Hacettepe University

Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of Linguistics

ANIMAL METAPHORS IN PERSIAN AND TURKISH PROVERBS: A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC STUDY

Shahrooz Pourhossein

PhD Dissertation

Ankara, 2016

ANIMAL METAPHORS IN PERSIAN AND TURKISH PROVERBS: A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC STUDY

Shahrooz Pourhossein

Hacettepe University

Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of Linguistics

PhD Dissertation

Ankara, 2016

KABUL VE ONAY

Shahrooz Pourhossein tarafından hazırlanan "Animal Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs: A Cognitive Linguistic Study" başlıklı bu çalışma, 30 Haziran, 2016 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Doktora Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Prof. Dr. Nalan BÜYÜKKANTARCIOĞLU (Başkan)

Prof. Dr. Işıl ÖZYILDIRIM (Danışman)

Prof. Dr. Mustafa AKSAN

Prof. Dr. Yeşim AKSAN

Doç. Dr. Emine YARAR

Yukarıdaki imzaların adı geçen öğretim üyelerine ait olduğunu onaylarım.

Prof. Dr. Sibel BOZBEYOĞLU

Enstitü Müdürü

BİLDİRİM

Hazırladığım tezin/raporun tamamen kendi çalışmam olduğunu ve her alıntıya kaynak gösterdiğimi taahhüt eder, tezimin/raporumun kağıt ve elektronik kopyalarının Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü arşivlerinde aşağıda belirttiğim koşullarda saklanmasına izin verdiğimi onaylarım:

☐ Tezimin/Raporumun tamamı her yerden erişime açılabilir.

☐ Tezim/Raporum sadece Hacettepe Üniversitesi yerleşkelerinden erişime açılabilir.

■ Tezimin/Raporumun 3 yıl süreyle erişime açılmasını istemiyorum. Bu sürenin sonunda uzatma için başvuruda bulunmadığım takdirde, tezimin/raporumun tamamı her yerden erişime açılabilir.

30.06.2016

Pourhossein

Shahrooz Pourhossein

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

On my long way to accomplish the PhD studies, I was supported by many people in many ways. This study is the result of both emotional and intellectual support from those people, first and foremost, my advisor Prof. Dr. Işıl Özyıldırım. I hereby take the chance to give her my whole-hearted gratitude for the academic support she always provided me throughout my way, from the first day of my arrival at Hacettepe University till the end.

My gratitude is also due to Prof. Dr. Nalan Büyükkantarcıoğlu, who always stood by my side both intellectually and emotionally either as my professor or as the Head of department. The joyful discussions on metaphors in her classes motivated me take this path to research. My gratitude is also due to Prof. Dr. Gürkan Doğan, and Prof. Dr. Yeşim Aksan whose keen observations in reading my thesis, constructive comments and feedbacks directed my efforts in right path.

My gratitude is also due to Uppsala University for its generosity to open the doors of its magnificent library. I am deeply grateful to Prof. Dr. Eva Csáto, the Department of Turkology for accepting me as visiting Erasmus student during the academic year 2013-2014. I also take this chance to give my thanks to Associate Prof. Dr. Birsel Karakoç in the Turkology Department and Associate Prof. Dr. Forough Hashabeiky in the Department of Iranian studies for helping me out while preparing the list of Turkish and Persian proverbs.

My acknowledgement also goes to English Language Department at Stockholm University for accepting me to their Symposium of PhD students and the invaluable comments they had on the betterment of my thesis.

The last but not the least, my thanks are due to my family, especially my little nephew whose love encouraged me at each and every step to move on during

my stay in Turkey and Sweden. I will always be grateful to all those who made it possible.

Finally, I would like to dedicate each and every effort behind this endeavor to:

The Generous Hands of the Nature

and,

The Innocence of All Children

ÖZET

Bilişsel Dilbilim insan zihninin yapısının metaforik olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Diğer bir deyişle, insanlar soyut kavramları daha somut kavramlar çerçevesinde kavramsallaştırmaktadırlar. Böylece, bize en yakın somut alan olan vücudumuz – diğer sosyal, kültürel ve coğrafi çevre ile birlikte – metaforik kavramsallaştırmalarımızda önemli bir rol üstlenmektedir. Bu çerçeveden bakıldığında, yaşadığımız çevrenin bir parçası olmalarından dolayı hayvanların da bilişimizin metaforik olarak yapılanmasında önemli bir rol oynadığını söyleyebiliriz.

Bilişsel Metafor Kuramını yöntem olarak benimseyen bu çalışma, çevrelerinde bulunan hayvanların metaforik olarak kullanımıyla iki komşu ülkenin halkları olarak Türk ve İranlıların dünyayı benzer ya da farklı biçimlerde nasıl kavramsallaştırdıkları sorusuna yanıt aramaktadır. Tezin araştırma sorularını yanıtlamak amacıyla temel olarak Türkçe ve Farsça atasözlerinde hayvan metaforları içeren kaynak-alan-yönelimli bir çalışma planlanmıştır. Kültürel ve bilişsel açıdan zenginliği atasözlerinin araştırma materyali olarak seçilmelerinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Türkçe ve Farsça ortalama 12000 atasözünün taranmasından sonra araştırmada kullanılmak üzere 171 Farsça ve 187 Türkçe atasözü seçilmiştir. Bu amaçla toplanan veri hem betimleyici ve hem de bilişsel açılardan çözümlenmiştir.

Çalışmanın hayvanların türü, kullanım sıklığı ve yaşadıkları ortam açılarından yapılan betimleyici çözümlemesinin sonuçları Türkçe ve Farsça atasözleri arasında hem benzerlik ve hem de farklılıklar olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Her iki dildeki atasözlerinin bilişsel açıdan çözümlenmesi de hem kültürel ve hem de kavramsal açılardan kültüre bağımlı farklılıklar ya da benzerlikler olduğunu bize göstermektedir. Özet olarak, çalışmanın sonuçları kültürel ve coğrafi çevrenin insanın ve diğer deneyim alanlarının kavramlaştırılmasında önemli bir rol oynadığı görüşünü desteklemektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler : Hayvan, Metafor, Atasözü, Bilişsel dilbilim, Farsça, Türkçe

ABSTRACT

Cognitive linguistics proposes that the structure of human mind is metaphorical that is to say; human being conceptualizes abstract concepts in terms of more concrete concepts. Therefore, our body- as the first available concrete domain- along with our social, cultural and geographical environment - play significant role in our metaphorical conceptualization. Following this rationale, animals also have played a remarkable role in the metaphorical formation of our cognition since they are also part of the environment we live in.

By adopting Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the present study tried to find out how similar the neighboring Persian and Turkish speaking folk conceptualize the world around them by metaphorical use of animals in their proverbs. The cultural and cognitive richness of proverbs was the motivation for selecting them as research material. In order to answer the research questions, a predominantly source-domain-oriented study was designed to investigate the Persian and Turkish proverbs containing animal metaphors. After scanning almost 12000 Persian and Turkish proverbs, 171 Persian proverbs and 187 Turkish proverbs were selected for final investigation. In order to answer the research questions, the gathered data were analyzed from both descriptive and cognitive perspective.

The descriptive analysis of data in terms of type, frequency and makeup of use of animal names in Turkish and Persian proverbs illustrated both variation and similarity. Cognitive analysis of the proverbs also revealed notable points of culture-specificity and similarity between both languages at both conceptual and cultural level. In sum, the results of the study supported the significance of cultural and geographical environment on how both folk used the animals metaphorically in order to conceptualize human and other domains of experience.

Key Words: Animal, Metaphor, Proverb, Cognitive Linguistics, Persian, Turkish.

İÇİNDEKİLER

KABUL VE ONAY……l

BILDIRIM ……ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT……iii

ÖZET……lv

ABSTRACT……v

TABLE OF CONTENTS…… ……vi

LIST OF TABLES……xii

LIST OF FIGURES……viii

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS……ix

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION……1

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY… …… 1

1.2. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY…… 4

1.3. THE AIM OF THE STUDY…… 5

1.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS……6

1.5. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY ……6

1.6. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY……7

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ……9

2.1. INTRODUCTION TO COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS…… ……9

2.2. PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF COGNITIVE SEMANTICS… ……... 11

2.3. CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY ……14

2.4. DEVELOPMENT OF METAPHOR STUDIES ……15

2.5. CLASSIFICATION OF METAPHORS ……18

2.5.1 Conceptual vs. Linguistic Metaphors……19

2.5.2. Function… ……20

2.5.3. Conventionality……..23

2.5.4. Nature of Metaphors…… …….. 24

2.5.5. Generality……...25

2.5.6. Complexity…… ……. 26

2.5.7. Structure… ……..…… 29

2.5.8. Universality vs. Variation …….....……30

2.5.8.1. Congruent Metaphors …….....32

2.5.8.2. Alternative Metaphors ……33

2.5.8.3. Preferential Metaphors……...……33

2.5.8.4. Unique Metaphors…… … ……..…33

2.6. WHY PROVERBS? WHY A COGNITIVE APPROACH TO INVESTIGATE PROVERBS?.....34

2.7. GREAT CHAIN OF BEING METAPHOR THEORY ……36

2.7.1. Great Chain of Being … ……..……39

2.7.2. The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC Metaphor ……..…..41

2.7.3. The Theory of the Nature of Things…… ……44

2.7.4. The Maxim of Quantity ……..…..…44

2.8. IS METAPHOR THE ONLY MECHANISM IN PROVERBS?.....45

2.9. A BRIEF REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE…..……47

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY……..……..…51

3.1. RESEARCH DESIGN …….....51

3.2. DATA COLLECTION …… ……....52

3.4. DATA ANALYSIS ……..54

3.4.1. Descriptive Data Analysis ….……....55

3.4.2. Cognitive Data Analysis……...56

3.4.2.1. Procedure ……57

3.4.2.2. Metaphor Identification……..…….....….58

3.4.2.3. Primary and Complex Metaphor Distinction…59

3.4.2.4. Metonymy Identification…… .59

3.4.2.5. Eliciting positive and negative attributes…..…60

3.4.2.6. A Brief Target-domain-oriented Categorization of Metaphors: A Reverse Look ……..…...62

3.5. TYPOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS……. ……..….62

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND RESULTS……..……..…64

4.1. DESCRIPTIVE DATA ANALYSIS…….……..…..64

4.1.1. Number and Type ……..…64

4.1.2. Frequency…… ……....67

4.1.2.1. Horse and donkey…….……..……69

4.1.2.2. Dog… ……....71

4.1.2.3. Wolf and camel……..……....72

4.1.2.4. Cat…… ……..……..73

4.1.2.4. Sheep… ……..……74

4.1.3. Makeup **……..……..…..**74

4.2. COGNITIVE ANALYSIS…….…… 77

4.2.1. Horse Metaphors……..…78

4.2.1.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Horse Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……89

4.2.1.1.1. Horse……..…90

4.2.1.1.2. Horse Riding…… ……..91

4.2.1.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Horse Metaphors in Persian Proverbs.……95

4.2.1.2.1. Horse ……..……..….96

4.2.1.2.2. Horse Riding ……...…96

4.2.1.2.3. Horse Training and Nailing…....97

4.2.1.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors ……97

4.2.2. Donkey Metaphors ……..……103

4.2.2.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Donkey Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……...114

4.2.2.1.1 Donkey……115

4.2.2.1.2. Donkey Riding……..116

4.2.2.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Donkey Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..121

4.2.2.2.1. Donkey…….……122

4.2.2.2.2. Mounting and Dismounting Donkey ……..…...…..122

4.2.2.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors.....123

4.2.3. Dog Metaphors ……129

4.2.3.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Dog Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……..…….138

4.2.3.1.1. Dog…….……..……..…138

4.2.3.1.2. Dog Appearance…….…..…..139

4.2.3.1.3. Dog Behavior …..……..…139

4.2.3.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Dog Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……...……148

4.2.3.2.1. Dog……....148

4.2.3.2.2. Dog Behavior ……...149

4.2.3.2.3. Dog Appearance ……..150

4.2.3.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors……..……..150

4.2.4. Wolf Metaphors..… ……...…...155

4.2.4.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Wolf Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs …….……160

4.2.4.1.1. Wolf and Wolf Behavior (Preying) ……..160

4.2.4.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Wolf Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ..……...…163

4.2.4.2.1. Wolf and Wolf Behavior (Preying)

…….……163

4.2.4.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors ….164

4.2.5. Cat Metaphors…….……. 166

4.2.5.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Cat Metaphors in Persian Proverbs..... 169

4.2.5.2. Source and Target Doman Analysis of Cat Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..……..173

4.2.5.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors.…..174

4.2.6. Sheep Metaphors……...178

4.2.6.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Sheep Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…… ….…182

4.2.6.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Sheep Metaphors in Persian Proverbs …….....…184

4.2.6.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors 184

4.2.7. Camel Metaphors .....……186

4.2.7.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Camel Metaphors in Persian Proverbs.....… ..189

4.2.7.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Camel Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…….192

4.2.7.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors …...193

4.2.8. Fish Metaphors..……195

4.2.8.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Fish Metaphors in Turkish and Persian Proverbs...199

4.2.8.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors.…... 200

4.2.9. Pigeon Metaphors ……..…..……..203

4.2.9.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Pigeon Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…..…….205

4.2.9.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Pigeon Metaphors in Persian Proverbs… ……..……207

4.2.9.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors…...…207

4.2.10. Mouse Metaphors …… ……..…….. 208

4.2.10.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Mouse Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……..…210

4.2.10.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Mouse Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs .....…213

4.2.10.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors…...…….213

4.2.11. Snake Metaphors… ……...……..……..…215

4.2.11.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Snake Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……..217

4.2.11.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Snake Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……..220

4.2.11.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors...220

4.2.12. Rooster Metaphors…… 223

4.2.12.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Rooster Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ...225

4.2.12.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Rooster Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…228

4.2.12.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors…229

4.2.13. Goat Metaphors..……..……..…232

4.2.13.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Goat Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……..234

4.2.13.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Goat Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……..…236

4.2.13.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors…236

4.2.14. Hen Metaphors…….....239

4.2.14.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Hen Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……..241

4.2.14.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Hen Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……...244

4.2.14.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors…245

4.2.15. Fox Metaphors (In Turkish Proverbs)…..……....247

4.2.15.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Hen Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…….249

4.2.15.2.Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors...250

4.2.16. Jackal Metaphors (In Persian Proverbs)……..……....250

4.2.16.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Fox Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……..…253

4.2.16.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors… 254

4.2.17. Raven Metaphors…….256

4.2.17.1 Source and Target Domain Analysis of Raven Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……....258

4.2.17.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Raven Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……...260

4.2.17.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors….261

4.2.18. Lion Metaphors……....263

4.2.18.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Lion Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs …….265

4.2.18.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Lion Metaphors in Persian Proverbs …….267

4.18.2.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors……...268

4.2.19. Ant Metaphors……..…270

4.2.19.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Ant Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……...271

4.2.19.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors ……..……..……271

4.2.19.3. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Ant Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……273

4.2.19.4. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors....274

4.2.20. Bear Metaphors…….…… 276

4.2.20.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Bear Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……277

4.2.20.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Bear Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……279

4.2.20.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors.....280

4.2.21. Frog Metaphors …… ……....282

4.2.21.1. Contrastive Analysis of Source and Target Domains in Persian and Turkish Proverbs ……...284

4.22.1.2 Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors …284

4.2.22. Sparrow Metaphors ……..…286

4.2.22.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Sparrow Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs....288

4.2.22.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Sparrow Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…289

4.2.22.3. Contrastive Analysis Underlying Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors…..290

4.2.23. Eagle Metaphor...…….292

4.2.23.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Eagle Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……..293

4.2.23.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Eagle Metaphors in Persian Proverbs 294

4.2.23.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors …295

4.2.24. Cow Metaphors ……..…296

4.2.24.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Cow Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……..297

4.2.24.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Cow Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……..299

4.2.24.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors....300

4.2.25. Bull Metaphors … …….....302

4.2.25.1. Contrastive Analysis of Source and Target Domains of Bull Metaphors in Turkish and Persian Proverbs……...303

4.2.25.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors …304

4.2.27. Lamb Metaphors ……..……..306

4.2.26.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Lamb Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……..307

4.2.26.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Lamb Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……..308

4.2.26.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors …… 309

4.2.27. Goose Metaphors ……...310

4.2.27.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Goose Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs….311

4.2.27.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Goose Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…312

4.2.27.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors ……....313

4.2.28. Bee Metaphors..……...…314

4.2.28.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Bee Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…….315

4.2.28.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Bee Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……..316

4.2.28.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors …317

4.2.29. Monkey Metaphors…… ……..…….....318

4.2.29.1. Contrastive Analysis of Source and Target Domains of Monkey Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs ……. 320

4.2.29.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors…320

4.2.30. Chicken Metaphors.… ……....321

4.2.30.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Chicken Metaphors In Persian and Turkish Proverbs ……..323

4.2.30.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors.....323

4.2.31. Mule Metaphors ……..325

4.2.31.1 Contrastive Analysis of Source and Target Domains of Mule Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs ……326

4.2.31.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors ...327

4.2.32. Elephant Metaphors ….....328

4.2.32.1. Contrastive Analysis of Source and Target Domains of Elephant Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs…….329

4.2.32.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors 329

4.2.33. Nightingale Metaphors…….330

4.2.33.1. Contrastive Analysis of Source and Target Domains in Persian and Turkish Nightingale Metaphors……331

4.2.33.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors …331

4.2.34. Calf Metaphors…….333

4.2.34.1. Contrastive Analysis of Source and Target Domains of Calf Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverb….....334

4.2.34.2. Contrastive Analysis of Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors …….. .335

4.3. RECAP OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ATTRIBUTES ASCRIBED TO ANIMALS……336

4.4. A BRIEF TARGET-DOMAIN ORIENTED CATEGORIZATION OF METAPHORS: A REVERSE LOOK……..……..…..……340

4.4.1. A Reverse Look at the Primary Metaphors ….....341

4.4.2. A Reverse Look at the Main Metaphors…….....345

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION……352

5.1. INTRODUCTION …….....352

5.2. DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS……..……..……352

5.3. COGNITIVE ANALYSIS ……354

5.4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH…....……362

REFERENCES…….....364

APPENDIX 1. PERSIAN PROVERBS…… …...376

APPENDIX 2. TURKISH PROVERBS…….....381

APPENDIX 3. PRIMARY METAPHORS IN PERSIAN PROVERBS…….386

APPENDIX 4. PRIMARY METAPHORS IN TURKISH PROVERBS ……...389

APPENDIX 5. METAPHORS AND METONYMIES IN PERSIAN PROVERBS ……392

APPENDIX 6. METAPHORS AND METONYMIES IN TURKISH PROVERBS……..396

APPENDIX 7: ORIGINALITY REPORT……400

APPENDIX 8: ETHNIC BOARD WAIVER FORM……401

LIST OF TABLES

Table-1 Sample of Cognitive Analysis Table……..…….57

Table-2 Total of Types of Animals and Insects Used In Both Languages…....64

Table-3 Types of Insects Used in Persian and Turkish Proverbs……..66

Table-4 Frequency and Percentage of Animals and Insects in Both Languages ……...68

Table-5 Cognitive Analysis of Horse Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..78

Table-6 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Horse Metaphors and Metonymies in Turkish Proverbs…….....….90

Table-7 Cognitive Analysis of Horse Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…….….93

Table-8 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Horse Metaphors and Metonymies in Persian Proverbs……..…96

Table-9 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..……98

Table-10 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

……..……99

Table-11 Cognitive Analysis of Donkey Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…...103

Table-12 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Donkey Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……....115

Table-13 Cognitive Analysis of Donkey Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…....117

Table-14 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Donkey Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……..…..122

Table-15 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

……..……123

Table-16 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……..…….125

Table-17 Cognitive Analysis of Dog Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..129

Table-18 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Dog Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..…..138

Table-19 Cognitive Analysis of Dog Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…….….140

Table-20 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Dog Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..148

Table-21 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……..……..…151

Table-22 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……..……..152

Table-23 Cognitive Analysis of Wolf Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…….…155

Table-24 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Wolf Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..160

Table -25 Cognitive Analysis of Wolf Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……161

Table-26 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Wolf Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…….163

Table-27 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……..……..164

Table-28 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……..……..……165

Table-29 Cognitive Analysis of Cat Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……...166

Table-30 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Cat Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…….169

Table-31Cognitive Analysis of Cat Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……170

Table-32 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Cat Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..…174

Table-33 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

……..…….175

Table-34 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

……..……..176

Table-35 Cognitive Analysis of Sheep Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs.....178

Table-36 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Sheep Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..182

Table-37 Cognitive Analysis of Sheep Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……182

Table-38 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Sheep Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…….184

Table-39 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…….…184

Table-40 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..…….185

Table-41 Cognitive Analysis of Camel Metaphors in Persian Proverbs …....186

Table-42 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Camel Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……....190

Table-43 Cognitive Analysis of Camel Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..191

Table-44 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Camel Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..192

Table-45 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

……193

Table-46 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……194

Table-47 Cognitive Analysis of Fish Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..195

Table-48 Cognitive Analysis of Fish Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…….197

Table-49 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Fish Metaphors in Turkish and Persian Proverbs……200

Table-50 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……201

Table-51 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……201

Table-52 Cognitive Analysis of Pigeon Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…....203

Table-53 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Pigeon Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……....206

Table-54 Cognitive Analysis of Pigeon Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…...206

Table-55 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

……..207

Table-56 Cognitive Analysis of Mouse Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…….208

Table-57 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Mouse Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……211

Table-58 Cognitive Analysis of Mouse Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs …....211

Table-59 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Mouse Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..213

Table-60 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……214

Table-61 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……...214

Table-62 Cognitive Analysis of Snake Metaphors in Persian Proverbs …....215

Table-63 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Snake Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……....218

Table-64 Cognitive Analysis of Snake Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..218

Table-65 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Snake Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..220

Table-66 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……221

Table-67 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…….…… 222

Table-68 Cognitive Analysis of Rooster Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……223

Table-69 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Rooster Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..226

Table-70 Cognitive Analysis of Rooster Metaphors in Persian Proverbs..…227

Table-71 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Rooster Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…….229

Table-72 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..……..230

Table-73 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..……..231

Table-74 Cognitive Analysis of Goat Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……...232

Table-75 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Goat Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……234

Table-76 Cognitive Analysis of Goat Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……235

Table-77 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Goat Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..236

Table-78 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……237

Table-79 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……238

Table-80 Cognitive Analysis of Hen Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…….239

Table-81 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Hen Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……242

Table-82 Cognitive Analysis of Hen Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..242

Table-83 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Hen Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..….245

Table-84 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

……..…….246

Table-85 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……...….247

Table-86 Cognitive Analysis of Fox Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……...247

Table-87 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Fox Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..249

Table-88 Cognitive Analysis of Jackal Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..250

Table-89 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Jackal Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..…..253

Table4-90 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..……..254

Table-91 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

……..…255

Table-92 Cognitive Analysis of Raven Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…..….256

Table-93 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Raven Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…….258

Table-94 Cognitive Analysis of Raven Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…....259

Table-95 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Raven Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…….261

Table-96 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……262

Table-97 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..……..262

Table-98 Cognitive Analysis of Lion Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs …….263

Table-99 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Lion Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…… …… 265

Table-100Cognitive Analysis of Lion Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…….....266

Table-101 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Lion Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..…268

Table-102 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..…..268

Table-103 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……...….269

Table-104 Cognitive Analysis of Ant Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…….…270

Table-105 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Ant Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..…271

Table-106 Cognitive Analysis of Ant Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…….…272

Table-107 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Ant Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……...…274

Table-108 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……274

Table-109 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……275

Table-110 Cognitive Analysis of Bear Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…..…276

Table-111 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Bear Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……278

Table-112 Cognitive Analysis of Bear Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……..278

Table-113 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Bear Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……280

Table-114 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……280

Table-115 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……281

Table-116 Cognitive Analysis of Frog Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..281

Table-117 Cognitive Analysis of Frog Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……. 283

Table-118 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Frog Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs……284

Table-119 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…….. 285

Table-120 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……285

Table-121 Cognitive Analysis of Sparrow Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…286

Table-122 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Sparrow Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs …… ……..... 288

Table-123Cognitive Analysis of Sparrow Metaphors in Persian Proverbs….288

Table-124 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Sparrow Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..…289

Table-125 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..…….290

Table-126 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..……..291

Table-127 Cognitive Analysis of Eagle Metaphors in Turkish Proverb…...…292

Table-128 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Eagle Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs …… ……. …….293

Table-129 Cognitive Analysis of Eagle Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……293

Table-130 Classification of Source and Target Domains in Eagle Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……...294

Table-131 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……295

Table-132 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs…… ……..... 296

Table-133 Cognitive Analysis of Cow Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……...296

Table-134 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Cow Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……298

Table-135 Cognitive Analysis of Cow Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs …..…298

Table-136 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Cow Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……300

Table-137 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……300

Table-138 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……301

Table-139 Cognitive Analysis of Bull Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……302

Table-140 Cognitive Analysis of Bull Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……303

Table-141 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Bull Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs ……..…304

Table-142 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……...305

Table-143 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……305

Table-144 Cognitive Analysis of Lamb Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……306

Table-145 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Lamb Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……307

Table-146 Cognitive Analysis of Lamb Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……308

Table-147 Classification of Source and Target Domains in Lamb Metaphors in Persian Proverbs ……308

Table-148 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……309

Table-149 Cognitive Analysis of Goose Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs..…310

Table-150 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Goose Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs ……..…311

Table-151 Cognitive Analysis of Goose Metaphors in Persian Proverbs.…..312

Table-152 Classification of Source and Target Domains in Goose Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs ……..312

Table-153 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……....313

Table-154 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……....314

Table-155 Cognitive Analysis of Bee Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……314

Table-156 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Bee Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs…….…315

Table-157 Cognitive Analysis of Bee Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……316

Table-158 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Bee Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..……..316

Table-159 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……317

Table-160 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……... 318

Table-161 Cognitive Analysis of Bee Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs ……..……318

Table-162 Cognitive Analysis of Monkey Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs.…319

Table-163 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Monkey Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs……..... 320

Table-164 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..….321

Table-165 Cognitive Analysis of Chicken Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs ……...321

Table-166 Cognitive Analysis of Chicken Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs….322

Table-167 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Chicken Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs…….…….….323

Table-168 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……324

Table-169 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……325

Table-170 Cognitive Analysis of Mule Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..325

Table-171 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Mule Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs……327

Table-172Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……327

Table-173 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……328

Table-174 Cognitive Analysis of Elephant Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs ……..…328

Table-175 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs ……..……..330

Table-176 Cognitive Analysis of Nightingale Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs ……..330

Table-177 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……..……..332

Table-178 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……..…..333

Table-179 Cognitive Analysis of Calf Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs ……..……..333

Table-180 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs……335

Table-181 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs……335

Table-182 Positive and Negative Attributes Ascribed to Animals……..336

Table-183 The Common Target Domains of Primary Metaphors in Both Languages ……..…342

Table-184 Dissimilar Primary Metaphors in Both Languages ……343

Table- 185 Categorization of common Target domains in Persian and Turkish metaphors……...……..346

Table-186 Categorization of dissimilar Source and Target Domains in both languages…….…….350

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure -1 The Ratio of Insects and Animals in Persian and Turkish Proverbs ……..66

Figure-2 Distribution of Persian and Turkish Animals in Terms of Being Wild or Domestic ……...75

Figure- 3 Distribution of Animals in Terms of Being Aquatic, Aerial and Terrestrial……..…… 77

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

LM: Literal Meaning

MI: Metaphorical Interpretation

TP: Thematic Part

F: frequency

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> "The potential for any philosophy to make sense of a person's life depends directly on the fact that all of us are metaphoric animals."
>
> Mark Johnson (2008:39)

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In their seminal work, *Metaphors We Live By,* Lakoff and Johnson (1980) revealed the metaphorical structure of human mind for the first time. According to this view, conceptualizing is a process of structuring abstract concepts in terms of more concrete concepts. As an inevitable part of human life and environment, animals have always played a significant role in human's metaphorical conceptualization. Our interactions with animals have given a significant place to them in our metaphorical thinking so that Kövecses (2002) considers them as the extremely productive source domains in our conceptual metaphors. The outcome of understanding human -in general- and human behavior -in particular- in terms of animal behavior, has generated the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor. Animal metaphors have been a great part of our idiomatic language specially proverbs. Proverbs have had the power to reflect both cognitive and cultural richness of nations through centuries, therefore examining them could reveal about nations' culture and cognition trade off.

Kövecses (2005) believes that the origin of the use of the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor goes back to the upper Paleolithic period. The paintings and the drawings discovered from this period shows that even in that period people were represented and illustrated by animals. For him, the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor is the basis for the formation of processes like anthropomorphism and totemism, which are within the scope of interest for anthropological studies.

Scholars have conducted various studies on the social uses of animal metaphors. For instance, Fernando (1996, as cited in Rodriguez, 2009) argues that metaphors “are charged with an ideological or attitudinal component”, (p.78). According to Newmark (1988, cited in Estaji & Nakhavali, 2011) animal metaphors are largely used in order to describe inferior or undesirable human habits and attributes. According to Lerner and Lakoff, Caviello & Borgerson (cited in Rodriguez, 2009, p.78-9), animal metaphors are used to represent the dichotomy of “the self” and “the other”. We use the downgrading animal metaphors as strong and influential mechanism to implicate and to maintain the superiority of “self” over the marginalized “others”. Considering this dichotomy, men, white race, and the people with straight sexual attitude are the “self” and women, other races, homosexuals, immigrants and other social groups, which are not considered as normal, belong to the groups of “others”. To use Rodriguez’s own terms, animal metaphors are “always at hand to disparage marginal groups” (ibid. 79).

Holmes (1992; as cited in Hsieh, 2006) gave examples of the “chicken” metaphor in her sociolinguistic analysis of sexism in language. Sutton (1995; as cited in ibid.) studied linguistic discrimination against females and made a strong argument about the metaphor WOMEN ARE ANIMALS. Studies conducted by different scholars reveal that the tendency to use animal metaphors to refer to human being -no matter for which purpose, belittling, or any other reason- is universal, however, there is a high degree of culture-specificity in the pervasiveness of animal metaphors on the one hand, and the type of animal which is used to refer to a certain human trait on the other hand.

According to Deignan (2003), the culture-specificity of animal metaphors roots from different degree of saliency that different cultures attribute to different animals. Gibbs (2006) has investigated the social and cognitive advantages of using proverbs. He has also approached the proverbs from psycholinguistic point of view, discussing how they are understood. Proverbial animal metaphors are one of the ways by which different folks show their attitudes

and ideology towards other people and other things. Investigating the animal metaphors underlying the proverbs can illustrate the culture-specificity of animal metaphors in various cultures, even though as Deignan (2003) also points out rightly “it is notoriously difficult to develop an operational definition of the notion of “culture” when it is the matter of discussion in relation to metaphors” (p. 255).

Despite the complexity in the nature of metaphor and culture interaction , most of the disciplines with cognitive attitude such as cognitive linguistics, cognitive psychology, and cognitive anthropology (Gibbs, 1997; Kövecses, 2004, 2005, 2010, 2012; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Quinn, 1991; and Fernandez, 1991) have consensus over the pivotal and defining role of culture in relation to human cognition and admit that human cognition is not shaped in vacuum rather; it has its solid roots in cultural and social contexts.

In his introduction to the book *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics,* Gibbs, (1997) had predicted that “one of the future challenges for cognitive linguistic studies of metaphor will be to explicitly acknowledge the degree of commitment to drawing generalizations about thought and culture from the systematic analysis of language” (p. 6). The role of culture in metaphor studies has turned to the focal point in metaphor studies so that Gibbs asserts that metaphor studies demand “an explicit acknowledgment of culture and its important, perhaps defining role in shaping embodiment and, consequently metaphorical thought” (ibid. p. 153).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) support the fact by asserting that “our physical and cultural experiences” provide basis for most of the metaphors (p. 465). Despite this assertion, Fernandez (1991) believes in the weakness of this theory when it comes to explain the cultural variation. He argues that “as a general tendency, cognitive linguists have overemphasized the universality of some of the metaphorical structures that they found and ignored the many cases of non-universality in metaphorical conceptualization” (Kövecses, 2005, p.xii). However, Lakoff and Turner (1989) believe that their Theory of Great Chain of

Being provides the chance to investigate both cultural and cognitive variations and commonalities in different cultures by investigating the metaphorical propositions extracted from people's cultural schemas. This study is grounded on the Great Chain Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Turner, 1989) as the sub theory of conceptual metaphor, and Grady's (1997) theory of primary metaphor as the complementary theory.

1.2. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The present study bears significance in various ways. Under the influence of embodiment thesis- which is believed to be the "backbone" of cognitive science (Maalej, 2008), and "second revolution" in cognitive science (Kövecses, 2005) - majority of the conceptual metaphor studies have focused on body parts. Focusing on body metaphors has resulted in neglecting the investigation of more culture-specific metaphors like animal metaphors, which are among ubiquitous metaphors. By choosing the animal metaphors, this study contributes to enriching the existing body of literature on animal metaphors. Furthermore, investigating the existing but limited body of studies conducted on animal metaphors illustrated that the fixed pillar of the comparative studies has been predominantly English language. In other words, few cross-linguistic studies were conducted between different languages such as the present study. Considering the fact above, the present endeavor will contribute to filling the gap in the literature related to animal metaphor on the one hand, and enriching the cross-linguistic studies between languages like Persian and Turkish on the other hand.

This study also bears significance from the point of view of adopted theoretical framework. In most of the languages including Persian and Turkish, proverbial animal metaphors have been approached from various perspectives. For instance, they have been investigated within the "domain of anthropology or literal investigations" (Talebinejad & Estaji, 2005, p.134). By adopting the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the present study will be the first cross-linguistic

study between Persian and Turkish which is approaching the proverbial animal metaphors from cognitive linguistics perspective.

1.3. THE AIM OF THE STUDY

Contrary to the formalist approaches to investigate meaning, experientialist approach signifies the role of interaction with social and geographical environment. According to Lakoff and Turner (1989), human conceptualization happens in terms of "collective biological capacities and our physical and social experiences as beings functioning in our environment", (1987, as cited in Marrin-Arrese, 1996, p. 38). Based on this premise of experientialist approach, human conceptualization is strongly influenced by the environment to which human being is born. Following the same rationale, it could be possible to infer that those people who share common social, cultural and geographical environment might have similar conceptualization of the facts around them.

For instance, Persian and Turkish speaking communities have had long history of both linguistic and cultural contact through centuries. Taking into consideration such a long background of neighborhood between both cultures on the one hand, and taking into consideration the above-mentioned premise of experientialist approach on the other hand, the present study has aimed to investigate the extent to which both neighbor folk are conceptually similar or culture-specific [1]. In order to answer the questions of the present study, this endeavor has selected the Persian and Turkish proverbial animal metaphors. The reason for selecting proverbs is that they are among the richest part of any folk's language and cultural heritage which can reveal remarkable information about their cultural heritage, linguistic and conceptual properties all at the same time.

[1] The terms "variation" and "similarities" have been used interchangeably with the terms "culture-specificity" and "commonalities".

1.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Is there any commonality in terms of number, type, frequency and makeup of the animals used in the proverbs of both languages?

2. Which domains of experience or abstract notions have been conceptualized by animal metaphors in each language?

3. What are the primary and complex metaphors underlying the proverbs in both languages?

4. Do other instances of figurative language such as metonymy or simile also contribute in structuring proverbial animal metaphors?

5. Is there any similarity or difference between both languages in terms of the negative or positive attributes ascribed to animals in the cultural schemas of both folks?

1.5. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The present study focused on investigating the cultural and conceptual variations or commonalities between Persian and Turkish proverbial animal metaphors. In line with the objectives of the present study, efforts were made to provide a comprehensive and detailed view of the findings by displaying them in both tables and figures; however, in some cases, the researcher had to confine herself to representing findings only by tables. For instance despite the personal preference of the researcher, animals (source domains) and the target domains conceptualized by them were represented only in tables due to lack of space.

Another limitation faced while conducting the present study was regarding the scope of collected data. As it was mentioned earlier, from among various types of figurative language like idioms and sayings, the present study focused only on investigating the proverbial animal metaphors. Therefore, the findings provided in the present study are just half of the truth about animal metaphors

which were extracted from proverbs. The whole truth about animal metaphors would be possible to present in case all animal metaphors in proverbs, sayings and idioms were investigated simultaneously. However, in order to narrow down the scope of the study to a feasible limit, the present study was confined only to proverbs.

1.6. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The present study has been designed in five chapters. The first chapter will have an introductory look at the field of metaphor studies in general and an entry to the main problem of the study. This chapter will also discuss the theoretical framework adopted for the present study. The significance of the conduction of a cognitive linguistic study between these two languages will be elaborated. The research questions addressed in the study will also be presented.

Chapter 2 will provide an overview of theoretical framework within which the present study will be conducted. First, the philosophical foundations of cognitive semantics will be presented then the advent, evolution, and development of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory will be discussed. To show the line of development of this theory, the different classifications of metaphor will be discussed. Finally, this chapter will focus on the Great Chain of Being Metaphor Theory and its components as the main theoretical framework of the present study. A brief account of Grady's (1997) Theory of Primary Metaphor theory as the complementary theory will be provided.

Chapter 3 will introduce the methodology adopted for the conduction of the present study including information on data collection and data analysis techniques.

Chapter 4 of the present study will discuss the findings of the study obtained from both descriptive and cognitive analyses of data. The obtained results will be discussed in relation to the questions of the present study. This chapter will

also provide a reverse look at the metaphors from the point of view of target domains by classifying them in tables allocated for each language. The positive and negative attributes given to each animal in each language will be classified in tables for further comparison and discussion.

Chapter 5 will provide the conclusions drawn from the data analyses as well as the summary of the study, and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. INTRODUCTION TO COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

The beginning of “cognitive linguistics” lies somewhere round 1975, which is the year when Lakoff used this term for the first time (Nerlich and Clarke, 2007, p. 591). The rise of the cognitive linguistics was a movement against the domination of objectivist philosophical disposition grounded in analytic philosophy. This Anglo-American tradition of philosophy has been the stone base of the truth-conditional semantics, and other formal semantics, which defined the meaning as the relationship between words and the world.

The decontextualized nature of this approach to define meaning received criticism from cognitive linguistics. The newly rising cognitive paradigm had fundamental differences with the formal paradigm in its defining commitments, namely cognitive and generalization commitments. This new paradigm emphasized on the embodied nature of conceptual structure, encyclopedic nature of meaning and conceptual construction of meaning. *Embodiment thesis* of cognitive linguistics bear significance in that, it is also the base stone of the experientialist theories developed later specially Lakoff and Johnson’s Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

According to Lakoff, the experientialist approach views meaning, “in terms of embodiment, which is, in terms of our collective biological capacities and our physical and social experiences as beings functioning in our environment”. Our concepts are structured and that “structure is meaningful because it is embodied, that is, it arises from, and is tied to, our preconceptual bodily experiences” (1987, as cited in Marrin-Arrese, 1996, p. 38).

As Gibb (2005) asserts “embodiment in the field of cognitive science refers to understanding the role of an agent’s own body in its everyday, situated cognition” (p. 1). The embodiment thesis of cognitive linguistics which according to Maalej (2008), is considered to be the “backbone” of cognitive linguistics, became the core of Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Deignan and Potter (2004) consider embodiment as “a powerful claim which argues that the most central metaphors are grounded in bodily experience” (p. 1231).

Cognitive paradigm signifies the importance of human body’s vertical axis and the way it interacts with the environment. For instance, Evans and Green (2006) argue that “our physiology ensures that our vertical axis, which interacts with gravity, gives rise to meaning as a result of how we interact with our environment…this aspect of our experience gives rise to an image schema: the UP-DOWN schema” (p. 178). According to Gibbs (2008) “the meanings of conventional conceptual metaphors are primarily image-schematic (e.g., based on recurring patterns of embodied experience). For instance, our BALANCE image-schema emerges through our experiences of bodily equilibrium and disequilibrium and of maintaining our bodily systems and functions in states of equilibrium” (p. 1836).

Evans and Green (2006) also discuss another important aspect of image schemas which is their being “emergent”. This means, that since the “experience is a function of our bodies and of our interaction in the world, this type of experience arises in conjunction with our physical and psychological development during early childhood” (p. 178).

Despite the account provided by cognitive linguists, there are some scholars who believe that embodiment is not the only justification for the way we construe the reality and there are some other factors, which are also at work at the same time. Gibbs (2008) claims that there is no consensus among scholars on if the image schemas are merely “representative of universal body experience” or are “crucially tied to specific socio-cultural cognition” (p.1837).

Harder (2007) also argues, “no consensus has been achieved, either inside or outside cognitive linguistics, on the precise status and properties of mental entities, including their relation both to the human body that generates them and to the outside cultural and physical environment” (p. 1241).
In line with these arguments, Kövecses (2005) also believes that “metaphors are not necessarily based on bodily experience-many are based on cultural considerations and cognitive process of various kinds” (p. 4).

Haser (2005) has also criticized the embodiment thesis of the cognitive/ experientialist paradigm. She argues that not all the metaphors originate from our bodily experiences. For instance, she discusses the HUMAN IS ANIMAL metaphor, which has been accepted as a conceptual metaphor by Lakoff and Johnson is not embodied. She argues that there is a contradiction between this metaphor and the experiential basis of formation of metaphors. Haser argues that HAPPY IS UP metaphor is grounded in our bodily experience, but the same does not hold true in case of metaphors like HUMAN IS ANIMAL metaphor. HUMAN IS ANIMAL simply deviates from the typical definition of metaphor and has the X IS AN ENTITY structure.

2.2. PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF COGNITIVE SEMANTICS

“The history of linguistics is profoundly influenced by developments in the overall philosophical perspective” (Harder, 2007, p. 1243). In their seminal book, *metaphors we live by,* Lakoff and Johnson (1980) discuss the philosophical dilemma or two orientations in philosophy that human being has inevitably been forced to select while investigating the nature of the reality. The two orientations that they call as *myth* are *objectivism* and *subjectivism.* These two philosophical dispositions have fundamental ontological (what is the nature of reality) and epistemological (how to investigate the nature of reality; methodology) differences with each other.

Objectivism is an Aristotelian philosophical tradition in which the nature of the reality is considered materialistic and objective. Objectivism proposes that the

human senses are enough to understand the reality and the existence of reality is independent from human awareness. For almost long years, under the influence of objectivism, the investigations to the philosophy of language were dominated by the truth-conditional semantics, which investigated the meaning in relation to truth and reality. Formal paradigm of semantics had its solid roots in the objectivist “Anglo-American tradition of philosophy”.

Subjectivism is the second myth that Lakoff and Johnson (1980) elaborate. Supported mainly by the continental philosophy and Romantic Movement, subjectivism has different tenets in contrast to the old empiricist tradition of objectivism. Subjectivism relies on human senses and intuitions to perceive and understand the reality, regardless of what others say. The term subjectivism is an umbrella term under which philosophical orientations of almost same disposition can be classified. For instance, Descartian dualism-based *rationalism* and Kantian *idealism* which both focus on the mental nature of understanding the reality. On the other hand, there is the long tradition of objectivism represented by *empiricism*.

Many philosophers were not satisfied with these dichotomies and the orthodoxies associated with them. Therefore, they began to question “various assumptions and divisions on which traditional linguistic research was based, in particular the separation of objective knowledge from subjective knowledge, of linguistic knowledge from encyclopedic knowledge, of literal language from figurative language” (Nerlich &Clarke, 2007, p. 590). Lakoff and Johnson argued against both objectivist paradigm and Descartian dualism, which claimed that human mind and body are two distinct entities, which can be investigated distinctly from each other. By introducing their non-Aristotelian *experientialist* account, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) tied back the broken bond between body and mind - which was broken under the influence of Descartian dualism.

Experientialist orientation was at odds with many other philosophical theories and dispositions. For instance, it was at odds with formal semantics under the influence of truth-conditional semantics, continental philosophy,

deconstructionism, Descartian dualism, artificial intelligence and information processing orientations (Lakoff, 1992). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) introduce three principles for their alternative: interactional properties, experiential gestalts, and metaphorical concepts. They argue that both subjectivism and objectivism are at odds with this new outlook in some but different ways.

The first and the most obvious point of controversy between experientialism and objectivism is over the issue of metaphor. As a part of objectivist premises, all types of figurative language including metaphors should be avoided because of their illusive and distorting nature. Contrary to objectivist disposition, experientialism highlights metaphor as both a major reasoning mechanism and a tool for creating meaning and reality. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) emphasize on the pervasiveness of conventional metaphors in our everyday way of thinking, speaking, and acting. They assert, “the understanding of conventional metaphor and the way that metaphor structures our ordinary conceptual system will ultimately provide a new “experientialist” perspective on classical philosophical problems, such as the nature of meaning, truth, rationality, logic, and knowledge” (P. 453).

Experientialism also opposes to objectivism in the way they define the truth. For experientialist, truth is not absolute rather it is relative to the understanding of a person. What might be meaningful for someone might not be meaningful for somebody else. Therefore providing a scientific account of the truth without taking into consideration the different personal and cultural value is a distorted image of truth. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue against the inadequacy of objectivism in accounting for, “human understanding, human language, human values, human social and cultural institutions, and everything dealt with by the human sciences” (p.224). Both experientialism and subjectivism go hand in hand in that they do not see meaning as a decontextualized phenomenon. They consider meaning to be created during interaction and it cannot exist independent from human awareness. These two myths also stand against objectivism and the position it takes in relation to human imagination and its role in creating meaning. Emphasis on embodiment thesis and the role of

imagination in conceptualization makes the cognitive theorists see themselves opposed to the objectivism as the dominant philosophical outlook of west (Haser, 2005). Meanwhile experientialism criticizes the subjectivism for its reliance on the unconstrained nature of imagination.

2.3. CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY

The world around us as we know it, does not embrace only concrete facts. We can trust our senses to perceive and understand concrete facts, but are our senses adequate for understanding the huge number of abstract notions around us? In order to understand these abstract notions, the complex cognitive system of human being has developed a unique way of reasoning and understanding the abstract notions; that is *reification*. This means thinking about abstract concepts "*in terms of*" concrete ones. One of the influential tools to perform this task, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is *metaphor*. According to Lakoff (1994, as cited in Marrin-Arrese, 1996, p. 39) "as soon as one gets away from concrete physical experience and starts talking about abstractions or emotions, metaphorical understanding is the norm".

Following the introduction of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) influential book, *Metaphors We Live by,* metaphors were defined and looked upon once again from a new perspective. According to Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) groundbreaking proposal, metaphors were no longer regarded as merely rhetorical devices or poetic figures of speech, rather an essential tool for human conceptualization. The metaphor of "iceberg" as Enfield and Wierzbicka (2002) have used can help illustrate both traditional and new look at metaphors. Prior to the introduction of conceptual metaphor, what we knew about metaphor was only the small observable part of this iceberg; rhetorical and decorative metaphor. However, after the introduction of this new perspective, attentions were drawn to the hidden and massive part of metaphor iceberg which was rather conceptual than rhetorical. Lakoff and Johnson unveiled the omnipresent nature of metaphors in our ordinary

conceptual system and illustrated how it shaped our thinking. Gibbs (1994), believes that the main argument of Conceptual Metaphor Theory is that "human cognition is fundamentally shaped by various poetic or figurative processes. Metaphor, metonymy, and other tropes are not linguistic distortion of literal mental thought but constitute basic schemes by which people conceptualize their experience and the external world" (p. 1).

2.4. DEVELOPMENT OF METAPHOR STUDIES

"Cognitive linguistics has come a long way from Aristotle, through the nineteenth century" (Nerlich & Clarke, 2007, p.591). This way has started with the study of metaphor in antiquity by Aristotle as the first scholar who investigated metaphor as a literary and rhetorical device. For many centuries after Aristotle, metaphor kept to be considered as a matter of language. This tradition continued until eighteenth century where Kant tried to investigate metaphor (Gibbs, 1995). Prior to the introduction of the theory of conceptual metaphor to the field, some other philosophers and scholars like Michael Reddy (Lakoff, 1992), Breal (McGlone, 2007), and Black and Goodman (Haser, 2005) had signified the importance of metaphor. However, it was Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) theory of conceptual metaphor, which brought new insights to the field of metaphor studies.

In a general classification, the approaches to metaphor studies can be divided into three approaches of *comparison, interaction,* and *experientialism* (Tosala, 2004). The approach to study the metaphor all over these centuries was comparison. However, metaphor studies experienced a new and revolutionary change by the introduction of experientialist approach to metaphor studies. The experientialist approach to study metaphor began the introduction of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

According to Aristotelian comparative account of metaphor, metaphor is grounded in the similarity, which already exists between two concepts while according to Lakoff (cited in Clausner & Croft, 1999) it is the metaphor, which

creates similarities. Aristotle has received serious criticism from modern scholars for his misleading arguments on metaphor. According to Nerlich and Clarke (2007) “Aristotle was the originator of two distorted views: an objectivist view of the relation between language and the world and a view of metaphor as simple comparison” (p. 595). McGlone (2007) believes that “Aristotle’s relegation of metaphor or stylistics had the unfortunate effect of leading many subsequent generations of language scholars to ignore the topic” (p. 110).

Even though, Aristotle had realized that metaphor was a challenge for thought and philosophy by calling it as “deviant language” (Tolosa, 2004, p. 34), he looked upon the mastery of metaphors as a sign of being genius, a talent, which cannot be learnt (Kittay, 1989).

In the early years of the development of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Lakoff (1992) made a distinction between two types of metaphor theory; *Classical theory of metaphor* and, *Contemporary theory of metaphor*. The former is defined as the poetic use of linguistic expression for showing the similarity between two concepts. By the latter, he meant the cross-domain mapping between two domains of experience.

According to Lakoff, this perspective originates from the traditional dichotomy between *literal* and *figurative language*. According to this traditional view, language is either literal or metaphoric so when it is literal then it cannot be metaphorical. This means that we understand the language either by the literary meaning of the words comprising it or we understand it through its metaphoric use; we understand one word based on its similarity with other words. In this view, metaphor is considered as a matter of language not thought and it is a device for figurative language.

In the next step of the development of this theory, the line between the literary and conceptual metaphor is removed. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that what we know, as metaphor is all a matter of thought not language and metaphor no matter used for poetic purposes is also conceptual in nature. It is a way to conceptualize the world around us. We use the conceptual

metaphors unconsciously and automatically, and they are pervasive in our “everyday way of thinking, speaking and acting” (p. 453).

After a period of overemphasis on the conceptual nature of metaphor, the variation observed in both conceptual and linguistic representation of metaphors in different languages, made the scholars have an in-depth look at other factors, which were overshadowed by the conceptual aspect of the metaphor. In this phase, the impossibility to draw clear cut between the border of language, conceptualization, and culture was felt and more attention was paid to culture and the cultural grounding of metaphors. The role of culture in metaphor studies has turned to be the focal point in metaphor studies so that Gibbs (1997) asserts that metaphor studies demand “an explicit acknowledgment of culture and its important, perhaps defining role in shaping embodiment and, consequently metaphorical thought” (p. 153).

The main questions in this phase is to answer questions like if it is the metaphor which constitutes the concepts or it just reflects the abstract concepts (Kövecses, 2005). Gibbs (1997) suggests that cognitive linguistics and cognitive psychologists “should think about metaphor and its relation to thought as cognitive webs that extend beyond individual minds and are spread out into the cultural world”(p. 146). Gibbs has predicted that “one of the future challenges for cognitive linguistic studies of metaphor will be to explicitly acknowledge the degree of commitment to drawing generalizations about thought and culture from the systematic analysis of language” (ibid. p. 6).

In sum, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory has experienced an evolutionary process of development from linguistic to mainly conceptual, then to a more balanced view of both conceptual and linguistic and finally to a more realistic view proposed by Kövecses (2005) where metaphor is believed to be of linguistic, conceptual, social-cultural, neural and bodily nature.

2.5. CLASSIFICATION OF METAPHORS

Since the introduction of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, this theory has experienced a gradual but evolving line of development in defining the types of metaphors. The typology of metaphors has been the area on which the Conceptual Metaphor Theory has received the most criticisms (Haser, 2005). Even the developers of this theory also admit the insufficiency of the early classifications of metaphors, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Hernandez (2011) argue that "the original taxonomic criterion provided by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff and Turner (1989), which was essentially based on an analysis of the ontological nature of the source domain, is insufficient" (p. 169). The first classifications of conceptual metaphors (structural, ontological, orientational) which were based on the nature of source domain were introduced in the early version of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

In the later versions of their theory, Lakoff and Turner (1989) introduced the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor and the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING metaphor. The latter was the developed version of ontological metaphors. In addition to the founders of this theory, some of their associates have contributed to the field either by adding new classifications to the already existing metaphor types or by proposing their own classifications, for instance, the classifications proposed by Kövecses (2005) and Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernandez (2011). Kövecses (2005) has also classified the metaphors based on the notion of variation and universality. This section will deal first with the most basic type of dichotomy in metaphors namely, *linguistic / conceptual*, which originates from the way cognitive linguists look at the nature of language, then the different classifications of the conceptual metaphor will be introduced successively. In sum, the metaphor typology will be discussed in terms of the following themes: *function, nature, generality, complexity, and structure*. The discussion provided on the classifications of conceptual metaphors entails the line of development of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory since its advent up to present.

2.5.1 Conceptual vs. Linguistic Metaphors

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) metaphor is the most pervasive unconscious mechanism by which we reason, think and talk every day, however, their conceptual nature has been overshadowed by their rhetorical and linguistic aspect. According to this view metaphor is a conceptual mapping by which we can understand a domain of experience *in terms of* another. In this process of mapping, we map the properties of a concrete domain on an abstract or less concrete domain and the mapping goes “from source to target rather than the other way round, and that hence target and source cannot be reserved”, and “cognitive paradigm insists on non-reversibility of target and source” (Forceville, 2002, p. 6). In other words, one of the fundamental features of Conceptual Metaphor Theory is the *unidirectionality* of mapping. Mapping is a one-sided process where only the properties of source domain are mapped on the target domain. This conceptual mapping represents itself not only in the linguistic expressions we use every day, but also in the vast number of areas of our life. According to Kövecses (2010), they represent themselves in various ways like, movies and acting, cartoons, drawings, sculptures, and buildings, advertisements, symbols, myths, dream interpretation, interpretation of history, politics and foreign policy, morality, social institution, social practices, literature, gestures, and multimodal metaphors.

What is significant about the conceptual metaphors is that we use them unconsciously and automatically that is why we are not aware of their presence. One of the conceptual metaphors underlying our daily conversations is LOVE IS A JOURNEY. As it was mentioned earlier, conceptual metaphors form the basic part of many linguistic metaphors. Different types and categories have been introduced to classify the conceptual metaphors.

For cognitive linguists, language is the mirror of human conceptual system that is why they take language as their subject matter to study human conceptual system. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) believe that as we think and act

automatically we are normally not aware of our conceptual system. One way to find out this conceptual system is to look at language. They believe that “since metaphorical expressions in our language are tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way, we can use metaphorical linguistic expressions to study the nature of metaphorical concepts and to gain an understanding of the metaphorical nature of our activities” (p. 456). For instance, the following examples are the linguistic representation of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor:

Look *how long* we have come,

Our love has no *end*,

Our *ways are diverging* here,

Our love has turned to a *bumpy road*,

The above-mentioned linguistic metaphorical expressions are the various instantiations of one conceptual metaphor. In this mechanism, we map the properties of the *journey* as source domain on the domain of *love*. Lakoff argues that:

> Mappings should not be looked upon as processes, or as algorithms that mechanically take source domain inputs and produce target domain outputs. Each mapping should be seen instead as a fixed pattern of ontological correspondences across domains. When those fixed correspondences are activated, mappings can project source domain inference patterns onto target domain inference patterns (Lakoff, 1992, p. 39).

2.5.2. Function

In the early version of their theory, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) classify the metaphors into three main groups depending on their function. This category includes *orientational, structural,* and *ontological* metaphors.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) *orientational* metaphors do not structure one concept in terms of another, but instead organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another" (p. 461-2).These metaphors have to do with DOWN, FRONT-BACK, IN-OUT orientations. Kövecses (2010) calls them "coherence metaphors". In orientational metaphors, upward orientations conceptualize positive and more but downward orientations conceptualize negative and low. For instance, The MORE IS UP metaphor is observed in many economic texts as the underlying conceptual metaphor of many linguistic economic terms like:

Economy is *boosting.*
Inflation is *rising*
Economic growth is *heading up*

Lakoff and Johnson, (1980) believe that "spatialization metaphors are rooted in physical and cultural experience" (p. 464). Orientational or spatialization metaphors have also pervasive presence in expressing human emotions. For instance, the HAPPY IS UP or SAD IS DOWN underlies many linguistic expressions expressing sadness and happiness (Kövecses, 2004). For instance:

Cheer up, don't be sad
Don't *let me down*

The second group of metaphors are *ontological* metaphors which according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) "involve the projection of entity or substance status upon something that does not have that status inherently" (p. 461-2). Ontological metaphors, according to Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernandez (2011), "have a physical world entity in the source and an activity (e.g., *He put a lot of energy into his attack)*, emotion (e.g., *He has fear)* or idea (e.g., *We have a problem*) in the target" (p. 164). In other words, as Kövecses (2010) puts, "we conceive of our experiences in terms of objects, substances, and

containers, in general, without specifying exactly what kind of object, substance, or container is meant" (p. 38).

The traditional ontological metaphor (non-structural) was introduced in the early version of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) but it was developed and revised in the later versions of this theory by Lakoff and Turner (1989) known as GREAT CHAIN OF BEING metaphor (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Hernandez, 2011). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2011), *personification* is a type of ontological metaphor by which we attribute the human traits to non-human. For instance, "this conversation is *chewing* my brain". For Lakoff and Johnson (1980) "the most obvious ontological metaphors are those where the physical object is further specified as being a person" but they also argue "this personification process is not a single unified general process. Each personification differs in terms of the aspects of people that are picked out" (p. 33).

Structural metaphors are the third type of metaphors, which are classified under the category of function. In structural metaphors, "one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 461). In other words, we can understand a domain in terms of the structure of another domain; that is source domain (Kövecses, 2010).For instance; we understand the concept of time when it is structured in terms of space and motion. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernandez (2011) define the structural metaphors as those "in which one concept is expressed in terms of a different structured, sharply defined concept, as is the case with the *"*ARGUMENT IS WAR*"* mapping (p. 164). Fass (1997) considers structural metaphors to be "the elaborated orientational and ontological metaphors" (p. 53). For instance, in the metaphorical linguistic expression *time is flying;* time is conceptualized in spatial and motional structure. Time is one of the experiential domains, which are conceptualized in two different domains. Sometimes as OBJECT (*time is money)* and sometimes as PATH (*leave the past behind you*) (Boers, 1997).

