body politic’ functioned as the interface between the microcosm and the macrocosm (Tillyard, 1982; Lovejoy, 1936; quoted in Musolff, 2004b). A strand of the ‘body politic’ theory focused on explaining the functions of the state as a political entity in terms of the parts of the human body and their state of health. The GREAT CHAIN OF BEING metaphor complex, in modern cognitive research, is dealt with as part of the general concept of embodiment, according to which the organisation of knowledge is based on bodily experiences and interactions beginning from a very early age (Johnson, 1987; Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999).

The implied metaphor of the ‘body politic’ has informed traditional political philosophy, from Plato to Hobbes to Toqueville (ibid.). Various areas of political life, including the abstract entity of the state, are structured via language of the body; often, metaphorical sources focus on illness and medicine. Beer and De Landtsheer (2004) remark that metaphorical expressions originating in the HEALTH AND ILLNESS source domain tend to appear frequently in extreme ideology, like, for example, authoritarian and racist discourse, as well as in situations of crisis. Beer and De Landtsheer (2004), as well as Chilton (2004), provide the example of the Third Reich discourse, where Hitler was presented as a competent medical doctor that would rid the country of

harmful organisms, which were the Reich's enemies. Musolff (2007) also discusses the ILLNESS domain in political discourse, in his investigation of anti-Semitic metaphors in Hitler's 'Mein Kampf'. He, too, points out that Hitler constructed himself as the only competent healer who was willing to fight the illness caused by the Jews. Hitler's argument developed from constructing the country's crisis as an illness, to searching for the cause of this illness, establishing the diagnosis, and presenting his treatment as the only effective one.

In 17N's communiqués, the Greek state is represented as ill and in need of a cure; in other cases, 17N's targets are shown as unhealthy and suffering from various conditions. In both types of cases, 17N is implicitly constructed as being able to diagnose the illness and provide the cure. The scenario of illness and of suffering bodies is activated with the metaphorical expressions 17N choose; moreover, it is implied that people who are ill themselves are not fit to govern the country, let alone solve the country's problems. As Musolff (2007: 29) observes, "this conclusion carries with it a host of further presuppositions", among which that the illnesses and conditions have been rightly diagnosed and are curable, that the cure proposed can be successful, etc. However, as Musolff underlines, these assumptions, while relatively straightforward at the source level of the mapping, become extremely problematic at the target level; they would need extensive backing with solid arguments had they been subjected to open deliberation.

I will now discuss expressions related to the source domains of CLOTHING and NAKEDNESS:

In Extract 5.22, clothes and nakedness co-occur in the same sentence. The underlying mapping of the Greek state as a human body is also evident:

Extract 5.22

...ξέσκισε και τον τελευταίο διάρητο μανδύα του κράτους αποκαλύπτοντας τη γύμνια του αντί για τον εκσυγχρονισμό του.

(79: 827)

[...the last perforated cloak of the state has been torn, revealing its nakedness instead of its modernization.]

The Greek state's clothes, in particular its cloak, has been torn, and the nakedness of the state is revealed. Nakedness is viewed as something negative, on the one hand, but also as something true: the true condition the state is in, however unpleasant, has been revealed. Similarly, in the following excerpt, an uncovering of political ideology takes place:

Extract 5.23

Η σημερινή στάση ουσιαστικής συναίνεσης των δύο κομμάτων της αντιπολίτευσης προς τη ληστρική επιδρομή της κυβέρνησης της ΝΔ ξεσκεπάζει όλο και περισσότερο το περιεχόμενο των γενικότερων πολιτικο-ιδεολογικών τους θέσεων και τη φύση τους στα μάτια του κόσμου.

(48: 527)

[Today's stance of real agreement between the two opposition parties towards the thieving raid of the government of ND uncovers even more the content of their general political-ideological positions and of their nature in the eyes of the people.]

Here, the true nature of the political ideology of the two political parties opposed to the government of the time is being uncovered, for the Greek people to see. 17N see uncovering and nakedness, in this context, as desirable, while clothing is primarily represented as hiding the politicians' true intentions. These notions are also related to the ability to 'see', which has been discussed earlier in this chapter.

To conclude the section on metaphorical expressions related to the HUMAN BODY domain, I will discuss two excerpts containing metaphorical expressions on sex.

The first one targets a special unit of the Greek police force, namely *MAT*, a unit trained to deal with situations when order needs to be restored even with the use of violence:

Extract 5.24

*Όπως στις διαδηλώσεις της 9^{ης} Αυγούστου και τη φοιτητική της 25^{ης} Οκτώβρη όπου το όργιο τρομοκρατίας των *MAT* συνοδεύτηκε από δεκάδες βαρείς τραυματισμούς διαδηλωτών αλλά και απλών περαστικών, γιατρών, δημοσιογράφων.*

(5: 67)

[It is just like the marches of August 9 and the student march of October 25, where the terrorism orgy of the *MAT* was accompanied by dozens of heavy injuries of protesters but also of simple passers-by, of doctors, of journalists.]

The use of *όργιο/ orgy*, an expression related to the SEX source domain, implies that the *MAT* unit actually enjoyed using violence against the people participating in the march. The *MAT* unit is represented as injuring innocent people without any reason,

and they are characterized as terrorists by 17N. One of the main elements of 17N's identity as an organisation is that they took pains not to harm any innocent passer-by during their hits, and they made this clear in many of their texts. By accusing the *MAT* unit of harming innocent people because they enjoy violence they are disassociating themselves from this practice, and they imply that their own use of violence is very different than that of the police. 17N's aim is to punish the guilty ones, and they are not enjoying it; they simply do not have any alternative, or so they would have their readers believe.

The final extract of this section contains a newly coined word that 17N used to refer to members of the socialist party PASOK. These politicians are accused of pretending to stand for socialism, while in reality they are using the socialist ideology to serve their own interests:

Extract 5.25

Αλλά ποιός θα πει την αλήθεια στο λαό; Μήπως οι σοσιαλ-φασίστες και κακέκτυπα του σταλινισμού του ΚΚΕ, οι σοσιαλ-κουλτουριάρηδες δήθεν αριστεροί του Συνασπισμού ή οι σοσιαλανόνες Λαλιώτης-Γεννηματάς κλπ;

(63: 661)

[But who will tell the people the truth? Is it the social-fascists, the bad copies of Stalinism belonging to KKE, is it the social-arty fellows, the would-be leftists of Synaspismos, or is it the social-masturbators Laliotis – Gennimatas etc.?)

As Angenot (1995) points out, in the genre of manifestos and political pamphlets, the author's "intellectual courage" and "verbal violence" are signified by

means of a rhetoric that can, at times, annoy and insult the reader (1995: 249). The authors of manifestos and communiqués, Angenot notes, often resort to strong verbal attacks and violent rhetoric, as the end they hope to achieve justifies the means they choose. Argumentation and aggression thus coexist in such texts, and persuasion is combined with intimidation. Angenot cites offensive language from French manifestos of the early 20th century, which often refer insultingly to parts and functions of the human body and to sex (1995: 252-253). 17N here seem to find new variations for this old theme, and to take advantage of the strong impression insulting language can have in order to convince their audience of their bravery, their honesty, and their ability to see things as they really are.

And from verbal violence, I will now turn to the WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE source domain.

5.8 The WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE source domain

The WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE domain includes 138 lemmas and amounts to 4.35 percent of the metaphorical expressions in my corpus. It is presented in Tables 22 and 23 in Appendix 1.

5.8.1. Quantitative analysis

The WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE source domain is divided in two sub-domains, namely WEAPONS and VIOLENCE, as can be seen in Table 5.9 below:

Table 5.10: WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE

SOURCE DOMAIN	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/token ratio
WEAPONS	7	25	0.28
VIOLENCE	9	113	0.07
TOTAL	16	138	0.11

VIOLENCE is the more extensive sub-domain, involving 113 expressions related to various forms of violence. It is not that varied, however, as we see from its type/token ratio which is 0.07 compared to 0.28 of the WEAPONS sub-domain. *Πάλη/* struggle, which has 50 metaphorical occurrences in the communiqués, is the most frequent expression; it is a very conventional metaphorical expression referring to moving violently and fighting. The conventional expression *χτυπάω/* to hit is also frequent, as it occurs 27 times as a metaphorical expression in 17N's corpus. It is interesting to notice that the expression *ληστρική συμμορία/* thief gang, which is metaphorical in the communiqués in 12 out of its 13 occurrences, is mainly literal in the HNC: only 6.8 percent of its occurrences are metaphorical. This is probably because the HNC refers to actual thieves, while 17N refers to its targets' behaviour. The expression *πέμπτη φάλαγγα/* fifth phalanx appears to be rare in the HNC, and always occurs as a metaphor; after consulting dictionaries, however, I found that the

literal sense is still employed, but only in contexts related to historical times. *Καρπαζοεισπράκτορας*/ person who is being slapped, too, is always metaphorical in both corpora, even though it has a current literal use, documented in the dictionaries.

In the WEAPONS sub-domain, the most frequent expression is *καραμπινάτος*/ rifle-like, which is a Greek word usually found in informal, spoken language. It is always metaphorical in both corpora⁴. One observes the high frequency of the literal sense of the expressions *βομβαρδίζω*/ to bombard, *βόμβα*/ bomb and *όπλο*/ weapon in 17N's corpus. It is not very often the case for the metaphorical expressions I am analysing to have a much higher literal, rather than metaphorical, occurrence in the communiqués. However, given the violent nature of 17N's attacks, it is not so surprising to find words referring to weapons used in their literal sense in the organisation's texts. 17N used real bombs and weapons in the attacks they carried out. In the HNC, too, these three expressions are frequently literal; this reflects, I believe, the extensive reference of newspapers and magazines to war and violent conflict.

I will now discuss some of these expressions in context.

5.8.2. A qualitative approach to the WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE domain in

17N's corpus

Extract 5.26 refers to the refusal of PASOK, the Greek socialist party, to cancel the modifications on the taxation system that took place while PASOK served as the country's government.

⁴ I should note that, even though the English translation contains the word 'like', the Greek lemma *καραμπινάτος* is not morphologically structured like a simile. I am using 'like' in the translation to show that *καραμπινάτος* refers to someone or something which possesses attributes that rifles have.

Extract 5.26

Επειδή όμως αυτή η άρνηση αποτελεί τεράστια βόμβα στα ίδια τα θεμέλια του κράτους αφού εκρήγνυται το φορολογικό σύστημα που υποτίθεται είναι για όλους, αυτοί που το διαχειρίζονται, δηλ. το ΠΑΣΟΚ, καταλαβαίνουν τον κίνδυνο και αντιλαμβάνονται ότι το ζήτημα πρέπει να κλείσει το γρηγορότερο.

(14: 197)

[Because this refusal is a huge bomb in the foundations of the state, since it makes the taxation system explode, even though it is supposed to be for everyone, the ones handling it, namely PASOK, understand the danger and realise that this matter must end as soon as possible.]

In this extract, PASOK's political stance is shown to have similar effects on the taxation system as a bomb would have if it exploded in the foundations of a building. The taxation system is conceptualised as a building, and PASOK as its destructor. Even though 17N were the ones planting real bombs in buildings, they are presenting their targets as engaging in that practice. In the particular reality they construct for their readers, the real terrorists are the Greek politicians, as they violently destroy what the Geek people have worked hard for.

Metaphorical source domains may in some cases be motivated by aspects of the topic under discussion or by aspects of the target domain; this phenomenon is known as topic-triggering (Koller, 2004a). Semino (2008: 104-106) observes that the juxtaposition of the literal and the metaphorical senses of an expression often occurs in humorous texts, as well as in newspaper headlines. She goes on to use the broader term

of ‘situational triggering’ (Kövecses, 2005), where aspects of the relevant situational context and their non-metaphorical associations to the source domain are being reinforced. In the context of politics, topic-triggering and situational triggering may be used to exploit the literal associations between the source and the target domain, resulting in expressions with greater persuasive potential, which may be perceived as particularly relevant. They may also be quite handy in building arguments that suit the speaker, as the boundary between the literal and the metaphorical is blurred (Semino, 2008:106).

The phenomenon of topic- and situational triggering is particularly relevant to the WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE domain, as is also shown in extract 5.27. Metaphorical expressions such as the ones shown in this section may prompt particular evaluations and emotional associations that reinforce 17N’s argument; a metaphorical bomb may be seen as just as destructive as a literal bomb, and if anyone would know about bombs, it would be 17N, since bombs and explosions are linked to their activities. The blurring of the literal and the metaphorical allows 17N to represent the country’s government as detrimental to the country’s interests, via an image of destruction. On the contrary, 17N emerge as benevolent and their use of violence is indirectly shown to be beneficial for the people. The dichotomy is constructed again that brings 17N and its opponents in totally conflicting positions, 17N being on the benevolent side and their targets on the malevolent and destructive side.

In Extract 5.27, 17N offer another realisation of their conceptualisation of politics in terms of violent conflict:

Extract 5.27

Τα δυο ΚΚ λένε στη βάση τους ότι σήμερα εκμεταλλεύονται τις νόμιμες μορφές πάλης, κι ότι αύριο δεν αποκλείονται κι άλλες μορφές πάλης, αφήνοντας να εννοηθεί ότι θα πάρουν τα όπλα. (4:30)

[The two Communist parties tell their base that today they are taking advantage of the legal forms of struggle, and that tomorrow other forms of struggle will not be excluded, implying that they will take up arms.]

Here, the metaphorical expression *πάλη/ struggle* is used to describe what the two Greek communist parties are telling their followers. According to 17N, they are telling the people that they are fighting with legal means, for the moment, but they are not excluding other forms of fighting in the future; these future forms of fighting will include real weapons. The second instance of *πάλη/ struggle*, therefore, can be seen as partly literal and partly metaphorical. It is noticeable that the literal sense of *όπλα/ weapons* coexists in the same sentence with the metaphorical sense of *πάλη/ struggle*, and with its partly-literal, partly-metaphorical sense. In this way *πάλη/ struggle* is imbued with a more intense and violent meaning, an effect that has been noted by Goatly (1997, 2002a). I should also note that the metaphorical expressions in Extract 5.27 are closely connected to the Marxist tradition, whereby the underprivileged social groups are seen as struggling against injustice caused mainly by the privileged social groups. Expressions from this domain, thus, are not only topic-triggered but also consistent, and coherent, with the greater discourse of fighting against social injustice. They are also coherent with the discourse on the dichotomy between appearance and

reality that has been discussed in previous sections of this chapter, as the struggle referred to here is regarded as a pretense by 17N.

Most of the metaphorical expressions related to this source domain realise the underlying mapping POLITICS IS WAR, which has been documented by many researchers (among others, Rohrer, 1995; Semino and Masci, 1996; Chilton, 1996; Charteris-Black, 2005). For 17N, this conceptual mapping was true both literally and metaphorically. In Extract 5.28, they proclaim their readiness to attack members of the Greek society that they consider guilty of corruption:

Extract 5.28

Να χτυπήσουμε τους φαύλους εξωνημένους πολιτικούς, τους δικαστές με τις καραμπινάτες απάτες πρώτης τάξεως.

(48: 530)

[We must hit the evil and corrupted politicians and the judges who have committed first-class rifle-like cons.]

The expression *καραμπινάτες/* rifle-like magnifies the size and the impact of the frauds that politicians and judges are accused of carrying out. The motivation for this metaphorical expression probably has to do with the sound that the particular weapon (*καραμπίνα/* rifle) made while in use, and maybe even with the weapon's size, as *καραμπίνα/* rifle is a rather long gun. 17N's point is that the Greek people have been deceived in ways too obvious and too corrupt to ignore. The expression *χτυπήσουμε/* hit in this extract can be viewed as either metaphorical or literal, since 17N might be referring to actually attacking and hitting the politicians and judges, or to opposing

them in a more general way. Alternatively, the expression can be seen as partly literal and partly metaphorical. In this case, the choice of the metaphorical scenario that is evoked via the expression *χτυπήσουμε!* hit is inspired by an aspect of the topic under discussion, which is violent attacks; more specifically, the politicians and the judges mentioned in the above extract are accused of committing crimes that share certain features with the use of rifle guns. This is another instance of topic-triggered metaphorical expressions exploited for rhetorical purposes, as they have the potential of conveying multiple and implicit meanings.

Overall, the use of expressions drawing from the WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE source domain serves multiple rhetorical functions for 17N. On the one hand, they construct a dichotomy between dangerous and non-dangerous, benevolent and malevolent, real and pretend forms of fighting. On the other hand, they contribute to the representation of the organisation's opponents and targets as violent and dangerous, reversing, in this way, the role that their opponents attribute to them. In addition, they construct a common enemy against whom 17N and the Greek people must unite in order to confront the danger effectively. As Kyratzis (1998) notes, the sense of unity is maximized by using metaphorical expressions related to source domains like WAR and WEAPONS. 17N exploit the scenarios of danger and destruction that this source domain activates to win the Greek people's support. The extensive use of topic-triggering and situation triggering serves an argument-strengthening as well as an attention-grabbing factor, and results in a significant rhetorical tool seeking to legitimise 17N's ideological support of violence.

I will now examine the ANIMALS source domain.

5.9 The ANIMALS source domain

The ANIMALS source domain involves 107 lemmas and accounts for 3.38 percent of the metaphorical expressions in my analysis. Even though it is rather limited, it is realised by some of the most vivid expressions in the communiqués, as shown in Tables 24-26 in Appendix 1.

5.9.1. Quantitative analysis

Three sub-domains make up the source domain of ANIMALS: KINDS OF ANIMALS, PRACTICES OF/AROUND ANIMALS, and ANIMAL BODY PARTS. The sub-domain that includes the different kinds of animals is the largest one, containing 62 tokens of expressions. The type/token ratios in this domain, shown in Table 7.3, are relatively high compared to the ratios in other domains, as there is a greater variety of types. In fact, many of the metaphorical expressions in this domain occur only once in the communiqués.

Table 5.11: ANIMALS

SOURCE DOMAIN	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/token ratio
KINDS OF ANIMALS	28	62	0.45

PRACTICES OF/AROUND ANIMALS	15	24	0.62
ANIMAL BODY PARTS	6	21	0.28
TOTAL	49	107	0.45

What is immediately noticeable in the ANIMALS source domain is that all the expressions in Tables 24-26 are always metaphorical in the communiqués. It appears that 17N made no literal reference to animals. The most frequently occurring expressions are *καρχαρίας*/ shark, *σκύλος*/ dog *παράσιτο*/ parasite, occurring nine, eight, and seven times, respectively, in 17N's corpus. For some expressions, like *περιστερά*/ dove, *καρεκλοκένταυρος*/ chair-centaur, *μεγαθήριο*/ big beast, a literal use was not found in the HNC, though a literal sense is listed in dictionaries. These expressions are almost always used metaphorically in Modern Greek. Some of the expressions referring to animal practices, in particular *αχαλίνωτος*/ unbridled, *σκυλοπνίχτης*/ dog drowner, and *μυρίζομαι*/ to sniff, were also found only as metaphorical expressions in both corpora, even though a current literal sense exists for all of them. Finally, two novel expressions, *προβατοποίηση*/ 'sheepization' and *μαιμουδίζω*/ to act like a monkey, were found in this source domain. These expressions refer to situations or types of behavior that are related to particular animals. Deignan (1995, 2005) refers to metaphorical expressions related to animals and animal behavior much like the ones I am including in this section.

The exploitation of expressions from the ANIMALS domain by 17N will be made clearer in the following section.

5.9.2. A qualitative approach to the ANIMALS domain in 17N's corpus

Most of the metaphorical expressions related to the source domain of ANIMALS were used by 17N to refer to their opponents. Often, the attributes associated with the animal mentioned in the communiqués are transferred to the human referent of the metaphorical expression. In Extract 5.29, for instance, those who deceive the Greek people by stealing their money are depicted as sharks by 17N:

Extract 7.4

Οποιοσδήποτε καρχαρίας κλέβει τα χρήματα του ελληνικού λαού, θα χτυπιέται ένοπλα.
(45: 511)

[Any shark stealing money from the Greek people will be hit with weapons.]

A shark is an animal commonly associated with aggressive and violent behavior and greediness. As Kövecses (2002) observes, a great number of animal metaphors often rely not so much on knowledge about the actual characteristics of animals, but on human characteristics that are conventionally associated with particular animals. Sharks, for instance, are normal predators, rather than animals with evil intentions. However, they are conventionally associated with the human characteristics of being evil and aggressive. Different cultural communities may associate different characteristics with particular animals; for Greeks, sharks are often used

metaphorically to denote violence and greediness. These characteristics are then among those that can be mapped onto the target domain when 'sharks' is used metaphorically. These characteristics of sharks are exploited by 17N in order to present their opponents in a negative light and in a way which implies that they are less than human. Similarly, in the following excerpt, employees of the Greek police are presented as parasites:

Extract 5.30

Χρησιμεύουν για να πληρώνονται τεράστιοι μισθοί [...] στα παράσιτα ανώτερα και ανώτατα στελέχη της Αστυνομίας.

(16: 243)

[They are used to pay huge salaries to the parasites, the higher and highest employees of the Police.]

With this expression, 17N want to highlight the uselessness and laziness of the Police employees, who, in the organisation's view, are paid to do nothing. In addition, their salaries are very big, and as these salaries are indirectly paid by the Greek people, the police employees are enjoying what the people have earned with their work; much like a parasite feeds on a host animal's blood, without having to toil in order to find food. The expression *παράσιτα*/ parasites is also related to the source domain of ILLNESS, as parasites can cause illness to their host. In fact, *παράσιτα*/ parasites can be argued to evoke both of these source domains at the same time. In this case the negative evaluation of policemen being referred to as parasites is intensified, and the scenario is evoked of police employees who not only enjoy the fruit of other people's work, but also cause problems to the smooth function of the social system they belong to. Moreover, their human nature is degraded and they are presented as small and insignificant.

In Extract 5.31, 17N exploit qualities that, in Greek, are commonly associated with jackals, to create an ironical expression:

Extract 5.31

Και αν βέβαια τα τσακάλια οι δημοσιογράφοι, που γνωρίζουν συνήθως τα πάντα, έψαχναν στοιχειωδώς θα το ανακάλυπταν.

(42: 464)

[Of course, if those jackals of reporters, who usually know everything, had done a little research, they would have discovered it.]

Jackals are animals that are usually very aware of what goes on around them as they are hunters and most of the time they are looking for prey. Here, 17N use the term ironically, as the reporters mentioned in the extract had no idea that a scandal was taking place. I have discussed instances of irony in 17N's discourse in Chapter 5, and I have argued that Conceptual Blending offers useful tools for the analysis of such cases (see section 5.2.2.). In this particular case, jackals may be associated with many negative features, like, for example, aggressiveness, but ignorance of their surroundings is not one of them. The element of emergent structure that Conceptual Blending brings forth (see also Chapter 3, section 3.4) accounts for the final blend including journalists who are jackals but also incompetent in their work.

Apart from aggressiveness and skill, another characteristic associated with jackals is being exploited here by 17N. This characteristic has to do with their social behaviour: jackals are known to live in the periphery of other animal groups and to pick up bits of food that other animals leave behind. 17N imply that journalists, as a social group, live in the outskirts of other social groups and present them in the unfavorable light of people who make a living off other people's leftovers. Journalists, thus, are not seen as bringers of information and knowledge to the public but as carnivorous animals that prey on leftovers of information.

Overall, 17N exploit those attributes of animals that help them ascribe negative and sometimes ridiculous qualities to the people and the institutions they target and they underline less-than-human qualities that arise from the source domains of the expressions they use. It is interesting to notice that they never use positive attributes of animals for themselves – of course, they would not use them for their opponents, either. I would argue that this use of animal-related metaphorical expressions by 17N entails a dichotomy between being an animal and being human, and the characterisation of their targets as animals implies that they are less human than the Greek people who suffer because of them, or indeed the members of 17N. In Greek, it is conventional to call someone ζῴο/ animal as a swear word, and I see this common conceptualisation of animals as being lesser than humans as lying in the heart of the opposition I mentioned above.

In this chapter, I have examined a number of metaphorical expressions, both novel and conventional, which are related to various source domains, but which are brought together by serving the same basic rhetorical functions. I will now sum up the chapter with a discussion of the implications of these expressions, viewed as a system.

5.10. Summary and discussion

In this chapter, I have looked at nine broad source domains related to 1431 tokens of metaphorical expressions that I extracted from 17N's communiqués. These source domains are ARTS, CLEANLINESS AND DIRT, LIGHT AND DARKNESS, SOUND AND SILENCE, HEAT AND COLD, THE HUMAN BODY, WEAPONS AND

VIOLENCE, and ANIMALS. For each domain, I presented an overview of the metaphorical expressions in the communiqués and in the HNC, in terms of their frequency of occurrence and their conventional or novel status in the Modern Greek language. I focused on expressions which I found to be frequent in the communiqués and on creative extensions of conventional metaphors, as well as on novel expressions 17N had coined. I also discussed several extracts taken from 17N's texts, which allowed for a qualitative analysis of the relevant metaphorical expressions in the context where they occurred.

The source domains I analysed in this chapter were realised via expressions that were used by 17N to construct oppositional pairs of concepts. These oppositions were then rhetorically exploited by the organisation to represent their targets and opponents, and the status quo of the country in a negative light, while simultaneously, and often implicitly, representing 17N in a positive light. Some of the source domains I discussed are self-evidently dichotomous, like CLEANLINESS AND DIRT, LIGHT AND DARKNESS, SOUND AND SILENCE, and HEAT AND COLD. The source domain of the HUMAN BODY includes subdivisions of source domains which are also dichotomously constructed, like HEALTH, ILLNESSES AND CONDITIONS OF THE BODY, and MEDICINE, as well as NAKEDNESS and CLOTHING. The source domain of ARTS involves a dichotomy which is not self-evident by the domain's semantic structure, but is constructed by the way 17N exploited this domain. This is the opposition between appearance and reality, as 17N used metaphorical expressions drawing from the ARTS source domain to paint a picture of their targets as impostors and hypocrites, who pretend to be something they are not; 17N, on the other hand, is not only honest, but

also able to discern truth from lies and to share this knowledge with the Greek people, a theme that is recurrent across domains. The source domain of WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE is also exploited by 17N in a way that it a significant opposition is created, which is the opposition between two different types of ‘violence’: one is the justified, benevolent and necessary kind that 17N practise and the other is the destructive and malicious kind that the organisation’s targets inflict to the people. In addition, this source domain entails a dichotomy between real and make-believe struggle, which ties in with the aforementioned appearance vs. Reality dichotomy. Finally, the ANIMALS source domain entails an implied opposition between animal and human, as the continuous use of animals to present their opponents in a negative light suggests that 17N carried none of these negative, animal traits; instead, their human nature is underlined.

The source domains, whether broad or more limited, of the metaphorical expressions I discussed in this chapter give rise to particular scenarios, which are based on background knowledge, on stereotypes inherent in the Greek and Western culture, and on the negative or positive values commonly associated with particular words and concepts. The rhetorical exploitation of these scenarios by 17N leads to a network of metaphorical expressions which are consistent with the organisation’s overarching argument, based on the appearance vs. reality opposition. The result is a coherent system of metaphorical expressions which can be combined with each other and creatively extended to produce ironic, humorous, and insulting effects.

The overall coherence of the APPEARANCE VS. REALITY metaphorical system can be better explained if we consider the course of basic metaphorical mappings that

have been documented early on in cognitive research. It is one of the basic tenets of Cognitive Metaphor Theory that language is influenced by our bodies' interaction with the world, especially in the more abstract domains of conceptualisation. Maintaining that our language is largely structured by our physical, bodily experiences, a broad and very basic conceptual metaphor has been postulated that encompasses all mappings that talk about mental processes in terms of bodily functions: the MIND AS BODY metaphor. The MIND AS BODY metaphor is among the most basic, or, in Grady's (1997) terms, primary conceptual metaphors. Closely related to it is the conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING, documented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and productive in linguistic expressions that have to do with vision and understanding/knowledge, and vision and mental manipulation. This is linked to Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) and Johnson's (1987) notion of embodiment, holding that human beings make sense of the world they live in largely based on bodily experience, especially of the kind that occurs in early developmental stages. Sweetser's (1990) research has established the connections that exist between vision and intellection, providing evidence in the form of conceptual metaphors of vision that structure our ways of speaking about understanding things.