2.5.3. Conventionality

Based on this criterion, conceptual metaphors are either *conventional* or *novel* (unconventional). The term “conventional” is used here in the sense of well established and well entrenched. Conventional metaphors refer to those groups of metaphors, which are pervasive in our everyday life and every activity, and as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) propose, our uses of these metaphors are unconscious and automatic. According to Lakoff and Turner (1989) “a metaphor is conventional to the extent that it is automatic, effortless, and generally established as a mode of thought among members of a linguistic community” like the LOVE IS A JOURNEY, ARGUMENT IS A WAR (p. 55). Therefore, the more entrenched a metaphor is, the more conventionalized it becomes. By conventionality, we mean the ubiquity of these metaphors in our conceptualization; that is understanding one domain in terms of another. Boers (1997) suggest that one way to realize the conventionality of a metaphor is to look at its frequency of use among the speakers of a language.

On the other hand, there are some metaphors, which are conventional but they are expressed in an unconventional linguistic expressions. So according to Kövecses (2002) there is a distinction between conceptual metaphor and its linguistic expression. A conventional conceptual metaphor might be expressed either in a conventional linguistic expression or in an unconventional linguistic expression. To use Kövecses own example:

Stop the world I want to get off (Kövecses, 2002, p.31)

In this example, the conventional conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY has been expressed in an unconventional linguistic expression. A point, which is significant to mention about distinguishing the unconventional linguistic expression and unconventional conceptual metaphor, is that, the former is too easy to recognize as in the example mentioned above, but it is not easy to distinguish the unconventional conceptual metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) give the example of LOVE IS A COLLABORATIVE WORK OF ART to

explain the unconventional conceptual metaphor. This conceptual metaphor is regarded as unconventional because we rarely use such metaphor for our daily thinking and conceptualizing one domain in terms of another.

2.5.4. Nature of Metaphors

According to Kövecses (2010), metaphors can be divided into two groups based on their nature. They are either based on *knowledge* or based on *image schema*. Lakoff and Turner (1989) argue that metaphors do not always map the conceptual structures on each other rather they map the images. For instance, when the *waist* of a woman is conceptualized as a *glass clock*, it is not the conceptual structure of these two domains, which are mapped, rather their images, which are mapped on each other. Image schemas are not actively involved in our reasoning mechanism the way specific-level metaphors like those that LIFE IS A JOURNEY is involved. According to Evans and Green (2006) “Image schemas are relatively abstract conceptual representations that arise directly from our everyday interaction with and observation of the world around us. That is, they are concepts arising from embodied experience” (p.176) and “are not claimed to be innate knowledge structures” (p. 178).

According to Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernandez (2011), the category of image metaphors was developed and added by Lakoff and Turner after proposing the structural, orientational, and ontological metaphors. “Image metaphors map images onto images, which mean that they do not map concepts onto concepts, but only the structure and visual attributes. For instance, they map the “color, shape, and curvature of a conceptual domain onto the structure and visual attributes of another domain. e.g., *“A horse with a mane made of short rainbows”* maps the visual attributes and structure of a rainbow onto a horse’s mane” (p. 164).

2.5.5. Generality

According to Kövecses (2010) metaphors can be investigated according to their level of generality. The taxonomy of generic-level metaphor like EVENTS ARE ACTIONS and specific-level metaphor like LIFE IS A JOURNEY was introduced by Lakoff and Turner (1989) after their introduction of ontological, orientational and structural metaphors. According to Fass (1997) though "they don't tie these metaphors to orientational, ontological, and structural metaphors, but they would seem to be ontological since they are used to comprehend events, actions, activities and states" (ibid). Moreover, this taxonomy seems to be more general than the three general types introduced before. Based on this criterion, for instance, "motion" is a generic-level schema which does not bear details in it but as soon as it is filled with detailed information it turns to specific-level. For instance, journey, walking, and hiking all bear different information in "motion" schema and turn the "motion" schema to a specific level metaphor in which there are more detailed information such as departure, destination, events on the way and so on.

Metaphors like LOVE IS A JOURNEY and IDEAS ARE FOOD are specific-level metaphor. Kövecses believes that specific-level metaphors like the examples above differ from the generic-level metaphors in the type of job they perform. For instance, the generic level metaphor THE GREAT CHAIN metaphor, EVENTS ARE ACTIONS and GENERIC IS SPECIFIC are all generic-level metaphors. EVENTS ARE ACTIONS metaphor can be used to account for many instances of personification and GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor can be used to account for many proverbs and cliché phrases. GENERIC IS SPECIFIC seems to underlie many of ontological, structural and orientational metaphors. Lakoff and Turner (1989) use the term "basic metaphor" to refer to "any conceptual metaphor whose use is conventional, unconscious, automatic and typically unnoticed", However; they also argue that not all basic metaphors are like each other.

> In a metaphor like LIFE IS A JOURNEY, there is a designated ontological mapping. A certain list of slots in the journey schema maps in exactly one way onto a corresponding list of slots in the LIFE schema……But in the EVENTS ARE ACTIONS metaphor, the mapping consists not in a list of fixed correspondences but rather in higher-order constraints on what is an appropriate mapping and what is not (Lakoff and Turner, 1989, p. 80).

Lakoff and Turner also believe that the reason of using EVENTS ARE ACTIONS metaphor is to change the events to action, often by turning non-agents into agents, as in "Vitamin E is a healer" (ibid. p. 82). They believe that there is a tendency among people to project their feelings to an agent who has caused the event. For instance, *look how time has taken our power*, time is conceptualized as an agent who has taken away the power. The metaphor of EVENTS ARE ACTIONS can account for the instances of personification.

In order to explain the difference between EVENTS ARE ACTIONS and metaphors like LIFE IS A JOURNEY, Lakoff and Turner use the analogy of genus and species. In this biological taxonomy, species are included in genus; therefore, the species should carry the characteristics of genus. That is why metaphors like EVENTS ARE ACTIONS are referred to as generic-level metaphors. Because they lack specificity in two ways: "they don't have fixed source and target domains and they don't have fixed list of entities specified in the mapping" (ibid. p. 81). Metaphors like LIFE IS A JOURNEY are specific-level metaphor because they have specific information in the ways that generic-level metaphors do not.

2.5.6. Complexity (Grady, 1997)

Grady (1997) realized that most of the conceptual metaphors like THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS do not have their grounding in experiential basis. He argued that there are a group of metaphors like MORE IS UP which can be explicated based on the bodily experience groundings because it is possible to correlate the quantity (MORE) with verticality (UP), but it was not the case for metaphors

like LIFE IS A JOURNEY. He argued that “conceptual metaphors are not the most basic level at which metaphorical mappings exist in human thought and experience” (Gibbs, Lima, & Francozo, 2004, p.1197).

Grady argues that the correlations rising from embodied experiences creates “primary” or “primitive” metaphors. These primary metaphors have their basis in our bodily experiences and when they come together they form complex metaphors. For instance, the metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS are comprised of three primary metaphors: PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT, STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL, and INTERRELATED IS INTERWOVEN. Kövecses (2010) appreciate the efficacy of Grady’s primary metaphors in explaining the partial mapping process in some metaphors where only some of the properties of the source domain are mapped on the target domain. In other words, there are some metaphors in which only some of the properties of the source domain are highlighted and some other properties of the source domain become hidden. For instance in the metaphor, ARGUMENTS ARE BUILDINGS, the structure of the building is highlighted but the other properties like window and corridor are hidden. The answer to this problem was given by Grady (1997a).

According to his view the reason for such a partial mapping is the prominence of only one of the primary metaphors (PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT) comprising the complex metaphor. According to Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernandez (2011) “primary metaphor is a basic conceptual correspondence grounded in experiential correlation”, in addition, “they are basic layouts that can be enriched with other more specific concepts in order to match the full range of meaning implications that speakers want to convey” (P. 168). Grady (2007) also emphasizes that “primary metaphors are widespread across languages that are not related genetically, really, or culturally” (p. 194). Kövecses (2010) argues that primary metaphors are “motivated independently of complex ones. Whereas the argument (theory) is a building metaphor would be difficult to motivate …the two primary metaphors” (p. 95).

Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernandez (2001) name two advantages for the account provided by Grady:

"(a) It has a stronger generalizing power". For instance, LOVE IS A JOURNEY are better accounted for in terms of PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS.

(b) "The account finds the roots of metaphor in the conflation of concepts arising from co-occurring events in primary experience and can thus be straight forwardly linked up with research in psychology and the brain sciences" (p. 164).

Gibbs, Lima, and Francozo (2004), introduce some of the very prominent primary metaphors, which in their account are empirical evidence to explain how metaphors are understood through embodied experiences:

INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS (we have a close relationship)

DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS (she is weighed down by responsibilities)

AFFECTION IS WARMTH (they greeted me warmly)

IMPORTANT IS BIG (tomorrow is a big day)

MORE IS UP (prices are high)

SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS (those colors are not the same)

ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE (how do pieces of theory fit together)

HELP IS SUPPORT (support your local charities)

TIME IS MOTION (time flies)

STATES ARE LOCATIONS (I am close to being in a depression)

CHANGE IS MOTION (my car has gone from bad to worth)

PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS (he will be successful but it is not there yet)

CAUSES ARE PHYSICAL FORCES (they pushed the bill through congress)

KNOWING IS SEEING (I see what you mean)

UNDERSTANDING IS GRASPING (I have never been able to grasp transfinite) (p. 1197).

2.5.7. Structure

Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Otal Campo (2002, cited in Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernandez, 2001, p. 170) portrait the early classifications of conceptual metaphors as two types of structural and non-structural metaphors. they define structural in terms of source domainsas follows:

> Structural metaphor consists of entities plus their attributes and their interrelations or of topological abstractions over a set of attributes of an entity or a number of interacting entities. In contrast, the source domain of a nonstructural metaphor focuses on one attribute of a physical entity or on a non-complex topological abstraction, such as spatial orientation (p. 170).

For them, the ontological metaphors, which later developed to be the GREAT CHAIN OF BEING metaphor, are the example of non-structural metaphors in which only one attribute of the source domain is highlighted and mapped on target. This is contrary to the structural metaphors in which there should be a tight correspondence between the attributes of both target and source domain. They give the example of *Achilles is a lion* where the animal behavior is mapped on human behavior, that is to understand human bravery in terms of animal instinctional courageous behavior. In this ontological metaphor, only the courageous behavior of the animal is highlighted and other attributes remain tacit.

An instance for structural metaphor is ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor where the logic of argument is understood in terms of the logic of war. Linguistic metaphors such as *she is in trouble*, *she is trapped in situation*, are examples by which the structure of the source domain, which is container is used to explain the target. The image metaphors are also good representative of structural metaphors where both source and target domains are of *concrete nature*. For instance, in the linguistic metaphor *raven-haired woman*, the darkness of the body of a raven is mapped on the darkness of a woman’s hair.

Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernandez (2001) have illustrated the metaphor types based on the nature of source domain as follows:

Non- Structural:
a. Orientational e.g. prices are high
b. Ontological e.g. Achilles is a lion
c. Imagistic e.g. Raven-haired

Structural:
a*. Non-situational*:
1. Topological:
i: Image-schematic e.g. she is in trouble
ii: Image-based e.g. the fringed curtain of thine eye

2. Non-topological
e.g. she attacked my position

b. *Situational*:
1. Scenic e.g. he left with his leg between his legs
2. Non- Scenic e.g. her heart was in her mouth

2.5.8. Universality vs. Variation

Kövecses (2005) asserts that "the issue of universality and variation in metaphor in the world's languages and cultures and within individual languages and cultures is perhaps one of the most complex and challenging problems in the study of metaphor and in the understanding of the cultures" (p. 294). Kövecses (2009) also believes that the patterns of variation (culture-specificity) in the linguistic expressions and the conceptual metaphors underlying them is not isolated and accidental rather they are systematic and meaningful which are of high significance for investigation.

Kövecses (2005) and Yu (2008) argue that one of the fundamental questions to be asked in Conceptual Metaphor Theory is the question of variation and universality of the conceptual metaphors, “In other words, the question is how, exactly, the interplay between body and culture gives rise to conceptual metaphors that are universal, widespread, or culture-specific” (p. 248).

For Kövecses (2005) and Yu (2008), the best answer given to this question has been done by Grady’s (1997) “decomposition” theory, which makes a distinction between *primary metaphors* and *complex metaphors*. In order to explain the universality or variation of metaphors, Kövecses explains the two types of metaphor, introduced by Grady (1997), and then connects the issue of universality and cultural variation to this dichotomy. Grady divides the metaphor to two types of “primary” and “complex”. He maintains that primary metaphors are the outcome of our universal experiences, which have bodily grounds. For instance, the metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH is the outcome of our bodily experience of warm embrace of our parents. These primary metaphors are the ones we do not make consciously. Kövecses (2005) argues that the primary metaphors are universal because they rise from our bodily experiences. For this very reason, they are cross-linguistically very widespread (Grady, 1997b), whereas according to Yu (2008) “complex metaphors are combinations of primary metaphors and cultural beliefs and assumptions and, for that reason, tend to be culture-specific” (p.248). According to Yu:

> Primary metaphors derive directly from our experience and very often from our common bodily experience and therefore are more likely to be universal, whereas complex metaphors are combinations of primary metaphors and cultural beliefs and assumptions and, for that reason, tend to be culture-specific (ibid).

Drawing upon the distinction between primary and complex metaphors, proposed by Grady (1997), Lakoff and Johnson (1999) call the complex metaphors as “molecular” which are made up of “atomic” structures, which are

primary metaphors. Contrary to primary metaphors which are rising from our bodily experiences and are more widespread, complex metaphors are more culture-specific because they are “formed by conceptual blending” and are “built out of primary metaphors plus forms of commonplace knowledge: cultural models, folk theories, or simply knowledge or beliefs that are widely accepted in a culture” (p. 46). By investigating the primary and complex metaphors of various languages, the points of variation might be possible to identify. Deignan (2003) proposes that it has been demonstrated that “different languages do exhibit different patterns of figurative language use. The differences are of several kinds. In the most extreme cases of variation, metaphors that are frequent in one language are rare or nonexistent in another” (p. 256). Kövecses (2005) provides a categorization of metaphors based on which it becomes possible to categorize the conceptual metaphors from the universal one to the culture-specific ones. He believes that all the metaphors belong to one of the following categories: congruent, alternative, preferential, and unique.

2.5.8.1. Congruent Metaphors

These are the metaphors of a language or culture in which there are various domains for one target or conversely, various target for one source domain. These metaphors are called congruent because they are “filled out in congruence with the generic schema” in other words “a generic–level congruent metaphor is instantiated in culture-specific ways at specific level” (Kövecses, 2005, p.68). To use Kövecses’ own example, consider the metaphor ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER. It is a near-universal generic –level metaphor, but when it is filled with cultural contents, then it gives rise to variation. For instance, the Chinese version of anger is “*gas”* while, the English version is “*fluid*”.

2.5.8.2. Alternative Metaphors

An alternative metaphor is that kind of metaphor in which there is one target but two different sources in different languages. For instance, Kövecses (2005) uses the target domain of "*solution"* and talks about one of his experiences with this word at Berkley University where an Iranian student had thought of *chemical solution* to understand the metaphor while the American student had understood the metaphor of "*solution"* by thinking about the *crossword puzzle*. In brief, in alternative metaphor, there is a target domain but it is conceptualized in different source domains in different languages.

2.5.8.3. Preferential Metaphors

Preferential metaphors are those group of metaphors in which two languages/cultures have many of the same conceptual metaphors for a given target domain, but speakers of the languages may prefer to use a different set of metaphors for this target. For instance, Americans see the life as a precious possession but Hungarians see the life as a battle.

2.5.8.4. Unique Metaphors

The last category of metaphors, which is actually the most culture-specific type, is unique metaphor. In this type of metaphor, a very different target domain is conceptualized in a very different source domain, which does not exist in any language. Kövecses (2008) argues that most of the conceptual metaphors belong to one of these categories and mainly to the first three categories and such unique metaphors are rare to see.

2.6. WHY PROVERBS? WHY A COGNITIVE APPROACH TO INVESTIGATE PROVERBS?

Proverbs are among the richest part of any nation's literature and culture which have the potential to reflect the folks' attitude towards life and people. Mieder (2004) finds proverbs as strong "rhetorical force in various modes of communication, from friendly chat, powerful political speeches and religious sermons to lyrical poetry" (p. 1). Taking into consideration the rich nature of proverbs in terms of cultural content, on the one hand and drawing on the fact that cognitive semantics considers language as the reflection of mind, on the other hand proverbs were taught to be a rich target area for the present investigation.

To investigate the meaning of formulaic languages like proverbs has always been a big concern and challenge for semanticists and it has an old root back in history. The tradition of studying proverbs has even a long history dating back to antiquity even Aristotle. The history of the presence of proverbs in human life can be traced back to early ancient Egypt around 2500B.C.E. (Katz, 1999). Despite the old history of studies on proverbs, there has been no consensus among scholars over what the definition of a proverb is. Mieder (2004) proposes that despite the disagreement among the scholars, all the definitions provided by the researchers have had two common points. First, a proverb must be in the form of a *statement* and it should bear a piece of *wisdom* in it.

Scholars have been interested in proverbs and accordingly, they adopted various approaches to investigate the proverbs. In one of those classifications, Mieder (2004) clearly divides the type of task carried out on proverbs under the three categories of *paremiography, paremiology* and *linguistic.* By paremiography, he refers to the task of collecting the proverbs in a language. By Paremiology, he refers to the task of investigating and discussing the proverbs from various aspects and outlooks like "form, structure, style, content, function, meaning and value of the proverbs" (p. xii). They investigate the proverbs from cultural, anthropological, historical, social, and folkloric point

of view. Linguists on the other hand, investigate the structure of proverbs looking at it as a task of *phrasography*.

Gibbs (2007) suggests that proverbs can be investigated from both *cognitive* and *social* aspects. According to Gibbs, the social advantage of using proverbs is “manipulating others, asserting separate identity and asserting group identity”. Cognitively, he believes that proverbs - as an instance of nine types of formulaic language classified by Gibbs (1994) - are “mental shortcuts in both production and comprehension” (ibid). He also believes that they have organizational function in discourse by creating “textual coherence” as well as the signifiers of “topic transition” (p.703).

Honeck and Temple (1996) also propose seven possible ways to study the proverbs; personal, practical, formal, literary, religious, cognitive and cultural views. They argue that the most important ways to study proverbs have been cultural and cognitive. The cultural approach sees proverbs as “significant cultural products that codify important kinds of information in and about a culture.” Cultural approach to study culture asks questions about the “origin, themes, historical diffusion, and cultural picture painted by proverbs”. Culture in this view plays a constraining role on the figurative meaning of the proverb, and to abstract them from their context of use for investigating is unnatural. On the other hand, the cognitive view tries to find out the way proverbs are learned, understood, and used. This approach tries to address questions such as the way proverbs are represented in the memory, the way they are processed and computed. In cognitive view, proverbs are required to be investigated as “*abstract entities*” (p. 218).

Honeck and Temple (1994) have also introduced an alternative approach to Lakoff and Turner’s Great Chain Metaphor Theory (GCMT) which is known as Extended Conceptual Base Theory (ECBT). (For discussion on the differences between both approaches see Gibbs, Johnson,& Colston, 1996).

Adopting either of these approaches to investigate the proverbs has turned this field to a busy field of investigation. According to Mieder (2004) almost 400

significant books, dissertations, and scholarly articles about proverbs are produced each year. New outlooks at the proverbs have given rise to the birth of new field of investigation in proverbs. The present study has adopted Lakoff and Turner's Great Chain Metaphor Theory as a cognitive approach to investigate the proverbs and their underlying metaphors.

2.7. GREAT CHAIN OF BEING METAPHOR THEORY

The Great Chain of Being Theory has been selected as the theoretical framework of the present study, in order to approach the proverbs from conceptual proverbs. One of the areas which has been difficult to investigate by adopting the Conceptual Metaphor Theory has been the animal metaphors (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez& Hernandez, 2011; Fass, 2005). According to Grady (2007), these metaphors are based on some "shared qualities which are not perceptual". For example (e.g., as a ''pig'', ''snake,'' or the more classical, not to mention complimentary, ''lion''), we are apparently invoking a commonality which we believe unites the person and the animal (or some stereotype of the animal)" (p. 193).

According to Fass (2005) one of the challenges to investigate such metaphors is that they are not supported by the embodiment thesis of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The reason is that this group of metaphors departs from the main concern of cognitive linguistics, which is experiential motivation (Grady, 1997). In his Dissertation, Grady takes up this issue and argues that animal metaphors cannot be accounted for by the relationship between source and target the way it is norm in case of metaphors like MORE IS UP. The difference lies in the type of relationship, which exist between the concepts in metaphors like MORE IS UP. In case of such metaphors, we understand quantity in terms of verticality and this originates from our recurring bodily experiences. Therefore, we can correlate the concept of quantity and verticality. However, the same kind of *correlational* relationship cannot be used to account for the relationship between *Achilles* and *Lion* in the *"Achilles is a lion*".

The reason according to Grady is that the association between *Lion* and a brave man (*Achilles*) is not motivated by our bodily experience. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Hernandez (2011) also believe that it is more an "analogy-based metaphor where there is no such "kind-of" relationship between target and source domain" (p. 166). Therefore, the way we understand the animal metaphors is based on analogical reasoning not experiential correlation between the source and target domain. Grady (1997) argues that despite the rejection of similarity theory as the underlying explanation for the relationship between two domains, we need a *resemblance hypothesis* which is capable of explicating plethora of metaphors of this category. For Grady (1997), the difference between resemblance metaphor and correlation metaphors is that in the earlier correspondence exists between the concepts of the same type, while in correlation metaphors concepts of different types get related to each other. Grady refers to this type of variation between resemblance and correlational metaphors as *ontological* difference. Grady (1997) states that:

> My proposal does not imply that there is any literal similarity whatsoever between brave people and lions. It is helpful, though, to recognize that metaphorical association between them- involving projection in whichever direction- is most likely based on the *perception* of common aspects in their behavior. I will call this proposition, "resemblance hypothesis", in order to distinguish from "similarity theory", and to highlight the role of our perceptions as opposed to factors about the world (p. 222).

Grady also puts a question mark on Lakoff and Turner's (1989) explication of the type of relationship they posit between *Achilles* as a *brave* man and *lion.* In their account, Lakoff and Turner (1989) argue that first, there is a process of *personification* where bravery as human characteristic is attributed to lion, and then, in the second step, the bravery of *lion* is attributed to *Achilles*. Grady believes that this bidirectionality in attributing the characteristic is contrary to

the fundamental premise of Conceptual Metaphor Theory namely, *unidirectionality* which posits that the process of mapping is one-sided. The violation of this rule, practically supports the *similarity theory*- rejected by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) - in which metaphors are created on the basis of pre-existing similarities. Directionality is the second way in which resemblance and correlational metaphors vary with each other.

In accounting for the associations existing between the concepts, Grady (1997) also comes up with a third alternative - in addition to *correlational* and *resemblance*- known as "*is -a* relationship instantiation". The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor is representative of this third group. Lakoff and Turner (1989), explicate this type of metaphor on the proverb "blind blames the ditch" and propose this metaphor as one of the four components of their Great Chain metaphor theory.

Correlational and resemblance metaphors differ from each other in terms of their conventionality. According to Grady (1997), resemblance metaphors, due to their imaginative nature, do not face the same constraint in pairing concepts the way that correlational metaphors do due to their experiential nature. The same hold true in case of image metaphors too.

In sum, Grady (1997) comes up with a rough typology of metaphors where GENERIC IS SPECIFIC and resemblance metaphors are in one side and correlational metaphors -including primary metaphors- are on the other side. He believes that the reason for the difference between these metaphors can be accounted for in terms of three criteria: *directionality, conventionality,* and *ontology*, which were elaborated above. In order to provide a precise analysis of animal metaphors in proverbs it is necessary to explicate Lakoff and Turner's (1989) theory of Great Chain of being.

As it was discussed earlier, proverbs have been investigated extensively within various approaches due to the richness they bear in terms of their cultural, historical, social, linguistic, and cognitive properties. The Great Chain Metaphor theory has been developed to account for how proverbs are

understood; this model can be used to account for the animal metaphors underlying the proverbs. Lakoff and Turner's (1989) Great Chain metaphor theory is itself a complex of four important components, which have independent identities from each other. The GREAT CHAIN OF BEING metaphor is more than a metaphor, rather it is a "recurring conceptual complex made up of a metaphor, a common sense theory, and a communicative theory" (p.173).

These four components are:

1. The Great Chain of Being,

2. The common sense theory of the nature of things,

3. The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor and

4. The maxim of quantity

2.7.1. Great Chain of Being

One of the components of the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR is the cultural model of great chain of being. Lakoff and Turner divide this model into two versions of basic and extended. The earlier concerns itself with the "relation of human beings to lower forms of existence", but the extended version concerns itself with the "relation of human beings to society, God and Universe" (Lakoff & Turner, 1980, p.167). To investigate the mechanism by which we understand the proverbs, Lakoff, and Turner focus on the basic model of great chain of being. In the basic version of this cultural model, every being with the properties peculiar to it, takes a place on a vertical scale. On this scale, those beings, which are up the hierarchy, have higher faculties and those, which are down the hierarchy, have lower faculties.

On the scale of great chain of being, first stand the human beings, then animals, plants, and finally inanimate beings. Each of these levels has their own sublevels. For instance in the animal level, big animals like horse take

higher position on the scale in comparison to insects. Inanimate beings have this variation in terms of their structure. To use Lakoff and Turner's own example, both chair and rock belong to the inanimate beings category, but chair has a part to whole structure as it is made of a seat, four legs, and a back, but a rock despite its belonging to this level does not have such a structure.

The nature of the great chain of being is that the levels do not exist in isolation and abstraction from each other. Each level shares some features of its lower level. For instance, as a higher level being, human share beastical features of the animals, which stand in the lower level of being chain, but animals can't share the complex and higher faculties of human being because they are in the lower level. Therefore, every level bears the features of levels below it but the reverse is not possible. As a result, understanding a level in terms of the characteristics of the lower level is possible but reverse is not possible. For instance, we can understand human behavior in terms of animal properties but we cannot think of animals in terms of human complex faculties. For instance, the case of equational metaphor *Achilles is a lion*.

At any level of the basic great chain, the highest properties of beings at that level characterize those beings" (ibid. p.168).For animals the highest property is their instinct and for human being it is their moral, mental and aesthetic properties. Lakoff and Turner refer to these higher properties of human being as "complex faculties" (ibid. p.167). The instinct for animals and these complex faculties for human being are considered as their generic level parameter. For Lakoff and Turner, what distinguishes one level from another is their "attributes and behaviors" (ibid. p.168). Lakoff and Turner believe that lower level attributes like instincts are easy to access, contrary to higher level attributes of human like morals and emotions which are difficult to access because human being is capable of disguising them.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) believe that cognitive models are acquired in two ways: one is through direct experience, and the other is through our culture. They argue, "Cognitive models that are acquired via our culture are typically

long-standing in the culture". Cultural models of this sort are often at variance with our scientific knowledge" (ibid. p. 66). Lakoff and Turner give the example of wolf in order to explain the difference between the scientific knowledge and our cultural knowledge about them. According to the scientific knowledge, wolves try to avoid human being as much as they can but our cultural knowledge sees this animal as a ferocious animal, which attacks human in a cruel manner without provocation.

Deignan (2003) believes that the reason for the variation in use of animal metaphors in different languages has two possible explanations. One is either due to the different folk values attributed to animals and source domains or due to the less salient status of source domains in different culture. In a study conducted by Purdon (2001, cited in ibid), she realized that there was no consistency between the attributes that her informants associated with an animal and the figurative use of that animal. She realized that most of her informants associated the dogs with attributes like faithfulness, but in metaphorical use of the lexeme dog, this was not observed, rather dog was represented as a despised entity. For Deignan, such examples suggest that "the existence or relative salience of an entity in a culture, or during a particular period of time, will affect its use as the source domain of a metaphor" (p. 260). (See section 2.9 for further development on culture-specificity of animal metaphors).

2.7.2. The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC Metaphor

Lakoff and Turner (1989) explicate the way the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC works for understanding the metaphors underlying the proverbs. The mechanism of this metaphor is to map "a single specific-level schema onto an indefinitely large number of parallel specific-level schemas that have the same generic-level structure as the source-domain schema" (p.162). In this metaphor, source domain is restricted to one specific-level schema and the target is the generic-level schema.

> Generic –level schema has the power of generality, that is, the power to make sense of a wide range of cases. But they lack the power of specificity. Specific-level schemas are both concrete and information-rich: they have rich imagery associated with them, they are memorable, they are connected to our everyday experiences and, they contain a relatively large amount of information about the concrete everyday experiences. Proverbs use both kinds of power: they lead us to general characterization, which nevertheless are grounded in the richness of the special case (ibid. p. 165).

Gibbs, Colston and Johnson (1996) argue that generic-level schema is "certain knowledge structure that is used in understanding what this proverb means". For them, generic-level schema is automatically invoked by the relations inherent in the text of the proverb and creates general "slots" that represent these relations at a superordinate level" (p. 209). Lakoff and Turner explicate the way the generic-level maps on a certain situation in the proverb *blind blames the ditch*:

Generic- level schema:

1. There is a person with incapacity.

2. He encounters a situation in which his incapacity in that situation results in a negative consequence.

3. He blames the situation rather than his own incapacity.

4. He should have held himself responsible, not the situation.

This information is generic-level information and can be instantiated by many specific-level schemas. Lakoff and Turner use the example of a president who has made a mistake before election campaigns and has neglected the mass media and their covering of the news.

Mapping the specific-level schemas (blame, ditch, and blind) on generic-level metaphor:

1. Blind person →President

2. Incapacity → not understanding his own situation

3. Falling into ditch → losing the campaign

4. Being in the ditch →being out of the competition

5. Blaming the ditch → blaming the press

Judge the blame man as foolish → judge the president as foolish for blaming the press coverage.

“The generic is specific metaphor helps us interpret proverbs and other clichéd phrases. Proverbs often consist of specific-level concepts. Take the proverb “The early bird catches the worm.” “Bird,” “catch,” and “worm” are specific-level concepts. The interpretation of the proverb is facilitated by the metaphor generic is specific. It tells us to interpret the proverb at a generic level: the early bird is anyone who does something first, catching is obtaining something, and the worm is anything obtained before others. Thus, the generic meaning of the proverb is something like “If you do something first, you will get what you want before others get it.” Given this generic-level interpretation, the proverb can apply to a wide range of cases that have this generic structure. One such case is when you go and stand in line early for a ticket to a popular Broadway show and you do get a ticket, while others who come later do not. This example shows how the generic is specific metaphor can give us a generic-level interpretation of a specific-level proverb and then allows us to apply the generic interpretation to a specific case that has the appropriate underlying generic structure” (Kövecses, 2010, P. 45).

Sullivan and Sweester (2010) also support the existence of this metaphor as the underlying metaphor in many proverbs but they also argue that a blending theory account of the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor has more explanatory power to explain the proverbs.

2.7.3. The Theory of the Nature of Things

According to this theory, every being has an essence, and their essence decides about the way they behave. For instance, hard things are difficult to bend or to move. Every being, which is on the scale of being, has an essence peculiar to itself and according to Lakoff and Turner (1989) our knowledge about the things and their attributes are automatic and unconscious. The attributes that a form of being has, leads it to a certain way of behaving.

Human→ higher order attributes→ higher order behavior

Animal→ instinctional attributes→ instinctional behavior

Plants→ biological attributes→ biological behavior

Complex objects→ structural attributes→ structural behavior

Natural physical objects→ natural physical attributes→ natural physical behavior

2.7.4 The Maxim of Quantity

The maxim of quantity has a restrictive role on the scope of given information. The purpose of applying the maxim of quality is “to pick out the highest-ranking properties available in each situation”. The way maxim of quantity functions is as follows: as it was mentioned before, great chain of being is a hierarchy on which there are different beings and the ones up the hierarchy usually embrace the properties of the beings under them. When a speaker refers to a being on the hierarchy, actually a lot of information are given about the lower properties and this is a “great deal of superfluous information” (p.173). Right at this point, the maxim of quantity applies to limit the scope of given information only to the “highest ranking properties”, because it is only the highest ranking properties which are of interest. Therefore, the duty of maxim of quantity is to control and restrict the application of two other components of GREAT CHAIN metaphor namely, Great Chain and GENERIC IS SPECIFIC. Martsa (2003) argues, “These pragmatic restrictions eventually determine not only the

metaphorical extensions of animal concepts, but also the lexicalization of these concepts" (p.5).

2.8. IS METAPHOR THE ONLY MECHANISM IN PROVERBS?

As it was mentioned above, proverbs are a combination of various components such as primary metaphors and metonymies. One of the challenges faced while investigating the metaphors is the overlap between the metaphors and metonymies (Haser, 2005). Practically, it is not easy to make a clear line between where metonymy ends and where metaphor begins. In order to be able to draw a line between the metaphor and metonymy, Lakoff and Turner (1989) introduce three criteria:

1. Metaphor includes "two conceptual domains that one is understood in terms of another".

2. A whole schematic structure (with two or more entities) is mapped onto another whole schematic structure.

3. The logic of the source domain structure is mapped onto the logic of the target domain structure" (p. 103).

In case any of the above-mentioned criteria is violated, then there is a departure from metaphor towards metonymy.

Gibbs (1999) suggests that distinguishing between metaphor and metonymy is possible by examining the type of connections they make between things. For Gibbs, in metaphor the process of mapping happens between two domains but in metonymy, this happens within the same domain. Yu (2008) defines metonymy as "the link between bodily experience and metaphor in the mapping process from concrete experience to abstract concepts: bodily experience → metonymy → metaphor → abstract concepts" (p. 249).

Fass (1997) asserts that "the relationship between metaphor and metonymy remains murky despite centuries of study" and believes that one reason for

this problem might be due to the conflation of metaphor recognitions views with metaphor interpretation views (p.46). Fass discusses three types of relationship between metaphor and metonymy:

1. Metaphor is a kind of metonymy

2. Metonymy is a kind of metaphor

3. Metaphor and metonymy are very different

Each of these views have been discussed and supported by different scholars. The view held by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff and Turner (1989) is the third view, which claims that metaphor has different nature from metonymy. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that the main reason for the variation between metaphor and metonymy is their variation in terms of their *function.* According to Lakoff and Johnson, the main function of metaphor is *understanding* something in terms of another while, in case of metonymy, the main function is *referential*; that is to say “It allows us to use one entity to *stand for* another” (p. 36).

As Fass (1997) also argues, Metaphor occurs across, whereas metonymy acts within domains” (p.47). Regardless of the proposed criteria to distinguish metaphor from metonymy, still it is difficult in some cases to distinguish the metaphor from metonymy (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). While the debate over the difficulty of distinction between metonymy and metaphor continues, recently some scholars argue that proverbs are more metonymic in nature than metaphoric. For instance, Barcelona (2000) and Radden and Kövecses, (1999) argue that animal metaphors are essentially metonymy- based, and metonymy as a cognitive mechanism is more fundamental for the interpretation of proverbs.

2.9. A BRIEF REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

"The late 20th century has witnessed an explosion in the study of metaphor, especially within cognitive science, where linguists, philosophers, and psychologists have offered a variety of proposals on metaphorical thought and language" (Tendahl and Gibbs, 2008, P.1823). The focus and the scope of metaphor studies are so wide that even making an inventory of metaphor studies might generate volumes, especially those whose focus is on body parts.

In addition to the huge size of studies on body part metaphors, the methodology adopted in their investigation is also of significance. According to Simo (2011), studies investigating the body parts vary in both focus and methodology. Methodologically speaking, these metaphors are either source-domain-oriented or target-domain-oriented. In source-domain-oriented studies, researcher chooses a certain body part to find out about its use in different metaphors. In target-domain-oriented studies, researcher chooses an abstract notion and then tries to find out which body parts have been used to conceptualize it. Simo believes that the source-domain-oriented methodology is applied more in metaphor studies. According to Simo's dichotomy, those studies focusing on body parts fall within the scope of the first (source domain) group of studies.

Investigating the studies in both languages showed that there were both source-domain-oriented and target-domain oriented studies on body parts. These investigations were either cross-linguistic or within the same language (Persian or Turkish). However, to have a smooth shift from body part studies to proverbial animal metaphor studies in Persian and Turkish, a few instances of research carried out in different languages will be mentioned. Then the literature will be limited to studies in Persian and Turkish.

For instance, Maalej (1999, 1999) has conducted various studies on metaphor and its processing as well as cross-linguistic metaphor studies in Arabic language. Maalej (2008) has also investigated the *heart* metaphors in a cross-cultural study between Tunisian-Arabic and English. Perez (2008) has

conducted a comparative study on *heat* metaphor between five languages : French, Italian, Spanish, English, and German. Simo (2011) also adopted a cross-linguistic corpus investigation to *blood* metaphor in American English and Hungarian. According to Simo (2011, p. 2898), the most comprehensive corpus investigation of the figurative uses of *blood* in English, comes from Charteris-Black (2001). Yu (2007) also investigated the conceptualization of *heart* in Chinese.

Remarkable body of studies has investigated the metaphors in terms of their target domains. For instance, Marrin-arrese (1996) has investigated the metaphors of *death* and *dying* in both Spanish and English. S/he found out that in Spanish *death* appears as a *lady* or *debt* which should be paid. The metaphor of *anger* was investigated in many languages by different scholars like Gibbs (1994, cited in Deignan& Potter, 2004 p.1232), Maalej (2004), Aksan (2006), and Yu (1995). Maalej (2007) has also investigated the *fear* metaphors in Arabic language. Kövecses (1991b) investigated the metaphors of *happiness* in Hungarian and Polzenhangen and Wolf (2007) investigated the metaphors of *corruption* in African languages.

In Turkish, many scholars have contributed to the development of metaphor studies. To name some, Özçalışkan (2002) investigated *motion* metaphors in Turkish. Özçalışkan (2003b) also studied the *death* and *life* metaphors in Turkish. Aksan (2006a,b) studied the Turkish *anger* metaphors. Ruhi (2006) and Aksan (2012) investigated the concept of *self* in Turkish from cognitive and cultural point of view. Ruhi, Işık, Güler (2007) focused on the conceptualization of *face* in Turkish idioms. Aksan and Kantar (2008a,b) have investigated the *emotion* and *love* metaphors. Özyıldırım and Yarar (2010) have conducted a study investigating the *family* metaphors in different genre types. Aksan (2012) has investigated the *head* and *feet* metaphors in Turkish language. Aksan and Aksan (2012) have also investigated the conceptualization of *life*, *morality* and *emotion* metaphors in Turkish. Recently

a PhD dissertation also investigated the conceptualization of emotion metaphors through body parts in Turkish idioms (Baş, 2015).

In Persian, Sharifian (2011) has contributed to the field by conducting a comprehensive study on Persian concepts like *humbleness* (shekaste-nafsi), *complement*, (taarof) *dignity* (aberu), *personality* (shakhsiyat), *self* ,*spirit,* (ruh), *look* (negah) and *secret* (serr). He has also investigated the body part *eye* (cheshm) and *heart* (del) in Persian. He found out that in Persian language, *heart* (del) is the seat of emotions, feelings, and intellect, as well as source for compassion and desires. *Heart* (del) is also used as alternative term for stomach. He also found out that in Persian *eye* (cheshm)*,* is the seat of *love,* and character trait. Sharifi, Pooresfahani and Pooresfahani (2012) investigated the body part metaphors in Persian political texts. They found out that the 'head' metaphors were the most-frequently used body part metaphor used in Persian political texts.

To the knowledge of the researcher the number of the studies on animal metaphors -in either methodology; source-domain-oriented and target-domain-oriented- are not so extensive. Fraser (1981) examined insulting animal expressions in eleven languages other than English to see if they have equal usages. Newmark (1988) believed that animal metaphors are used to a great extent in order to describe inferior or undesirable human habits and attributes. Davies and Bentahila (1989 as cited in Estaji &Nakhavali, 2011a) examined animal terms in British English and Moroccan Arabic. Holmes (1992; as cited in Hsieh, 2006) gave examples of the "chicken" metaphor in her sociolinguistic analysis of sexism in language.

Sutton (1995; as cited in Hsieh, 2006) studied linguistic discrimination against females and made a strong argument about the metaphor "women are animals". Tomita (2000, pp. 1-15) worked on a large amount of rhetorical expressions, such as animal similes and metaphors, which are used to delineate the physical appearances or distinctive personalities of various

characters in Charles Dickens's novels. Hsieh (2001; as cited in Hsieh, 2006) investigated animal expressions in Mandarin Chinese and German with a focus on "cat" and "tiger" expressions. She found out that "The salient semantic molecules of cat are 'weak' in Mandarin Chinese and "weak", "false", "small", "unimportant", "flattering", "quick", and "shrill" in German; those of "tiger" are "powerful", "courageous", "fierce" in Mandarin Chinese and "powerful", "fierce" in German" (p. 2206).

In Persian, Nadim (cited in Estaji & Nakhavali, 2011) examined animal roles in Shirazi proverbs adopting a sociolinguistic approach and concluded that "donkey" expressions are the most frequent ones and have some salient semantic molecules, such as "crazy", "worthless" and "absurd". Estaji and Nakhavali (2011a) have conducted a study on the semantic derogation in Persian animal proverbs. Estaji and Nakhavali (2011b) Estaji and Nakhavali (2011), investigated a corpora of 10,000 Persian and English proverbs including "dog" expressions were investigated. Adopting Goddard's semantic molecule theory, they investigated the "dog" expressions in both languages in terms of their primary and secondary semantic molecules and found out that the semantic molecules of "dog" in both languages were "worthless", "bad-tempered", "cruel", and "violent'.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to shed light on variations or commonalities between Persian and Turkish proverbial animal metaphors, a cross-linguistic study was designed. The present study adopted the source-domain-oriented method as the dominant data analysis method; however a brief target-domain-oriented analysis of the data was conducted as complementary to cognitive analysis phase. In order to achieve the objectives of the study, the present endeavor was conducted in two phases of descriptive and cognitive data analysis. The descriptive data analysis addressed the first question of the study, and the cognitive data analysis addressed the rest of the questions as given below:

1-Is there any commonality in terms of number, type, frequency and makeup of use of the animals used in the proverbs of both languages?

2- Which domains of experience or abstract notions have been conceptualized by animal metaphors in each language?

3- What are the primary and complex metaphors underlying the proverbs in both languages?

4- Do other instances of figurative language such as metonymy or simile also contribute in structuring proverbial animal metaphors?

5- Is there any similarity or difference between both languages in terms of the negative or positive attributes ascribed to animals in the cultural schemas of both folks?

3.2. DATA COLLECTION

Similar to other folk, both Iranians and Turks, have long tradition of coining, collecting and using proverbs. In both languages, there are various paremiographic collections compiled by different authors. To name some, Batur (1970), Yurtbaşı (2012), and Acaraoğlu (2006) in Turkish and many others in Persian like Shakourzade (1993), Abrishami (1996), and Eghbal (2006). Despite the diversity of paremiographic collections in both languages, the data required for the conduction of the present study were gathered from the most comprehensive collections in both languages. The Persian proverbs were gathered from the collections compiled by Dehkhoda (1999) and Shamlu (1978) and the Turkish proverbs were gathered from the collection complied by Aksoy (1995). In addition to the above-mentioned source, some of the on-line sources like the official website of Turkish language institution; www.tdk.gov.tr was also checked. Even though there were various proverb collections in Turkish, the collection by Aksoy was the most comprehensive source among all. In general, the reasons for selecting these collections were first their being comprehensive in terms of number of included proverbs and second, the possibility of having access to their interpretation.

Gathering proverbs from both languages was both demanding and at the same time tricky task first due to the large number of proverbs and second due to the difficulty in making distinction between proverbs and other idiomatic structures like sayings and idioms which were occasionally included in the collections of both languages. In the first phase, I came up with a body of approximately 12800 proverbs including approximately 10000 Persian and 2800 Turkish proverbs. In order to make the data collection in an organized and efficient way, first each and every page of both collections were scanned and checked for the proverbs containing animal names. Then in the second phase, the provided list was checked for other idiomatic structures which were randomly included in the provided list.

To distinct proverbs from other idiomatic structures such as sayings, the criteria proposed by Mieder (2004) were applied. These criteria define a

proverb as a *statement*, which embraces a piece of *wisdom*. Applying these criteria on the collected data resulted in the elimination of data in two ways: in both languages, first, idiomatic structures such as sayings were eliminated from the early list. In the second phase, another part of both Persian and Turkish proverbs which had dialogical structure were also ruled out, even though they embraced animal names. For instance the Persian proverb:

The fox is asked: “who is your witness”
It says: “my tail”.

Or, the Turkish proverb:

The Ostrich was said: “Carry load!”
It said: “I can’t, I am bird”
It was said “ok then fly!”
It said: “I can’t, I am camel”

Due to applying this rule, some proverbs containing fox and camel in Persian proverbs and ostrich and mule in both Persian and Turkish proverbs were not included in the data for cognitive analysis but they were included in descriptive report. In addition, many of the Persian proverbs which were in the form of single verses or complete verses of poem were also eliminated from the data. For instance:

May*āzā*r muri ke dāne ke*š* ast ke j*ā*n d*ā*rado j*ā*ne *š*irin xo*š* ast

(Don’t hurt an ant which carries load, because it has a life and its life is sweet)

In sum, the application of proverb identification rules has had two results:

(1) Either it resulted in the complete elimination of an animal from the data like, rabbit, ostrich, and fox, or

(2) It decreased the frequency of use of an animal or insect as it happened in the case of camel and mule.

Therefore, the final list to be analyzed included 171 Persian proverb (appendix 1) and 187 Turkish proverbs (Appendix 2). Another point to mention about the final list is that no distinction was made between insects and animals despite their being two different life forms. Therefore, the final data included both animals and insects, although in descriptive analysis section, they were illustrated distinctly in terms of type, frequency and makeup. The ultimate list was checked once again by the linguists of the department of Turkology and Iranian studies at Uppsala University in Sweden to see if the only proverbs were included in the list.

After finalizing the list of selected proverbs in both languages, the second step in data gathering began. Since the final lists of proverbs were written in Persian and Turkish languages, therefore the researcher had to provide the translation of the proverbs. The translation of the proverbs was carried out in two ways; literally and metaphorically. In addition to the translation, Persian proverbs were also provided with their transcriptions since Persian language uses Arabic script and it was impossible for the readers to read the Persian script. In order to avoid any mistakes in the provided metaphorical translation, they were again checked with the linguists of the department of Turkology and Iranian studies at Uppsala University in Sweden.

3.4. DATA ANALYSIS

Since the purpose of the present study was to investigate the commonality or culture-specificity of proverbial animal metaphors in Persian and Turkish, efforts were made to analyze the data from different perspectives in order to provide an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the data. The gathered data were analyzed by adopting two different data analysis methods: descriptive and cognitive perspective. By descriptive method, a comprehensive comparative analysis was conducted in terms of number, type, frequency and makeup of use of animals in the proverbs of both languages. In the second phase, the cognitive analysis focused on eliciting the main animal

metaphor (resemblance metaphors) embedded in the proverb, extracting their target and source domains; extracting the contributing primary, and complex metaphors; and extracting instances of other type of figurative language like simile and metonymy. As the final part of cognitive analysis, the gathered source and target domains of resemblance metaphors were reclassified from a target-domain-oriented view and then were presented in tables. The observed patterns of commonalities or variations were discussed accordingly.

3.4.1. Descriptive Data Analysis

As it was mentioned earlier, the present study tried to look at the issue from various perspectives in order to provide a comprehensive view of the issue. Therefore, the study began by investigating the descriptive peculiarities of the animals used in the proverbs of both languages. In order to gather descriptive data, the final list of proverbs was checked for the animals and insects in relation to four criteria. First, the gathered proverbs were investigated for the number and type of the used animals and insects. Since both languages had used common and at the same time different animals and insects, all of them were represented in one table.

The reason for illustrating them all on one table was to show the commonalities and variations at the same time. In order to show the variations, those animals which were specific to Persian were shown in blue color and those specific to Turkish were shown in red color. In order to show the variation between both languages in terms of type, another table was designed to represent the common and different insects distinctly. In addition, the ratio of use of insects in comparison to animals in each language was also illustrated in figures as well as in percentage.

In the second phase, the frequency and percentage of use of each animal and insect in both languages was calculated and illustrated in one table. Following the consultation with statistician, concerning the best explanatory statistical method for illustrating the variations, it was concluded that provision of the

percentage of use of each animal for showing the existing differences would be adequate. Since the purpose of the comparison was not to look for the meaningful relationship between the percentages, therefore the statistical analysis of data was confined to calculation of percentage of use of each animal.

Following the presentation of the data in relation to the frequency of use of animals, the first five animals in both languages which had the highest frequency of use were selected for further discussions. The selected first five animals in both languages were analyzed from various points of view in order to explicate their culture-specificity or commonality. Cultural and geographical motivations behind the high frequency of use of animals in both languages were investigated and discussed.

The gathered data were also analyzed in terms of makeup of use of animals and insects in relation to two different criteria; being wild or domestic, and being aquatic, aerial or terrestrial. Similar to previous criteria, comparisons were presented in terms of percentage as well as figures in order to illustrate the variations and commonalities at the same time. At the end of this section, the cultural justifications for the variations behind the findings were discussed. In sum, the descriptive data on animals in the proverbs of both languages was provided along with their brief statistical report.

3.4.2. Cognitive Data Analysis

As it was mentioned earlier, the collected data were analyzed from both descriptive and cognitive perspectives. The cognitive analysis of data focused on identifying the main metaphor around which each proverb revolved. The identified main metaphors were also analyzed and classified in terms of comprising source and target domains of main metaphors. The selected proverbs were also investigated for the contributing primary and complex metaphors. The cognitive analysis of proverbs also dealt with eliciting the possible instances of metonymies or simile as other types of figurative

language. Finally, the metaphorical propositions were checked for the cultural schema behind them in order to extract the positive or negative attributes ascribed to animals in both languages.

3.4.2.1. Procedure

In order to conduct the cognitive analysis of the proverbs, a table including four columns apt for illustrating the steps of analyses was designed. As illustrated in table- 1 -the sample table -, the final list of proverbs selected from the paremiographic collections of both languages were included in the left column of the table. Following each proverb, their transcriptions, literal meaning (LM) and metaphorical interpretation (MI) were also included in the same column under each proverb. Since the collections from which the proverbs were selected, were monolingual, researcher herself had to provide the translation for both literal and metaphorical interpretations for proverbs. In addition, since Persian alphabet uses Arabic script, they were provided with their transcriptions in order to make them easy to read.

Table-1 Sample Table of Cognitive Analysis

Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
Asbi ke dar bist sālegi soɣanš konand, barāye savāri dar ɣiyāmat xub ast LM: A horse trained for riding in its twenty, is good for ride in judgment day MI: leaning in old ages won't pay off TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TEACHING HUMAN IS TRAINING HORSE GOOD IS EARLY BAD IS LATE LATE IS DISTANT LATE IS JUDGMENT DAY	Horse/ Horse training	Human/ teaching human

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

Another part of analysis which was represented in left column was determining the thematic part (TP) (Wierzbicka, 1985) in terms of which the animals were metaphorically represented. The thematic part was written immediately below the metaphorical interpretation. As illustrated above, at the bottom of each table, information including the abbreviations used in each table such as (LM) for literal meaning, (MI) for metaphorical interpretation, and (TP) for thematic part were included. The phonetic symbols used to transcribe the Persian sounds and Turkish sounds were also included at the bottom of each table. The main metaphor of each proverb, contributing primary, and complex metaphors as well as instances of conceptual metonymies were included in second column. The source and target domains elicited from the main metaphors were also included in the third and fourth columns.

3.4.2.2. Metaphor Identification

According to Gibbs (2006b), one of the main skepticisms about Conceptual Metaphor Theory is that while identifying the conceptual metaphors, cognitive linguists rely more on their intuition rather than explicit criteria. Gibbs (2013) admits this shortcoming and states that “this lack of explicit criteria is one of the major obstacles towards CMT’s acceptance as a comprehensive theory of metaphor use and understanding” (p. 20). Nevertheless, despite the lack of robust criteria for identifying the metaphors, this study adopted a simple technique in order to identify the main metaphor around which the proverbs revolved.

In order to identify the conceptual metaphors, the following question was asked: what is understood in terms of what? Putting it in more technical terms, which source domain is mapped into which target domain? The answer to this question, helped identify the conceptual metaphors from proverbs. For instance, the domain of *controlling* was conceptualized in terms of *riding* generating the CONTROLLING IS RIDING metaphor. The metaphors identified by the application of questioning technique, were included in the second

column. The source and target domains of identified metaphors were written in the third and fourth column of the table designed for the cognitive analysis. Cognitive analysis of each animal was followed by the discussions related to the addressed questions. In order to represent the results in an organized way, apt for discussion, the source and target domains of the main metaphors were represented in a separate table.

3.4.2.3. Primary and Complex Metaphor Distinction

In order to identify the primary and complex metaphors contributing to the proverbs, Grady's (1997) primary metaphor theory was adopted. According to this theory, a complex metaphor is a primary metaphor in addition to a cultural schema. Taking into consideration the criteria proposed by Grady, the above-mentioned question - what is understood in terms of what? - was asked again in order to identify the primary and complex metaphors. For instance, as illustrated in table-1, the concept of *bad* is conceptualized in terms of being *late,* generating the BAD IS LATE primary metaphor. In the same proverb, the concept of *late* was conceptualized in terms of *judgment day* generating the LATE IS JUDGEMENT DAY complex metaphor. In this complex metaphor the primary metaphors of LATE IS DISTANT, and BAD IS LATE was combined with the religion-based cultural schema; that "judgment day happens in the last day of life which is too far to know". Such metaphors have been classified under the category of complex metaphors. The identified primary and complex metaphors were included in the second column of the table designed for the cognitive analysis of proverbs.

3.4.2.4. Metonymy Identification

The fact that the border between metonymy and metaphor is murky and hard to distinguish has been discussed by majority of scholars (to name some, Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Gibbs, 1999; Haser, 2005;

and Kövecses, 2010). While conducting the present study, the blurred border between both cognitive mechanisms was experienced. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that the main reason for the variation between metaphor and metonymy is their variation in terms of their *function.* For them, the main function of metaphor is *understanding* something in terms of another and for it to happen two domains involvement is required. However, in case of metonymy, the purpose is not *understanding* rather, the primary function is *referential*. As they put it, “It allows us to use one entity to *stand for* another” (p. 36). The present study took this difference as the criterion for distinguishing the metaphors from metonymies by taking into consideration the referential use of metonymy in contrast to the function of metaphor; which is for understanding.

In order to double check the distinction made between metaphors from metonymies, the criteria proposed by Fass (1997) was applied. According to Fass, metaphorical mapping happens across domains, in other words mapping happens between two domains, but in metonymies, mapping usually happens within the same domain as it is illustrated in the case of the following example. For instance, the domain of *bad* was understood in terms of *black* and *arid* generating the BAD IS BLACK or BAD IS ARID metaphors. While in a case of a Persian proverb, the domain of *tongue* as a body part stood for *speaking* generating the TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING. The identified metonymies were also included in the second column of the table designed for the cognitive analysis.

3.4.2.5. Eliciting Positive and Negative Attributes

In order to answer the fifth question of the study, the Folk Theory of Lakoff and Turner‘s (1989) Great Chain of being theory was applied. The purpose of the last question was to find out the commonality or culture-specificity of both languages in terms of the negative or positive attributes ascribed to different animals. In order to do that, the metaphorical propositions underlying the

cultural schemas of the proverbs were elicited and compared. The following Persian proverb can be given as an example:

"*Sage zard barādare šoɣāle"*

LM: "Yellow dog is jackal's brother"

MI: "cruel and crafty people are from similar character"

In the metaphorical propositions, BEING CRUEL IS DOG BEHAVIOR and BEING CRAFTY IS JACKAL BEHAVIOR, the attributes ascribed to both *jackal* and *dog* were "cruel" and "crafty" which were categorized as negative attributes. In similar way, the positive attributes were also extracted from the metaphorical proposition. For instance, in the following proverb:

"Sag pāčeye sāhebešo nemigire"

LM: "Dog does not bite its owner's leg"

MI: "one should be grateful to one who is good to him/her"

The positive attribute given to dog which was extracted from the metaphorical proposition, BEING GRATEFUL IS DOG BEHAVIOR, was "grateful".

Each and every proverb in both Persian and Turkish was checked for the negative and positive attributes ascribed to each animal. The extracted attributes were classified in a table under two distinct headings of "positive" and "negative" attributes in order to provide a simultaneous comparative view.

In order to provide a more precise and comprehensive image of the similarities or culture-specificities existing between both languages, positive attributes given to animals were grouped next to each other. In similar way, the negative attributes were grouped next to each other. This provided the ease in providing a brief statistical report, concerning the number of the used positive and negative traits. Both languages were provided with number and the percentage of ascribed negative and positive attributes.

While investigating the metaphorical propositions for positive and negative attributes, the researcher came up with some attributes which were interpretable either as positive or negative depending on the context of the proverb they were found in. In other words, some attributes like “powerful” given to lion were occasionally interpreted as positive or negative. Therefore, it was not possible to categorize such attributes under positive or negative heading since they were interpretable based on the context they were located in. in order to provide a comprehensive look on animal metaphors, such cases were also included in the table representing the positive and negative attributes in each language.

3.4.2.6. A Brief Target-domain-oriented Categorization of Metaphors: A Reverse Look

Even though the present study adopted a source-domain-oriented method of data analysis, efforts were made to conduct a more comprehensive and at the same time in-depth comparative analysis of proverbial animal metaphors in both languages. Having this in mind, a complementary target-domain-oriented analysis of animal metaphors was conducted. In order to have this reverse look, only the main metaphors underlying each proverb was categorized from the point of view of target domains.

The results of the analyses were represented in tables for further discussion. The provided descriptive report highlighted the commonalities and variations existing between both languages.

3.5. TYPOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

The present study has adopted the following typographic conventions.

-Persian proverbs have been provided by their orthographic transcription for the ease of reading.

-All metaphorical propositions have been written in capital letters such as HUMAN IS ANIMAL.

-All animal names when referred to literally, have been written in normal font, e.g. dog.

-All metaphorical concepts including animals have been written in italic font, e.g. *Dog, human.*

- All concepts have been written in double quotation mark e.g. “powerful”, “stupid”.

CHAPTER 4
FINDINGS AND RESULTS

4.1. DESCRIPTIVE DATA ANALYSIS

To investigate the data from descriptive point of view, the final list of Persian proverbs (f=171) and Turkish proverbs (f=187) were analyzed in terms of number and type as well as frequency and makeup of use of the animals. While analyzing the data in terms of type and number, no distinction was made between animals, fish, insects and birds as different ethnobiological taxa. Nevertheless, in order to show the existing patterns of variation, animals and insects were classified separately. The frequency and percentage of use of animals were also investigated and illustrated in tables. The makeup of use of animals was investigated in terms of two criteria; being wild or domestic, and being aerial, aquatic or terrestrial. The obtained results were shown in figures.