Vision, in particular, has been linked with understanding, as it is a basic and primary source of gathering information about the world surrounding us, a process which begins at a very early age (Sweetser, 1990). Vision is of major importance to humans and it has been considered more fundamental and more valuable than hearing, smelling or touching (ibid.). In the Greek culture, too, vision is considered extremely valuable and the eyes are something to cherish and protect above all other parts of the

body. This is reflected in the abundance of metaphorical mappings linking vision with mental processes but also in common proverbs and sayings such as *μάτια μου/my eyes*, (a way of addressing others which means ‘sweetheart’, ‘precious’), and *έχε το σαν τα μάτια σου/keep [it] like your eyes* (meaning, take care of [it] as if it were your (Mpampiniotis, 2002).

Taking the aforementioned mapping, UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING, a step further, there are many conventional expressions that present appearance as providing proof or indication regarding the nature of an entity’s essence (Lakoff and Turner, 1989, cited in Popova, 2003). It is common, for instance, to regard the eyes as a window to the soul, or to dislike someone because of their looks (ibid:56). Popova (2003) also notes, however, that even though it is common to link vision with understanding, it is also common to regard understanding through vision as superficial and incomplete. She points out that it is common and conventional to consider the essence of an entity as separate from its appearance, with the latter frequently obscuring the former and misleading the viewer (2003:56). So, there seem to be two different conventional ways of understanding the internal qualities of things: one way is by looking at them and seeing them, in accordance with the UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING conceptual metaphor. The other way is by going beyond what we see and in fact mistrusting the outer appearance of things. There is another basic conceptual metaphor that reflects this way of thinking: it is known as the ESSENCE IS INTERNAL metaphor (Charteris-Black, 2004; Popova, 2003). So, it would seem that the appearance of things can either be a true or a false representation of their essence, and that both representations are well entrenched in common belief.

Given then the deep and broad use of seeing and vision as a metaphor for knowing and understanding it is not surprising that 17N also use it to refer to a variety of mental processes. In their discourse, there is evidence of both contradictory conceptualisations regarding the understanding of reality. Sometimes, uncovering the truth results in the Greek people being able to see things for what they are, in which case they are to trust what they see. Far more frequently, however, 17N opt for the false representation of things by their appearance, which is generally seen as hiding the true nature of the entities in question. This underlying metaphor is constantly at play in 17N's communiqués, and it takes the rationale one step further: 17N urge the Greek people not to trust in anything being the way it appears. What one understands, or should understand, therefore, is often the complete opposite of what one sees. This is probably why the verb *βλέπω* to see does not come up very often in metaphorical expressions in the communiqués; rather, the process of seeing or not seeing, is implied by the use of other expressions, relating to spectacle, theatre, darkness etc.

This is indicative of 17N's dichotomous thinking and of the either/or choices they generally offer their reader. They are characterised by a certain absolute quality in their reasoning, which is not an uncommon trait for terrorist organisations. For them, it is either armed struggle and violent revolution, or oppression. There is no other means for the country to be governed in a just way. With the construction of these dichotomies, 17N imply that they are the only ones that can see and understand, while the people are kept in darkness; 17N are the only healthy ones while their enemies are sick; they are clean while their targets are dirty. Dichotomies make each party's position very clear, but make it very hard for the two parties to see and understand the

other's position. This polarised, Manichean worldview entails violence as those who are on the wrong side must be subdued by force.

The rhetorical strategy of using antithetical notions which are juxtaposed invites the reader of the communiqués to identify with 17N, as they are on the right side, and to oppose their targets, as they are ethically reprehensible. This rhetorical form is very common in political discourse (Chilton, 1996; Fairclough, 2000; Charteris-Black, 2004). 17N also constantly attack their opponents' credibility, which is of primary importance in the political arena, as Chilton (2004) confirms. Their targets are liars, hypocrites, and serve their own interests at the expense of the Greek people. The way 17N represent their opponents and themselves, as occupying opposing sides, ultimately aims at the legitimisation of 17N's course of action, which automatically de-legitimises the choices and course of action of their opponents (see Chilton, 2004: 46). 17N are honest, clean, can see things clearly, they are sane and healthy, and they care about the well-being of Greece and its people. Their targets choose pretence and lies, hide the truth from the Greek people, they are guilty and dirty, as well as ridiculous and incompetent.

I will return to the strategies of antithesis, legitimisation and de-legitimation, after I discuss more metaphorical expressions in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6 – DATA ANALYSIS: PAINTING A NEGATIVE

PICTURE OF GREECE

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine the second group of metaphorical expressions extracted from 17N's communiqués. In particular, I will discuss expressions related to the source domains of MOVING AND STOPPING, LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS, BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION, CONTAINER, HISTORY AND POLITICS, FOOD, DRINK, AND COOKING, RELIGION, and PROFESSIONS. These domains are realised via 1738 metaphorical expressions, which were frequently used in constructing a negative image of the political and social situation in Greece during 17N's active years (1975-2002). I should point out that the rhetorical exploitation of these expressions by 17N is not exclusively that of painting a negative picture of the country's state of affairs. Sometimes, expressions belonging to this second group are also used to construct oppositions between 17N and their targets, much like the metaphorical expressions discussed in Chapter 5. Similarly, metaphorical expressions discussed in Chapter 5 may also paint a bleak picture of Greece's political situation. Metaphorical expressions do not need to serve one rhetorical goal at a time, and the rhetorical and argumentative goals are themselves interrelated.

The metaphorical expressions I am focussing on in this chapter are presented in detail in Tables 27-41, found in Appendix 2. Below is a summary of the source domains I will be discussing.

Table 6.1: Source domains discussed in Chapter 6

SOURCE DOMAIN	NUMBER OF METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS IN 17N CORPUS	PERCENTAGE OUT OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF EXPRESSIONS
MOVING AND STOPPING	772	24.37
LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS	352	11.2
BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION	226	7.14
CONTAINER	164	5.18
HISTORY AND POLITICS	82	2.59
FOOD, DRINK AND COOKING	64	2
RELIGION	48	1.51
PROFESSIONS	30	0.95
TOTAL	1738	55

I will now examine each source domain in turn.

6.2. The MOVING AND STOPPING source domain

The MOVING AND STOPPING source domain is the most extensive source domain in the communiqués, including 772 metaphorical expressions and amounting to 24.37 percent of the total number of expressions I am focusing on. It is presented in detail in Tables 27-30 in Appendix 2.

6.2.1. Quantitative analysis

As shown in Table 6.2, I have further divided the MOVING AND STOPPING domain into seven sub-domains. The first four sub-domains include expressions that specify the direction of the movement that is taking place. Four possible directions were found in my data: forwards, backwards, up, and down. The fifth sub-domain also includes expressions on movement, but in this case the direction is not specified. The sixth sub-domain includes expressions having to do with moving along a road or following a certain way or path. Finally, the last sub-domain includes expressions on stopping.

Table 6.2: MOVING AND STOPPING

SOURCE DOMAIN	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/token ratio
DIRECTION: MOVING FORWARDS	2	6	0.33

DIRECTION: MOVING BACKWARDS	1	93	0.01
DIRECTION: MOVING UP	3	275	0.01
DIRECTION: MOVING DOWN	6	142	0.04
MOVEMENT (DIRECTION UNSPECIFIED)	15	162	0.09
ROAD/WAY	5	90	0.05
STOPPING	1	4	0.25
TOTAL	33	772	0.042

As Table 6.2 shows, the largest sub-domain is the one including expressions to do with moving in an upwards direction, which involves 275 metaphorical expressions. This domain, however, is not varied in terms of different types of metaphorical expressions, exhibiting a type/token ratio of 0.01, which is almost zero. In fact, the expression *πάνω*/ up occurs 272 times and accounts for almost all of the tokens in this group. Expressions related to moving in an unspecified direction are also numerous, with 162 occurrences and fifteen different types of expressions. MOVING DOWN comes next, including 142 tokens of expressions, while MOVING BACKWARDS involves 93 expressions and ROAD/WAY/PATH involves 90 expressions. The sub-domains of MOVING FORWARDS and STOPPING are significantly more limited, including six and four lemmas, respectively. The three largest sub-domains, namely

MOVING UP, MOVEMENT (DIRECTION UNSPECIFIED), and MOVING DOWN, display low type/token ratios, which indicates that they consist of expressions which tend to be repeated frequently. The highest type/token ratio corresponds to a sub-domain with much fewer tokens, which is MOVING FORWARDS.

As far as the sub-domains related to DIRECTION are concerned, Tables 27.1-27.4 in Appendix 2 present a detailed picture of the metaphorical expressions assigned to them. *Πάνω*/ up/above is by far the most frequent metaphorical expression, occurring 272 times in the communiqués. As I will show in the qualitative analysis, it is used mainly to present 17N's opponents as being able to "move up" in society, in the sense of succeeding financially and socially. *Κάτω*/ down and *πίσω*/ back are also quite frequent, occurring 99 and 93 times, respectively, in 17N's texts. In these four sub-domains, the metaphorical expressions are mainly conventional, as their comparison with the HNC confirms. They generally display a high percentage of metaphorical occurrences in the HNC, as well as in 17N's corpus.

In the MOVEMENT sub-domain, without specification of direction, the most frequent expressions are *οδηγώ*/ to lead, *προχωράω*/ to walk, and *βήμα*/ step. These expressions, as well as the majority of the expressions in Table xx, are quite conventional. However, there are two novel metaphorical expressions: these are *γραφιδοβάμονας*/ person walking on a quill, and *καλαμοβάμονας*/ person walking on a reed. Both of them are words coined by 17N, which do not exist in the HNC or in dictionaries. The two novel expressions are morphologically structured like *αιθεροβάμονας*/ person walking on air, which is also found in Table xx. This latter expression is mostly used metaphorically in Modern Greek, and indeed it is

metaphorical in the communiqués as well as in the HNC. There is, however, a literal sense for *αιθεροβάμονας*/ person walking on air, which has to do with flying; this sense is documented in the dictionaries I use for this purpose.

In the ROAD/WAY sub-domain, *πορεία*/ route and *δρόμος*/ way/road feature prominently in the communiqués, with 42 and 36 metaphorical occurrences, respectively. *Δρόμος*/ way/road, in particular, seems to have special prominence as a metaphorical expression in the communiqués, compared to the HNC: even though its literal sense is very frequent in the HNC, only 4.3 percent of its occurrences are metaphorical. *Αδιέξοδο*/ dead end is also frequent within this sub-domain, occurring ten times as a metaphorical expression in 17N's corpus. It is conventional to refer to difficult and complicated situations as *αδιέξοδα*/ dead ends, as the HNC confirms.

Finally, the STOPPING sub-domain, which is very limited, contains only one type of metaphorical expression, which is repeated four times. This is *φρένο*/ brake, a conventional metaphorical expression in Modern Greek, as shown in Table 25.

6.2.2. A qualitative approach to the MOVING AND STOPPING domain in 17N's corpus

The MOVING AND STOPPING source domain is a wide-scope source domain, and has been documented as one among the most frequent and extensive ones in political discourse in other languages too (among others, Kövecses, 2002; Charteris-Black, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2005; Chilton, 2004; Semino, 2008). Because of its particularly wide scope, which offers a well-known, basic frame, as well as plenty of

space for additional details to be added and elaborated in numerous ways, it can be used to produce a variety of metaphorical expressions and many different scenarios. 17N have exploited this source domain in several ways, too, as I will now explain.

Extract 6.1 illustrates the most frequent way in which the metaphorical expression *πάνω*/ up/above is used by 17N to show the direction Greek politicians move towards. It also illustrates that the Greek people move in the opposite direction, which is indicated by *κάτω*/ down.

Extract 6.1

Όλοι αυτοί ανεβαίνουν πάνω ενώ ο λαός πάει κάτω, και με τις απάτες τους ευημερούν.
(22:285)

[All of them are moving up while the people are going down, and they prosper with their cheating.]

This extract is characteristic of the metaphorical occurrences of *πάνω*/ up/above that a reader of the communiqués will come across. Obviously, the use of these expressions constructs an antithesis of movement between the more privileged and the less privileged social classes in Greek society. According to Cognitive Metaphor research (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 1993; Kövecses, 2002), *πάνω*/ up/above is positively evaluated, signifying progress towards desirable states and conditions, while *κάτω*/ down is negatively evaluated, signifying lack of development and, in this case, deterioration of the people's living conditions. The positive evaluation of UP/DOWN has both an embodied and a cultural basis; it is a very conventional and basic antithesis, with both a cultural and an embodied basis, which is exploited by 17N to show the very different positions different social classes in Greece are, as well as the

different directions they take. In Extract 6.1, *πάνω*/ up/above and *κάτω*/ down are primarily related to wealth, influence and power.

There is a detail I would like to point out, however. Within the context of 17N's discourse, prosperity which is gained with deceitful behavior is not positively evaluated; on the contrary, it is the object of accusations and attacks on the part of the organisation. So, the scenarios evoked by the use of *πάνω*/ up/above in the communiqués involve an element which is to be avoided by the Greek people, namely that of dishonest and unfair behavior. This kind of *πάνω*/ up/above is not what 17N see themselves as revolting for, no more than the situation symbolized by *κάτω*/ down is. It follows that, even with the opposing directions of the two kinds of movement, the image presented by 17N is a pessimistic one, as the prosperity of the privileged ones is not seen as a positive thing within the context of the communiqués. It could be argued that both *πάνω*/ up/above and *κάτω*/ down are negatively evaluated in 17N's discourse. So, in the opposition constructed, both ends are undesirable. It is very rarely the case that 17N includes *πάνω*/ up/above in its texts to denote a positive and desirable direction towards which the Greek people should move.

The scenarios of moving forwards and backwards in space are also employed by 17N to describe the country's state of affairs. Extracts 6.2 and 6.3 involve moving backwards and forwards. In Extract 6.2, Greece is portrayed as moving not only backwards, but also towards a dead end:

Extract 6.2

Αυτή η πολιτική οδηγεί και πάλι τη χώρα προς τα πίσω, σε αδιέξοδο.

(25:294-295)

[This policy leads the country back again, towards a dead end.]

Moving backwards is conventionally associated with regression and lack of progress, and, in political contexts, it had been used repeatedly to signify failure and problematic social and political situations (see, for instance, Charteris-Black, 2005; Semino, 2008). More specifically, moving backwards is the opposite of progress and therefore the wrong direction for a country to follow. This negative outlook is further intensified by the expression *αδιέξοδο*/ dead end, which evokes a scenario of inability to move anymore and of being trapped. I should point out that the Greek expression *αδιέξοδο* does not include the adjective ‘dead’; it just refers to the end of a road which has no other way out. This is a case where the English translation may possibly bear stronger negative associations than the Greek original. 17N add *αδιέξοδο*/ dead end to the basic frame of moving backwards in space, in order to show how catastrophic particular policies can be for the country. The negative discourse prosody of *αδιέξοδο*/ dead end is confirmed by the HNC: there are 1530 metaphorical occurrences of this expression, which refer either to psychological and emotional dead ends, or to dead-end situations related to the broad domain of politics.

In Extract 6.2, moving backwards is negatively evaluated. By implication, moving forwards is indirectly presented as the direction one should opt for. However, 17N exploit the MOVING AND STOPPING source domain in a different way, too: moving forwards can also be used negatively, when it applies to individuals or organisations that 17N disapprove of. In the example below, moving forward corresponds to becoming even more corrupt and ridiculous, as Extract 6.3 shows:

Extract 6.3

Για το Συνασπισμό τέλος η νέα παλινωδία σημαίνει ένα βήμα πιο μπροστά στην πορεία του προς την πλήρη κατρακύλα και αυτογελοιοποίηση.

(45: 503)

[Finally, for Synaspismos the new palinode means a step ahead in its way towards the complete tumble and self-ridicule.]

In this extract, Synaspismos, a Greek left-wing party, is presented as making a step forwards. Instead of signifying positive progress, however, moving forwards in this case has to do with the deterioration of the party's image. In other words, the party is moving towards self-destruction. This image is indicative of 17N's tendency to portray the political situation in Greece as entirely negative, and completely devoid of integrity and credibility. The metaphorical expressions from the source domain of MOVING are combined with *παλινωδία/ palinode*, which relates to the source domain of MUSIC; when this expression is used metaphorically it has to do with saying something and then taking it back and, in this context, it is an attack on Synaspismos' credibility. Finally, the expression *κατρακύλα/ tumble* conveys a kind of movement that, in Greek, is associated with clumsiness. This expression participates in the construction of a ridiculous image of Synaspismos, along with the literal *αυτογελοιοποίηση/ self-ridicule*.

We can see that in Extract 6.3, as well as in Extract 6.1, different aspects of the MOVING AND STOPPING domain are highlighted according to 17N's rhetorical purposes, a fact that illustrates the flexibility of this source domain. The MOVING AND STOPPING domain is a prime candidate to be exploited for the creation of a variety of

scenarios, which are not always compatible with one another. This is because it is characterized by experiential grounding and also by conceptual flexibility, which allows for its use for different purposes (Musolff, 2004b). This presumably results from the fact that our physical experiences of movement are also varied; movement forwards, for example, is not positive, if it ends up in an undesirable location (e.g. a ditch). The conceptual flexibility of the source domain allows for argumentative flexibility, too (Musolff, 2000, quoted in Charteris-Black, 2004). So, moving forwards can be argued to be positive or negative, the same way that moving up can be constructed as desirable or undesirable.

I will now discuss two excerpts that have to do with moving along a road and choosing to follow a particular way:

Extract 6.4

Δύο δρόμοι υπάρχουν, ή βίαια σύγκρουση ή αποδοχή της «φιλελευθεροποίησης».

(4:36)

[There are only two roads, either violent conflict or acceptance of “liberalisation”.]

In Extract 6.4, 17N present two roads to the Greek people, and ask them to choose one of the two. The two roads represent two courses of action, namely violent conflict and acceptance of a set of political measures which would lead to liberalisation. The use of quotation marks for *φιλελευθεροποίηση*/ liberalisation makes it clear to the reader that 17N distance themselves from the use of this term and shows their readers that they are considering the term to be empty of meaning. So, even though 17N seem to suggest an alternative choice to violent conflict, in reality they are

presenting their audience with a false dilemma, as they consider only one option as feasible. The country's problems are taken to be so serious that no liberalisation plans can solve them, especially as the politicians proposing this measure are not to be trusted. Moreover, 17N are ideologically opposed to liberalisation, especially in the way they perceive their opponents to mean it. This point is made clearer in Extract 6.5:

Extract 6.5

Είναι ο μόνος δρόμος που απομένει, ο δρόμος του δυναμικού μαζικού αγώνα, νόμιμου και παράνομου, και της δίκαιης λαϊκής επαναστατικής βίας.

(7: 133)

[This is the only way/road left, the way/road of dynamic mass struggle, legal and illegal, and of the rightful revolutionary violence of the people.]

In this extract, 17N make it clear that the Greek people only have one possible choice left, and that is the recourse to *δίκαια επαναστατική βία*/ rightful revolutionary violence. The MOVING AND STOPPING source domain is realised here by expressions which evoke images of moving along a road and of choosing a particular way to follow. These expressions are closely connected with basic mappings proposed by Cognitive Metaphor researchers, such as the LIFE IS A JOURNEY mapping.

In the LIFE IS A JOURNEY mapping, first documented by Lakoff and Turner (1989), important decisions we make in life are seen as different roads and paths we choose, and the way we choose to live corresponds to the path we choose to follow. A journey is a purposeful activity with a starting point and an end point or destination, which involves moving in space. This metaphor is particularly relevant for

conceptualising long-term goals in life and the process one has to go through in order to attain them. The main underlying mapping was later described as PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARD A DESTINATION (Lakoff, 1993). Moving towards a destination is a very conventional way of talking about purposeful social activity, as Charteris-Black (2004) observes. This is one of the reasons that make it especially relevant to political discourse.

The importance of spatial concepts in political discourse has also been documented by Chilton (2004). Chilton discusses space in terms of the distance between different participants in a given political situation, but also in terms of the positive and negative associations involved in moving forwards and backwards in space, like the ones I have exemplified in Extracts 6.1 to 6.3. He also pointed out that metaphorical expressions related to moving in space are often exploited by politicians to provide structure and coherence to their discourse (Chilton, 1996, 2004; Chilton and Schäffner, 2002). Charteris-Black (2005) also mentions the organizing effect that these expressions have on politicians' speeches.

This is particularly relevant to 17N's texts, as metaphorical expressions related to the MOVING AND STOPPING source domain were found throughout the communiqués and often served as binding elements that brought the organisation's arguments together. For example, expressions relating to the ROAD/WAY sub-domain were typically found at the end of communiqués, functioning as an epilogue to the text and pointing out to the readers the course of action that 17N considered necessary. They also functioned as answers or solutions to the problems that 17N had described in the body of the communiqués (see Hoey, 2001:119-140, for a discussion on the

organisation and structure of various text types). Another interesting observation I made regarding the textual meta-function of metaphor in 17N's texts is that specific metaphorical expressions related to the ROAD/WAY sub-domain, and in particular *πορεία*/ way/route and *δρόμος*/ road, had the tendency to occur in the communiqués written in the first decade of 17N's activity (1975-1985). Possibly, this is because in their later years 17N were less confident regarding the particular road they wanted the Greek people to follow (see also Chapter 2, section 2.3.5.). So, metaphorical expressions on MOVING AND STOPPING provide structure to 17N's discourse, both at a local level, as they occur at particular points of the texts, and throughout their written material.

Another implication of metaphorical expressions related to source domains which involve moving towards a destination which is positively evaluated is that of bringing the reader closer to the metaphor producer, as fellow travellers who are travelling along the same road (see also Charteris-Black, 2005). 17N invite their readers to choose the same road that they have chosen, implying that they will be travelling together and working for the same cause. They are thus activating a journey scenario which involves the accomplishment of a much desired outcome: the improvement of Greece's difficult situation. Of course, this is a very simplified representation of a complex social and political situation, which cannot adequately be described as moving backwards or forwards in any given point in time. It is one of the rhetorical functions of metaphor, though, to simplify complex situations and to hide their problematic aspects (see, for instance, Musolff, 2004a; Semino, 2002). This function is exploited to a great extent by 17N, as they rarely, if ever, explain in what

particular ways they aim to help the country overcome its problems. In the journey scenario, as in other scenarios evoked by the metaphorical expressions 17N choose, any problematic elements are kept vague and implicit.

17N present their course of action as the only available alternative to being deceived and taken advantage of by Greek politicians and other influential members of Greek society. They support their point with metaphorical expressions that highlight the inevitability of disaster, unless the Greek people revolt. Extract 6.6 refers to the general political and economic state Greece was in at the time the communiqué was written, and implies such an inevitably disastrous outcome. This state of affairs is described here as movement downhill.

Extract 6.6

Είναι γνωστό ότι όταν σε πάρει ο κατήφορος δεν σταματάς.

(11:171)

[It is well known that when you start going downhill you don't stop.]

The scenario evoked by this expression is that of a fast and inevitable downward movement; in fact, even if one wants to stop, it may be very difficult. 17N, in fact, explicitly state that it is impossible to stop. The organisation exploits the conventional mapping which involves a negative evaluation of moving downwards, and enhances it by choosing the Greek expression *κατήφορος*/ downhill, which is commonly associated with the negative outcomes of a situation which cannot easily be reversed. The choice of this expression, which is very conventional in Greek, enhances the impression that there is no way of amending a situation which has gone seriously

wrong. In this way, 17N serve their rhetorical aim of justifying and legitimising their resort to violence to change the country's situation, as, for them, there is no other way to put things right.

Finally, in Extract 6.7, 17N create a novel expression which results in a striking image of a person who is walking on his quill. The extract refers to a particular journalist that the organisation targeted, who often wrote articles against them:

Extract 6.7

Ανερμάτιστες απόψεις ματαιόδοξου γραφιδοβάμονα.

(15: 224)

[Unstable views of a vain person walking on quill.]

As *γραφιδοβάμονας*/ person walking on quill is, in Greek, morphologically and phonetically reminiscent of *αιθεροβάμονας*/ person walking on air, the negative discourse prosody of the latter influences the former. *Αιθεροβάμονας*/ person walking on air is often used in Modern Greek to refer to people who do not face reality, but prefer instead to occupy themselves with trivial, unimportant, and even non-existent affairs. All 32 occurrences of *αιθεροβάμονας*/ person walking on air in the HNC bear this meaning along with its negative associations. So, *γραφιδοβάμονας*/ person walking on quill is here taken to mean a person who writes about trivialities and non-existent things. This neologism, modeled on an already existent word, belittles 17N's opponent and creates a distance between the journalist and 17N, as 17N are implied to deal with serious issues that really matter.

In this section, I have discussed metaphorical expressions that were often used to set up contrasts and to highlight differences, usually in a rather simplistic and black-and-white manner. I have included them in this chapter because they are related mainly with situations and processes rather than characteristics of 17N's targets. I will now discuss metaphorical expressions related to the LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS source domain.

6.3. The LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS source domain

This source domain accounts for 352 tokens of metaphorical expressions, and represents 11.1 percent of the total number of metaphorical expressions in my data. It is presented in Table 31, Appendix 2.

6.3.1. Quantitative analysis

The LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS source domain is characterized by few different types of expressions which are repeated frequently in the communiqués. The type/token ratio for this domain is 0.02, which is very low considering the amount of metaphorical expressions it includes.

Table 6.3: LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS

SOURCE DOMAIN	Types of metaphorical	Tokens of metaphorical	Type/token ratio
--------------------------	----------------------------------	-----------------------------------	-----------------------------

	expressions	expressions	
LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS	10	352	0.02
TOTAL	10	352	0.02

Most of the metaphorical expressions in this source domain have a high percentage of metaphorical occurrences in the communiqués, as we can see in Table 26. *Βάρος*/ weight, which is the most frequent expression, occurs 94 times as a metaphorical expression in the communiqués. *Επίπεδο*/ level, *στρώμα*/ stratum, and *πλατύ*/ wide, are only found as metaphors in 17N's corpus, and they occur 78, 58, and 26 times, respectively. In the HNC, on the other hand, their literal senses are frequent, though not as frequent as the metaphorical ones, with the exception of *βάρος*/ weight. *Πλατειά*/ widely, too, is mainly literal in the HNC. Overall, the lemmas presented in Table xx are very conventional metaphorical expressions in Modern Greek and they are commonly used in relation to a variety of target domains.

6.3.2. A qualitative approach to the LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS domain in 17N's corpus

Expressions related to this domain are deeply entrenched in the way complex social systems are talked about in Modern Greek. Complex systems, and especially social systems, are in fact hard to describe and talk about without the use of metaphorical expressions drawing from source domains related to physical and

tangible concepts (for a discussion of complex systems, see Kövecses, 2002: 127-134). Even though societal structures are commonly talked about in terms of levels and dimensions, however, this does not mean that these metaphorical expressions are devoid of evaluative and rhetorical meaning, depending of course on how they are used in actual discourse. On the contrary, precisely because they tend to be less noticeable and more conventional than other expressions, their evaluative meaning may be more covert and therefore less likely to be contested (Lakoff, 1993, 2001). Conventional metaphorical expressions, that is, are more likely to be considered as common-sense and natural, and so they may be accepted more easily.

In the extract that follows, 17N proclaim their opposition to the socialist model proposed by PASOK, the socialist party that was serving as government at the time:

Extract 6.8

Είμαστε ριζικά αντίθετοι με το γνωστό μοντέλο του «Σοσιαλισμού» όπου οι υπεύθυνοι των παραγωγικών μονάδων διορίζονται απ' τα πάνω επίπεδα, απ' όπου αντλούν τη δύναμή τους. Αυτοί αποτελούν ένα κοινωνικό στρώμα γραφειοκρατίας, αυτονομημένο, ξεκομμένο απ' την εργατική τάξη.

(25: 305)

[We are radically opposed to the known model of “Socialism” whereby the ones responsible for the productive units are being appointed from levels above, where they get their strength from. These people are a social stratum of bureaucracy, autonomous, cut off the working class.]

In Extract 6.8, 17N question the meaning that PASOK gives to ‘socialism’, as is shown by their use of quotation marks, which disassociate them from the sense they perceive PASOK to give the term. More importantly, they present a particular kind of structure of the socialist system, which they evaluate negatively. This structure consists of different levels which are hierarchically positioned, and different social strata. Some levels are above other levels and are shown to be stronger and more influential. Moreover, a particular social stratum is portrayed as completely separate from the rest, and especially from the working class. It seems that 17N imply they would prefer a less hierarchical and more unified social system, where different levels would not be so distant from each other and where power would be more fairly distributed. This point is also illustrated in Extract 6.9:

Extract 6.9

Βαθαίνουν ξανά οι ανισότητες και οι αδικίες, σε βάρος των πλατιών λαϊκών στρωμάτων.

(46: 520)

[The inequalities and the injustices deepen, weighing on the wide popular strata.]

Inequalities are presented as deepening, implying that there is distance between the more and the less privileged citizens, as well as that it will be more difficult to overcome the problems caused by injustice. These inequalities are a burden for the working class, which is shown here to be *πλατιά*/ wide, implying that privileges are for the few, while the majority of the people are suffering. *Βάρος*/ weight is used to make more vivid the impact that unfair social policies have on people’s lives. Overall, 17N

paint a picture of a society divided into different levels and layers, some of which are oppressing the others; moreover, the different social strata are so far away from each other that there is little hope of them understanding each other's affairs. Here is another extract that illustrates 17N's point that the Greek people experience their country's policies as a weight and a burden they have to bear:

Extract 6.10

Ο λαός καλείται να επιλέξει ποιο κόμμα θα υλοποιήσει αποφάσεις πουχουν ληφθεί αλλού σε βάρος του, τόσο εσωτερικά όσο και σε σχέση με τα εθνικά ζητήματα και την Τουρκία.

(80: 842)

[The people are called to decide which party will put into practice decisions which have been taken elsewhere and which are a weight for them, concerning interior affairs of the country but also national matters and Turkey.]

The extract refers to the forthcoming elections and presents the choice of which political party to vote for as meaningless, since no matter which party wins the elections, the people will suffer as a result of its policies. The expression *βάρος*/ weight reinforces the imagery of higher social strata oppressing the lower ones, by means of their political decisions, which are symbolized by their weight.

Even though the aforementioned metaphorical expressions are conventional ways of describing social structure, 17N's exploitation of them provides further support to their argument that only violence can make a difference to a society tormented by injustice and inequality. Social classes, levels and strata are not the only

means of portraying societal structure, however common they may be. More importantly, portraying them as isolated from each other and depicting some sections of the population as oppressed reflects a particular point of view, which serves particular goals, as is the case with 17N.

Closely connected to the LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS source domain is the BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION domain, to which I will now turn.

6.4. The BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION source domain

This source domain involves 226 metaphorical expressions and accounts for 7.13 percent of the total of expressions in my data. It is presented in detail in Tables 32 and 33 in Appendix 2.

6.4.1. Quantitative analysis

The BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION domain is divided in two sub-domains: TYPES OF BUILDINGS, with 23 tokens and eight types of expressions, and CONSTRUCTION, with 213 tokens and 14 types of metaphorical expressions.

Table 6.4: BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION

SOURCE DOMAINS	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/token ratio

TYPES OF BUILDINGS	8	23	0.34
CONSTRUCTION	14	213	0.06
TOTAL	22	236	0.09

As we can see from the type/token ratios in the above table, the TYPES OF BUILDINGS sub-domain is more varied compared to the CONSTRUCTION sub-domain. In the TYPES OF BUILDINGS sub-domain, shown in Table xx, *σπίτι*/ house, is the most frequent expression. This expression, however, is more frequently literal than metaphorical in both corpora. The metaphorical occurrences of *σπίτι*/ house are much fewer than the literal ones, especially in the HNC: only 0.02 percent of its occurrences in the HNC are metaphorical. This indicates that, even though *σπίτι*/ house is used metaphorically in Modern Greek, this is not very frequently the case. Similarly, *παλάτι*/ palace and *ξενοδοχείο*/ hotel seem to be mainly literal in the HNC. *Παλάτι*/ palace, however, is always metaphorical in the communiqués. The expression *τεμπελχανείο*/ sluggard joint, which is found only once in the communiqués and does not exist in the HNC, is an insulting term which occurs mainly in spoken language. It is listed in dictionaries, meaning a place where lazy and useless people gather to spend their time doing nothing.

In the CONSTRUCTION sub-domain, presented in Table xx, one notices the highly metaphorical use of *βάση*/ base, in the HNC as well as in the communiqués. It occurs 98 times in the communiqués, all of which are metaphorical. *Καταρρέω*/ collapse, *στήριγμα*/ support, *χτίσιμο*/ building, and *αναστηλώνω*/ to erect are found frequently in the communiqués. They are all conventional metaphorical expressions,

which, however, are mainly literal in the HNC. Obviously, the HNC would contain texts referring to actual buildings and construction procedures, to a much larger extent than the communiqués would. Some of the less frequent expressions related to construction such as *στυλοβάτης*/ stylobate (a pillar or pole which is used in construction to support a building), *προπύργιο*/ rampart, *εκπαραθύρωση*/ defenestration and *επιστέγασμα*/ crowning (a structure used in the top or roof of a building) are always found as metaphorical expressions in 17N's corpus and in the HNC, even though dictionary evidence confirms the existence of a current literal sense in the language. They are, however, used literally only in very specific technical contexts.

I will now look at some examples in the actual context they occurred in.

6.4.2. A qualitative approach to the BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION domain in 17N's corpus

In Extract 6.11, 17N refer to the Gulf War, and to the effects this war had on democracy and human rights:

Extract 6.11

Μ' αυτόν τον πόλεμο-γενοκτονία (πόλεμος του Κόλπου) κατάρρευσε ολόκληρο το ιδεολογικό στήριγμα της αστικής δημοκρατίας, ολόκληρο το θεωρητικό υπόβαθρο των δικαιωμάτων του ανθρώπου.

(56: 613)

[With this war-genocide (Gulf War), the whole ideological support of civic democracy, the whole theoretical ground of human rights has collapsed.]

According to 17N, the Gulf War had serious consequences on the ideological grounding of the notion of civic democracy and resulted in the infringement of human rights for a great number of people. This war contradicted what governments professed to be a main concern of theirs, namely the protection of people's rights and of their lives. 17N provide here a linguistic realisation of a very conventional metaphorical mapping, known as THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS (Lakoff, 1993; Grady, 1997), which evokes the SOCIETY IS A BUILDING mapping (Kövecses, 2002). Civic democracy and human rights are conceptualised as physical structures or buildings, which collapsed as a result of the Gulf War taking place. Metaphorical expressions originating in the BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION source domain are frequently discussed in Cognitive Metaphor Theory literature (among others, Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Chilton and Ilyin, 1993; Grady, 1997; Charteris-Black, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2005). As Charteris-Black (2004) notes, the conceptual metaphor SOCIETY IS A BUILDING, which underlies most metaphorical expressions on buildings and construction, conveys a positive evaluation, as it highlights the concept of working together and making progress towards desired, long-term goals, which can be complicated like buildings are. Building, he adds, is "an archetypal creative activity and therefore symbolises human endeavour" (Charteris-Black, 2004:73). Building also emphasises collaborative effort and an optimistic outlook (Chilton and Ilyin, 1993; Chilton, 1996).

It follows that scenarios that involve material damage and buildings collapsing will bear negative evaluations, as the thoroughness and effort required to build and create something are annulled. The same holds for buildings and constructions falling, as in Extract 6.12:

Extract 6.12

Η πτώση του Συνασπισμού ήταν μεγαλύτερη και ιδιαίτερα σημαντική σ' όλα τα παραδοσιακά εργατικά προπύργια, όπου το κόμμα είχε πολύχρονη και βαθιά επιρροή.

(45: 512)

[The fall of Synaspismos has been bigger and particularly important for all the traditional working-class ramparts, where the party has had a deep influence for many years.]

In this case, the metaphorical fall of a political party is seen as a major disaster for the working class, as the particular left-wing party supported the causes of working-class people. The whole concept of the working class fighting for its rights is presented via images of buildings and in particular *προπύργια*/ ramparts, which are associated with fighting and battles. It is as if a part of the structure that Synaspismos and the working classes had been building over the years is now falling apart. The use of *βαθιά*/ deep in this extract adds to the significance of this fall, as one of Synaspismos' features is presented via a spatial metaphor, allowing the reader to picture the extent of its influence on the working classes. The addition of the dimension of depth alludes to a building with very strong foundations in the ground; combined with the metaphorical mapping realised by *βάση*/ base (see extract 6.14 below), which corresponds to the working class, a rich and complete picture is presented of a strong and influential political party with solid foundations on the most basic level of the social hierarchy. 17N tend to focus on scenarios of destruction and on the demolition of buildings, as

well as on the obstacles found in the way of those who want to build something, as in the following extract:

Extract 6.13

Με τέτοιου είδους επαναστατικές οργανώσεις δεν είναι τυχαίο ότι κατακερματίζεται το κίνημα [...] με αποτέλεσμα να μη φαίνεται όχι το χτίσιμο του κόμματος του πρωτοποριακού για το οποίο λένε ότι αγωνίζονται οι περισσότερες, αλλά ούτε καν το χτίσιμο μιας γερής νόμιμης επαναστατικής οργάνωσης.

(4:59)

[With such revolutionary organisations it is not accidental that the (revolutionary) movement is collapsing, so the building of the pioneer party for which most of them claim to be fighting is not there, but not even the building of a healthy legal revolutionary organisation is visible.]

In Extract 6.13, 17N accuse other revolutionary organisations of being ineffective and standing in their way, preventing them to build an effective revolutionary organisation. 17N represent themselves as potential builders, and therefore show that their intentions are not to destroy but to create. On the contrary, the other revolutionary organisations are bringing the structure of the revolutionary movement down. All the organisations are shown to be *αγωνίζονται*/ fighting, which is an expression related to the source domain of WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE. This domain will be analysed in the next chapter; in this extract, it contributes to the creation of a positive image of 17N as a constructive force. Metaphorical expressions from the source domains of MOVING AND STOPPING and THE HUMAN BODY are

also found in Extract 6.13: the revolutionary *κίνημα/* movement is a very conventional way of referring to groups or organisations of similar ideology. In addition, the expression *γερή/* healthy presents revolutionary organisations as positive and desirable entities within Greek society, which are worth laboring for. It is interesting to observe that 17N portray themselves as constructive and healthy forces within Greek society, precisely because they carry out their destructive work so well. It is 17N who literally blew up buildings and cars, destroyed material constructions and took lives; and it is 17N who accuse other organisations of unsuccessfully carrying out terrorist attacks.

I will conclude this section with an excerpt that illustrates the use of the most pervasive expression related to the BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION domain in my data, which has to do with the description of social groups:

Extract 6.14

Είμαστε υπέρ ενός Σοσιαλισμού με διαδικασίες άμεσης δημοκρατίας στη βάση, όπου οι υπεύθυνοι θα εκλέγονται, θα ανακαλούνται, θα λογοδοτούν στη βάση.

(78: 806)

[We are for Socialism with procedures of direct democracy at the base, where the ones responsible will be elected, will be recalled, and will answer to the base.]

In this case, 17N use *βάση/* base to refer to the working-class Greek people, and generally to the less privileged Greek citizens. They are conceptualised as the base of a building, which stands for Greek society. This kind of terminology, though not uncommon in political discourse, is particularly associated with left-wing ideology and with communist discourse, as Angenot (1995) observes (see also Beard, 2000). In

Marxist theorizing, as well as in the writings of other founders of communism, ‘base’ features prominently as a term that describes the underprivileged working classes. I would argue that this term bears strong positive connotations, as a building’s base is probably the most important part of its structure. Without the base, a building would collapse; similarly, without the working people, a society would collapse. 17N adopt this terminology which is characteristic of their leftist ideology, and exploit its positive associations to promote their image as defenders of the Greek people and as advocates of their cause.

I will now discuss the CONTAINER source domain.

6.5. The CONTAINER source domain

The CONTAINER domain, shown in Table xx, includes 164 metaphorical expressions and represents 5.18 percent of the total number of metaphorical expressions in my data.

6.5.1. Quantitative analysis

As shown in Table 6.5, the CONTAINER domain has a type/token ratio of 0.04. This is indicative of the frequency with which some lemmas related to this domain are repeated in the communiqués, as we can also see in Table 34, Appendix 2. This ratio is quite low, which means that this domain consists mainly of expressions which tend to be repeated a lot.

Table 6.5: CONTAINER

SOURCE DOMAIN	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/token ratio
CONTAINER	8	164	0.04
TOTAL	8	164	0.04

In the CONTAINER domain, the most frequent expression is *εξωτερικό/* exterior/abroad, which refers to countries outside Greece. It is repeated 100 times in the communiqués, all of which are metaphorical. *Εξωτερικό/* exterior/abroad is very frequent in the HNC, too, where 71.9 percent of its occurrences are metaphorical. *Μπαίνω/* to enter and *εσωτερικό/* interior are the next most frequent expressions, occurring 29 and 20 times, respectively, as metaphorical expressions in 17N's corpus. They are also frequent in the HNC, as this source domain is generally realised via very conventional metaphorical expressions.

An analysis of some of the expressions related to the CONTAINER domain as they occurred in the communiqués will illustrate 17N's exploitation of this domain.

6.5.2. A qualitative approach to the CONTAINER domain in 17N's corpus

In Extract 6.18, 17N refer to prominent Greek businessmen and politicians, who keep bank accounts in foreign countries and who have power and influence outside Greece:

Extract 6.15

Αυτοί δεν έχουν ανάγκη, αφού έχουν τις καταθέσεις τους και τις επιρροές τους του εξωτερικού.

(34: 378)

[They don't have any problems, as they have their bank deposits and their influence on the outside/ abroad.]

The use of *εξωτερικό/ exterior/abroad* by 17N implies a conceptualisation of Greece as a container, which has an interior, an exterior, and a specific boundary that separates the two. The CONTAINER source domain is one of the most frequently used domains in political discourse and it has been exploited in various ways. Containment scenarios emphasize the boundaries between the container's interior and its exterior (Chilton, 1996). In this way, territorial inclusion and exclusion are highlighted, a fact that often brings forth security issues (ibid.). It follows that the CONTAINER source domain can easily be used to construct oppositions between insiders and outsiders, and also to create scenarios of invasion, which lead to feelings of insecurity (see Chilton, 1996, 2004).

In 17N's case, the use of expressions like *εξωτερικό*/ exterior/abroad does not just reflect a possible conceptualisation of Greece as a container, but also bears specific, culturally situated evaluations. Countries outside Greece, and particularly the rest of Europe, have traditionally been seen by Greeks as more economically developed and advanced than Greece. There still exists a mentality in Greece whereby anything "European" and "imported", be it products, culture, education, etc. is more desirable than anything Greek, which is considered of inferior quality. This attitude is partly due to turbulent historical periods Greece went through, in the past as well as more recently, and it is related to the role countries like France, the UK, Germany, and the US have played at various points in Greek history. Remnants of this mentality are reflected in 17N's use of *εξωτερικό*/ exterior/abroad. 17N, however, rhetorically exploits this expression in two ways: on the one hand, countries abroad are portrayed as more powerful and influential, and on the other hand, keeping bank accounts abroad and generally having transactions with foreign countries is frowned upon, as it is a privilege few citizens can enjoy and it is not at the country's best interests. Consider also the following extract:

Extract 6.16

Σημαίνει ότι δεν τους ενδιαφέρει αν δεν υπάρχει υγεία για το λαό, γιατί πάνε στα νοσοκομεία του εξωτερικού ή στους πανάκριβους μεγαλογιατρούς αυθεντίες και ποτέ τους δεν πατάνε στα νοσοκομεία-αχούρια όπου βασιλεύουν τα φακελάκια.

(17:251)

[It means that they don't care if there is no health for the people, because they go to hospitals outside/abroad or to expensive doctors who are authorities, and they never set foot in the dirty stables of hospitals where bribery reigns.]

Here, 17N provide their explanation as to why Greek politicians have neglected the Greek national health system. Metaphorical expressions related to the source domains of CONTAINER, CLEANLINESS AND DIRT, and HISTORY combine to depict Greek hospitals as dirty places where malpractice is the rule. Greek politicians have the means to travel abroad in order to find solutions to their health problems. The majority of the people, however, have to endure the circumstances prevalent in Greek hospitals. 17N, once again, paint a disheartening picture of Greek reality as they perceive it, and leave no space for solutions other than a violent revolution.

Finally, in Extract 6.17, the CONTAINER source domain is used twice in the same sentence and applied to two different target domains. Each mapping has its own entailments which 17N exploits:

Extract 6.17

Γραφειοκρατικό στρώμα μπορεί να δημιουργηθεί σήμερα στο εσωτερικό της χώρας. Κι όχι μόνο μπορεί, αλλά έτσι όπως έχουν τα πράγματα μπαίνοντας στον καπιταλισμό, με τη μονοπώληση της γνώσης από ορισμένους, στα σίγουρα θα δημιουργηθεί.

(25: 304)

[A bureaucratic stratum can be created today in the country's interior. And not only it can, but as things are entering capitalism, with the monopolization of knowledge by some, it will certainly be created.]

In this extract, not only Greece, but also capitalism is conceptualised as a container. In the first mapping, Greece's interior is shown to be threatened by a bureaucratic stratum which can be created inside the country. In the second mapping, capitalism is conceptualised as a container into which Greece is currently entering. Both mappings involve undesirable and negatively evaluated outcomes, as both capitalism and the bureaucratic stratum are not seen as positive things for Greece. I believe that the portrayal of capitalism as a container is particularly negative, as it highlights the fact that capitalism is something other than the present situation, and a state of affairs that requires the country to cross a boundary. With these metaphorical expressions, 17N present a pessimistic and hopeless image of Greece, where little or nothing can be done to change the majority of the Greek citizens' circumstances for the better.

6.6 The HISTORY AND POLITICS source domain

The HISTORY AND POLITICS source domain in 17N's communiqués is realised via 82 metaphorical expressions, which represent 2.59 percent of the total number of expressions in my data. It is presented in detail in Table 35, Appendix 2.

6.6.1. Quantitative analysis

As shown in the table below, this source domain exhibits a type/token ratio of 0.2 which tells us that it is relatively varied; in fact, there are 17 different types for 82 tokens of metaphorical expressions. The majority of expressions related to this source domain are always metaphorical in the communiqués, apart from *μαφία*/ mafia and *Χίτλερ*/ Hitler, and most of them are commonly used in Modern Greek. Among the most frequent metaphorical expressions are *εκφασισμός*/ fascistization, *βασιλεύω*/ to reign, *Γιουσουφάκι*/ Giousoufaki, *μεσαιωνικός*/ medieval, and *γκάγκστερ*/ gangster.

Table 6.6: HISTORY AND POLITICS

SOURCE DOMAIN	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/token ratio
HISTORY/POLITICS	17	82	0.20
TOTAL	17	82	0.20

A noticeable expression in this domain is *Γιουσουφάκι*/ Giousoufaki, which is used 11 times in 17N's corpus but does not exist at all in the HNC or in dictionaries. This expression is novel and the way 17N use it will be made clear in the next section.

Another novel expression is *Γκαϊμπελικός*/ Goebbels-like⁵, which builds on the name of a well-known Nazi politician.

I will discuss expressions from the domain of HISTORY AND POLITICS in context to show how 17N used them.

6.6.2. A qualitative approach to the HISTORY AND POLITICS domain in 17N's corpus

The use of HISTORY AND POLITICS as a source domain by 17N is particularly interesting, as politics and history are normally target domains in my data. The metaphorical expressions that evoke this source domain exploit shared knowledge on specific historical periods to draw analogies between the past and the present, as 17N perceive it.

In Extract 6.18, 17N use the expression *Γιουσουφάκι*/ Giousoufaki to refer to an influential editor of the time. In their communiqué, they provide enough evidence for their readers to understand who *Γιουσουφάκι*/ Giousoufaki is but they never mention his real name. Instead, they use this expression, which is related to the period of time when Greece was under Turkish occupation. *Γιουσουφάκι*/ Giousoufaki is a derogatory term as it originally referred to the young male slaves of the Sultans, who ruled parts of Greece during the Turkish occupation. It was considered humiliating to be one of those slaves, who were seen as servile and as having to resort to all sorts of stratagems to win the Sultan's favor.

⁵ Note that *Γκαϊμπελικός*/ Goebbels-like is here translated in the same way as *καραμπινάτος*/ rifle-like in a previous section, and therefore no simile is involved.

Extract 6.18

Το Γιουσουφάκι έχει θάρρος. Χτυπάει τους νεκρούς πρωθυπουργούς αλλά όχι τον ζωντανό Σουλτάνο.

(75: 777)

[Giousoufaki is courageous. He hits dead prime ministers, but not the living Sultan.]

What is noticeable in the extract above is that the expression *Σουλτάνος*/ Sultan is also used to refer to the Prime Minister of the time. In this way the master-and-slave scenario is complete, and the servile and coward behavior of *Γιουσουφάκι*/ Giousoufaki is highlighted. 17N present him as brave enough to attack dead prime ministers but not so brave as to attack the living Prime Minister.

By presenting their opponents as servile, 17N emphasize the fact that they are free and that they make their own choices according to their conscience and without having to answer to a master. This is an effective way of discrediting one's opponent and one that has been documented by Charteris-Black (2005), in his analysis of Margaret Thatcher's discourse. It is also interesting to point out the cultural situatedness of *Γιουσουφάκι*/ Giousoufaki, as only Greeks could appreciate the extent of its associations. Angenot (1995) also makes this point, as he observes that, in persuasive texts, historical figures and events are often treated like entities whose significance is shared among everyone belonging to the particular cultural community. Therefore, no particular introduction or explanation is needed when they are used in texts for rhetorical purposes.

In Extract 6.19 17N paint a picture of Greek society that brings to mind scenarios of oppressive regimes and outdated, dangerous practices that result in the people's freedom being restricted:

Extract 6.19

Αποκαλύφθηκε περίτρανα, ότι η λογοκρισία βασιλεύει, ο έλεγχος της ροής των πληροφοριών από την εκτελεστική εξουσία είναι ολοκληρωτικός, ότι η ελευθεροτυπία και η ελευθερία στην πληροφόρηση του πολίτη είναι ανύπαρκτες, ότι μεσαιωνικές πρακτικές επικρατούν στα νοσοκομεία.

(68: 699)

[It has been proved that censorship reigns, that the control of the flow of information from the authorities is complete, that free press and free information for citizens do not exist, that medieval practices are the rule in hospitals.]

Historical periods like the Middle Ages and political regimes like monarchy are employed here by 17N to describe the country's state as they perceive it. The metaphorical expressions used in Extract 6.19 bear negative associations that have nothing to do with democracy and, in fact, are the exact opposite of democracy. This is one of 17N's ways of presenting an overall picture of a society that no one would like to live in; it is also a very simplified and one-dimensional way of describing a complex and multifaceted social situation. The fact that they choose monarchy and medieval practices to talk about the situation in the media and the hospitals immediately challenges the reader's understanding of the given political regime. These metaphorical expressions want to emphasise 17N's notion that there is no real freedom of the people

if everything is tightly controlled, in a state where not even the right to decent health care is respected. In the next section, I will examine another source domain that provided 17N with more tools to present a negative picture of Greek society.

6.7 The FOOD, DRINK AND COOKING source domain

The source domain of FOOD, DRINK, AND COOKING is realised via 64 metaphorical expressions found in 17N's corpus, which represent 2 percent of the total number of metaphorical expressions in my analysis. It is shown in Tables 36-38 in Appendix 2.

6.7.1. Quantitative analysis

This domain includes the sub-domains of EATING AND FOOD, COOKING AND SERVING, and DRINKING. The first sub-domain is the largest one, involving 39 expressions and 20 different types of expressions, as Table 6.7 shows. It is also the most varied one in terms of different tokens, as its type/token ratio is 0.51. This ratio is high when compared to other ratios that described metaphorical expressions belonging to other source domains; in fact, all the sub-domains of FOOD, DRINK and COOKING display comparatively high type/token ratios, which means that this domain is quite varied. The sub-domain of DRINKING is the most limited, involving only four tokens and two types of metaphorical expressions.

Table 6.7: FOOD, DRINK AND COOKING

SOURCE DOMAIN	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/token ratio
EATING AND FOOD	20	39	0.51
COOKING AND SERVING	7	21	0.33
DRINKING	2	4	0.50
TOTAL	29	64	0.45

The most frequent expression in this domain is *τροφοδοτώ*/to cater, which has nine metaphorical occurrences in the communiqués. Most of the metaphorical expressions in Tables 36-38 are repeated few times or occur only once in 17N's corpus. They are all conventionally used as metaphorical expressions in Modern Greek, even the ones that were not found in the HNC. These latter expressions are only two, namely *καβουρντίζω*/ to brown and *ξεζουμάω*/ to squeeze/suck dry. A possible reason why these expressions were not found in the HNC is that they are morphological and phonetic variants; there are more than two alternative spellings and endings for them.

I will now discuss some of the expressions related to this domain.

6.7.2. A qualitative approach to the FOOD, DRINK, AND COOKING domain in 17N's corpus

In Extract 6.20, 17N refer to the agreement the Greek government made with an American internet provider in order to offer internet services in Greece. Normally, these services would be provided by *OTE*, which is owned by the Greek state and is the biggest provider of phone and internet services in Greece. 17N oppose to these services being offered by private companies as well as *OTE*.

Extract 6.20

Τι συμφωνία με άλλη αμερικάνικη εταιρεία, για προσφορά υπηρεσιών ιντερνέτ με στόχο να καταβροχθίσουν τον ΟΤΕ σαν γνήσιοι κλέφτες!

(80: 852)

[What a deal with a different American company, to offer internet services, aiming at devouring OTE like genuine thieves!]

The competition that *OTE* would inevitably be subjected to if private companies offer similar services would result to *OTE* being weakened financially. 17N present the Greek government and the American company as wanting to eat *OTE*. The choice of the verb *καταβροχθίζω*/ to devour intensifies the greediness and the aggressiveness with which *OTE* will be eaten. The simile *σαν γνήσιοι κλέφτες*/ like genuine thieves makes it clear that the deal mentioned in the extract would not be to *OTE*'s or the Greek people's best interests.

In Extract 6.21, 17N deal with the privatization of Chalyps Cements, a cement company which belonged to the Greek state. They claim that two more cement manufacturing companies are about to be sold to private citizens; these companies are Chalkis Cements and AGET – Hercules.

Extract 6.21

Και ότι το ξεπούλημα της Χάλυψ δεν είναι παρά το ορντέβρ, στο μεγάλο τσιμπούσι τηςτσιμεντοβιομηχανίας, αφού θα ακολουθήσουν τα πλούσια πιάτα που λέγονται Τσιμέντα Χαλκίδας και κυρίως ΑΓΕΤ – Ηρακλής.

(48: 526)

[Chalyps's sellout is nothing but the hors d' oeuvres in the big feast of the cement industry, since the rich courses called Chalkis Cements, and mainly AGET- Hercules, will follow.]

The Greek cement companies are again presented as food which will be consumed by their buyers. 17N elaborate on this mapping by presenting Chalyps Cements as *ορντέβρ/ hors d'oeuvres*, Chalkis Cements and AGET – Hercules as *πιάτα/ courses* that will follow, and the whole procedure as a *τσιμπούσι/ feast*. In this way they highlight the fact that rich resources will be taken advantage of by private citizens rather than the Greek state, and that this will give them pleasure and satisfaction. The use of the adjective *πλούσια/ rich* which is also metaphorically used to modify *πιάτα/ courses* intensifies the value of the cement companies and their inherent potential for exploitation. Moreover, the construction of Greek companies as something that can be eaten puts them in the place of the victim, while the Greek government is portrayed as

an accomplice to the crime of the companies being privatized and therefore eaten. This makes it just and legitimate for 17N to attack the Greek government as well as Greek and foreign businessmen who participate in such actions, since 17N assumes the role of the protector of the Greek people's interests.

Koller (2004b: 114-171) points out that metaphorical expressions related to food and eating entail that when something is eaten, it ceases to exist. In particular, feeding on something results in incorporating it; this involves an element of aggression in the process of eating, which makes the related metaphorical expressions quite strong. In extract 6.21 the focus is not so much on the aggressive aspect of eating but rather on the richness and sumptuousness of the feast. Thus, the value of the entities that will be destroyed and lost, if eaten, is highlighted. However, the element of violence and aggression in relation to food can be observed in other metaphorical expressions that 17N use, like, for instance, the use of sharks in the previous chapter. Even though the extract does not explicitly mention eating, sharks are associated with greediness and aggressive feeding habits; the source domains of animals and food are thus combined to highlight the effects of 17N's targets destructive actions.

I will now turn to the RELIGION source domain.

6.8 The RELIGION source domain

The source domain of RELIGION involves 48 metaphorical expressions which amount to 1.51 percent of the total number of expressions in my analysis. It is presented in Tables 39 and 40 in Appendix 2.