4.1.1. Number and Type

As it is illustrated in table- 2, all together, 65 types of animals and insects were used in the proverbs of both languages. From among this number, Persian language made use of 54 animals and insects while this number in Turkish proverbs turned out to be 45. Both languages were similar in using 35 types of animals and insects in their proverbs. This comprises 53% of total number of animals and insects in both languages. Table- 2 illustrates the common animals and insects in black, only-Persian insects and animals in blue and only-Turkish animals and insects in red.

Table -2 Total Types of Animals and Insects Used in Both Languages

NO	Animals & Insects	NO	Animals & Insects
1	Ant	34	Jackal
2	Bear	35	Lamb
3	Bee	36	Lion
4	Billy Goat	37	Louse
5	Bitch	38	Monkey
6	Bull	39	Mouse
7	Butterfly	40	Mule
8	Calf	41	Nightingale
9	Camel	42	Ostrich
10	Cat	43	Owl
11	Centipede	44	Panther
12	Chicken	45	Partridge
13	Cow	46	Peacock
14	Cub	47	Pelican
15	Deer	48	Pig
16	Dog	49	Pigeon
17	Donkey	50	Rabbit
18	Dragon	51	Raven
19	Eagle	52	Rooster
20	Elephant	53	Scorpion
21	Falcon	54	Shark
22	Fish	55	Sheep
23	Flea	56	Simian
24	Fly	57	Snake
25	Fox	58	Sparrow
26	Frog	59	Stinkbug
27	Goat	60	Stork
28	Goose	61	Termite
29	Grasshopper	62	Tiger
30	Hen	63	Vulture
31	Horse	64	Whale
32	Mosquito	65	Wolf
33	Hyena		

As it is illustrated in table- 3, the only common insects in both languages were bee and ant. Furthermore, it was found out that in comparison to Turkish proverbs, Persian proverbs made more use of various types of insects. In

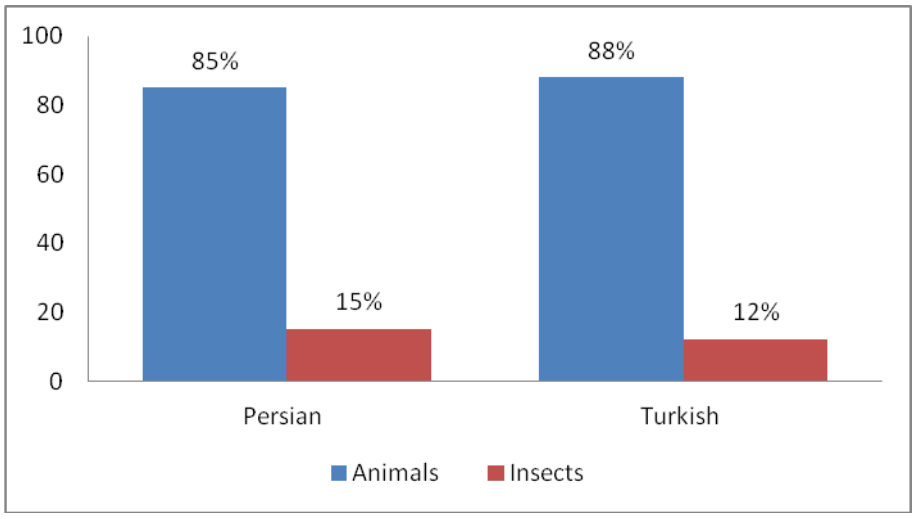
addition, as it is illustrated in table- 3 the type of the used insects in both languages were different.

Table-3 Types of Insects Used in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

Persian Insects	**Turkish Insects**
Flea	Centipede
Grasshopper	Fly
Scorpion	Butterfly
Stinkbug	Louse
Termite	Mosquito
Common insects	
Ant	
Bee	

Comparing both languages from the point of view of distribution of insects and animals revealed that insects comprised only 12% of Turkish proverbs, while in Persian proverbs; this number comprised only 15% of the proverbs. Figure-1 illustrates that the difference between both languages in terms of distribution of animals and insects was very small.

Figure-1 The Ratio of Insects and Animals in Persian and Turkish Proverbs



4.1.2. Frequency

The results obtained from the analysis of data in terms of frequency of use of animals illustrated that both languages had both commonalities and differences. The only animals which shared the same frequency in both languages were only dog having the frequency (29) and cat having the frequency (10). It is possible to state that looking at the animals' distribution from the most-frequently used to the least-frequently used, pointed up patterns of variation. For instance, while horse (f=36) turned out to be the most-frequently used animal in Turkish proverbs, it was donkey (f=36) which was the most-frequently-used animal in Persian proverbs. Except dog (f=29) in both languages, the other four most-frequently used animals (horse, donkey, wolf, sheep in Turkish and donkey, camel, cat, horse in Persian), had different makeup in terms of frequency.

As it was mentioned before, if we consider the frequency as an index for evaluating the degree of saliency attributed to animals, then we will see variation between Persian and Turkish languages except the case of dog. In some cases, this variation can be explicated by cultural background of the speakers of both languages and in some other cases this variation can be justified by various geographical peculiarities of both lands. Table- 4 illustrates the distribution of animals in each language in terms of frequency and the percentage of use of each animal.

Table-4 Frequency and Percentage of Animals and Insects in Both Languages

Turkish animals	N=223	Percentage	Persian animals	N=192	Percentage
Horse	36	16.07 %	Donkey	36	18.75 %
Dog	28	12.50 %	Dog	28	14.58 %
Wolf	15	6.70 %	Camel	11	5.73 %
Donkey	14	6.25 %	Cat	10	5.21 %
Sheep	12	5.36 %	Horse	8	4.17 %
Cat	10	4.46 %	Jackal	8	4.17 %
Fish	8	3.57 %	Snake	8	4.17 %
Rooster	8	3.57 %	Fish	7	3.65 %
Pigeon	8	3.57 %	Hen	7	3.65 %
Fox	6	2.68 %	Wolf	7	3.65 %
Hen	6	2.68 %	Mouse	6	3.13 %
Sparrow	6	2.68 %	Lion	5	2.60 %
Ant	5	2.23 %	Raven	5	2.60 %
Camel	5	2.23 %	Ant	4	2.08 %
Lion	5	2.23 %	Cow	4	2.08 %
Mouse	5	2.23 %	Frog	4	2.08 %
Raven	5	2.23 %	Sheep	4	2.08 %
Snake	5	2.23 %	Rooster	4	2.08 %
Bull	4	1.79 %	Bear	3	1.56 %
Cow	4	1.79 %	Eagle	3	1.56 %
Goat	4	1.79 %	Sparrow	3	1.56 %
Goose	4	1.79 %	Monkey	3	1.56 %
Lamb	4	1.79 %	Chicken	2	1.04 %
Bear	3	1.34 %	Mule	2	1.04 %
Bee	3	1.34 %	Pigeon	2	1.04 %
Eagle	3	1.34 %	Bee	1	0.52 %
Frog	2	0.89 %	Bull	1	0.52 %
Chicken	1	0.45 %	Elephant	1	0.52 %
Elephant	1	0.45 %	Goat	1	0.52 %
Calf	1	0.45 %	Goose	1	0.52 %
Monkey	1	0.45 %	Calf	1	0.52 %
Mule	1	0.45 %	Lamb	1	0.52 %
Nightingale	1	0.45 %	nightingale	1	0.52 %

The results of the analysis illustrated that horse was the most frequently used (f=36) animal in Turkish proverbs. It can be inferred that the motivations behind the high frequency of horse might be mainly a matter of culture.

Therefore, this cultural motivation could be considred as the first evidence for the interplay between culture and conceptualization in Turkish proverbs. As Deignan (2003) also argues, the reason why some folk select an animal for conceptualizing notions and experiences is because of the value that they attribute to a certain animal and “an animal might be used to stand metaphorically for a particular quality in their language” (p. 257). The present study will try to discuss the first five animals in each language –comparatively- in order to shed light on the observed variation between both languages.

The association of first five animals in Turkish proverbs; namely horse, dog, wolf, donkey, and sheep evokes the requirements of the typical job of people living in rural area known as animal husbandry. However, in Persian proverbs, investigating the first five animals (donkey, dog, camel, cat, and horse) might be indicative of the significant role of beasts of burden like camel, donkey, and horse in nomadic life of people who live in mountainous areas. The presence of dog among the first five animals in Persian is also indicative of the dog’s being an inevitable part of nomadic life as the guard of flocks.

The following five sections will make a detailed comparison between the animals sharing the same rank in Persian and Turkish proverbs; that is horse and donkey ranking first in Turkish and Persian; dog ranking second in both languages; wolf and camel ranking third in Turkish and Persian; cat ranking fourth in Persian; and sheep ranking fifth in Turkish respectively.

4.1.2.1. Horse and Donkey

According to the findings of the descriptive analysis, horse (f=36) and donkey (f=36) were the most-frequently used animals in Turkish and Persian proverbs respectively. The roots of ascribing such high value to these two animals are not similar. In case of Turkish proverbs, the roots of the value ascribed to horse among Turks could be traced back to their early cultural and philosophical disposition known as Shamanism; a life philosophy popular among the Turks of Asia Minor. According to ideology, every human is aligned

with an inner animal since birth time. These animals which are called power animals, are Jaguar, Black Jaguar, Orca, Crow, Polar bear, Owls and Horse. Horse is one of the powerful spirit guides which helps human be connected to the natural world. According to Lepp (2004) in shamanism, horses are used as “totems, spirit guides, and medicine” (p. 147).

For shamans, horse as the spirit of freedom, was a good company for human being because of its grace, wisdom, speed, strength, faithfulness, and vision. As one of the spirit guide animal, horse symbolizes independence and freedom and the fact that it is not tamed easily is a sign of that spirit of freedom and grace but as Lepp (2004) puts, “the fact that horses allow themselves to be used as beasts of burden is often seen as an act of loyalty” (p. 148). Human being has admired the grace of horse profoundly. In Turkish proverbs, this admiration illustrates itself in the dual comparisons between horse and other smaller or easy-to-tame animals in order to praise horse’s spirit of freedom and stigmatize other animals, such as other beasts of burden like donkey. In metaphorical sense, horse and its independent behavior represent the behavior of noble and decent people (ibid).

The migration of Turks and their settlement in Anatolian plateau coincided with their conversion to Islam; a turning point in their believes where if not all, but a great deal of their shamanistic believes were left behind. In this period, however; the roles of horse as fast-moving, life-saving company of a worrier in battlefield became more prominent. The shift of ascribed value to horse from a mythic being to a good company for worrier and a good gift for a worrier is frequently observed in Turkish proverbs. Even in case horse is used as beast of burden for carrying the coach, it is talked about with respect arguing that this function of horse is the result of its misfortune not its being valueless. Metaphorically, horse carrying a coach represents any experienced but unfortunate person whose valuable skills are downgraded. However, horse in Persian proverbs ranked fifth indicating a lower value for Persian culture. In other words, the value of horse is indicated implicitly. As a valuable animal,

horse has been used for breeding mule and hinny avoiding its use as a beast of burden.

As it was mentioned earlier, donkey was the most-frequently used animal in Persian proverbs (f=36). Looking at donkey as the most-frequently used animal in Persian proverbs raises the possibility that this variation might originate from the early nomadic life style of the people of this territory in past and their dependence on beasts of burden like donkey for carrying their loads. Even today, a part of villagers whose main job is animal husbandry in mountainous area, still maintain their nomadic life style that is moving to highlands in summer and back to valley in winter.

Although they use modern transportation means for their moving, still they use donkey to pass impassable mountainous routes where surmounting by cars is impossible. Dependence on this animal for its function as beast of burden has resulted in the proximity of this beneficial animal to human. Naturally, this animal has drawn the attention of these folk in first place by all its properties like size, appearance, behavior, and function. Donkey in Turkish proverbs, however ranked fourth indicating a relatively lower value for Turkish folk.

4.1.2.2. Dog

As it was mentioned earlier, dog was the second most frequently used animal in both languages. Contrary to horse, the reason for the high frequency of dog in both languages is more a matter of function than cultural backgrounds. As the first domesticated animal in human history which is estimated to be between 1300-30000 years, (Beam, 2009), dog has played a significant role in human life through millennia. Human being has always been dependent on dog both as a protective animal and as a loyal friend. Dog has protected either human being in wilderness or it has protected the human properties, on top of all flocks of sheep. Therefore, the commonality of presence of dog in both languages' proverbs was the life requirement in rural life style. Moreover, another common point between both languages was both positive and at the

same time negative feelings and attitudes that both folk as Muslims had towards dog.

Even though both folk admit the undeniable usefulness of dog in terms of its companionship and protection, both folk believe in the dirtiness of this animal due to their religious beliefs as Muslims. Both folk experience a state of dilemma; the duality of feeling which is caused by their religion. On the one hand they can't deny the usefulness of dog as a loyal companion and a protective animal; on the other hand, they have to devalue it because of religious teachings which consider this animal as a dirty being. Since dog has been in very close relationship with human being, this animal has drawn the attention of people by every aspect of its being, including its behavior, habits, size, appearance and relationship to human being and other animals.

4.1.2.3. Wolf and camel

According to the findings of descriptive analysis of proverbs, while wolf was the third most-frequently used animal in Turkish proverbs, it was camel in Persian proverbs which ranked third. Similar to horse, wolf bears significance for Turks in two ways: First, similar to horse, wolf is a part of rural life, where it has always been considered as the greatest danger for barn animals especially for the herds on highlands, that is why wolf has always represented great dangers metaphorically. Second, similar to horse, wolf has had a high position in the early mythology and faith of Turks known as shamanism. As it was discussed in case of horse, wolf is among the highly-esteemed animals among shamans (Lepp, 2004). The reason for the significance of wolf as the symbol of Turks today, might originate from their shamanistic believes while most of the new generation might not have enough information about its roots and philosophy.

While wolf ranked third in Turkish proverbs in terms of frequency, in Persian proverbs it was camel which occupied the third rank. The motivation behind the high frequency of camel in Persian proverbs might be justified based on

the geographical peculiarities of Iran. Since Iran is located on the desert band and its climate is mostly arid in major parts of the territory, naturally it is the habitat to those animals which can tolerate such climate. For instance, camel is one of the animals which is peculiar to such geography. As a beast of burden, camel is highly resistant to the harsh conditions of desert and has the unique capability of going long ways in desert without eating and drinking. In Persian proverbs, camel has attracted the attention of people with its size, appearance, behavior and its relation to people as a useful and resistant beast of burden.

4.1.2.4. Cat

According to the findings of descriptive analysis, while cat ranked fourth in Persian proverbs in terms of frequency, it ranked sixth in Turkish proverbs. Cat is one of the domesticated and almost omnipresent animals of the world which is not peculiar only to a certain geography including these two territories. Similar to dog, this small animal has had a certain place in the daily life of both folk as a house pet. This old common history of companionship might in some ways justify the reason for cat's being in focus of human attention. In addition, it has had a similar and old place in the mythology and superstitious belief of both folk like witchcraft. For instance, in both Persian and Turkish, cat is conceptualized as an "arrogant", "proud" and "sinister" animal. These ideas are mainly generated from cat's behavior and color (black). Cat has had a notable position in the world literary works including Persian, for instance the Cat and Mouse collection by Ubeyd Zakani and many other literary works. However, the result of the study also indicated that the frequency of cat is slightly higher in Persian proverbs

4.1.2.5. Sheep

As it was discussed earlier, the meaningful collocation between first five animals in Turkish proverbs was indicative of the life style of Turks and their main job as animal husbandry -when the proverbs were coined. The collocation of these animals has played a significant role in metaphorical conceptualization of the world around them. Sheep as a defenseless but beneficial barn animal has always presented the concepts like “benefit”, “innocence”, “victim” and “prey”.

The results of the study indicated that sheep had different distribution in both languages in terms of frequency of use. In Turkish proverbs, sheep ranked fifth whereas in Persian proverbs, it ranked seventeenth. This difference is indicative of the higher prominence given to sheep –as a beneficial barn animal- by Turks.

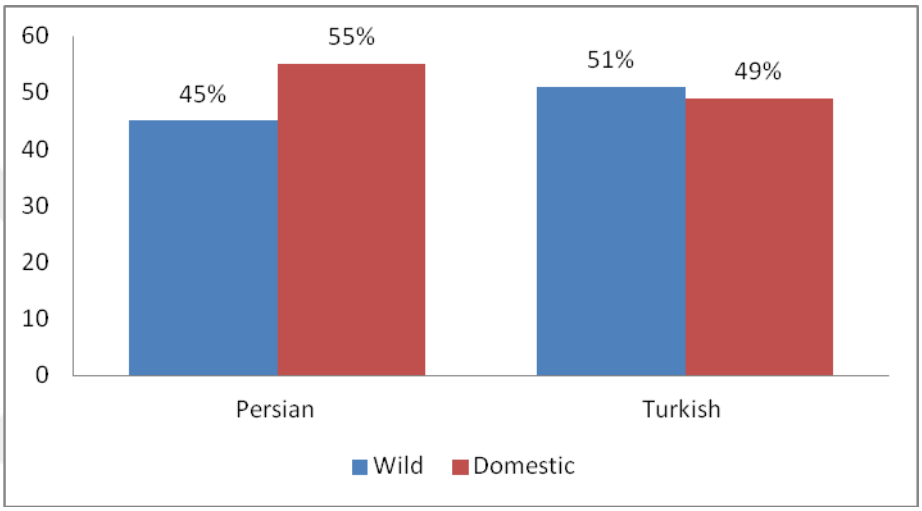
In sum, the results of the analyses illustrated that both languages had both similarities and variation in terms of number, type, frequency, and makeup of use of animals. In case of Persian language it could be argued that the particular fauna cover of arid geography of this territory as well as nomadic life style of the folk of this territory had possibly motivated the use of beasts of burden like donkey, camel as two of the most frequently-used animals (donkey, dog, camel, cat and horse) while in Turkish proverbs, it was the cultural background as well as rural life style- especially animal husbandry- which had motivated the high frequency of use of horse and the next four most-frequently-used animals.

4.1.3. Makeup

The makeup of use of animals in the proverbs of both languages was investigated in terms of two different criteria: being wild or domestic on the one hand, and being aquatic, aerial and terrestrial on the other hand. Even though both languages used both wild and domestic animals, this use illustrated

slightly different patterns. As it was mentioned above, altogether, there were 66 types of animals and insects used in both languages. From among this number, 36 of the animals were domestic and 30 of them were wild animals. Only 13 wild animals were commonly used between both languages. This means that only 43% of wild animals were similar in both languages.

Figure- 2 Distribution of Persian and Turkish Animals in Terms of Being Wild or Domestic



As it is illustrated in figure- 2, the ratio of domestic animals to wild animals was (55%) to (45%) in Persian, while in Turkish, the ratio of wild animals to domestic animals was (51%) to (49%) which means that the ratio was almost equal. As it is shown in figure- 2, Persian proverbs tended to use more domestic animals in comparison to Turkish proverbs. Turkish proverbs made almost equal use of both wild and domestic animals.

Another point, which was also observed in case of both wild and domestic animals, was the sexual distinction of animals. The data elicited from the proverbs of both languages illustrated that gender distinction was applied only on domestic animals. Gender distinction was not applied on beasts of burden

like horse, donkey, mule, and packhorse in either language. Gender distinction was applied only on the animals which had food functions

For instance, hen, rooster, chicken were distinct in both language, but goat and Billy goat were distinct only in Turkish proverbs. Sheep, lamb, cow, bull and calf were distinct in both languages. Sometimes, when there were no distinct lexemes to represent the genders distinctly, the word “male” or “female” was preferably used to refer to a certain sex in both languages. For instance, “male cow”,“ female cow and “female dog” in Persian; and “female bird” and “female dog” in Turkish.

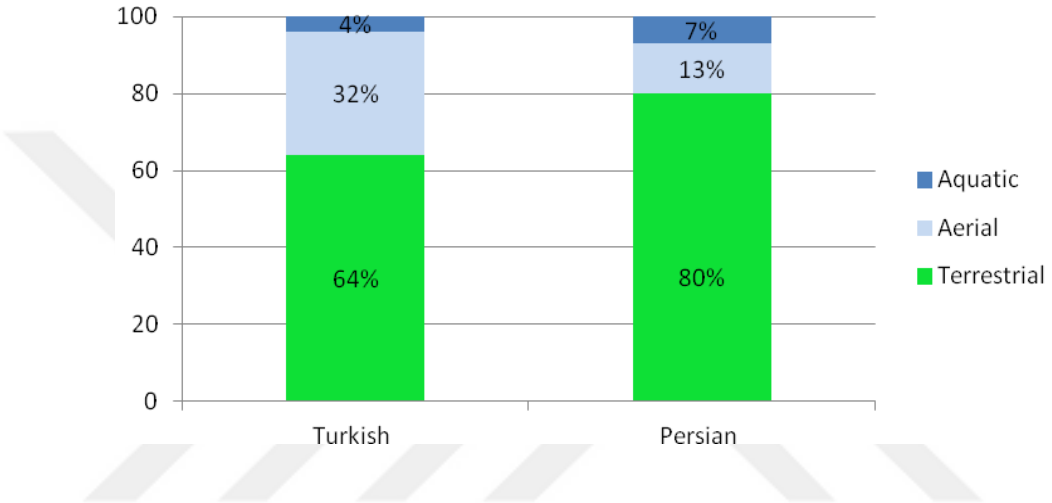
Following his researches, Nielsen (1996) argues that “animal-based metaphors and symbols, only a few of which are based on actual physical differences between male and female bodies, make up a relatively small portion of our cultural metaphors about gender” (p. 257). Nielsen conducted a study on English language animal names in terms of their gender. To name animals, in his idea, is more based on their “function” in relation to human being. This means that domestic animals are given gender-specific names due to their function for human being while the same ratio does not hold true in case of wild animals, therefore their naming becomes a generic term.

According to Nielsen (1996) in case of English name, when there is no gender-specific name for certain specie, it is the female name which is usually used as the generic name because it has more value for human as it lays eggs, gives milk, gives birth to babies, and its meat is consumed. As in the case of the present study, neither in Persian, nor in Turkish the sexual distinction made between animals was a random phenomenon. In brief, in animal metaphors in both languages, gender was intentionally adopted to conceptualize certain concepts.

The analysis of animals in relation to their being aquatic, aerial and terrestrial also illustrated a slight pattern of variation between both languages. As it is illustrated in figure- 3, both languages used terrestrial, aerial and aquatic animals respectively. However, in comparison to Turkish language, Persian

language used more terrestrial animals (80%). Contrary to Persian proverbs, Turkish proverbs used more aerial animals (13%) in comparison to Persian proverbs (32%). In addition, Persian proverbs also made more use of aquatic animals (7%) in comparison to Turkish proverbs (4%).

Figure-3 Distribution of Animals in Terms of Being Aquatic, Aerial and Terrestrial



The early expectation of the researcher was to see more use of aquatic animals in Turkish proverbs; however, the results of the analyses contradicted those expectations which were based on the geographical peculiarities of Turkey as a land surrounded by seas more than Iran. The higher percentage of aerial animals in Turkish proverbs is indicative of the fact that the aerial animals have drawn the attention of this folk more than the other.

4.2. COGNITIVE ANALYSIS

As it was mentioned in the methodology section, this study was designed to follow two analytical methods in order to answer the research questions; descriptive analysis and cognitive analysis. The preceding section provided answers to the question regarding the descriptive peculiarities of animals used

in the proverbs of both languages. The following section will focus on the cognitive analysis of the proverbial animal metaphors in a contrastive way in a table provided for the cognitive analysis including the provision of their literal and metaphorical interpretation of proverbs, extracting the underlying primary, complex and resemblance metaphors, and placing the extracted target and source domains in the third and fourth column.

4.2.1. Horse Metaphors

Table-5 Cognitive Analysis of Horse Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverbs	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Abdal ata binince bey oldum sanır, şalgam aşa girince yağ oldu msanır* LM: Given a chance to ride horse, the silly considers himself as lord, given a chance to turnip to get mixed in soup, it considers itself as fat MI: an insignificant person who suddenly becomes rich, considers him/herself an important person TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS FOODS ARE PEOPLE (personification) SOCIAL ELEVATION IS VERTICAL ELEVATION SOCIAL ELEVATION IS RIDING HORSE GOOD IS UP WEALTH IS FAT WEALTH IS HORSE	Horse riding	Being rich/ Social elevation
2.	*Arpa verilmeyen at, kamçi zoruyla yürümez* LM: A horse which is not given barley, won't run even by spur MI: you cannot force someone to work hard for	CARING IS FEEDING MOTIVATIONS ARE FOOD	Horse	Human

	you without giving him/her wages/food. TP: behavior			
3.	*At binenin, kılıç kuşananın* LM: The horse should be ridden by a skilled man and sword should be put on by skilled man MI: only one who has mastery can handle the assigned duty. TP: relation to people	Literal meaning TO HAVE MASTERY IS TO RIDE A HORSE MASTERY IS UP	-	-
4.	*Ata binen nalını mıhını arar* LM: one who wants to ride horse must check its nails and shoe nails MI: when you want to use something, you should also check its requirements TP: relation to people	Metonymy: RIDING HORSE STANDS FOR DOING A TASK PROPERTY IS HORSE IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL IMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL	Horse riding	Doing a task
5.	*At binicisini tanır* LM: Horse knows its rider MI: the worker knows his/her master's expectations and ideas TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CONTROLLING IS RIDING CONTROL IS UP	Horse	Human
6.	*At biniciye gore şahlanır* LM: Horse rears	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS Metonymy: HORSE	Horse rearing	Human behavior

	depending on who its rider is MI: the worker behaves depending on who his/her taskmaster is. TP: relation to people, behavior	STANDS FOR HUMAN BEING CONTROLLED IS BEING DOWN CONTROLLING IS RIDING CONTROL IS UP HUMAN REACTION IS HORSE REARING		
7.	*Atabinersen allah'I attan inersen atı unutma* LM: Don't forget God when you ride the horse,and don't forget the horse when you descend the horse MI: when you get powerful do not forget that always there is someone upper than you and below you. TP: relation to people	SOCIAL ELEVATION IS VERTICAL ELEVATION VALUABLE IS UP	Horse riding	Social elevation
8.	*At çalındıktan sonra ahıra kilit ne çare* LM: it is no use to lock the stable after the horse is stolen MI: after having your wealth robbed, taking preventing measures is of no use TP: relation to people	METONYMY: HORSE STANDS FOR WEALTH	Horse	Property /wealth

9.	*At at oluncaya kadar sahibi mat olur.* LM: till horse becomes horse its owner becomes mate MI: till the child or business become fruitful, its owner must tolerate worries TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BUSINESS IS ANIMAL PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CHILD IS HORSE	Horse	Child/ business
10	*At ölür, itlere bayram olur* LM: The death of a horse is the Eid for dogs MI: the death or dismissal of an important person is to the benefit of inferior people TP: relation to people, size	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG SIGNIFICANT IS HORSE INFERIOR IS DOG	Horse	Human Significant
11.	*At sahibine göre eşer* LM: The horse neighs depending on who rides it MI: the worker behaves depending on who the taskmaster is. TP: relation to people, behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CONTROLLING IS RIDING HUMAN REACTION IS HORSE NEIGHING	Horse	Human Worker
12.	*Atına bakan ardına bakmaz* LM: someone who takes care of his/her horse, does not look back	BUSINESS IS HORSE CARING IS LOOKING WORRYING IS	Horse	Business

	MI: someone who takes care of his/her own business, has no worry of what comes next TP: relation to people	LOOKING BACK		
13.	*At adımına gore değil, adamına gore yürür* LM: the horse walks not depending on steps but on who is riding him MI: a business goes on depending on who runs it. TP: relation to people, behavior	BUSINESS IS HORSE RUNNING A BUSINESS IS RIDING A HORSE CONTROLLING IS RIDING	Horse	Business
14.	*Ata eyer gerek, eyere er gerek* LM: A horse requires saddle , and the saddle requires an adult MI: a business should be first supplied and then run by a well-experienced director. TP: relation to people	BUSINESS IS HORSE RUNNING A BUSINESS IS RIDING A HORSE CONTROLLING IS RIDING EQUIPMENT IS SADDLE	Horse	Business
15.	*Atım tepmes, itim kapmaz deme* LM: Never say my horse does not kick me and my dog never bites me MI: even the people of your own blood may have some irritating behavior towards you	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS KICKING IS HORSE BEHAVIOR BITING IS DOG BEHAVIOR HURTING IS KICKING HURTING IS BITING	Horse Kicking	Human Hurting

	TP: behavior			
16.	*Atın bahtsızı arabaya düşer* LM: A unfortunate horse carries the coach MI: an experienced but unfortunate person is given a low job TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)	Horse	Human
17.	*Atın ölümü arpadan olsun* LM: Let the horse eat barley to death MI: a person who is greedy to eat too much is even ready to die because of overeating. TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS GREEDY IS HORSE GREED IS DESIRE TO EAT	Horse	Human greedy
18.	*Atlar nallanırken kurbağa ayağını uzatmaz* LM: when horses are nailed shoes, frog must not stretch his leg MI: a valueless person should not expect to be treated as a valuable person. TP: relation to people	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) IMPORTANT IS BIG UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL	Horse nailing	Human Cherishing
19.	*At bulunur meydan bulunmaz, meydan bulunur at bulunmaz*	Literal meaning FAVORABLE TASK IS	-	-

	LM: when the field is there, horse is not there, when the horse is there, there is no field MI: to do a task not always all the necessary conditions come together TP: relation to people	HORSE RIDING FAVORABLE CONDITIONS ARE FIELDS TO RIDE IN		
20.	*Azıklı at arıklamaz* LM: The well-fed horse does not get skinny MI: a business, which is taken good care of, never goes worse. TP: relation to people	BUSINESS IS HORSE WEAK IS THIN STRONG IS THICK CARING IS FEEDING	Horse	Business
21.	*Bahşiş atın dişine bakılmaz* LM: Don't look at the teeth of a gift horse MI: Do not look for the faults in something, which has been given to you as gift. TP: Relation to people	WEALTH IS HORSE SIGNIFICANT IS HORSE	Horse	Wealth
22.	*Bir ahırda at da bulunur, eşek de* LM: In a stable, there are both horse and donkey MI: in a society, there are both nice and useful and ugly and useless people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SOCIETY IS STABLE IMPORTANT IS BIG NOBLE IS HORSE INSIGNIFICANT IS DONKEY	Horse	Human Nobel

	living together TP: size, habitat, relation to people			
23.	*Bir mıh bir nal kurtarır, bir nal bir at kurtarır* LM: One nail saves a horseshoe and a horseshoe saves a horse MI: Do not underestimate something apparently small because it can have great impact and result on an important task. TP: relation to people	Literal meaning VALUABLE IS ANIMAL VALUABLE IS HORSE IMPORTANT IS BIG IMPORTANT IS SMALL VALUABLE IS HORSE	-	-
24.	*Bir sürçen atın başı kesilmez* LM: a horse which stumbles once should not be slaughtered MI: a person with high mastery in his job should not be fully denied by making one single mistake. TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS FALLIBLE IS HORSE PUNISHING IS CUTTING HEAD	Horse	Human Fallible
25.	*Boş torba ile at tutulmaz* LM: one can't hold a horse with empty sack MI: you cannot run a big	BUSINESS IS ANIMAL RUNNING A BUSINESS IS RIDING A HORSE RUNNING A BUSINESS	Horse	Business/ task

	task or business without taking good care of it. TP: relation to people	IS FEEDING A HORSE CARING IS FEEDING		
26.	*Canı yanan eşek attan yürük olur* LM: The donkey which has pain runs faster than even horse MI: a man in trouble makes more effort and mastery to solve the problem than the person who is famous for being the master of that task. TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TRYING IS RUNNING SIGNIFICANT IS HORSE INSIGNIFICANT IS DONKEY MOTIVATION IS PAIN	Horse	Human Skilled
27.	*Dokuz at bir kazığa bağlanmaz* LM: you can't tie nine horses to one post MI: many masters can't have consensus over one single problem TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TO HAVE MASTERY IS TO BEHAVE LIKE A HORSE	Horse	Human Master
28.	*Eşek at olmaz, ciğer et olmaz* LM: donkey can't be horse and liver (as food) can't be meat MI: an insignificant person cannot change to be a noble one.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG BEING SIGNIFICANT IS BEING HORSE INSIGNIFICANT IS DONKEY	Horse	Human Significant

		VALUABLE IS MEAT		
	TP: relation to people	VALUELESS IS LIVER		
29.	*Irmaktan geçerken at değiştirilmez* LM: One should not change horse while passing the river MI: it is not wise to change your approach or path in the middle of an important undertaking. TP: relation to people	Metonymy: RIDING A HORSE STANDS FOR ADOPTING AN APPROACH	Horse	Approach
30.	*Kır atın yanında duran ya huyundan ya tuyunden* LM: if you stand near a white horse either you pick from its behavior, or from its hair. MI: people become similar to the ones they socialize with TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS CHARACTER IS COLOR GOOD IS WHITE	Horse	Human
31.	*Köpeğe gem vurma kendini at sanır* LM: Don't put bridle on dog because it considers itself a horse MI: Do not give much value to someone who does not deserve it because s/he will consider him/herself a valuable one.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CONTEMPTIBLE IS DOG NOBLE IS HORSE	Horse	Human Noble

	TP: relation to people			
32.	*Yavaş atın çiftesi pek olur* LM: a slow horse kicks badly MI: the anger of an apparently soft-mannered person is much bigger TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS KICKING IS HORSE BEHAVIOR ANGER IS HORSE BEHAVIOR	Horse	Human
33.	*Yoksul âlâ ata binse, selâm almaz* LM: If a poor man rides a well-bred horse, he does not greet the people back MI: a poor person who suddenly boosts, behaves self-importantly TP: relation to people	Metonymy: HORSE RIDING STANDS FOR BEING RICH/ SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL ELEVATION IS VERTICAL ELEVATION VALUABLE IS UP	Horse riding	Being rich
34.	*Yularsız ata binilmez* LM: it is not possible to ride a horse without bridle MI: you cannot control a business without any disciplines. TP: relation to people,	BUSINESS IS ANIMAL RUNNING A BUSINESS IS RIDING A HORSE DISCIPLINE IS BRIDLE CONTROLLING IS RIDING	Horse	Business
35.	*Yürük at yemini kendi artırır* LM: A horse which runs fast wins himself more food	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS REWARDS ARE FOODS WORKING HARD IS RUNNING	Horse	Human Hard working

	MI: a person who tries more, sees its happy results TP: behavior			
36	*Yürük ata kamçı değmez* LM:A horse which runs fast never gets spurred MI: someone who does his/her own duty properly does not get warnings TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SKILLED MAN IS RUNNER HORSE WORKING HARD IS RUNNING	Horse	Human hard working

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part.*ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.1.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Horse Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

The analysis of Turkish proverbs revealed that horse was the most-frequently used animal name (f-36). The analyses also illustrated that metaphorical use of *horse* was not confined only to this domain, rather to the phrasal metaphors derived from *horse* such as, *horse riding, horse nailing, horse rearing, horse neighing* and *horse kicking* were also adopted for constructing various concepts other than human. Each of the elicited horse-related source and target domains -classified and illustrated in the table- 6, have been discussed accordingly.

Table-6 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Horse Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain		
Target domain	**Horse**	**Horse riding**	**Horse shoe nailing**
	business human wealth /property	being rich desirable task having mastery running a business social elevation	Cherishing
	Source domain		
Target domain	**Horse rearing**	**Horse neighing**	**Horse kicking**
	Human reaction	Human reaction	Hurting

4.2.1.1.1. Horse

The result of the analysis illustrated that *horse* domain was metaphorically used to conceptualize various domains such as *human* in general sense and various aspects of human behavior. It also represented other domains such as *business, value,* and *wealth*. The mapping between *human* and *horse* has generated the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS general metaphor. Some certain behaviors of horse like *rearing, neighing*, and *kicking* also represented certain aspects of human behavior. Not necessarily, all horse behaviors conceptualized negative human behavior. For instance, it was only the kicking, which represented the hurting behavior of relatives and family members. The construction of this negative human behavior through *horse kicking* generated the OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR, which is the sub metaphor of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS general metaphor. As a result, the metaphor created by mapping the *horse kicking* on human behavior was KICKING IS HORSE BEHAVIOR. In addition to *kicking*, which represented negative human behavior; some other behaviors of horse like *neighing* and *rearing* were used to represent human *reaction*, which bear no negative load.

The outcome of such a mapping was HUMAN REACTION IS HORSE NEIGHING and HUMAN REACTION IS HORSE REARING.

The *horse* domain also constructed other domains like *business*. This generated the BUSINESS IS ANIMAL general metaphor where the demanding, yet tamable nature of *horse* was mapped on *business*, as hard yet manageable task. In HORSE IS BUSINESS metaphor, the instinctional behavior of horse was highlighted.

The *horse* domain also represented the concept of *value*, which generated the VALUABLE IS ANIMAL general metaphor which in this case formed the VALUABLE IS HORSE metaphor. In order to represent the concept of *value* through metaphorical use of *horse*, its relation to human as a beneficial beast of burden has been highlighted. The last domain constructed by *horse* itself was the domain of *wealth*. Constructing the *wealth* as *horse* also generated the WEALTH IS HORSE metaphor. In this case, it is not the behavior of horse, but its relationship to human as a source of wealth is highlighted.

4.2.1.1.2. Horse riding

The analysis of metaphors also illustrated that *horse riding* was another group of phrasal metaphors which were used metaphorically to represent various concepts. *Horse riding* also structured the notions like *social elevation, being rich, having mastery*, *desirable task,* and *running business*. *Social elevation*, which was also associated with elevation in power hierarchy, was conceptualized in terms of *mounting* and *riding* the *horse*. On the contrary, *moving to lower level of social hierarchy* was conceptualized in terms of *descending the horse*. This has generated the SOCIAL ELEVATION IS HORSE RIDING metaphor. In several cases, Turkish proverbs adopted dual comparisons between *horse* and *donkey* to show this hierarchy.

In those proverbs where there was a collocation between *horse riding* and *donkey riding* metaphors, the purpose was to structure notion of *higher social*

rank represented by *horse* and *lower social rank* represented by *donkey.* Similar to MacArthur's (2009) assertion, "the horse and rider scenario is closely linked to notions of power and prestige" (p. 74). *Horse riding* was also used to conceptualize the notion of *having mastery* in any kind of skill. In this case, having *ultimate point of mastery in a skill* was represented in terms of *horse riding*. The metaphor generated through this mapping was HAVING HIGH MASTERY IS TO RIDE A HORSE.

Running a business was also a concept, which was structured by *horse riding*. In this case, the behavior of *horse* as a wild but tamable animal was mapped on the *business* as a demanding but a *manageable affair*. In other words, the *wild nature of horse* corresponded to the *demanding nature of business* and its *tamable nature* corresponds to the *manageable nature of business*. The metaphor generated out of this mapping was BUSINESS IS HORSE and its sub metaphors like RUNNING BUSINESS IS RIDING A HORSE.

Horse riding domain was also used once to represent *adopting an approach* metonymically. The folk knowledge capsulated in this proverb denoted the bond between a horse and its trainer. The horse gets used to its trainer and the trainer gets used to the behavior of horse through time. In case, either of them changes abruptly, both of them might be shocked and confused due to lack of familiarity. The consequence of such a change might affect the result of their performance, for instance horse's sudden rearing. The bond between a *horse* and its *rider* was mapped on the familiarity of a person with the adopted approach in conducting a task. The mapping between these two domains generated the RIDING HORSE STANDS FOR ADOPTING AN APPROACH metonymy. *Horse nailing* was the domain which was metaphorically used to represent the *cherishing* of valuable people. This domain was commonly used in both languages. Analyzing the horse metaphors also illustrated that the highlighted thematic part varied depending on the constructed concept. However, in Turkish proverbs, horse was mainly conceptualized in terms of its relation to human as a valuable animal, which is beneficial in many ways.

Table-7 Cognitive Analysis of Horse Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverbs	Metaphors &Metonymies	S.domain	T.domain
1.	*Asbo ke piše xar bebandi, ham bu naše ham xu miše* LM: If you keep the donkey and horse together, if not their smell, their temper becomes like each other MI: people pick up the character of those they socialize with TP: relation to people, appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS CHARACTER IS SMELL SOCIETY IS STABLE NOBLE IS HORSE INSIGNIFICANT IS DONKEY	Horse	Human
2.	*Asbi ke dar bist sālegi soɣānaš konand, barāye savāri dar ɣiyāmat xub ast* LM: A horse trained for riding in its twenty, is good for being ridden in judgment day MI: one should learn anything in its own time(youth) because when late, (old age) it will be of no use TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TEACHING HUMAN IS TRAINING HORSE GOOD IS EARLY BAD IS LATE EARLY IS NEAR LATE IS DISTANT LATE IS JUDGMENT DAY	Horse/ Horse training	Human/ Human education
3.	*Asbo astar be ham lagad nazannad* LM: horse and hinny don't kick each other	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS HURTING IS KICKING	Horse	Human

	MI: relatives and family members should not be bad towards each other TP: behavior	KICKING IS HORSE BEHAVIOR KICKING IS HINNY BEHAVIOR		
4.	*Asbe davande joye xod rā ziyad mikonad* LM: A horse which runs fast wins himself more food MI: a person who tries more, sees its happy results TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS GOOD RESULTS ARE FOODS TO EAT WORKING HARD IS HORSE BEHAVIOR WORKING HARD IS RUNNING	Horse	Human
5.	*Asb rā gom karde donbāle naleš migarde* LM: He has lost the horse but looks for its shoe MI: taking precautionary measures after losing wealth is of no use TP: size	WEALTH IS HORSE IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL UNIMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL	Horse	Significance
6.	*Asbhāro nal mikardan kak ham pāšo derāz kard* LM: Horses were nailed shoes, Flea stretched its leg too MI: an insignificant person considers him/herself too significant TP: size	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG	horse Nailing	Cherishing
			Horse/	Significance

7.	*Xar savāri balad nist savāre asb miše* LM: s/he can't ride a donkey , and wants to ride a horse MI: s/he can't manage doing small duties and wants to undertake big jobs TP: relation to people	MASTERY IS UP TO HAVE HIGH MASTERY IS TO RIDE HORSE TO HAVE LOW MASTERY IS RIDING A DONKEY	Horse riding	/ Having Mastery
8.	*Dandune asbe piškešo nemišmoran* LM: Don't count the teeth of a gift horse MI: Do not look for the faults of a given gift. TP: appearance	WEALTH IS HORSE SIGNIFICANT IS HORSE	Horse	Significant

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TM: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.1.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Horse Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

The analysis of the horse in Persian proverbs was indicative of low frequency of this domain (f=8) in comparison to Turkish proverbs. The results of the analyses illustrated that similar to Turkish proverbs, *horse* represented human and some domains like *wealth* in Persian. As illustrated in table- 8, Persian proverbs made distinction between the metaphorical use of *horse*, *horse riding, horse training,* and *horse nailing.*

Table-8 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Horse Metaphors and Metonymies in Persian Proverbs

	Source domain			
Target domain	**Horse**	**Horse riding**	**Horse training**	**Horse shoe nailing**
	human Gift	having high mastery	Teaching human	Cherishing

4.2.1.2.1. Horse

As illustrated in table- 8, in Persian proverbs *horse* only conceptualized *human* and *wealth*. The first and main metaphorical use of *horse* in Persian proverbs was representing *human* and then aspects of *human character and behavior*. The outcome of such a mapping was the generation of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS general metaphor. This domain was also used to structure the notion of *wealth*. The metaphor generated out of this mapping was WEALTH IS HORSE. Similar to Turkish proverbs, the metonymy-based *horse* metaphors was also observed in case of Persian proverbs. The metonymy HORSE STANDS FOR WEALTH and HORSE STANDS FOR HUMAN was observed in Persian proverbs.

4.2.1.2.2. Horse riding

Similar to Turkish proverbs, *horse riding* was also a domain which was used to represent *having high mastery* in doing a task. The concept of *high mastery* in contrast to *low mastery* was constructed through the metaphorical collocation of *horse* and *donkey*. In Persian proverbs, having low mastery was represented by *donkey riding* and *high mastery* was represented by *horse riding*. In Turkish proverbs, this collocation was used to show the *social elevation*.

4.2.1.2.3. Horse Training and Nailing

One of the horse-related phrasal metaphors, which were used to illustrate *teaching human*, was *horse training*. This generated the TEACHING HUMAN IS TRAINING HORSE metaphor. To represent this notion, the behavior of the *horse* in relation to human as a beneficial tamable beast of burden was highlighted. *Horseshoe nailing* was also a domain, which was commonly used in both languages to show *cherishing.*

4.2.1.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

The investigation of the primary metaphors of both languages illustrated that both languages were similar in the underlying contributing primary metaphors. This supports Grady's (1997) view that primary metaphors as they are grounded in our bodily experiences are more widespread and universal among most of the languages. These primary metaphors were of various types including ontological, structural, and orientational.

Both languages used UP and FORWARD orientations in order to conceptualize the positive notions, for instance, social elevation. As illustrated in Table- 9, the UP orientation in Turkish primary metaphors was used to conceptualize the notions like *control*, *mastery*, and *being rich*. In Persian primary metaphors, the concept of *value, control,* and *mastery* was conceptualized in terms of UP orientation whereas; the negative concepts were conceptualized in terms of DOWN orientation. For instance, *being controlled* was a concept which bore negative connotation, and in both languages it was conceptualized in terms of DOWN orientation. As it is illustrated in Table-9 and 10, both languages shared some of their primary metaphors such as SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS, PERIPHERAL IS UNIMPORTANT, CHARACTER IS COLOR and BIG IS IMPORTANT. The CHARACTER IS COLOR primary metaphor observed in the proverbs of both

languages was not included in the list provided by Lakoff and Turner (1989) or Grady (1997).

Table -9 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BEING CONTROLLED IS BEING DOWN	ADOPTING AN APPROACH STANDS FOR RIDING A HORSE
CARING IS FEEDING	
CARING IS LOOKING	ANGER IS HORSE BEHAVIOR
CHARACTER IS COLOR	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
CONTROL IS UP	CONTEMPTIBLE IS DOG
	INFERIOR IS DOG
CONTROLLING IS RIDING	INSIGNIFICANT IS DONKEY
GOOD IS WHITE	NOBLE IS HORSE
GREED IS DESIRE	BEING RICH IS EATING FAT
IMPORTANT IS BIG	SIGNIFICANT IS HORSE
IMPORTANT IS SMALL	VALUABLE IS HORSE
MASTERY IS ABOVE	BITING IS DOG BEHAVIOR
REWARDS ARE FOODS	BUSINESS IS HORSE
SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS	CHILD IS HORSE
SOCIAL ELEVATION IS VERTICAL ELEVATION	DISCIPLINE IS BRIDLE
	EQUIPMENT IS BRIDLE
TRYING IS RUNNING	FALLIBLE IS HORSE
UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL	FAVORABLE CONDITIONS ARE FIELDS TO RIDE IN
VALUABLE IS UP	FAVORABLE TASK IS HORSE RIDING
WORKING HARD IS RUNNING	FOODS ARE PEOPLE
WORRYING IS LOOKING BACK	GREED IS HORSE BEHAVIOR
	HUMAN REACTION IS HORSE NEIGHING
	HUMAN REACTION IS HORSE REARING
	HURTING IS BITING
	HURTING IS KICKING
	KICKING IS HORSE BEHAVIOR
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
	PUNISHING IS CUTTING HEAD
	RUNNING A BUSINESS IS FEEDING A HORSE
	RUNNING A BUSINESS IS RIDING A HORSE

	SKILLED MAN IS RUNNER HORSE
	SOCIAL ELEVATION IS RIDING A HORSE
	SOCIETY IS STABLE
	STRONG IS THICK
	TO HAVE MASTERY IS TO BEHAVE LIKE A HORSE
	TO HAVE MASTERY IS TO RIDE A HORSE
	VALUABLE IS HORSE
	VALUABLE IS MEAT
	VALUELESS IS LIVER
	WEAK IS THIN
	WEALTH IS FAT
	WEALTH IS HORSE

Even though the IMPORTANT IS BIG metaphor is a well-entrenched metaphor, there was a contradictory point concerning the conceptualization of *importance* in terms of *big size.* For *instance*, in Turkish proverbs, *importance* was not structured in terms of *big size* rather *small* size. This generated the IMPORTANT IS SMALL primary metaphor. This contradictory instance might suggest that conceptualization of *importance* is sometimes motivated by cultural disposition of different folks depending on the terms in which importance is defined. For instance, sometimes it is the usefulness, or function which define the importance not size, therefore, in such a case IMPORTANT IS BIG does not hold true.

Table-10 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BAD IS LATE	INSIGNIFICANT IS DONKEY
BENEFITS ARE FOODS	INSIGNIFICANT IS FLEA
CHARACTER IS SMELL	NOBLE IS HORSE
EARLY IS NEAR	TEACHING HUMAN IS TRAINING HORSE
GOOD IS EARLY	HURTING IS KICKING
GOOD RESULTS ARE FOODS	KICKING IS HINNY BEHAVIOR
IMPORTANT IS BIG	KICKING IS HORSE BEHAVIOR

IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL	SIGNIFICANT IS HORSE
LATE IS DISTANT	SOCIETY IS STABLE
MASTERY IS UP	TO HAVE HIGH MASTERY IS TO RIDE HORSE
SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS	
UNIMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL	TO HAVE LOW MASTERY IS RIDING A DONKEY
	WEALTH IS HORSE
	WORKING HARD IS HORSE BEHAVIOR
	WORKING HARD IS RUNNING

Similar to the partial similarity in primary metaphors, Persian and Turkish proverbs varied in their complex and resemblance metaphors. For instance, in Turkish proverbs there were many instances of BUSINESS IS ANIMAL and PEOPLE ARE FOODS metaphors, which were not observed in Persian proverbs. In Turkish proverbs, *business* and *running a business* were represented by *horse* and *horse riding* generating the BUSINESS IS HORSE and RUNNING A BUSINESS IS RIDING A HORSE. Following the same rationale, the concept of *controlling* was also represented as *riding* generating the CONTROLLING IS RIDING. CONTROL IS UP primary metaphors.

Both languages commonly used *horse riding* metaphorically in order to represent *having high mastery*. Nevertheless, there were some instances where both languages shared the same conceptually similar but linguistically different metaphor. For instance, both languages conceptualized *wealth* as *horse* generating the WEALTH IS HORSE metaphor; however, they were lexicalized differently. Some conceptually and linguistically similar metaphors were also observed in both languages. This was most probably the case of loan verbatim translation of a proverb from Turkish to Persian or from Persian to Turkish, but they were very small in number. For instance, "*do not look a gift horse at mouth*" or "*a runner horse increase its barley*" were the instantiations of conceptually and linguistically the same metaphor in both languages. The former was observed in the literature of some other languages like English, even though the present speakers of these languages might lack the cultural

knowledge of why a gift horse should not be looked in mouth. Since in both languages *horse* metaphors were used similarly to conceptualize the social hierarchy -in metaphorical collocation with donkey-, both languages were also similar in using the SOCIETY IS STABLE metaphor.

The presence of SOCIETY IS STABLE metaphor in both languages on the one hand and mentioning God -as the highest level of being- in one case in Turkish proverbs illustrated that both languages adopted both basic and extended version of great chain of being cultural model. The collocation of *horse* and other higher-order forms of being like God and human and lower-order form of being such as smaller animals occurred frequently in the form of dual or triple collocations. For instance,

-*God/ rider/ horse* collocation to construct superordination and *subordination*,

Deignan (2009) and Macarthur (2009) have investigated the horse and rider. In their comparative analysis of *horse* and *rider* metaphors in Spanish and English. Macarthur (2009) proposes two different classes of dynamic forces represented by metaphorical use of horse; external forces including “other people, economic situations, events”, and internal forces like “appetite and passion” (p. 80).

McArthur signifies the importance of the ideological bearings behind the metaphorical use of horse and rider metaphor for representing external class of target domains like a person or a group of people which consider human “as unpredictable forces in need of the judicious control of a skilled individual (the horseman)” (ibid, p. 86). The analysis of *horse* metaphors in Turkish proverbs illustrated that *horse* mainly represented the external forces like economics, people and events. This can be inferred from the metaphorical collocation of horse with other animals or forms of being.

-*Horse/ donkey*; collocation→ *superiority* and *inferiority*

-*Horse/ frog;* collocation→ *superiority* and *inferiority,*

-*Horse/ dog* collocation → *superiority and inferiority*

-*Horse/ bridle*, horseshoe/ *nail*→ *significance* and *insignificance* as well as *centrality* and *peripherality*.

Sometimes these relationships appeared in double pairs to denote the relationships between the forms of being in a metaphorical sense. For instance:

-*Horse riding by lord/ Horse riding by idiot* →*nobility* against *inferiority,*

-*Fat/ turnip* collocation →*superiority* against *inferiority*

-*Horse/ donkey* collocation *superiority* against *inferiority*

-*Meat/ liver* (as food), collocation → *superiority* against *inferiority*

According to Maidens' study (2003 as cited in MacArthur, 2009) the "identification of the horse with privilege arose particularly from its contribution on the battlefield to the expansion of different civilizations and the mobility it provided to ensure control of territories after conquest" (p. 74). The following collocations in Turkish proverbs support Maidens' assertion:

-*Horse/ rider /sword /worrier* collocation →*superiority*

-*Horse/ worrier/ battle field / honor collocation* →*nobility*

In Persian proverbs these collocations appeared as

-*Horse/ flea* collocation→ *significance* against *insignificance,*

-*Horse/ horseshoe* collocation → *centrality* and *peripherality*,

-*Horse/ hinny* → *nobility* against *insignificance.*

The metaphorical propositions elicited from cultural schemas embedded in Turkish proverbs revealed that in Turkish culture horse was associated with attributes like "precious", "master", "valuable", "friend", "hard working", and "unpredictable danger". The metaphorical propositions extracted from cultural schemas underlying the Persian proverbs revealed that "nobility" and "value" were the two positive connotations associated with *horse* in Persian proverbs.

Examining the horse metaphors also revealed that neither Persian nor Turkish languages have made sexist use of horse for degrading woman or man. In both languages, horse as a beneficial domesticated animal was used to conceptualize various notions regardless of its gender. Both languages also varied in the way they named the horse and made distinction between both genders. While in Turkish language, there were three different lexemes to refer to male horse “aygır”, female horse “kısrak”, and baby horse “tay”, in Persian the lexeme male “nar” and female “mādde” occurred before horse “asb” to refer to each gender. The baby horse in Persian is referred to by the lexeme “korre” before “asb”.

Investigating the *horse* metaphors in Persian proverbs in terms of the five thematic parts proposed by Wierzbicka (1985) illustrated that Persian speakers conceptualized horse equally in terms of all thematic parts except horse habitat, that is to say while using horse for metaphorical representation of concepts, they have paid attention to its size, relation to people, appearance and behavior. Similar to Persian proverbs, there is no mention of horse habitat in Turkish proverbs. Turkish proverbs have paid attention predominantly to the relationship of horse to human, and then its behavior. Size and appearance have had the least use in the metaphorical use of horse in Turkish proverbs.