6.8.1. Quantitative analysis

This source domain is divided in two sub-domains, RELIGION/BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS and METAPHYSICAL. The first sub-domain is much more extensive, including 43 tokens of expressions. It is also quite varied in terms of types of metaphorical expressions, especially in the sub-domain of RELIGION/BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS, as Table 6.8 shows:

Table 6.8: RELIGION

SOURCE DOMAIN	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/token ratio
RELIGION/BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS	23	43	0.53
METAPHYSICAL	2	5	0.4
TOTAL	25	48	0.52

The most frequent expression in this domain is *φαρισαίος*/ Pharisee, which occurs 10 times in the communiqués, and which is conventionally used in Modern Greek to denote hypocrisy. 17N also use other conventional expressions related to religion, such as *παράδεισος*/ paradise, *τροπάρι*/ hymn, *άγγελος*/ angel, and *νονός*/ godfather. All of these expressions have high percentages of metaphorical occurrences

in the HNC, and they are always metaphorical in the communiqués, as Table 39 shows. There are, however, two instances of expressions that are not found in the HNC: one is *αυτολιβανίζομαι*/ to incense oneself and the other is *Άγιος Μπακογιάννης*/ Saint Bakogiannis. The first expression is a compound word that 17N has coined in order to make fun of people who praise themselves, as will become obvious in the qualitative analysis. The second expression refers to a Greek right-wing politician that 17N killed, Pavlos Bakogiannis. The adjective *άγιος*/ saint, which 17N placed before his name, can be found in the Greek language as a metaphorical expression on its own or with other words; in the data, however, it is found only coupled with *Μπακογιάννης*/ Bakogiannis, functioning as a two-word phrase, which is why its first letter is capitalized. Zinken's (2003) notion of intertextual metaphors, which has been discussed with reference to specific metaphorical expressions in Chapter 5, is relevant here. The phrase *Άγιος Μπακογιάννης*/ Saint Bakogiannis is rhetorically effective within a specific cultural context and point in time, and is motivated by shared knowledge regarding the circumstances of Bakogiannis' death. For this reason, only a particular group of people can appreciate it and are expected to react to it by 17N.

6.8.2. A qualitative approach to the RELIGION domain in 17N's corpus

In Extract 6.22, 17N employ the expression *φαρισαίος*/ Pharisee metaphorically to describe members of the Greek left-wing parties.

Extract 6.22

Παραπάει το πράγμα μ' όλους αυτούς τους φαρισαίους επαναστάτες και τα οράματά τους. (25:302)

[The situation has gone too far with all these Pharisee revolutionaries and their visions.]

The left-wing politicians are considered by 17N to be hypocrites, and to pretend to be revolutionaries while in reality they are not. Similarly, in Extract 6.23, 17N accuse Greek politicians, judges, and editors, of hypocrisy. In particular, they depict them as praising themselves for being honest and fair, when they did not dare confiscate Andreadis' property, even though he was guilty of economic crimes. Andreadis was a prominent and influential businessman of the time.

Extract 6.23

Ποιος λοιπόν πολιτικός φορέας, ποια δικαστική αρχή, ποιο έντυπο που σήμερα αυτολιβανίζεται ότι έχει αρχές και αγωνίζεται για κάθαρση ζήτησε να γίνει κατάσχεση των περιουσιακών στοιχείων του Ανδρεάδη;
(30:349)

[Which political sector, which judicial authority, which printed edition that is today incensing itself for having principles and for struggling for purification, has asked for the property of Andreadis to be confiscated?]

17N employ metaphorical expressions related to religion to expose the hypocritical behavior of their targets. Being an organisation of extreme left ideology, 17N was probably not so favorably predisposed towards religious practices, though

they never attacked religion or the Greek Orthodox Church directly. This would have been very risky to do in a country like Greece, where the Orthodox Church is very powerful and influential, and plays an important role in the Greek people's everyday life. The metaphorical expressions drawing from the RELIGION source domain that they chose, however, exploit familiar religious practices (like the use of incense in churches) and terminology to denote hypocrisy and a behaviour that is empty of meaning. Moreover, they exploited the negative associations of well-known historical and biblical figures like the Pharisees, who are still prominent in religious contexts in Modern Greece.

In this extract, one can also notice the link between the source domains of RELIGION and CLEANLINESS that 17N brings into play. The use of *κάθαρση*/purification very close to *αυτολιβανίζεται*/incensing accentuates the common theme that being clean equals being close to God. It also brings forth the practice of incensing in order to get rid of evil spirits, which is popular in Greek Orthodox households; agents of evil and unwanted influences have traditionally been linked to dirt (see also section 5.3 and particularly extract 5.9). 17N exploits these themes which are deeply familiar to the Greek reader to point out the discrepancy between its targets' positive presentation of themselves and their actual value, which is reflected in their actions rather than their words.

In Extract 6.24, 17N present themselves as innocent angels:

Extract 6.24

Ένα πράμα νομίζουμε ότι είναι καθαρό. Σε σχέση μ' όλους αυτούς, εμείς είμαστε αγγελούδια.

(26: 313)

[We think that one thing is clear. Compared to all these people, we are angels.]

In this case, 17N exploit the positive associations that the expression *αγγελούδια*/angels has. Angels are commonly seen as symbols of purity and innocence, as evidence from the HNC confirms: in 67 out of the 81 metaphorical occurrences of this expression in the HNC, the positive evaluation of the associations with innocence, purity and kindness was prominent. 17N's innocence in this context is a relative attribute, as it emerges when the organisation is compared to "all these people", who, in this extract, are members of the right-wing party Nea Dimokratia. We can see that 17N exploit not only the negatively evaluated expressions related to religion, but also the positively evaluated ones.

I will now discuss the PROFESSIONS source domain.

6.9 The PROFESSIONS source domain

This source domain involves 30 tokens of metaphorical expressions and represents 0.95 percent of the expressions I am including in this analysis. It is presented in Table 41, Appendix 2.

6.9.1. Quantitative analysis

The PROFESSIONS domain involves four different types of expressions, as Table 6.9 shows. Its type/token ratio is comparatively low, amounting to 0.13 percent.

Table 6.9: PROFESSIONS

SOURCE DOMAIN	Types of metaphorical expressions	Tokens of metaphorical expressions	Type/ token ratio
WORK/PROFESSIONS	4	30	0.13
TOTAL	4	30	0.13

Χωροφύλακας/ policeman/warden is the most frequent among the metaphorical expressions in this domain, occurring 22 times in the communiqués. All of the occurrences of *χωροφύλακας*/ policeman/warden in the communiqués are metaphorical, and the same holds for *χασάπης*/ butcher. *Μπος*/ boss, which occurs twice in the communiqués and three times in the HNC, is a peculiar instance of an expression, as the English word is used in the Greek language and is spelled with Greek characters. This expression is used by 17N to refer the American “bosses” of Greek politicians. Finally, the expression *αμερικανοδουλεία*/ American slave trade is a neologism that 17N created to refer to the practice of Greeks becoming enslaved to American interests and making it their job to serve them. Predictably, it is not found in the HNC or in Modern Greek dictionaries.

I will now illustrate the use 17N made of expressions related to different professions.

6.9.2. A qualitative approach to the PROFESSIONS domain in 17N's corpus

In Extract 6.25, 17N state their decision to attack the American military base in Athens. Part of the justification they offer for this decision is that American foreign policy aims at controlling the Eastern Mediterranean area and therefore American soldiers function as policemen in this area.

Extract 6.25

Αποφασίσαμε να χτυπήσουμε και πάλι τη στρατιωτική δύναμη κατοχής της χώρας μας, τις δυνάμεις του αμερικάνικου ιμπεριαλισμού. Τους τρομοκράτες, χωροφύλακες, φονιάδες των λαών ολόκληρης της περιοχής της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου και Μέσης Ανατολής.

(20:272)

[We have decided to hit again the military occupation power in our country, the forces of American imperialism. To hit the terrorists, the policemen, the murderers of the peoples of all the East Mediterranean and Middle Eastern areas.]

17N refer to the Americans as terrorists and murderers, and to the American foreign policy tactics as imperialism. The use of *χωροφύλακας*/ policeman in this context is also evaluated very negatively, as it implies that American soldiers exercise their power and authority in a country other than their own. Besides, policemen are viewed negatively in 17N's communiqués as a whole, and they are one of the organisation's main targets. In a similar vein, 17N call the members of the Turkish army *χασάπηδες*/ butchers:

Extract 6.26

Οι χασάπηδες λοιπόν της Άγκυρας, για να χρησιμοποιήσουμε κι εμείς τη Δυτική ορολογία, μπορούν να εισβάλλουν, να καταστρέφουν, να καταλαμβάνουν ανενόχλητα το ένα τρίτο της Κύπρου.

(59: 636)

[So, the butchers of Ancyra, to use the Western terminology, can invade, destroy, and occupy one third of Cyprus without being hassled.]

In Extract 6.26, 17N refer to the Turkish invasion in Cyprus, and describe the Turkish army's conduct in the island of Cyprus as very violent. The scenario activated by the use of the expression *χασάπηδες*/ butchers involves images of blood and massacre, which render the expression particularly strong. In Greek, *χασάπης*/ butcher, when used metaphorically, has a negative semantic prosody; in the HNC, 48 out of the 53 metaphorical occurrences of *χασάπης*/ butcher involved violence and bloodshed. It is interesting to notice that 17N employ the particular expression but claim that they are “using the Western terminology”. This comment refers to the US government calling Saddam Hussein a “butcher”, a metaphorical expression which is extensively analysed by Rohrer (1995). This metaphorical expression, among others, played a significant role in supporting the US government's argument that a military intervention in Iraq was necessary. 17N here use the Americans' argument against them, and against the Turks, too. In this way they state their opposition to American foreign policies around the world, attack the US government's credibility, and present a violent and brutal image of the Turkish army. Extract 6.26 illustrates that

metaphorical expressions are communicated across texts, and that they can be exploited in different ways depending on the discourse goals of each context.

6.10 Summary and discussion

In this chapter I have discussed metaphorical expressions that were used by 17N to realise the source domains of MOVING AND STOPPING, LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS, BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION, CONTAINER, HISTORY AND POLITICS, FOOD, DRINK, AND COOKING, RELIGION, and PROFESSIONS. These source domains were predominantly realised via expressions that presented a pessimistic picture of Greece's political and social situation and they were employed in ways that aimed at discrediting 17N's opponents and targets. As I have shown, the majority of the metaphorical expressions related to these source domains are highly conventional, with some instances of novel expressions. Moreover, the scope of several of the source domains discussed in this chapter is generally wide, allowing for their exploitation by 17N in a variety of ways.

This group of source domains provided 17N with rich conceptual and linguistic resources from which to draw in order to support their argumentative strategies. They exploited these resources in different and sometimes very creative ways and they produced scenarios of destruction, oppression, absence of progress, but also of incompetence, dishonesty, ridiculousness and servility. These scenarios were either directly connected to 17N's opponents and targets or indirectly connected to them, when they referred to negative and undesirable situations for which they were

responsible. 17N combined these different scenarios in their discourse and produce a complex system of metaphorical expressions and underlying conceptual metaphors which they use to persuade their audience of the justice of their violent acts.

I have also illustrated 17N's tendency to insist on the negative aspects of Greece's state of affairs and to present the political and social problems as insoluble. Even moving forwards and moving upwards are depicted as negative processes in the context of the organisation's texts. Of course, it does not follow that their readers would necessarily agree with them; the scenarios proposed by their metaphors can be challenged. Still, 17N do not leave much space to their reader to question the truth of their words; they present their worldview as common sense and their course of action as the only effective one.

The representation, or perhaps at times the misrepresentation of Greece's situation by 17N is another one of their rhetorical strategies, which aim at justifying their violent acts. Their attacks on the political, financial and social status quo and on their opponents' credibility construct them as the only just and constructive force in Greek society. They alone have the Greek people's best interest as their first priority. Therefore, their course of action should be seen as legitimate, and as the only viable answer to Greece's overwhelming problems. The overarching theme of 17N as benefactors of the Greek people is present in this chapter as well as in the previous one.

In the following chapter I will demonstrate how particular metaphorical expressions function rhetorically in one of 17N's communiqués.

CHAPTER 7 – CASE STUDY: THE MEGA CHANNEL

COMMUNIQUE

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will analyse a communiqué written by 17N in order to show how particular metaphorical expressions function rhetorically in their discourse context. The text I have chosen for this purpose was written by 17N in 1995 and refers to the attack against the Greek TV channel MEGA Channel with rocket bombs.

I chose this text because it contains instances of some of the most frequent and typical metaphorical expressions that 17N use, and also because of its size. Most of 17N's texts are quite long, as can be seen in Appendix 4. Very few communiqués are shorter but these are mostly leaflets the size of two or three paragraphs, and they are not so representative of the organisation's discourse. The MEGA Channel text is suitable for this analysis because it consists of the main communiqué, which I will be analysing, and a long postscript⁶, which refers to a completely different incident and has been omitted from this analysis; therefore, the text is long enough to contain

⁶ Regarding the communiqué's structure, 17N sometimes attached postscripts to their texts before sending them to newspapers for publication. They used the postscripts as extra space where they made public their views on different and irrelevant issues than the one talked about in the main communiqué. This practice offers an insight to their writing habits; it seems that they wrote the main text and then added bits to it until it was time to make it public. They added information they wanted to communicate, regardless of its relevance to the main issue or to the hit they had carried out. During their trial, one of the organisation's members stated that they often wrote the main texts long before they carried out the attacks, and then added other information over the time (Koufontinas, 2002). The omission of the postscript, therefore, does not affect the content or the coherence of the MEGA Channel text.

numerous instances of metaphorical expressions, and short enough to be analysed as a whole.

Another reason I chose this text is that it refers to a particularly violent hit against a privately owned TV station, which is not usually considered a threat to the people, at least not in a democratic regime. In addition, this hit goes against 17N's stated practice of attacking individual targets in order to avoid mass casualties and the killing of innocent bystanders. As a result, in this text 17N needed to be extra careful in justifying the choice of their target; so, they produced an emotionally charged communiqué trying to build an argument against the TV station's management and the way they handled the hit, and also against the Greek media in general. Metaphor played a substantial role in building and presenting this argument.

The original Greek communiqué can be found in Appendix 3, along with its translation in English. For the reader's convenience I have numbered both the English and the Greek versions of the communiqué. The numbering of the text follows its division in paragraphs by its producers and therefore preserves its structure while facilitating the tracking of the relevant metaphorical expressions.

My translation of the communiqué in English tries to remain close to the original text and to preserve its style and syntax. The translation of the metaphorical expressions is carried out according to the issues discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.7. In the numbered text, I have used bold letters for the metaphorical expressions that refer to 17N, to their targets, and to the political situation in Greece as they perceived it. When the reader of the English version comes across metaphorical expressions that have not been highlighted, then they are either irrelevant to the aforementioned topics

or a result of the translation to English, which means that they were not metaphorical in the Greek text.

I will now present the content and the general structure of the MEGA Channel communiqué.

7.2 Content and structure of the MEGA Channel communiqué

7.2.1. The text's content

As I have mentioned, the text refers to the attack, with two rocket bombs, against the buildings of Mega Channel. The text's title is indicative of its purpose: it is an announcement made by the organisation and, at the same time, a denunciation and an accusation of the people the organisation is targeting. The purpose of announcing and claiming the attack is made obvious in paragraphs 1 through 7. In these paragraphs 17N inform their reader that they used the rocket bombs to hit the channel's buildings and they provide the exact date and time their hit took place. They also provide information regarding the telephonic warning they claim they had given to newspaper Eleutherotypia about this hit. In paragraphs 5 – 7, in particular, 17N present the media's reaction to this warning and they claim that the media had reached a previous agreement to conceal the telephonic warning from the Greek people.

In paragraphs 8 – 13, 17N present their own view of what took place after their hit and of the reasons behind the Greek media's reaction. The denunciatory purpose of the text is made very clear in paragraph 12, where the word *καταγγέλουμαι*/ denounce is

used, and has to do with denouncing the Greek media's alleged plot to conceal 17N's warning before their hit. However, most of the text is characterised by an accusatory and condemning tone, as 17N criticise Greek newspapers, TV channels, and radio stations in general. The argument that informs the communiqué is that there is a scheme, devised by Greek media owners who follow the directions of American CIA and FBI agents, to discredit 17N in the eyes of the Greek people by presenting them as common criminals who tried to kill the people working in MEGA Channel. This will cause the Greek people to mistrust 17N and to believe the authorities and the media instead; it will also give the authorities an excuse to interfere in the lives of the citizens and to violate their rights by entering their houses. This will be done in the name of searching for the members of the dangerous 17N and will entail accusing and arresting suspects.

In paragraphs 14 – 24, 17N continue building their case about the media following the orders of American agents; however, they do not refer exclusively to the MEGA Channel attack anymore but mainly to the evidence allegedly found in the archives of ex-socialist secret services, which, as the media claim, involves 17N. The organisation uses the rest of the communiqué to demonstrate the falseness of this allegation and to discredit the media, the American secret services (especially in paragraphs 20 – 22), and a particular Greek politician, Minister Papathemelis, who is presented as participating in the overall scheme.

Finally, in the last three paragraphs (24 - 27), 17N repeat their accusation against MEGA Channel and present, in a few sentences, an overall picture of the decay of Greek society as they see it. They conclude by declaring that they will not be

intimidated by the media's scheme against them and that not only will they not postpone or cancel their activity but they will expand it in order to act as if there were many 17Ns.

The main participants in the text, therefore, are: 17N; the Greek media in general, and particularly MEGA Channel, newspaper Eleutherotypia, and Sky Radio Station; the journalists and other employees of these media; the ownership and management of the media; the CIA, the FBI, and their agents; Greek minister Papatthemelis; the Greek people; and, finally, Greek justice. The journalists and media employees are treated like potential victims who are kept in the dark, as are the Greek people. The Greek media's ownership and management, led by CIA and FBI agents, are presented as plotting against 17N in order to spoil the organisation's reputation and uncover their identity. The media in general are presented as mouthpieces for American interests that consistently lie to the Greek people. Minister Papatthemelis is shown to participate in this scheme by purporting to have evidence concerning 17N, which would make its uncovering a matter of time. Finally, the Greek judiciary system does not assume its role and does not punish the guilty ones; on the contrary, it tries to benefit from the chaotic situation that exists in the country. 17N, in the midst of all this, present themselves as the only ones who act in the people's best interest.

7.2.2 Textual pattern of the communiqué

The communiqué's textual structure is consistent with the Problem-Solution textual pattern which is described in Hoey (2001:123-141) as one of the most popular

patterns of text organisation. This pattern, in its simplest form, begins with the description of a situation an aspect of which is problematic and requires a response, and ends by a positive evaluation or a positive result, which is offered as a solution to the initial problem. In between the problem and the response/solution stage there may be a recommendation or plan of what will count as a response. A negative response to the initial issue does not 'solve' the problem; in this case, the pattern is recycled until a positive result or a positive evaluation is reached which will count as a solution. A negative evaluation of the initial problem can sometimes be so severe as not to admit further response. The elements of this textual pattern (namely the problem, the response, and the solution) are attributed to the participants in the text, including the writer and the reader, who is invited to recognise the problem and proceed to evaluations.

Hoey observes that negative evaluation items, such as words and phrases which are negatively viewed in the text's context, can be used to signal the problem, and they can be assigned to one or more of the text's participants. In this way the participant(s) are held accountable for a certain situation which needs to be resolved. The signals can have inherent problematic value, as Hoey puts it; he claims, for instance, that the word "burglary" (2001:126) will most probably be negatively valued in a text and is likely to be interpreted as a signal of a problematic situation. Alternatively, signals can be seen as problematic within a particular text. The Problem - Solution pattern can be signaled by means of explicit or evoked signals; in the latter case, the signals are words and phrases which evoke an evaluation in the reader, rather than being explicitly negative.

In the case of the MEGA Channel communiqué, the first paragraph of the text introduces the situation, which is the rocket bomb attack and the Greek media's reaction to it, and immediately alludes to its problematic aspect, which is signaled with the metaphorically used word «*τυφλό*»/ “blind”. This word is in quotation marks because it is not claimed by the organisation but ascribed to the media, and therefore 17N disassociate themselves from what the word entails. The problem inherent in this word is that 17N carried out an attack without taking into consideration the people they were going to affect and without having carefully considered their victims. In other words, a blind hit disregards the possibility of ‘innocent’ people being hurt and therefore goes against 17N’s stated ideology and familiar method, which is attacking only the ones considered ‘guilty’ of crimes against the people.

In the context of 17N’s usual practice, therefore, characterising one of their hits as «*τυφλό*»/ “blind” is extremely problematic for the organisation. 17N use the first half of the communiqué, from paragraph 1 to 13, to describe the situation and establish the problem, and go on in paragraphs 14 – 26 to accuse the media of following foreign orders, thus introducing more problematic elements in the existing condition. In this latter half of the text the organisation describes a situation in which the media consistently lie to the people. In this way their claim regarding the blind hit is rendered worthless and an indirect justification is provided as to why they were chosen as 17N’s targets. The organisation, therefore, responds to the problems it introduces with negative evaluations and the introduction of further problems; the final solution that is offered in the text, which is regarded as positive, has to do with 17N expanding their

activity so as to bring justice to the Greek people. No other solution seems feasible within the repeated negative situations that have been depicted.

In the following section I will show how metaphorical expressions participate in the structure and coherence of the text and of 17N's argument.

7.3 Metaphorical expressions in the MEGA Channel communiqué

7.3.1. Distribution of the relevant metaphorical expressions in the communiqué

In the communiqué we find a range of metaphorical expressions related to different source domains. As far as their distribution is concerned, the relevant metaphorical expressions can be found throughout the text, with some variation regarding the concentration of expressions in different parts of the text. Given that the communiqué is divided in paragraphs of more or less similar size, I consider the occurrence of three, four, or five different expressions in the same paragraph as increased concentration of metaphorical expressions in the particular stretch of text. Paragraphs 3, 5, 6, 7, 17 and 25 do not include any relevant instances; of these, paragraphs 3, 5, 6 and 7 are located in the beginning of the communiqué and their role is mainly to provide the reader with factual information and not so much to interpret the facts or offer evaluative remarks. Metaphorical expressions are observed to concentrate in parts of the text that are more emotionally laden, as is the case in

paragraphs 4, 9, 13, 18, and 24, where 17N refer to their targets using unflattering descriptions and evaluative comments and offer their perception of the condition of Greek society. Paragraph 24 is the most populated by relevant metaphorical expressions as it is the only one which includes five instances. The placing of specific metaphorical expressions in particular points in the text, as well as their repetition and combination, participate in the building of a gradual tension in the text, as the authors' tone gradually changes from fairly simple and formal in the first eight paragraphs to progressively more emotional and charged until the communiqué's final paragraphs. 17N use metaphor for a range of other functions, as I will discuss below.

7.3.2. Analysis of the relevant metaphorical expressions

Metaphorical expressions play a significant role in the way 17N structure their argument in this communiqué. This is obvious from the first paragraph where, as I have mentioned, the metaphorical expression «*τυφλό*»/ “blind” serves as a signal of the problematic situation that 17N describe. This expression draws from the source domain of ILLNESS and has to do with the inability to see; it is used metaphorically by the media to accuse 17N of not being aware of the consequences of their actions, and it is reported in the text by 17N. The organisation place this ascribed expression in quotation marks, in order to disassociate themselves from it and thus indirectly deny the accusation; it is interesting to notice that they use the same expression in adverbial form to accuse the media of acting *τυφλά*/ blindly, in paragraphs 12 and 14 of the communiqué. In these cases *τυφλά*/ blindly is claimed by 17N. In particular, they hold

that the media followed the orders of American CIA and FBI agents in the case of the attack against MEGA Channel, and that they generally follow the orders of American agents by constructing a false scenario concerning evidence about 17N in the archives of Eastern European secret services. So, they do not operate independently but they are completely controlled by American interests, to a point where they cannot see for themselves. It is noticeable that 17N exploit «*τυφλό*»/ blind and *τυφλά*/ blindly in different ways to deny the accusation made against them by accusing the opposite side of the exact same thing: that they are not concerned with the interest and the welfare of the Greek people.

The location of the three expressions related to blindness in the communiqué is not accidental: the first one is in the very beginning of the text, reportedly used by the media and placed in quotation marks; the second one is found in paragraph 12, the same paragraph where 17N openly denounce the media's behaviour; and the third instance is found in paragraph 14, where 17N provide more information that is meant to discredit the Greek media. All three locations are critical points in the text in terms of introducing a topic and of declaring and reinforcing the stance taken by 17N against the media. The first occurrence, in particular, serves as an early framing of the issue that is going to be elaborated on in the whole text, namely the allegedly false accusation of 17N by the media. It also introduces the theme of being able to see as opposed to being blind, an opposition that 17N builds and exploits in order to present themselves as possessing valuable knowledge.

Closely related to the expressions relating to blindness, and, in fact, in antithetical relation to them, are two metaphorical expressions which are located in

paragraphs 11 and 13: these are *φως*/ light and *διαφωτιστικό*/ enlightening. These expressions draw from the source domain of LIGHT and are used to show that 17N understand the real intentions of the Greek media. These expressions participate in the creation of an antithesis between the way things appear and the way things really are in Greece, a scenario which has been introduced and discussed in Chapter 5. More importantly, these expressions play a major role in constructing a particular identity for 17N which has to do with them being able to discern truth from lies and being willing to share their knowledge with the people who are constantly being deceived. So, 17N assume the role of the people's enlightener and benefactor. As light allows one to see, and seeing facilitates understanding, while blindness is related to inability and ignorance, 17N emerge as wise, powerful and knowledgeable, rejecting the initial accusation which concerned a blind hit.

The scenario put forward by the organisation, which concerns their ability to see and understand, is also partly realised by expressions drawing from the CLEANLINESS source domain. These occur at four locations in the text, three of which are critical in terms of the organisation's argument structure. The first occurrence is in the beginning of paragraph 8, where the organisation talks about the situation being *ολοκάθαρα*/ clear, meaning that it is plain to see. This occurrence comes right after 17N's description of the media's reaction to the warning phone-call the organisation claims to have made, and right before 17N begin to interpret and criticise what went on after their attack. I should note two things as far as *ολοκάθαρα*/ clear is concerned: first, that the Greek expression is used with the prefix *ολο-* which serves to intensify and accentuate the meaning of the word, resulting in a word which means 'very, very

clean/clear'. And second, I should point out that, in Modern Greek, *καθαρός* corresponds to the English word 'clean' as well as 'clear'; so, even though in my English translation the reader will come across both 'clean' and 'clear', depending on the co-text, one should keep in mind that they correspond to the same Greek word which encapsulates the meanings of both English words.

Keeping this in mind, the second occurrence of a metaphorical expression related to cleanliness is in paragraph 19 and is again emphasised with the aid of a prefix: *ολοκάθαρο*/ clear refers to the conclusion that 17N reach after having offered their explanation regarding the media's reaction. The expression portrays this conclusion as plain to see, not only for 17N but also for the Greek people, as they have now been informed of 17N's interpretation of the facts. The most rhetorically significant use of an expression related to cleanliness, however, occurs in the beginning of the communiqué's final paragraph, where *καθαρό*/clear serves as a summary and a self-evident conclusion of everything that 17N has previously mentioned. At the same time, this expression serves as a closure which leaves no space for the reader to doubt 17N's claims, since they are so obvious and plain to see.

As far as the fourth instance of an expression drawing on the CLEANLINESS domain is concerned, this is used in a slightly different way than the other three. It occurs in the end of paragraph 22 and refers to the American CIA and FBI agents who, according to 17N, operate in Greece, and belong to the Greek anti-terrorist force. *Καθαροί*/clean is what, according to 17N, these agents would claim to be, after having fabricated information on 17N that would then be distributed to the media. In this case the expression is used ironically, as the agents would of course be guilty of fabricating

false evidence, which would make them dirty rather than clean. This use of *καθαροί*/clean is more related to innocence and the absence of guilt rather than clarity of seeing and understanding.

We see, therefore, a chain of linguistic metaphors related to cleanliness that spreads through the text, as three expressions are repeated in the first, middle, and final part of the communiqué. Overall, the concept of cleanliness is conceptually linked to the concepts of clarity of perception, light, and absence of obstructive elements that would hinder one's vision and thus render one blind. Moreover, the concept of cleanliness is linked to the absence of guilt, which is not so much related to perception as to innocence and purity. 17N exploit the emotional associations that the source domains of CLEANLINESS, LIGHT, and ILLNESS carry in order to create a scenario where their enemies are both guilty and unable to realise what they are doing, while 17N have the best intentions towards the people as well as knowledge of the truth. Within this broad scenario, the Greek people are placed in the position of a misled victim; this is done indirectly, since 17N keeps trying to persuade them of the justice of their actions, but also directly, with the help of metaphorical expressions like *παραπλανούν*/mislead, which occurs in paragraph 4. This expression refers to the media hiding and misrepresenting reality in order to manipulate the people.