4.2.2. Donkey Metaphors

Table-11 Cognitive Analysis of Donkey Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors &Metonymies	S.domain	T. domain
1.	*Asbeo ke piše xar bebandi, ham bu naše ham xu miše* LM: If you keep the donkey and horse together, if not their smell, their temper becomes like each other	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS CHARACTER IS SMELL	Donkey	Human insignificant

	MI: people pick up the attitudes of the ones they socialize with TP: relation to people	SOCIETY IS STABLE NOBLE IS HORSE INSIGNIFICANT IS DONKEY		
2.	*Bahre xarān če kāh barand če zafarān* LM: donkey does not care if you offer him chaff or Saffron MI: for someone ignorant, it does not matter if you treat him/her good or bad TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IGNORANCE IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR VALUABLE IS SAFFRON VALUELESS IS CHAFF Metonymy: WHOLE STANDS FOR A PART DONKEY STANDS FOR IGNORANCE	Donkey	Human ignorant
3.	*Beguyi va bad bāši behtar ast ke naguyi va xar bāši* LM: To say and sound bad is better than not to say and seem like donkey MI: to protest and sound bad is better than being silent and looking like stupid TP: relation to people, behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS STUPIDITY IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR Metonymy: WHOLE STANDS FOR A PART DONKEY STANDS FOR STUPIDITY	Donkey	Human stupid
4.	*Bovad mehre zanān hamčon dome xar* LM: Women's love is like	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WOMEN ARE	Donkey tail	Shaky character

	donkey tail MI: women's love is shaky TP: appearance	ANIMAL Simile: SHAKY CHARACTER IS LIKE DONKEY TAIL		
5.	*Dasteš be xar nemirese pālunešo mizane* LM: s/he can't beat the donkey, so beats its saddle MI: one who can't fight back the powerful person and takes revenge of weaker ones TP: appearance, relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL UNIMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL FIGHTING IS BEATING	Donkey	Human powerful
6.	*Dandaro šotor šekast, tāvanaš ra xar dād* LM: the camel broke the rib but the donkey got punished MI: powerful people make mistakes but weaker ones becomes the escape goat TP: size, behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CARELESSNESS IS CAMEL BEHAVIOR IMPORTANT IS BIG	Donkey	Human weak
7.	*Har ki xar bāše ma pālunim* LM: Whoever is the donkey we are its saddle MI: we obey the ones who have powerful	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL UNIMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL	Donkey	Human powerful

	TP: appearance			
8.	*Har xari rā be yek čub nemirānand* LM: Not every donkey is ridden with the same whip MI: different people should be treated differently TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CONTROLLING IS BEATING CONTROL IS UP CONTROLLING IS RIDING	Donkey riding	Handling
9.	*Kārvān barāye xare lang bār nemiandāzad* LM: caravan does not stop for a lame ass MI: life does not wait for weak person TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEAK IS LAME CHARACTER IMPERFECTION IS PHYSICAL DEFICIENCY LIFE IS A JOURNEY	donkey	weak person
10.	*Marge xar arusiye sage* LM: the death of the donkey is the wedding for dog MI: some people earn a lot of living without any efforts TP: relation to people	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SUSTENANCE IS DONKEY SPONGER IS DOG	donkey	Sustenance
11.	*Mozde xar čerāni xar savārist* LM: The wage of grazing donkey is riding the	WORKING HARD IS GRAZING ENJOYING IS RIDING	Donkey grazing Donkey riding	Working hard Enjoying

	donkey MI: whoever works hard, finally will take its joy TP: relation to people				
12.	*Mehmun xare sāheb xunast* LM: the guest is the donkey of host MI: guest behaves the way the host directs TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ANIMALS DIRECTING RIDING	ARE IS	Donkey / Donkey riding	Human / Directing
13.	*Sar xar bāš sāheb zar bāš* LM: be the head of donkey but have gold MI: no matter how intrusive you might be for others, it is enough to have money, and then you are respected. TP: appearance	PEOPLE ANIMALS INTRUSIVE DONKEY metonymy: DONKEY STANDS INTRUSION	ARE IS HEAD FOR	Donkey	Human
14.	*šotor agar morde ham bāše pusteš bāre xare* LM: even the pelt of a dead camel is loaded on a donkey MI: an important person is important even dead TP: size	PEOPLE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG	ARE	Donkey	Human Insignificant
15.	*Šotor xābidaš ham az xar istāde bozorgtare*	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	Donkey	Human Insignificant

	LM: Even a lying camel is taller than a standing ass MI: an important person is important than unimportant person in any way TP: size, relation to people	IMPORTANT IS BIG INSIGNIFICANT IS DONKEY		
16.	*Tā nabāšd čube tar, farmān nabarand gāvo xar* LM: Cow and donkey don't obey you without lash MI: people obey when they are scared TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS DISOBEDIENT IS DONKEY CONTROLLING IS BEATING	Donkey	Human Disobedient
17.	*Xar ke alaf did gardan derāz mikone* LM: When donkey sees grass stretches his neck MI: An Profit-minded person knows where to find it TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFITS ARE FOODS PROFIT-MINDED IS DONKEY	Donkey	Human Profit-minded
18.	*Xare ru be tavile tond mire* LM: a donkey runs towards stable fast MI: a Profit-minded person knows where to find the benefits	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS BENEFITS ARE GRASS	Donkey	Human Profit-minded

	TP: behavior, habitat			
19.	*Xaro gom karde donbāle naleš migarde* LM: He has lost the donkey and looks for its shoe MI: one should take care of his/her property before losing it TP: relation to people	WEALTH IS DONKEY IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL UNIMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL	Donkey	Wealth
20.	*Xodā xaro šenāxt ke beheš šāx nadād* LM: God knew donkey that is why he did not give him horn MI: power and ignorance make a dangerous combination TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS POWER IS HORN IGNORANT IS DONKEY	Donkey	Human Ignorant
21.	*Xar rā ke be mehmāni bebarand barāye xoši nist barāye āb kešist* LM: when a donkey is invited to ceremony ,it is not for having fun rather for carrying water MI: some people let themselves be exploited by others TP: relation to people, behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WORKING HARD IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR	Donkey	Human working – hard

22.	*Xar rā bār mikoše javuno māšālā bārakalā* LM: donkey dies because of carrying loads and young man dies because of applause MI: appreciations and applause are used to motivate the stupid people to do hard tasks TP: relation to people	Literal meaning PRAISING ARE HEAVY LOADS TO CARRY	-	-
23.	*Xare xāli yorɣe mire* LM: A donkey with no load to carry, walks softly MI: a human without any problem behaves peacefully TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS PROBLEMS ARE LOADS TO CARRY DIFFICULTY IS HEAVY EMPTINESS IS LIGHT	Donkey	Human
24.	*Xar āxore xod rā gom nemikone* LM: donkey does not forget the way to his manger MI: one knows where his/her benefit lies TP: relation to people, habitat, behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS BENEFITS ARE GRASS	Donkey	Human
25.	*Xar če dānad ɣeymate noɣlo nabāt*	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Donkey	Human Ignorant

	LM: How can donkey know the value of sweets and candy MI: an ignorant person doesn't know the value of precious things TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) IGNORANT IS DONKEY APPEALING IS SWEET		
26.	*Xar pāyaš yek bar be čāle mire* LM: donkey gets trapped in a pit once MI: one should learn from a mistake after making it once TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS FALLIBLIE IS DONKEY MISTAKES ARE PITS TO FALL IN	Donkey	Human Fallible
27.	*Xare bār bar beh az šire mardom dar* LM: A donkey which carries load is better than a lion which preys people MI: to be a harmless stupid is better than being a damaging aggressor TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS STUPID IS DONKEY HARMLESS IS DONKEY	Donkey	Human Harmless
28.	*Xar az lagade xar nārāhat nemiše* LM: donkey does not get bothered from other donkey's kick MI: people of the same	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) KICKING IS DONKEY	Donkey	Human

	character handle each other's misbehavior TP: behavior	BEHAVIOR		
29.	*Xar be buse vo peyɣām āb nemixore* LM: donkey does not drink water by message and kiss M: here things work with force and Power TP: behavior, relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS STUBBORN IS DONKEY	Donkey	Human Stubborn
30.	*Xarsavāri balad nist mixād asbsavāri kone* LM: s/he can't ride a donkey, yet wants to ride horse MI: s/he can't handle easy tasks yet wants to take up hard ones TP: relation to people	MASTERY IS UP LOW MASTERY IS RIDING A DONKEY HIGH MASTERY IS RIDING A HORSE	Donkey riding	Having low mastery
31.	*Xar agar jalle atlas bepušad xar ast* LM: donkey is donkey even if it wears silk clothe MI: a valueless person is valueless even if s/he wears silk clothes TP: relation to people	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL	Donkey	Human Valueless
32.	*Xar hamun xare pāluneš*	PEOPLE ARE	Donkey	Human Powerful

	avaz šode LM: donkey is the same donkey, only the rattle has changed MI: the powerful class always remain the same, it is only their associates which change TP: relation to people	ANIMALS ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL PERIPHERAL IS UNIMPORTANT		
33.	*Xar ke jo did kāh nemixore* LM: When the donkey sees barley it no longer eats grass MI: one who experiences good situation can't go back to bad situation TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS APPEALING IS TASTY BENEFITING IS EATING	Donkey	Human
34.	*Xareš kon afsār biyār bāreš kon* LM: make him/her donkey, and put bridle on in MI: fool the person by flattering and then get what you want TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS STUPID IS DONKEY FOOLING IS RIDING CONTROLLING IS RIDING CONTROL IS BRIDLE	Donkey	Human Stupid
35.	*Zaferun ke ziyād šod be xorde xar midan* LM: When the saffron becomes extra, it becomes donkey food	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WORTHLESS IS DONKEY	Donkey	Human valueless

	MI: when something becomes too much it loses its value TP: relation to people	VALUABLE IS SAFFRON		
36.	*Ye moride xar behtar az ye dehe šiš dānge* LM: A donkey follower is better than the ownership of the whole village MI: having a stupid henchman is better than owning a village TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS OBEDIENT IS DONKEY metonymy: WHOLE STANDS FOR PART DONKEY STANDS FOR STUPIDITY	Donkey	Human Obedient

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.2.1. Source and Target Domain analysis of Donkey Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

The analysis of Persian proverbs illustrated that *donkey* was the most-frequently used animal domain (f=36) in Persian proverbs. As it is illustrated in table- 12, Persian proverbs made a distinction between three types of donkey-related source domains; *donkey*, *donkey riding* and *donkey grazing.* Each of these domains was used to represent different concepts or domains of experience.

Table-12 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Donkey Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Source domain		
Target domain	**Donkey**	**Donkey riding**	**Donkey grazing**
	Human/ behavior Property/ Wealth Sustenance	directing handling having low mastery enjoying Controlling	working hard

4.2.2.1.1 Donkey

Donkey per se, was used to conceptualize*, sustenance*, *wealth* and *human.* The outcome of structuring the concept of *wealth*/*property* generated the WEALTH IS DONKEY metaphor. *Donkey* was also used to conceptualize the notion of *sustenance*, which generated the metaphor SUSTENANCE IS DONKEY. *Donkey* predominantly represented *human* and various aspects of *human behavior* and *character*. The general metaphor produced by the mapping between *human* and *donkey* was PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and its sub metaphor OBJECTIONABLE BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR (Kövecses, 2010).

There were also many instances of anthropomorphization or ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor. The metaphorical use of *donkey* for representing human behavior was in -not all- most of the cases limited to the negative aspects of human behavior, for instance: BEING PROFIT-MINDED IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR, BEING WEAK IS BEING DONKEY, CARELESS BEHAVIOR IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR, IGNORANCE IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR, INTRUSION IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR, FALLIBILITY IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR, OBEDIENCE TO POWER IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR, BEING POWERFUL IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR, and STUPIDITY IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR.

In a contradictory way, *donkey in* Persian proverbial metaphors represented both powerful *class*, which have the power to control, and the lower *class* which are controlled by the powerful class and are obedient to them. The

notion of *powerful class* and lower *class* are conceptualized through the metaphorical collocation of *donkey* representing the powerful *class* and notion of *saddle* representing the lower *class* in metonymical way. This mapping has generated the resemblance metaphor BEING POWERFUL IS BEING DONKEY . The primary metaphors underlying this metaphor are the IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL and PERIPHERAL IS UNIMPORTANT. The cultural schema behind these metaphors is that People are peripheral and powerful class is central. The *medium of control* in Persian *donkey* metaphors was metonymically represented by *switch*. The mapping between these two domains generated the CONTROLLING IS BEATING and SWITCH STANDS FOR MEDIUM OF CONTROL metonymy.

4.2.2.1.2. Donkey Riding

The findings of the analyses of Persian proverbs also illustrated that *donkey riding was* also used to structure notions like *controlling*, *directing*, *having low mastery*, and *enjoying.* The mappings between these domains and *donkey riding* generated the metaphors, CONTROLLING IS RIDING, DIRECTING IS RIDING, HAVING LOW MASTERY IS DONKEY RIDING and ENJOYING IS RIDING. In those proverbs, where *controlling* and *directing* were structured through *donkey riding*, the primary metaphor which cooperated in understanding the meaning of proverb was CONTROL IS UP. *Having low mastery* was also a domain, which was structured in terms of *donkey riding*. In case of these proverbs, the underlying primary metaphor was MASTERY IS UP. Constructing the notion of *mastery* was done through the metaphorical collocation of *donkey riding* and *horse riding,* the former constructing *low mastery* and the latter constructing *high mastery.* In contrast to *high mastery*, *low mastery* was represented by *donkey riding. Donkey riding* was also used to structure the concept of *enjoying*. In this case, the primary metaphor incorporating to the formation of this proverb was HAPPY IS UP. Though

adopted once, the concept of *working hard was* structured in terms of *donkey grazing*.

Table-13 Cognitive Analysis of Donkey Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverbs	Metaphors& Metonymies	S. domain	T.domain
1.	*Adam adamdır, olmasa da pulu; eşekeşektir, olmasa da çulu* LM: Human is human no matter s/he has no money, donkey is donkey, no matter it has no saddle bag MI: the value of the people is to their inside not outside TP: appearance	ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL PERIPHERAL IS UNIMPORTANT	Donkey	Donkey
2.	*Bir ahırda at da bulunur, eşek de* LM: In a stable, there are both horse and donkey MI: in a society, there are both valuable and insignificant people living together. TP: size, habitat	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SOCIETY IS STABLE IMPORTANT IS BIG	Donkey	Human Insignificant
3.	*Canı yanan eşek attan yürük olur* LM: The donkey which has pain runs faster than	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS MOTIVATION IS PAIN TRYING IS RUNNING	Donkey	Human Less-skilled

	even horse MI: a less-skilled man in trouble makes more effort to solve the problem even the skilled masters TP: behavior	HAVING LOW MASTERY IS BEING DONKEY HAVING HIGH MASTERY IS BEING HORSE		
4.	*Eşeğe altın semer vursalar, eşek yine eşektir* LM: donkey is donkey even if you put golden saddle on it MI: valueless people are valueless even if they try to look sophisticated TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL UNIMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL	Donkey	Human Valueless
5.	*Eşek hoşaftan ne anlar; suyunu içer, tanesini bırakır* LM: donkey does not know the value of compote it drinks its water and leaves the seeds MI: ignorant person wastes the good opportunities TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IGNORANCE IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR APPEALING IS TASTY CHANCES ARE SWEETS	Donkey	Human Ignorant
6.	*Eşek bile bir düştüğü yere bir daha düşmez* LM: Even donkey does not fall in the same hole twice MI: even the most stupid people don't make the	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS FALLIBLE IS DONKEY MISTAKES ARE PITS TO FALL IN	Donkey	Human Fallible

	same mistake again TP: behavior			
7.	*Eşeğin kuyruğunu kalabalıkta kesme; kimiuzun, kimikısa der* LM: Don't cut donkey's tail in crowd, some would say it was short, some would say it was long- MI: don't do your business in public because everyone will confuse you by giving different comments on it TP: appearance	BUSINESS IS DONKEY	Donkey	Business
8.	*Eşeğini sağlam kazığa bağla, sonra Allah`a ısmarla* LM: First, fasten your donkey safely to a post and then ask God to protect it. MI: only asking God to do things for you is not enough, first you should work hard yourself TP: relation to people	BUSINESS IS DONKEY CARING IS FASTENING TIGHT	Donkey	Business
9.	*Eşek at olmaz, ciğer et olmaz* LM: donkey can't be horse and liver (as food) can't be meat	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG SIGNIFICANT IS HORSE INSIGNIFICANT IS	Donkey	Human Insignificant

	MI: an insignificant person cannot change to be a noble one. TP: relation to people	DONKEY VALUABLE IS MEAT VALUELESS IS LIVER		
10.	*Eşeğe binmek bir ayip inmek iki ayip* LM: To ride the donkey is one mistake, dismounting it is double mistake MI: starting a work in which you have no mastery is a mistake, leaving it in the middle is also a bigger mistake. TP: relation to people	WORK IS DONKEY DOING A WORK IS RUNNING A DONKEY MOUNTING A DONKEY IS BEGINNING A WORK DISMOUNTING A DONKEY IS STOPPING A WORK	Mounting donkey / Dismount donkey	Beginning a work / stopping a work
11.	*Eşek eşeği ödünç kaşir* LM: A donkey scratches another donkey's back on conditional terms MI: nobody does favor without expectations of being paid back TP: ?	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Donkey	Human
12.	*El elin eşeğini türkü çağırarak arar* LM: people look for the lost donkey of other people singing folklore songs MI: others don't do our job with self dedication	WEALTH IS DONKEY	Donkey	Wealth / property

	TP: relation to people			
13.	*Eşegi eşeğin yanina bağlasan, ya tuyunden alir ya huyundan* LM: If you tie a donkey near another ass, they will pick either each other's hair or temper. MI: people turn out to behave like the ones they socialize with TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CHARACTER IS HAIR SOCIETY IS STABLE SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS	Donkey	Human
14.	*Ölmüş eşek, kurttan korkmaz* LM: A dead donkey is not afraid of wolf MI: someone who has nothing to lose is not afraid of any thing	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS DANGER IS WOLF	Donkey	Human

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.2.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Donkey Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

The analysis of Turkish proverbs illustrated that similar to Persian proverbs, *donkey* was among the productive animal domains. As it is illustrated in table-14, Turkish proverbs made a distinction between metaphorical use of *donkey*, *mounting donkey* and *dismounting donkey* as three different target domains.

Table-14 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Donkey Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain		
Target domain	**Donkey**	**Mounting donkey**	**Dismounting donkey**
	Business Human Property/wealth	Starting a work	Stopping a work

4.2.2.2.1. Donkey

Donkey metaphors in Turkish proverbs were mainly used to conceptualize *human* and various aspects of *human character.* The mapping between *human behavior* and *donkey* gave rise to PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and its sub metaphor, OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR, for instance, IGNORANCE IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR and FALLIBILITY IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR. There were also some instances of personification or ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor. This animal domain also structured the concepts like *property / wealth* and *business* by which the metaphors BUSINESS IS DONKEY and WEALTH IS DONKEY were created.

4.2.2.2.2. Mounting and Dismounting Donkey

As illustrated in table- 14, *mounting* and *dismounting donkey were* also used to structure the notions of *starting a work* and *stopping a work as* the sub metaphors of BUSINESS IS DONKEY metaphor. This generated the STARTING A WORK IS MOUNTING A DONKEY and STOPPING A WORK IS DISMOUNTING A DONKEY metaphors.

4.2.2.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

According to Grady's (1997) primary metaphor theory, proverbs also contain many primary metaphors, which contribute both to formation and understanding of proverbs. They can also reflect the culture-specificity of concepts in different languages.

Table-15 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
APPEALING IS SWEET	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
APPEALING IS TASTY	WEAK IS LAME
BENEFITS ARE FOODS	STUBBORN IS DONKEY
CHARACTER IS SMELL	HARMLESS IS DONKEY
CONTROL IS UP	INSIGNIFICANT IS DONKEY
CONTROL IS BRIDLE	NOBLE IS HORSE
CONTROLLING IS BEATING	PROFIT-MINDED IS DONKEY
CONTROLLING IS RIDING	SPONGER IS DOG
DIFFICULTY IS HEAVY	CARELESS IS CAMEL
DIRECTING IS RIDING	CHARACTER IMPERFECTION IS PHYSICAL DEFICIENCY
ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL	
IMPORTANT IS BIG	DISOBEDIENT IS DONKEY
IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL	ENJOYING IS RIDING
MASTERY IS UP	FALLIBLE IS DONKEY
MISTAKES ARE PITS TO FALL IN	FIGHTING IS BEATING
PROBLEMS ARE LOADS TO CARRY	FOOLING IS RIDING
PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS	HANDLING IS BEATING
PERIPHERAL IS UNIMPORTANT	HIGH MASTERY IS RIDING A HORSE
PRAISING ARE HEAVY LOADS TO CARRY	IGNORANT IS DONKEY
SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS	INTRUSIVE IS DONKEY
UNIMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL	KICKING IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR
	LIFE IS A JOURNEY
	LOW MASTERY IS RIDING A DONKEY
	OBEDIENT IS DONKEY
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
	POWER IS HORN
	SOCIETY IS STABLE

	STARTING A WORK IS MOUNTING A DONKEY
	STOPPING A WORK IS DISMOUNTING A DONKEY
	STUPID IS DONKEY
	SUSTENANCE IS DONKEY
	VALUABLE IS SAFFRON
	VALUELESS IS CHAFF
	WEALTH IS DONKEY
	WORTHLESS IS DONKEY
	WORKING HARD IS GRAZING
	WORKING HARD IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR

The results of the analyses demonstrated that *donkey* in Persian proverbs was predominantly used to conceptualize *human*, and aspects of *human behavior* as well as social *relationships*. In order to construct any of the above-mentioned concepts, various properties of donkey were highlighted. For instance, for showing *significance* in terms of social relations, the *size* of donkey and its *relation to human* as a beast of burden was highlighted. This process was done through the contribution of the primary metaphor IMPORTANT IS BIG in both languages as well as collocation of *donkey* with a smaller or a bigger animal with which it was metaphorically contrasted. For instance, in Persian proverbs, the concept of *significance* was built by frequent metaphorical collocation of *donkey* with *horse* and *camel*. In Turkish proverbs, this collocation was seldom, only between *donkey* and *horse* to construct the concept of *social class.*

Under the influence of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, both languages conceptualized the *human society* as *stable* generating the SOCIETY IS STABLE metaphor. In SOCIETY IS STABLE metaphor, proximity, and closeness of *horse* and *donkey* - metaphorically representing people of higher and lower class- was considered to result in similarity in their character. This concept was represented by the primary metaphor SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS. However, they varied in conceptualizing the human character. In Turkish culture, *character* is conceptualized by *hair*, which is picked as the result of physical proximity,

while for Persian culture; character is *smell*, which is picked up again due to this proximity. The variation in conceptualizing character in terms of *color* and *smell* has generated two different primary metaphors of CHARACTER IS COLOR in Turkish proverbs and CHARACTER IS SMELL in Persian proverbs.

One of the points of variation between Persian and Turkish *donkey* metaphors was that in Persian proverbs, *power relations* were only conceptualized by the metaphorical collocation of *donkey* and its *saddle* which is a an inanimate life form. The primary metaphors forming this concept were the IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL and UNIMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL. Although both languages used *donkey* to represent aspects of human behavior and character, it was only in Persian proverbs where *human* was represented as *donkey* and *cow*, which should have been controlled. The result of such a mapping was the metaphors CONTROLLING IS RIDING and CONTROLLING IS BEATING metaphors. In one case in Persian proverbs, the concept of *praising* or *applause* was conceptualized as *loads* where *handling* it was conceptualized *carrying heavy loads* for donkey. This generated the PRAISING ARE HEAVY LOADS TO CARRY metaphor.

Table-16 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
APPEALING IS TASTY	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)
CARING IS FASTENING TIGHT	INSIGNIFICANT IS DONKEY
CHANCES ARE SWEETS	SIGNIFICANT IS HORSE
CHARACTER IS HAIR	BUSINESS IS DONKEY
ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL	DANGER IS WOLF
IMPORTANT IS BIG	DISMOUNTING A DONKEY IS STOPPING A BUSINESS
MOTIVATION IS PAIN	FALLIBLIE IS DONKEY
PERIPHERAL IS UNIMPORTANT	HAVING HIGH MASTERY IS BEING HORSE
SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS	HAVING LOW MASTERY IS BEING DONKEY
TRYING IS RUNNING	IGNORANT IS DONKEY
UNIMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL	MISTAKES ARE PITS TO FALL IN
	MOUNTING A DONKEY IS BEGINNING

A BUSINESS
PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
RUNNING A BUSINESS IS RUNNING A DONKEY
SOCIETY IS STABLE
VALUABLE IS MEAT
VALUELESS IS LIVER
WEALTH IS DONKEY

In sum, The analysis of the proverbs in both languages illustrated that, concepts like *value* , *ignorance* , *power relations*, *control* , *centrality* and *benefit* were structured by *donkey* metaphors through the dual metaphorical collocations of *donkey* with other animals. For instance:

-*Donkey* and *dog*, → *ignorance*

-*Horse*, and *camel* → *power relations*

-*Donkey* and *foods* like *saffron*, *compote, liver* and *candy* → *insignificance* against *significance*

-*Donkey and*, *switch, saddle, shoe* and *silk cloth* → *centrality* against *peripherality*

Based on the above-mentioned findings, it could be argued that both languages adopted both basic and extended version of great chain of being cultural model. Investigating the cultural schemas extracted from metaphorical propositions in proverbs illustrated that *donkey* metaphors in both languages benefited from some similarities and variations. Both languages associated *donkey* with both negative and positive attributes. However, the number of negative associations in Persian proverbs outnumbered the positive ones. For instance, in Persian proverbs, *donkey* was associated with negative attributes like being “valueless”, “insignificant”, “ignorant”, “stupid”, “obedient”, “careless”, “hardworking”, “weak” (physically), “intrusive” , “disobedient”, “profit-minded”, “stubborn” and some positive attributes like “harmless”, “powerful”, “strong” (physically) and “significant”. While in Turkish proverbs, it was used to

conceptualize limited number of negative and positive human attributes like “valueless”, “ignorant”, and “hard working”.

Another point to mention about *donkey* is that contrary to Nielsen’s (1996) view that human being tends to make gender difference in case of domestic animals; there was no such a distinction between female and male *donkey* either in Persian or in Turkish. In other words, there was not a separate lexeme to show female and male as it was the case about *cow, bull*, and *hatchling*. Contrary to *dog* metaphors where both languages made gender distinction by using “male” and “female” lexeme before “dog”, neither Persian nor Turkish made gender difference in case of “donkey”.

The last point to discuss is the sexist use of *donkey* metaphors in Persian proverbs where the *shaky nature* of woman’s *love* was likened to *shaky tail* of *donkey.* Though Estaji and Nakhavali (2011) have considered *donkey* as one of the domains by which sexism was applied against women extensively, the present study did not come up with frequent instances of such a metaphorical use of *donkey* in Persian proverbs. This contradiction could possibly originate from how proverbs were defined in different studies. Sometimes it is difficult to tell proverbs apart from sayings and idioms in Persian. Contrary to Persian language, such sexist use of *donkey* metaphors was not observed in Turkish proverbs at all.

As Lakoff and Turner (1989) have proposed, proverbs are a combination of various cognitive mechanisms like metaphors and metonymy; however, sometimes these mechanisms have a tight overlap with each other so that it becomes difficult to distinguish them from each other. Many scholars have also discussed the challenges of the overlap between the metaphors and metonymies and the murky nature of relationship between them. Gibbs (1999) believes that distinguishing between metaphor and metonymy is possible by examining the type of connections they make between things. For Gibbs, in metaphor the process of mapping happen between two domains but in metonymy, this happens within the same domain.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff and Turner (1989) claim that metaphor has different nature from metonymy. For them, the main reason for the variation between metaphor and metonymy is their variation in terms of their *function.* The main function of metaphor is *understanding* something in terms of another and for it to happen two domains involvement is required. However, in case of metonymy, the main purpose does not understand rather, the primary function is *referential*. "It allows us to use one entity to *stand for* another" (p. 36). In case of animal metaphors, Barcelona (2000) and Radden and Kövecses, (1999) argue that animal metaphors are essentially metonymy-based, and metonymy as a cognitive mechanism is more fundamental for the interpretation of proverbs.

The analysis of the Persian proverbs illustrated that metaphor was not the only instance of formulaic language used in Persian proverbs. However, the findings of the present study illustrated that the mapping between *donkey, human* and *human character* in both languages was metaphor-based metonymies. During personification or ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor, attributes of human as a higher-level being is mapped on *donkey*. For instance, *human* ignorance is mapped on donkey. Whenever an attribute of an animal stands for the whole animal, then this generates the WHOLE ANIMAL FOR A PART OF IT metonymy. For instance, DONKEY STANDS FOR STUPIDITY. We can observe this metonymy in Persian proverb "*having an donkey henchman is better than ownership of a whole village*" where, as the result of this compression, *donkey* appears as an adjective and is used metonymically to conceptualize *ignorance*. In another Persian proverb, "*to say and sound bad is better than not to say and seem like donkey*", *donkey* is used metonymically to represent stupidity.

WHOLE ANIMAL STANDS FOR A PART OF IT

DONKEY STANDS FOR IGNORANCE

DONKEY STANDS FOR INSIGNIFICANCE

DONKEY STANDS FOR HUMAN

In addition to the above-mentioned metonymies, both Persian and Turkish proverbs also had the metonymy ANIMAL STANDS FOR HUMAN where *donkey* stood for human in general, not for a specific human *behavior* or *character* like *stupidity* or *ignorance*. For instance, in Turkish proverbs: *"A donkey scratches another donkey's back on conditional terms"* and Persian proverb: *"Donkey does not get bothered from another donkey's kicks".*

4.2.3. Dog Metaphors

Table-17 Cognitive analysis of Dog Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*sage dar huzur beh az barādare dur* LM: An available dog is better than a brother who is far away MI: an available help, no matter small is better than a promising but inaccessible one TP: relation to people	literal meaning INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS HELPFUL IS DOG LOYAL IS DOG	-	-
2.	*Ābe daryā az dahane sag najes nemiše* LM: Sea water does not get polluted by dog's mouth water MI: a valuable person's reputation does not get ruined by the gossips of a valueless people TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BAD IS DIRTY IMPERFECTION IS DIRT CLEAN IS WATER	Dog mouth water	Dirt
3.			Dog	Human

	*Agar barā har sagi ke va*ɣ *va*ɣ*mikone sang part koni geymate sang be dinār mirese* LM: If you threw stone for any barking dog, the stone price would rise to Dinar MI: don't give value to any opposing idea TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS OPPOSING IS BARKING	behavior Barking	behavior/ opposing
4.	*Az se čiz bāyad hazar kard, divare šekaste, sage darande, va zane salite* LM: Three things, should be avoided, broken wall, wild dog and shrewish woman MI: Three things, should be avoided, broken wall, wild dog and shrewish woman TP: behavior	DANGERS ARE ANIMALS DANGERS ARE WOMEN DANGEROUS IS DOG	Dog	Danger
5.	*Dasti rā ke az man borid xāh sag boxorad xāh gorbe* LM: A hand cut off from me, I don't care if dog eats it or cat MI: something which is no longer of use for me is no longer my concern TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS VALUELESS IS DOG VALUELESS IS CAT	Dog	Human Valueless

6.	*Digi ke barā man najuše bezār sare sag tuš bejuše* LM: A pot which is not boiling for me, let the dog head boil in it MI: a work whose benefit is not supposed to come to, let it go worse TP: appearance	BENEFITS ARE FOODS VALUELESS IS DOG A SUCCESSFUL BUSINESS IS A BOILING POT	Dog head	Valueless thing
7.	*Gorg ke pir šod ra*ɣɣ*ase sag miše* LM: An old wolf become the dog's dancer MI: old hood make even the cruel people be weak before the ones even weaker than them TP: relation to people	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEAK IS DOG CRUEL IS WOLF BEING WEEK IS BEING IS OLD	Dog	Human Weak
8.	*Marge xar arusiye sage* LM: the death of the ass is the wedding for dog MI: some people's loss is some other's win TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL	Dog	human Insignificant
9.	*Na xod xorad na kas dahad gande konad be kas dahad* LM: He eats neither himself ,nor gives	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS VALUELESS IS DOG FEEDING DOG IS WASTING	Dog	human Valueless

	others, rather rottens and feeds dog MI: someone stingy wastes his money in the most worst way but does not give it to others TP: relation to people	BENEFITS ARE FOODS BENEFITING IS EATING		
10.	*Sag ast ānke bā sag ravad dar javāl* LM: The one going inside the same sack with a dog is him/herself a dog MI: someone who argues with a bad-tempered person is him/herself a bad tempered TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS AGGRESSIVE IS DOG	Dog	Human behavior bad-tempered
11.	*Sag bāš kučike xune nabāš* LM: Be dog, but don't be the youngest of the family MI: youngest members of family are treated even worse than animals TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SMALL IS DOG IMPORTANT IS BIG UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL	Dog	Child/ valueless
12.	*Sag čiye ke pašmeš či baše* LM: What is dog, that its wool might be	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL WEALTH IS WOOL	Dog	valueless

	MI: the belongings of a valueless person is also valueless TP: appearance	VALUELESS IS DOG WOOL		
13.	*Sag pāčeye sāhebešo nemigire* LM: Dog does not bite its owner's leg MI: one should be grateful to one who is good to him/her TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BEING UNGRATEFUL IS BITING GRATEFUL IS DOG	Dog Biting	Human behavior (grateful)
14.	*Sag rā ke čāy konand har miše* LM: if you fatten a dog, it turns to be rabid MI: extreme kindness spoils the people TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CARING IS FEEDING SPOILING IS OVERFEEDING SPOILED IS FAT	Dog (Being fat)	Human behavior (spoiled)
15.	*Sag tā az kuneš motmaen naše ostoxun nemixore* LM: Dog does not eat bone if he is not sure about its ass MI: one should not do something if s/he is not sure of being able to	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) END OF A PROCESS IS HUMAN RECTUM TAKING UP A TASK IS EATING PROCESS BAD RESULT IS SHITTING BEGINNING OF AN ACT IS MOUTH TAKING UP A TASK IS EATING PROCESS	Dog	Human

	handle its consequences TP: behavior			
16.	*Sag tu xuneye sāhebeš šire* LM: Dog is lion at its owner's home MI: everyone is strong in his/her own domain TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL IMPORTANT IS BIG DOMAIN OF POWER IS HOUSE	Dog	Human
17.	*Sag vafā dāre, zan vafā nadāre* LM: Dog is loyal but woman is not MI: dog is more loyal than women TP: relation to people	LOYAL IS DOG DISLOYAL IS WOMAN	Dog	Dog
18.	*Sage māde dar lāne šir ast* LM: Female dog is lion at home MI: every woman has authority only at her home TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WOMEN ARE DOG DOMAIN OF POWER IS HOUSE	Dog	Woman
19.	*Sage namak šenās beh az ādame nāsepās* LM: A grateful dog is better than ungrateful animal	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) BAD IS DISLOYAL GOOD IS LOYAL	Dog	Human

	MI: being a grateful animal is better than being an ungrateful human TP: relation to people			
20.	*Sage sir donbāle kasi nemire* LM: A full dog does not chase any one MI: one who is well off has no motivation to act TP: behavior, relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS FOOD IS MOTIVATION	Dog	Human
21.	*Sage zard barādare šoɣāle* LM: Yellow dog is jackal's brother MI: cruel and crafty people are from similar character TP: appearance, relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRUEL IS DOG CRAFTY IS JACKAL	Dog	Cruelty
22.	*Sagi be bāmi jaste gardeš be mā nešaste* LM: A dog has jumped on the wall, and its dust has fallen on us MI: boosting oneself by affiliating one to a high-ranked person who are actually not related to each other	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SOCIAL ELEVATION IS JUMPING SIGNIFICANT IS DOG	Dog	Human

	TP: behavior			
23.	*Sagi ke barā xodeš pašm nakone bara digarān kašk nemikone* LM: a dog which does not make wool for itself will not make curd for others MI: someone who has no use for him/herself, will have no use for others either TP: relation to people	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) BENEFITS ARE CURD WEALTH IS WOOL VALUELESS IS DOG WOOL	Dog	Human Useless
24.	*Sagi ke vaɣ vaɣ kone nemigire* LM: Barking dog does not bite MI: someone who talks much acts less TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TALKING EMPTY IS BARKING ACTING IS BITING	Dog Barking	Human behavior Empty Talking
25.	*Sago ke be zur bebaran šekār vasate kār šāšeš migire* LM: A dog which is reluctant to go hunting, starts pissing in the middle of hunting MI: a person who does a task reluctantly, spoils it TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BAD IS DIRTY SPOILING IS PISSING	Dog	Human
26.	*Širam bedarad beh ke*	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE		

	sagam nāz konad LM: It is better to be torn off by lion rather than being patted by dog MI: to be treated bad by someone aggressors better being cared by someone contemptible TP: relation to people, behavior	(personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS DOWNGRADED IS DOG AGGRESSIVE IS LION	Dog	Human Contemptible
27.	*Tāzi ke pir beše az ahoo hesāb mibare* LM: When the dog gets old, it get afraid even of deer MI: cruel people lose their grandeur when they get old TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRUEL IS DOG WEAK IS DEER WEAK IS OLD	Dog	Human cruelty
28.	*Zane salite sage bi ɣalādast* LM: A shrewish woman is a dog without collar MI: an aggressive woman is as uncontrollable as a collarless dog TP: appearance, behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SHREWISH IS DOG COLLAR IS CONTROL	Dog	Woman

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.3.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Dog Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

The analysis of the Persian proverbs illustrated that in Persian proverbs, *dog* was the second most-frequently used animal domain (f=29). Similar to the *donkey* and *horse* metaphors, Persian proverbs did not confine itself only to *dog* metaphors. Persian proverbs made a distinction between *dog behaviors* like *barking*, *pissing, jumping,* and *biting* on the one hand and *dog appearance* including wool*, head, rectum*, and *mouth water* on the other hand.

Table-18 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Dog Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain				
	Dog behavior				
	Dog	**Jumping**	**Barking**	**pissing**	**Biting**
	human	social elevation	opposing empty talk	spoiling	Ungratefulness
	Dog appearance				
	Wool	**Head**		**Rectum**	**Mouth water**
	valueless	Insignificance		result	Dirt

4.2.3.1.1. Dog

Dog per se, was used metaphorically to conceptualize *human.* Therefore, the general metaphor generated by this mapping was PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. In the case where *dog* was preceded by an adjective, this adjective determined the specific attribute, which was highlighted metaphorically. For instance, *full dog*, *fat dog* and *collarless dog*. In the first case, *being full* was used to conceptualize *being without motivation*. The underlying primary metaphor in this case was FOOD IS MOTIVATION. *Fat dog* also conceptualized *spoiled/falttered human*. The result of this mapping was the generation of BEING SPOILED IS BEING FAT. There was also a case where *dog* was

preceded by the adjective *collarless*. In this collocation, *collarless dog* represented a *shrewish woman*. In this metaphor and some other cases, dog bore negative sexist connotation against women. This mapping generated the metaphor WOMEN ARE DOG as the sub metaphor of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. In this case, the dog *collar* metaphorically represented *control*. This also generated the metaphor CONTROL IS COLLAR.

4.2.3.1.2. Dog Appearance

In some cases, the mapping was made between *dog appearance* and some certain domains. For instance, *dog wool* represented being *valueless*. This generated the metaphor VALUELESS IS DOG WOOL. *Dog's mouth water* was also a domain, which represented the concept of *dirt*. This generated the metaphor DIRTY IS DOG. *Dog head* was also used to conceptualize *insignificance* generating the metaphor INSIGNIFICANT IS DOG HEAD.

4.2.3.1.3. Dog Behavior

Another set of *dog*-related metaphors were those in which one certain behavior of dog like *barking* and *pissing* was metaphorically used to conceptualize different domains. For instance, *dog barking* was used to conceptualize *empty talking* or *the voice of opposing person.* These mappings generated the general metaphor OBJECTIONABLE BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR such as EMPTY TALKING IS BARKING and OPPOSING IS BARKING. *Pissing* also conceptualized the notion of *spoiling* generating the metaphor SPOILING IS PISSING. This concept had its roots in the cultural schema of Muslims motivated by their religious teachings. According to Islamic teachings, to say prayers one should be clean. If dog touches someone who has already done ablutions for saying prayers, then the ablution is spoiled and one should wash up again. Motivated by religious teachings, the SPOILING IS PISSING and DIRT IS DOG'S WATER MOUTH metaphors were generated.

Table-19 Cognitive Analysis of Dog Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Aç köpek fırını deler* LM: Hungry dog digs hole in bakery wall MI: hungry man makes impossible things possible to feed him/herself TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS MOTIVATION IS FOOD	Dog	Human
2.	*Açık kaba it işer* LM: dog pisses in the open dish MI: not keeping the secret results in unfavorable consequences TP: behavior	BAD RESULT DOG URINE OPEN MOUTH IS OPEN DISH BAD IS DIRTY	Dog pissing	Bad result
3.	*Ahmak iti yol kocatır* LM: Stupid dog gets old on roads MI: a person who starts a task without making a good planning, loses a lot of time for coming and going back to correct the mistakes TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS STUPID IS DOG LIFE IS A JOURNEY	Dog	Human Stupid
4.	*At ölür, itlere bayram olur*	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG	Dog	Human Insignificant

	LM: The death of a horse is the wedding for dogs MI: the death of an important person makes the unimportant ones happy. TP: behavior	UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL		
5.	*Atım tepmes ,itim kapmaz deme* LM: Never say my horse does not kick me and my dog never bites me MI: even the people of your own blood may have some irritating behavior towards you TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS HURTING BEHAVIOR IS DOG BITING HURTING BEHAVIOR IS HORSE KICKING	Dog / Biting	Human / Hurting
6.	*Bakmakla usta olunsa, köpekler kasap olurdu* LM: Dogs would be butcher if watching was enough to learn MI: watching is not enough for learning, one should do to learn TP: behavior	DOING IS LEARNING	Dog	Human
7.	*Çarşı iti ev beklemez* LM: The dog straying in bazaar is not expected to come home MI: a straying person	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS STRAYING IS DOG	Rambling dog	Straying person

	can't tolerate a disciplined life TP: behavior			
8.	*Dişi köpek kuyrugunu sallamazsa, erkek köpek arkasına düşmez* LM: Male dog does not follow the female one if she does not wag her tail MI: it is always the woman who provokes man TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WOMEN ARE DOGS MEN ARE DOGS SEXUAL ATTRACTION IS SHAKING TAIL SEXUALLY ATTRACTING IS DOG BEHAVIOR	Dog	Human (man & woman)
9.	*Eceli gelen köpek cami duvarına işer* LM: A dog whose end has come pisses on the masque wall MI: someone who looks for trouble, does the most worst type of mistake TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CLEAN IS HOLY MAKING MISTAKE IS PISSING BAD IS DIRTY	Dog	Human
10	*İt derisinden post olmaz, eski duşman dost olmaz* LM: dog skin can't turn to pelt, old enemy can't be friend MI: enemies never turn to friends TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ENEMY IS ANIMALS	Dog pelt	Insignificant
11.				

	It ite buyurur itte kuyruğuna LM: dog orders another dog and it orders to its tail MI: lazy people refrain from doing their duty and try to make others do it TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS LAZY IS DOG	Dog	Human behavior lazy
12.	*It iti suvatta bulur* LM: dog finds the dog in animal watering place MI: villain know where to come each other TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS INFERIOR IS DOG	Dog	Human Villain
13.	*It itin ayağına basmaz* LM: a dog does not step on other dog's leg MI: a villain does not annoy another villain TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS VILLAIN IS DOG	Dog	Human Villain
14.	*İt ürür, kervan yürür* LM: dog barks and the caravan goes on MI: people keep on opposing but one should not care and carry on TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS OPPOSING IS BARKING IGNORING IS WALKING BY	Dog barking	Human behavior opposing
15.			Dog	Human

	İtin ahmağı baklavdan pay umar LM: stupid dog expects shares from Baklava MI: an inferior person expects to be treated like noble people TP: behvaior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS STUPID IS DOG BENEFITS ARE SWEETS APPEALING IS SWEET		Stupid
16.	*İtin duası Kabul olunsaydı gökten kemik yağardı* LM: if the prayers of dog were accepted, it would rained bone MI: if things would go on according to the wishes of villain people, all the world would be full of badness TP: behvaior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS VILLAIN IS DOG BENEFITS ARE BONES GOOD IS UP	Dog	Human Villain
17.	*İtle çuvala girilmez* LM: it is not wise to go inside sack with a dog MI: one should not argue with an aggressor person TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS AGGRESSIVE IS DOG	Dog	Human Aggressive
18.	*İtle yatan bitle kalkar* LM: someone who sleeps with dog wakes up with louse MI: one picks up the character of the villain	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS BAD CHARACTER IS LOUSE TO PICK UP	Dog	Human Villain

	people we socialize with TP: behavior			
19.	*Köpeğe gem vurma kendini at sanır* LM: Don't put bridle on dog because it considers itself a horse MI: Do not give much value to contemptible person because s/he will consider him/herself a noble one. TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CONTEMPTIBLE IS DOG NOBLE IS HORSE	Dog	Human contemptible
20.	*Köpek bile yağ yediği kaba pislemez* LM: even dog does not make dirt in the dish it eats MI: one should not be ungrateful to those who TP: behavior	FAVORS ARE FOODS BEING UNGRATEFUL IS PISSING BAD IS DIRTY	-	-
21.	*Köpek ekmek veren kapiyi tanir* LM: even dog knows the door where it gets food MI: one should be grateful to people who do them good things TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS UNGRATEFUL IS DOG BENEFITS ARE BREAD	Dog	Human Grateful
22.	*Köpek sahibini ısırmaz*	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Dog	Human Grateful

	LM: dog does not bite its owner MI: one should be grateful to people who do them goodness TP: behavior	BEING UNGRATEFUL IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR		
23.	*Köpeksiz sürüye kurt dalar* LM: A herd without shepherd gets attacked by wolf MI: a nation without good guardian becomes attacked by enemies TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SOCIETY IS HERD ENEMY IS ANIMAL GUARDIAN IS DOG BEHAVIOR	Dog	Guardian
24.	*Kurt kocayınca köpeklere maskara olur* LM: When the wolf becomes older it becomes the dog's toy MI: powerful people who lose their grandeur when they lose their power TP:behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRUEL IS WOLF WEAK IS DOG	Dog	Weak person
25.	*Sahipsiz eve it buyrur* LM: Dog commands in a house without owner MI: when someone efficient did not take up doing the task, an insufficient person would do it	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS INSUFFICIENT IS BEING	Dog	Human Insufficient

	TP: behavior			
26.	*Ürümesini bilmeyen köpek sürüye kurt getirir* LM: A dog which does not know how to bark, brings the wolf to the herd MI: if one does not speak carefully, one may make trouble for him/herself and others TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TIMELESS SPEAKING IS BARKING HUMAN SOCIETY IS HERD	Dog	Human
27.	*Yağ yiyen köpek tüyünden belli olur* LM: a dog which has eaten fat is known from its hair MI: the appearance of someone whose life suddenly boosts in dishonest ways reveals it TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BEING RICH IS EATING FAT	Dog	Human
28.	*Zorile köpek ava gitmez* LM: dog does not go hunting reluctantly MI: one does not do something without enough motivation TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS FORCING IS PUSHING	Dog	Human

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,*ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.3.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Dog Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

The analysis of the Turkish proverbs illustrated that, dog was the second most frequently used (f=28) animal name in Turkish proverbs. Similar to *horse* and *donkey,* Turkish *dog* proverbial metaphors also made a distinction between the metaphorical use of *dog, dog behavior* including *pissing*, *barking* and *biting*; and *dog appearance* including *wool, pelt,* and *tail.*

Table-20 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Dog Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain			
	Dog	**Dog behavior**		
		Pissing	**Barking**	**Biting**
Target domain	human	bad result making mistake Ungratefulness	opposing timeless talk	Hurting ungratefulness
	Dog appearance			
	Wool	**Pelt**	**Tail**	
	Wealth	valueless	Subordination sexual attraction	

4.2.3.2.1. Dog

The analysis of the data illustrated that *dog,* mainly conceptualized *human*, in general sense, and aspects of *human character* in specific. For instance, *insignificant, villain, stupid, aggressive, lazy, grateful, contemptible, guardian, insufficient, spoiled sponger,* and *weak*. The result of the mapping between *human* and *dog* was the general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and its sub metaphors like OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. For

instance, BEING AGGRESSIVE IS DOG BEHAVIOR, BEING LAZY IS DOG BEHAVIOR, BEING SPONGER IS DOG BEHAVIOR, BEING STUPID IS DOG BEHAVIOR, BEING INSUFFICIENT IS DOG BEHAVIOR, BEING SPOILED IS DOG BEHAVIOR, and BEING WEAK IS DOG BEHAVIOR.

In some rare cases, the mapped characteristics were not negative, rather positive ones. In such instances dog was used to conceptualize *gratefulness* and *guardian.* The result of such a mapping was:

BEING GRATEFUL IS BEING DOG
BEING GUARDIAN IS BEING DOG

4.2.3.2.2. Dog Behavior

In another set of *dog* metaphors, the mappings were specifically directed only on some behaviors of *dog* like *barking, pissing*, and *biting. Barking* was a domain, which represented two human behaviors; *timeless talking,* and *opposing*. The result of such a mapping was the resemblance metaphor, OPPOSING IS BARKING and TIMELESS TALKING IS BARKING. *Pissing* was also another domain, which represented notions like *making a mistake, bad result,* and *being ungrateful*. The outcome of such a mapping was the generation of the metaphors MAKING MISTAKE IS PISSING and THE BAD RESULT OF AN ACT IS PISSING, BEING UNGRATEFUL IS PISSING.

Biting was another domain by which some of human behaviors like *hurting* and *being ungrateful* were conceptualized. The result of such mapping was the general metaphor OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. For instance, HURTING IS DOG BEHAVIOR and BEING UNGRATEFUL IS DOG BEHAVIOR. There was another instance in Turkish proverbs (dişi köpek kuyrugunu sallamazsa, erkek köpek arkasına düşmez) where *shaking tail* represented the *sexual attraction* of a woman.

4.2.3.2.3. Dog Appearance

Some body parts of dog were also used to conceptualize other concepts like *subordination, insignificance,* and *wealth*. For instance, *dog tail* was also used to illustrate the subordination in the proverb "*It ite buyurur itte kuyruğuna"* (dog orders another dog and it orders to its tail). In this proverb, in addition to PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor, there was a case of personification or ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor.

In another case, *dog wool* conceptualized wealth, and *dog pelt* conceptualized *insignificance*. Understanding these metaphors also requires folk theory about *dog* and the reason why the *dog pelt* has no value in comparison to other animals pelt like *sheep* or *cow*. Since dog pelt does not have the quality of *sheep pelt*, this collocation is used to represent the *valuable* versus *valueless* concepts.

4.2.3.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Investigating the primary metaphors contributing to the Persian proverbs including *dog* metaphor also provided robust linguistic evidence to support the experiential basis of human conceptualization. As illustrated in Table- 21 and 22, both languages have both commonalities and differences in their primary, complex and resemblance metaphors. Both languages were similar in some primary metaphors like SMALL IS UNIMPORTANT, INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS, BAD IS DIRTY, HOLY IS CLEAN, IMPERFECTION IS DIRTY, and BIG IS IMPORTANT.

Some of the primary metaphors were only peculiar to Persian proverbs, for instance, conceptualizing an *action* as *digesting process*, in which the beginning *of the action* was understood in terms of *mouth*. This mapping generated the primary metaphor BEGINNING OF AN ACT IS MOUTH and the END OF AN ACT IS RECTUM. Following this general primary metaphor, the bad

consequence of those actions was conceptualized in terms of *pissing and shitting* as in the case of proverbs like: "*dog does not eat bone if it is not sure of its rectum"* in Persian proverbs. In Turkish proverbs *pissing* was also used to conceptualize the *bad result* of a behavior or an action, for instance in the Turkish proverb "*açık kaba it işer"* (literal meaning: dog pisses in the open dish, metaphorical interpretation: one who talks about her/his secrets faces trouble).

In Persian proverbs, *benefits* and *motivations* were conceptualized in terms of *food*. Consequently *being fed* was used to conceptualize *being motivated*.

Table-21 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BAD RESULT IS SHITTING	BOOMING BUSINESS IS A BOILING POT
BAD IS DIRTY	ACTING IS BITING
BENEFITING IS EATING	AGGRESSIVE IS DOG
BEGINNING OF AN ACT IS MOUTH	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
BENEFITS ARE FOODS	CRUEL IS DOG
STARTING A TASK IS EATING SOMETHING	DANGEROUS ARE ANIMALS
HOLY IS CLEAN	DANGEROUS ARE WOMEN
CARING IS FEEDING	DOMAIN OF POWER IS HOUSE
COLLAR IS CONTROL	DOWNGRADED IS DOG
END OF A PROCESS IS HUMAN RECTUM	GRATEFUL IS DOG
IMPORTANT IS BIG	HELPFUL IS DOG
INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS	LOYAL IS DOG
MOTIVATION IS FOOD	OPPOSING IS BARKING
UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
TAKING UP A TASK IS EATING PROCESS	SHREWISH IS DOG
IMPERFECTION IS DIRT	SIGNIFICANT IS DOG
SOCIAL ELEVATION IS JUMPING	SMALL IS ANIMAL
	SPOILED IS BEING FAT
	SPOILING IS OVERFEEDING
	SPOILING IS PISSING
	TALKING EMPTY IS BARKING
	UNGRATEFUL IS BITING

	VALUELESS IS BEING DOG
	WASTING IS FEEDING DOG
	WEAK IS OLD
	WEAK IS BEING OLD
	WEALTH IS WOOL
	WOMEN ARE DOG

The analysis of the complex and resemblance metaphors illustrated that both languages varied notably in *dog* resemblance and complex metaphors except the resemblance metaphors where there was a mutual mapping between *dog* and *human behavior.* The result of this mapping was the generation of ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor and its sub metaphor OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR.

Table-22 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
APPEALING IS SWEET	
	AGGRESSIVE IS DOG
BAD IS DIRTY	ANIMAL ARE PEOPLE
BENEFITS ARE FOODS TO EAT	BAD CHARACTER IS LOUSE TO PICK
FAVORITES ARE FOOD TO EAT	BAD RESULT IS DOG URINE
GOOD IS UP	INFERIOR IS DOG
HOLY IS CLEAN	INSUFFICIENT IS DOG
IMPORTANT IS BIG	BEING RICH IS EATING FAT
LIFE IS A JOURNEY	UNGRATEFUL IS DOG
MOTIVATION IS FOOD	VILLAIN IS DOG
SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS	CONTEMPTIBLE IS DOG
UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL	CRUEL IS WOLF
APPEALING IS SWEET	ENEMY IS ANIMAL
	GUARDIAN IS DOG
	SOCIETY IS HERD
	HURTING IS BITING
	LAZY IS DOG
	MAKING MISTAKE IS PISSING
	MEN ARE DOG
	OPEN MOUTH IS OPEN DISH
	OPPOSING IS BARKING
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
	SEXUAL ATTRACTION IS SHAKING

TAIL
STRAYING IS DOG BEHAVIOR
STUPIDITY IS DOG BEHAVIOR
TIMELESS SPEAKING IS BARKING
WEAK IS DOG

Investigating the resemblance and complex metaphors of both languages in terms of their underlying cultural schemas also illustrated that both languages have some commonalities and variations, which were motivated by their cultural schemas. One of the general and dominant cultural schemas about dog was the proposition of “dog is a dirty animal” which was underlined in most of the *dog* metaphors in both Persian and Turkish proverbs. This represented itself in the metaphorical use of *dog urine, dog flea* and *dog’s water mouth*. The earlier was of more importance for conceptualizing negative notion like *spoiling* and *bad result.* Since in both folks’ culture, which is strongly motivated by Islamic believes and teachings, dog is believed to be a dirty animal which should be kept away from human residence as it contradicts with the pre-requisite of saying prayers which requires clean body and clean place.

The other schema that is common to both folk theories is that dog is a valueless being, therefore whatever related to dog is also valueless. Another strongly stigmatizing cultural schema in Persian folk theory is that dog is a downgraded animal, which lets human being take full command of it and treat it as s/he wants. That is why in Persian folk culture whoever depends emotionally on somebody in an excessive and annoying manner is metaphorically referred to as *dog.* In addition to a lot of negative attributes ascribed to dog in both languages, dog has also been used to conceptualize the positive aspects of human behavior. Metaphorical propositions extracted from the cultural schemas about *dog* in Persian culture represented dog as “dirty”, “noisy”, “cruel”, “lazy”, “valueless”, “aggressive”, “grateful”, “bad-tempered”, “contemptible”, “sponger” and “loyal”. Metaphorical propositions extracted from the cultural schemas about *dog* in Turkish culture represent *dog* as “dirty”, “valueless”, “stupid”, “insignificant”, “loyal”, “sponger”,

“unreliable”, “lazy”, “contemptible”, “stupid”, “aggressive”, “grateful”, and “protective”.

In both languages’ folk theory, dog was therefore a dirty, stupid, valueless, aggressive, lazy, and contemptible creature. While in Persian folk theory, in addition to the above-mentioned characters, dog was conceptualized as “noisy”, and “cruel” animal, Turkish folk found dog more “unreliable” and “sponger”. However, both folk theories believe that dog is a loyal, grateful, and protective animal.

More precise examination of the data also illustrated some patterns of similarity between Persian and Turkish languages. Contrary to horse and donkey in both Persian and Turkish, gender distinction was found out in case of dog in both languages. Although they don’t have separate lexeme or term to make the distinction, similar to previous animals they use the term “female” and “male” in order to make gender difference.

Persian language used the term “nar” for male and “madde” for female, but they used the word “sag” or “tazi” as a generic term to refer to both gender. In Turkish, the same way of making distinction between two genders was applied. They used the term “erkek” and “dişi” to make a distinction between both genders. The same also held true about the puppy, which was referred to by the term “küçük”, but practically, in modern Turkish the term “yavru” which means “baby” is used to refer to puppy. Similar to Persian, Turkish language also uses two different terms for dog to refer to the overall species; “köpek” and “it”.

Both cultures ascribed sexist and negative attributes to female dog. For instance in Turkish proverbs, *woman* was conceptualized as *female dog* which tries to attract male dogs sexually by waging its tail. The sexist and stigmatizing uses of *dog* referring to *woman* in general, and *woman behavior* in particular, was more observed in Persian proverbs. For instance, in many instances, “disloyalty” of woman was overemphasized by contrasting it to the “loyalty” of dog. The *shrewish behavior* of a woman was conceptualized

metaphorically as a *collarless dog*. In another instance, it was recommended to avoid, shrewish women, dog and broken wall. *Woman* was metaphorically conceptualized as a female *dog* whose realm of power was only limited to her house not outside. In addition to the pervasive use of dog in Persian proverbs, it was also used extensively in daily discourse in sayings and idioms.

Investigating the data in terms of the actuality of thematic parts proposed by Wierzbicka (1985) illustrated some trivial points of variation. In Persian proverbs, dogs were conceptualized primarily in terms of their relation to people and then their behavior. This means that for Persian folk, dogs were the focus of attention because of their behavior as well as their relation to people as a beneficial domesticated animal, however, in Turkish proverbs; dogs were conceptualized primarily in terms of their behavior and then their relation to people.

4.2.4. Wolf Metaphors

Table-23 Cognitive Analysis of Wolf Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Aç kurt bile komşusunu dalmaz* LM: even the hungry wolf does not rob its neighbor MI: one should not rob his/her neighbor TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBER IS WOLF	Wolf	Human
2.	*Aç kurt yavrusunu yer* LM: Hungry wolf eats its own child	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRUEL IS WOLF	Wolf	Human

	MI: one might forget his own child in hard situations TP: behavior			
3.	*Çobansız koyunu kurt kapar* LM: A sheep without shepherd is the prey for wolf MI: valuable property which are not taken care of may be stolen TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ENEMY IS WOLF WEALTH IS SHEEP PEOPLE ARE HERD	Wolf	Robber
4.	*Kurdun adı yamana çıkmış, tilki var baş keser* LM: Wolf has been notorious, some foxes cut the hair MI: silent crafty people are worse than apparently cruel ones TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRUEL IS WOLF CRAFTY IS FOX	Wolf	Human cruel
5.	*Kurdun marhemeti kuzuyu dişinde taşımak* LM: The clemency of a wolf is to carry the lamb in his mouth MI: cruel people are not expected to have mercy to weak ones TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS MERCILESS IS WOLF WEAK IS LAMB	Wolf	Human cruel
6.			Wolf	Human

	Kurt dumanlı havayı sever LM: Wolf likes the foggy weather MI: some like to take advantage of messy situations TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS OPPORTUNIST IS WOLF		Opportunist
7.	*Kurt kocayınca köpeklere maskara olur* LM: When the wolf becomes older it becomes the dog's toy MI: powerful people who lose their grandeur when they lose their power TP: relation to people	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRUEL IS WOLF WEAK IS DOG	Wolf	Human cruel
8.	*Kurt la koyun ,kılıç la oyun olmaz* LM: there can't be a game between wolf and sheep and no game with sword MI: weak people can't fight back the powerful ones TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEAK IS SHEEP POWERFUL IS WOLF	Wolf	Human Powerful
9.	*Kurt tüyünü değiştirir, huyunu değiştirmez* LM: Wolf changes its hair but not its nature MI: one can't change	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL CHARACTER IS HAIR	Wolf	Human Brutal

	his/her brutal nature TP: relation to people			
10.	*Kurtla ortak olan tilkinin hissesi, ya tırnaktır, ya bağırsak* LM: The share of a fox who becomes wolf's partner is either nail or bowel MI: a crafty person is always subordinate to his powerful partner TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRAFTY IS FOX POWERFUL IS WOLF	Wolf	Human Powerful
11.	*Köpeksiz sürüye kurt dalar* LM: A herd without shepherd gets attacked by wolf MI: a nation without good guardian becomes attacked by enemies TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SOCIETY IS HERD ENEMY IS WOLF GUARDIAN IS DOG	wolf	Enemy
12.	*Sayılı koyunu kurt kapmaz* LM: The wolf does not snatch the sheep that are counted MI: keeping the record of your property keeps off pilfering TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBER IS WOLF WEALTH IS SHEEP	Wolf	Robber
13			Wolf	Enemy

	Sürüden ayrılan koyunu kurt yer LM: a sheep separated from herd gets eaten by wolf MI: a person who has no ally get damaged by enemy TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS UNITY IS HERD ALONE IS VULNERABLE		
14.	*Ürümesini (ürmesini) bilmeyen köpek (it), sürüye kurt getirir* LM: A dog which does not know how to bark, brings the wolf to the herd MI: if one does not speak carefully, one may make trouble for him/herself and others TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS GUARDIAN IS DOG SOCIETY IS HERD ENEMY IS WOLF TROUBLE IS WOLF	Wolf	Trouble /enemy
15.	*Ölmüş eşek, kurttan korkmaz* LM: A dead donkeyis not afraid of wolf MI: someone who has nothing to lose is not afraid of any danger TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS DANGER IS WOLF	Wolf	Dangerous

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,*ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.4.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Wolf Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Analysis of the gathered proverbs in terms of frequency illustrated that, wolf was the third (f=15) animal in Turkish proverbs. However, contrary to previous animal domains like *dog* and *donkey*, there was no distinct type of mapping between appearances, size of wolf on human. In Turkish proverbs *wolf* was conceptualized primarily in terms of its relation to people and then its behavior.