Another chain of metaphorical expressions that participate in the construction of the metaphorical opposition between appearance and reality is related to the arts. These are: *παραμύθι*/ fairy tale, *σκηνοθεσία*/ staging, *σκηνοθέτησαν*/ staged, *θεατρinίστικες*/ theatrical, *προσκήνιο*/ spotlight, *ρόλο*/ role, *θέατρο*/ theatre, and *απομυθοποίηση*/ de-fictionalisation (no longer being a myth). These expressions are

located in the second half of the communiqué, from paragraphs 15 to 26, and 17N use them to refer to the scheme involving fabricated evidence against the organisation.

Παραμύθι/ fairy tale is repeated three times, once in paragraph 15 and twice in paragraph 24. 17N use this expression to describe the fabricated information, disseminated with the aid of the Greek media, which CIA and FBI allegedly aim to use in order to disband the organisation. They also use it to refer to another fabricated story which involved a fake police informer and had taken place in the past. This past incident is mentioned by 17N as additional evidence, aiming to show that it is not the first time that fabricated information is used against them. *Παραμύθι*/ fairy tale draws from the source domain of LITERATURE and triggers negative associations in the present context as it entails fictional elements which are linked to lying and intentional deception. *Παραμύθι*/ fairy also serves to introduce, frame and define the second issue that 17N discuss in their communiqué in order to support their claim that the media are lying, which, as I have mentioned earlier, begins in paragraph 14.

Each one of the rest of the art-related metaphorical expressions occurs once in the text, with *σκηνοθεσία*/ staging, *θεατρinίστικες*/ theatrical, *προσκήνιο*/ spotlight, and *ρόλο*/ role co-occurring in the same paragraph (18). These expressions draw from the same broad source domain of PERFORMANCE ARTS, and they are all used to talk about the American agents' scheme and Papatthemelis' part in it; this particular grouping is an extension of the chain of expressions related to the arts, and their clustering together intensifies the effect of putting up a performance for the eyes of the Greek people. Eubanks (2000) has noted that the clustering of metaphorical expressions is rhetorically significant and intensifies the impact that the expressions

would have if they were each used separately. The recurrence of a linguistic metaphor that has to do with staging, namely *σκηνοθέτησαν*/ staged in paragraph 22, further supports this metaphor chain, which closes with the use of *θέατρο*/ theatre in the penultimate paragraph. This last expression sums up the associations triggered by the previously used art-related linguistic metaphors and, along with *παραμύθι*/ fairy tale, frames the scenario of deception which underlies the second half of the communiqué.

As I mentioned earlier, 17N applied the same characterisation they had received from the media, namely *τυφλό*/blind, to accuse the media. Interestingly, they also blame the media's management and ownership of attacking them, even though they were the ones that launched rocket bombs against MEGA Channel. They use two particular metaphorical expressions to describe how the media treat them; these are *χτυπηθεί*/ hit and *βομβαρδίζουν*/ bomb, in paragraphs 10 and 11, respectively. The first expression refers to the media aiming to politically hit 17N in order to destroy them. The second expression talks about the organisation and the people in general being bombarded by pompous declarations concerning the sanctity of human life. Both expressions are related to the source domain of WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE.

By choosing these two expressions to describe the position they are in 17N immediately place themselves in the shoes of the victim and distort the existing situation in order to gain their readers' support. Even though *χτυπηθεί*/ hit and *βομβαρδίζουν*/ bomb occur once in the communiqué, they are rhetorically significant as they encapsulate 17N's assumed position in relation to their enemies. More importantly, these two expressions present 17N as metaphorically suffering from the same thing that they literally inflict to their targets, as it is the organisation who is the

expert on bombing and using violence. Thus, a paradox is created, as 17N literally bomb their targets, and in fact this communiqué is about one of their bombings; however, their opponents are accused of metaphorically bombing the people. The boundary between the literal and the metaphorical is manipulated and blurred; 17N's bombing is presented as safe, people-friendly and justified while the metaphorical bombing of the people with lies is presented as much more dangerous and with greater potential for damage. Moreover, the choice of these expressions has the effect of dramatising the media's course of action and of emphasising their aggressiveness.

17N's use of these expressions is an example of topic-triggering, whereby the source domain of the metaphorical expression is motivated by an aspect of the topic under discussion (Koller, 2004b; Semino, 2008). Topic-triggering and the blurring of the literal-metaphorical boundary are often exploited in order to gain credibility and to give the impression of a more valid argument, as the metaphorical expressions seem to 'fit in' better in the given scenario. In this case, topic-triggering is also used to draw the reader's attention to the allegedly cruel and unjust way the media treat 17N, foregrounding the unfavorable effects of the situation for 17N, while hiding the possible effects the rocket-bomb hit may have had on people's lives. Thus, the risk entailed in 17N's hit and the accountability for a dangerous action's consequences is shifted to their opponents.

A group of other metaphorical expressions that 17N employ in this communiqué participate in the construction of an overall image of corruption, a theme closely linked to deception and recurrent in the organisation's writings. Metaphorical expressions such as *γκάγκστερ/ gangster* (par.4), *σκυλοπνίχτες/ dog-drowners* (par.11),

μακιαβελική/ Machiavellian (par.12), *βαθιά παρακμή/ deep decay* (par.13,) *κατάρρευση/ collapse* (par.13), *σουλτάνοι/ sultans* (par.20), and *φασιστικού/ fascist-like* (par.23), which are scattered throughout the text, present a grim picture of the political and social reality in Greece. *Σουλτάνοι/ sultans* and *φασιστικού/ fascist-like*, in particular, are used by 17N to highlight the non-democratic character of the current regime as they see it. The organisation exploits the negative associations inherent in the source domains of these two expressions and presents the police and the anti-terrorist force as extreme and oppressive authorities in Greek society. *Μακιαβελική/ Machiavellian* is used to describe the behaviour of the management of MEGA Channel, as 17N consider their reaction to the rocket bomb attack part of a well thought-out scheme. This expression brings forth a malevolent aspect of the media's plan, presenting them as consciously risking innocent people's lives in order to promote their interests. *Γκάγκστερ/ gangster*, which refers to Greek media-leaders, also implies a dangerous, violent and illegal behaviour while *σκυλοπνίχτες/ dog-drowners* triggers the particularly negative associations of sailors being treated like animals and made to work in destroyed ships where their lives are in danger. As far as *βαθιά παρακμή/ deep decay* is concerned, the combination of the metaphorically used adjective before the noun intensifies the bleak condition that Greek society is presented to be in.

This latter expression which is found in the end of paragraph 13 co-occurs with *προχωρά/ walking* and *κατάρρευση/ collapse* to depict a pessimistic image of Greek society. Society is personified, since it is talked about in terms of moving in space; it is also presented as a decaying living organism; and finally, it is shown to move towards its collapse, which stands for the society's destruction. The use these different

metaphorical expressions in close proximity results in a dramatic effect; however, 17N can easily hide the complexities of the people and institutions that constitute ‘society’ behind dramatic metaphorical mappings. It would have been much more demanding to elaborate on specific problems of Greek society as well as their causes and possible solutions. Metaphorical expressions that have to do with movement are very conventional, as I discussed in Chapter 6, and they are particularly dominant in Western politics (Semino, 2008:92-95). Apart from *προχωρά/* walking which was mentioned above, in paragraph 4 17N use the verb *παραπλανούν/* mislead to refer to the media leaders and the influence they have over the people, which they misuse in order to manipulate public opinion. 17N also use the verb *οδηγούν/* lead in paragraph 8 to describe the influence American agents have over the Greek police force. Both of these expressions are found in the first part of the communiqué and in fact among its opening paragraphs. Their use establishes early on in the text who 17N consider as leaders and therefore responsible for the problematic situation they describe.

In fact, 17N make sure their readers know the American agents’ continuous failures in destroying the organisation. Their competence and value is mocked by 17N with the aid of two metaphorical expressions: one is *εγκέφαλοι/* brains and the other is *έσπασαν τα μούτρα/* broke their faces. The first expression is used in two points in the text, in paragraphs 8 and 23 to refer to the CIA and FBI agents who thought of the scheme against 17N. This expression is a combination of metaphor and metonymy since the agents are talked about in terms of their brains, which are parts of their bodies. At the same time, however, a particular body part is used to talk about abstract mental abilities which participated in the creation of a scheme. 17N place this

expression in strategic points in the text and repeat it towards the end to remind the reader of the dubious success of American agents against 17N. The second expression is also related to the source domain of THE HUMAN BODY and talks about the agents' failure in terms of injuries on their faces. The HUMAN BODY domain, thus, provides 17N with expressions that they use to ridicule their opponents; it also provides them, however, with an expression that structures their basic argument. This expression is *σκέλος*/ part/limb and it is very important for the text's coherence, as the scheme that 17N claims is being planned against them is presented in the text as consisting of three separate parts/limbs, as we see in paragraphs 9 and 15).

Towards the end of the communiqué, in paragraphs 24 and 27, the reader comes across two metaphorical expressions related to the source domain of FOOD. The first one is the fixed expression *δέσει η σάλτσα*/ sauce to set, and the second one is *τσιμπούσι*/ feast. They are both used to describe the behaviour of the media: in particular, the media are depicted as 'cooking' false information which, it is implied, they will offer to the Greek people. In the last paragraph, *τσιμπούσι*/ feast is what the media participate in, since they are being paid for their services as mouthpieces for the economically powerful. These two expressions give an informal and slightly ironic tone to the text's closing paragraphs, an effect that is reinforced by the presence of the expression *μαϊμού*/ monkey that 17N bring into play in paragraph 24. This expression is used to refer to a false 17N that a police informer had fabricated in the past in order to gain money, an episode that had ridiculed the police, who believed in the informer's lies and were led to a public fiasco. It seems that 17N want to close the communiqué by reinforcing their opponents' incompetence in the eyes of their readers.

The Greek judiciary system is also mentioned as trying to participate in the general feast. Mentioning justice in the last paragraph is rhetorically significant, even though it has not been mentioned anywhere else in the text; its placing last gives it special prominence, since the depiction of justice as indifferent to the problems of the people and as criminal itself legitimises 17N's chosen course of action. The use of *κουκουλώνουν*/ cover in the final paragraph is also significant as it summarises what 17N's targets and opponents have been presented as doing throughout the text: trying to cover up the real events and to disseminate false information.

Bringing this analysis to a close, I will briefly present the other relevant metaphorical expressions that the reader of the text will come across, even though they may not participate in the metaphor chains, clusters and subgroups that were previously presented. These are: *Βάζοντας*/ putting, which occurs in the second paragraph and refers to endangering the employees in MEGA Channel. This expression involves the conceptualisation of danger as a container where the TV station's workers were put in. *Προσθέταμε*/ added occurs in paragraph 4 and has to do with 17N reporting what they had said during the phone call; this is a very conventional metaphorical expression which is used in Modern Greek to refer to speech or writing. *Πίξουν*/ throw/shift occurs in paragraph 9 and talks about the responsibility about the possible victims from the bombing being 'thrown' on 17N. *Κατακραυγή*/ outcry is a conventional way of referring to a reaction of dislike and possibly anger that 17N feared would ensue from the people believing the media's lies. *Βαρύτητα*/ weight refers to the importance of the fabricated evidence against 17N; it is conventional to talk about significance and value in terms of weight. *Κατασκεύασαν*/ constructed, finally, appears in paragraph 24 and

refers to the fake 17N that had been fabricated in the past, as I mentioned above. This expression places the emphasis on the effort it took to manufacture a whole fake organisation, in order to make the fiasco that ensued even more prominent.

I will now comment on the communiqué's intended audience in order to place this analysis in a more complete perspective.

7.3.3. The communiqué's audience

As far as 17N's intentions in approaching their readers are concerned, I would argue that the text's purpose is to challenge and ultimately change the people's likely notion of the media and their role in everyday life. The communiqué is addressed to the Greek people and the denunciation of the media's behaviour is made for the Greek people to read. 17N are trying to persuade the people that what they see and hear in terms of information cannot be trusted. The concept of the media acting as the people's voice and as an objective and independent source of information is reversed and an image of purposeful deceit as well as intention to harm the employees in MEGA Channel is presented. The Greek people are mentioned twice in the communiqué: once in paragraph 12, where the denunciation takes place, and once in paragraph 26, the next-to-last paragraph, where 17N state that they have no intention of depriving the people of the entertaining spectacle that high-ranking journalists and media owners put on. In this way they are taking for granted that the people are, by now, aware of the deception taking place, which is rhetorically appropriate as they are preparing to bring the text and their argument to a closure. They are indirectly referring to their readers'

perceptiveness and thus presuppose that their previous line of reasoning has been accepted.

Having said this, 17N's overarching purpose in writing all the communiqués is to persuade the Greek people of the justice and necessity of the organisation's actions and of its very existence. They are also trying to gain the people's support and, in their early years at least, to motivate their readers to start a revolution, an objective that remained somehow abstract and unattainable as the organisation evolved. 17N tried to achieve this purpose by using views and arguments their readers could relate to, in order to reach them, but also by trying to alter or at least influence their views on certain issues. Overall, 17N are on the one hand presenting their readers with information they claim they alone possess, as the Greek people are constantly being kept in the dark, and on the other hand flatter their readers by assuming they have already understood the game that is played at their expense. This is a strategy they use in the MEGA Channel communiqué as well.

7.4 Summary and discussion

In their communiqué 17N hold that the media are instruments of American agents, of the authorities and the police, and that they do not operate as free and independent media, which is their role in society. This is why they were chosen as targets by 17N. The fact that they do not operate objectively, 17N argue, is proven by their reaction to 17N's warning and by their trying to conceal it. Their very reaction to the hit is used in this text as a justification and legitimisation of the hit, while very little

space is dedicated to explain why MEGA Channel, in particular, was chosen as a target in the first place.

It is very important for 17N to defend what they had announced as an essential element of their identity from the early days of their activity, which is their intention to protect the people and to punish only 'guilty' individuals. It is therefore much more important to use the text to restore their image in the eyes of the public than to justify why they chose to attack MEGA Channel. Moreover, perhaps it would have been difficult to explain attacking a TV station which did not have a distinct political character but focused instead on entertainment. The fact that they launched the rocket bombs during the evening newscast, which is the most popular newscast of the day, suggests they were also aiming at publicity for their action.

17N's argument in the MEGA Channel communiqué attempts to present 17N as the victim and the Greek media as the villain, twisting the scenario which puts the terrorist in the place of the villain. There is an overall paradox in the argument put forward in this communiqué: the attackers are being attacked. Metaphor was observed to play an important role in the construction of this paradox which is rhetorically essential for 17N, as it legitimises their attack and aims to attract the people's attention and sympathy. Moreover, the organisation creates an opposition between reality and the way things appear to be, in order to present themselves as bringers of knowledge and truth. The use of metaphor is essential in the construction of this opposition as 17N metaphorically use antithetical notions which are brought together in order to highlight their inherent oppositions. In addition, it allows 17N to avoid being very specific and detailed in putting forth their views by exploiting the inherent vagueness of

metaphorical expressions which tend to hide aspects of the entities under discussion while highlighting others. Metaphorical expressions indeed allow 17N to present very complex and difficult political and social issues in a brief and concise manner, overlooking their intricate aspects. This also allows them to present their conclusions as self-evident and common-sense. 17N exploit the negative associations inherent in the source domains of many of the metaphorical expressions it chooses in order to present a pessimistic picture of Greece's situation that would justify 17N's violent intervention.

Metaphorical expressions fulfill many different functions in this communiqué, all of which participate in building 17N's rhetoric and structuring their argument. In particular, metaphorical expressions were shown to contribute in the text's coherence, by introducing, framing, and closing the main issues 17N discussed. The relevant expressions were placed in strategic positions in the text in a way that structured the problem-solution textual pattern and created links between the expressions. The repetition of particular expressions created unity in the text and reinforced the organisation's points. Given that the relevant metaphorical expressions found in the MEGA channel communiqué are conventional expressions without particular creative extensions, their rhetorical effect lies mainly in the way they are combined in the text, as they create chains of metaphorical expressions which foreground and intensify the underlying scenario. These metaphoric chains are linked by repetition, extension and elaboration, and their effect is intensified by clusters of expressions occurring in important points in the text. The basic themes of deception and corruption are repeated

through different and similar linguistic expressions which recur in the text. This technique provides coherence and solidifies 17N's argument.

The examination of metaphorical expressions in a full text makes it easier for the reader to appreciate each expression's function and the way it is exploited by 17N, as the extended co-text provides more information regarding each expression's discourse environment. More importantly, it allows the reader to observe where particular expressions are placed and how they interact in the course of a full communiqué. In the next chapter I will present some evidence on the course of particular metaphorical expressions over time.

**CHAPTER 8 – ON DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS: AN
EXPLORATORY STUDY OF SELECTED METAPHORICAL
EXPRESSIONS**

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will attempt to show how 17N used specific metaphorical expressions over the 26 years of the organization's activity. I will use the electronic corpus of communiqués to trace the course of selected metaphorical expressions over this time and to show at which points they were used by the organisation. I will provide graphs that show each expression's dispersion in the communiqués and I will discuss the possible reasons that led 17N to use particular expressions in particular time periods.

The corpus of 17N's communiqués facilitates the tracking of the relevant metaphorical expressions over time, and it is an invaluable tool in carrying out diachronic analysis. However, the amount and variety of relevant metaphorical expressions which are shown in Appendices 2 and 3 render a complete diachronic analysis a sizeable project which is outside the scope of this thesis. In order to do justice to all the relevant metaphorical expressions, one would have to trace the course of each expression over time and then observe their use separately as well as in comparison. Moreover, the use of metaphorical expressions over the 26 years of 17N's

activity would have to be analysed with a view to the social and political circumstances of the time, the targets the organisation focused on, and, more interestingly, the presence of these or similar metaphorical expressions in the media, especially in newspapers and in television (for example, in the news and in political debates). For these reasons, this analysis will have to take place in the future as an independent project.

8.2 Selection of metaphorical expressions

I will discuss here the diachronic course of seven metaphorical expressions and my analysis will take place along the lines of an exploratory study aiming to demonstrate what this information could tell us about 17N's use of metaphorical expressions. I have selected these expressions according to two main criteria: The first criterion has to do with their frequency of occurrence in the corpus. I have not chosen to discuss expressions which occur only a few times (specifically, less than ten times), neither, of course, expressions that occur only once. On the other hand, it would not be very helpful at this point to discuss an expression such as *πάνω*/ up/above, which occurs 272 times in 17N's corpus, only for the reason that it is very frequent. This is because *πάνω*/ up/above is generally a very conventional metaphorical expression that occurs throughout the corpus and it is also very frequent in the HNC, as shown in Table 27.3, Appendix 2. So, its frequency is not that meaningful as far as 17N's discourse is concerned. This point brings me to the second criterion, which has to do with the significance of particular expressions for 17N, as this has been shown in

Chapters 5, 6, and 7. I have selected expressions which have been discussed in these chapters, either because they were idiosyncratic to the organisation's discourse or because they played an important part in 17N's rhetoric and in the structure of their arguments in the communiqués.

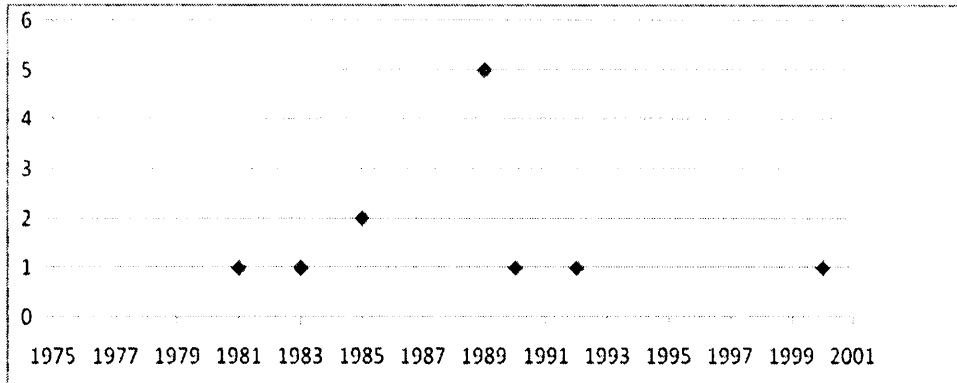
Specifically, I will present the diachronic course of the following expressions: *Καραγκιόζης/ Karagkiozis*, *θέατρο/ theatre*, *καθαρός/ clean/clear*, *πίσω/ back*, *εξωτερικό/ exterior/abroad*, *πάλη/ struggle*, and *παραμύθι/ fairy tale*. I selected *Καραγκιόζης/ Karagkiozis* because, as discussed in Chapter 5, section 5.1.2, it is an expression 17N use only metaphorically in the communiqués, even though this is not the norm in Modern Greek. It is not one of the very frequent expressions as it occurs 12 times in the communiqués but it is characteristic of the organisation. I chose to discuss *θέατρο/ theatre* for similar reasons; it comes up 20 times as a metaphorical expression in 17N's corpus, but it is important for the organisation's discourse, as it is never used metaphorically in the background corpus (the HNC). Moreover, it participates in the rhetorical construction of the metaphorical opposition between appearance and reality, which one of the major themes throughout 17N's writings. I selected *καθαρός/ clean/clear* because it is a frequent metaphorical expression, occurring 141 times in 17N's corpus, and also because it is an important element of the aforementioned rhetorical construct. In addition, it is characteristic of 17N's discourse, as in the HNC only about half of its occurrences are metaphorical (55.8 percent). *Πίσω/ back* was discussed in Chapter 6, section 6.2, as a frequent metaphorical expression which 17N use to show the direction they see Greece moving towards; it is conventionally used metaphorically in Modern Greek, as 73 percent of its instances in the HNC are

metaphorical. I chose to examine it in order to see if 17N talked about the country moving backwards in a particular point in time rather than throughout their writings. I also selected *εξωτερικό/ exterior/abroad* for the reason that it is quite frequent in the corpus, as it occurs 100 times and it is always used metaphorically. In addition, it is used to refer to one of the major issues that concerned 17N, namely Greece's relationship with several other countries such as the US, the UK, and Turkey. The country's external affairs were taken into consideration by 17N in their choice of targets, as is mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.3. I selected *πάλη/ struggle*, which occurs 50 times in the communiqués and is always used metaphorically, because it is an expression that encapsulates 17N's fight against what they perceived to be unjust around them, according to the Marxist tradition which is discussed in Chapter 5, section 5.10. Finally, I chose *παραμύθι/ fairy tale*, which has been discussed in detail in Chapter 7 and shown to be an important part of the organisation's rhetoric and argument in a full communiqué. *Παραμύθι/ fairy tale* is quite particular to the organisation's discourse, as 82.5 of its instances in the communiqués are metaphorical compared to 16.9 of its instances in the HNC. It occurs 33 times in 17N's corpus and it is mainly used to refer to the targets' deceitful behaviour.

I will now examine each of these expressions in turn.

8.3 Diachronic analysis

Figure 8.1: *Καραγκιόζης/ Karagiozis*



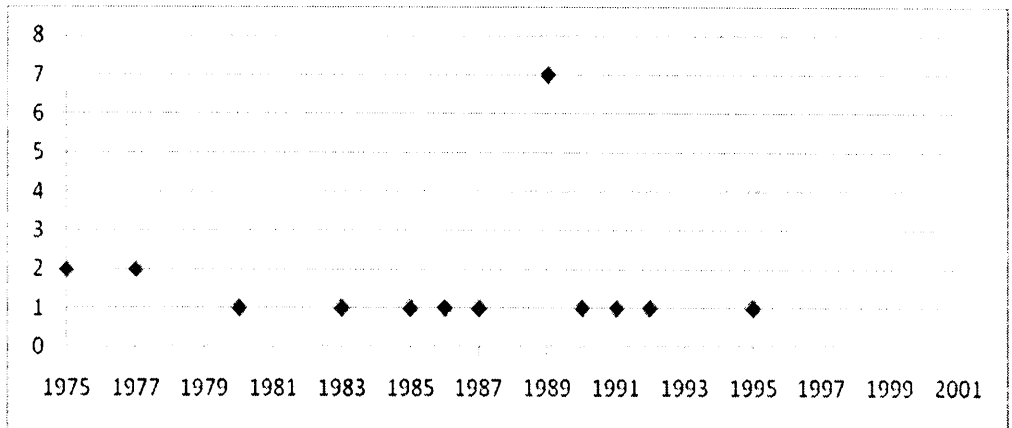
The graph shown above indicates the periods in time when 17N used *Καραγκιόζης/ Karagiozis* as a metaphorical expression in their texts. As the reader can see, the expression was first used in 1981. It occurred in a long communiqué that dealt with the bombings and arsons that took place in shopping malls in Athens; these bombings were not carried out by 17N but by other terrorist groups. 17N wrote this text to condemn acts of violence that targeted the public indiscriminately and to disassociate themselves from such hits. The expression was used once again in 1983 and twice in 1985, always to refer to Greek politicians in a ridiculing and discrediting manner. At this point I should mention that the density of an expression in a particular year does not necessarily mean that there were more instances of the expression concentrated in one text. One should keep in mind that 17N were more productive, in terms of the number of written texts, some years rather than others; moreover, some communiqués are significantly longer than others. This information is summarised in

Table 2, Appendix 4. In 1985, for instance, four different communiqués were written, while in 1983 there was only one text. Therefore, it is much more likely for a specific expression to occur more times in 1985 than in 1983, as is the case with *Καραγκιόζης/* Karagkiozis.

The expression occurs the most times in 1989, which is the year in which 13 different communiqués were produced by 17N. Three of these texts were leaflets the size of one or two paragraphs but the rest were long texts, so 1989 is a year in which at least ten average-length communiqués were produced. *Καραγκιόζης/* Karagkiozis reappears once in 1990, once in 1992, and once in 2000. 1990 and 1992 were also very productive years for 17N: they wrote 10 texts in 1990 and 7 texts in 1992.

Taking this numbers into consideration, it seems that the expression being more frequent in 1989 may indeed have some significance. If one looks more closely at the communiqués written in 1989, one will see that they refer to the Greek political scene and that there is a lot of commenting on Greek politicians, as well as responding to comments made in newspapers; this agrees with my finding that *Καραγκιόζης/* Karagkiozis is used to refer to Greek politicians, rather than, for instance, foreign agents in Greece, Turkish politicians, or the Greek police, which are also among 17N's targets.

Figure 8.2: *Θέατρο/ Theatre*

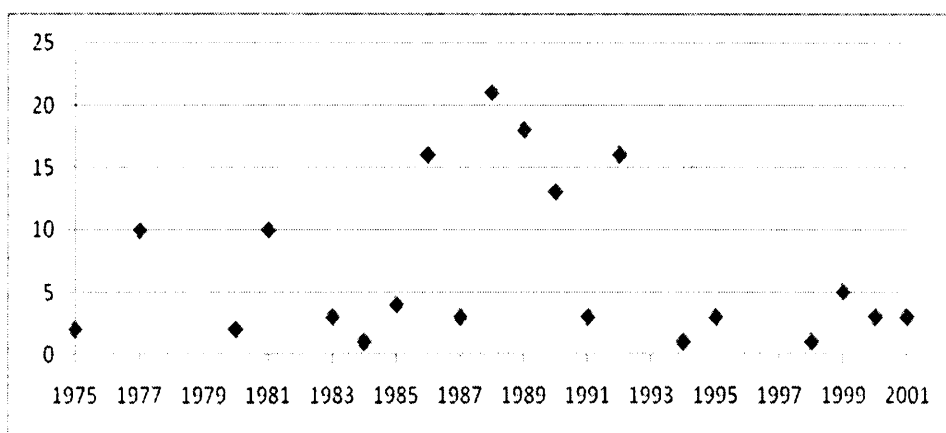


As far as *θέατρο/ theatre* is concerned, it first appears in the organisation's very first communiqué, and has a constant presence in the communiqués until 1995, where it appears for the last time. Specifically, it occurs once in 1980, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1990, 1991, 1992, and 1995, and twice in 1975 and in 1977. It occurs seven times in 1989, a year which, as I mentioned in the previous section, 17N wrote numerous texts referring to the Greek political scene.