Table-24 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Wolf Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain	
Target domain	**Wolf**	**Wolf behavior (Preying)**
	danger	Robbery
	Enemy	
	Human	
	Trouble	

4.2.4.1.1. Wolf and Wolf Behavior (preying)

As it is illustrated in Table- 24, *wolf* primarily conceptualized *human*. The mapping between *human* and *wolf* generated the general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. In Turkish proverbs, *wolf* represented *cruelty, power* and *being opportunist*. Such mappings generated the metaphor OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. For instance:

BEING OPPORTUNIST IS WOLF BEHAVIOR

BEING CRUEL IS WOLF BEHAVIOR

BEING POWERFUL IS BEING WOLF.

Robbery was also a domain which was understood in terms of *wolf 's preying behavior.* This also generated the sub metaphor ROBBERY IS WOLF BEHAVIOR. *Trouble*, *danger,* and *enemy* were other domains, represented by

wolf. This generated the TROUBLE IS WOLF, DANGER IS WOLF, and ENEMY IS WOLF.

Table-25 Cognitive Analysis of Wolf Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*āɣebat gorg zāde gorg mišavad* LM: a baby wolf finally becomes a wolf MI: nothing can change a bad nature TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL BRUTAL IS WOLF	Wolf	Human cruel
2.	*Gorg ke be gale oftād vāy be hāle kasi ke ye barre dāre* LM: Poor the one who has one lamb when the wolf attacks the herd MI: poor people are more venerable when being robbed TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBER IS WOLF WEALTH IS LAMB	Wolf	Robber
3.	*Gorg ke pir šod raɣɣāse sag miše* LM: An old wolf become the dog's dancer MI: as cruel people get old they lose their grandeur before weak people	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEAK IS DOG WEAK IS OLD	wolf	Human cruel

	TP: relation to people			
4.	*Kasi ke az gorg mitarse gusfand negah nemidāre* LM: One who is afraid of wolf, does not keep sheep MI: someone who is afraid of losing should not possess anything TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBER IS WOLF WEALTH IS SHEEP	Wolf	Robber
5.	*Sad gorg dar galle beh az yek ajuze dar mahalle* LM: One hundred wolves in the herd is better than a devilish in the neighborhood MI: a devilish old woman is even worse than wolf TP: relation to people	Literal meaning PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS DEVILISH IS WOMAN	-	-
6.	*Salāme gorg bi tama nist* LM: a wolf's greetings is not free of greed MI: friendship of an opportunist person is not honest TP: ?	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS OPPORTUNIST IS WOLF	Wolf	Human Opportunist
7.	*Tobeye gorg marg ast* LM: the regret of a wolf is its death MI: only death can stop the bad deeds of a	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BAD-NATURED IS WOLF ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL	Wolf	Human cruel

	rapacious person TP: ?

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.4.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Wolf Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

In Persian proverbs, *wolf* (f=7) was used to represent *human.* Similar to Turkish proverbs, *wolf* was primarily used to conceptualize human. As it is illustrated in Table- 26 Persian proverbs also made a mapping between *wolf* and *devilish woman*. Similar to Turkish proverbs, *wolf's preying behavior* was also used to conceptualize *robbery* generating the ROBBERY IS WOLF BEHAVIOR metaphor.

Table-26 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Wolf Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Source domain	
Target domain	**Wolf**	**Wolf behavior (Preying)**
	human Opportunist	Robbery

4.2.4.2.1. Wolf and Wolf Behavior (preying)

The mapping between *wolf behavior* and *human behavior* in Persian proverbs generated the general metaphor, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, and its sub metaphor OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. For instance: BEING OPPORTUNIST IS BEING WOLF, BEING BRUTAL IS BEING WOLF, and ROBBERY IS WOLF BEHAVIOR.

4.2.4.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

As it is illustrated in Table- 27 and 28, the analysis of Turkish proverbs in terms of the underlying primary, complex and resemblance metaphors illustrated that ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL primary metaphor contributed to the understanding of a proverb, which was similar in both languages. Both languages were similar in PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and its sub metaphor OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. For instance, ROBBERY IS WOLF BEHAVIOR, which was a common metaphor in both languages. In order to conceptualize *human behavior*, both languages adopted personification or ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor whose final purpose was to map the intended instinctional *wolf* behavior on human.

Table-27 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL	ALONE IS VULNERABLE
CHARACTER IS HAIR	CRAFTY IS FOX
	GUARDIAN IS DOG
	MERCILESS IS WOLF
	OPPORTUNIST IS WOLF
	POWERFUL IS WOLF
	WEAK IS DOG
	WEAK IS LAMB
	WEAK IS SHEEP
	CRUEL IS WOLF
	DANGER IS WOLF
	ENEMY IS WOLF
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
	ROBBER IS WOLF
	SOCIETY IS HERD
	TROUBLE IS WOLF
	UNITY IS HERD
	WEALTH IS SHEEP

As illustrated in Table- 26, *wolf* was metaphorically collocated with *sheep* and *lamb*, which are beneficial barn animals and conceptualize *wealth.* Both

languages conceptualized *cruel* and *opportunist human* as *wolf.* Only in one case in Persian proverbs, *wolf* was metaphorically used to conceptualize *devilish woman.*

Table-28 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL WEAK IS OLD	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE BAD-NATURED IS WOLF OPPORTUNIST IS WOLF GREEDY IS WOLF WEAK IS DOG BRUTAL IS WOLF PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBER IS WOLF WEALTH IS LAMB WEALTH IS SHEEP

Contrary to *dog*, neither Persian nor Turkish language made a distinction between “female” and “male” wolf. This supports Nielsen’s (1996) idea that human being tends to apply gender categories only on domestic animals, which have different functions depending on their gender.

Investigating the *wolf* metaphors in terms of the positive and negative attributes associated with wolf illustrated that both cultures conceptualized wolf as “cruel”, “opportunist”, and “robber”. In addition, Turkish proverbs associated wolf with attributes like “trouble”, “danger” and “enemy”. In Persian proverbs, wolf was associated with notions like “greed” as well as “shrewish woman” which are negative connotations. As it was mentioned earlier, no instance of sexist association was observed in case of *wolf* metaphors is Turkish proverbs.

Investigating the proverbs in terms of Wierzbicka’s’ thematic parts (1975) revealed that in both Persian and Turkish proverbs *wolf* was mainly conceptualized in terms of its predator behavior. Analyzing the data in terms of

the great chain of being cultural model also provided the evidence for the presence of basic version of this cultural model underlying the proverbs of both languages. In almost all Persian and Turkish proverbs containing *wolf* metaphors, there was an inevitable metaphorical collocation between wolf, *sheep, lamb, shepherd*, *dog* and *fox*. Underlying all these proverbs, the SOCIETY IS HERD metaphor was observed. In all collocations *wolf* metaphorically represented the *enemy* and *robber*, and *shepherds* and *dogs*, on the contrary, represented the *guardians. Sheep* and *lamb* were also conceptualized as *property* and *people*. Although *fox* is as dangerous as *wolf* for the herd, in collocation with *wolf,* it *was* conceptualized as *weaker being*.

4.2.5. Cat Metaphors

Table-29 Cognitive Analysis of Cat Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*mušo gorbe čon be ham sāzand vāy be hāle dokāne baɣāl* LM: From the peace between cat and mouse, poor the grocer's shop MI: the unity between two enemies is dangerous for those who have something to lose TP: ?	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) ENEMY IS CAT ENEMY IS MOUSE	Cat	enemy
2.	*Be doāye gorbe siyāhe bārun nemiyād* LM: it does not rain upon the prayers of black cat MI: the world does not go	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) BAD IS BLACK WICKED IS CAT	Cat	Human Wicked

	on according to the wishes of wicked people TP:?			
3.	*Dasti rā ke az man borid xāh sag boxorad xāh gorbe* LM: A hand cut off from me, I don't care if dog eats it or cat MI: something which is no longer of use for me is no longer my concern TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS VALUELESS IS DOG VALUELESS IS CAT	Cat	Human Valueless
4.	*Gorbe baraye rezāye xodā muš nemigire* LM: the cat does not hunt mouse for God's sake MI: no one does a favor without expecting to be repaid TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) HUNTING IS CAT BEHAVIOR BENEFITS ARE MICE TO HUNT	Cat	Human Benefit-minded
5.	*Gorbe dasteš be gušt nemirese mige pif pif bu mide* LM: the cat's hand does not reach to meat and says, it stinks MI: one has no access to a favorable situation and starts talking bad about it TP:behavior	ANIMAL ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CHANCES ARE FOODS	Cat	Human
6.	*Gorba ro agār dar otāy*	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Cat	Human

	habs koni panje be rut mizane LM: if you shut a cat in a room, it will scratch you MI: if you put your enemy under too much pressure, it rebels back at you TP: behavior	INSUBORDINATE IS CAT DEFENDING IS SCRATCHING		
7.	*Gorbe rā dame hejle bāyad košt* LM: The cat should be killed before the wedding chamber MI: you should show your authority right from the beginning TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TAKING COURAGE IS KILLING	Cat	Cat
8.	*Muš ke ajaleš reside bāše sare gorbaro mixārune* LM: a mouse whose end has come scratches the cat's head MI: someone who looks for trouble, makes the biggest mistake possible TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) TROUBLE IS CAT IMPORTANT IS BIG TROUBLE IS CAT SMALL IS WEAK	Cat	Trouble
9.	*Muše zende behtar az gorbeye mordast* LM: an alive mouse is better than a dead cat MI: a small but useful chance is better than big	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS VALUABLE IS ALIVE IMPORTANT IS SMALL WASTED IS DEAD	Cat	Human Significant

	but wasted one TP: ?			
10.	*Sad muš rā yek gorbe kāfist* LM: one cat suffices a hundred mice MI: one single strong person is enough to encounter many weak ones TP: size,	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG STRONG IS CAT WEAK IS MOUSE	Cat	Human Strong

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.5.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Cat Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Cat was among the productive domains in animal metaphors in Persian proverbs (f=12). Analysis of the Persian proverbs illustrated that *cat* metaphors were used predominantly to conceptualize *human. Cat* also metaphorically represented *human* in general and *woman* in particular*. Cat* metaphorically represented *enemy,* and *trouble*. Table- 30 illustrates the classification of the cat metaphors in terms of their source and target domains.

Table-30 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Cat Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Source domain	
Target domain	**Cat**	**Cat behavior (scratching)**
	Human Trouble Enemy	Aggression

As it is illustrated in Table- 30 *cat* was used to represent *human* in general. The mapping between *cat* and *human* generated the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor. In Persian proverbs, *cat* represented "valueless" and "strong" human. This has generated the resemblance metaphors like BEING VALUELESS IS BEING CAT and BEING STRONG IS BEING CAT. In addition to the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor, there were some instances of ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor where cat was conceptualized as "wicked", and "benefit-minded". This generated the metaphors BEING BENEFIT-MINDED IS BEING CAT and BEING WICKED IS BEING CAT.

Although in all the metaphoric mappings mentioned above, the target domain was *human* in general, there was one instance in which the mapping was openly between *cat* and *woman.* This was the only instance of sexist use of *cat* metaphor in Persian proverbs. As it was illustrated in Table- 31, *cat* was metaphorically used to conceptualize, *enemy,* and *trouble* which generated the ENEMY IS CAT, and TROUBLE IS CAT metaphor. In one case in Persian proverbs, *cat scratching* was used to represent *aggression.* The result of such mapping was AGGRESSION IS SCRATCHING. Examining the Persian proverbs in terms of the thematic parts (Wierzbicka, 1985) also suggested that in Persian proverbs, cat was conceptualized mainly in terms of its behavior, size and relation to people.

Table-31 Cognitive Analysis of Cat Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Caminin mumunu yiyen kedinin gözü kör olur.* LM: the cat which eats the masque candle becomes blind MI: one who behaves ungratefully becomes punished	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS UNGRATEFUL IS CAT	Cat	Human Ungrateful

	TP: relation to people			
2.	*Cins kedi ölüsünü göstermez* LM: a gracious cat never let the others find his corpse MI: a proud person never lets the others know what his/her pains are TP: behavior, relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS PROUD IS CAT	Cat	Human Proud
3.	*Eceli gelen fare kedi taşağı kaşır* LM: a mouse whose end has come scratches the cat's testicles MI: someone who looks for trouble, makes the biggest mistake possible TP: ?	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (PERSONIFICATION) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG TROUBLE IS CAT WEAK IS SMALL	Cat	Trouble
4.	*Kedi aslanın ağzından şikar alamaz* LM: Cat can't take the prey out of lion's mouth MI: a weak one can never fight back a strong one TP: behavior, size	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG BIG IS STRONG SMALL IS WEAK	Cat	Human Weak
5.	*Kedinin boynuna ciğer asılmaz*	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS UNRELIABLE IS CAT	Cat	Human

	LM: one can't hang liver to the neck of a cat MI: you can't expect an unreliable person not to betray you TP: relation to people	BENEFITS ARE LIVER		Unreliable
6.	*Kedinin gideceği samanlığa kadar* LM: cat can only go till chaff hill MI: useless people are not expected to undertake big task TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS USELESS IS CAT	Cat	Human useless
7.	*Kedinin usluluğu sıçan gorunceye kadar* LM: cat is polite till it sees the mouse MI: a person with impulsive character loses temper as soon as something irritates him/her TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPULSIVE IS CAT SNEAKY IS MOUSE	Cat	Human Impulsive
8.	*Kedi nedir ki budu ne ola* LM: What is cat that, its thigh might be MI: a insignificant person is useless in all ways TP: size	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL	Cat	Insignificance
9.			Cat	Human

	Kedisiz evde siçan terennümü olur LM: there is mouse melody in a catless home MI: the absence of superior gives a chance to subordinates to ramble TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG SUBORDINATE IS SMALL SUPERORDINATE IS BIG		Authoritative
10.	*Kediyi sıkıstırırsan ustune atılır* LM: if you squeeze the cat it will jump on you MI: if you suppress someone who is afraid of you, it may stand against you and attack you TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS INSUBORDINATE IS CAT DEFENDING IS JUMPING	Cat	Weak Human

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.5.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Cat Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Similar to Persian proverbs, *cat* metaphors were mainly used to conceptualize *human.* In addition, it represented the notion of *trouble*. In those cases where the mapping was between *human* and *cat*, the general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS was generated. In Turkish proverbs cat *was* associated with the attributes such as “proud”, “weak’, “unreliable”, “useless”, “valueless”, “impulsive”, insignificant”, and “authoritative”.

Table-32 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Cat Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain	
	Cat	**Cat behavior (jumping)**
Human		Aggression
	Trouble	

As it was illustrated in table-32, *cat* also conceptualized the concept of *trouble*. This generated the metaphor TROUBLE IS ANIMAL. Cat behavior also represented the aggression in one case in Turkish proverbs. This gave rise to the AGGRESSION IS JUMPING metaphor. The analysis of Turkish proverbs in terms of the thematic parts (Wierzbicka, 1985) suggested that *cat* in Turkish proverbs was conceptualized in terms of its behavior and relation to people.

4.2.5.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

The gathered proverbs in both languages were also examined in terms of the commonalities or variations in terms of the elicited primary metaphors as well as complex and resemblance metaphors. As it is illustrated in Table- 33 and Table 34, both languages were similar in the primary metaphors contributing to the proverbs including *cat* metaphors. IMPORTANT IS BIG was the primary metaphor, which contributed to the meaning of those proverbs in which the size of *cat* was highlighted to conceptualize the intended concept. In such instances, *cat* size was either compared to a bigger animal like *lion* or some smaller ones like *mouse*. The collocation of *cat* and *mouse* and *cat* and *lion* was observed in both languages. Although both cultures conceptualized *importance* in terms of size, sometimes it was small size, which was important. For instance, in the Persian proverbs, "*muše zende behtar az gorbeye mordast"* (Literal meaning: an alive mouse is better than a dead cat, metaphorical interpretation: small but available chances are better than big but

unreal chances) where being alive but small was believed to be more important than being dead and big.

Table-33 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BAD IS BLACK	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
BEING WASTED IS BEING DEAD	STRONG IS CAT
CHANCES ARE FOODS	INSUBORDINATE IS CAT
DEFENDING IS SCRATCHING	LAZY IS CAT
IMPORTANT IS BIG	WEAK IS MOUSE
IMPORTANT IS SMALL	WEAK IS SMALL
	VALUELESS IS CAT
	WICKED IS CAT
	BENEFITS ARE MICE TO HUNT
	HUNTING IS CAT BEHAVIOR
	ENEMY IS CAT
	ENEMY IS MOUSE
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
	TAKING COURAGE IS KILLING
	TROUBLE IS CAT
	WOMAN IS CAT

In addition to *importance,* in Turkish proverbs, *size* was also used to conceptualize the *weakness* and *strength*. This generated the primary metaphors, WEAK IS SMALL, and BIG IS STRONG. Both languages also were similar in conceptualizing the *chances* and *benefits* as *foods to eat.* In one case, the *protesting behavior* was represented as *jumping* in Turkish and *scratching* in Persian proverbs.

Table-34 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
PROTESTING IS JUMPING	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
BENEFITS ARE FOODS	UNGRATEFUL IS CAT
SUPERORDINATE IS BIG	USELESS IS CAT
STRONG IS BIG	INSUBORDINATE IS CAT
IMPORTANT IS BIG	PROUD IS CAT
WEAK IS SMALL	WEAK IS SMALL
UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL	SUBORDINATE IS SMALL
	SNEAKY IS MOUSE
	UNRELIABLE IS CAT
	IMPULSIVE IS CAT
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
	TROUBLE IS CAT

Both languages were also similar in some resemblance metaphors. Both languages used PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphors extensively; however, they varied partly in the sub metaphors of the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor. This variation provided the evidence for the culture-specific nature of many *cat* metaphors in both languages. Different and mostly negative connotations associated with *cat* in both languages generated diversity in resemblance metaphors. The attributes elicited from the metaphorical propositions, illustrated that in Turkish proverbs, *cat* metaphorically conceptualized the “ungrateful”, “useless”, “insubordinate”, “proud”, “weak”, “impulsive”, and “authoritative” person while in Persian proverbs, it conceptualized a “strong”, “insubordinate”, “lazy”, “weak”, “small”, “benefit-minded”, “valueless”, “wicked”, “woman” and “enemy”.

As it was mentioned before, in some cases, the instinctional or behavioral features of *cat* varied in terms of positivity or negativity depending on the animal it was metaphorically collocated with. For instance, in both languages, when *cat* was collocated with *lion,* it represented the image of a weak and

valueless, person. In such mappings, the size of the lion was highlighted to represent the *power* in contrast to small size of *cat*, which represented *weakness*. Similarly, in the collocation with *mouse*, -the classical famous collocation- it was both size and behavior of cat which was highlighted in order to represent a “strong” person, and its “authoritative” behavior. This collocation is also used to represent the “impulsive” behavior of *cat*. The collocation of *cat* and *dog* was observed only once in Persian proverbs where both animals metaphorically represented “valueless” person.

Cat, either metaphorically or in real sense, has been considered as an impious being in many cultures. Even in middle age European community, black cat was associated with witchcraft and witch women and both were sentenced to auto-da-fé (burning at the stake). The folk theory that *cat* is a wicked being was also observed as a common belief in both cultures.

This attitude towards *cat* was always interwoven with its black color. Therefore, the inseparable primary metaphor in relation to *cat,* was BLACK IS BAD. For both cultures *black cat* represented a sinister and evil being. Although, this is not mentioned directly in Turkish proverbs, they use it in their sayings, for instance, “*Aralarından kara kedi geçmiş”* which means that the relationship between two old friends is no longer in good terms because a black cat has passed between them.

In Persian proverbs, also *black cat* represented being sinister, for instance, in one case in Persian proverbs “*be doāye gorbe siyāhe bārun nemiyād”* (Literal meaning: it won’t rain because of black cat’s prayers, metaphorical interpretation: things don’t go on depending on the will of bad people). In this case, *black cat* stood for a sinister human not particularly a woman but in another instance -thought not openly hinting to the color - there was a metaphoric use of *cat* representing woman. In this anecdotal proverb, “*gorbe rā dame hejle bāyad košt”* (the cat should be killed before the wedding chamber) a *newly-wed bride* is conceptualized as a *cat* who should be taught good lesson right at the beginning.

Cat is one of the animals which was domesticated later to be kept as pet. However, unlike dog or other farm animals, it does not have much use except its use as mouse hunter, which is more classical than practical. Investigating the cat in Persian and Turkish language illustrated that, cat was not conceptualized in terms of its gender; therefore there are no separate lexeme to distinguish genders. In both languages, gender distinction was made by adding the “male” and “female” lexeme before the name of cat. Investigating both languages also illustrated that only Persian proverbs made sexist use of cat in order to represent woman in general sense and witch woman in particular.

4.2.6. Sheep Metaphors

Table-35 Cognitive Analysis of Sheep Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Ak koyunu gören içi dolu yağ sanir* LM: He who sees white sheep, considers it full of fat MI: one should not judge the people based on their appearance TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS GOOD IS WHITE metonymy: WHITE STANDS FOR RICHNESS	Sheep	Human Rich
2.	*Ak koyunun kara kuzusu da olur* LM: White sheep can have black sheep as well MI: good parents can have bad children too TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS GOOD IS WHITE BAD IS BLACK CHILD IS LAMB	Sheep	human

3.	*Bir koyundan iki post çıkmaz* LM: One sheep can't have two pelt MI: one should not expect people beyond their real capability TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFIT IS PELT	Sheep	Human
4.	*Buğday ile koyun, gerisi oyun* LM: Sheep and wheat, the rest is game MI: sheep and wheat are the fundamental needs of human TP: relation to people	WEALTH IS ANIMAL WEALTH IS FOOD	Sheep	Valuable property /wealth
5.	*Çobana verme kızı, ya koyuna götürür ya kuzu* LM: Don't make your girl marry a shepherd because he turns her to a shepherd too MI: be careful when you select the man as the future husband of your daughter TP: relation to people	WORKING HARD IS SHEEP GRAZING	Sheep grazing	Hard work
6.	*Çobansız koyunu kurt kapar* LM: A sheep without shepherd becomes hunted by wolf	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ENEMY IS WOLF SHEPHERDS ARE GUARDIANS	Sheep	Human

	MI: people without good guardian would be attacked by enemy TP: relation to people	SOCIETY IS HERD		
7.	*Her koyun kendi bacağından asılır* LM: Every sheep is hung by his own leg MI: everyone is responsible for his/her own deed TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BEING PUNISHED IS BEING HUNG	Sheep	Human
8.	*Koyunun bulunmadığı yerde keçiye Abdurrahman Çelebi derler* LM: Where the sheep is rare, the goat is called Abdulrahman MI: in the absence of valuable people, less significant people gain value TP: relation to people	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS VALUABLE IS SHEEP LESS VALUED IS GOAT	Sheep	Human Valuable
9.	*Kurt la koyun ,kılıç la oyun olmaz* LM:there can't be a game between wolf and sheep and no game with sword MI: don't take the serious dangers simple	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEAK IS SHEEP POWERFUL IS WOLF DANGEROUS IS WOLF	sheep	Human Weak

	TP: relation to people			
10.	*Sayılı koyunu kurt kapmaz* LM: The wolf does not snatch the sheep that are counted MI: keeping the record of your property keeps off pilfering TP: relation to people	WEALTH IS SHEEP ROBBER IS WOLF DANGEROUS IS WOLF CONTROLLING IS COUNTING	Sheep	Property/ wealth
11.	*Sürüden ayrılan koyunu kurt yer* LM: A sheep separated from herd gets eaten by wolf MI: someone who has no aid and ally gets defeated by enemy quickly TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS UNITED IS STRONG UNITED IS HERD VULNERABLE IS ALONE	Sheep	Human
12.	*Yabancı koyun kenara yatar* LM: Stranger sheep sleeps away from the herd MI: newcomers to an environment don't socialize quickly TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SOCIETY IS HERD	Sheep	Human

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.6.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Sheep Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

As illustrated in Table- 36, sheep (f=12) metaphorically represented *wealth* and *human*. The mapping between *sheep* and *human* has generated the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor. Conceptualizing the *wealth* as *sheep* has also generated the metaphor, WEALTH IS ANIMAL. *Sheep grazing* was also a phrasal metaphor derived from *sheep* metaphor and it was used only in one case to conceptualize *hard work.* The metaphor generated by this mapping was consequently, WORKING HARD IS GRAZING SHEEP.

Table-36 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Sheep Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	**Source domain**	
	Sheep	**Sheep grazing**
	human Wealth/property	hard work

Whenever *sheep* represented human, it represented either a “weak” or a “valuable” one. The concept of “weakness” was constructed when *sheep* and *wolf* were metaphorically collocated. The “vulnerability” of sheep was also structured when it was collocated with *goat* representing a “less valuable” human. *Sheep appearance* like *sheep pelt* and *fat* mainly represented *wealth*.

Table-37 Cognitive Analysis of Sheep Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors &Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Gusfand be fekre june ɣassāb be fekre donbe* LM: Sheep worries about its life, butcher worries about its fat MI: opportunist people	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEALTH IS FAT OPPORTUNIST IS	Sheep	Human

	think of their benefit even at the price of others' pain TP: behavior, relation to people	BUTCHER		
2.	*Gusfande košte az pust bāz kardan dardaš nayāyād* LM: dead sheep does not feel pain when its plet is peeled off MI: someone who has lost everything has no fear TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TORTURE IS PEELING OFF SKIN	Sheep	Human
3.	*Gusfand rā barāye koštan čāɣ konand* LM: sheep is brought up for being slaughtered MI: one invests only when one can get benefit TP: relation to people	WEALTH IS ANIMAL INVESTING IS FEEDING	Sheep	Property / Wealth
4.	*Kasi ke az gorg mitarse gusfand negah nemidāre* LM: One who is afraid of wolf, does not keep sheep MI: someone who is afraid of losing should not possess anything TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBER IS WOLF WEALTH IS SHEEP	Sheep	Wealth /property

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.6.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Sheep Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Similar to Turkish proverbs *sheep* (f=4) was used to conceptualize *human* and *wealth* generating the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and WEALTH IS SHEEP metaphors. In Persian proverbs, the metaphorical collocation of *sheep* and *butcher* represented the concept of *victim* and *opportunist*. *Sheep* and *wolf* also represented *wealth* and *robber* respectively.

Table-38 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Sheep Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Source domain
Target domain	**Sheep**
	human
	Wealth/property

4.2.6.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

The analysis of the primary metaphors elicited from both languages illustrated that both languages varied in the underlying primary metaphors. Though these primary metaphors were similarly used in other proverbs, they were not common in *sheep* metaphors.

Table-39 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BAD IS BLACK	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
	LESS VALUED IS BEING GOAT
GOOD IS WHITE	PUNISHED IS BEING HUNG
	DANGEROUS IS BEING WOLF
CONTROLLING IS COUNTING	POWERFUL IS BEING WOLF
	VULNERABLE IS BEING ALONE
	UNITED IS BEING HERD

	VALUABLE IS BEING SHEEP WEAK IS BEING SHEEP BENEFIT IS PELT DEFENDING IS JUMPING ENEMY IS WOLF PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBERY IS WOLF SHEPHERDS ARE GUARDIANS SOCIETY IS HERD WEALTH IS FOOD WEALTH IS ANIMAL WORKING HARD IS SHEEP GRAZING

However, both languages were similar in PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor and its sub metaphors as well as ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor. Similar to *dog* and *wolf* metaphors, in *sheep* metaphors, both languages conceptualized *society* as *herd*, wolf as the *robber* and *enemy,* and *sheep fat* and *pelt* as *wealth*.

Table-40 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
INVESTING IS FEEDING TORTURE IS PEELING OFF SKIN	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE OPPORTUNIST IS BUTCHERS PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBER IS WOLF WEALTH IS FAT WEALTH IS SHEEP

The BAD IS BLACK and GOOD IS WHITE primary metaphors were repeatedly observed in Turkish proverbs to metaphorically show *bad human* and *good human*. Both languages were similar in the connotations associated with sheep. For instance, both conceptualized sheep as “valuable” but “weak”. No negative attributes were associated with sheep in either language.

As one of the most useful barn animals, sheep was among the animals whose male, female and baby were conceptualized and lexicalized distinctly in both languages. For instance, in Persian “gusfand”, “guč” and “barreh”, are used to refer to female, male and baby sheep. The same also held true about Turkish language. In fact, Turkish language benefited from a uniquely comprehensive system of conceptualizing and naming domestic animals like sheep, goat and cow depending on their age. In other words, animals were given different names depending on their age. For instance, pregnant sheep is called “boğaz koyun”; one year old female lamb is called “şişek”; one year old male lamb is called “toklu” or “toğlu”; two year old female lamb is called; “bısaç”; two year old male lamb is called “hogeç”; more than two years old female lamb is called; “koyun”; and more than 2 years old male lamb is called “maç”.

This supports Nilsen’s (1996) that we make gender differences more about domestic animals because of their value for us in terms of their function. Of course, as it has been illustrated so far, this view has been varying from animal to animal and cannot be generalized about all animals and in all languages.

4.2.7. Camel Metaphors

Table-41 Cognitive Analysis of Camel Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Dande rā šotor šekast tāvānaš ra xar dād* LM: The camel broke the rib but the donkey got punished MI: one makes the mistake and other one gets punished	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG KICKING IS CAMEL BEHAVIOR CARELESS IS CAMEL	Camel	Human

	TP: behavior			
2.	*Marg šotorist ke dare xāneye har kasi mixābad* LM: death is a camel which sleeps before every door MI : death is inevitable TP:	CAMEL STANDS FOR DEATH	Camel	Death
3.	*Na šire šotor na didāre Arab* LM: neither camel milk, nor visiting Arab MI: some benefits are not worth thinking of TP: relation to people	BENEFITS ARE MILK TO EAT	Camel milk	Benefit
4.	*Šotor agar morde ham bāše pusteš bare xare* LM: The skin of even dead camel is loaded on a ass MI: significant people remain significant even if they die TP: appearance, size	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG	Camel	Human significant
5.	*Šotor be peyɣām ab nemixore* LM: Camel does not drink water by message MI: no one does a task reluctantly when the conditions are not ready	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS STUBBORN IS CAMEL	Camel	Human stubborn

	TP: behavior			
6.	*Šotor bozorge Zahmateš ham bozorge* LM: Camel is big, its trouble is also big MI: the bigger the wealth/property, the bigger the trouble TP: size	WEALTH IS CAMEL IMPORTANT IS BIG WEALTH IS TROUBLE	Camel	Wealth /property
7.	*Šotor ra gom karde donbale afsāreš migarde* LM: He has lost the camel and now is looking for its bridle MI: one should take precautionary sake to protect and control his/her property well before time TP: relation to people	WEALTH IS CAMEL CONTROL IS BRIDLE	Camel	Wealth/ property
8.	*Bayad ke Šotor galu bud* LM: one should be like camel throat MI: one should think seven times before talking TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS THINKING IS DIGESTING metonymy: THROAT STANDS FOR DIGESTING SYSTEM	Camel throat	Human mind
9.	*Šotor savari dolā dolā nemiše* LM: Camel ridding cannot be done while bending MI: one cannot undertake a	DOING BIG TASK IS CAMEL RIDING BENDING IS HIDING	Camel riding	Notable task

	notable task without drawing others' attention TP: relation to people			
10.	*Šotor xābidaš ham az xar istāde bozorgtare* LM: Even a lying camel is taller than a standing ass MI: an important person is important than unimportant person in any way TP: size, appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG	Camel	Human significant
11.	*Toxme mor$_{\gamma}$ dozd šotor dozd miše* LM: The egg robber becomes camel robber MI: someone who makes a small mistake has the potential to do bigger ones TP: size , relation to people	WEALTH IS CAMEL IMPORTANT IS BIG WEALTH IS FOOD	Camel	Wealth

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* γ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.7.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Camel Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Similar to *donkey* and *dog,* Persian proverbs make a distinction between the metaphorical use of *camel* (f=10) itself, on the one hand and its physical properties and attributes on the other hand. *Camel riding* was also a distinct source domain which represented the concept of *doing notable task.* This generated the metaphor DOING A NOTABLE TASK IS CAMEL RIDING

Table-42 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Camel Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain			
	Camel	**Camel appearance**		**Camel riding**
		Milk	**Pelt**	
	human wealth	Benefit	Wealth	Doing notable task

As illustrated in table- 42, *camel* itself was metaphorically used to conceptualize *human*, and *wealth*. These mappings generated the general metaphors PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, and WEALTH IS ANIMAL. The physical properties of *camel* like its *milk* and *pelt* also metaphorically represented human *benefit* and *wealth*. These mappings generated the metaphors like THINKING PROCESS IS DIGESTING, BENEFITS ARE CAMEL MILK, and WEALTH IS CAMEL PELT. In Persian proverbs, there are two instances of metonymies; CAMEL STANDS FOR DEATH, TASK and THROAT STANDS FOR DIGESTING.

In addition to the above-mentioned metaphors, there was also an instance of ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor. The analysis of the gathered data also illustrated that *camel* in Persian proverbs, was primarily conceptualized in terms of its size and then its relation to human as a beneficial beast of burden. In other words, the size and the function of camel were more highlighted than other thematic parts proposed by Wierzbicka (1985). As it was mentioned at the beginning of the methodology section, many of the Persian proverbs including *camel* metaphors were eliminated from the Persian proverbs inventory because they were not in line with the first criterion of selecting proverbs (a proverb must be a statement). In most of the eliminated camel metaphors, the highlighted theme was the appearance of the camel, which was sarcastically mapped on human behavior, specially its neck and legs.

Table-43 Cognitive Analysis of Camel Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Cahile söz anlatmak, deveye hendek atlatmaktan zordur* LM: Teaching the ignorant is harder than making camel jump over the trench MI: teaching an ignorant person is impossible TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TEACHING IS TAMING	Camel behavior	Human Stubborn
2.	*Çıngıraklı deve kayb olmaz* LM: a camel with bell never gets lost. MI: one who is capable of self-assertion never gets ignored. TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SELF-ASSERTION IS A RINGING BELL IMPORTANT IS BIG FORGOTTEN IS LOST	Camel	Human Self-asserter
3.	*Deve boynuz ararken kulaktan olmuş* LM: Camel has lost its ear while looking for horn MI: being greedy for more make you lose the one you have at hand TP: behavior	ANIMAL ARE PEOPLE (personification) GREEDY IS ANIMAL	Camel	Human Greedy
4.	*Deveden büyük fil var* LM: Elephant is bigger than	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG	Camel	Human Important

	camel MI: there is always an upper hand TP: size			
5	*Deveyi yardan uçuran bir tutam ottur* LM: It is a handful of grass which makes the camel fall from cliff MI: sometimes small benefits may cost a lot TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TEMPTATIONS ARE FOOD BAD IS DOWN FALLING IS LOSING	Camel	Human Greedy

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.7.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Camel Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Similar to Persian proverbs, *camel* metaphors (f=5) in Turkish proverbs were metaphorically used to conceptualize only *human.* The behavior of camel represented a “greedy” and “ignorant” person generating the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor. There was also one instance of ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor.

Table-44 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Camel Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	**Source domain** **Camel**
Human	

4.2.7.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Investigating both languages in terms of the primary, complex and resemblance metaphors, illustrated some patterns of variations and commonality. Similar to other animal proverbs, IMPORTANT IS BIG was the first primary metaphor common in *camel* metaphors. Animal size was metaphorically used to conceptualize the notion of *significance*. In Persian proverbs, this happened through the dual comparisons between *camel* and *donkey,* the former representing *significanc*e and the latter representing *insignificance*. The same dual comparisons were observed in Turkish proverbs between *camel* and *elephant*, but here, the former represented *insignificance* and the latter represented *significance*.

Table-45 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BENEFITS ARE MILK TO EAT	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
IMPORTANT IS BIG	CARELESS IS CAMEL
CONTROL IS BRIDLE	BEING STUBBORN IS CAMEL
IMPOSING IS PUSHING	DEATH IS CAMEL
IMPORTANT IS SMALL	DOING BIG TASK IS RIDING CAMEL
THINKING IS DIGESTING	KICKING IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR
HIDING IS BENDING	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
	TROUBLE IS WEALTH
	WEALTH IS CAMEL
	WEALTH IS EGG

However, there were some instances in both languages where *insignificance* was not understood and conceptualized in terms of *smallness,* though this contradicted the IMPORTANT IS BIG primary metaphor. There was the IMPORTANT IS SMALL metaphor in Persian proverbs. In both languages, *temptations* and *benefits* were conceptualized as *foods*. The concept of *controlling* was also repeatedly conceptualized as *bridle* in both languages.

Table-46 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BAD IS DOWN	ANIMAL ARE PEOPLE
FORGOTTEN IS LOST	GREEDY IS ANIMAL
BIG IS IMPORTANT	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
LOSING IS FALLING	SELF-ASSERTION IS A RINGING BELL
TEMPTATIONS ARE FOOD TO EAT	TEACHING IS TAMING

Similar to *dog* metaphors, *thinking* was conceptualized as *digesting system* in camel metaphors. The mapping was made between *human mind* and *camel throat* and its function in digesting. In this case the folk knowledge was that as a ruminant animal camel can swallow food quickly but later it brings the food back up three times and masticates it (chew) again. This long circle of digesting food was metaphorically used to convey that thinking had to be done for a long time before saying something. Among the primary metaphors contributing to the formation of camel metaphors in Turkish proverbs, was the LOSING IS FALLING metaphor where *losing* was understood in terms of *falling* and *being forgotten* in terms of *being lost*.

Investigating the Persian and Turkish proverbs illustrated that both languages varied in terms of the positive or negative connotation they ascribed to *camel*. While in Turkish proverbs, camel was represented as “greedy” “ignorant”, and “hard-to-teach” people, in Persian proverbs, camel was associated with the concepts like “careless” and “significant” human. The different association attributed to camel therefore resulted in generation of various resemblance metaphors, for instance, BEING GREEDY IS CAMEL BEHAVIOR and BEING IGNORANT IS CAMEL BEHAVIOR metaphors in Turkish proverbs. Although, both languages were similar in the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphors, in one Persian proverb *camel* conceptualized the concept of *death* which sleeps before any door. This mapping generated the metaphor DEATH IS CAMEL.

Similar to *horse* and *donkey*, neither Persian nor Turkish made gender distinction while conceptualizing camel. However, in Persian proverbs there was an instance of talking about camel milk, which was a peculiarity of female camel. Except this case, there was no open mention of gender or any separate lexeme to refer to female or male camel. Turkish proverbs also used the generic term “deve” (camel) even though there are the terms “besrek” for male camel and “maya” for female camel in Turkish language. No instances of sexist use of camel were observed in any of the languages.

4.2.8. Fish Metaphors

Table-47 Cognitive Analysis of Fish Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Balık ağa girdikten sonra aklı başına gelir* LM: Fish becomes wise after getting trapped MI: we learn after we make mistakes TP: relation to people	ANIMAL ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE FISH METONYMY: FISH STANDS FOR HUMAN MAKING MISTAKE IS FALLING IN TRAP	Fish	Human
2.	*Balık baştan avlanır* LM: Fish is captured through its head MI: to achieve something you must get in contact with the person highest in rank TP: relation to people	PURPOSES ARE FISH ACHIEVING IS HUNTING HEAD OF SOCIETY IS THE FISH HEAD METONYMY: FISH STANDS FOR SOCIETY	Fish	Head of society
3.	*Balık baştan kokar*	SOCIETY IS FISH	Fish head	Head of society

	LM: The fish starts getting rotten from its head MI: if the head of a society is corrupted, whole the society turns corrupted TP: relation to people	CORRUPTED SOCIETY IS CORRUPTED FISH HEAD OF SOCIETY IS THE FISH HEAD METONYMY: FISH STANDS FOR SOCIETY		
4.	*Büyük balık, küçük balığı yutar* LM: Big fish eats the small fish MI: big powers surmount the weak ones TP: behavior, size	PEOPLE ARE FISH WEAK IS SMALL POWERFUL IS BIG	Fish	Human
5.	*Cambaz ipte, balık dipte gerek* LM: Stunt should be on the rope and the fish should be in the sea MI: one should do the things which are the requirement of the job TP: habitat	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Fish	Human
6.	*İyilik et, denize at, balık bilmezse Hâlik bilir* LM: Do goodness and throw it in the sea, if the fish does not know , God does MI: don't expect the people to know the value of your goodness	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) FORGETTING IS THROWING AWAY	Fish	Human

	TP: ?			
7.	*Kaçan balık büyük olur* LM: The slipping fish is big MI: a wasted chance always seems too big TP: size, relation to people	CHANCES ARE FISH metonymy: FISH STANDS FOR CHANCE	Fish	Chance
8.	*Küçük suda büyük balık olmaz* LM: There is no big fish in small water MI: there are no big chances in small places TP: relation to people	CHANCES ARE FISH SOCIETY IS SEA SMALL SOCIETY IS SMALL SEA metonymy: FISH STANDS FOR CHANCE	Fish	Chance

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

Table-48 Cognitive Analysis of Fish Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1	*Hezār ɣurbāɣe jāye ye māhi ro nemigire* LM: Thousands of frogs can't take the place of one fish MI: one valuable person is better than many valueless people TP: size , relation to people	PEOPLE ARE FISH VALUABLE IS FISH FROG IS VALUELESS IMPORTANT IS BIG	Fish	Human Valuable
2.				

	Hozi ke māhi nadāre ɣurbāɣe sālāre LM: In the pool which has no fish, frog becomes leader MI: in the absence of sufficient people valueless people take the authority TP: relation to people, size	PEOPLE ARE FISH ANIMAL ARE PEOPLE (personification) IMPORTANT IS BIG	Fish	Human Valuable
3.	*Māhi az sar gande gardad ney ze dom* LM: fish gets rotten from head MI: it is the head of a community which are responsible for the corruption of the community TP: relation to people	SOCIETY IS SEA METONYMY: PART STANDS FOR WHOLE FISH STANDS FOR SEA CORRUPTED SOCIETY IS CORRUPTED FISH HEAD OF SOCIETY IS THE FISH HEAD	Fish	society
4.	*Māhi ro har vaɣt az āb begiri tāzast* LM: Fish is fresh whenever you catch it MI: it is never late to start TP: relation to people	CHANCES ARE FISH TO CATCH GRASPING A CHANCE IS HUNTING A FISH CHANCE IS FISH	Fish	Chance
5.	*Māhiye bozorg māhiye kuchak rā mixore* LM: Big fish eats the small one MI: strong people make the smaller ones victim	PEOPLE ARE FISH IMPORTANT IS BIG BIG IS POWERFUL CONQUERING IS EATING	Fish	Human

	TP: size, behavior			
6.	*Māhi māhiyo mixore, māhixār har do ro* LM: fish eats fish and pelican eats them both MI: there is always an upper hand TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE FISH IMPORTANT IS BIG OPPORTUNITIES ARE FISH TO CATCH	Fish	Human
7.	*Ze abe xord Māhiye xord xizad, nahang ān beh ke bā daryā xizad* LM: From small lake only small fishes are caught, the whale should challenge the sea MI: big chances are found only in big environments TP: size	CHANCES ARE FISH SMALL SOCIETY IS SMALL SEA IMPORTANT IS BIG SOCIETY IS SEA CHANCES ARE FISH TO HUNT metonymy: FISH STANDS FOR CHANCE	Fish	Chance

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.8.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Fish Metaphors in Turkish and Persian Proverbs

The results of the analyses revealed similarities between fish in both Persian (f=7) and Turkish proverbial metaphors (f=8). In both languages, *fish* metaphorically conceptualized *human* and *chance*. Such mapping in both languages generated the PEOPLE ARE FISH and CHANCES ARE FISH metaphors. PEOPLE ARE FISH can be considered as the sub metaphor of the general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. The reason for such a classification was that though fish, birds, and mammals were different life forms, they all

were ranked under the folk kingdom of animal. That is why in this study PEOPLE ARE FISH and PEOPLE ARE BIRDS were also considered as PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS.

Table-49 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Fish Metaphors in Turkish and Persian Proverbs

	Source domain
Target domain	**Fish**
	Human
	Chance

Investigating *fish* metaphors in both languages in terms of the thematic parts also illustrated that both languages were similar in conceptualizing the *fish* first in terms of its relation to human as a beneficial animal in terms of edibility, and then its appearance as slippery skinned being.

4.2.8.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

The analysis of the Persian and Turkish proverbs in terms of their primary, complex and resemblance metaphors illustrated that both languages were more similar in the underlying complex and resemblance metaphors. Similar to the previous animal metaphors, IMPORTANT IS BIG metaphor was the common primary metaphor between Persian and Turkish proverbs. In addition to *importance*, in Turkish proverbs, the concept of *power* was also structured in terms of size. Consequently, the concept of *weakness* was also represented in terms of *smallness.*

Table-50 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
POWERFUL IS BIG	ANIMALS ARE ANIMALS (FISH)
IMPORTANT IS BIG	CHANCES ARE FISH
FORGETTING IS THROWING AWAY	CORRUPTED SOCIETY IS CORRUPTED FISH
WEAK IS SMALL	GRASPING A CHANCE IS HUNTING A FISH
	HEAD OF SOCIETY IS FISH HEAD
	MAKING MISTAKE IS FALLING IN TRAP
	PEOPLE ARE FISH
	SMALL SOCIETY IS SMALL SEA
	SOCIETY IS FISH
	SOCIETY IS SEA

One point worthy to mention is that fish metaphors were mostly similar between both languages in terms of the conceptualized target domains (human and opportunity). This similarity was not confined to the conceptual level; the linguistic expressions used to represent these metaphors were also common. For instance, "*fish gets rotten from head",* and "*there is no big fish is small waters".* In these cases, both languages shared the same underlying conceptual metaphors; SOCIETY IS SEA, CHANCES ARE FISH, GRASPING A CHANCE IS HUNTING A FISH. The noteworthy point between both languages was the mapping of physical properties of fish; that is its *slippery* skin on the *quick-fading* nature of chances.

Table-51 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
IMPORTANT IS BIG	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
CONQUERING IS EATING	POWERFUL IS BIG
	VALUABLE IS FISH
	VALUELESS IS FROG
	CHANCES ARE FISH

	CORRUPTED SOCIETY IS CORRUPTED FISH
	GRASPING A CHANCE IS HUNTING A FISH
	HEAD OF THE SOCIETY IS THE FISH HEAD
	CHANCES ARE FISH TO CATCH
	PEOPLE ARE FISH
	SMALL SOCIETY IS SMALL SEA
	SOCIETY IS SEA
	SOCIETY IS FISH

Analyzing the metaphors in both languages in terms of the positive or negative attributes ascribed to *fish,* illustrated that both languages ascribed only positive connotation to fish. In both languages, "value" was the common semantic component of fish. In those cases where there was a mapping between *human* and *fish*, the size and the relation of fish to human (as food) was highlighted in order to conceptualize *human value*. Similar to previous animal metaphors, representing human value was actualized through dual comparisons between *fish* and another smaller or bigger animal which represented insignificance or significance.

In case of Persian proverbs, whenever fish was collocated with *frog*, it represented *value,* because its size is smaller than fish and it has no benefit for human as fish does in terms of edibility. In *fish* and *frog* collocations *fish* always represented significance and *frog* represented insignificance, while in other setting of dual collocations *fish* was contrasted to *whale* and *Pelican*. In these two cases, the concept of *power* was structured through this comparison. *Pelican* and *Whale* represented the powerful people and *fish* the weaker one. In these cases, it was the size which was highlighted. The primary metaphors contributing to these proverbs were BIG IS IMPORTANT and POWERFUL IS BIG. However, in Turkish proverbs, in order to show these power relations, the comparison was made between a small fish and a big fish.

Both languages were also similar in conceptualizing the SOCIETY as sea in which different types of human and chances existed. This generated the

SOCIETY IS SEA metaphor. SOCIETY was also represented as *fish* in which the *head of society* was conceptualized as *fish head*. The common folk belief in both languages was that it was the authorities of a society, which spread the corruption in a society.

Examining the fish in both languages also revealed that there were no distinct lexemes to refer to “female” and “male” fish neither in Persian, nor in Turkish. This was grounded in the fact that as a food resource for human, the gender of the fish made no difference in its function.

4.2.9. Pigeon Metaphors

Table-52 Cognitive Analysis of Pigeon Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Ava gelmez kuş olmaz, başa gelmez iş olmaz* LM: There is no bird which could not be trapped , there is no head which would be trouble-free MI: troubles may happen to every one TP: relation to people	metonymy: PIGEON STANDS FOR HUMAN	Pigeon	Human
2.	*Garip kuşun yuvasını Allah yapar* LM: God builds the nest of stranger bird MI: god helps a foreigner make his/her life TP: habitat, relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	pigeon	Human

3.	*Gözü tanede olan kuşun ayağı tuzaktan kurtulamaz* LM: A bird looking for seed can't avoid traps MI: someone who follows a dream should be ready to pay the price TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS AMBITIONS ARE SEEDS APPEALING DESIRES ARE TRAPS TO FALL IN	pigeon	Human ambitious
4.	*Her kuşun eti yenmez* LM: Not every bird's flesh is edible MI: some people are not meant to give benefit rather be given TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFITS ARE PIGEON MEAT	Pigeon meat	Benefit
5.	*Kanatsız kuş uçmaz* LM: Bird can't fly without wing MI: in order to achieve your purpose you must have all what makes it possible TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS AIDS ARE WINGS PURPOSES ARE DESTINATION	pigeon	Human
6	*Kuşa süt nasip olsa anasından olurdu* LM: If milk was the aliment of the bird, it would have had it from its mother MI: some dreams are impossible to reach	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFITS ARE MILK IMPOSSIBLE DREAMS ARE PIGEON MILK	Pigeon milk	Impossible dreams

	TP: relation to people				
7.	*Tek kanatla kuş uçmaz* L LM: No bird flies with one wing no MI: one can undertake task wiwithhout help TP: appearance	DOING A TASK IS FLYING PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS AIDS ARE WINGS		pigeon	Task
8.	*Yuvayı yapan da dişi kuşdur yuvayı bozan da* LM: It is the female bird which both builds and destroy the home MI: it is the woman who builds or ruins the common life TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WOMAN IS PIGEON	Female pigeon		Human Destructive/ constructive

4.2.9.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Pigeon Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

According to the anlyses in Turkish proverbs, pigeon (f=8) was metaphorically used to represent *human*, generating the PEOPE ARE PIGEON metaphor. However, other metaphors derived from it were metaphorically used to conceptualize different concepts. For instance, *pigeon flesh* represented the *benefit,* and *pigeon milk* metaphorically conceptualized the *impossible dreams*.

Table-53 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Pigeon Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain		
	Pigeon	**Pigeon milk**	**Pigeon flesh**
	Human Task	Impossible dreams	Benefits

The mapping between various physical properties of pigeon generated some resemblance metaphors such as BENEFITS ARE BIRD FLESH, and IMPOSSIBLE DREAMS ARE BIRD MILK. In one case, the mapping was specifically between *female pigeon* and *woman.*

Table-54 Cognitive Analysis of Pigeon Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Kaftar sannāri yā karim nemixune* LM: A cheap pigeon can't sing MI: one can't expect beyond one's capabilities TP:?	BIRDS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PIGEON STANDS FOR HUMAN	Pigeon	Human
2.	*Kabutar bā kabutar bāz bā bāz, konad hamjens bā hamjens parvāz* LM: Bird with bird, eagle with eagle, those of the same class fly together MI: people of the same personality usually socialize with each other	SOCIALIZING IS FLYING PIGEON STANDS FOR HUMAN		

	TP: behavior

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TM: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.9.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Pigeon Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Similar to other animal domains, pigeon was used metaphorically to represent *human*. In one case, there was an instance of personification or BIRDS ARE PEOPLE metaphor. There was only one complex metaphor elicited from Persian proverbs in which *socializing* was structured in terms of *flying* generating the complex metaphor SOCIALIZING IS FLYING.

4.2.9.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Analyzing the proverbs of both languages in terms of the primary, complex and resemblance metaphors illustrated no patterns of similarity between both languages. There were also two instances of prmary metaphors observed in Turkish proverbs where *purposes* were defined in terms of *destinations.* In another case, *appealing deasires* were defined as *traps to fall* in.

Table- 55 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
PURPOSES ARE DESTINATION AMBITIONS ARE SEEDS TO EAT APPEALING DESIRES ARE TRAPS TO FALL IN	AIDS ARE WINGS AMBITIONS ARE SEEDS PIGEON IS WOMAN PIGEON IS BEING WOMAN BENEFITS ARE PIGEON MEAT BENEFITS ARE MILK

DOING A TASK IS FLYING
IMPOSSIBLE DREAMS ARE PIGEON MILK
PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS (BIRDS)

As illustrated in Table- 55, similar to previous proverbs where *temptations* and *benefits* were conceptualized as *food*, *ambitions* were also conceptualized as *foods* in *pigeon* metaphors. Investigating the proverbs in both languages illustrated that Persian proverbs did not ascribe either negative or positive attributes to pigeon. *Pigeon*, in one case in Turkish proverbs was associated with "ambitious" human. In another instance where the mapping was specifically between *woman* and *female pigeon*, woman was ascribed simultaneously both positive and negative role of being "destructive" and "constructive" in common life.

Neither of the languages used a distinct lexeme to refer to male and female pigeon. Similar to some other animals discussed so far, they also used the terms "male" and "female" to make gender distinction.

In none of the languages, *pigeon* was compared to any other animal; however, there was recurring mention of metaphorical collocation of pigeon with its n*est, flesh, wing, milk, seed,* and *trap*. Each one of these properties of *pigeon* was used to conceptualize a certain notion, which was discussed above.

4.2.10. Mouse Metaphors

Table-56 Cognitive Analysis of Mouse Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*mušo gorbe čon be ham sāzand vāy be hāle dokāne baɣāl* LM: From the peace	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) CAT STANDS FOR HUMAN	Mouse	Human robber

	between cat and mouse, poor the grocer's shop MI: the unity between two enemies is dangerous for those who have something to lose TP: behavior	ROBBER IS CAT ROBBER IS MOUSE		
2.	*Divar muš dāre, muš ham guš dāre* LM: the wall has mouse and the mouse had ears MI: one should not talk the secrets loudly TP:	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRYPTIC IS MOUSE	Mouse	Human (cryptic /nosy)
3.	*Gorbe baraye rezāye xodā muš nemigire* LM: the cat does not hunt mouse for God's sake MI: no one does a favor without expecting to be repaid TP: ?	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) HUNTER IS CAT BENEFITS ARE MOUSE	Mouse	Human
4.	*Muš ke ajaleš reside bāše sare gorbaro mixārune* LM: a mouse whose end has come scratches the cat's head MI: someone who looks for trouble, makes the biggest mistake possible TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEAK IS SMALL	Mouse	Human

5	*Muše zende behtar az gorbeye mordast* LM: an alive mouse is better than a dead cat MI: a small but useful thing is better than big but useless thing TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS SMALL	Moue	Human
6.	*Sad muš rā yek gorbe kāfist* LM: one cat suffices a hundred mice MI: one single strong person is enough to encounter many weak ones TP: size	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG WEAK IS MOUSE STRONG IS CAT	Mouse	Weak Human

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.10.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Mouse Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

As illustrated above, *Mouse* in Persian proverbial metaphors was used to conceptualize *human.* This mapping resulted in the generation of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor.

Table-57 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Mouse Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain Mouse
	Human

Size, appearance, and behavior of mouse were metaphorically used to represent human behavior and character. For instance, the mapping between *mouse size* and *human character* generated the sub metaphors of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS such as BEING WEAK IS BEING MOUSE. The mapping between mouse behavior and human behavior also generated the metaphor BEING CRIMINAL IS BEING MOUSE, BEING CRYPTIC IS BEING MOUSE and ROBBERY IS MOUSE BEHAVIOR. In addition to the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor, there were also some instances of anthropomorphization or ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor.

Table-58 Cognitive Analysis of Mouse Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain	
1.	*Eceli gelen fare kedi taşağı kaşır* LM: a mouse whose end has come scratches the cat's head MI: someone who looks for trouble, makes the biggest mistake possible TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (PERSONIFICATION) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG TROUBLE IS CAT SMALL IS WEAK	mouse	Human	
2.	*Kedinin usluluğu siçan gorunceye kadar* LM: cat is polite till it sees	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)	Mouse	Human sneaky	

	the mouse MI: a person with impulsive character loses temper as soon as something irritates him/her TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPULSIVE IS CAT SNEAKY IS MOUSE		
3.	*Kedisiz evde siçan terennümü olur* LM: Mouse melody goes on in a cat-free house MI: the absence of superior gives a chance to subordinates TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG BEING SUBORDINATE IS BEING SMALL	Mouse	Human Inferior
4.	*Sıçan çıktığı deliği bilir* LM: The mouse knows the hole it has come out MI: a criminal person knows how and where to escape when the problem rises TP: habitat	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRIMINAL IS MOUSE CRYPTIC IS MOUSE	Mouse	Human Criminals
5.	*Sıçan geçer yol olur* LM: The mouse passes, it becomes a road. MI: an criminal goes a wrong way and that way becomes popular TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRIMINAL IS MOUSE CRYPTIC IS MOUSE	Mouse	Human Criminals

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.10.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Mouse Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

In Turkish proverbial metaphors, *mouse* (f=5) was used to conceptualize various aspects of human behavior and character. This mapping generated the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor and its sub metaphors BEING CRIMINAL IS BEING MOUSE, BEING CRYPTIC IS BEING MOUSE, BEING SNEAKY IS BEING MOUSE, and BEING WEAK IS BEING MOUSE. Similar to Persian proverbs there were also instances of personification or ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor.

Table-59 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Mouse Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	**Source domain** **Mouse**
Human	

4.2.10.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Similar to previous animal metaphors, IMPORTANT IS BIG also contributed to the formation and understanding of *mouse* metaphors. This primary metaphor, which was similar in both Persian and Turkish proverbs, in fact was a significant part of *mouse* metaphors. This was because in both languages mouse was mainly collocated with *cat.* Through this metaphorical collocation, *cat* size represented *significance* and *power* and *mouse* size represented *weakness* and *insignificance.* In one case in Persian language, the IMPORTANT IS SMALL metaphor was the contributing primary metaphor rather than IMPORTANT IS BIG. In this case, an alive but small *mouse* metaphorically represented *importance* versus a big but dead *cat,* which conceptualized *insignificance*.

Table-60 Primary,Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BIG IS IMPORTANT	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
IMPORTANT IS SMALL	CRYPTIC IS MOUSE
WEAK IS SMALL	HUNTER IS CAT
	STRONG IS CAT
	WEAK IS MOUSE
	BENEFITS ARE MOUSE TO HUNT
	TROUBLE IS CAT
	ROBBER IS CAT
	ROBBER IS MOUSE

Both Persian and Turkish proverbs ascribed negative attributes to mouse. These negative attributes were elicited from the resemblance metaphors in both languages. For instance, in Persian proverbs *mouse* represented “weak”, “cryptic”, “robber”, and “insignificant” person.

Table-61 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
IMPORTANT IS BIG	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
	CRIMINAL IS MOUSE
	CRYPTIC IS MOUSE
	IMPULSIVE IS CAT
	WEAK IS SMALL
	SUBORDINATE IS SMALL
	SNEAKY IS MOUSE
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
	TROUBLE IS CAT

In Turkish proverbs too, *mouse* was ascribed negative attributes, for instance, “cryptic”, “criminal”, “weak”, “subordinate” and “sneaky”. In general, in both languages, *mouse* was conceptualized in terms of its size, behavior and habitat. The underground habitat of *mouse* as well as

its creepy behavior was metaphorically used to conceptualize *criminals* and *outlaw.* In both languages, only the basic version of great chain of being model was adopted. Neither of the languages used a separate lexeme for making a distinction between male and female mouse and consequently gender distinction had no metaphorical use.

4.2.11. Snake Metaphors

Table-62 Cognitive Analysis of Snake Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Be zabune xoš mār az lune birun miyād* LM: With kind words even the snake comes out of the whole MI: talking kindly can even convince the most dangerous enemies TP: behavior, habitat	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CONVINCING IS TAKING OUT OF HOME INFLEXIBLE IS SNAKE	Snake	Human inflexible
2.	*Hamaro mar migaze māro xarčosune* LM: Everyone is bitten by snake, we are stung by stinkbug MI: some people cope with the people/problems which are worth of coping, but some cope with problems/people which are just waste of time TP: relation to people, behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG SIGNIFICANT IS SNAKE TROUBLES ARE SNAKE BITE	Snake	human Significant

3.	*Mār az pune badeš miyad joloye dareš sabz miše* LM: Snake hates the mint and it grows before its door MI: people run into someone whom they hate TP: habitat	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)	Snake	Human
4.	*Mār har kojā kaj bere tu luneye xodeš rāst mire* LM: snake might enter everywhere bending, but it enters its own nest straight MI: one can be dishonest outside but at home one should be honest TP: behavior, habitat	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS HONESTY IS STRAIGHT DISHONEST IS SNAKE BENDED IS BAD STRAIGHT IS GOOD	Snake Appearance	Human
5.	*Mār puste xodešo vel mikone vali xuye xodešo vel nemikone* LM: Snake might leave its skin but not its nature MI: bad nature never changes TP: behavior, relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CHARACTER IS SKIN ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL DANGEROUS IS BEING	Snake	Human bad-natured
6.	*Mārgazide az rismāne siyāho sefid mitarse* LM: The one bitten by snake fears from black	BAD EXPERIENCE IS SNAKE BITE BAD IS BLACK	Snake bite	Bad experience

	and white rope MI: someone who has had bad experience avoids the similar situation (lips burnt on broth now blows on cold water) TP: behavior			
7.	*Mārgir ra axareš mār mikoše* LM: Snake hunter finally gets killed by snake MI: whoever gets involved in troublesome things will be the victim of it TP: relation to people	FOLLOWING BIG AMBITIONS IS FOLLOWING SNAKE	Snake	Ambition
8.	*Mār tā rāst naše tuye lunaš nemire* LM: Snake can't enter his nest until it becomes straight MI: dishonesty is not welcome at home TP: appearance, habitat	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS HONESTY IS STRAIGHT DISHONEST IS SNAKE	Snake	Human

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.11.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Snake Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Investigating the Persian proverbs illustrated that s*nake (*f=8) was one of the animal domains which conceptualized *human* and *big desires.* The mapping between these domains and *snake* generated the general metaphor PEOPLE

ARE ANIMALS and AMBITIONS ARE SNAKES metaphors. *Snakebite* was also used distinctly to represent *bad experiences* and *trouble*. This generated the BAD EXPERIENCES ARE SNAKE BITES. There were also instances of personification or ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor in Persian proverbs.

Table-63 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Snake Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Source domain			
Target domain	**Snake**	**Snake head**	**Snake body**	**Snake bite**
	human	trouble	honesty	bad experience

In one case there was an instance of conceptualizing *honesty* in terms of the *straightness of snake body.* This generated the primary metaphor HONESTY IS STRAIGHT and accordingly its counter proposition that DISHONESTY IS BENT.

Tabl3-64 Cognitive Analysis of Snake Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Bana dokunmayan yılan bin yaşasın* LM: Long live the snake which doesn't bite me MI: the dangerous person who is not harm me does not bother me TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS HARM IS SNAKE BITE HARMFUL IS SNAKE	Snake	Human Dangerous / enemy
2.	*Denize düşen yılana sarilir* LM: He who falls in the sea embraces the serpent	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TRUSTING IS EMBRACING	Snake	Human Unreliable

	MI: in helpless situations, one even asks for help from the most unreliable and dangerous people TP: relation to people	UNRELIABLE IS SNAKE		
3.	*Her deliğe elini sokma, ya yılan çıkar ya çıyan* LM: Don't thrust your hand in any hole, either serpent comes out or centipede MI: don't do harmful curiosity TP: relation to people	DANGERS ARE ANIMALS DANGER IS SNAKE WANTING IS STRETCHING HAND	Snake	Dangerous
4.	*Yılana yumuşaktır diye el sunma* LM: Don't offer your hand to serpent because it appears soft MI: Do not let the soft appearance of some people make you trust them. TP: appearance, relation to people	DANGERS ARE ANIMALS DANGER IS SNAKE OFFERING FRIENDSHIP IS OFFERING HAND	Snake	Human Deceptive
5.	*Yılanın başı küçükken ezilmeli* LM: Snake's head should be smashed while it is small MI: an enemy or danger should be eradicated as it is small	TROUBLES ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG CONTROLLABLE IS SMALL CONTROLLING IS SMASHING	Snake head	Trouble

	TP: appearance, relation to people	

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.11.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Snake Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

In the limited instances of metaphorical use of *snake,* this animal conceptualized the notions like *human*, *troubles* and *dangers.* The result of such mappings was PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and its sub-metaphor PEOPLE ARE SNAKE metaphor. The mapping between snake and dangers also generated the DANGERS ARE SNAKES metaphors. There was also an instance of conceptualizing *troubles* in terms of *snakebites*, which generated the metaphor TROUBLES ARE ANIMALS, and accordingly TROUBLES ARE SNAKES. No instances of personification were observed in Turkish proverbs containing *snake* metaphors.

Table-65 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Snake Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain	
Target domain	**Snake**	**Snake bite**
	Human Danger	trouble

4.2.11.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Analyzing the snake metaphors in both languages also illustrated that both languages were more similar in complex and resemblance metaphors. As it was mentioned before, both languages were similar in PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphors while in Turkish proverbs, *trouble* was structured in terms of *snakehead,* which should be smashed while it is small. In Persian proverbs

bad experience was conceptualized as *snakebite*. This was done through an image-schematic metaphor where a black and white rope was conceptualized as a snake. The primary metaphor contributing to the formation of this proverb was BLACK IS BAD.

Table-66 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BENDED IS BAD	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
BAD IS BLACK	AMBITIONS ARE SNAKES
ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL	BAD EXPERIENCE IS SNAKE BITE
HONESTY IS STRAIGHT	DANGER IS SNAKE
STRAIGHT IS GOOD	INFLEXIBLE IS SNAKE
	CHARACTER IS SKIN
	CONVINCING IS TAKING OUT OF HOME
	DISHONEST IS SNAKE
	FOLLOWING BIG AMBITIONS IS FOLLOWING SNAKE
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
	SIGNIFICANT IS SNAKE
	TROUBLES ARE SNAKE BITE

In addition, in Persian proverbs *following big desires* was also represented as *following snakes*, which might finally cost one's life. In Persian proverbs, the appearance of the snake as a creature with long curving body and its habitat were highlighted. In Persian proverbs, *snake* in general represented a "dishonest" person and this dishonesty was shown through curling its body, however, there was a contradictory instance in Persian proverbs where snake also represented "honesty". For instance, "*mār tā rāst naše tuye lunaš nemire"* (literal meaning: snake can't enter his nest until it becomes straight, metaphorical interpretation: one should be honest with his/her own family). "*mār har kojā kaj bere tu luneye xodeš rāst mire"* (literal meaning, snake might enter everywhere bending, but it enters its own nest straight, metaphorical interpretation: one might be dishonest with others but it is better to be honest with family). In these proverbs, *honesty* was conceptualized in terms of the

straightness of snake body. Such mapping between *honesty* and straightness of *snake* body shape generated the metaphor HONESTY IS STRAIGHT and DISHONESTY IS BENDED. The primary metaphors contributing to these proverbs were GOOD IS STRAIGHT, AND BAD IS BENDED.

Table-67 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
CONTROLLABLE IS BEING SMALL	CONTROLLABLE IS SMALL
CONTROLLING IS SMASHING	DANGER IS SNAKE
IMPORTANT IS BIG	DANGERS ARE ANIMALS
TRUSTING IS EMBRACING	HARM IS SNAKE BITE
WANTING IS STRETCHING HAND	HARMFUL IS SNAKE
	OFFERING FRIENDSHIP IS OFFERING HAND
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

In Turkish proverbs, *snake* predominantly represented an “unreliable” person who cannot be a friend. To represent this concept, the soft appearance of snake was compared to its fatal instinctional behavior. The primary metaphor contributing to the formation of this proverb was OFFERING FRIENDSHIP IS OFFERING HAND in which *offering friendship* was structured in terms of *stretching hand. Snakehead* also metaphorically represented *trouble* as well. This *trouble* was supposed to be more *controllable* as it was small. This concept contributed to the formation of proverb through the primary metaphors of BEING SMALL IS BEING CONTROLLABLE and BIG IS IMPORTANT, and CONTROLLING IS SMASHING. In Turkish proverbs, *snake* was primarily conceptualized in terms of its appearance and then its relation to human being as noxious animal.

Comparative analysis of *snake* metaphors in both languages illustrated that similar to *wolf*, *snake* was not associated with any positive attributes. The examination of the cultural schemas elicited from the metaphorical propositions underlying the Persian and Turkish proverbs illustrated that in

Persian proverbs, *snake* was associated with concepts like “dishonesty”, “stubbornness”, “grandeur”, “significance”, and “bad nature”. Similarly, in Turkish proverbs, *snake* was ascribed negative attributes such as “enemy”, “unreliable”, “danger”, “deception”, and “trouble”. Similar to some of the animals discussed before such as *mouse*, neither language made a distinction between male and female snake. The reason was that unlike domesticated animal which have various functions depending on their gender (Nielsen, 1996), snake is a fatally noxious animal which bears potential life-threatening dangers for human no matter which gender.

4.2.12. Rooster Metaphors

Table-68 Cognitive Analysis of Rooster Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Baz bazla, kaz kazla, kel tavuk topal horozla* LM: Eagle with eagle, goose with goose and bald hen with crippled rooster MI: everyone should socialize with the people of her/his own type TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SOCIALIZING IS FLYING	Rooster	Man
2.	*Bir çöplükte iki horoz ötmez* LM: Two roosters don’t crown in the same dump MI: a land can’t have two leaders TP: behavior, habitat	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS RULING IS CROWING	Rooster	Human
3.			Rooster	Human

	Cins horoz yumurtada iken öter LM: A well-bred rooster starts crowing inside the egg MI: a genius is recognizable from its childhood TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS CHILD IS EGG WELL-BRED IS GENIUS CROWING IS SELF-ASSERTING	Well-bred Crowing	Genius Self-asserter
4.	*Her horoz kendi çöplüğünde öter* LM: Every cock crows in his own dump MI: everyone has more authority and influence where s/he is known TP: behavior, habitat	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS CROWING IS RULING	crowing	Having authority
5.	*Horoz ölür, gözü çöplükte kalır* LM: The rooster dies and his eye still looks back at his dump MI: we are dependent on our beloveds and belongings TP: ?	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE BIRDS TO WISH IS TO HAVE EYE ON SOMETHING	Rooster	Human
6.	*Horozu çok olan köyde sabah geç olur* LM: Morning comes late in a village where they have many roosters	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS COMMENTING IS CROWING	crowing	Commenting

	MI: many comments on one topic prevents from reaching to a consensus on it TP: behavior			
7.	*Vakitsiz öten horozun başını keserler* LM: The head of a rooster crowing timeless, gets cut MI: a person who talks timeless makes big problems TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS TIMELESS TALKING IS CROWING BEING PUNISHED IS LOSING HEAD TIMELESS TALKING IS ROOSTER BEHAVIOR	crowing	timeless Talking
8.	*Zenginin horozu da yumurtlar* LM: The rich man's rooster also lays egg MI: money opens all the impossible doors for rich people TP: relation to people	literal meaning IMPOSSIBLE IS ROOSTER EGG	-	-

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.12.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Rooster Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

The analysis of the Turkish proverbs illustrated that *rooster* (f=8) and its famous behavior; namely *crowing* was metaphorically used to conceptualize various domains. As illustrated in Table- 69, *rooster* itself represented *human* in general sense and *man* in particular. The mappings between these domains generated the PEOPLE ARE BIRDS general metaphor. PEOPLE ARE BIRDS can

be considered as the sub metaphor of the general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS because although fish, birds and mammals are different life forms, they are all ranked under the folk kingdom of animal.

In another group of metaphors, there were mappings between rooster behavior namely *crowing* and some other behaviors of human such as, *timeless talking, commenting, ruling, having influence* and *asserting oneself*. Some of these human behaviors had negative connotations. In such cases, the mapping between *crowing* and objectionable human behavior, namely *timeless talking* generated the sub metaphor OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. For instance, TIMELESS TALKING IS ROOSTER BEHAVIOR or UNINVITED COMMENTING IS ROOSTER BEHAVIOR.

Table-69 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Rooster Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain		
Target domain	**Rooster**	**Rooster crowing**	**Laying eggs**
	human man	timeless talking commenting ruling having authority self-assertion	impossible event

In those cases where *timeless talking* and *uninvited talking* were structured through rooster *crowing*, rooster represented *human* in general sense. On the contrary, in those cases where there was a sense of *ruling,* or *having authority /influence,* then the gender role was more highlighted because in the real world realm, ruling or having authority is quality, which is more associated with men than woman. *Self-assertion* was also a domain, which was understood through crowing, however, it seemed that in this case, *rooster* represented *human* in general sense. Following the same rationale, a *genius person* was conceptualized as a *well-bred rooster*, which starts crowing while in egg. The

mapping between these two domains generated the metaphor BEING GENIUS IS BEING WELL-BRED ROOSTER.

In one single case, rooster's *laying egg* was used to represent *impossible events*. In general, examining the target and source domains in *rooster* metaphors illustrated that in Turkish proverbs, rooster was conceptualized primarily in terms of its behavior and then its habitat.

Table-70 Cognitive Analysis of Rooster Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Pāye xuruseto beband be moɣe mardom hiz nagu* LM: Tie your rooster's foot and don't accuse neighbors' hen for being lusty MI: control your sexual desires and don't blame the women for provoking you TP: relation to people, behavior	ANIMAL ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE BIRDS BEING LUSTFUL IS ROOSTER BEHAVIOR MAN IS ROOSTER WOMAN IS HEN CONTROLLING IS TYING UP THE FOOT	Rooster	Lustful man
2.	*Sare xurusi ro ke bimoɣe bexune miboran* LM: The rooster crowing timeless should be slaughtered MI: a person who talks timeless makes big problems TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS TIMELESS TALKING IS CROWING TIMELESS TALKING IS ROOSTER BEHAVIOR	Rooster/ Crowing	Human/ Timeless talking
3.	*Xurusi ro ke šoɣāl sobh*	WEALTH IS ROOSTER	Rooster	Wealth

	mibare bezār sare š*ab bebare* LM: A rooster hunted in morning by jackal, better to be hunted in the evening MI: one cant postpone a loss which is inevitable TP: relation to people	ROBBER IS JACKAL		
4.	*Xurus rā ham dar azā sar borand ham dar arusi* LM: rooster is slaughtered both in wedding and funeral ceremony MI: a weak and vulnerable person is any way in pain TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS WEAK IS ROOSTER BEING IN PAIN IS BEING SLAUGHTERED	Rooster	Human weak

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.12.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Rooster Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Analyzing the Persian proverbs in terms of frequency illustrated that *rooster* was not a highly productive animal domain in Persian proverbial metaphors (f=4). Similar to Turkish proverbs, Persian proverbs also made various metaphorical uses of *rooster* and its behavior. In general, *rooster* represented *human* in general sense, *man* in particular, and *wealth*. The result of such mappings was the generation of the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor and WEALTH IS ANIMAL metaphor.

Table-71 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Rooster Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain	
	Rooster	**Rooster crowing**
	man human Wealth	time less talking commenting

As illustrated in table- 71, *crowing* conceptualized *timeless talking* and *commenting*. Similar to the point discussed in Turkish proverbs, regarding the mapping between *crowing* and *timeless talking*, *crowing* was not metaphorically representing only men's behavior. In general, the impression elicited from the very limited number of the *rooster* metaphors in Persian proverbs illustrated that rooster was conceptualized primarily in terms of its relation to human as beneficial animal in terms of edibility and then as its behavior namely, *crowing,* and *reproduction*. In one case, there was an explicit mapping between *rooster* and a *lustful man* was conceptualized as a *rooster*. This mapping is grounded in the behavior of rooster as a sexually hyperactive and polygamous animal. For instance in these proverbs, "*pāye xuruseto beband be moryye mardom hiz nagu"* (literal meaning: tie your rooster's foot and don't accuse neighbors' hen for being lusty, metaphorical interpretation: control your lust and don't blame women for provoking you), the highlighted gender role of rooster as man and hen as woman had distinct metaphorical use.

4.2.12.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Comparing the primary metaphors contributing to the proverbs of both languages illustrated that in both languages being punished was conceptualized as *losing head* generating the BEING PUNISHED IS LOSING HEAD primary metaphor. In Persian proverbs, the concept of *controlling* was

also conceptualized as *tying up the foot.* Both languages were similar in the resemblance metaphors where *timeless talking* was understood in terms of rooster *crowing* and *punishment in* terms of *decapitation.* Both languages used the metaphorical collocation of *hen* and *rooster* for tapping on different points. For instance, in Persian this collocation highlighted the sexual hyperactivity of rooster, while in Turkish the collocation between *hen* and *rooster* was a way to conceptualize the necessity of being match in social relationships. This was also understood through the incorporation of the metaphor SOCIALIZING IS FLYING which was a common metaphor in both languages.

Table-72 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BEING PUNISHED IS LOSING HEAD WISHING SOMETHING IS TO HAVE EYE ON IT	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE BEING WELL-BRED IS BEING GENIUS CHILD IS EGG COMMENTING IS CROWING PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS RULING IS CROWING RULING DOMAIN IS DUMP SOCIALIZING IS FLYING TIMELESS TALKING IS CROWING TIMELESS TALKING IS ROOSTER BEHAVIOR

There was a frequent mention of *dump hill* as the *ruling domain* of rooster, which conceptualized the *domain of authority* of any man. This is also grounded in the certain behavior of rooster, which selects an area higher in comparison to where the hens live in order to control them. Analyzing the metaphorical propositions elicited from the cultural schemas of both languages also illustrated some slightly culturally motivated variations. While in Persian proverbial metaphors *rooster* was ascribed mainly negative attributes like “lustful”, and “weak”, in Turkish proverbs *rooster* was associated with both

negative and positive connotations like “authoritative”, “ruling”, “leading”, “genius” and “greedy”.

Table-73 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	Complex & Resemblance Metaphors
BEING PUNISHED IS LOSING HEAD	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
CONTROLLING IS TYING UP THE FOOT	LUSTFUL IS ROOSTER
BEING IN PAIN IS BEING SLAUGHTERED	WEAK IS ROOSTER
	IMPOSSIBLE IS ROOSTER EGG
	MAN IS ROOSTER
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
	ROBBER IS JACKAL
	TIMELESS TALKING IS CROWING
	TIMELESS TALKING IS ROOSTER BEHAVIOR
	WEALTH IS ROOSTER
	WOMAN IS HEN

Rooster was one of the domestic animals from the species of birds, which is not capable of flying. Both Persian and Turkish language made a distinction between male, female and the chicken by using separate lexemes to refer to each of them. For instance in Turkish, for “rooster”, “hen” and “chicken” there are the terms “horoz”, “tavuk ” and “civciv”[2] and “xurus”, “morɣ”, and “juje” in Persian respectively. Each gender had separate metaphorical use in both languages.

[2] “C” in Turkish alphabet is pronounced as “j” in English and is represented by [dʒ] in international phonetic alphabet.

4.2.13. Goat Metaphors

Table-74 Cognitive Analysis of Goat Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Alaf be dahane bozi širin miyād* LM: grass taste sweet to goat MI: we look at everything from our own point of view TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS APPEALING IS SWEET DESIRES ARE GRASS TO EAT	Goat	Human
2.	*Boz ke sahebeš bālā sareš nābāše nar mizāyad* LM: A goat not taken care by its owner, gives birth to male goat MI: someone who does not take care of his/ own business will face trouble TP: relation to people	BUSINESS IS GOAT LOSS IS HAVING MALE GOAT CARING IS BEING ABOVE ONE'S HEAD ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY IS FERTILITY	Goat	Business
3.	*Boze gar az sar češme āb mixore* LM: scabby goat drinks water from the river bank MI: insufficient people praise themselves more TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SNOBBY IS SCABBY GOAT CHARACTER IMPERFECTION IS PHYSICAL DEFICIENCY	Scabby Goat	Human Snobby
4.	*Dehi ke nadāre riš sefid be boz migan abdolrašid* LM: In a village which has	ANIMAL ARE PEOPLE (personification) INSUFFICIENT IS GOAT	Goat	Human Insufficient

	no white-beard, goats are called Abdolrashid MI: in the absence of adequate people, insufficient people take charge TP: appearance			
5.	*Kāre har boz nist xarman kuftan, gāve nar mixāhado marde kohan* LM: Not every goat can Thresh the flail, it is a task of a bull and an skilled man MI: certain tasks need highly-experienced people to carry it out TP: behavior, relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEAK IS GOAT STRONG IS BEING BULL	Goat	Human inexpert
6.	*Xāste čupān ke bāše az boze nar ham šir miduše* LM: If the shepherd wants, he can even get milk from the male goat MI: if someone really wants all impossible are possible TP: relation to people	IMPOSSIBLE IS MILKING A MALE GOAT	Milking Male Goat	Impossible task
7.	*Yek boze gar galaro gar mikone* LM: A scabby goat mar the whole flock MI: the price of a mistake of one person is paid by all	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS FALLIBLE IS SCABBY GOAT CHARACTER INSUFFICIENCY IS PHYSICAL DEFICIT	Scabby Goat	human Fallible

	TP: appearance, behavior

LM: literal meaning, MI: metaphorical interpretation, TP: thematic part, ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, ā=a

4.2.13.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Goat Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

As illustrated in Table- 75, in Persian proverbs *goat* (f=7) represented *human*. This generated the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS general metaphor. In one case in Persian proverbs, *goat* was collocated with the term, "bald" which metaphorically represented *insufficiency in character*. As illustrated in table-75, *milking (male) Goat* was also another domain in terms of which an *impossible task* was conceptualized.

Table-75 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Goat Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Source domain	
Target domain	**Goat**	**milking Goat (male)**
	Human	Impossible task

In one case, which was mentioned implicitly, there was image –schematic metaphor where there was a mapping between the *beard of goat* and *old man' beard.* In addition, in an implicitly-mentioned case, *white beard* metonymicaly represented old *man*. This mapping generated the metonymy, PART STANDS FOR WHOLE. In Persian, "white-beard" is a term, which is used to conceptualize a senior and experienced man. That is why in this proverb, it was conveyed that in the absence of a white-bearded man (an old experienced man) a goat (a fake/insufficient experienced man) is called Abdolrashid. Goat in Persian proverbs is mainly conceptualized in terms of its appearance, behavior and its relation to human as a useful barn animal.

Table-76 Cognitive Analysis of Goat Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Ağaca çıkan keçinin dala bakan oğlağı olur* LM: A goat which jumps on trees, will have a baby which climbs the branches MI: children follow their parents TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CHILD IS GOAT	Goat	Human
2.	*Ak keçiyi gören içi dolu yağ sanır* LM: White goat appears to have a lot of fat inside her MI: do not judge the people based on their appearance TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS GOOD IS WHITE RICH IS WHITE	Goat	Human
3.	*Keçi can derdinde, kasap yağ derdinde* LM: Goat worries about its life, butcher worries about its fat MI: everyone worries about his /her benefits TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS OPPORTUNIST IS BUTCHER WEAK IS GOAT BENEFITS ARE FAT	Goat	Human
4.	*Koyunun bulunmadığı yerde keçiye Abdurrahman Çelebi derler* LM: Where the sheep is rare, the goat is called Abdulrahman	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS VALUABLE IS SHEEP	Goat	Human Insufficient

	LESS VALUED IS GOAT
MI: in the absence of valuable people, less significant people gain value TP: relation to people	

LM: literal meaning, MI: metaphorical interpretation, TP: thematic part, ç=Č, ş=š

4.2.13.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Goat Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

In its limited use in Turkish proverbs, *goat* (f=4) metaphoricaly represented only *human*. This generated the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor. In Turkish proverbs, *goat* was conceptualized mainly in terms of its relation to human as a beneficial barn animal, which is considered to be less-valued than sheep.

Table-77 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Goat Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	**Source domain** **Goat**
	human

4.2.13.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Similar to other animal metaphors where, *wealth*, *benefits,* and *appealing things* were conceptualized as *wool*, *fat,* and *sweet thing,* in *goat* metaphors, *wealth* was represented as *fat* too. In previous proverbs, both languages structured the *character* as a *part of body* for instance, *skin,* or *hair*. In goat metaphors in Persian proverbs, the same general metaphor was also observed but in this case, any *insufficiency in character* was conceptualized as

a *physical deficiency or disease* namely, *baldness*. This generated the metaphor CHARACTER INSUFFICIENCY IS PHYSICAL DEFICIENCY in Persian metaphors. This physical deficiency, which represented itself as being bald in Persian proverbs, was used metaphorically to conceptualize the *snobby* and *fallible* person. However, both languages had points of variation in their resemblance and complex metaphor.

Table-78 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
APPEALING IS SWEET	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
DESIRES ARE GRASS TO EAT	STRONG IS BULL
CARING IS BEING ABOVE ONE'S HEAD	FALLIBLE IS BALD GOAT
CHARACTER IMPERFECTION IS PHYSICAL DEFICIENCY	BEING GOAT IS BEING WEAK
	INSUFFICIENT IS GOAT
	SNOBBY IS BALD GOAT
	BUSINESS IS GOAT
	ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY IS FERTILITY
	HAVING MALE GOAT IS LOSS
	IMPOSSIBLE IS MILKING A MALE GOAT

Since having female barn animals has always been of more economical use and value for those who do animal husbandy, having male baby goat, sheep, or cow has been a kind of loss or waste. This is because female animals can give birth to more babies but male barn animals are not capable of it. In addition, female barn animals can provide products like egg and milk, which is a source of food and income but male animals are not capable of doing it.

Based on this folk knowledge -which is common between both cultures- keeping barn animals like *goat,* metaphorically represented *running business,* where, in case it was not given good care it would *give birth to male goat.* Metaphorically, *giving birth to male goat* corresponds to *loss in business*

because male goat is not productive and beneficial. In another instance where the *goat* was metaphorically representing the *business*, it again implied that by taking good care of business all *impossible tasks* become possible. This concept represented itself in the metaphorical use of *milking a male goat*. In Persian proverbs, in comparative collocation with other animals like *bull, goat* conceptualizes weak person.

Table-79 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
RICH IS WHITE	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
GOOD IS WHITE	BENEFITS ARE FAT
	VALUELESS IS GOAT
	OPPORTUNIST IS BUTCHER
	VALUABLE IS SHEEP
	WEAK IS GOAT
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

In Turkish proverbs, *goat* was metaphorically collocated with *sheep,* the former representing the *insignificance* and the latter representing *value*. Animals like goat and sheep whose flesh and wool were beneficial, were collocated with *butcher*, which metaphorically represented an *opportunist* person who looks for *fat* -representing the *benefits*- even at the price of others' pain. GOOD IS WHITE primary metaphor and BENEFITS ARE FAT were contributing in the formation of Turkish proverbs.

Although both Persian and Turkish language has various lexemes for making a distinction between male and female goat at various ages, both languages have just used a general term -"boz" in Persian and "keçi" in Turkish- preceded by the term "male" or "female" wherever the gender was supposed to be highlighted. Both languages were similar in ascribing negative attributes to goat. For instance in Turkish, goat represented an "insufficient" and "straying" human while in Persian it represented "fallible " and "weak" human. Examining the proverbs of both languages also illustrated that only the basic version of the cultural model of great chain of being was adopted in both languages.

4.2.14. Hen Metaphors

Table-80 Cognitive Analysis of Hen Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Aɣle čehel zan be andāzeye yek morɣ nist* LM: Forty women's wisdom is not even as much as the wisdom of a hen MI: women are not wise TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS WOMAN IS HEN	Hen	Woman Unintelligent
2.	*morɣ ham toxm mikone ham čalɣuz* LM: hen lays both healthy egg and spoiled egg MI: parents can have both good and bad children TP: behavior, relation to people	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS WOMAN IS HEN CHILD IS EGG	Hen/ laying eggs	Woman (mother)/ Having baby
3.	*morɣ har če farbetar toxmdānaš tangtar* LM: the fatter the hen, the tighter its vent MI: the richer, the stingier TP: appearance, relation to people	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS RICH IS FAT BEING STINGY IS HAVING TIGHT VENT	Hen fatness	Human richness
4.	*morɣe gorosne arzan dar xāb mibine* LM: Hungry hen dreams	ANIMALS ARE BIRDS (personification)	Hen	Human day dreamer

	of millet MI: we dream of what we don't have TP: ?	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS DESIRES ARE FOODS		
5.	*morɣe hamsāye ɣāze* LM: Neighbor's hen always seems goose MI: others' sustenance and belongings always seems better and more TP: appearance, size	SUSTENANCE IS HEN SUSTENANCE IS GOOSE	Hen	Sustenance
6.	*Pāye xuruseto beband be morɣe mardom hiz nagu* LM: Tie your rooster's foot and don't accuse neighbors' hen for being lustful MI: control your sexual desires and don't blame the women for provoking you TP: relation to people, behavior	ANIMALS ARE BIRD (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS LUSTFUL IS ROOSTER MAN IS ROOSTER WOMAN IS HEN CONTROLLING IS TYING UP THE FOOT	Hen	Woman
7.	*Tomeye har morɣaki anjir nist* LM: Not every hen's food is fig MI: not everyone is made for big challenges TP: behavior , relation to	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS AMBITIONS ARE FIGS	Hen	Human

	people

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.14.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Hen Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Similar to some other animal domains*, hen* (f=7) in Persian proverbs represented both *human* in general sense and *woman* in particular*.* In other words, the term "morɣ" (hen) was used as a generic term to refer to both genders as woman at the sametime. The same was also observed in case of rooster metaphors in Persian proverbs. There was a noteworthy point about "morɣ" in Persian proverbs. In its specific literary use in Persian literature including poetry, and Persian classical texts on Sufism, "morɣ" is one of the well-entrenched literary metaphors which conceptualizes *Sufi* -who is supposed to be only man*.* In fact, in its latter use, "morɣ" -here bird-, is ascribed a heavily significant and highly esteemed connotation in Persian literature which takes up an exigent way to discover the truth and get united with God.

The metaphorical mapping between *hen* and *human* in general and *woman* in particular generated the general metaphors PEOPLE ARE BIRDS and WOMEN ARE BIRD. As it was discussed in relation to *rooster* metaphors, PEOPLE ARE BIRDS can be considered as the sub metaphor of the general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS because though fish, birds and mammals are different life forms, they all are ranked under the folk kingdom of animal. That is why in this study PEOPLE ARE BIRDS metaphor is also considered as the sub metaphor of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. As it is illustrated in Table- 81, *hen* represented *sustenance*. In one case, *fat hen* represented the concept of *rich person*. In the same proverb, the *tightness of hen vent metaphorically* was mapped on the human behavior namely *stinginess*.

Table-81 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Hen Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain		
	Hen	**Hen vent (tight)**	**Egg laying**
	human Woman Sustenance	Being stingy	Having children Giving benefits

Laying egg was also a behavior of hen which was used twice in order to represent giving *benefits* and *having children*. The metaphors generated as the results of this mapping were HAVING BABIES ARE LAYING EGGS and GIVING BENEFITS ARE LAYING EGGS. As a domestic animal, hen in Persian proverbs was primarily conceptualized in terms of its relationship to human as a beneficial barn animal and then in terms of its behavior.

Table-82 Cognitive Analysis of Hen Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Aç tavuk kendini buğday ambarında sanır* LM: in her dreams, hungry hen sees herself in wheat storeroom MI: we usually dream if the things we don't have TP: ?	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS DESIRES ARE WHEAT	Hen	Human Day-dreamer
2.	*Baz bazla, kaz kazla, kel tavuk topal horozla* LM: Eagle with eagle, goose with goose and bald hen with crippled rooster	SOCIALIZING IS FLYING	Hen	Hen

	MI: everyone should have a companion of her/his own type TP: behavior			
3.	*Bugünkü tavuk yarınki kazdan iyidir* LM: Today's hen is better than tomorrow's goose MI: an available but small earning is better than the big but not at hand TP: relation to people	SUSTENANCE IS HEN VALUABLE IS BIG GOOD IS EARLY EARLY IS CLOSE BAD IS LATE LATE IS DISTANT GOOSE IS VALUED HEN IS LESS-VALUED	Hen	Earning
4.	*Bodur tavuk her gün piliç* LM: Small hen, hen every day MI: people of no talent, hardly have chances to advance in life TP: relation to people, size	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS UNINTELLIGENT IS HEN	Hen	Human Unintelligent
5.	*Kaz gelen yerden tavuk esirgenmez* LM: those who send the goose as gift, they won't grudge hen MI: those who make big favors never grudge small favors	SUSTENANCE IS ANIMAL LESS- VALUED IS HEN VALUED IS GOOSE IMPORTANT IS BIG	Hen	Sustenance

	TP: relation to people, size			
6.	*Fukaranın tavuğu tek tek yumurtlar* LM: Poor people's hen lays egg one by one MI: despite hard work poor people's earn less income TP: behavior	BUSINESS IS HEN INCOME IS EGG LAYING EGG IS HAVING INCOME	Hen	business

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.14.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Hen Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Analyzing the Turkish proverbs also illustrated that *hen* is a moderately productive animal domain in Turkish proverbial metaphors (f=6), however, similar to Persian proverbs, *hen* metaphorically represented both *human* in general sense and *woman* in particular. These mappings between *hen* and *human* in general and *woman* in particular, has generated the general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and WOMEN ARE ANIMAL submetaphor.

This domain was also used to represent the notion of *sustenance and earning*. The mapping between these two concepts and bird generated the metaphors EARNING IS HEN and BUSINESS IS HEN. *Laying egg* as an instinctional behavior of hen was another domain which was used to show *obtaining results*.

Table-83 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Hen Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain	
Target domain	**Hen**	**Egg laying**
	human Woman business Earning	obtaining income (result)

4.2.14.3 Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Analyzing the proverbs of both languages in terms of their primary, complex and resemblance metaphors also illustrated some patterns of variations as well as commonality. Similar to previous domestic animal metaphors, both languages conceptualized the *desires* and *ambitions* as *foods. Fatness* also represented the *richness* metonymically generating the metonymy, FATESS STANDS FOR RICHNESS.

As it is illustrated in table- 84 and 85, *laying egg* was a domain which was used to structure two different notions in Turkish and Persian proverbs. In the former *laying egg* was metaphorically conceptualized *earning* and *income* or *obtaining result,* while in the latter it represented *having children.* One of the interesting commonalities between both languages was conceptualizing the *tasks and processes* and *actions* in terms of *human digestive system* and *animal reproduction system*.

The beginning of an action was understood in terms of *mouth*, its processing was understood in terms of *throat* or *bowl*, and its *end* was understood in terms of *rectum* (see dog, and camel metaphors). Interestingly, in those cases where the results of an *action*, *task* or *behavior* was negative it was conceptualized as *defecation*, but when the results were beneficial and positive it was conceptualized as *egg*, or *born babies* which are the final outcome of animal reproduction system. Following the same rationale, the

mechanism of understating the stinginess in terms of tight vent can be justified. The primary metaphor underlying this metaphor is that GENEROSITY IS GIVING. Therefore when the process of giving is hindered, then the concept of stinginess is formed. Here *benefits* are conceptualized as *eggs,* therefore *tight vent* represensts a hindering factor on the way of getting benefit.

Table-84 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
AMBITIONS ARE FIGS	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (BIRD)
RICH IS FAT	LUSTFUL IS ROOSTER BEHAVIOR
CONTROLLING IS TYING UP THE FOOT	CHILD IS EGG
DESIRES ARE WHEAT	BENEFITS ARE EGGS
	BEING STINGY IS HAVING TIGHT VENT
	EARNING IS HEN
	SUSTENANCE IS GOOSE
	SUSTENANCE IS HEN
	MAN IS ROOSTER
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
	WEALTH IS ANIMAL
	WOMAN IS HEN

In both languages, *hen* was only collocated with either *goose* or *rooster*. In collocation with *goose*, *hen* always represented the concept of *inferiority*. In this case, IMPORTANT IS BIG was the underlying primary metaphor. In collocation with *rooster,* it represented the notion of *partner.* Only in one case *hen* was preferred to *goose* where *hen* was representing an *available favor* while *goose* represented a *promised favor.* The primary metaphors elicited from these proverbs were EARLY IS GOOD, LATE IS BAD, LATE IS DISTANT and EARLY IS CLOSE. Therefore, in a contradictory way *hen* was conceptualized both as inferior and as superior.

Table-85 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	Complex & Resemblance Metaphors
IMPORTANT IS BIG	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
	BUSINESS IS HEN
DESIRES ARE FOODS	UNINTELLIGENT IS HEN
EARLY IS CLOSE	GOOSE IS VALUED
EARLY IS GOOD	LESS-VALUED IS HEN
LATE IS BAD	VALUED IS HEN
LATE IS DISTANT	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
	INCOMES ARE EGGS
	SOCIALIZING IS FLYING
	SUSTENANCE IS GOOSE

Both languages were also similar in the negative connotations associated with hen. Both languages ascribed the same negative attribute such as “day dreamer” and “unintelligent”. Similarly, there was an instance of sexist use of *hen* in both languages where it referred to an *unintelligent woman*. The analysis of the data also illustrated that only the basic version of the cultural model of great chain of being has been adopted.

4.2.15. Fox Metaphors (in Turkish Proverbs)

Table-86 Cognitive Analysis of Fox Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Gammaz olmasa tilki pazarda gezer* LM: in the absence of backbiter ,The fox rambles in bazaar MI: an outlaw commits crime if s/he has no fear of informants	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRIMINAL IS FOX	Fox	Human Criminal

	TP: behavior			
2.	*Kurdun adı yamana çıkmış, tilki var baş keser* LM: Wolf has been notorious, some foxes cut the hair MI: silent crafty people are worse than apparently cruel ones TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRUEL IS WOLF CRAFTY IS FOX	Fox	Human crafty
3.	*Kurtla ortak olan tilkinin hissesi, ya tırnaktır, ya bağırsak* LM: The share of a fox who becomes wolf's partner is either nail or bowel MI: a crafty person is always subordinate to his powerful partner TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRAFTY IS FOX POWERFUL IS WOLF	Fox	Human Crafty
4.	*Tilki tilkiliğini bildirinceye kadar post elden gider* LM: The pelt is spoiled till the fox can prove that it is really fox MI: till one can prove his/her innocence, one has even tolerated the punishment TP: appearance	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEALTH IS FOX PELT	Fox	Human
5.	*Tilkinin dönüp dolaşıp geleceği yer kürkçü*	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Fox	Human

	dükkânıdır LM: The final destination of fox is fur shop MI: one cant escape from destiny TP: appearance	PREVENTING WANDERING IS		
6.	*Yatan aslandan, gezen tilki yeğdir* LM: A rambling fox is better than sleeping lion MI: laziness is not an appreciated trait. TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS UNIMPORTANT IS BIG IMPORTANT IS SMALL	Fox	Human Straying

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.15.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Hen Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

As illustrated in Table- 87, *fox* only conceptualized *human* and aspects of its character and behavior. The mapping between the above-mentioned domains generated the general metaphor, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and its sub-metaphor OBJECTIONABLE BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR.

Table-87 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Fox Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	**Source domain** **Fox**
human	

For instance, CRAFTINESS IS FOX BEHAVIOR, BEING CRIMINAL IS BEING FOX, and STRAYING IS FOX BEHAVIOR. In addition to these metaphors, there were instances of ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor as well. Analyzing the fox metaphors also illustrated that in Turkish proverbs, *fox* was primarily conceptualized in relation to human -as a predator animal robbing the barn animals like chicken- and then its behavior and appearance (fur).

4.2.15.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Analyzing the primary metaphors revealed IMPORTANT IS BIG and UNIMPORTANT IS BIG primary metaphor. These primary metaphors were contradictory in nature but were indicative of the cultural belief of Turkish people that not everything big is necessarily important. This concept had revealed itself in the primary metaphor SMALL IS IMPORTANT as well.

4.2.16. Jackal Metaphors (in Persian Proverbs)

Table-88 Cognitive Analysis of Jackal Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Emāmzāde har ɣadr sāde bāše az ye šoɣāl do bār gul nemixore* LM: No matter how simple-hearted an imam might be, he does not get cheated twice by a jackal MI: one should not be cheated twice by crafty people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMAL CHEATER IS JACKAL	Jackal	Human Deceptive

	TP: relation to people			
2.	*Sage zard barādare šoɣāle* LM: Yellow dog is jackal's brother MI: cruel and crafty people are from similar character TP: appearance, relation to people	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRAFTY IS JACKAL CRUEL IS DOG CHARACTER IS COLOR	Jackal	Human Crafty
3.	*šoɣāl ke az bāɣ ɣahr kone manfate bāɣbune* LM: A jackal offended by garden, serves the benefit of gardener MI: the far the dangerous person, the less the damages TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFITS ARE FRUITS ROBBER IS JACKAL	Jackal	Human Robber
4.	*šoɣāl ke moɣ migire bixe gušeš zarde* LM: a jackal which hunts hen, has yellow ear MI: not everyone is made for any task TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBER IS JACKAL BENEFITS ARE HEN TO HUNT	Jackal	Human Robber
5.	*šoɣāl puzaš be angur nemirese mige torše*	ANIMALSARE PEOPLE (personification)	Jackal	Human robber

	LM: Jackal cant fetch the grape and blames it for being Sour MI: one defames what one can't achieve to hide his/her own insufficiency in getting it TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS DISGUSTING IS SOUR BENEFITS ARE GRAPES APPEALING IS SWEET		
6.	*šoɣāle tarsu angure xub nemixore* LM: Coward jackal can't eat good grape MI: achieving big goals needs courage TP: relation to people	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFITS ARE GRAPES	Jackal	Human Opportunist
7.	*Xarbozeye širin māle šoɣāle* LM: Sweet Persian melon belongs to jackal MI: crafty people always have the best TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFITS ARE MELONS APPEALING IS SWEET	Jackal	human Crafty
8.	*Xurusi ro ke šoɣāl sobh mibare bezār sare* šab *bebare* LM: A rooster hunted in morning by jackal, better to be hunted in the evening MI: to postpone an inevitable loss is not reasonable TP: relation to people	WEALTH IS ANIMAL ROBBER IS JACKAL	Jackal	Robber

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā*=

4.2.16.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Fox Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Analyzing the Persian proverbs revealed that the use of *fox* was limited to a few cases some of which were actually sayings, and some were in the form of dialogues. However, further analysis of the proverbs also illustrated that the metaphorical roles attributed to the *fox* in Turkish proverbs was equally attributed to *jackal* in Persian proverbs. Therefore as a matching part to fox metaphors in Turkish proverbs, *jackal* metaphors in Persian proverbs were comparatively analyzed.

Table-89 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Jackal Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Source domain
Target domain	**Jackal**
	human

Similar to *fox* metaphors in Turkish proverbs, *jackal* metaphors only represented *human* and some aspects of human behavior and character. PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor and its sub metaphor OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR were also observed in Persian *jackal* metaphors. For instance, ROBBERY IS JACKAL BEHAVIOR, BEING CRAFTY IS JACKAL BEHAVIOR, and BEING OPPORTUNIST IS JACKAL BEHAVIOR. There were also instances of ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor. Persian *jackal* metaphors, similar to *fox* metaphors in Turkish proverbs, were first conceptualized in terms of their relation to human -as a predator animal which damages the gardens and barn animals- and then in terms of its appearance.

4.2.16.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Analyzing the *fox / jackal* metaphors in both languages illustrated that both languages were not similar in the contributing, primary metaphors. However, they were similar in their complex and resemblance metaphors. Similar to other Persian proverbs, *appealing* was conceptualized in terms of *sweet* taste, *benefits* and *opportunities* as *food to eat* or *animals to hunt*. In one case in Persian proverbs, *disgusting things* were conceptualized in terms of *sour taste*. The CHARACTER IS COLOR was also repeated in *jackal* metaphors.

Table-90 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
UNIMPORTANT IS BIG IMPORTANT IS SMALL	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE CRUEL IS WOLF CRAFTY IS FOX CRIMINAL IS FOX POWERFUL IS WOLF PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEALTH IS FOX PELT PREVENTING IS WANDERING

Analyzing the complex and resemblance metaphors also illustrated that in both cultures, the objectionable human behaviors were primarily understood in terms of animal behavior. In both cultures, *craftiness* was conceptualized as *fox / jackal* behavior. While in Persian proverbs, jackal was attributed some other negative features such as “deceptive”, “robber” and “opportunist”, in Turkish proverbs, *fox* was associated with negative connotations like “sponger” and “criminal”.

Similar to other animal metaphors, *fox* and *jackal* were collocated with other animals or forms of being in order to represent different concepts. For instance, in Turkish proverbs, *fox* was collocated with *human, wolf, lion, pelt*, and *fur shop*. Whenever fox was collocated with higher level-beings like

human (informant), *fox* metaphorically represented *criminals*. In those cases where *fox* was collocated with other animals like *lion* and *wolf*, power relations were structured and *fox* again represented *weakness.*

However, the interaction between *fox* and other powerful animals like *wolf* and *lion* were not always vertical representing power in terms of size, rather, it was a mutual relationship in which sometimes *lion*'s or *wolf*'s power seemed to be downgraded before the *craftiness* of *fox*. In some other cases, *fox* was collocated with *pelt*, and *fur shop*. The purpose of this collocation was to highlight the significance of fox based on its appearance (fur). Since the collocation between *fox* and other animals were not only used to understand human and animal behaviors, therefore it could be argued that both versions of cultural model of great chain of being were adopted.

Table-91 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
APPEALING IS SWEET	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
DISGUSTING IS SOUR	CRAFTY IS JACKAL
CHARACTER IS COLOR	BENEFITS ARE GRAPES
	BENEFITS ARE MELONS
	BENEFITS ARE HEN TO HUNT
	CHEATING IS JACKAL BEHAVIOR
	CRUELTY IS DOG BEHAVIOR
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
	ROBBER IS JACKAL
	WEALTH IS ANIMAL

In Persian proverbs, *jackal* was collocated with different forms of beings. Whenever the *jackal*'s metaphorical role as *robber* was highlighted, it was collocated with *garden* and *gardener*, *grape, Persian melon*, *rooster,* and *hen*. Whenever it represented a *crafty person*, then it was collocated with *dog*, which represented *cruel person*.

Analyzing the role of each animal in relation to human simply illustrated the culture-specificity of *fox* and *jackal* metaphors in both languages. In Turkish proverbs, while *fox* was considered as a dangerous animal, still its *fur* was considered, as a valuable part of it, while in Persian, *jackal* was a dangerous predator, which harmed the barn animals and plants. Analyzing the proverbs in terms of the folk knowledge behind them also illustrated that diversity in folk knowledge was a triggering motivation for the variation. In Persian culture, *jackal* is a predator animal, which is famous for ruining the gardens and damaging the grapes, as well as killing the small barn animals like hen and rooster while in Turkish proverbs, there is no single mention of jackal, however, this, in no way can be generalized to jackals' role in sayings and idioms.

Unlike English, which has separate lexemes to refer to "fox", "vixen" and "cub", neither Persian nor Turkish made such a distinction. Gender distinction, like many other cases, was usually done by adding the term "male" and "female" before the animal name. Unlike English language, which made metaphorical use of *vixen* to conceptualize woman in a sexist manner, neither Persian nor Turkish proverbs used *fox* or *jackal* for such sexist objectives.

4.2.17. Raven Metaphor

Table-92 Cognitive Analysis of Raven Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Besle kargayı, oysun gözünü* LM: Feed raven and he finally starches your eye MI: to foster an ungrateful person	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CHILD IS RAVEN UNGRATEFUL IS RAVEN	Raven	Ungrateful child

	TP: relation to people,			
2.	*Karga ile gezen boka konar* LM: the one get along with raven, sits on dung MI: we become like the people we socialize with TP: relation to people, behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BAD IS BLACK SOCIALIZING IS FLYING BAD IS DUMP	Raven	Human Bad friend
3.	*Kartalın beğenmediğini kargalar kapışır* LM: Ravens compete over something that eagle does not care about MI: a chance or something that a noble person never likes seems very appealing to an inferior person TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS NOBLE IS EAGLE INFERIOR IS RAVEN	Raven	Human Inferior
4.	*Kılavuzu karga olanın burnu boktan kurtulmaz* LM: Whoever's guide is raven can't get rid of muck MI: a bad companion leads you to a wrong way TP: relation to people,	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) BAD IS DUMP BEING INVOLVED IS BEING TRAPPED	Raven	Human Bad Friend
5.	*Šahin gözünü ette açmıs; karga gözünü bokta açmıs*	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Raven	Human Inferior

	LM: Falcon has opened its eyes to flesh and raven to dung MI: we keep on living the way we have been brought up by our parents TP: behavior	LEARNING IS OPENING EYES INFERIOR IS RAVEN NOBLE IS FALCON

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.17.1 Source and Target Domain Analysis of Raven Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

The results of the analyses revealed that *raven* only represented *human* and aspects of human behavior. This mapping generated the general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and consequently PEOPLE ARE BIRDS. In one single case, there was a mapping between human *child* and *raven*. In this case, the CHILD IS RAVEN metaphor was generated.

Table-93 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Raven Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	**Source domain** **Raven**
	Human

In this case, the *ungratefulness* of child, as an objectionable human behavior was understood as raven behavior. This mapping generated the metaphor UNGRATEFULNESS IS RAVEN BEHAVIOR. The analysis of the Turkish proverbs also illustrated that raven was primarily conceptualized in terms of both its behavior and then its relation to human.

Table-94 Cognitive Analysis of Raven Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Kalāɣ ke az bāɣ ɣahr kone , ye gerdu be nafe māst* LM: Raven is miffed by garden, we have won a nut MI: someone harmful who leaves us by his/her own choice is our fortune TP: relation to people, behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFITS ARE NUTS TO EAT ROBBER IS RAVEN	Raven	Human Robber
2.	*Kalāɣ az vaɣti bače dar šod ye šekame sir ɣaza naxord* LM: Raven has not eaten full since its has had babies MI: parenthood is demanding even for animals TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Raven	Human
3.	*Kalāɣ sare luneye xodeš ɣār ɣār nemikone* LM: Raven does not crow in his own nest MI: it is not nice to curse your own family and relatives TP: behavior, relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BAD IS BLACK CURSING IS CROWING CURSING IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR	Raven/ Crowing	Human/ Cursing
4.	*Kalāɣ xast rāh raftane*	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE		

	kabko yād begire rāh rafatane xodeš ham yādeš raft LM: Raven decided to walk like partridge , it forgot its own walking MI: being greedy to earn more may makes one lose what one has at hand TP: relation to people, behavior	(personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Raven	Human Greedy
5.	*Kalāɣe emsali aɣleš bištar az Kalāɣe pārsaliye* LM: The raven born this year is wiser than the raven born last year MI: younger people are wiser TP:	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Raven	Human Wise

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.17.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Raven Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Similar to Turkish proverbs, raven in Persian proverbs (f=5) did not have vast metaphorical use. Similar to Turkish proverbs*, raven* conceptualized *human* and some negative aspects of human behavior. *Crowing* which was an instinctional behavior of raven was used to represent *cursing.* The two general metaphors generated by these metaphors were PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. The analysis of the raven metaphors in Persian proverbs illustrated that raven was

conceptualized mainly in terms of its behavior and then its relation to human, in addition, its black color was highlighted implicitly.

Table-95 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Raven Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain	
	Raven	**Raven crowing**
	human	Cursing

4.2.17.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Similar to some other animal domains like *wolf, fox,* and *jackal, raven is* used to represent negative human behavior. For instance, in Turkish proverbs, raven was frequently used to represent a *bad companion*, *inferior person*, and *ungrateful child.* In those cases where the *raven* represented *bad companion*, or *ungrateful* child, it was explicitly collocated by *human* him/herself, while in those cases where it was representing the human *inferiority*; it was collocated with bigger birds like *falcon* and *eagle,* which represented *nobility.* When *raven* was representing the *bad companion* for human, the complex metaphor SOCIALIZING IS FLYING was generated. In latter case, the IMPORTANT IS BIG was the underlying primary metaphor.

However, the way these three types of birds feed themselves and the way they live, was highlighted more than their size. *Falcon* and *eagle* are predator birds, which feed directly from what they prey while raven feeds on whatever possible found in rubbish hill or the remains of the prey of other animals. That is why in Turkish proverbs, *dump,* representing *bad environment* was also collocated with *raven* to contribute to represent the concept of *inferiority*. The outcome of such mappings in Turkish proverbs was BEING INFERIOR IS BEING RAVEN, BEING NOBLE IS BEING FALCON, and BEING NOBLE IS BEING EAGLE.

Table-96 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	Complex & Resemblance Metaphors
BEING INVOLVED IN BEING TRAPPED IMPORTANT IS BIG LEARNING IS OPENING EYES	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE BAD ENVIRONMENT IS DUMP INFERIOR IS RAVEN NOBLE IS EAGLE NOBLE IS FALCON UNGRATEFUL IS RAVEN CHILD IS RAVEN PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS PEOPLE ARE RAVEN SOCIALIZING IS FLYING

Since the collocation of raven with other birds was only used to show *human* and its behavior, therefore it can be argued that in Turkish proverbs containing *raven* metaphors, only the basic version of great chain of being was adopted.

Table-97 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	Complex & Resemblance Metaphors
BAD IS BLACK	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE BENEFITS ARE NUTS TO EAT CURSING IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR CURSING IS CROWING PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBER IS RAVEN

Analyzing the primary, complex and resemblance metaphors in Persian proverbs also illustrated that; *raven* in Persian proverbs was used to refer to human being and aspects of its character and behavior such as *greed, robbery,* and *wisdom.* Whenever the *raven* represented human in general, there was no collocation with other animals, but when it represented human *greed,* then it was collocated with a *partridge*. In this case, the black and ugly

appearance of raven was contrasted to partridge's elegant appearance specially the way it walks.

Although there was no explicit mention of black color of *raven*, as its physical property, however, it was an inherent part of its appearance. BLACK IS BAD metaphor was not only implicitly embedded in the collocation between *raven* and *partridge*, it was also observed in the case where the raven's *crowing* represented the *cursing.* In Persian culture, similar to the notorious reputation of *black cat*, raven was also a symbol of being ominous and inauspicious because of its color and its type of crowing. This was the ground for BLACK STANDS FOR SINISTER metonymy.

Ravens are among the highly culture-specific animal domains due to the varying saliency attributed to it in various cultures. For instance, while in Greek mythology raven is associated with Apollo, the God of prophecy, and the symbol of good luck, it is the symbol of portentousness in Persian culture, and an esteemed power animal in shamanism representing wisdom. Although both Persian and Turkish cultures were similar in ascribing negative attributes to raven, in one case *raven* instantiated a "wise" person in Persian proverbs. In general, while *raven represented* a "greedy" and "robber" person in Persian, in Turkish proverbs raven represented "bad companion", "ungrateful child" and "inferior human". No explicit sexist use of raven was observed however, in Turkish proverbs there was an instance of representing *child* as *raven*.

4.2.18. Lion Metaphors

Table-98 Cognitive Analysis of Lion Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**	
1.	*Aç arslandan tok domuz yeğdir* LM: A full pig is better than a hungry lion	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS NOBLE IS LION INFERIOR IS PIG	Lion	Human Nobel	

	MI: nobility is not enough to survive one needs to know how to strive to survive TP: relation to people				
2.	*Arslan yatağından bellidir* LM: Lion reveals his character by the place where he sleeps MI: our character is revealed by the way we live TP: habitat, behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		Lion	Human
3.	*Her gönülde bir aslan yatar* LM: In every heart a lion repose MI: every heart has big ambition to reach TP: size, relation to people	AMBITIONS ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG		Lion	Ambition
4.	*Kedi aslanın ağzından şikar alamaz* LM: Cat can't take the prey out of lion's mouth MI: a weak one can never fight back a strong one TP: behavior, size	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG STRONG IS BIG WEAK IS SMALL		Lion	Human Powerful
5.	*Yatan aslandan, gezen tilki yeğdir* LM: A rambling fox is better than sleeping lion	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS UNIMPORTANT IS BIG IMPORTANT IS SMALL		Lion	Human Lazy

	MI: laziness is not an appreciated trait. TP: behavior	BRISK IS FOX LAZY IS LION

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.18.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Lion Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

As illustrated in Table- 99, *lion* (f=5) was metaphorically used to represent *human* and the concept of *ambition.* The outcome of such mappings was the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor and AMBITIONS ARE LIONS metaphor.

Table-99 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Lion Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain
	Lion
Target domain	Human Ambition

There was also an instance of anthropomorphization of *lion* in Turkish proverbs, which consequently generated the metaphor ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE. In Turkish proverbs, *lion* as a predator was conceptualized first in terms of its behavior and then in terms of its size. The behavior of *lion* was metaphorically used to conceptualize both positive and negative aspects of human behavior. This generated the metaphor; OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. For instance, LAZINESS IS LION BEHAVIOR.