It is interesting to notice that *θέατρο/ theatre* has a somewhat more regular presence in the organisation's discourse until 1995, which may indicate that it has been an important rhetorical device for them, useful for framing the theme of deception that they elaborated on in their writings. Its greater concentration in 1989, which correlates with *Καραγκιόζης/ Karagkiozis'* frequent occurrence that year, may not be accidental, as the two expressions participate in structuring 17N's argument claiming that the political world is in fact nothing but a show with deceiving and ridiculous characters. In addition, the fact that *θέατρο/ theatre* does not re-appear after 1995 can be linked with the organisation's choice of targets in the final years of their activity. An observation of the communiqués written after 1995 reveals that 17N focused mainly on

American and British targets and commented on international affairs rather than concentrating on the Greek political scene. Perhaps this is why they did not employ metaphorical expressions related to theatre, as these were mainly used to refer to the situation within their country.

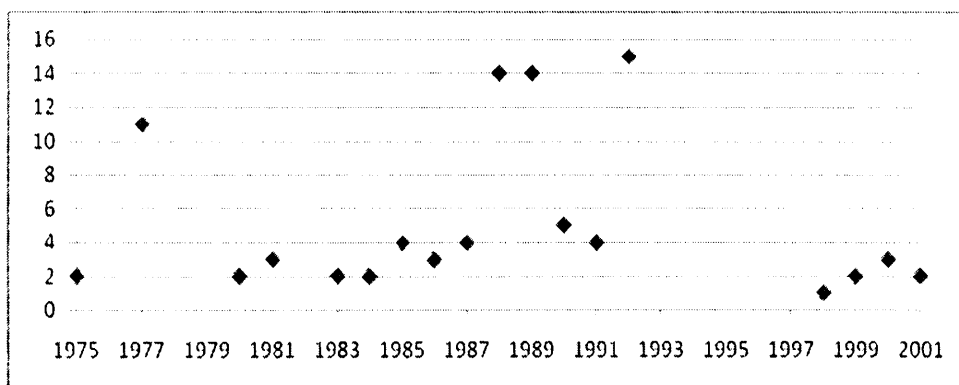
Figure 8.3: *Καθαρός/ Clean/clear*



Καθαρός/ clean/clear is a metaphorical expression that occurs in 17N's corpus much more frequently than the aforementioned ones. It is present from 1975 until their last text in 2001, with one occurrence in 1984, 1994 and 1998, two occurrences in 1975 and 1980, three occurrences in 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 2000 and 2001, four occurrences in 1985, five occurrences in 1999, ten occurrences in 1977 and 1981, thirteen in 1990, sixteen in 1986 and 1992, eighteen in 1989 and twenty-one in 1988. *Καθαρός/ clean/clear* is a particularly important metaphorical expression for 17N's rhetoric, as has been discussed in Chapters 5 and 7, and its consistent presence throughout the communiqués supports this claim. As can be seen in the above graph, the

expression is mostly concentrated in the period between 1986 and 1992, when 17N targeted a variety of different individuals, groups, and institutions, and also wrote a great number of communiqués; therefore, it cannot be explicitly linked with a particular group of targets or concerns that the organisation had at that period of time. Rather, the expression's dispersion indicates that 17N continuously exploited the entailments of the source domain of CLEANLINESS in order to build their arguments concerning their clarity of vision and understanding as well as their 'innocence' and benevolent intentions towards the Greek people. In this way they partly constructed the identity of knowledgeable benefactors which is characteristically found in their texts.

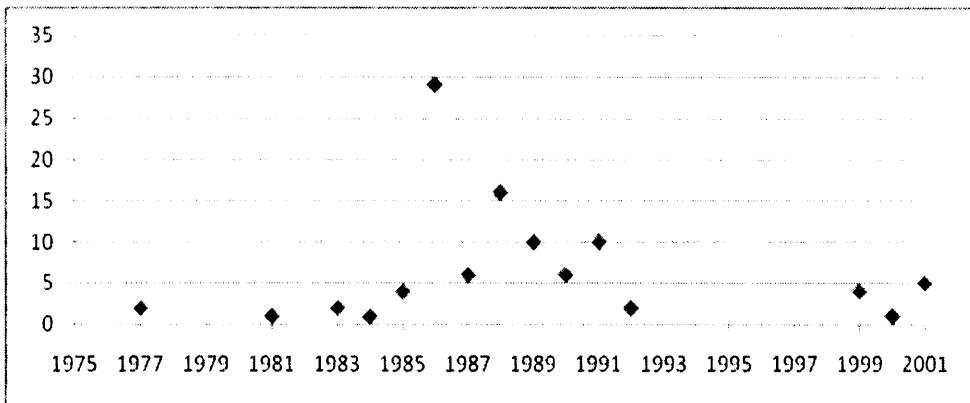
Figure 8.4: Πίσω/ Back



Regarding *πίσω/ back*, this is a metaphorical expression which 17N used in their texts to metaphorically construct an image of Greece moving backwards, in order to show that the country's political and social situation was grave. As the graph shows, it appears in the texts from 1975 to 2001, and it is a quite frequent, conventional metaphorical expression. This is supported by the HNC where 73 percent of its instances are metaphorical. *Πίσω/ back* occurs once in 1998, twice in 1975, 1980,

1983, 1984, 1999 and 2001, three times in 1981, 1986, and 2000, four times in 1985, 1987, and 1991, five times in 1990, eleven times in 1977, fourteen times in 1988 and 1989 and fifteen times in 1990. Its presence is mostly regular throughout the communiqués, with a gap between 1992 and 1998. It seems that, during this period, 17N chose other linguistic metaphors to talk about the country's metaphorical direction and movement in space. However, the expression returns, though it is not so frequent, from 1998 to 2001, when 17N resumed the scenario of Greece moving backwards because of their targets' conduct. It is interesting to notice that *πίσω* back exhibits eleven instances in 1977, when only one communiqué was produced, though it occurs only twice in the texts before and after 1977. A close observation of this early communiqué reveals that it is one of the two theoretical texts that the organisation produced, the other one having been written in 1992. By theoretical, I mean texts which were not written in connection with a hit and whose basic aim was to present the organisation's ideological basis to their readers. In the 1977 text 17N, for the first time, elaborated on their ideology and their views and on the perceived support that they had received from the people after their first two hits. They also dedicated a lot of space to describe the country's political situation in order to prove to their readers that their intervention was necessary and timely. *Πίσω* back was an important element in the description of Greece's unpromising present and future, which helped 17N back up their claim on the necessity of their existence.

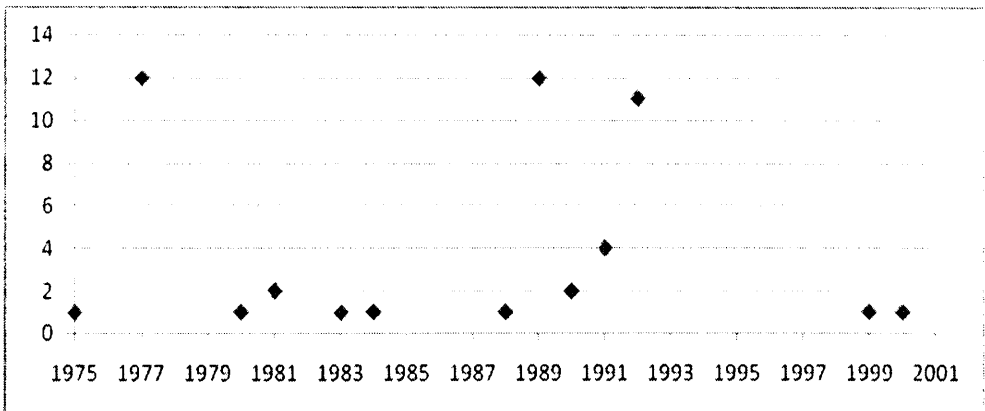
Figure 8.5: *Εξωτερικό*/ Exterior/abroad



Εξωτερικό/ Exterior/abroad is another metaphorical expression that 17N use frequently, since it is quite conventional in political discourse to describe countries as containers, with an interior and an exterior space (see Chapter 6). It occurs 100 times in the communiqués, and specifically once in 1981, 1984 and 2000, twice in 1978, 1983, and 1990, four times in 1985 and 1999, five times in 2001, six times in 1987 and 1990, ten times in 1989 and 1991, sixteen times in 1988, and twenty-nine times in 1986. Even though it is present in most of the communiqués, it is very frequent between 1986 and 1991, while it is completely absent from 1993 until 1999, when it re-appears. It is also scarcely there in the organisation's early texts, as it occurs only once in 1981 and twice in 1977. The expression's highest frequency is in 1986, when three communiqués were produced. These texts dealt extensively not with foreign targets or with the country's external affairs, but with a prominent Greek industrialist who was accused of corruption. As it turns out, 17N used it extensively in these three texts to compare Greece's political situation with that of foreign countries and to comment on the country's derelict state in terms of the rights of the working class. Thus,

εξωτερικό/exterior/abroad was used to represent a standard that Greek governments were nowhere close to, as far as protecting the economically weaker classes is concerned. The expression's absence from 1993 to 1998 could be attributed to the organisation's preoccupation with the media at that point in time, however this is not necessarily the case, as there was an attack against institutions of American interests at that period. It is more likely that *εξωτερικό*/exterior/abroad does not appear so frequently in periods when the amount of texts produced by 17N was also comparatively reduced.

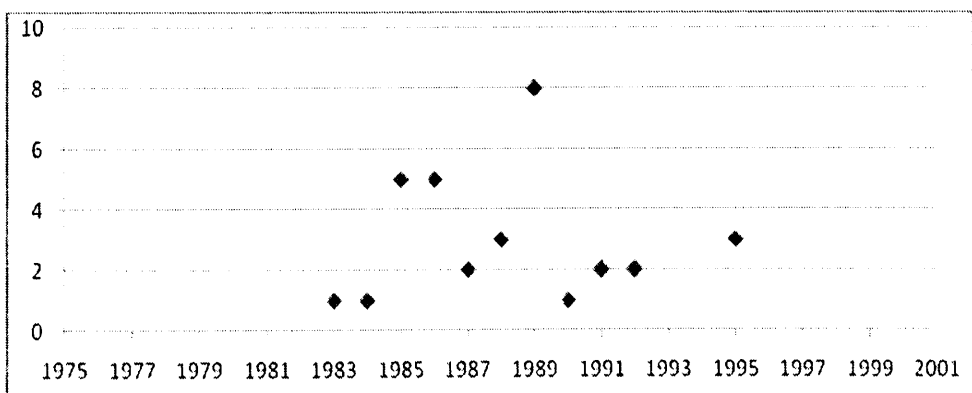
Figure 8.6: Πάλη/ Struggle



As far as *πάλη*/ struggle is concerned, it appears 50 times in the communiqués: once in 1975, 1980, 1983, 1984, 1988, 1999, and 2000, twice in 1981 and 1990, four times in 1991, eleven times in 1992, and twelve times in 1977 and 1989. As I have mentioned, *πάλη*/ struggle is a metaphorical expression which participates in the

discourse about the fight and tension between the different classes in a society, a discourse related to the Marxist tradition. Perhaps this is why it can be found most frequently in the communiqué written in 1977, which is a text presenting 17N's ideology and theory regarding the political and social circumstances in Greece that render the organisation's presence necessary. The expression also occurs twelve times in 1989, but in this case it is spread out in more texts rather than concentrated in one. Interestingly, it is also quite frequent in 1992, as it appears eleven times in that year; eight of these occurrences take place in the other theoretical text that 17N wrote, which is a long manifesto re-stating their beliefs and aims. This finding supports the hypothesis that *πάλη*/ struggle is a metaphorical expression predominantly used to describe a society in which there is tension and struggle among different groups of people, a situation which is negatively valued by 17N and which they use as a justification for their intervention. *Πάλη*/ struggle is not found in the communiqués written between 1993 and 1998; in that period, however, 17N were not so active and they produced six communiqués, a number that is slightly less than the number of texts they wrote in previous years.

Figure 8.7: *Παραμύθι*/ Fairy tale



Παραμύθι/ fairy tale, finally, is another metaphorical expression which characterises 17N's discourse: 82,5 percent of its instances in the communiqués are metaphorical, while only 16.9 percent of its instances in the HNC are metaphorical. As we see in the graph, it occurs once in 1983, 1984, and 1990, twice in 1987, 1991, and 1992, three times in 1988 and 1995, five times in 1985 and 1986 and eight times in 1989. In the case of *παραμύθι/* fairy tale it is interesting to see that the expression occurs between 1983 and 1995 and is not found either before or after that period in 17N's writings. This finding indicates that 17N used this expression in a particular period, outside of which they chose other metaphorical ways to refer to their targets' lying behaviour. The expression is most frequent in 1989, when the organization was very productive in terms of written material, and it is scattered in that year's different texts.

8.4 Summary and discussion

As shown by the above graphs and comments, a diachronic analysis of metaphorical expressions yields interesting information concerning the occurrence of particular expressions at particular points in time. It allows us to see whether an expression is spread out across texts or whether it is concentrated in a specific communiqué or in a specific year. This information can then be checked against 17N's activity at the period when a metaphorical expression was used in order to link specific expressions with particular concerns, targets, and discourses. Of course, the occurrence

of metaphorical expressions needs to be estimated according to the number and length of text that 17N produced each year.

A comparison of the dispersions of the metaphorical expressions presented in the previous section reveals that all seven expressions reached a peak, i.e. they were more frequent, in or around 1989. Table 2 in Appendix 4 shows that 1989 was the most prolific year in terms of different communiqués, with 13 different texts written, and that the next most prolific years were in fact 1991 with eleven communiqués, 1990 with ten communiqués, and 1988 with nine communiqués. These years were also varied in terms of the different individuals and institutions that 17N targeted; in short they were the organisation's most active years. This is a useful observation to keep in mind, especially because the concentration of a particular metaphorical expression outside the period 1988-1991, as opposed to within this period, could carry a special significance.

As I mentioned in the introduction, however, this is but an introduction to a diachronic analysis of 17N's use of metaphorical expressions. A thorough analysis will have to take place within a different project in order to be supported by substantial qualitative analysis of the diachronic findings as well as comparative study of the use of expressions belonging to the same source domains. An examination of the intertextual use of metaphorical expressions would also have to take place in order to be able to see what the occurrence of specific expressions in 17N's text might reflect and influence.

CHAPTER 9 - CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I will provide a summary of the findings I have presented in the previous chapters and link them to my research questions, as they were formulated in Chapter 1. I will also discuss the limitations and shortcomings of this thesis, and I will make some suggestions for further research.

9.1 Summary of the findings

In this thesis, I examined 82 communiqués written by 17N, and I extracted from them the metaphorical expressions that referred to the organisation's targets and opponents, to the political condition that Greece is perceived to be in, and to the 17N organisation. I used an electronic corpus of 17N's communiqués in order to quantify these expressions, which I then grouped according to the source domain they could be argued to evoke. I also used the Hellenic National Corpus as a background corpus. The background corpus provided a point of reference concerning the use of metaphorical expressions in Modern Greek, and helped me decide on issues like distinguishing metaphorical from non-metaphorical expressions and the degree of conventionality of particular expressions. My examination of the communiqués with the help of corpus analysis showed that 17N used mainly conventional metaphorical expressions which were often repeated many times. The organisation also used creative expressions and

neologisms, though less frequently; these were often creative exploitations of conventional metaphorical mappings.

The source domains evoked by the metaphorical expressions I identified were further grouped into sixteen broad source domains. I have thus answered to my first research question, referring to the identification of particular groups of metaphorical expressions in 17N's communiqués, which evoke particular source domains. These source domains are:

- ARTS
- CLEANLINESS AND DIRT
- LIGHT AND DARKNESS
- HEAT AND COLD
- SOUND AND SILENCE
- THE HUMAN BODY
- WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE
- ANIMALS
- MOVING AND STOPPING
- BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION
- LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS
- CONTAINER
- HISTORY AND POLITICS
- FOOD, DRINK AND COOKING
- RELIGION
- PROFESSIONS

An analysis of the above source domains revealed that 17N exploited them to criticise their opponents and targets, to present a negative picture of the political and social situation in Greece, and to construct a positive image of 17N. This information answers my second, third, and fourth research questions, which referred to the use of metaphorical expressions to represent the organisation's victims and targets, the overall political and social situation in Greece, and 17N's identity and role in Greek society.

In particular, 17N exploited elements commonly associated with particular source domains to construct an opposition between themselves and their targets. Expressions related to the source domains of ARTS, CLEANLINESS AND DIRT, LIGHT AND DARKNESS, HEAT AND COLD, SOUND AND SILENCE, ANIMALS, WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE and THE HUMAN BODY featured prominently in the construction of this opposition. Moreover, experientially grounded conventional mappings, realised by expressions related to the MOVING AND STOPPING and the LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS source domains, also participated in structuring this opposition. The semantic antithesis inherent in most of these source domains helped 17N to represent their opponents as hypocrites, guilty of corrupt behaviour, and dangerous for the well-being of Greek society, while simultaneously representing 17N as an honest, clean, brave organisation, who has nothing to hide and who acts in the Greek people's best interests. More importantly, 17N presented themselves as possessing special knowledge which is kept hidden from the Greek people because of their targets' corrupt conduct.

Furthermore, 17N exploited the negative associations of metaphorical expressions related to several source domains but also invested conventional

metaphorical expressions, which may have been used otherwise in different contexts, with negative meaning. In this way they not only insulted and discredited their opponents but they also presented a negative and pessimistic picture of the Greek political and social situation, which implied the need for their intervention in order to be improved. They used expressions evoking the source domains of BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION, LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS, and CONTAINER, to paint a picture of a divided society and to emphasize the boundaries that separate the different social groups.

In their discourse, the organisation made use of the experiential grounding of conventional metaphorical expressions to present their views as natural and common-sense. Similarly, culturally grounded metaphorical expressions helped them highlight the common cultural background they shared with their readers. They often exploited historical and cultural elements, related particularly to the source domains of ARTS, RELIGION, and HISTORY AND POLITICS. Moreover, the use of creative metaphorical expressions often combined with humour, insult, and irony, allowed them to capture their readers' attention and to reinforce the bond between them.

In their texts, 17N rarely referred directly to their identity and their role within Greek society. Most of the times they constructed a positive image of themselves indirectly, by criticising and accusing their opponents and targets, and by representing the Greek people as a victim. The metaphorical expressions in their texts, thus, mainly involve the representation of others rather than of themselves, and of the problematic political situation as 17N perceive it, rather than their vision of a prosperous and well-

governed Greece. It follows that the majority of the metaphorical expressions found in their texts describe negative situations or attributes.

17N's main rhetorical strategies, as they emerge from the study of metaphor in their discourse, involve the legitimisation of the organisation's course of action and the de-legitimisation of their opponent's course of action. This is achieved mainly via a negative representation of their opponents which implies a positive representation of 17N, and also via a negative and pessimistic view of the political conditions in Greece.

To sum up, this thesis has contributed to the understanding of the way 17N used metaphor in a very particular genre, which is a terrorist organisation's communiqués. Moreover, the thesis has contributed to the study of metaphor in political discourse in general. Finally, the methodological contribution of this thesis rests in the combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to the study of metaphor in discourse.

9.2 Implications for an understanding of 17N

This section provides answers to my fifth research question, as well as to the overarching research question that was formulated in Chapter 1. These research questions refer to 17N's use of metaphor to convey their world view and value system and to the implications of the metaphorical expressions found in the communiqués, as well as to the way these expressions contribute to 17N's rhetorical strategies.

Within the context of their communiqués, 17N build their own definition of reality, morality, and justice. In 17N's moral reasoning, it is just to fight evil with violent means and it is moral to perform "lesser evils in the name of good", as Lakoff

put it in his article on the September 11 attacks (2001: www.metaphoric.de/06). As 17N see it, their use of violence and subsequent damage is justified, as it will promote the general welfare of the majority of Greek citizens. As Kassimeris (2001) observes, 17N's belief that a revolution of the proletariat could change the course of history allowed them to "view violence as legitimate, heroic and politically effective" (2001: 69-70).

Moreover, 17N claim that they only attack the ones responsible for the Greek people's suffering, as they need to be punished, and they would not have been punished otherwise. Retribution and vengeance cannot be achieved without damage. The equation of vengeance with justice is attempted by making the guilt of the victims as clear as possible. Certainly, violence against innocent individuals would be unethical and condemnable, so 17N repeatedly state their objective of 'punishing' only the guilty ones, which is why they avoid mass hits in public places.

In the scenario 17N create, they are, of course, the heroes, and the Greek people are the victims. The people are innocent, as victims ought to be if they are to be sympathised with. At the opposite side, the villains are numerous and they are responsible for deceiving and taking advantage of the people. Most importantly, and most suitably for 17N, the villains are irrational as well as immoral, so they cannot be negotiated with, only punished and, ultimately, defeated (see also Lakoff, 1991). In this way 17N are anticipating the reasonable objection to their violent practice, which could be voiced as a question: namely, why they did not pursue a more peaceful and bloodless way of voicing their protest within a democratic society.

Under specific circumstances, it is a worthy cause to oppose injustice and to revolt against oppression. However, revolution should be made for social change, and not just for the sake of revolting. One cannot act in the name of a whole people when free expression has not been suppressed by the regime of the country and when people are given the right to vote and elect their representatives. 17N's conduct as well as their written texts constructs the Greek people as helpless and passive, in need of an avenger. This is rather ironic, as 17N has been an organisation largely isolated and closed to the people, acting in secrecy and only in the country's capital city. As Kassimeris notes, the members of 17N "lived in a closed, self-referential world where terrorism had become a way of life from which they found it impossible to walk away." (2006: 153). They actually excluded the greater part of society from their struggle, which is probably why they had to devote so many pages to justifying and legitimising their actions.

The prominent role particular metaphors played in structuring 17N's ideology is shown by two of its convicted members' statements in December 2003, at the end of the nine-month trial which convicted fifteen members of the organisation. Alexandros Giotopoulos, convicted as the leader and mastermind of 17N, said: "It was not a fair trial, not even a trial but rather a tasteless piece of *theatre*. The part of the decision that concerns me was dictated by the Americans" (quoted in Kassimeris, 2006: 139, my italics). Dimitris Koufodinas, convicted as the group's leader of operations, said: "Our main *weapon* is the truth and the truth is always revolutionary" (quoted in Kassimeris, 2006: 141, my italics). The source domains of ARTS and WEAPONS are evoked by the metaphorical expressions used in these statements; moreover, some of the

organisation's main concerns are present in these statements, namely Anti-Americanism and the belief that they possessed special knowledge that they had to reveal to the Greek people.

9.3 Implications for metaphor theory and analysis

In the course of the analysis of my data I had to deal with several controversial issues pertaining to metaphor theory and analysis. In particular, I had to distinguish between metaphorical and non-metaphorical expressions, and I had to decide on the degree of conventionality of the metaphorical expressions I included in my analysis. Moreover, I had to deal with the issue of postulating conceptual metaphors, which would be realised via some of the metaphorical expressions in my data. The way these issues were addressed in my analysis is consistent with the various methods that have recently been proposed in order to tackle these arguably difficult problems in cognitive metaphor research.

The readiness with which cognitive metaphor theorists proposed conceptual metaphors based on de-contextualised and often limited linguistic data has been subjected to criticism by recent researchers working in the field (Steen, 1999; Semino, Heywood and Short, 2004; Deignan, 2005). What goes on in the minds of individual people who are situated within specific cultural communities is not easy to infer on the basis of linguistic expressions, especially if these expressions are presented in isolation. Moreover, the concepts that particular linguistic expressions refer to are not always easy to denominate; on the contrary, they may often be vague and unspecified or too

general and abstract. It follows that it is not always clear how exactly an abstract concept is being conceptualised through the use of metaphorical expressions, as well as that the same metaphorical expression may offer itself to the formulation of alternative conceptual realisations. Therefore, one needs to be cautious in extrapolating conceptual metaphors from linguistic data, and to take different factors into consideration. The systematic nature and the frequency of occurrence of conventional metaphorical expressions are among these factors, as Lakoff (1993) had pointed out early on.

My use of naturally occurring discourse as well as the use of corpora and dictionaries in my analysis has helped me deal with these issues. The examination of particular expressions in their immediate and more extended context, as well as within their particular cultural and historical context, helped me distinguish metaphorical from non-metaphorical expressions. The use of the Hellenic National Corpus as a reference point for Modern Greek provided useful information on the metaphorical and non-metaphorical senses of particular expressions, as well as on their frequency of occurrence. This information helped me decide on the degree of conventionality of the expressions I discussed. Dictionaries of Modern Greek provided extra information on the listed metaphorical and literal senses of these expressions.

Overall, the use of corpora has provided invaluable assistance to my analysis, as well as added reliability. Corpus analysis of texts allows for systematic investigations of linguistic patterns in large quantities of text; I exploited this feature of corpora both in the handling of my electronic corpus of communiqués and in the HNC. As big numbers of interconnected metaphorical expressions are usually necessary in order to safely postulate a particular conceptual metaphor, a corpus methodology is a

very useful tool for cognitive metaphor researchers. In my analysis, however, I refrained from easily suggesting conceptual metaphors that would underlie the metaphorical expressions I discussed; instead, I usually opted for a discussion of the negative or positive evaluations associated with particular expressions related to specified source domains, as the limitations of the corpora I used made this approach seem methodologically more sound to me. The notion of discourse prosodies (Stubbs, 2001) was very helpful in these discussions, and the determination of an expression's positive or negative discourse prosody was easily attainable by a combination of my intuitions and concordance searches in the HNC.

I believe that the combination of the aforementioned methodologies has allowed me to reach valid conclusions regarding the particular way 17N employed metaphorical expressions. As far as conceptual metaphors are concerned, the outcomes of my analysis can provide a basis for the formulation of "plausible hypotheses", as Semino, Heywood, and Short (2004) put it, regarding the possible conceptualisations of these expressions by the readers of the communiqués.

9.4 Limitations and shortcomings of the thesis

In this thesis, I have tried to give an overall account of the role metaphor plays in constructing and supporting 17N's rhetorical strategies. I have provided a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of particular metaphorical expressions extracted from 17N's communiqués. As it would have been impossible to analyse all the relevant metaphorical expressions present in 17N's texts, I have discussed my findings

selectively; however, Tables 1- 41 in Appendices 1 and 2, which provide a detailed account of my findings, have not been fully exploited. The quantitative analysis sections focussed mainly on the most frequent metaphorical expressions and on specific instances of creative expressions. The qualitative analysis sections discussed extracts from 17N's texts that illustrated the use of some of the most frequent metaphorical expressions in context, as well as the use of particular creative expressions and neologisms. Perhaps the addition of more examples and the analysis of more expressions would have provided a more complete picture of my data. However, the reader should keep in mind that this analysis is of an exploratory nature, and can be supplemented with additional evidence, as I discuss in the next section.

Moreover, I did not address the issue of the different grammatical forms of metaphorical expressions, mainly because of space limitations; I have included this issue in the next section, where I suggest directions for further research.

Finally, the limited and experimental nature of the Hellenic National Corpus, which I discussed in detail in Chapter 4, has, on occasion, made it difficult for me to reach conclusions on the use of particular expressions. I tried to overcome this problem with the use of Modern Greek dictionaries and with my personal knowledge of the Greek language. Hopefully, this is a problem that future researchers will not have to face, as the HNC is constantly being expanded and improved. In addition, the irregular and inconsistent spellings that characterise 17N's writing may have caused me to overlook some instances of metaphorical expressions in their texts. I believe, however, that the combination of manual and corpus analysis that I used to approach the

communiqués has provided a good general picture of the metaphorical expressions relevant to this thesis.

I will now suggest some directions for future research.

9.5 Suggestions for further research

This thesis has offered valuable insights on the Revolutionary Organisation November 17 and has addressed important issues related to the analysis of metaphorical expressions in naturally occurring discourse. This research can be taken further by looking at other rhetorical devices 17N used in their communiqués and by investigating their relationship with metaphor. In particular, it would be interesting to examine 17N's use of metonymy, alone and in conjunction with metaphor, as well as the role idiomatic expressions and proverbial phrases play as rhetorical devices in the communiqués. In addition, a thorough examination of the use of pronouns and generally of deixis in 17N's texts could yield interesting results concerning their worldview and the structuring of their arguments. I have also noticed in their texts the use of other linguistic devices, like hypothetical reported speech, which would be worthy of consideration and analysis. In addition, a careful examination of the different grammatical forms metaphorical expressions take in 17N's texts (i.e. nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.) could provide more information on the grammatical aspect of metaphor in Modern Greek in relation to persuasive discourse and rhetoric. Finally, it could be interesting to carry out an extensive diachronic analysis of 17N's communiqués in order to reach definitive conclusions as to whether there is a

development in their use of metaphor and whether particular metaphorical expressions were favoured at particular points in time.