Table-100 Cognitive Analysis of Lion Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Sag tu xuneye sāhebeš šire* LM: Dog is lion at its owner's home MI: everyone is strong in his/her own domain TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG DOMAIN OF POWER IS HOUSE	Lion	Human Authoritative
2.	*Sage māde dar lāne šir ast* LM: Female dog is lion at home MI: every woman is strong only at home TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WOMEN ARE DOG WOMEN ARE LION DOMAIN OF POWER IS HOUSE	Lion	Authoritative Woman
3.	*Šir ke az biše darāmad naro māde nadārad* LM: When the lion jumps out of bush , it no longer matters if it male or female MI: a dangerous person is dangerous no matter man or woman TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS DANGER IS ANIMAL	Lion	Human Dangerous
4.	*Širam bedarad beh ke sagam nāz konad* LM: It is better to be torn off by lion rather than being patted by dog MI: to be treated bad by someone aggressor is	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS DOWNGRADED IS DOG AGGRESSIVE IS LION	Lion	Aggressive person

	better being cared by someone contemptible TP: relation to people, behavior			
5.	*Xare bārbar beh az šire mardom dar* LM: An donkey which carries load is better than a lion which preys people MI: to be a harmless stupid is better than being damaging powerful TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS AGGRESSIVE IS LION STUPID IS DOG	Lion	Aggressive person

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.18.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of lion Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

As illustrated in Table-101, *lion* (f=5) metaphorically represented *human.* This generated the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor. There were also instances of anthropomorphization of *lion* in Persian proverbs, generating the ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor. In Persian proverbs, *lion* was conceptualized only in terms of its behavior, which was used metaphorically to represent both negative and positive behaviors of human. This also generated the OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. For instance, AGGRESSION IS LION BEHAVIOR.

Table-101 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Lion Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain Lion
	Human Woman

4.18.2.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Since *lion* was primarily conceptualized in terms of its size in Turkish proverbs to represent *power* and *ambition*, the IMPORTANT IS BIG and POWERFUL IS BIG primary metaphors were observed in Turkish proverbs. In Persian proverbs, IMPORTANT IS BIG was implicitly contributing to proverbs in only one case because in Persian proverbs it was the behavior of the lion, which was more highlighted.

However, even in Turkish proverbs, the IMPORTANT IS BIG metaphor turned to IMPORTANT IS SMALL depending first, on the animal with which *lion* was collocated, and second, the concept that was supposed to be structured. For instance, when the *lion's laziness* -as an objectionable human behavior- was represented, it was collocated with *pig* and *fox* as two smaller but more brisk animals representing *lively behavior*. In such collocations, it was the small, which was important.

Table-102 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	Complex & Resemblance Metaphors
UNIMPORTANT IS BIG	AMBITIONS ARE ANIMALS
IMPORTANT IS BIG	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
IMPORTANT IS SMALL	BRISK IS FOX
STRONG IS BIG	NOBLE IS LION
WEAK IS SMALL	INFERIOR IS PIG
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

Depending on this concept, which was structured by *lion* size and behavior, it had collocation with different animals in Persian and Turkish proverbs. In Persian proverbs, *lion* was collocated only with *dog,* while in Turkish proverbs it was collocated with *fox* and *pig.*

Table.103 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
IMPORTANT IS BIG	AGGRESSIVE IS LION DANGER IS ANIMAL DOMAIN OF POWER IS HOUSE PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS STUPID IS DOG WOMEN ARE DOG WOMEN ARE LION AGGRESSIVE IS LION

Both languages also varied in terms of the positive and negative attributes they had ascribed to *lion* as a predator animal. While in Persian proverbs, *lion* was associated with “authority”, “danger”, and “aggression”, in Turkish proverbs it was associated with “laziness”, “power”, and “ambition”. Since lion is a wild and harmful animal in either sex, the gender of this animal was not highlighted in either language. This fact was even explicitly mentioned as a proverb in Persian where lion was conceptualizing danger: “*Šir ke az biše darāmad naro māde nadārad”* (Literal meaning: When the lion jumps out of bush, it no longer matters if it is male or female).

4.2.19. Ant Metaphors

Table-104 Cognitive Analysis of Ant Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Dar xāneye mur šabnami tufānast* LM: A dew in ant's nest is a storm MI: a small problem for someone weak is disaster TP: size, habitat	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS VULNERABLE IS SMALL DISASTER IS STORM	Ant	Human Vulnerable
2.	*Mur rā čon ajal resad par darārad* LM: when the end of an ant arrives , it grows wings MI: one's end come when one starts avidity TP: size, appearance	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS MORE IS UP AVIDITY IS WING UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL ASKING MORE IS FLYING	Ant	Human Insignificant
3.	*Murče be ostoxune čarb mizane* LM: Ants attack to fatty bones MI: people look for benefits TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS BENEFITS ARE BONE	Ant	Human Benefit-minded
4.	*Murče čiye ke kalle pāčaš či bāše* LM: What is ant itself that the broth made of ant's head and leg might be!	PEOPLE ARE INSECT INSIGNIFICANT IS SMALL BENEFITS ARE BONE	Ant	people Insignificant

	MI: someone insignificant has no benefit for anyone TP: appearance, size

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.19.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Ant Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

As illustrated in Table- 105, *ant* only represented *human.* This generated the PEOPLE ARE INSECTS metaphor, which was itself the sub metaphor of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS.

Table-105 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Ant Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Source domain
	Ant
Target domain	Human

4.2.19.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

As it was mentioned before, *ant* conceptualized various aspects of human character like *vulnerability, insignificance, uselessness*, and *benefit-mindedness.* In order to do this, the size and the behavior of the *ant* was highlighted. The small size of the ant was mapped on human to represent the *vulnerability, insignificance,* and *uselessness* of human*.* The result of such a mapping was the metaphors BEING VULNERABLE IS BEING ANT, BEING USELESS IS BEING ANT, and BEING INSIGNIFICANT IS BEING ANT. *Ant* behavior was also mapped once on human to show human's *benefit-*

mindedness. This generated the BEING BENEFIT-MINDED IS ANT BEHAVIOR metaphor.

Table-106 Cognitive Analysis of Ant Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Duşmanın karınca ise de hor bakma* LM: don't downgrade your enemy even if it is an ant MI: enemy is enemy, no matter what TP: size	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS ENEMY IS ANIMAL DESPISING IS LOOKING DOWN BAD IS DOWN	Ant	Enemy
2.	*Kadı ekmeğini karınca da yemez* LM: even ant does not eat the bread of judge MI: even ant does not want to eat a bread earned by bribery TP:	UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL	Ant	Human Insignificant
3.	*Karınca kanatlanınca serçe oldum sanır.* LM: when the ant gets wings, it considers itself sparrow MI: someone who has obtained unimportant and temporary power considers itself an important one TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS IMPORTANT IS BIG BOOSTING IS FLYING POWER IS UP MORE IS UP POWER IS WING	Ant	Human Insignificant

4.	*Karınca zevali gelince kanatlanır* LM: when the end of an ant comes it starts flying MI: an unfairly-boosted person will fall quickly TP: appearance, size	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS MORE IS UP BOOSTING IS FLYING INSIGNIFICANT IS SMALL POWER IS WING	Ant	Human Insignificant
5.	*Karıncadan ibret al, yazdan kısı karsılar* LM: learn from ant, it anticipates the winter from summer MI: be foreseer TP: behavior	Literal meaning PEOPLE ARE ANIMAL BEING HARD-WORKING IS BEING ANT DIFFICULTIES ARE COLD DAYS	Ant	Ant

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.19.3. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Ant Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Similar to Persian proverbs, *ant* was used to conceptualize *human* and *insignificance.* The mapping between *ant* and *human* generated the PEOPLE ARE INSECTS metaphor. Representing *insignificance* by *ant* generated the metaphor BEING INSIGNIFICANT IS BEING ANT. In order to do it, the size and appearance of the *ant* was highlighted.

Table-107 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Ant Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain Ant
	Human Insignificance

4.2.19.4. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Analyzing the proverbs of both languages in terms of the contributing primary metaphor illustrated that both languages were similar in IMPORTANT IS BIG, INSIGNIFICANT IS SMALL and MORE IS UP primary metaphors. *Wing* and *flying* were also the domains, which were commonly used in both languages for conceptualizing different domains like *avidity* in Persian proverbs and *power* and *boosting* in Turkish proverbs respectively.

Table-108 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	Complex & Resemblance Metaphors
MORE IS UP	AVIDITY IS WING
UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL	BENEFITS ARE BONE TO EAT
VULNERABLE IS SMALL	DISASTER IS STORM

The mapping between these domains generated the AVIDITY IS WING, POWER IS WING, and BOOSTING IS FLYING. Similar to previous animal metaphors, the concept of *insignificance* was represented through the metaphorical collocation of *ant* with *sparrow* as an animal, which was bigger in size.

Table-109 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BAD IS DOWN	BOOSTING IS FLYING
IMPORTANT IS BIG	DESPISING IS LOOKING DOWN
INSIGNIFICANT IS SMALL	ENEMY IS ANIMAL
MORE IS UP	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS
POWER IS UP	POWER IS WING

Both languages were also similar in associating the *ant* with negative attribute such as “insignificance.” In addition, in Persian proverbs, *ant* was also associated with being “benefit-minded,” “vulnerable” and “useless.” However, in Turkish proverbs, *ant* was also associated with the positive attribute of being “foreseer.” In either language, *ant* was not conceptualized distinctly in terms of gender and the term “ant” was used as a generic term to refer to both genders. In both Persian and Turkish culture, ant is a social insect, which is neither beneficial nor, noxious.

The gender of ant was not metaphorically highlighted in either language; however, the frequent metaphorical use of *wing* in both languages revealed some more appealing facts about ant life and the keen observation of human being on its environment. As social insects, ants are comprised of three classes. Females (queen), males and workers. In both Persian and Turkish the gender distinction and class distinction is similar to each other as it is in English. Both languages call the female “queen”, “mælæke” in Persian and “kraliçe” in Turkish, the male one or “drone” is called “murčeye nær” in Persian and “erkek Karınca”, in Turkish, and the “workers” are called “murčeye kārgær” in Persian and “işçi Karınca” in Turkish respectively. The worker ants are female sterile wingless ants. Only queen and reproductive males are winged. Male and queen can mate only once in their life and to do it they fly together somewhere far.

After this flying the male ant loses its wings and dies immediately after mating, but the queen gets the lifelong capability of laying eggs. In sum, for ants to survive their breed is a vital purpose which becomes possible through a fatal fly. In both cultures, what was observed was the delicately metaphorical use *mating* and r*eproduction* as a *precious purpose* and *wish* whose price was losing the wings and death. That is why in both languages a person who is greedy or wishes for more was represented as an ant, which wants to fly.

4.2.20. Bear Metaphors

Table-110 Cognitive Analysis of Bear Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain	
1.	*Az xers ye mu kandan ɣanimate* LM: To pick a hair from bear is also a trophy MI: to get something from someone stingy, is a success TP:	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS STINGY IS BEAR WEALTH IS BEAR WOOL	Bear	Human Stingy	
2.	*Erse xers be kaftār mirese* LM: The heritage of bear is left for hyena MI: the heritage of a rich stingy person is spent by someone who wastes it TP:	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS STINGY IS BEAR	Bear	Human Stingy	
3.	*Har jā xerse jāye tarse* LM: Wherever the bear, there is fear	DANGER IS BEAR	Bear	Dangerous	

	MI: whenever there is someone careless there is danger TP:behavior			
4.	*Puste xerse šekar nakardaro nafruš* LM: don't sell the fur of a bear not yet hunted MI: Do not count on the income of a business, which you have just started. TP: appearance	WEALTH IS BEAR PELT	Bear pelt	Wealth
5.	*Xers dar kuh abuali sināst* LM: bear is Avecina in mountain MI: in a place where everyone is ignorant, a half-wise person is idol TP: ?	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Bear	Human Wise

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.20.1. Source and Target Domains Analysis of Bear Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

In Persian proverbs, bear (f=5) represented various concepts such as *human, wealth,* and *danger*. In order to construct these concepts, various aspects of bear such as its behavior or physical properties like pelt and wool were highlighted.

Table-111 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Bear Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain		
	Bear	**Bear pelt**	**Bear wool**
	human danger	wealth	Wealth

The mapping of bear behavior on human behavior generated the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS GENERAL metaphor and its sub metaphor, OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. For instance, BEING STINGY IS BEAR BEHAVIOR. Bear's physical properties like its *pelt* and *wool* conceptualized *wealth* generating the metaphor PELT IS WEALTH and WOOL IS WEALTH. Bear behavior in general represented the concept of *danger* whose outcome was the generation of the metaphor DANGER IS BEAR. There was also a case of personification or ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor.

Table-112 Cognitive Analysis of Bear Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Ac ayı oynamaz* LM: Hungry bear does not dance MI: one should feed his/her workers, and then expect them to work TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WORKING IS DANCING MOTIVATION IS FOOD	Bear	Human
2.	*Ayiyi fırına atmişlar yavrusunu ayağının altına almış*	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS HARD-HEARTED IS	Bear	Human Hard-hearted

		BEAR		
	LM: The bear was pushed in oven , it had put its child under its foot MI: when difficulties come up, one may even ignore own child to save her/his own life TP: ?	DIFFICULTIES ARE FIRE TO BURN IN		
3.	*Ayı sevdiği yavrusunu hırpalar* LM: bears beats the child which it likes more MI: beating is sometimes meant for good purpose TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS INDELICATE IS BEAR	Bear	Human Bearish/ indelicate

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.20.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Bear Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

In Turkish proverbs *bear* (f=3) only conceptualized human and various aspects of human behavior generating the general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and its sub metaphor OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR. For instance, BEING HARD-HEARTED IS BEAR BEHAVIOR, BEATING IS BEAR BEHAVIOR, and BEING INDELICATE IS BEAR BEHAVIOR. There was also an instance of personification or ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE metaphor in Turkish proverbs as well.

Table-113 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Bear Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain Bear
	Human

4.2.20.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Analyzing Turkish proverbs containing *bear* metaphors also illustrated no similarity between Persian and Turkish in terms of the contributing primary metaphors. Both languages also varied in the complex and resemblance metaphors. The variation between both languages was grounded in different connotations that they associated with bear. For instance, for no clear reason- at least for the researcher- bear in Persian proverbs represented someone rich but stingy. While in Turkish proverbs, more than *danger* and *stinginess*, bear represented *hard-heartedness*, *indelicacy*, and *insensitive* behavior. The point of similarity between both languages was that contrary to the first impression about *bear* size to be the most highlighted property of bear, it was primarily the behavior of bear, which was highlighted in both languages as wild but beneficial animal for human as a source of food and cloth.

Table-114 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	Complex & Resemblance Metaphors
	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE STINGY IS BEAR DANGER IS BEAR PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEALTH IS BEAR PELT WEALTH IS BEAR WOOL

The analysis of the proverbs of both languages illustrated that both languages varied in the connotations with which they associated bear. While in Persian culture bear was associated with concepts like “stingy” and “dangerous”, in Turkish culture it was associated with the notions like “careless”, “indelicate” “merciless” person.

Similar to Persian “donkey” which is the most frequently used animal domain in daily conversation representing “ignorance” and “stupidity”, Turkish “bear” is one of the most frequently used animal domains used in daily conversations to represent careless behavior specially physically careless behaviors. Bear is one of the highly culture-specific animal domains. While in Persian and Turkish cultures bear is not a positively-approached animal,- even a highly offensive and insulting term to address people in Turkish - in Scandinavian cultures, it is a highly-esteemed animal so that “björn” -the term to refer to bear in Swedish language- is one of the prestigious and highly admired male names. Bear is also the national emblem of Finnish people and Russians.

Table-115 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE HARD-HEARTED IS BEAR DIFFICULTIES ARE FIRE TO BURN IN INDELICATE IS BEAR PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WORKING IS DANCING

The analysis of the proverbs of both languages also did not reveal any instances of metaphorical use of gender category in *bear* metaphors. Gender distinction had no metaphorical use in any of the languages.

4.2.21. Frog Metaphors

Table-116 Cognitive Analysis of Frog Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Āb ke sar bālā bere ɣurbāɣe abu ata mixune* LM: When the water streams uphill, the frog sings [3]*Abu Ata* MI: comments of a valueless person TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS VALUELESS IS FROG	Frog	Human
2.	*Az bi abi mordan behtare tā az ɣurbāɣe ejaze gereftan* LM: To die in thirst is better than asking for permission from frog MI: it is hard to request something from someone insignificant TP: relation to people	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS INSIGNIFICANT IS FROG	Frog	Human insignificant
3.	*Hezār ɣurbāɣe jāye ye māhi ro nemigire* LM: Thousands of frogs can't take the place of one fish MI: one valuable person is better than many valueless	PEOPLE ARE FISH VALUABLE IS FISH VALUELESS IS FROG IMPORTANT IS BIG	Frog	Human insignificant

[3] Abu Ata is one of the compositions in classic Persian music

	people TP: size , relation to people			
4.	*Hozi ke māhi nadāre ɣurbāɣe sālāre* LM: In the pool which has no fish, frog becomes leader MI: in the absence of valuable people, valueless people take the authority TP: relation to people	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) INSUFFICIENT IS FROG FISH IS SUFFICIENT SOCIETY IS POOL	Frog	Human Insufficient

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

Table-117 Cognitive Analysis of Frog Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Atlar nallanırken kurbağa ayağını uzatmaz* LM: when horse are given shoes, frog must not stretch his leg MI: a valueless person should not expect to be treated as a valuable person. TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG	Frog	Human insignificant
2.	*Göle su gelinceye kadar kurbağanın gözü patlar* LM: till water would the lake, frog's eye burst out	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WAITING IS LOOKING	Frog	Human

		BAD IS ARID
	MI: till the conditions turn to favorable, one undergoes great pains TP: appearnce, habitat	GOOD IS WATER

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.21.1. Contrastive Analysis of Source and Target Domains in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

Analyzing the Persian proverbs illustrated that *frog* in both Turkish (f=4) and Persian (f=1) represented only human (Table- 118). This generated the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor. Only in one case in Persian proverbs, the *frog singing* was used to represent an *impossible task*. This was done through anthropomorphization, or ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE.

Table-118 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Frog Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain **Frog**
Target domain	Human

4.22.1.2 Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Analyzing the Persian proverbs in terms of the underlying primary, complex and resemblance metaphors also illustrated that similar to previous proverbs, the primary metaphor IMPORTANT IS BIG was also the *sine qua non* of proverbs where the concept of *significance* was structured in terms of size (table- 119 and table- 120). Similar to previous metaphors, conceptualizing the *significance* and *social hierarchy* was made through metaphorical collocation of *frog* with other bigger animals. This collocation was between *fish* and *frog* in

Persian and *horse* and *frog* in Turkish. The significance of *fish* and *horse* lies in their relation to human as two beneficial animals in terms of edibility of former and domestic use of latter.

Table-119 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
IMPORTANT IS BIG	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE INSIGNIFICANT IS FROG FISH ISSUFFICIENT INSUFFICIENT IS FROG VALUABLE IS FISH VALUELESS IS FROG IMPORTANT IS BIG PEOPLE ARE FISH SOCIETY IS POOL

Examining the proverbs, in terms of the resemblance and complex metaphors did not reveal much similarity. The only common point between Persian and Turkish was conceptualizing the *insignificant human* as *frog*. In addition, in Persian proverbs, it also represented *insufficient human.* In frog metaphors, *society* was conceptualized as *pool*, which generated the SOCIETY IS POOL metaphor.

Table-120 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
IMPORTANT IS BIG WAITING IS LOOKING	BAD IS ARID BENEFIT IS WATER PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

In both Persian and Turkish, it was only the size of this animal, which was highlighted. There are no separate lexemes for the male and female gender of this animal in either language. No sexist use of *frog* was observed either in

Persian or Turkish. In both languages frog was associated with negative attribute of “insignificance”.

4.2.22. Sparrow Metaphors

Table-121 Cognitive Analysis of Sparrow Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Serçeden korkan darı ekmez* LM: one that is afraid of sparrow cant plant millet MI: timidity is great hindrance TP: behavior	INVESTING IS PLANTING MILLET DAMAGES ARE BIRDS	Sparrow	Harmful
2.	*Karınca kanatlanınca serçe oldum sanır.* LM: when the ant gets wings, it considers itself sparrow MI: someone who has obtained unimportant and temporary power considers itself an important one TP: appearance, size	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS IMPORTANT IS BIG BOOSTING IS FLYING POWER IS UP MORE IS UP POWER IS WING	Sparrow	Human Significant
3.	*Serçeye çubuk beredi* LM: for sparrow a even a narrow branch makes bruise MI: for someone weak the slightest things is hurting	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS INSIGNIFICANT IS SMALL DISASTER IS STORM	Sparrow	Human Insignifcant

	TP: size			
4.	*Kedinin kanadı olsaydı serçenin adı kalmazdı* LM: if the cat had wings, sparrow's name would be eradicated MI: if powerful people get whole power, they eradicate the weak people TP: size	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS INSIGNIFICANT IS SMALL Metonymy: NAME STANDS FOR BEING	Sparrow	Human Weak
5.	*Kırk serçeden bir kaz iyi* LM: one goose is better than forty sparrows MI: dealing one big task is better than dealing with many small tasks TP: size	TASKS ARE BIRDS CONTROLLABLE IS LESS UNCONTROLLABLE IS MORE	Sparrow	Small Task
6.	*Serçe ile konusanın sesi semadan gelir* LM: the voice of someone speaking with sparrow is heard from sky MI: we behave according to who our companion is TP: size	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS SOCIALIZING IS TALKING	Sparrow	Human

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ,

4.2.22.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Sparrow Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

In Turkish proverbs, sparrow (f=6) represented *human, task* and *chances.* The projection of the features of sparrow on these domains generated the PEOPLE ARE BIRDS, CHANCES ARE BIRDS, and TASKS ARE BIRDS metaphors. In Turkish proverbs sparrow was conceptualized primarily in terms of its size and then its behavior and appearance.

Table-122 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Sparrow Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	**Source domain Sparrow**
	chance
	damage
	Human
	Task

Table-123 Cognitive Analysis of Sparrow Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Gonješk bā bāz parid oftād mātahteš darid*	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS		
	LM: Sparrow flew with eagle, it fell and its ass torn off	SOCIALIZING IS FLYING	Sparrow	Human Insignificant /weak
	MI: one should socialize with people of his/her own class	DANGEROUS IS BIG		
	TP: size	IMPORTANT IS BIG		
2.	*Gonješke be dast beh az bāze paride*	CHANCES ARE BIRDS		
	LM: A sparrow at hand is better than flying eagle	IMPORTANT IS NOT AVAILABLE IS AT	Sparrow	small Chance

		HAND		
	MI: available but small chances are better than big but wasted chances TP: size	MISSED IS FLOWN AWAY		
3.				
	Gonjeşke be dast beh az tāvoose nesiye LM: A sparrow at hand is better than promised peacock	CHANCES ARE BIRDS IMPORTANT IS SMALL		
	MI: a small but available chance is better than big but promised TP: size	AVAILABLE IS AT HAND BAD IS FAR GOOD IS NEAR	Sparrow	Small chance

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.22.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Sparrow Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

In Persian proverbs, *sparrow* (f=3) conceptualized only *chance* and *human* generating CHANCES ARE BIRDS and PEOPLE ARE CHANCES metaphors. Similar to Turkish metaphors, sparrow was primarily conceptualized in terms of its size.

Table-124 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Sparrow Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Source domain **Sparrow**
Target domain	Chance Human

4.2.22.3. Contrastive Analysis Underlying Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors

The analysis of the proverbs illustrated that the size of the animal was used to represent the concept of *significance* or *insignificance.* This was done through the metaphorical collocation of a big and a small animal, though; it was not always the *big*, which represented the *significance*. However, in general, the IMPORTANT IS BIG, and IMPORTANT IS SMALL were the underlying metaphors. Size also conceptualized the notion of *danger* and *controllabilit*y as well. More precisely, something controllable was supposed to be quantitatively small and something uncontrollable was quantitatively big. The mapping between the aforementioned domains generated the DANGEROUS IS BIG, CONTROLLABLE IS LESS; UNCONTROLLABLE IS MORE metaphors.

Table-125 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
CONTROLLABLE IS LESS	BOOSTING IS FLYING
INSIGNIFICANT IS SMALL	DAMAGES ARE BIRDS
UNCONTROLLABLE IS MORE	DISASTER IS STORM
MORE IS UP	ERASING THE EXISTENCE IS ERASING THE NAME
POWER IS UP	INVESTING IS PLANTING MILLET
CONTROLLABLE IS LESS	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS
	SOCIALZING IS TALKING
	POWER IS WING

Flying as a bird-related metaphor also represented *Socializing.* However, it was only in Persian proverbs where it was structured in terms of *flying*, in Turkish proverbs it was structured in terms of *talking* generating the SOCIALIZING IS TALKING, and SOCIALIZING IS FLYING metaphors.

Table-126 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BAD IS FAR	AVAILABLE IS AT HAND
DANGEROUS IS BIG	MISSED IS FLOWN AWAY
GOOD IS NEAR	CHANCES ARE BIRD
IMPORTANT IS NOT BIG	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS
	SOCIALIZING IS FLYING

In both languages, *sparrow* was collocated with some other animals to structure different concepts. In Persian proverbs, *sparrow* was collocated with *eagle* in order to represent *insignificance* in social hierarchy. However, when it represented *available chan*ce, then it became the *significant* one in collocation with *peacock* and *eagle, which* represented *promised* or *wasted big chances.*

Similar to Persian proverbs, since these metaphorical collocations were used to illustrate the social hierarchy in both languages, it can be argued that both languages adopted both basic and extended version of great chain of being cultural model. Investigating the positive and negative attributes ascribed to sparrow illustrated that sparrow was only associated with negative features like “small”, “weak”, “insignificant” in Persian and “weak”, “small”, “insignificant”, and “damaging” in Turkish.

Neither Persian nor Turkish made a distinction between female and male sparrow by using separate lexemes. No gender distinction was made for metaphorical purposes.

4.2.23. Eagle Metaphors

Table-127 Cognitive Analysis of Eagle Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Baz bazla, kaz kazla, kel tavuk topal horozla* LM: Eagle with eagle, goose with goose and bald hen with crippled rooster MI: everyone should socialize with the people of her/his own type TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS SOCIALIZING IS FLYING IMPORTANT IS BIG	Eagle	Significant Human
2.	*Kartala bir ok değmiş, o da kendi yeleğinden* LM: Eagle was shot with an arrow and it was made of his own feather MI: one always get hurt by his/her own close people TP:	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS ARROW IS PAIN HURTING IS SHOOTING	Eagle	Human
3.	*Kartalin begenmedigini kargalar kapisir* LM: Raven fight for something that eagle does not care about MI: a chance or something that a noble person never likes seems very appealing to an inferior person TP:	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS NOBLE IS EAGLE INFERIOR IS RAVEN	Eagle	Human noble

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.23.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Eagle Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

In its limited use in Turkish proverbs, *eagle* (f=3) metaphorically represented only *human*- specifically its character. This generated the PEOPLE ARE BIRDS as the sub metaphor of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. Eagle as predator bird, was conceptualized mainly in terms of its size and its behavior.

Table-128 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Eagle Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain
Target domain	**Eagle**
	Human

Table-129 Cognitive Analysis of Eagle Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Gonješk bā bāz parid oftād mātahteš darid* LM: Sparrow flew with eagle and its donkey got torn off MI: one should socialize with people of his/her own class TP: size	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS SOCIALIZING IS FLYING DANGEROUS IS BIG	Eagle	Human Significant
2.	*Gonjeske be dast beh az bāze paride* LM: A sparrow at hand is better than flying eagle	CHANCES ARE BIRDS IMPORTANT IS SMALL AVAILABLE IS AT	Eagle	Big Chance

		HAND		
	MI: available but small chances are better than big but unreal chances TP: size	MISSED IS FLOWN AWAY		
3.				
	Kabutar ba kabutar bāz bā bāz, konad hamjens bā hamjens parvāz LM: bird with bird, eagle with eagle and ones from same kind fly together MI: Birds of the same feather fly together TP: behavior, size	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS SOCIALIZING IS FLYING IMPORTANT IS BIG	Eagle	Human Significant

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.23.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Eagle Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

In Persian proverbs, eagle (f=3) conceptualized both *human* and *big chances*. The results of such mappings were PEOPLE ARE BIRDS and CHANCES ARE BIRDS metaphors. Similar to Turkish proverbs, in Persian proverbs, *eagle* was primarily conceptualized in terms of its size and then its behavior.

Table-130 Classification of Source and Target Domains in Eagle Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Source domain **Eagle**
Target domain	Human big chance

4.2.23.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

As it was mentioned in previous animal metaphors, the size of some animals and their life was highlighted metaphorically to conceptualize *significance.* In addition to *significance, eagle* also represented the *nobility* and *big chances*. In both languages, the IMPORTANT IS BIG primary metaphor was inevitable part of the mappings between *eagle* as source domain and the conceptualized target domains. However, in some cases*, importance* was not conceptualized in terms of *big size*, rather *smallness.* The outcome of such a mapping was the primary metaphor SMALL IS IMPORTANT in Turkish proverbs.

Table-131 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
IMPORTANT IS BIG	ARROW IS PAIN INFERIOR IS RAVEN NOBLE IS EAGLE HURTING IS SHOOTING PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS PEOPLE ARE BIRDS

There was a metaphorical collocation between *eagle* and other smaller animals to structure concepts like *significance* and *nobility* in social hierarchy, and *chance*. In Persian proverbs, this collocation was between *eagle*, and *sparrow* to conceptualize *chance*, and *pigeon* and *sparrow* to show the social hierarchy while in Turkish proverbs; it was the collocation of *eagle* with *goose*, *hen,* and *rooster* which structured the notion of social hierarchy. To represent the concept of *nobility* there was a collocation between *eagle* and *raven.*

T*able-132 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs*

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
IMPORTANT IS BIG	AVAILABLE IS AT HAND
IMPORTANT IS SMALL	MISSED IS FLOWN AWAY
DANGEROUS IS BIG	CHANCES ARE BIRDS
	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS
	SOCIALIZING IS FLYING

In neither language eagle was used for expressing sexist objectives. Similarly, neither of the languages made a gender distinction. Contrary to *rooster, eagle* is a monogamous bird, which spends all its life only with one partner; however, this behavior of eagle was not used metaphorically in the proverbs of neither language. In both languages, *eagle* was only associated with "significance."

4.2.24. Cow Metaphors

Table-133 Cognitive Analysis of Cow Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors &Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Age mehmun yeki bāše sahebxune barāš gāv mikoše* LM: If the guest is only one person, then the landlord kills its cow for him/her MI: to have many guests is not pleasant TP: relation to people	WEALTH IS COW GENEROUS IS KILLING COW	Cow	Wealth / property
2.	*Gāv ke be lise naravad namak nemikhorad* LM: a cow which does not go	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFITS ARE SALT TO EAT	Cow	Human

	to manger, won't eat salt MI: if you don't try you find get the result TP: behavior	PURPOSES ARE DESTINATION		
3	*Gušt rā bāyad az baɣale gāv borid* LM: the meat should be cut from the side of the cow MI: it is not valiancy to take advantage of poor people's property TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFITS ARE FLESH TO EAT	Cow	Human
4.	*Tā nabāšd čube tar, farmān nabarand gāvo xar* LM: Cow and donkey don't obey you without lash MI: people obey when they are scared TP: relation to people, behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS DISOBEDIENT IS DONKEY CONTROL IS UP CONTROLLING IS RIDING CONTROLLING IS BEATING SOCIETY IS STABLE	Cow	Human

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.24.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Cow Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

In Persian proverbs cow (f=4) conceptualized human, and *wealth.* This generated the metaphors PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and WEALTH IS ANIMAL. In Persian proverbs, cow was conceptualized primarily in its relation to human as a beneficial, edible domestic animal and then in terms of its behavior.

Table-134 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Cow Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain Cow
	Human Wealth

Table-135 Cognitive Analysis of Cow Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*inek gibi süt vermeyen, öküz gibi kütan surer* LM: One which don't give milk like cow, should pull plow like bull MI: if someone does not do something by his/ her own will, s/he will be forced TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFICIAL IS COW USELESS IS BULL BENEFIT IS MILK HARD WORK IS PULLING PLOW simile	Cow	Human beneficial
2.	*Komsunu iki inekli iste ki kendin bir inekli olasin* LM: wish two cows for your neighbor so that you be given one MI: have good will for others to have its good reflection back to you TP: relation to people	WEALTH IS ANIMAL WEALTH IS COW GOOD WILL IS WISHING WEALTH(COW)	Cow	Wealth
3.	*Sen ağa, ben ağa; bu ineği kim sağa*	BENEFITS IS MILK TO DRINK	Milking cow	Hard work

	LM: You are master , I am master, who is going to milk the cow MI: to see yourself more valuable than the task , it will never be done TP: relation to people	WORKING HARD IS MILKING COW		
4.	*Zemheride yoğurt isteyen cebinde inek taşır* LM: whoever wishes for yogurt in winter, must carry a cow in pocket MI: whoever wishes for something valuable but hard to achieve, should tolerate difficulties TP: relation to people	WORKING HARD IS MILKING COW BENEFITS ARE YOGURT	Cow	Benefit

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.24.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Cow Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Analyzing the Turkish proverbs illustrated that *cow* (f=4) represented various domains such as *human, wealth*, and *benefit.* The mapping between these domains generated the general metaphors, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, WEALTH IS ANIMAL, and BENEFIT IS ANIMAL. *Milking cow* was a phrasal metaphor derived from cow metaphors, which represented *hard work* generating the HARD WORK IS MILKING COW metaphor. Similar to some other animals like *fish, cow* was also not used to represent negative human behaviors. In Turkish proverbs cow was conceptualized in terms of its relation to human as a beneficial, edible and domestic animal.

Table-136 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Cow Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain	
	Cow	**Cow milking**
	human wealth benefit	Hard work

4.2.24.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors

Similar to the elicited primary metaphors in previous animal domains, almost the same primary metaphors were observed in this group of animal domains but with different distribution between two languages. In Persian proverbs, the primary metaphor CONTROL IS UP was observed in a proverb where people were conceptualized as barn animals, which should be controlled. Consequently, *controlling* was conceptualized in terms of *riding* and *beating*. The results of such mapping were the CONTROLLING IS RIDING and CONTROLLING IS BEATING metaphors. PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS was a primary metaphor, which was frequently observed in both languages especially when it was collocated with manger and any kind of animal food.

Table-137 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
CONTROL IS UP	BENEFITS ARE FLESH BENEFITS ARE SALT TO LICK CONTROLLING IS BEATING CONTROLLING IS RIDING DISOBEDIENT IS DONKEY PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS PURPOSES ARE DESTINATION SOCIETY IS STABLE WEALTH IS COW

In Turkish proverbs, in one case the concept of *bad* was conceptualized in terms of *coldness* and *difficulties* as *heavy loads* to carry. The primary metaphors BAD IS COLD and DIFFICULTIES ARE HEAVY LOADS TO CARRY are the result of such a mapping between these two domains. In both languages, barn animals in general and *cow* in particular were conceptualized as *wealth,* which generated the general metaphor WEALTH IS COW. Similarly, the by products of cow like *milk, flesh,* and *yogurt* were conceptualized as *benefit*s. However, in Turkish proverbs, hard work was conceptualized as *milking the cow* and *pulling plow,* but in Persian proverbs, it was *grazing* which was frequently mentioned as *hard work*. *Cow* as a domestic barn animal was metaphorically collocated with different life forms to conceptualize different concepts. For instance, in Persian language, *cow* was collocated with *host*, *guest, salt, whip, and bull.* In Turkish proverbs *cow* was collocated with *neighbour, bull,* and *yoghurt.*

Table-138 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BAD IS COLD	USELESS IS BULL
DIFFICULTIES ARE HEAVY LOADS TO CARRY	BENEFICIAL IS COW
	BENEFIT IS MILK
	BENEFITS ARE ANIMAL
	BENEFITS ARE YOGURT TO EAT
	BENEFIT IS MILK TO EAT
	GOOD WILL IS WISHING WEALTH(COW)
	HARD WORK IS MILKING
	WEALTH IS ANIMAL
	WEALTH IS COW

Cow in both languages was mainly associated with positive connotations like “beneficial”. However, in Persian proverbs, *cow* was associated with the concept of “disobedience”. Female cattle or cow has always been associated

with “benefit” while male one or bull has been associated with “hard work” and “physical strength”.

4.2.25. Bull Metaphors

Table-139 Cognitive Analysis of Bull Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain	
1.	*Arık öküze bıçak olmaz* LM: knife does not cut the thin bull MI: it is no valiancy to torture someone frail TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS HURTING IS CUTTING		Bull	Human Weak
2.	*inek gibi süt vermeyen, öküz gibi kütan surer* LM: One which don’t give milk like cow, should drag plow like bull MI: if someone does not do something by his/ her own will, s/he will be forced TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFICIAL IS COW BENEFICIAL IS BULL GIVING MILK IS GIVING BENEFIT BENEFIT IS MILK		Bull	Human Strong
3.	*Yalnız öküz, çifte koşulmaz* LM: An alone cow should not be attached to plow MI: one should not expect the task of two person to be carried out by one	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS HARD TASK IS PUSHING THE PLOW BEING ALONE IS BEING WEAK		Bull	Human

	TP: relation to people			
4.	*Serkeş okuz (son) soluğu kasap dukkanında alır* LM: rebellious bull takes the last breath in butchery MI: rebellious people finally pay heavy price for their attitude TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BEING PUNISHED IS LOSING HEAD REBELLIOUS IS BULL	Bull	Human

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

Table-140 Cognitive Analysis of Bull Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Kāre har boz nist xarman kuftan, gāve nar mixāhado marde kohan* LM: Not every goat can Thresh the flail, it is a task of a bull and an skilled man MI: certain tasks need highly-experienced people to carry it out TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEAK IS GOAT STRONG IS BULL	Bull	Human strong/ experienced

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.25.1. Contrastive Analysis of Source and Target Domains of Bull Metaphors in Turkish and Persian Proverbs

Analyzing the data illustrated that *bull* in Persian (f=1) or in Turkish proverbs (f=4) represented *human.* In both languages, *bull* was conceptualized primarily

in terms of its relation to human as a beneficial domesticated animal in terms of edibility and beast of burden and then its behavior.

Table-141 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Bull Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain
Target domain	**Bull**
	Human

In Turkish proverbs, *bull* conceptualized *rebellious human*. Therefore, by conceptualizing rebellious behavior of *human* as *bull* behavior, the OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR metaphor as the sub metaphor of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS was formed. In Persian proverbs, *bull* also conceptualized an *experienced and strong man* who can undertake heavy tasks. This generated the metaphor BEING STRONG IS BEING BULL.

4.2.25.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Analyzing the Turkish and Persian proverbs containing *bull* metaphors illustrated that in both languages *bull* was associated with the concepts like “strength” “masculinity” and “usefulness” and negative connotation of “rebellious” in Turkish proverbs.

Table-142 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in TurkishProverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BEING PUNISHED IS LOSING HEAD	BENEFIT IS MILK
HURTING IS CUTTING	BENEFICIAL IS BULL
WEAK IS ALONE	BENEFICIAL IS COW
	REBELLIOUS IS BULL
	GIVING MILK IS GIVING BENEFIT
	HARD TASK IS PUSHING THE PLOW
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

Since, *bull* does not have benefits like giving milk, its flesh, and capability to work hard was used to conceptualize benefit. The value ascribed to *cow* due to its being beneficial in many ways was emphasized more frequently in Persian sayings and idioms in comparison to proverbs.

Table-143 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
IMPORTANT IS BIG	BEING WEAK IS BEING GOAT
UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL	BEING STRONG IS BEING BULL

In order to represent these concepts metaphorically, in both languages *bull* was collocated with various life forms. For instance, in Persian proverbs, it was collocated with *goat* to structure *power* versus *weakness* while in Turkish; it was collocated with *plow, cow*, and *knife* to represent *hard work* and *benefit* respectively. The underlying primary metaphors IMPORTANT IS BIG and UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL were observed in both languages.

4.2.27. Lamb Metaphors

Table-144 Cognitive Analysis of Lamb Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Ak koyunun kara kuzusu da olur* LM: White sheep can have black sheep as well MI: good parents might have bad child TP: appearance	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CHILD IS LAMB BAD IS BLACK GOOD IS WHITE	Lamb	Child
.2	*Çobana verme kızı, ya koyuna güttürür ya kuzu* LM: Don't let your girl marry a shepherd because he turns her to a shepherd too MI: be careful when you select the man as the future husband of your daughter TP: ?	HARD WORK IS LAMB GRAZING	Lamb grazing	Hard work
3.	*Kurdun marhemeti kuzuyu dişinde taşımak* LM: The clemency of a wolf is to carry the lamb in his mouth MI: a villain's kindness is just what suits him. TP: behavior	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS MERCILESS IS WOLF WEAK IS LAMB	Lamb	Weak person
4.	*Kurdun yavrusu kuzu*	PEOPLE ARE	Lamb	Innocent Person

	olmaz LM: A wolf's child never becomes a lamb MI: people live by the same nature they were born with TP: behavior, relation to people	ANIMALS ILL-BRED IS WOLF INNOCENT IS LAMB

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.26.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Lamb Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Examining the data illustrated that *lamb* had a limited metaphorical use in Turkish proverbs (f=4). This was even limited to one single case in Persian proverbs (f=1). Similar to other barn animals, lamb was also mainly used to conceptualize *human* in general and *child* in particular. This has generated the general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and its sub metaphor CHILD IS LAMB.

Table-145 Classification of Source and Target domains of Lamb Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain	
Target domain	**Lamb**	**Lamb grazing**
	human Child	Hard work

In Turkish proverbs, lamb was conceptualized in terms of its appearance and behavior. *Lamb grazing* was also another metaphor, which was derived from *lamb* itself in Turkish proverbs in order to represent *hard work.* This also generated the HARD WORK IS LAMB GRAZING metaphor.

Table-146 Cognitive Analysis of Lamb Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Gorg ke be gale oftād vāy be hāle kesi ke ye barre dāre* LM: when the wolf attacks the herd, poor the one who has only one lamb MI: when a disaster happens someone who is poorer is the biggest loser TP:	WEALTH IS ANIMAL ROBBER IS WOLF WEALTH IS LAMB	Lamb	Wealth

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.26.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Lamb Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Contrary to Turkish proverbs, in Persian proverbs, *lamb* conceptualized *wealth, which* produced the WEALTH IS LAMB metaphor as the sub metaphor of general metaphor WEALTH IS ANIMAL. In Persian proverbs, *lamb* was conceptualized as a beneficial animal in relation to human.

Table-147 Classification of Source and Target Domains in Lamb Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Target domain	**Source domain** **Lamb**
	wealth

4.2.26.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Since both languages varied in the frequency of use of lamb in their proverbs, as well as the target domain they had conceptualized, no remarkable points of similarity was observed in terms of their primary metaphors. However, in Turkish proverbs where the *black lamb* represented *bad child* and *white lamb* represented *good child*, the primary metaphors GOOD IS WHITE and BAD IS BLACK were implicitly contributing. In addition, both languages were similar in collocating the *wolf* and *lamb* in their proverbs. *Lamb* was also collocated with *shepherd* and *sheep* in Turkish proverbs.

Table-148 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BAD IS BLACK WHITE IS GOOD	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE ILL-BRED IS WOLF INNOCENT IS LAMB MERCILESS IS WOLF WEAK IS LAMB CHILD IS ANIMAL CHILD IS LAMB HARD WORK IS LAMB GRAZING PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

In Turkish proverbs, lamb was associated with “weakness” and “innocence” while in Persian it was only associated with “wealth”.

4.2.27. Goose Metaphors

Table-149 Cognitive Analysis of Goose Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Baz bazla, kaz kazla, kel tavuk topal horozla* LM: Eagle with eagle, goose with goose and bald hen with crippled rooster MI: everyone should socialize with the people of her/his own type TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS SOCIALIZING IS FLYING	Goose	Human
2.	*Bugünkü tavuk yarınki kazdan iyidir* LM: Today's hen is better than tomorrow's goose MI: an available but small earning is better than the big but not at hand TP: relation to people	EARNING IS ANIMAL IMPORTANT IS BIG GOOD IS EARLY EARLY IS CLOSE BAD IS LATE LATE IS DISTANT VALUED IS GOOSE LESS-VALUED IS HEN	Goose	Earning
3.	*Kaz gelen yerden tavuk esirgenmez* LM: those who send the goose as gift, they won't grudge hen MI: those who make big favors never grudge small favors	SUSTENANCE IS GOOSE LESS-VALUED IS HEN VALUED IS GOOSE IMPORTANT IS BIG	Goose	Sustenance

	TP: relation to people, size				
4.	*Kırk serçeden bir kaz iyi* LM: one goose is better than forty sparrows MI: dealing one big task is better than dealing with many small tasks TP: size	TASKS ARE BIRDS CONTROLLABLE IS LESS UNCONTROLLABLE IS MORE		Goose	Big Task

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.27.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Goose Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

As a rarely-used bird domain in Turkish proverbial metaphors, *goose* (f=4) conceptualized *earning*, *human, sustenance,* and *task.* These mappings generated the general metaphors EARNING IS BIRD, PEOPLE ARE BIRDS, SUSTENANCE IS BIRD, and TASK IS BIRD.

Table-150 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Goose Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	**Source domain** **Goose**
	earning human Sustenance task

Table-151 Cognitive Analysis of Goose Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*morɣe hamsāye ɣaze* LM: Neighbor's hen always seems goose MI: others' property always seems better and more TP: size	WEALTH IS BIRD VALUED IS GOOSE LESS-VALUED IS HEN IMPORTANT IS BIG	Goose	Wealth

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.27.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Goose Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

In Persian proverbs, *goose* (f=1) was not a productive domain and it was just used to represent *wealth* generating the metaphor WEALTH IS GOOSE. In both languages, *goose* was conceptualized in terms of its size and then its relation to human as a beneficial bird in terms of edibility.

Table-152 Classification of Source and Target Domains in Goose Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain **Goose**
Target domain	wealth

4.2.27.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Since *hen* and *goose* were frequently collocated in both languages, representing the concept of *value* - the earlier as less valued and the latter as more valued- the outcome of such a comparison was the metaphors of LESS-VALUED IS HEN and VALUABLE IS GOOSE. Since *value* was structured in terms of *goose* size the primary metaphor, VALUABLE IS BIG was common in both languages. In an instance in Turkish proverbs, the concept of *good* was structured in terms of temporally and spatially *near*. Consequently *bad* was understood in terms of temporally and spatially *far*. This mapping generated the BAD IS LATE, LATE IS DISTANT, EARLY IS CLOSE, GOOD IS EARLY primary metaphors. In the case where *goose* conceptualized the concept of *task,* the primary metaphors CONTROLLABLE IS LESS and UNCONTROLLABLE IS MORE contributed to the formation of these proverbs.

Table-153 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BAD IS LATE	EARNING IS ANIMAL
CONTROLLABLE IS LESS	VALUED IS GOOSE
EARLY IS CLOSE	LESS-VALUED IS HEN
GOOD IS EARLY	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS
IMPORTANT IS BIG	SOCIALIZING IS FLYING
LATE IS DISTANT	SUSTENANCE IS GOOSE
UNCONTROLLABLE IS MORE	TASKS ARE BIRDS

Similar to Turkish proverbs, *hen* conceptualized *wealth* and *less-valued* in Persian proverbs. In both languages, goose associated only with the positive attribute of “valuable”. Investigating the data also illustrated that both languages adopted only the basic version of the great chain of being. Neither in Persian nor in Turkish, was not any separate lexeme used to refer to male or female goose. In both languages, gender distinction was done by adding the term “male” and “female” before goose. Gender of the goose was not

metaphorically highlighted for structuring any concepts in either of the languages.

Table-154 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	Complex & Resemblance Metaphors
VALUABLE IS BIG	LESS- IS VALUED HEN GOOSE IS VALUED WEALTH IS BIRD

4.2.28. Bee Metaphors

Table-155 Cognitive Analysis of Bee Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain	
1.	*Arı bal alacak çiçeği bilir* LM: The bee knows the flower from which it must take honey MI: one knows where one's profit is made TP: behavior, relation to people	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS BENEFITS ARE HONEY PURPOSES ARE DESTINATION	Bee	Human Benefit-minded	
2.	*Arı, kızdıranı sokar* LM: Bee stings the ones who make it angry, no matter they die at the end MI: people attack when they are annoyed TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS DEFENDING IS STINGING	Bee	Human	
3.			Bee	Obstacle	

	Arıdan korkan bal satamaz LM: He who is afraid of bee can't sell honey MI: thinking about the negative aspects of something takes the courage of act away TP: behavior	BENEFITS ARE HONEY TO EAT OBSTACLES ARE BEE STING

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.28.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Bee Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

After *ant, bee* was the second insect which was used in both languages metaphorically, even though the frequency of use of this domain was not high either in Turkish (f=3) or in Persian (f=1).

Table-156 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Bee Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain
Target domain	**Bee**
	Human obstacles

In Turkish proverbs, *bee* conceptualized *human and obstacles* generating PEOPLE ARE INSECTS and OBSTACLES ARE BEES. PEOPLE ARE INSECTS and can be considered as the sub-metaphor of the general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS because although fish, birds, insects, and mammals are different life forms, they all are ranked under the folk kingdom of animal.

Table.157 Cognitive Analysis of Bee Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*āleme bi amal mesle zanbure bi asal ast* LM: a erudite who don't practice his own knowledge is like a bee without honey MI: talking is not enough, one should act TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS BENEFITS ARE HONEY TO EMPTY TALK IS BEE BUZZ USEFUL IS BEE	Bee	Human

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

4.2.28.2. Source and Target Domain Analysis of Bee Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Similar to Turkish proverbs, in Persian proverbs, *bee* represented *human* and more specifically its behavior. The outcome of mapping *bee* behavior (buzzing) on human behavior; namely *empty talking*, was primarily the generation of PEOPLE ARE INSECTS metaphor and then its sub metaphor OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR, that is, EMPTY TALKING IS BEE BUZZ.

Table-158 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Bee Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Target domain	**Source domain** **Bee**
Human	

4.2.28.3. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Examining the data in terms of the contributing primary, complex and resemblance metaphors also illustrated that in Turkish proverbs containing *bee* metaphors, PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS was the underlying primary metaphor in some cases where *flowers* were conceptualized as the *targets* to get benefit of. In Turkish proverbs, *bee sting* metaphorically represented the *defense* and *obstacles.* The mapping of the bee sting on attacking and obstacles generated OBSTACLES ARE BEE STING and ATTACKING IS STINGING metaphors.

In Persian proverbs *honey* and *bee buzz* metaphorically represented *benefits* and *empty talking* respectively. The outcome of such a mapping is BENEFITS ARE HONEY TO EAT and EMPTY TALKING IS BEE BUZZ.

Table-159 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
PURPOSES ARE DESTINATION	DEFENDING IS STINGING BENEFITS ARE HONEY OBSTACLES ARE BEE STING PEOPLE ARE INSECTS

Although both languages used *honey* to represent *benefits*, yet they varied in that they highlighted different properties of *bee* as a beneficial but at the same time wild insect. In Persian it was the *beneficiality* and *hard working* nature of bee which was highlighted, while in Turkish metaphors it was the *bee sting* which was highlighted more in order to represent *obstacles*. In both languages bee was associated with the positive connotation of “beneficial”. In addition in Turkish it was also associated with the concept of“aggression”.

Table-160 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	Complex & Resemblance Metaphors
	USEFUL IS BEE BENEFITS ARE HONEY EMPTY TALK IS BEE BUZZ PEOPLE ARE INSECTS

Since in both languages *bee* was used only to understand human behavior, it can be argued that in both languages, only the basic version of the great chain of being was adopted. Similar to ants, bees were also social insects which live in colonies and they are comprised of three classes of bees: female bee known as “queen” “male bees” and “worker bees”. Gender category was not metaphorically highlighted in either language.

4.2.29. Monkey Metaphors

Table-161 Cognitive Analysis of Bee Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

	Persian Proverbs	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Meymun har či zeštar adaš bištar* LM: the uglier the monkey is, the more playful it is MI: ugly people try to attract others by behaving in a exaggerating way TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PLAYFUL IS MONKEY	Monkey	Human
2.	*Meymun balā gardāne tavile ast*	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Monkey	child

	LM: monkey is the scapegoat of the stable MI: younger member of the family are the scapegoat of family TP: behavior	FAMILY IS STABLE			
3.	*Meymun dar hamām bačeaš rā Zire pā migozarad* LM: monkey stands on its own bay in bath MI: In difficult situations, even the parents forget about their children and become heartless TP: ?	ANIMALS PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ANIMALS HEARTLESS MONKEY	ARE ARE IS	Monkey	Human

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a*

Table-162 Cognitive Analysis of Monkey Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Maymun çomağı bir kere yer* LM: The monkey bears the stick one MI: once being punished is enough to learn TP: behavior	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	Monkey Human

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.29.1. Contrastive Analysis of Source and Target Domains in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

Monkey in Persian (f=3) and Turkish proverbs (f=1), represented only *human,* generating the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor. In addition to *human*, monkey was also used to structure the objectionable human behavior namely, *playfulness* in both languages. This generated the OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR as the sub metaphor of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. There were also two instances of personification of monkey in Persian proverbs. In both languages, Monkey was conceptualized in terms of its behavior but in Persian, it was also conceptualized in terms of its appearance.

Table-163 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Monkey Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	**Source domain** **Monkey**
	Human

4.2.29.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

In one case in Persian proverbs, where monkey represented *human child*, *stable* was collocated with *monkey* in order to structure the concept of *family.* This generated the FAMILY IS STABLE metaphor. In both languages monkey was ascribed the negative attribute of “playfulness.” In addition, in Persian proverbs monkey was associated with “ugliness,” and “heartlessness.” In neither of the languages, the gender of the monkey was highlighted metaphorically.

Table.164 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	Complex & Resemblance Metaphors
	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE HEARTLESS IS MONKEY PLAYFUL IS MONKEY FAMILY IS STABLE PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

4.2.30. Chicken Metaphors

Table-165 Cognitive Analysis of Chicken Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

	Proverbs	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Jujaro āxare pāyiz mišmoran* LM: chickens should be counted at the end of the fall MI: one should not prejudge about the result of a task TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS INVESTING IS LAYING EGG RESULTS ARE CHICKENS	Chicken	Result
2.	*Juje hamiše zire sabad nemimānad* LM: chicken does not stay under the basket for ever MI: children grow up and will understand everything	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS CHILD IS CHICKEN UNAWARENESS IS BEING COVERED KNOWING IS SEEING UNAWARENESS IS CHILDHOOD	Chicken	Child

	TP: behavior	AWARENESS IS MATURITY MATURITY IS BEING HEN/ROOSTER		

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

Table-166 Cognitive Analysis of Chicken Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

	Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Yumurtasına hor bakan civcivini cılk eder* LM: A hen which looks down on her own egg, makes it rotten MI: a person who does not take care of his/her own business/child, spoils it TP:	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS BUSINESS IS LAYING EGG RESULTS ARE CHICKENS LOOKING DOWN IS DESPISING BAD RESULT IS ROTTEN EGG GOOD RESULT IS CHICKEN NEGLECTED CHILD IS ROTTEN EGG CHERISHED CHILD IS CHICKEN BAD IS DOWN CARING IS LOOKING CHILD IS CHICKEN	Chicken	Result / child

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.30.1. Source and Target Domain Analysis of in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

Despite the low frequency of *chicken* in Persian proverbs (f=2) and Turkish proverbs (f=1), in both languages *chicken* represented similar domains. It represented *child,* generating the CHILD IS CHICKEN metaphor. It also represented the concept of *result* generating the RESULTS ARE CHICKENS metaphor*.* In its limited cases of use in Persian proverbs, *chicken* was conceptualized in terms of its behavior and relation to people as the beneficial bird which was edible before turning to chicken. In fact, this life circle of chicken was metaphorically used in both languages.

Table-167 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Chicken Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

	Source domain
Target domain	**Chicken**
	Child
	Result

4.2.30.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Chicken was one of the bird domains, which was used for understanding different domains like human *child* and *result* of business or investment. In both languages, the RESULTS ARE CHICKEN and CHILDREN ARE CHICKEN metaphors were accompanied by the implicit and metaphorical use of *laying eggs,* which represented *investing* or *bringing a child*. In Turkish proverbs, in case the *child* or *investment* -metaphorically represented by *egg*- was given care, then it would turn to favorable *results* -which were metaphorically represented by *chickens*.

The mapping between these domains generated the INVESTING IS LAYING EGGS, GOOD RESULT IS CHICKEN, and CHERISHED CHILD IS CHICKEN. In

case the *business* -metaphorically represented by *eggs*- were not given *care*, they would be rotten. The same also held true about children who would turn to rotten eggs if they were despised. In such a case, the generated metaphors were BAD RESULT IS ROTTEN EGG, CARING IS LOOKING, and NEGLECTED CHILD IS ROTTEN EGG, The primary metaphors contributing to this proverb were BAD IS DOWN and CARING IS LOOKING and DESPISING IS LOOKING DOWN.

Table-168 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
UNAWARENESS IS BEING COVERED KNOWING IS SEEING	AWARENESS IS MATURITY CHILD IS CHICKEN CHILDHOOD IS CHICKEN HOOD INVESTING IS LAYING EGG MATURITY IS BEING HEN/ROOSTER PEOPLE ARE BIRDS RESULTS ARE CHICKENS UNAWARENESS IS CHILDHOOD

In Persian proverbs, *chickenhood* metaphorically represented *unawareness* and *immaturity.* The outcome was the production of metaphors CHILDHOOD IS CHICKEN HOOD, MATURITY IS BEING HEN/ROOSTER, CHILDHOOD IS UNAWARENESS and AWARENESS IS MATURITY. In these proverbs, *chicken* was collocated with *basket*, which represented a kind of *cover* on vision scope and awareness. The primary metaphor underlying this proverb was then UNAWARENESS IS BEING COVERED and KNOWING IS SEEING.

Table-169 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	Complex & Resemblance Metaphors
BAD IS DOWN CARING IS LOOKING	BAD RESULT IS ROTTEN EGG BUSINESS IS LAYING EGG CHERISHED CHILD IS CHICKEN CHILDREN ARE CHICKENS GOOD RESULT IS CHICKEN DESPISING IS LOOKING DOWN NEGLECTED CHILD IS ROTTEN EGG PEOPLE ARE BIRDS RESULTS ARE CHICKENS

Neither in Persian nor in Turkish proverbs chicken was associated with negative or positive attributes. It only denoted a sense of "immaturity" in both languages, which cannot be considered as negative. In addition, since the chicken metaphors represented complex concepts like *business* and *investment,* it can be argued that in both languages, both basic and extended version of great chain of being was adopted.