The completion of this thesis could also contribute to a comparative analysis of the use of metaphor in communiqués and manifestos written by terrorist organisations. Comparable data from other terrorist organisations could be obtained and examined for this purpose; terrorist groups of similar ideology to 17N, like, for example, the Italian Brigade Rosse and the French Action Directe, would be good candidates for a project like this. Alternatively, terrorist groups of different ideologies could be compared to each other, regarding the use of metaphor in their texts; for example, religious terrorist organisations vs. nationalist ones.

Finally, it would be interesting to look at newspaper articles on 17N which were published near the time the organisation's communiqués were published. In this way it would be possible to trace metaphorical expressions and, possibly, conceptual metaphors, across these two genres. 17N frequently engaged in a dialogue with various journalists via their communiqués and the journalists' articles in newspapers; they may have taken up and exploited each other's metaphorical expressions for rhetorical purposes. This would especially benefit and complement a diachronic analysis of the organisation's use of metaphor. Moreover, by comparing the use of metaphor in these two different contexts, perhaps 17N's particular worldview and moral code would become even more obvious.

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APPENDIX 1

TABLE 1. SHOW/PERFORMANCE ARTS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Ρόλος / Role/part	87	87	100	0.338	284	392	72.4	0.006
Θέατρο / Theatre	20	27	74	0.077	-	6536	-	-
Καραγκιόζης / Karagiozis	12	12	100	0.046	165	325	50.7	0.003
Σκηνή / Scene	10	10	100	0.038	81	3544	2.2	0.001
Μάσκα/ Mask	8	8	100	0.031	13	302	4.3	0.0002
Οπερέτα / Operetta	6	6	100	0.023	7	147	4.7	0.0001
Σκηνοθερώ / To stage	6	6	100	0.023	-	1402	-	-
Παράσταση / Performance	6	9	66	0.023	- (none relevant)	3453	-	-
Σενάριο / Scenario	5	5	100	0.019	3594	3615	99.4	0.079
Μαριονέτα / Puppet	5	5	100	0,019	45	126	35.7	0.001
Νήμα/ String	5	5	100	0.019	84	174	48.2	0.002
Ρεσιτάλ / Recital	4	4	100	0.015	103	446	23	0.002
Παρωδία / Parody	3	3	100	0.011	165	223	74	0.003
Προσκήνιο /	2	2	100	0.007	927	996	93	0.020

TABLE 2. LITERATURE

Linguistic expression	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Παραμύθι / Fable, fairy tale	33	40	82.5	0.128	170	1004	16.9	0.003
Μύθος / Myth	14	14	100	0.054	1346	2402	56	0.029
Οργουελανός / Orwellian	3	3	100	0.011	5	6	83.3	0.0001
Μυθιστόρημα / Novel	2	5	40	0.007	-	1945	-	-
Ιονέσκο / Ionesco	2	2	100	0.007	1	38	2.6	0.0000
Παραμύθι της Χαλιμάς / Chalima's tale	2	2	100	0.007	8	13	61.5	0.0001
Σερλοκ Χολμς / Sherlock Holmes	1	1	100	0.003	6	28	21.4	0.0001
Ανεμόμυλος / Windmills (Don Quixote)	1	1	100	0.003	4	113	3.5	0.0000
Ταρτούφος / Tartuffe	1	2	50	0.003	-	18	-	-
TOTAL	59	70	84.2	0.229	1540	5567	27.6	0.032

TABLE 3. MUSIC

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Παλινοδία / Palinode	10	10	100	0.038	102	102	100	0.002
Τόνος / Key	3	8	35	0.011	1519	3619	41.9	0.033
Κορώνα / High note	2	2	100	0.007	94	111	84.6	0.002
Βιολί / Violin	1	1	100	0.003	42	325	12.9	0.0009
Φάλτροο / False note	1	1	100	0.003	15	70	21.4	0.0003
Ψάλλω / To chant	1	1	100	0.003	13	72	18	0.0002
TOTAL	18	23	78.2	0.070	1785	4299	41.5	0.038

TABLE 4. OTHER ARTS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical Occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Ανάγλυφο/ Relief	13	13	100	0.050	67	67	100	0.001
Χορός / Dance	1	1	100	0.003	122	1023	11.9	0.002
Φιλοτεχνώ / create artistically	1	1	100	0.003	-	189	-	-
Τερατούργημα / Monstrous work of art	1	1	100	0.003	30	39	76.9	0.0006
TOTAL	16	16	100	0.062	219	1318	16.6	0.003

TOTAL M17: 289

SOURCE DOMAIN: CLEANLINESS AND DIRT

TABLE 5. CLEANLINESS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Καθαρός/ Clean, clear	141	147	95.9	0.548	6651	11911	55.8	0.147
Κάθαρση/ Cleansing	69	69	100	0.268	397	410	96.8	0.008
Εκκαθάριση/ Expurgation	21	21	100	0.081	804	893	90	0.017
Ξεκάθαρα/ Clearly	9	9	100	0.035	746	746	100	0.016
Κρυσταλλινή διάγνεια/ Crystalline clarity	1	1	100	0.003	117	125	100	0.002
Αλάσπιτος / Clean from mud	1	1	100	0.003	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	242	248	97.5	0.942	8715	14085	61.8	0.19

TABLE 6. DIRT

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Βρώμικος, βρωμιά/ Dirt(y)	20	20	100	0.077	339	537	63	0.007
Αχούρι/ Dirty stable	6	7	85.7	0.023	7	11	63.6	0.0001
Λάσπη / Mud	5	5	100	0.019	107	597	17.9	0.002
Κάθαρμα / Scum	4	4	100	0.015	58	58	100	0.001
Βούρκος / Mire	3	3	100	0.011	40	63	63.4	0.0008
Βαλτόνερα / Swamp water	3	3	100	0.011	-	2	-	-
Απόβλητο / Waste	1	1	100	0.003	95	478	19.8	0.002
Σκουπίδι / Rubbish	1	1	100	0.003	97	651	14.9	0.002
Χαβούζα / Refuse dump	1	4	25	0.003	6	22	27.2	0.0001
Ελεύθερος Ρύπος / Free	1	1	100	0.003	-	-	-	-

Dirt												
Φρόκαλο / Trash	1	1	100	0.003	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	46	50	92	0.179	749	2419	30.9	0.015				

TOTAL M17: 288

SOURCE DOMAIN: HEAT AND COLD

TABLE 7. HEAT

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Υποσπινάλιζω / To spark	2	2	100	0.007	55	55	100	0.001
Καίω / To burn	2	12	16.6	0.007	136	485	28	0.003
Φωτιά / Fire	1	3	33.3	0.003	463	5142	9	0.010
TOTAL	4	17	23.5	0.015	654	5682	11.5	0.014

TABLE 8. COLD

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Εν ψυχρώ / In cold (blood)	8	8	100	0.031	195	202	96.5	0.004
Παγωμένος / Frozen	1	1	100	0.003	245	619	39.5	0.005
TOTAL	9	9	100	0.035	440	821	53.5	0.009

TOTAL M17: 11

SOURCE DOMAIN: LIGHT, DARKNESS AND COLOUR

TABLE 9. LIGHT

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Λαμπρός / Brilliant	21	21	100	0.081	766	790	96.9	0.017
Φως / Light	10	11	90.9	0.038	3472	5802	59.8	0.077
Διαφωτιστικός / Illuminating	5	5	100	0.019	134	134	100	0.002
Λάμπω / Glow	3	3	100	0.011	194	225	86.2	0.004
Ακτινοβολία / Radiance	2	2	100	0.007	69	1386	4.9	0.001
Αναλαμπή / Gleam	2	2	100	0.007	22	29	75.8	0.0004
Αστέρας / Star	1	1	100	0.003	524	1718	30.5	0.011
Φωτεινός / Bright	1	1	100	0.003	549	1278	42.9	0.012
TOTAL	45	46	97.8	0.175	5730	11362	50.4	0.124

TABLE 10. DARKNESS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Συσκοτίζω / To darken/obfuscate	15	15	100	0.058	40	43	93	0.0008
Σκοτεινός / Dark	4	5	80	0.015	1654	1902	86.9	0.036
Σκοτάδι / Darkness	2	2	100	0.007	522	885	58.9	0.011
Σκοτεινιάζω / To grow dim	1	2	50	0.003	7	33	21.2	0.0001
TOTAL	22	24	91.6	0.085	2223	2863	77.6	0.047

TABLE 11. COLOUR

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Μαύρος / Black	9	12	75	0.035	694	2573	26.9	0.015
Άσπρος / White	8	8	100	0.031	161	576	27.9	0.003
Λευκαίνω /To bleach	3	3	100	0.011	125	125	100	0.002
Κίτρινος/ Yellow	2	2	100	0.007	26	534	4.8	0.0005
Μελανά χρώματα / Bleak colours	1	1	100	0.003	453	553	81.9	0.010
Ρόδινος / Rosy	1	1	100	0.003	134	164	81.7	0.002
Άσπροπρόσωπος / White-faced	1	1	100	0.003	18	18	100	0.0004
TOTAL	25	28	89.2	0.097	1611	4543	35.4	0.032

TOTAL M17: 92

SOURCE DOMAIN: SOUND AND SILENCE

TABLE 12: SOUND

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Φωνή / Voice	13	13	100	0.050	3990	4156	96	0.088
Ηχηρός / High-sounding/loud	4	9	44	0.015	239	288	82	0.005
Βοώ / To shout	4	4	100	0.015	7	7	100	0.0001
Κραυγαλέος/ Vociferous	4	4	100	0.015	317	317	100	0.007
Κραυγές / Cries	3	7	42.8	0.011	324	749	43.2	0.007
Ψελίζοντας/ Mumbling	2	2	100	0.007	17	51	33	0.0003
Βροντοφωνάζω / To cry out	2	2	100	0.007	8	27	29.6	0.0001
Ντραβαντούρι / Hullabaloo	1	1	100	0.003	7	8	87.5	0.0001
Φωνασκία / Spiel	1	1	100	0.003	15	18	83.3	0.0003
Τσιρίζω / To squeal/yawp	1	1	100	0.003	3	39	7.6	0.000

TOTAL	35	44	79.5	0.136	4927	5660	87	0.108
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TABLE 13. SILENCE

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Φύμωση, φυμώνω / Το silence with a muzzle	5	5	100	0.019	63	76	82.8	0.001

TOTAL M17: 40

SOURCE DOMAIN: THE HUMAN BODY

TABLE 14. PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Μέλος / Limb	59	59	100	0.229	22272	22496	99	0.494
Χέρι / Hand	55	73	75.3	0.136	9620	12333	78	0.213
Μάτι / Eye	31	31	100	0.120	6642	7559	87.8	0.147
Εγκέφαλος / Brain	23	24	95.8	0.089	219	563	3.8	0.004
Κεφάλι / Head	15	16	93.7	0.058	567	3893	14.56	0.012
Σκέλος / Limb	9	9	100	0.035	1838	1852	99.2	0.040
Πλάτη / Back	9	9	100	0.035	756	1676	45.1	0.016
Χούφτα / Handful	8	8	100	0.031	81	193	41.9	0.002
Μούτρα / Face	6	7	85.7	0.023	244	355	68.7	0.005
Γλώσσα/ Tongue	5	5	100	0.019	5199	9628	53.9	0.115
Λαιμός/ Neck	5	5	100	0.019	117	933	12.5	0.002
Δάκτυλο /	4	4	100	0.015	268	320	83.7	0.006

TABLE 15. MOVEMENTS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BODY

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Χειραγωγός/ To guide (by the hand)	17	17	100	0.066	123	123	100	0.002
Γονατίζω / Kneel	8	8	100	0.031	22	122	18	0.0004
Ποδηγετώ / To lead (by the feet)	8	8	100	0.031	73	73	100	0.001
Αίμα / Blood	5	21	23.8	0.019	247	3535	6.9	0.005
Ορθό / Standing up	5	6	83.3	0.019	165	1032	15.9	0.003
Σφυγγομέτρηση / Pulse rating	5	5	100	0.019	163	163	100	0.003
Αγκαλιά / Hug	4	5	80	0.015	95	1363	6.9	0.002
Γεννιέμαι / Being born	3	3	100	0.011	239	291	82.1	0.005
Αφαιμάξη / Bleeding	3	3	100	0.011	72	82	87.8	0.001
Σφουγγολάριος / Arse wiper	3	3	100	0.011	-	-	-	-
Χάδια, θοσπέια / Caress	3	3	100	0.011	41	88	46.5	0.0009
Υπόκλιση / Curtsy, bow	2	2	100	0.007	2	37	5.4	0.000

Γάστιμο / Licking	1	1	100	0.003	6	7	85.7	0.0001
Κνοφορώ / To gestate	1	1	100	0.003	199	223	89.2	0.004
Νεύμα / Nod	1	1	100	0.003	17	70	24.2	0.0003
Χεσμένος / Shit/crap	1	1	100	0.003	16	16	100	0.0003
TOTAL	70	88	79.5	0.272	1480	7225	20.4	0.028

TABLE 16. HEALTH

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non- metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non- metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Εξυγαινώμα / To restore to health/sanitize	11	11	100	0.042	45	45	100	0.001
Υγιής / Healthy	5	7	7.4	0.019	1739	2382	73	0.038
TOTAL	16	18	88.8	0.062	1784	2427	73.5	0.039

TABLE 17. ILLNESSES AND CONDITIONS OF THE BODY

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Τυφλός / Blind	32	32	100	0.124	401	513	78	0.009
Χονδρός / Fat	18	18	100	0.070	57	308	18.5	0.001
Παράλυτος / Paralyse	6	6	100	0.023	41	171	23.9	0.001
Χρόνιες παθολογίες / Chronic pathologies	1	1	100	0.003	24	166	14.4	0.0005
Αλλεργικός / Allergic	1	1	100	0.003	-	162	-	-
Καρκίνος / Cancer	1	2	50	0.003	270	1354	19.9	0.006
Ευνουχισμός / Eunuchism	1	1	100	0.003	43	46	93.4	0.001
Καμπούρα / Humpback	1	3	33.3	0.003	14	18	77.7	0.0003
Κώμα / Coma	1	1	100	0.003	4	80	5	0.000
Παραλήρημα / Delirium	1	1	100	0.003	73	114	64	0.001
Αλλοιθωρίζω / To squint	1	1	100	0.003	26	26	100	0.0005

Γερωντική μολάκυνση / Senility	1	1	100	0.003	1	3	33.3	0.000
TOTAL	65	68	95.5	0.253	954	2997	31.8	0.020

TABLE 18. MEDICINE

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non- metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non- metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Συνταγή / Prescription	6	6	100	0.023	373	774	48	0.008
Χάπι / pill	1	2	50	0.003	21	448	4.6	0.0004
TOTAL	7	8	87.5	0.027	394	1222	32.2	0.008

TABLE 19. CLOTHING ITEMS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Κουκούλα / Hood	8	10	80	0.031	7	186	3.7	0.0001
Μανδύας / Cloak	7	7	100	0.027	197	235	83.8	0.004
Παπούτσια / Shoes	6	6	100	0.023	67	6746	0.9	0.001
Καπέλο / Hat	4	4	100	0.015	62	637	9.7	0.001
Ρούχα / Clothes	2	5	40	0.007	11	1583	0.7	0.0002
Ζωνάρι / Belt	2	2	100	0.007	28	36	77.7	0.0006
Τσαρούχια / Traditional Greekshoes	1	1	100	0.003	9	20	45	0.0002
TOTAL	30	35	85.7	0.116	381	9443	4	0.008

TABLE 20. NAKEDNESS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Εσσκεπάζω / To uncover	17	17	100	0.066	58	70	82.8	0.001
Ξεγυμνώνω / To strip naked	3	3	100	0.011	25	35	71.4	0.0005
Γυμνός / Naked	2	6	33.3	0.007	215	527	40.7	0.004
Ξεβρακώνομαι / To unbreech	1	1	100	0.003	3	4	75	0
TOTAL	23	27	85.1	0.089	301	636	47.3	0.005

TABLE 21. SEX

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Όργιο / Orgy	3	3	100	0.011	77	208	37	0.002
Παρθένα / Virgin	2	2	100	0.007	312	345	90.4	0.006
Πόρνη / Whore	2	2	100	0.007	93	261	35.6	0.002
Πηδέμια / To fuck	1	1	100	0.003	-	1	-	-
Ασελγώ / Το sexually assault	1	1	100	0.003	17	36	47.2	0.0003
Σοσιαλανάνες / Social-masturbators	1	1	100	0.003	-	-	-	-
Βιαστής / Rapist	1	1	100	0.003	1	68	1.4	0
TOTAL	11	11	100	0.042	500	919	54.4	0.010

TOTAL M17: 466

SOURCE DOMAIN: WEAPONS AND VIOLENCE

TABLE 22. WEAPONS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Καραμινάτος / Rifle-like (slang)	9	9	100	0.035	38	38	100	0.008
Βομβαδίζω / Bombard	5	62	8	0.019	365	3211	11.3	0.008
Βόμβα / Bomb	4	133	3	0.015	411	1586	25.9	0.009
Μπούμεραγκ / Boomerang	2	2	100	0.007	144	156	92.3	0.003
Όπλο / Weapon	2	50	4	0.007	860	5686	15	0.019
Οπλοστάσιο / Arms depot	2	2	100	0.007	123	230	53.4	0.002
Βέλος / Arrow	1	1	100	0.003	203	296	68.5	0.004
TOTAL	25	259	9.65	0.093	2144	11203	19.1	0.045

TABLE 23. VIOLENCE

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHN C Per 1000 words
Πάλη / Struggle/Wrestling	50	50	100	0.194	405	629	64.3	0.009
Χτυπήσω /To hit	27	39	69	0.105	3305	4054	81.5	0.073
Ληστρική συμμορία / Thief gang	12	13	90	0.046	52	761	6.8	0.001
Εκρηκτικός / Exploding	10	32	31	0.038	730	971	75.1	0.016
Πνίγω / To drown violently	5	5	100	0.019	486	544	89.3	0.010
Πέμπτη φάλαγγα / Fifth phalanx	5	5	100	0.019	6	6	100	0
Σφαλιάρα / Slap/punch	2	2	100	0.007	51	87	58.6	0.001
Καρταζοεισπρακτορας / Person who is being slapped	1	1	100	0.003	4	4	100	0
Κανιβαλικός / Cannibalic	1	1	100	0.003	16	17	94.1	0
TOTAL	113	148	76.3	0.415	5055	7073	71.4	0.110

TOTAL M17: 138

TABLE 24. KINDS OF ANIMALS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Καρχαρίας / Shark	9	9	100	0.035	8	96	8.3	0.0001
(Κοπρο)Σκύλο / Dog	8	8	100	0.031	231	655	32.5	0.005
Παράσιτο / Parasite	7	7	100	0.027	34	84	40	0.0007
Περιστέρα / Dove	4	4	100	0.015	21	21	100	0.0004
Γορίλας / Gorilla	3	3	100	0.011	17	51	33.3	0.0003
Καρεκλοκένταυρος / Chair-Centaur	3	3	100	0.011	21	21	100	0.0004
Τσακάλι / Jackal	2	2	100	0.007	16	31	51.6	0.0003
Στρουθοκάμηλος / Ostrich	2	2	100	0.007	84	109	77	0.001
Μεγαθήριο / Big beast	2	2	100	0.007	109	109	100	0.002
Μαντρόσκυλο / Sheep dog	2	2	100	0.007	5	8	62.5	0.0001
Κατσίκι / Goat	2	2	100	0.007	19	117	16.2	0.0004
Παπαγάλος / Parrot	2	2	100	0.007	35	67	52.2	0.0007
Κοράκι / Crow	1	1	100	0.003	46	60	76.6	0.001
Κροκόδειλος / Crocodile	1	1	100	0.003	89	145	61.3	0.001

Γάιδαρος /Donkey	1	1	100	0.003	76	106	71.6	0.001
Μύγα / Fly	1	1	100	0.003	47	212	22.1	0.001
Βδέλλα / Leech	1	1	100	0.003	9	20	45	0.0002
Κώνωπα /Mosquito	1	1	100	0.003	25	25	100	0.0005
Ορνιο / Vulture	1	1	100	0.003	4	19	21	0.0000
Αρνάκι / Lamb	1	1	100	0.003	3	52	5.7	0.0000
Ποντίκι / Rat	1	1	100	0.003	98	637	15.3	0.002
Αστακός / Lobster	1	1	100	0.003	11	109	10	0.0002
Μαϊμού / Monkey	1	1	100	0.003	65	91	71.4	0.001
Χέλι / Eel	1	1	100	0.003	7	90	7.7	0.0001
Περδίκι / Partridge	1	1	100	0.003	6	9	66.6	0.0001
Υαινα / Hyena	1	1	100	0.003	12	22	54.5	0.0002
Θηρίο / Beast	1	1	100	0.003	204	292	69.8	0.004
Παχύδερμο / Pachyderm	1	1	100	0.003	4	6	66.6	0.0000
TOTAL	62	62	100	0.22	1306	3155	41.3	0.023

TABLE 25. PRACTICES OF/AROUND ANIMALS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Δαμάζω / To harness	4	4	100	0.015	68	74	91.8	0.001
Αχαλίνωτος / Unbridled	4	4	100	0.015	125	125	100	0.002
Κάνω την πάπια, ποιό την νήσσαν / To act like a duck	3	3	100	0.011	31	50	62	0.0006
Λυσσάω / To go rabid	2	2	100	0.007	36	37	97.2	0.0008
Σκυλοπνίχτης / Dog drowner	2	2	100	0.007	2	2	100	0.0000
Μυρίζομαι/ To sniff	1	1	100	0.003	32	32	100	0.0007
Σιγήν ιχθύος / Silent like a fish	1	1	100	0.003	66	67	98.5	0.001
Γρολισμός / Growling/snarling	1	1	100	0.003	1	2	50	0.0000
Παπαγαλίζω /To parrot	1	1	100	0.003	3	3	100	0.0000
Προβατοποίηση / Sheepization	1	1	100	0.003	-	-	-	-
Κροκοδείλια	1	1	100	0.003	72	73	98.6	0.001

δάκρυα / Crocodile tears													
Ιστός / Web	1	1	100	0.003	238	882	26.9	0.005					
Δαγκωνιά / Bite	1	1	100	0.003	-	7	-	-					
Μαμουδιζώ / Το Act like a monkey	1	1	100	0.003	-	-	-	-					
Εκκολάπτομαι / To hatch	1	1	100	0.003	70	104	67.3	0.001					
TOTAL	24	24	100	0.085	744	1458	51	0.013					

TABLE 26. ANIMAL BODY PARTS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Αυγό/ Egg	6	6	100	0.023	124	247	50	0.002
Προβιά / Sheepskin	5	5	100	0.019	9	21	42.8	0.0002
Ουρά / Tail	4	4	100	0.015	801	1038	77.1	0.017
Τομάρι / Hide	3	3	100	0.011	51	59	86.4	0.001
Νύχια / Claws	2	2	100	0.007	176	382	46	0.003
Λεοντή / Lion skin	1	1	100	0.003	2	5	40	0.0000
TOTAL	21	21	100	0.078	1163	1752	66.3	0.023

TOTAL M17: 107

APPENDIX 2

SOURCE DOMAIN: MOVING AND STOPPING

TABLE 27. MOVEMENT AND DIRECTION

TABLE 27.1 MOVING FORWARDS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Μπροστά/ Ahead	4	80	5	0.015	7321	10262	71.3	0.162
Εμπρός / Move forwards	2	2	100	0.007	599	1094	54.7	0.013
TOTAL	6	82	7.31	0.022	7920	11356	69.7	0.175

TABLE 27.2. MOVING BACKWARDS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Πίσω/ Back	93	93	100	0.362	8812	12070	73	0.195

TABLE 27.3. MOVING UP

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Πάνω / Up/above	272	272	100	0.001	20297	24454	83	0.451
Αναρριχώμια / To ascend/climb	2	2	100	0.007	57	206	27.6	0.001
Σκαμπαναέβασμα / Ups and downs	1	1	100	0.003	89	103	86.4	0.001
TOTAL	275	275	100	0.011	20443	24763	82.5	0.453

TABLE 27.4. MOVING DOWN

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Κάτω / Down	99	99	100	0.385	10043	15450	65	0.223
Πτώση / Fall	30	32	93	0.116	3011	3697	81.4	0.066
Βουλιάζω /	6	6	100	0.023	86	137	62.7	0.002

To sink												
Φουνταρισμα / Founder	4	4	100	0.015	13	22	59	0.0002				
Κατήφορος / Downhill	2	2	100	0.007	90	183	49	0.002				
Κατρακύλα / Tumble	1	1	100	0.003	47	50	94	0.001				
TOTAL	142	144	98.6	0.549	13290	19539	68	0.294				

TABLE 28. MOVEMENT

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Οδηγώ / To lead	51	51	100	0.198	5391	7843	68.7	0.119
Προχωράω/ To walk/ move	40	46	87	0.155	9850	10698	92	0.218
Βήμα / Step	36	36	100	0.140	8211	9289	88.3	0.182
Ευθυγραμμίζομαι / To align	12	12	100	0.046	269	332	81	0.005
Συσπειρόνομαι / To coil	6	6	100	0.023	370	449	82.4	0.008
Κάμπτω / To bend	6	6	100	0.023	63	63	100	0.001
Κολυμπώ / To swim	3	3	100	0.011	164	332	49.3	0.003
Διολίσθηση / Slide	1	1	100	0.003	249	249	100	0.005
Επέλαση / Charge	1	1	100	0.003	172	175	98.2	0.003
Σέρνομαι / To crawl	1	1	100	0.003	203	449	45.2	0.004
Καμπή / Turning point	1	1	100	0.003	264	265	99.6	0.005
Γραφιοδρόμιονας / Person walking	1	1	100	0.003	-	-	-	-

on a quill													
Αιθεροβάμονας / Person walking on air	1	1	100	0.003	32	32	100	0.0007					
Καλαμοβάμονας / Person walking on a reed	1	1	100	0.003	-	-	-	-					
Φυγή / Flight (escape)	1	1	50	0.003	239	722	33.1	0.005					
TOTAL	162	169	95.8	0.620	25477	30898	82.4	0.558					

TABLE 29. ROAD/WAY

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Πορεία /Route	42	54	77	0.163	11634	13068	89	0.258
Δρόμος / Way/road	36	61	59	0.140	720	16385	4.3	0.016
Αδιέξοδο / Dead end	10	10	100	0.038	1530	1905	80	0.034
Λεωφόρος / Highway	1	3	33	0.003	289	1499	19.2	0.006
Μονοπάτι / Pathway	1	1	100	0.003	321	980	32.7	0.007
TOTAL	90	129	70	0.347	14494	33837	42.8	0.321

TABLE 30. STOPPING

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Φρένο / Brake	4	4	100	0.015	176	241	73	0.003

TOTAL M17: 772

SOURCE DOMAIN: LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS

TABLE 31. LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Βάρος / Weight	94	94	100	0.365	5116	10453	48.9	0.113
Επίπεδο / Level	78	78	100	0.303	17346	18580	93.3	0.385
Στροφή/ (Social) stratum	58	58	100	0.225	1157	1869	61.9	0.025
Βαρύ / Heavy	35	36	97	0.136	954	1151	82.8	0.021
Πλατύ / Wide	26	26	100	0.101	163	237	68.7	0.003
Βαθύς/ Deep	21	21	100	0.081	1380	1995	69.1	0.030
Βάθος, βάθεια / Depth	13	14	93	0.050	1643	2841	57.8	0.036
Βαθιά / Deeply	11	12	92	0.042	2004	2340	85.6	0.044
Πλατειά, πλατιά / Widely	9	10	90	0.035	33	308	10.7	0.0007

Βαριά / Heavily	7	7	100	0.027	1034	1373	75.3	0.022
TOTAL	352	356	98.8	1.365	30830	41147	74.9	0.679

TOTAL M17: 352

SOURCE DOMAIN: BUILDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION

TABLE 32: TYPES OF BUILDINGS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Σπίτι / House	7	62	11.29	0.027	3	12636	0.02	0.00006
Παλάτι / Palace	5	5	100	0.019	15	385	3.89	0.0003
Ξενοδοχείο / Hotel	4	12	33.33	0.015	17	3371	0.5	0.0003
Άντρο / Antre	2	1	100	0.007	48	73	65.7	0.001
Δαίδαλος / Labyrinth (Daedalus)	2	1	100	0.007	14	31	45	0.0003
Τρόγλη / Den	1	2	50	0.003	3	18	16.6	0
Προκάτ / Prefabricated home	1	1	100	0.003	15	31	48.3	0.0003
Τεμπελαχανέιο / Sluggard joint	1	1	100	0.003	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	23	85	27	0.084	115	16545	0.69	0.002

TABLE 33. CONSTRUCTION

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Βάση / Base	98	98	100	0.381	18134	19498	93	0.402
Καταρρέω / To collapse	27	30	89	0.105	513	840	61	0.011
Στήριγμα / Support	21	21	100	0.081	20	159	12.5	0.0004
Χτίσιμο / Building	18	18	100	0.070	9	93	9.6	0.0002
Αναστηλώνω / To erect	12	12	100	0.046	54	417	12.9	0.001
Βάζω φραγμό / To put a barrier	9	9	100	0.035	281	607	46.3	0.006
Κορυφή / Top	7	7	100	0.027	3241	5399	60	0.072
Θεμέλιο / Foundation	6	6	100	0.023	722	869	83	0.016
Υπόβαθρο / Ground, setting	6	6	100	0.023	397	404	98.2	0.008
Γωνία / Corner	3	15	20	0.011	445	1780	25	0.009
Στυλοβάτης / Stylobate	2	2	100	0.007	71	71	100	0.001
Προπόρτιο / Rampart	2	2	100	0.007	132	132	100	0.002
Εκπαράθρωση	1	1	100	0.003	10	10	100	0.0002

SOURCE DOMAIN: CONTAINER

TABLE 34. CONTAINER

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. literal occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. literal occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Εξωτερικό / Exterior/abroad	100	100	100	0.389	18141	25201	71.9	0.403
Μπαίνω / To enter	29	40	73	0.112	4321	6089	70	0.096
Εσωτερικό / Interior	20	21	96	0.077	9529	15328	62.1	0.211
Έξω / Outside	7	63	11	0.027	3422	9589	35.6	0.076
Κούφιος / Hollow	3	4	75	0.011	69	110	62.7	0.001
Έξοδος / Exit	2	3	68	0.007	543	1125	48.2	0.012
Εισερχόμενος / Inbound	2	4	50	0.007	94	151	62.2	0.002
Δοχείο / Container	1	1	100	0.003	139	306	45.4	0.003
TOTAL	164	236	69.5	0.633	36258	57899	62.6	0.804

TOTAL M17: 164

SOURCE DOMAIN: HISTORY AND POLITICS

TABLE 35. HISTORY AND POLITICS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17N)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC per 1000 words
(Εκ-)Φασισμός / Fascism,-tization	19	19	100	0.073	8	9	88.8	0.0001
Βασιλεύω / To reign	13	13	100	0.050	179	333	53.7	0.003
Γιουσουφάκι / Giousofaki	11	11	100	0.042	-	-	-	-
Μεσαιωνικός / Medieval	10	10	100	0.038	292	437	66.8	0.006
Γκάγκστερ / Gangster	9	9	100	0.035	46	100	46	0.001
Μακιαβελλικός τύπου / Machiavelli-like	4	4	100	0.015	32	46	69.5	0.0007
Μανδαρίνος / Mandarin	2	2	100	0.007	39	51	76.4	0.0008
Σουλτάνος / Sultan	2	2	100	0.007	1	171	0.58	0

Νενέκος / Nenekos	2	2	100	0.007	2	4	50	0
Μαφία / Mafia	2	8	25	0.007	163	591	27.5	0.003
Βαρόνος / Baron	2	2	100	0.007	7	46	15.2	0.0001
Πυραμίδα / Pyramid	1	1	100	0.003	302	498	60.6	0.006
Πρατωριανός / Praetorian	1	1	100	0.003	6	12	50	0.0001
Χίτλερ / Hitler	1	9	11.11	0.003	47	522	9	0.001
Γκαϊμπελικός/ Goebbels - like	1	1	100	0.003	-	2	-	-
Πύρεια νίκη / Pyrrhic victory	1	1	100	0.003	35	35	100	0
Σκλαβοπάζαρο/ Slave market	1	1	100	0.003	4	15	2.6	0.0003
TOTAL	82	96	85.4	0.303	1163	2872	40.4	0.022

TOTAL M17: 82

SOURCE DOMAIN: FOOD, DRINK AND COOKING

TABLE 36. EATING AND FOOD

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Ωμός / Raw	5	5	100	0.019	92	110	83.6	0.002
Καταβροχθίζω / To devour	4	6	66	0.015	42	71	59.1	0.0009
Ροκανίζω / To crunch	3	3	100	0.011	50	61	81.9	0.001
Τσιμπούσι / Feast	3	3	100	0.011	1	12	8.3	0.0000
Μασάω / To chew	3	3	100	0.011	33	109	30.2	0.0007
Σάλτσα / Sauce	2	2	100	0.007	24	89	26.9	0.0005
Καραμέλα / Sugar-candy	2	2	100	0.007	37	150	24.6	0.0008
Καταπίνω / To swallow	2	2	100	0.007	99	135	73.3	0.002
Ψιχίο / Breadcrumb	2	2	100	0.007	24	24	100	0.0005
Ορεξη / Appetite	2	2	100	0.007	504	607	83	0.011
Νωπή / Fresh	2	2	100	0.007	327	550	59.4	0.007
Ψωμί / Bread	1	1	100	0.003	159	340	46.7	0.003

Σούπα / Soup	1	1	100	0.003	37	137	27	0.0008
Συμπόσιο / Symposium	1	1	100	0.003	263	338	77.8	0.005
Ορντέβρ / Hors d'oeuvres	1	1	100	0.003	2	3	66.6	0
Πιάτο / Food dish	1	1	100	0.003	312	341	91.4	0.006
Μαγιονέζα / Mayonnaise	1	1	100	0.003	1	30	3.3	0
Πιλάφι / Pilaf	1	1	100	0.003	1	14	7.1	0
Πεινοσμένος / Hungry	1	2	50	0.003	34	176	19.3	0.0007
Φαγοπότι / Eating and drinking	1	1	100	0.003	8	64	12.5	0.0001
TOTAL	39	42	92.8	0.136	2050	3361	60	0.042

TABLE 37. COOKING AND SERVING

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Τροφοδοτώ / To cater	9	9	100	0.035	921	1028	89.5	0.020
Συνταγή / Recipe	5	5	100	0.019	739	1011	73	0.016
Σερβίρω / To serve food	2	3	87	0.007	63	241	26.1	0.001
Δηλητηριάζω / To poison	2	2	100	0.007	48	109	44	0.001
Μαγειρεύω / To cook	1	1	100	0.003	32	86	37.2	0.0007
Καβουρντίζω / To brown	1	1	100	0.003	-	1	-	-
Ματρ / Maitre	1	1	100	0.003	1	7	14.2	0
TOTAL	21	22	95.4	0.077	1804	2483	72.6	0.038

TABLE 38. DRINKING

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Δίψα / Thirst	2	4	67	0.007	123	250	49.2	0.002
Ξεξοπιάω / To squeeze/suck dry	2	2	100	0.007	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	4	6	66.6	0.014	123	250	49.2	0.002

TOTAL M17: 64

SOURCE DOMAIN: RELIGION

TABLE 39. RELIGION/BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Φαρισαίος / Pharisee	10	10	100	0.038	71	90	78.8	0.001
Παράδεισος / Paradise	3	3	100	0.011	613	704	87	0.013
Καθαγιασμός / Consecration	3	3	100	0.011	24	34	70.5	0.0005
Τροπάρι / Hymn	3	3	100	0.011	76	90	84.4	0.001
Αυτολιβανίζομαι / To incense oneself	2	2	00	0.007	-	-	-	-
Αγγελος / Angel	2	2	100	0.007	81	106	76.4	0.001
Λιβανίζω / To incense	2	2	100	0.007	9	10	90	0.0002
Νοσος / Godfather	2	2	100	0.007	94	123	76.4	0.002
Ο εν πολλαίς αμαρτίαις περιπεσών / He who committed many sins	2	2	100	0.007	6	7	85.7	0.0001
Αρχιερέας / High	1	1	100	0.003	111	381	29.1	0.002

TABLE 40. METAPHYSICAL

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Φάντασμα / Ghost	3	3	100	0.011	611	776	78.7	0.013
Μπαμπούλας / Bogeyman	2	2	100	0.007	56	58	96.5	0.001
TOTAL	5	5	100	0.018	667	834	79.9	0.014

TOTAL M17: 48

SOURCE DOMAIN: WORK / PROFESSIONS

TABLE 41. PROFESSIONS

Linguistic expressions	Metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus (M17)	Total occurrences in 17N corpus	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in 17N corpus	M17 Per 1000 words	Metaphorical occurrences in HNC (MHNC)	Total occurrences in HNC	Percentage of metaphorical vs. non-metaphorical occurrences in HNC	MHNC Per 1000 words
Χωροφύλακας / Policeman	22	22	100	0.085	172	274	62.7	0.003
Χασάπης / Butcher	5	5	100	0.019	53	88	60.2	0.001
Μπος / Boss	2	2	100	0.007	3	3	1.0	0
Αμερικανοδουλεία / American slave trade	1	1	100	0.003	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	30	30	100	0.114	228	365	62.4	0.004

TOTAL M17: 30

APPENDIX 3

ANNOUNCEMENT – DENOUNCIATION

1. On Wednesday the 15th of March 17N used two rocket bombs to hit MEGA Channel's buildings in Paiania, during the evening newscast of 8.30. The TV reports that followed, as well as the whole press, presented the hit as “**blind**”.
2. They claimed that 17N had not warned anyone before the launch, **putting** the people who work in MEGA Channel in serious danger. The truth is totally different.
3. 17N made a phone call at 8.30 to newspaper Eleutherotypia and, speaking as 17N, mentioned that in 15 to 20 minutes two bombs we had placed in MEGA's buildings in Paiania would explode. We asked them to phone MEGA so that the people who worked there could leave the buildings. It should be noted here that Eleutherotypia's ownership is a partner in MEGA's ownership.
4. We have followed the same method in the past in similar cases like those of Chalyps Cements, Lewenbrau Factory, Penteliko Hotel, EU Offices etc. Finally we **added** that our action was directed against the **gangster** shipowners who, as **media-leaders**, **mislead** the people every day.
5. Newspaper Eleutherotypia did not phone MEGA. Its editor, S. Fyntanides, did not hesitate to telephonically intervene during the live TV broadcast by MEGA, when, lying, he claimed that there had been no warning from 17N, and that nobody had called Eleutherotypia.
6. On the next day Thursday the 16th of March we called radio station Sky at about 2.15 in the afternoon. We spoke, always as 17N, with journalist Evangelia Mpaltatzi, and we explained the above to her. The journalist showed such surprise after listening to us that she had to ask: “You mean, you are claiming that you had warned Eleutherotypia and that they concealed it?” In the Sky news bulletin that immediately followed at 2.30, journalist L. Kominis mentioned the phone call, without, however, denominating Eleutherotypia.
7. While Sky radio station made public that 17N had warned by telephone, all the media pretended they had not heard it, and concealed the second phone call as well. Apart from the Sky news bulletin at 2.30 on Thursday, no electronic or printed media mentioned our phone calls even when these had been “on air”, which proves that all the media had reached a previous agreement.

8. The image is now **clear**. Eleutherotypia and MEGA's ownership and management concealed the telephonic warning by 17N with one intention: to cause casualties among the journalists and the other workers at MEGA. Even if this opinion seems outrageous, for the **brains** and for its prompters who belong to the American secret services CIA-FBI that today **lead** the Greek police force and the media in issues of "terrorism", "innocent victims" are necessary, since they are going to destroy 17N according to the following plan.
9. The concealment of the telephonic warning will create innocent victims and will allow the TV channels and the press to **shift/throw** the responsibility to 17N. In this way the people's sympathy for 17N will **collapse** and **outrage** will prevail. Favorable political circumstances will be created so that the second **part/limb** of the scheme can take place. Raids in houses and arrests, violating the constitutional and legal regime. Finally, (there will be) enforcement of the third **part/limb** of the scheme, on which we are going to speak further on, with the disclosure of the so-called evidence of the East-European secret services STASI, KGB, Hungarian etc., made by the American CIA-FBI agents themselves, the ones who **lead** the anti-terrorist forces against the usual or not so usual suspects.
10. If, then, the workers of MEGA have been in danger, this is not because of 17N not having warned, but because our telephonic warning was concealed. If Eleutherotypia had notified MEGA like we had asked, they had all the time in 15-20 minutes for everyone to leave the buildings as had happened in the past in the cases we have already mentioned. If then they have been in danger that is because of the irresponsible and criminal behaviour of the ownership and management of Eleutherotypia and MEGA, in order for 17N to be politically **hit** and destroyed.
11. This behaviour **sheds** abundant **light** to the pompous declarations about the sanctity of human life with which various humanists, media owners and managers, never waste the opportunity to **bomb** us. It shows what kind of respect these people have for journalists. It shows that they are treating them like shipowners treat the third world sailors in their **tubs**.
12. We denounce to the Greek people this criminal and also **Machiavellian** behaviour of the ownership and the management of Eleutherotypia and MEGA. We denounce the fact that in the particular case they were not independent media, which they claim to be, but the cops' anti-terrorist force. That they conceded to **blindly** execute the orders of their leaders, American agents of the CIA and FBI.
13. Finally the fact that not even afterwards after our second phone call to Sky on Thursday, no media mentioned, not even as news, that 17N claims to have given warning, is very **enlightening/illuminating**. They knew very well that if it were their word against ours, the people would believe us. They knew their unreliability and of our reliability. Which means that this is a society in which the official institutions have self-knowledge of their unreliability and knowledge of the "criminals" who fight against

them. And, like so many historical examples, this is an indication of a society not only in **deep decay** but also slowly but steadily **walking** towards **collapse**.

- 14.** The case however of our attack against MEGA is not the only case where the media act **blindly** following the orders of American CIA-FBI agents, leaders of the anti-terrorist service.
- 15.** In the past months they have developed with particular intensity a whole **fairly tale** regarding the evidence of the archives of the ex “socialist” secret services of Eastern European countries STASI, KGB, Hungarian, Romanian etc. Evidence that allegedly refers to 17N. We see the apposite minister Papatthemelis travelling repeatedly to these countries with the supposedly obvious aim to bring this evidence. This whole case would be simply laughable if it did not constitute the third **part/limb** of the aforementioned scheme.
- 16.** Suppose that some or more of these secret services really did have evidence on 17N. Suppose that in the circumstances of complete breakup, poverty and cooperation among the ex Stalinist agents and the Westerners, after the **collapse** of the previous regimes, some eastern agents really wanted to exchange this evidence for a reward. Who would they give it to? Who would they sell it to?
- 17.** If these files contained the least evidence regarding 17N the CIA would have taken possession of it on their own initiative, at least five years ago. They would have taken advantage of it and they would have proceeded to arrests, through their anti-terrorist force.
- 18.** If there existed evidence it would have been delivered in full secrecy, so that the receiver would be allowed to surprise us without leaving us time to hide. The disclosure of the delivery, the **staging** of Papatthemelis’ successive trips and of the evidence being formally delivered to him, Papatthemelis’ **theatrical** confessions that “we are processing the evidence”, the Americans’ complete absence from the **spotlight**, who should, normally, have the **leading role** in such a deal, all this shows everybody that there is no evidence and they are aiming at something else.
- 19.** The conclusion is **clear**. If there is evidence it is fake. Made by the only one who is in a position to do it: CIA and the American secret services. The American agents who nowadays manage the anti-terrorist force know who the so-called “suspects” are, if they are not indirectly suggesting them themselves.
- 20.** Even though these agents are the best the biggest secret service in the world has. They have the most perfect technical equipment, they have spent huge sums amounting to many billions of dollars. They not only enjoy complete freedom of movement by the Greek government but they are the absolute **sultans** of the anti-terrorist force, changing its leader because they considered him to be uncooperative. They are watching, with every means they have, these “suspects” over long periods of time, as was proven in the incident where American agents with wigs were revealed in a little van in Kypseli, the year before last.

21. Even if, then, they have been managing the various anti-terrorist sections of the security police for at least 15 years, the only thing they have accomplished is the complete **de-fictionalisation** (no more being a myth) of CIA and FBI and of their renowned agents. With their failure to eliminate an organisation of simple common fighters like 17N, in a small country, and the successive fiascos in which they **broke their faces**, falsely accusing tens of citizens as members or leaders of 17N without any evidence at all. Let us admire the amazing abilities of these gentlemen who demand that we acknowledge them as world leaders.

22. So, these gentlemen, since they saw that they are not achieving anything against 17N, they **staged** the following story. We don't have to agonise over evidence since we are incapable of tracing it. We can simply make it ourselves, pass it to these archives in cooperation with eastern agents or our own in the case of STASI, since its archives are being administered by the ex West German secret service. We can then whisper to them to call Papathemelis and tell Papathemelis to go over there and we are **clean**.

23. The critical point in this scheme is the following: the police will be able to operate as in a dictatorship. The "evidence" will justify raids in people's homes, arrests of "suspects" and interrogations, which will happen with violation of the legal regime, and without any political reactions to these **fascist-like** police preemptoriness. According to the **brains** of this scheme, referring to the secret services of the ex "socialist" countries adds authority and **weight** to the "evidence" while simultaneously acting towards the partial elimination of political reactions from two political spaces: from the communist left, whose leadership is asking for a chance anyway, and especially from the space of the anarchists and the anti-authoritarians who are sensitive to police preemptoriness, but part of it has claimed that 17N was a KGB instrument. As far as the would-be reaction of the media is concerned, finally, the case of our recent attack against MEGA showed that they are absolutely controlled.

24. We can place within the same **fairy tale** the alleged connection between Carlos and 17N, the disclosures by the Swiss, etc. Meanwhile, and for the **saucy to set**, there is going to be an appeal to the necessary technology and to the tremendous technical abilities of the Americans by presenting certain evidence of the kind of the photograph taken from a camera in Riancour Street etc. (It may be that today it has been revealed that the renowned informer of the security police who led to Riancour was a **fairy tale**, and that they **constructed** a whole 17N - **monkey** in order to pocket the hundreds of millions of the price set, and that our version about Riancour was the real one, but such small details do not intimidate an agent).

25. The above scheme, which is a common secret among journalists, has been ready for months now. It seems that they intend to put it to practice immediately after an important hit from our part, in which, as they say, there is going to be a "victim". They desperately tried to create this victim in our attack against MEGA by withholding our telephonic warning but it didn't work out for them and they are waiting for more to come.

26. As far as we are concerned the idea would never cross our minds to deprive the Greek people, in these cheerless times, of a **theatre** that promises to be shocking and much more entertaining than the previous ones.

27. It is **clear**. The media, owned by the oligopoly of the all-powerful economic circles, **cover** for them for money, mock the Greek people and are accomplices. Justice, instead of putting them to jail like in France and in Italy, is trying to participate in the general **feast**. The conclusion is specific: Not only must we not postpone our activity but on the contrary the situation itself imposes on us to expand it even more. To create one, two, three, many 17Ns.

THE BATTLE GOES ON

Athens 27/03/95

Revolutionary Organisation November 17

APPENDIX 4

1. CHRONOLOGY OF 17N'S ATTACKS

DATE	TYPE OF ATTACK
23/12/75	CIA station chief Richard Welch is murdered in Psychico.
13/12/76	Discharged police officer Evangelos Mallios is murdered in Palaio Faliro.
16/1/80	Riot squad (MAT) deputy director Pantelis Petrou and his driver Sotiris Stamoulis are killed in Pangrati.
15/11/83	US Navy Captain George Tsantes, chief of JUSMAGG, and his driver Nikos Veloutsos are murdered in Psychico.
3/4/84	JUSMAGG officer Robert Chant survives an attack at Hellenikon.
21/2/85	Publisher of Apogevmatini newspaper Nikos Momferatos is killed in central Kolonaki, along with his driver Panayiotis Roussetis.
26/11/85	A riot squad bus is blown up in Kaisariani, killing officer N. Georgakopoulos.
8/4/86	Industrialist Dimitris Angelopoulos is killed in Kolonaki.
5/10/86	A barrage of bomb attacks is launched at four taxation bureaus.
4/2/87	Dr Zacharias Kapsalakis is injured in an attack at Halandri.
24/4/87	11 American soldiers are injured by a blast on an air force bus in Rendi.
10/8/87	Another nine Americans are injured after a bomb explodes on a bus at Kavouri.

21/1/88	November 17 members attempt to kill US official George Karos in Filothei.
1/3/88	Industrialist Alexandros Athanasiadis-Bodosakis is murdered in Filothei.
23/3/88	Four vehicles belonging to Turkish diplomats are damaged by bombs in Pangrati.
28/6/88	US defence attaché William Nordeen is killed by a bomb in a booby-trapped car in Kifissia.
14/8/88	Six members of November 17 hold up four police officers in Vyronas police station and steal weapons.
10/1/89	Public prosecutor Constantine Androulidakis is injured in the legs. He dies a month later.
18/1/89	Public prosecutor Panayiotis Tarasouleas is injured in Maroussi.
22/2/89	Luxury homes in Kolonaki, Halandri, and Vrillissia are bombed.
8/5/89	Giorgos Petsos is injured in a bomb explosion in his car in Filothei.
26/9/89	Parliamentary deputy Pavlos Bakoyiannis is murdered in Kolonaki.
25/12/89	November 17 members break into storerooms at the Sykouri army camp and steal missiles and ammunition. A few months later the group begins a new round of missile attacks.
3/2/90	November 17 members steal bazookas from the War Museum.
15/5/90	23 bomb explosions rock Ekali in northern Athens.
10/6/90	First missile attack launched, against offices of Procter and Gamble.

20/11/90	Businessman Vardis Vardinoyiannis escapes injury when three missiles are launched against his armoured limousine in Erythraia, northern Athens.
16/12/90	Two missiles are fired on the European Community office on Vasilissis Sofias Avenue, central Athens.
24/1/91	Bomb explodes at the home of the French defence attaché in Metz.
28/1/91	American Express bank in central Panepistimou Street is hit by a missile.
29/1/91	BP offices on Kifissias Avenue are hit by a missile.
10/3/91	Five tourist coaches are damaged by bombs exploding in the central Athenian districts of Galatsi and Ano Kypseli.
13/3/91	US army sergeant Ronald Stewart is killed by a remote-controlled explosive device in Ano Glyfada, southeastern Athens.
31/3/91	Missile attack is launched on the Pendelikon hotel in Kifissia, northern Athens.
27/4/91	Bomb explodes on the tugboat Karapiperis in the port of Perama.
2/5/91	Missile attack is made on a branch of Public Power Corporation (DEH) in Aghioi Anargyroi, western Attica.
8/5/91	The Siemens branch in Maroussi, northern Athens, is hit by two missiles.
16/5/91	Missile attack is made on Halyps Cement installation at Aspropyrgos, southwest of Athens.
31/5/91	Two missiles are fired on a Löwenbräu factory at Atalanti, north of Athens.
16/7/91	A booby-trapped car explodes in Psychico, injuring Turkish Charge d' Affaires Deniz Bulukbasi.

7/10/91	The Turkish Embassy's assistant press attaché, Cetin Giorku, is murdered.
2/11/91	A missile and hand grenade attack is launched against riot squad bus in Exarchia, central Athens, killing police officer Yiannis Varis, 25, and injuring another six officers.
8/12/91	Two missiles hit Biohalko company office in Nea Filothei.
14/7/92	Missile attack is made on limousine of Finance Minister Ioannis Palaiokrassas in Syntagma Square. Passer-by Athanasios Axarlian, 22, is killed by shrapnel.
31/11/92	A missile damages the Nea Philadelphia tax office.
4/12/92	A bomb explodes at Maroussi tax office.
21/12/92	November 17 members injure New Democracy party deputy Eleftherios Papadimitriou, using .38 and .45 revolvers.
11/2/93	A bomb explodes at the Moschato tax office, southern Athens.
23/2/93	Another bomb attack on a tax office, this time in Haidari, western Athens.
3/3/93	Peristeri tax office, also in western Athens, is bombed.
9/3/93	A missile attack is made on the tax office of Kaminia, near Piraeus.
11/3/93	Bombs hit Petroupolis tax office in western Athens.
24/1/94	Michalis Vranopoulos, former governor of National Bank of Greece, is killed in Kolonaki. His driver, Nikos Grispos, is

	injured.
11/4/94	Missile attacks are made on insurance companies Aliko and Nationale Nederlanden. Two other missiles fired at the British aircraft carrier Ark Royal in Piraeus miss their target.
21/4/94	Bomb attack is made on the Miele showroom in Psychico.
18/5/94	A missile attack is made on the IBM office in Filellinon Street in central Athens.
4/7/94	Turkish diplomat Omer Sipahioglu is murdered.
15/3/95	Two missiles are fired at Mega television channel studios in Paeania, northeast of Athens.
15/2/96	Missiles are fired at the US Embassy, striking the outside wall.
28/5/97	Ship owner Costas Peratikos is murdered in Piraeus.
3/2/98	Bombs hit McDonalds outlets in northern suburbs of Halandri and Vrilissia.
19/2/98	A bomb explodes at the General Motors showroom on Kifissias Avenue.
12/5/98	Bombs explode outside the showrooms of Chrysler on Katehaki Avenue and Opel on Mesogeion Avenue.
1/4/99	A missile is fired at PASOK headquarters on Harilaou Trikoupi Street in downtown Athens.
5/5/99	Three missiles are fired at three different banks in Piraeus.
17/5/99	A missile strikes the roof of the German ambassador's residence in Halandri.

8/6/2000

British defence attaché Brigadier Stephen Saunders is murdered on Kifissias Avenue in Athens.

SOURCE: *I Kathimerini*, 07/08/2002

2.17N'S COMMUNIQUÉS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER, INCLUDING THE NUMBER OF WORDS OF EACH TEXT

(NOTE: The dates shown below are the dates of publication of each text and not the dates of the communiqués' composition, or the dates that the events mentioned in the communiqués took place.)

NO.	DATE OF PUBLICATION	NUMBER OF WORDS
1	24 December 1975	1103
2	26 December 1975	1014
3	14 December 1976	847
4	April 1977	11209
5	16 January 1980	3119
6	24 July 1981	14149
7	15 November 1983	4016
8	3 April 1984	1147
9	20 July 1984	3346
10	21 February 1985	2277
11	22 September 1985	1148
12	27 November 1985	1866
13	4 December 1985	2104

14	8 April 1986	7544
15	27 April 1986	2843
16	3 October 1986	6302
17	14 October 1986	928
18	4 February 1987	2171
19	25 April 1987	2132
20	11 August 1987	955
21	11 October 1987	2320
22	14 October 1987	905
23	22 January 1988	542
24	22 January 1988	356
25	1 March 1988	3891
26	14 March 1988	4342
27	23 May 1988	2566
28	29 June 1988	3079
29	17 August 1988	668
30	11 November 1988	2724
31	17 November 1988	2277
32	18 January 1989	2278
33	3 February 1989	2446

34	23 February 1989	1971
35	8 May 1989	1740
36	20 May 1989	4876
37	31 May 1989	3168
38	9 June 1989	110
39	20 June 1989	109
40	3 July 1989	1097
41	26 September 1989	6863
42	11 October 1989	8451
43	31 October 1989	3339
44	17 November 1989	154
45	5 February 1990	3455
46	16 May 1990	1763
47	6 June 1990	294
48	11 June 1990	2068
49	14 September 1990	1181
50	10 October 1990	341
51	18 October 1990	951
52	12 November 1990	321
53	20 November 1990	4952

54	19 December 1990	2977
55	30 January 1991	3667
56	12 March 1991	1879
57	6 June 1991	2416
58	16 July 1991	2309
59	16 July 1991	Included above*
60	17 July 1991	Included above*
61	31 July 1991	Included above*
62	7 October 1991	786
63	24 October 1991	3090
64	24 October 1991	435
65	3 November 1991	1147
66	9 May 1992	1251
67	14 July 1992	2777
68	19 July 1992	2353
69	20 July 1992	403
70	27 July 1992	2449
71	19 November 1992	7267
72	21 December 1992	901
73	24 January 1994	2880

74	4 July 1994	1710
75	15 March 1995	3204
76	31 March 1995	1478
77	28 May 1997	3524
78	8 April 1998	3867
79	16 March 1999	4099
80	8 June 2000	6693
81	13 December 2000	2152
82	June 2001	5355

TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS: 256.882

NOTE: The communiqués shown with an asterisk (*), whose number of words is included in the communiqué just above them, were originally parts of the same text, which was later split into four smaller texts for publication purposes.