4.2.31. Mule Metaphors

Table-170 Cognitive Analysis of Mule Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

	Persian Proverbs	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*ɣatere piš āhang āxareš tubre keš mise* LM: a mule walking ahead, becomes sack carrier finally MI: too much advance brings one's end TP: relation to people	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SELF-ASSERTION IS MULE BEHAVIOR	Mule	Human Self-asserter

2.	*Asbo astar be ham lagad nazannad* LM: horse and hinny don't kick each other MI: relatives and family members are bad towards each other TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFITS ARE FOODS TO EAT HURTING IS KICKING KICKING IS HORSE BEHAVIOR KICKING IS HINNY BEHAVIOR	Hinny	Human

	Turkish Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
	Acemi katır kapı önünde yük indirir LM: Awkward mule drops its load down before the door MI: clumsy person can't carry out a task properly TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CLUMSY IS MULE TASKS ARE LOADS TO CARRY	Mule	Human clumsy

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a;* ç=*Č*, ş=*š,* ç=*Č*, ş=

4.2.31.1 Contrastive Analysis of Source and Target Domains of Mule Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

Mule, in both Persian (f=2) and Turkish (f=1) proverbs, metaphorically represented *human* and some aspect of human's objectionable behavior. This generated the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor and its sub metaphor OBJECTIONABLE HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR metaphor.

Table-171 Classification of Source and Target Domains of Mule Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

Target domain	Source domain Mule
	Human

4.2.31.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Similar to other animal domains in Persian, *food* represented *benefits* in proverbs containing *mule* metaphors too. This generated the BENEFITS ARE FOOD metaphor. In Turkish proverbs, the contributing primary metaphor was TASKS ARE HEAVY LOADS TO CARRY.

Table-172 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	Complex & Resemblance Metaphors
BENEFITS ARE FOODS TO EAT	HURTING IS KICKING KICKING IS HINNY BEHAVIOR KICKING IS HORSE BEHAVIOR PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SELF-ASSERTION IS MULE BEHAVIOR

As it was mentioned earlier, *mule* was used to represent negative aspects of human behavior namely *hurting, clumsiness*, and *self-assertion.*This generated the metaphors SELF-ASSERTION IS MULE BEHAVIOR, BEING CLUMSY IS MULE BEHAVIOR, and KICKING IS HINNY BEHAVIOR. Therefore, in both languages mule was associated with negative connotations like “clumsy” and “self-asserter”.

Table-173 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	Complex & Resemblance Metaphors
TASKS ARE LOADS TO CARRY	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CLUMSY IS MULE

Mule -"katır" in Turkish and "ɣater" in Persian- is a hybrid animal, reproduced as the offspring of two different species namely (female) horse and (male) donkey. Mule (male) and hinny (female) are not capable of rebreeding and they are not considered as specie. The purpose of reproducing this hybrid animal is to obtain an animal, which is physically stronger and long living than horse. At the same time, it is intellectually more advanced than donkey. In both Persian and Turkish proverbs, what counts metaphorically is not their gender, rather who their mother or father is. In both languages, this was metaphorically used to represent someone who is ashamed of its origin and tries to compensate for it by associating himself / herself by more noble ones. For instance, there is a proverb in both languages:

"Ester is asked: who is your father? It says: my uncle is horse"

4.2.32. Elephant Metaphors

Table-174 Cognitive Analysis of Elephant Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

	Persian Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Deveden büyük fil var* LM: Elephant is bigger than camel MI: there is always an upper hand	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG	Elephant	Human Signifiant

	TP: size			
	Turkish Proverb	**metaphors & metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Fil zendaš ham sad tomane, mordaš ham sad tomane* LM: Elephant is hundred toman, either dead or alive MI: someone significant remains significant even after death TP: size	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG	Elephant	Human Signifiant

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a;* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.32.1. Contrastive Analysis of Source and Target Domains of Elephant Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

Analyzing the *elephant* metaphors in Persian and Turkish proverbs illustrated that -even though once (f=1) - both languages used this domain in order to represent *human* metaphorically. This generated the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor.

4.2.32.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

In order to represent human *significance*, elephant's size was highlighted in both languages. In some cases, this attribute of elephant was represented in collocation with another animal, for instance *camel* in Turkish. The PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor was accompanied by the underlying primary

metaphor IMPORTANT IS BIG in both languages to structure the concept of significance of human.

Similar to many other animals, elephant's gender was not highlighted for any metaphorical purpose. In both languages, the gender distinction was done by adding the terms "male" and "female" before elephant. In both languages elephant was associated with "significance".

Table-175 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
IMPORTANT IS BIG	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

4.2.33. Nightingale Metaphors

Table.176 Cognitive Analysis of Nightingale Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

	Persian Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Bolbol haft ta toxm mizare* šiš *ta*š *siske yeki*š *bolbol*	BAD CHILD IS SPOILED EGG CHILD IS EGG	Nightingale	Child
	LM: Nightingale lays seven eggs, six of them are rotten, one becomes nightingale	FRUITFUL EFFORT IS NIGHTINGALE FUTILE EFFORT IS SPOILED EGG		
	MI: from among many trials one may gives a good result	GOOD CHILD IS NIGHTINGALE HAVING CHILD IS LAYING EGG		

	TP: behavior	MAKING EFFORTS IS LAYING EGGS PEOPLE ARE BIRDS		
	Turkish Proverb	**Metaphors & Metonymies**	**S. domain**	**T. domain**
1.	*Bülbülün çekdiği hep dilinden dir* LM: Whatever happens to nightingale is because of his tongue MI: talking is troublesome TP: behavior	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TROUBLES ARE HEAVY THING TO CARRY Metonymy: TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING	Nightingale	Human

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.33.1. Contrastive Analysis of Source and Target Domains in Persian and Turkish Nightingale Metaphors

Even though *nightingale* was used once in both languages, it only conceptualized *human* creating the PEOPLE ARE BIRDS metaphor. This metaphor can be considered as the sub metaphor of the general metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS.

4.2.33.2. Contrastive Analysis of Underlying Primary, Complex, and Resemblance Metaphors

Persian and Turkish proverbs made metaphorical use of different aspects of *nightingale.* For instance, in Persian, it was *laying egg,* which was used metaphorically while in Turkish proverbs, it was the *singing* of the nightingale, which represented human *talking*. In Turkish proverb, there was a metonymic

mapping between *tongues* and *speaking* generating the TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING metonymy. In one case, *troubles* were represented as *heavy loads* to carry. This generated the primary metaphor TROUBLES ARE HEAVY THINGS TO CARRY.

Table-177 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
	BAD CHILD IS SPOILED EGG CHILDREN ARE EGG FRUITFUL EFFORT IS NIGHTINGALE FUTILE EFFORT IS SPOILED EGG GOOD CHILD IS NIGHTINGALE HAVING CHILD IS LAYING EGG MAKING EFFORTS IS LAYING EGGS PEOPLE ARE BIRDS

As it was discussed in *hen* metaphors, *laying eggs* conceptualized *having children* and *making efforts*. *Spoiled eggs* represented *bad children* and *nightingale* represents the *good children*. Metaphors generated out of such a mappings were HAVING CHILD IS LAYING EGG CHILDREN ARE EGG, BAD CHILD IS SPOILED EGG, and GOOD CHILD IS NIGHTINGALE. All these metaphors can be considered as the sub metaphors of PEOPLE ARE BIRDS. *Laying eggs* have also conceptualized *making efforts* where *futile efforts* were conceptualized as *spoiled eggs* and *fruitful efforts* were conceptualized as eggs, which hatch and turn to *nightingales.* The outcome of such a metaphorical use of *nightingale, egg* and *effort*, generated the MAKING EFFORTS IS LAYING EGGS, FUTILE EFFORT IS SPOILED EGG, FRUITFUL EFFORT IS NIGHTINGALE metaphors.

Table-178 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	Complex & Resemblance Metaphors
TROUBLES ARE HEAVY THING TO CARRY	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS

Since in both languages nightingale represented human behavior, it can be argued that only the basic version of great chain of metaphor was adopted. In both languages, nightingale was conceptualized in terms of its instinctional behaviors, namely laying eggs in Persian and singing in Turkish. In neither of the languages, gender of the nightingale was tapped metaphorically. Similar to some other birds like goose, the distinction between the male and female of this bird is made by adding the term “male” and “female” before nightingale; “bolbol” in Persian and “bülbül” in Turkish.

4.2.34. Calf Metaphors

Table-179 Cognitive Analysis of Calf Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

	Persian Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Tā gusāle gāv beše dele sāhebeš āb miše* LM: Till the calf become cow, its owner’s heart melt in worry MI: till the investment on a business pays off, the investor tolerates many worries TP: relation to people	BIG BUSINESS IS COW BUSINESS IS ANIMAL CHILD IS CALF PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SMALL BUSINESS IS CALF	Calf	Business Children

	Turkish Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	*Besle, büyük danayı; tanımasın anayı* LM: Feed the calf and at the end does not know the mother MI: children become ungrateful at the end TP: relation to people	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) CARING IS FEEDING CHILD IS CALF PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Calf	Child

LM: *literal meaning,* MI: *metaphorical interpretation,* TP: *thematic part,* ɣ=gh, š=sh, x=kh, č=ch, a=æ, *ā=a,* ç=*Č*, ş=*š*

4.2.34.1. Contrastive Analysis of Source and Target Domains of Calf Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs

Calf was one of the rarely used animal domains, which conceptualized *human child* in both Persian and Turkish proverbs generating the CHILD IS CALF as the sub metaphor of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS. In addition, in Persian proverbs, *calf* represented *business*, generating the BUSINESS IS CALF metaphor. Both in Persian and Turkish proverbs, calf was conceptualized in terms of its relation to human as a beneficial barn animal.

In Turkish proverbs, calf was associated with being “ungrateful” while in Persian proverbs it was associated with being “valuable” but “demanding”. Since the calf metaphors were not used only for understating human behavior rather some higher level concepts like *business*, then it can be argued that in Persian proverbs only the extended version of the great chain of being was adopted. In Turkish proverbs, only the basic version was adopted. (See *cow* metaphors for discussion on naming and gender distinction).

4.2.34.2. Contrastive Analysis of Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors

Similar to most of the proverbs in both languages, BIG IS IMPORTANT primary metaphor was observed in Persian *calf metaphors*. The PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and its sub-metaphor CHILD IS CALF were also observed in Persian proverbs.The concept of *business* was also represented by *calf.*

Table-180 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BIG IS IMPORTANT	BUSINESS IS ANIMAL CHILD IS CALF PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SMALL BUSINESS IS CALF

The same mapping between *child* and *calf* was observed in Turkish proverbs where caring and upbringing of a child was represented as demanding and as difficult as caring a calf. In case of Turkish metaphors, there was an instance of personification where ungrateful behavior of *human child* was projected on *calf.*

Table-181 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Primary Metaphors	**Complex & Resemblance Metaphors**
BIG IS IMPORTANT	ANIMLAS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CARING IS FEEDING CHILD IS CALF

Both languages were also similar in the cultural schema underlying their metaphorical propositions that child upbringing is a demanding task.

IMPORTANT IS BIG metaphor was also the underlying primary metaphor in both languages.

Both languages were also similar in that the metaphorical use of bull was primarily in terms of its relationship to human being as a useful but demanding animal. This also supports the idea by Marsta (2003) that we conceptualize the animals firstly in terms of their relationship to us.

4.3 RECAP OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ATTRIBUTES ASCRIBED TO ANIMALS

The last question addressed in the present study was concerned with the commonality or culture-specificity of the attributes ascribed to animals in both languages. As it was explained in methodology chapter, the metaphorical propositions extracted from each proverb were checked for the attributes given to each animal. All the extracted attributes were collected and then classified based on being negative or positive. Although positive and negative features attributed to animals were discussed under each animal in this chapter, the grouped features were represented in a more systematic way in Table- 182.

Table-182 Positive and Negative Attributes Ascribed to Animals

	Positive		**Negative**	
	Persian	**Turkish**	**Persian**	**Turkish**
Ant	-		Vulnerable Insignificant, Benefit-Minded	Enemy Insignificant
Bear	Wise	-	Stingy, Dangerous	Hard-Hearted Indelicate
Bee	-	-	-	Benefit-Minded
Bull	Strong	-		

				Useless Rebellious
Camel	Significant	-	Stubborn	Self-Asserter Greedy, Stubborn
Cat	Strong Significant	-	Trouble Valueless Robber Lazy Wicked Enemy Disobedient Benefit-Minded	Trouble Impulsive, Proud, Useless Authoritative Unreliable Insubordinate Insignificant Ungrateful
Cow	-	Useful	-	-
Dog	Loyal, Grateful Helpful	Protective	Sponger, Stupid, Valueless, Weak, Dirty, Downgraded, Aggressive,disloyal, powerful, dangerous	Aggressive, Lazy, Inferior, Weak, Contemptible, Villain, Insufficient, Stupid, Dirty
Donkey	Harmless Obedient	-	Valueless, Benefit-Minded, Stubborn, Disobedient, Stupid, Ignorant, Intrusive, Insignificant	Fallible Ignorant Insignificant Valueless
Eagle	Significant	Nobel	-	-
Elephant	Significant	Significant	-	-
Fox	-	-	-	Brisk, Crafty, Criminal, Sponger
Frog	-	-	Insignificant	Insignificant Useless
Goat	-	-	Valueless, Snobby, Insufficient, Weak,	Vulnerable, Valueless, Weak
Hen	-	Valuable	Unintelligent, Day-Dreamer	Unintelligent Day-Dreamer
Horse	Significant Valuable	Significant Valuable	-	Fallible Greedy

	Noble	Skilled Noble Hardworking		
Jackal	-	-	Crafty, Robber, Opportunist, Deceptive	-
Lamb	-	Innocent	Weak	Inferior, Weak
Lion	-	Nobel Powerful Ambitious	Authoritative Aggressive Dangerous	Lazy
Monkey	-	-	-	Playful
Mouse	-	-	Cryptic, Enemy, Robber	Criminal, Cryptic, Sneaky
Mule	-	-	Self-Asserter	Clumsy
Pigeon	-	Constructive	-	Ambitious Destructive
Raven	Wise	-	Sinister Robber Greedy	Ungrateful Inferior, Bad Friend
Rooster	-	Genius	Lustful, Weak	Authoritative Weak, Leader Self-Asserter Greedy
Sheep	-	-	-	Weak
Snake	Significant Ambitious	-	Bad-Natured Inflexible	Deceptive Dangerous Unreliable, Enemy
Sparrow	-	-	Insignificant	Harmful, Weak, Insignificant
Wolf	-	-	Cruel Robber Opportunist Devilish	Cruel, Dangerous, Enemy, Ill-Bred, Merciless, Robber, Powerful Opportunist

Investigating the findings in terms of the ascribed negative and positive attributes revealed that both languages had ascribed both similar and different attributes to animals, however, in both languages, the negative attributes had remarkably outnumbered the positive ones. For instance in Persian language, 76% (N=60) of the total given attributes (N=78) were negative, while positive attributes comprised only 23% (N=18) of the total given characteristics. In similar way, in Turkish 79% (N=78) of the given attributes were negative while positive attributes comprised only 17% (N=17) of the total characteristics (N=98). In a similar way, in the studies conducted by Hsieh (2001), Nadim (cited in Estaji & Nakhavali, 2011), Estaji and Nakhavali (2011b) Estaji and Nakhavali (2011), it was found out that in animal metaphors the focus was predominantly on the negative attributes of animals and as Kövecses (2010) claims animals are metaphorically used to represent the negative aspects of human behavior through assigning them negative attribute.

The results of the analyses also indicated that despite the similarity of both languages in the number and proportions of given positive and negative attributes, they differed in the type of the given positive and negative attributes. For instance, while bear was ascribed with the negative attribute “indelicate” in Turkish, in Persian it was associated with being “stingy”. In another case, mule was represented as “self-asserter” in Persian but “clumsy” in Turkish. In a similar case, camel was represented as “stubborn” in Persian and “self-asserter” in Turkish.

Another noteworthy point was that the most-frequently used animals in both languages were the ones which were given the highest number of attributes - either positive or negative. For instance, cat, dog, donkey, horse, snake and wolf were given several different negative and positive attributes in both languages.

While investigating the metaphorical propositions, the researcher came up with some attributes which were interpretable both as positive and negative depending on the context of the proverb they were found in. In other words, some attributes like “powerful” given for instance to *lion* or *wolf* were

interpretable as positive and negative respectively. Therefore, it was inevitable to categorize “powerful” simultaneously as both positive and negative. However, such attributes were not frequent in number in any of the languages.

Investigating the Persian and Turkish animal metaphors also revealed similarity in that none of the languages adopted the same animal for representing two entirely opposite attributes, for instance, adopting snake for representing “honesty” in one language and “dishonesty” in another language.

While extracting the attributes, it was also found out that the negative and positive attributes were given either to human in general or to man, woman and child explicitly. The results of the analyses displayed that there was culture-specificity between both languages to some extent. While in Persian woman was associated with only negative attributes like “unintelligent”, in Turkish it was associated with both negative and positive attributes like “daydreamer” and “constructive”. Contrary to Turkish proverbs, where child was represented as “ungrateful”, in Persian it was associated with more neutral attributes like “oppressed” and “weak”. In Turkish man was ascribed the positive attribute “powerful” while in Persian it was associated with negative trait like “lustful”. In sum, it can be stated that animals are metaphorically used mostly to represent negative aspects of human behavior in both languages although the type of the given negative or positive attributes changes between the two languages.

4.4 A BRIEF TARGET-DOMAIN ORIENTED CATEGORIZATION OF METAPHORS: A REVERSE LOOK

As it was mentioned in methodology chapter, the present study adopted the source-domain-oriented data analysis method. However, in order to give a more comprehensive view of animal metaphors in both languages, a target-domain-oriented analysis of the extracted metaphors was conducted. This analysis was conducted on underlying primary metaphors and then the main animal metaphors. In doing so, first, all similar target domains in primary

metaphors were classified in a separate table. Then, dissimilar primary metaphors of both languages were classified and grouped comparatively in another table.

In the second step, the animal metaphors including main animal metaphors were also reclassified. The target domains were illustrated in two separate tables, one representing the common target domains, and the other one showing the dissimilar target domains conceptualized by animals.

4.4.1. A Reverse Look at the Primary Metaphors

As it was mentioned earlier, in order to provide a comprehensive view of proverbial animal metaphors in both languages, the extracted primary metaphors were reclassified from the target domain point of view. Similar to the main metaphors discussed above, the analyses of the primary metaphors also revealed the commonality of some target domains in primary metaphors which were either conceptualized by similar source domain or different source domains. For instance, the IMPORTANT IS BIG, MORE IS UP, CONTROL IS UP, INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS, and HOLY IS CLEAN, were some of the common primary metaphors.

Table-183 The Common Target Domains of Primary Metaphors in Both Languages

T. Domain	S. Domains in Persian	S. Domains in Turkish
Appealing	Sweet	Sweet , tasty
Bad	Bent , black, cold, dirty, far, late	Late , black, cold, dirty, down, arid
Caring	Feeding , looking, being above one's head	Feeding , fasteing tight, looking
Character	Color , skin, smell	Hair , color
Control	Collar , up, bridle, beating, riding, tying up the foot	Up , riding, smashing, counting, bridle
Desire	Grass , wheat	Food
Difficulty	Heavy loads to carry	Fire to burn in
Essential	Internal	Internal
Good	Early, white, up, straight	Early, white, up
Holy	Clean	Clean
Important	Big ,small, central, Peripherial	Big , small, Peripherial
Intimacy	Closeness	Closeness
Life	Journey	Journey
Mastery	Up	Up
Mistake	Pits to fall in	Pits to fall in, traps to fall in
More	Up	Up
Motivation	Hunger	Pain, food
Powerful	Big	Big
Punished	Losing head	Losing head
Purposes	Destination	Destination
Vulnerable	Alone	Alone
Weak	Small, lame	Small, alone, thin

There were also some cases where the same target domain was represented by different source domains as well. For instance, the concept of *character* was represented by *color* generating the CHARACTER IS COLOR primary metaphor in both languages. In addition, in Persian, *character* was conceptualized by *smell* and *skin,* generating the CHARACTER IS SMELL and CHARACTER IS SKIN primary metaphors in Persian. In Turkish character was conceptualized by *hair* generating the CHARACTER IS HAIR primary metaphor*.* As another example, while the concept of *control* in Turkish proverbs was represented by *counting*, in Persian it was represented by *tying up the foot,* generating the CONTROLLING IS COUNTING, and CONTROLLING IS TYING UP THE FOOT primary metapho

Table- 184 Dissimilar Primary Metaphors in Both Languages

Persian	Turkish
ACTING IS BITING	BEING RICH IS EATING FAT
AMBITIONS ARE FIGS TO EAT	BOOSTING IS FLYING
AVAILABLE IS AT HAND	DEFENDING IS STINGING
AVIDITY IS WING	DISCIPLINE IS BRIDLE
AWARENESS IS MATURITY	FAVORITES ARE FOOD TO EAT
BEGINNING OF AN ACT IS MOUTH	FORGETTING IS THROWING AWAY
BEING IN PAIN IS BEING SLAUGHTERED	FORGOTTING IS LOSING
BEING RICH IS BEING FAT	INVOLVEMENT IS BEINGTRAPPED IN
BEING RICH IS BEING WHITE	LEARNING IS OPENING EYES
BENEFITING IS EATING	LOSING IS FALLING
CONQUERING IS EATING	DESPISING IS LOOKING DOWN
DANGEROUS IS BIG	MOUTH IS CONTAINER
DEFENDING IS JUMPING	FRIENDSHIP IS OFFERING HAND
DEFENDING IS SCRATCHING	POWER IS UP
DIRECTING IS RIDING	POWER IS WING
DISASTER IS STORM	PROTESTING IS JUMPING
END OF A PROCESS IS HUMAN RECTUM	PUNISHED IS HUNG
ENJOYING IS RIDING	REWARDS ARE FOODS
FIGHTING IS BEATING	RICH IS WHITE
FOOLING IS RIDING	SOCIAL ELEVATION IS VERTICAL
HIDING IS BENDING	STRONG IS BIG
HONESTY IS STRAIGHT	STRONG IS THICK
IMPERFECTION IS DIRT	SUBORDINATE IS BEING SMALL
IMPOSING IS PUSHING	SUPERORDINATE IS BIG
INVESTING IS FEEDING	TASKS ARE LOADS TO CARRY
KNOWING IS SEEING	TEMPTATIONS ARE FOODS

MISSED IS FLOWN AWAY	TROUBLES ARE HEAVY THINGS TO CARRY
PRAISING ARE HEAVY LOADS TO CARRY	TRUSTING IS EMBRACING
PROBLEMS ARE LOADS TO CARRY	TRYING IS RUNNING
SOCIAL ELEVATION IS JUMPING	UNCONTROLLABLE IS MORE
SPOILING SOMETHING IS PISSING	UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL
TAKING COURAGE IS KILLING	VALUABLE IS UP
TAKING UP A TASK IS EATING PROCESS	WAITING IS LOOKING
THINKING IS DIGESTING	WANTING IS STRETCHING HAND
TORTURE IS PEELING OFF SKIN	WISHING SOMETHING IS TO HAVE EYE ON IT
UNAWARE IS CHILD	WORRYING IS LOOKING BACK

Investigating the dissimilar primary metaphors illustrated in Table- 184 revealed that there were some instances of novel primary metaphors which were not included in the list provided by Lakoff and Turner (1989), Grady (1997) or Kövecses's (2010) list of primary metaphors, for instance the following Turkish metaphors:

WANTING IS STRETCHING HAND

TRYING IS RUNNING

WISHING SOMETHING IS TO HAVE EYE ON IT

CHARACTER IS SMELL

BEING PUNISHED IS LOSING HEAD

UNCONTROLLABLE IS MORE,

and the following Persian metaphors:

TORTURE IS PEELING OFF SKIN

CHARACTER IS SKIN

CONQUERING IS EATING

SPOILING SOMETHING IS PISSING

Furthermore, while investigating the primary metaphors, the researcher came up with a contradictory primary metaphor which challenged the universality of

the IMPORTANT IS BIG primary metaphor. In both languages, the concept of *importance* was conceptualized in terms of *small size*, generating the IMPORTANT IS SMALL. Even though both folk were common in IMPORTANT IS BIG primary metaphor, they were also common in the view that not always *importance* lies in *big size* but *better function,* no matter if this function comes from a small being.

4.4.2. A Reverse Look at the Main Metaphors

As it was mentioned earlier, the main metaphors underlying the Persian and Turkish proverbs were also examined from the point of view of target domains. In order to provide a complete view of the main metaphors, first the common target domains in both languages were extracted and displayed in Table-185. The dissimilar target domains in main metaphors were also extracted and displayed in Table-186. The results of the early analysis of the main metaphors revealed that two major types of target domains existed underlying the proverbial animal metaphors:

1. Human and human behavior in general sense. In some cases man, woman, and child, were hinted and conceptualized explicitly.

2. Non-human domains like business, wealth, sustenance, chances, benefits, etc.

These target domains were naturally represented by similar or dissimilar animal domians in Persian or Turkish.

Table-185 Categorization of common Target domains in Persian and Turkish metaphor

T. Domains	S. Domains in Persian	F	S. Domain in Turkish	F
Ambition	Following snake	1	Lion	1
Bad result	Shitting, rotten egg	2	Dog urine , rotten egg	2
Being rich	Horse riding	1	Eating fat, being white, being fat	3
Benefit	Milk, fat, honey, pigeon, milk, yoghurt, pelt, water, camel egg	9	Cow, milk, bone, egg, fat, meat, grape, hen, honey, melon, mouse, nut, salt, yoghurt, bull,	15
Business	Goat	1	Hen, horse, laying egg, donkey	4
Chance	Bird, food, fish, sparrow, eagle		Fish, sweets, sparrow	2
Cherishing	Horse shoe nailing	1	Horse shoe nailing	1
Child	Chicken, lamb, monkey, nightingale, calf, dog, egg, spoiled egg	8	Calf, chicken, dog, nightingale, egg, goat, raven	7
Corrupted society head	Corrupted fish head	1	Corrupted fish head	1
Crowing	Ruling, self-assertion, having authority	3	cursing	1
Danger	Wolf, snake, bear	3	Snake , wolf	2
Earning	Hen	1	Hen , egg	2
Enemy	Cat, mouse	2	Wolf, snake	2
Grasping a chance	Catching fish	1	Catching fish	1
Having low mastery	Donkey riding	1	Donkey riding	1
Having high	Horse riding	1	Horse riding	1

mastery				
Human	All animals and insects	34	All animals and insects	34
Hurting	Kicking	1	Kicking, biting, cutting, shooting	4
Impossible	milking male goat, rooster egg	3	Rooster egg, pigeon milk	2
Insignificant	Flea, donkey, frog	3	Donkey	1
Man	Rooster	1	Dog, rooster	2
Opposing	Barking	1	Barking	1
Robber	Cat, jackal, mouse, raven, wolf	5	Wolf	1
Significant	Dog, horse, cat, eagle	4	Donkey, horse, snake	3
Social elevation	Jumping	1	Horse riding	1
Socializing	Flying	1	Flying, talking	2
Society	Fish , sea, herd, stable	4	Fish, herd, stable, sea	4
Starting business	Mounting a donkey		Riding horse	
Sustenance	Donkey, hen, goose	3	Hen, goose	2
Teaching	Training	1	Taming	1
Trouble	Cat , snake bite	3	Cat, wolf, snake	3
Valuable	Goose, sheep, hen, horse, meat, cat	6	Horse, goose	2
Valueless	Frog ,cat, dog, donkey, goat, hen	6	Dog pelt	1
Weak	Sheep, lamb, goat, dog, rooster	5	Goat, dog, lamb, sheep	4
Wealth	Cow ,donkey, fat, food, fox pelt, horse, sheep, cow, goat, lamb, camel, camel pelt, camel wool, camel milk rooster, bear wool, bear pelt, goose,	18	Bear, pelt, bird, camel, cow, donkey, egg, fat, horse, lamb, rooster, sheep, wool	13

Woman	dog, hen, lion	3	dog, pigeon	2
Working hard	Milking, grazing donkey, running		grazing sheep, milking cow, grazing lamb	3

T.domain=target domain, S.domain=source domain, F=frequency

As it was illustrated in Table- 185, the most-frequently conceptualized target domain in both languages was *human* (f-34). This means that almost all common animals between both languages were used to represent *human*. Following *human*, the second highly-conceptualized concept was *wealth* (f=18) in Persian and *benefit* (f=15) in Turkish. The third rank was occupied by *benefit* (f=9) in Persian and *wealth* (f=13) in Turkish. The fourth rank was occupied by *child* in both languages, having (8) frequency of use in Persian and (7) in Turkish. The fifth frequently-used conceptualized notion in Persian was *valueless /valuable* dichotomy (f=6) and *business* (f=6) in Turkish as shown below.

Persian	*f*	*Turkish*	*f*
Human	34	Human	34
Wealth	18	benefit	15
Benefit	9	wealth	13
Child	8	Child	7
Valuable/ valueless	6	business	4

As it was displayed on Table- 185, the concepts of *wealth* and *benefit* were not represented only by animals, rather by animal-related products such as *pelt, wool, milk, yoghurt*, *honey, fat, bone, egg,* and *meat* as well as different types of *fruits* such as *grape, nut,* and *melon.* The results of the analyses also indicated that it was mainly the beneficial barn animals which were considered

as *wealth.* Nevertheless, the useful parts of wild animals like *fox pelt*, and *bear wool* were also considered as *wealth* and *benefit* in both languages.

Having a look at the first five target domains in both languages revealed that regardless of the slightly dissimilar distribution of the first five target domains in terms of number, they were highly similar in the type of the target domains conceptualized by animals. The only target domain which varied among both languages was business (f=4) in Turkish and the concept of valueless/able (f=6) in Persian. In other words, both languages shared the same target domains which had the highest frequency in their proverbs, except business (f=4) in Turkish and the concept of valueless/able (f=6) in Persian.

Even though both languages were similar in conceptualizing *child*, they varied in the associated attribute which was metaphorically ascribed to the animal representing child. In Persian proverbs, *child* was represented as a “weak” and “pitiful” being that is oppressed by elders. In contrast, in Turkish *child* was represented only as an “ungrateful” being that never pays back your cares and kindness. Looking at the first most-frequently used target domain reveals that both languages are more similar rather than culture-specific.

Table-186 Categorization of dissimilar Source and Target Domains in both languages

Persian		Turkish	
T. Domain	**S. Domain**	**T. Domain**	**S. Domain**
Controlling	Riding (donkey), beating		
Damage	Sparrow	Bad experience	Snake bite
Desirable task	Horse riding	Cursing	Crowing
Enjoying	Donkey riding		
Family	Stable	Directing	Riding
Good result	Chicken	Dirt	Dog's water mouth
Having authority	Crowing	Empty talk	Barking, bee buzz
Making mistake	Pissing	Enjoying	Donkey riding
Obstacle	Bee sting	Having child	Laying egg
Ruling	Crowing	Mature	Hen, rooster
Running business	Riding horse, Riding donkey feeding donkey	Power	Horn
Self-assertion	Crowing	Result	Dog rectum
Sexual attraction	Shaking tale	Spoiling	Pissing, overfeeding
Stopping business	Dismounting donkey		
Timeless talking	Barking, crowing	Sufficient	Fish
Unity	Herd		

As it was mentioned above, the second phase of investigating the animal metaphors from the target domain point of view included examining the dissimilar target domains in both languages (as it is represented in Table-186). Having a look at the dissimilar target domains also indicated that the

dissimilar concepts- which were fewer in number in comparison to similar target domains- revolved around both negative and positive aspects of human behavior, for instance: timeless talking, self-assertion, cursing and empty talk. They were also concerned with the positive aspects of human behavior such as unity, power, and directing.

Putting together the findings of both target-domain-oriented analysis of animal metaphors as well as source-domain-oriented analysis of animal metaphors illustrated that both languages were similar in that they had used both beneficial and wild animal metaphors mainly to denote the negative behaviors and characteristics of human. This supported Kövecses's (2002) assertion that animal metaphors are used to conceptualize negative aspects of human behavior. In addition, the results of analyses illustrated that both languages used animal and animal-related domains to represent non-human domains like *wealth, benefit* and *business*.

The cognitive analysis of the metaphors in terms of target and source domains supported Nielsen's (1996) suggestion that gender distinction was made only in case of domestic beneficial animals. The findings of the study was also in line with Nielsen's (1996) suggestion that in those cases where there was no separate lexemes to refer to male and female, the female animal name was used as generic term.

The findings of the study also supported Wierzbicka's (1985) proposal that animals are conceptualized in terms of five main thematic parts; relation to people, behavior, appearance, size, and habitat, however, in Persian proverbs, animals were primarily conceptualized in terms of their relation to people, and then their behavior, appearance, size and habitat. This supported Marsta (2003) that animals are first conceptualized in terms of their relation to people. In contrast, in Turkish proverbs, it was the behavior of the animals which was conceptualized first. Then it was their relation to people, appearance, size, and habitat which were conceptualized respectively.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The present study was an endeavor to shed light on the Persian and Turkish proverbial animal metaphors. In order to achieve this objective, the present study adopted Great Chain of Being Metaphor Theory (Lakoff, Turner, 1989) and Grady's (1997) Primary Theory as the main and complementary theoretical framework, respectively. In order to answer the questions of the study, Persian and Turkish proverbial animal metaphors were analyzed from both descriptive and cognitive point of view. The findings of the study can be summed up as follows in relation to the addressed research questions:

5.2. DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

The descriptive analysis of the data addressed the following research question:

Question 1- Is there any commonality in terms of number, type, frequency and makeup of the animals used in the proverbs of both languages?

The results of descriptive analysis of animals in Persian and Turkish proverbs were indicative of difference in terms of number. In Persian proverbs the number of used animals turned out to be (N=54) while in Turkish proverbs it was (N=45), however, from among these numbers, both languages were similar in adopting 35 types of animals and insects commonly. Both languages were similar in using animals more than insects despite the fact that both languages used different types of insects. Both languages were also similar in that they used domestic animals more than wild animals. The results of the analyses in terms of makeup of used animals also revealed that both

languages were similar regarding animals' being aerial, terrestrial and aquatic. However, Persian language made more use of aquatic animals in comparison to Turkish language, and Turkish language made more use of aerial animals in comparison to Persian language Contrary to the expectations of the researcher to see more use of aquatic animals in Turkish proverbs- due to the exposure of this folk to a geography surrounded by seas- there was few number of uses of aquatic animals in terms of type and number. One possible justification could be the fact that frequent exposure to a fact might turn it to a habit which no longer draws the attention of a person.

Both languages also varied in terms of the frequency of use of animals; having horse in Turkish and donkey in Persian as the most-frequently-used animals. The motivations behind this variation seemed to have different roots and explications. For instance, in case of Persian proverbs, the high frequency of use of donkey was motivated by the requirements of nomadic life style and consequently constant contact with this animal as a means of transportation. In contrast, in case of Turkish language; the high frequency of use of horse was motivated first by the high position of horse in the early mythology and faith of Turks known as shamanism on the one hand and then by the role of horse as a fast-moving transportation means during the emigration of Turks from Asia Minor to Anatolian plateaus and a life-saving company of worriers in battlefields on the other hand.

Investigating the five most-frequently-used animals in Persian (donkey, dog, camel, cat, and horse) illustrated the presence of three beasts of burden. This was indicative of the significance of beasts of burden (donkey, horse, camel) as the inevitable requirement of nomadic life style in that territory where grazing the herd required constant mobility between valley and highlands. To carry the loads, beasts of burden were inevitable part of nomadic life. Due to its mostly arid climate, and the placement of this territory mainly on desert band, camel was always the most suitable beast of burden for carrying loads especially for long-run journeys due to its extraordinary resistance to harsh environmental conditions. Dog was the inevitable part of the nomadic life style

as the guardian of the property or herds. That is why it was among the most-frequently used animals in both Persian and Turkish proverbs.

The high frequency of use of Wolf as the third frequently-used animal domain in Turkish proverbs also had cultural motivations. Similar to horse, wolf was a highly-esteemed animal with high position in the early mythology and faith of Turks known as shamanism (Lepp, 2004). Wolf has maintained this high position relatively so that it has become the symbol of modern Turks. However, the new generation might not have enough information about the roots and philosophy of choosing wolf as their symbol.

In sum, investigating the descriptive peculiarities of both languages was indicative of both commonalities and variations. The motivation behind the diversity in the frequency of use animals could be justified based on cultural and geographical peculiarities of both territories. In case of Persian proverbs, it was the particular fauna cover of the arid geography of this territory as well as the nomadic life style of the folk of this territory which had possibly motivated the use of beasts of burden like donkey, horse and camel. However, in case of Turkish proverbs, it was their shamanistic background as well as the dominance of animal husbandry as the common job which motivated the high frequency of use of horse and the next four most-frequently-used animals (horse,dog,wolf,donkey,sheep). The results obtained from the descriptive analysis of the data supported the significance of pivotal role of culture in human cognition and the inevitable integration of culture and cognition (Gibbs, 1997; Kövecses, 2004, 2005, 2010, 2012; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Quinn, 1991; and Fernandez, 1991).

5.3. COGNITIVE ANALYSIS

The second phase of investigating the animals used in Persian and Turkish proverbs was approached from cognitive linguistics perspective; conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The objectives of this phase were

defined in terms of three questions. The first question addressed in this phase was:

Question 2- Which domains of experience or abstract notions have been conceptualized by animal metaphors in each language?

In order to answer this question the main metaphor of each proverb and their source and target domains were extracted. The extracted source and target domains of animal and animal-related metaphors (phrasal metaphors derived from main animal metaphor like *horse riding*) illustrated that in both languages, animal metaphors were predominantly used to conceptualize two major groups of target domains:

-*Human* (in general or *woman, man,* and *child* explicitly) and *human behavior*,

-Non-human domains such as *business, wealth, sustenance, chances, benefits*, *desires* and *social elevation*, etc.

Both languages were similar in that they used animal domains to conceptualize human in general sense and at the same time to represent woman, man, and child explicitly and distinctly in metaphorical sense. In this case, the metaphorical use of animals to refer to human was mainly in order to tap the negative aspects of human behavior. This supported Kövecses's (2002) assertion that animal metaphors are used to conceptualize negative aspects of human behavior. In addition, the results of analyses illustrated that both languages had used animal and animal-related domains to represent non- human domains like *wealth, benefit, social elevation, sustenance* and *business*. The reverse look at the proverbial animal metaphors from the point of view of target domains also revealed that after *human*, in both languages, *wealth, benefit* and *child* were the most-frequently conceptualized target domains.

The cognitive analysis of the metaphors in terms of target and source domains supported Nielsen's (1996) suggestion that gender distinction was made only in case of domestic beneficial animals. The findings of the study

was also in line with Nielsen's (1996) suggestion that in those cases where there was no separate lexemes to refer to male and female, the female animal name was used as generic term for instance "cow" and "hen" in Persian. The findings of the study also supported Wierzbicka's (1985) proposal that animals are conceptualized in terms of the five main thematic parts; relation to people, behavior, appearance, size, and habitat, however, in Persian proverbs, animals were primarily conceptualized in terms of their relation to people, and then their behavior, appearance, size and habitat. This supported Marsta (2003) that animals are first conceptualized in terms of their relation to people. In contrast, in Turkish proverbs, it was the behavior of the animals which was conceptualized first. Then it was their relation to people, appearance, size, and habitat which were conceptualized respectively.

Question 3- What are the primary and complex metaphors underlying the proverbs in both languages?

In their theory of Great Chain of Being Metaphor (1989) Lakoff and Turner believe in the contribution of primary and complex metaphors in the production and comprehension of proverbs. Following their theory, Grady (1997) proposed the Primary Metaphor Theory as an analytical tool for distinguishing the primary metaphors from complex metaphors. Investigating the primary metaphors underlying the proverbial animal metaphors in both languages by adopting Grady's (1997) theory, revealed two points: first, this study revealed the commonality of many primary or correlational metaphors in both languages. For instance: BIG IS IMPORTANT, GOOD IS NEAR, BAD IS FAR, BAD IS LATE, and PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. The similarity of these primary metaphors between Persian and Turkish supported the idea of universality or near-universality of some of the primary metaphors among all languages as discussed by some scholars (Gibbs, 1997; Kövecses, 2004, 2005, 2010, 2012; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; and Grady's, 1997).

Nevertheless, the present study also came up with many instances of novel metaphors like IMPORTANT IS SMALL primary metaphor. Contrary to the typical example of primary metaphor; IMPORTANT IS BIG, (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Grady,1997), in which *importance* was conceptualized in terms of *big size*, the primary metaphor extracted from the proverbs of both languages indicated that for these two folk, *importance* is not always represented by *big size* rather by *better function.* This novel primary metaphor contradicted the so-called universal BIG IS IMPORTANT primary metaphor proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989) and Grady (1997). The present study also came up with some other novel primary metaphors like CHARACHTER IS COLOR which was common in both languages. *Character* was also conceptualized in terms of *smell, skin,* and *hair* generating the CHARACTER IS SMELL, CHARACTER IS SKIN and CHARACTER IS HAIR metaphors. However, the latter primary metaphors were not included in the list provided by Lakoff and Turner (1989, p.221-223), Grady's (1997) and Kövecses (2010, p369-375) list of metaphors and metonymies.

Second, applying this theory also revealed another noteworthy point concerning primary metaphors that not only animals' behavior were used for representing human behavior, but also their bodies were used as complementary body to his/her body where conceptualizing some target domains were physiologically impossible for human body to do. For instance, using *wing for* representing *greed* or the *tightness / looseness* of *hen vent* for conceptualizing *stinginess* versus *generosity*. This indicates that the pivotal role of embodiment in human cognition is so essential that human being uses animal body as the complementary body for conceptualizing notions.

As it was mentioned above, in order to distinguish the complex metaphors, again Grady's (1997) Primary Metaphor Theory was applied. For instance, in the BAD IS LATE primary metaphor, the concept of *bad* was conceptualized in terms of *late.* This primary metaphor turns to complex one as it is accompanied with a cultural schema, for instance, as it happens in LATE IS JUDGEMENT DAY complex metaphor. In this complex metaphor the primary

metaphor of LATE IS BAD was integrated with the religious schema of "judgment day happens at the last day of life which is not known". Such metaphors have been classified under the category of complex metaphors which have been represented in appendix 6 for Turkish proverbs and appendix 5 for Persian proverbs.

In brief, both languages benefited from both similarity and variation in the underlying primary and complex metaphors. However, in order to find out how universal the primary or complex metaphors of these two languages are, a more comprehensive study in terms of the number of investigated languages is required.

Question 4- Do other instances of figurative language such as metonymy or simile also contribute in structuring proverbial animal metaphors?

As it was discussed in theoretical framework of the study, most of the scholars have consensus over the murky nature of the border between metaphor and metonymy. This study also supported the idea and difficulty in distinguishing between this blurred borders, however, when it comes to animal metaphors, scholars like Barcelona (2000) and Radden and Kövecses, (1999) argued that the animal metaphors are essentially metonymy-based. In most of the cases in both languages, where no certain property of animal (thematic parts: size, appearance, behavior, relation to people, and habitat, Wierzbicka, 1985) was mapped on human, the type of relationship between both domains was metonymic or referential (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In contrast, whenever a certain behavior or property of human was understood in terms of animal properties like behavior, size, or appearance, the type of the relationship was metaphorical.

Despite the indecisive state of the theory in distinguishing between metaphor and metonymy, the present study came up with some instances of metonymy in both languages. In some cases, the X STANDS FOR Y schema was

observed repeatedly in both Persian and Turkish proverbs. For instance, BLACK STANDS FOR SINISTER in both languages for animals like raven and cat. This study also came up with some other metonymies as below:

WHITE STANDS FOR RICHNESS in Turkish proverbs,

FAT STANDS FOR RICHNESS in Persian proverbs

TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING in Persian proverbs

DUMP FOR RULING DOMAIN in Turkish proverbs,

HOUSE FOR DOMAIN OF POWER in Persian

RIDING A HORSE FOR ADOPTING AN APPROACH in Turkish proverbs

There were also some instances of A PART STANDS FOR WHOLE *metonymy.* For instance:

DONKEY STANDS FOR STUPIDITY in Persian

DONKEY HEAD STANDS FOR INTRUSION and

THROAT STANDS FOR DIGETING SYSTEM in Persian camel metaphors.

The results of the analyses indicated that both Persian and Turkish proverbs benefited from both cognitive mechanism, namely metaphor and metonymy. As Lakoff and Turner (1989) argue, people mix both metonymy and metaphor in single expression. The difference lies only in the referential use of animals or using them for understanding. For instance when a part of animal behavior, size or appearance was used to map on human behavior, size, or appearance, the type of mapping between domains was metaphoric, but when the animal was used to refer to human in general, then the type of relationship was metonymic.

The results of analysis also revealed two cases of use of simile in the investigated proverbs. Once in a Persian proverb the shakiness of woman's love was likened to the shakiness of donkey tail. In another instance in Turkish proverbs, the useless human was likened to milkless cow. The findings of the present study supported the idea proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1985) that metaphors are not the only cognitive mechanism by which we understand

proverbs, rather we use metonymy and simile as other cognitive mechanisms whose integration with metaphor for understanding proverbs is inevitable.

Question 5- Is there any similarity or difference between both languages in terms of the negative or positive attributes ascribed to animals in the cultural schemas of both folks?

As Mark Johnson (2009, p.39) puts, “the potential for any philosophy to make sense of a person’s life depends directly on the fact that all of us are metaphoric animals”. Based on this philosophy, the last question in the present study addressed the commonality or culture-specificity of the attributes ascribed to animals in both languages. The results obtained from the present study supported the presence of this ideology in the mentality of both folk and its reflection in their proverbial animal metaphors and metonymies. The brief statistical study conducted in order to answer this question revealed that in Persian language, 82% (f=39) of the given attributes were negative, while only 17% (f=8) of the given attribute were positive. In similar way, in Turkish proverbs 81% (f=43) of the given attributes were negative while positive attributes comprised only 18% (f=10) of the total characteristics ascribed to animals. As it was mentioned before, in the studies conducted by Hsieh (2001), Nadim (cited in Estaji & Nakhavali, 2011), Estaji and Nakhavali (2011b) Estaji and Nakhavali (2011), it was found out that in animal metaphors the focus was predominantly on the negative attributes of animals and as Kövecses (2010) claims animals are metaphorically used to represent the negative aspects of human behavior through assigning them negative attributes.

Another noteworthy point was that the most-frequently used animals in both languages were the ones which were given the highest number of attributes either positive or negative. For instance, the number of the various attributes given to cat, dog, donkey, horse, snake and wolf was more than other animals. The findings of the study also indicated that in those cases where the animals

directly hinted one of the genders (woman and man) explicitly, then ascribed characteristics were mainly degrading, for instance, referring to man as a *rooster* (in Persian proverbs) in order to degrade man for its being "lustful" whereas in Turkish proverbs, man was referred to as *rooster* with positive attributes of "authoritative" and 'powerful". The same also happened in case of woman where they referred to woman as *dog* (in Turkish proverbs) in order to stigmatize woman as a being who is "sexually provoking". The same was again observed in case of woman (in Persian proverbs) where it was referred to as *dog* in order to stigmatize the woman as a "shrewish" being. There were also two cases where the praising attributes like "loyal" and "powerful" were ascribed to *dog* and *lion* to represent *woman* (in Persian proverbs). The same also held true in case of child when it was degraded by ascribing the attributes like "ungrateful" to animals like *raven* and *cat* (in Turkish proverbs) while in Persian child was conceptualized as an "oppressed", "cornered" and "weak".

In brief, following points can be summed up about both languages regarding the positive or negative attributes given to human in general and woman, man and child explicitly. In the first case, the animals were mainly ascribed with negative human attributes in both languages. In some few cases, animals were ascribed with positive attributes. As it was discussed above, animals were associated with negative attributes to represent woman, man and child in an explicit way. In that case, both languages seemed to be more different than similar. In addition, even though both languages were similar in that they had ascribed more negative attributes than positive, in most of the cases they were different in the negative traits they had given to an animal. For instance, while in Turkish bear was represented as "indelicate", in Persian it was conceptualized as "stingy". Both languages were also similar in that they had used both beneficial and wild animal metaphors mainly to denote the negative behaviors and characteristics of human.

The present study investigated the animal metaphors in 35 commonly-used animals -out of 65 total animals- in Persian and Turkish proverbs. Despite the

commonality of the investigatd animals, the findings of the study were indicative of remarkable variation between both languages. The linguistic evidence provided in this study, supported the premise of the conceptual metaphor theory (Johonson & Lakoff, 1980) that human mind has a metaphorical structure, however; the culture-specificity observed at linguistic level was also noticeable. This study also supported the premises of experiential approach to meaning importance of environment on the formation and development of human cognition. This could be supported by the diversity of the selected animals in each language based on the different geographical and climatic conditions.

An overall look at the findings revealed that the commonality between both languages was more at linguistic level than conceptual level. In other words, even though both languages were common in using PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS conceptual metaphor, they had used dissimilar linguistic representation for PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor. To be more specific, it was found out that the various cultural, historical, and geographical peculiarities of each folk had evoked the variation in linguistic representation of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS conceptual metaphor in both languages. In order to accept the conceptual metaphor theory and its universality, the findings of the present study need to be compared and contrasted with the findings of the studies conducted in relation to animal metaphors in other languages.

5.4. RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The present study was an endeavor in order to investigate the variations or commonalities between Turkish and Persian proverbial animal metaphors. The findings of the study were indicative of both cases of variation and commonality. As it was mentioned above, the evidence provided in this study was obtained only from the proverbs of two languages; Persian and Turkish. However, in order to provide a more comprehensive view of how both folk use

the animals metaphorically, it is recommended to conduct a similar study in both languages on the sayings and idioms containing animal metaphors. Conducting such a study would be a complementary step in presenting how similar or different both folk conceptualize the notions through animal metaphors.

In addition, since the study presented here provided only linguistic support for the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, it is also recommended to approach the animal metaphors studies from empirical perspective since as Gibbs (2013) also puts, empirical adequacy of Conceptual Metaphor Theory has been one of the focal point of criticism. As Valenzuela, and Soriano (2005) also argue, Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) theory of conceptual metaphor, becomes more robust when it could be supported empirically as well. In order to provide such evidence, some studies of empirical design are recommended. Some of these designs might be eye-tracking studies.

It is also recommended to investigate the comprehension of proverbs and proverbial animal metaphor from sociolinguistics perspective. Investigating the age and gender factors might unveil significant information about human cognition.

REFERENCES

Acaroğlu M.T. (2006). *Türk atasözleri.* Ankara: Referans yayıncılık.

Abrishami, A. (1996). *Multilingual Dictionary of Proverbs.* Tehran: Negarestan publication.

Aksan, M. (2006a). Metaphors of anger: an outline of a cultural modal. *Mersin University Journal of linguistics and literature,* 3(1), 31-59.

Aksan, M. (2006b). The container metaphor in Turkish expression of anger. *Mersin University Journal of linguistics and literature*, 3(2), 103-124.

Aksan, M. (2011). Apocalypse happens when the feet take the position of head: Figurative uses of *head* and *feet*. Z. Maalej & N. Yu (Eds.). *Embodiment via Body Parts: Studies from Various Languages and Cultures*, 241-256. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Aksan, Y., & Aksan, M. (2012). Armed with Patience, Suffering an Emotion: Conceptualization of LIFE, MORALITY, and EMOTION. F. MacArthur et al. (Eds.) *Metaphor in Use: Context, Culture and Communication*, 285-308. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Aksan, Y., & Kantar, D. (2008a). No wellness feels better than this sickness: love metaphors from a cross-cultural perspective. *Metaphor and symbol*, 23(4), 262-292.

Aksan, Y., & Kantar, D. (2008a). Kavramsal metafor kuramı açısından Türkçede duygu metaforları bütüncesi [A corpus of conceptual metaphors of emotion in Turkish]. In Y. Aksan & M. Aksan (Eds.) *Proceedings of the XXIth national linguistics conference,* 10-11 May 2007, (pp.354-357). Ankara: Şafak Publications.

Aksan, Y. (2012). Ben kendimi şimdiki hayatımda buldum; Türkçede benlik metaforları.*40 yilyazilari,* 1972-2012, 6-25.

Aksoy, Ö.A. (1995). *Atasozleri ve deyimleri sozluğu.* Istanbul: İnkılâpYayınevi.

Barcelona, A. (Eds.) (2000). *A Metaphor and metonymy at the crossroads: A cognitive perspective*. Berlin & New York: Mouton De Gruyter.

Baş, M. (2015) *Conceptualization of emotion through body part idioms in Turkish: A cognitive linguistic study*. PhD dissertation, Hacettepe University, Ankara.

Batur, S. (1970). *Aciklama ve öyküleriyle Turk atasozleri.* Istanbul: Altinkitapcila.

Beam, C. (2009). Man's first friend. Retrieved from http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/explainer/2009/03/mans_first_friend.html.

Boers, F., & Demecheleer, M. (1997). A few metaphorical models in (western) economic discourse. In W. A. Liebert, G. Redeker, & L. Waugh (Eds.), Discourse and perspective in cognitive linguistics (pp. 115–129). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Charteris-Black, J. (2001). "Blood, sweat, and tears: A corpus based cognitive analysis of "blood" in English phraseology". *Studi Italiani Di Lingusitica Teorica e Applicata*, 30-32.

Clausner, T.C., & Croft, W. (1999). Domains & image schemas. *Cognitive linguistics,* (10), 1, 1-31.

Dehkhoda, A. A. (1999). *Amsaal va Hekam-e-Dehkhoda*. Tehran: Amir Kabir Publication.

Deignan, A. (2003). Metaphorical expressions and culture: An indirect link. *Metaphor and Symbol, 18,* 255–271.

Deignan, A., & Potter, L. (2004). A corpus study of metaphors and metonyms in English and Italian. *Journal of pragmatics*, 36, 1231-1252.Doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2003.10.010.

Eghbal, F. (2006). *English-Persian Famous Proverbs*. Tehran: Rahnama publication.

Enfield, N., & Wierzbicka, A. (2002). Introduction: The body in description of emotion, *Pragmatics and Cognition*, vol. 10 (2), 1-25.

Estaji, A., & Nakhavali, F. (2011a). Contrastive analysis of "dog" expressions in English and Persian. *US-China Foreign Language; Vol. 9 (4), 213-219*.

Estaji, A., & Nakhavali, F. (2011b). Semantic Derogation in Persian Animal Proverbs. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, Vol.1 (9), 1213-1217. doi:10.4304/tpls.1.9.1213-1217.

Evans, V., & Green, M. (2006). *Cognitive linguistics, an introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Fass, D. (1997). *Processing metaphor and metonymy.* London: Ablex Corporation.

Fernandez, J.W. (1991). Introduction: confluents of inquiry. In J. Fernandez (Ed.) *Beyond Metaphor*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Forceville, C. (2002b). The identification of target and source in pictorial metaphors. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 34: 1-14.

Fraser, B. (1981). Insulting Problems in a Second Language, *TESOL quarterly,* 15/4, 435–441.

Gibbs, R. (1994). The poetics of mind: Figurative thought, language, and understanding. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gibbs, R.W., Johnson, M. & Colston, M. (1996). How to study proverb understanding. *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity*, 11(3), 233-239.

Gibbs, R.W., & Beitel, D. (1995). What proverb understanding reveals about how people think. *Psychological Bulletin*, 118, 133-154.

Gibbs, R.W. (1997). Taking metaphor out of our heads and putting it into the cultural world. In Gibbs, W.R., & Steen, G.J., (Ed.) *metaphors in cognitive linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin's publishing company.

Gibbs, R.W. (1999). Speaking and thinking with metonymy. In K.U. Panther & G. Radden (Eds.), *Metonymy in language and thought.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin publishing company.

Gibbs, R.W. (2005). *Embodiment and cognitive science*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

Gibbs, R.W. (2006b). Introspections and cognitive linguistics: should we trust our intuistions? *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*,4:135-152.

Gibbs, R.W. (2007). Idioms and Formulaic language. In D. Geeraerts & H. Cuyckens (Eds.), *the handbook of cognitive linguistics* (pp. 697-725). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gibbs, R.W. (2008). Metaphor and thought: The state-of-the-art. In R. Gibbs (Ed.), Cambridge handbook of metaphor and thought. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gibbs, R.W., Colston, H.L., & Johnson, M.D (1996). Proverbs and metaphorical mind. *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity*, 11(3), 208-217.

Gibbs, R.W., Lima, P.L.C., & Francozo, E. (2004). Metaphor is grounded in embodied experience. *Journal of pragmatics*, 36, 1189-1210. Doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2003.10.009.

Gibbs, R.W. (2013). Why do some people dislike conceptual metaphor theory? *Journal of Cognitive Semiotics*, 5, 14-36.

Gluckberg, S., & McGlone, M.S. (1999). When love is not a journey: what metaphor mean. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 31, 1541-1558.

Grady, J. (1997). A typology of motivation for conceptual metaphor: correlation vs. resemblance. In W.R. Gibbs, & G.J. Steen (Ed.) *metaphors in cognitive linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins publishing company.

Grady, J. (1997a). *Foundation of meaning: Primary metaphors and primary scenes*. PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Grady, J. (1997b). THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS revisited. *Cognitive Linguistics, 8*, 267–290.

Harder, P. (2007). Cognitive linguistics and philosophy. In D,R. Geeraert & H. Cuyckens (Ed.) *The oxford handbook of cognitive linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University press.

Haser, V. (2005). *Metaphor, metonymy, and experientialist philosophy: challenging cognitive semantics*. Berlin ; New York : Mouton de Gruyter.

Honeck, R., & Temple, J. (1994). Proverbs: the extended conceptual base and great chain metaphor theories. *Metaphor and symbolic activity, 9, 85-112*.

Honeck, R., & Temple, J. (1996). Proverbs and the complete mind. *Metaphor and symbolic activity, 11, 2175-232.*

Hsieh, S.C. (2006). A corpus-based study on animal expressions in Mandarin Chinese and German. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 38, 2206–222.

Johnson, M. (2008). The debt of philosophy to metaphor. In R. Gibbs (Ed.), Cambridge handbook of metaphor and thought New York: Cambridge University Press.

Katz, A.N. (1999). Proverb in Mind: The cognitive science of proverbial wit and wisdom (Book Review), Metaphor and Symbol,14:1, 71-75, DOI: 10.1207/s15327868ms1401_8.

Katz, A.N., (2009, November 17). [Review of the book Proverb in Mind: The Cognitive Science of Proverbial Wit and Wisdom by Richard.

Kittay, E.F. (1989). *Metaphors: its cognitive force and linguistic structure*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kövecses, Z. (1991b). Happiness: A definitional effort. *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity,* 6, 29–46.

Kövecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kövecses, Z. (2004). *Metaphor and emotion.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kövecses, Z. (2005). Embodiment, experiential focus, and diachronic change in metaphor. R. W. McConchie et al., 1-7. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project lexis.

Kövecses, Z. (2005). *Metaphor in culture: universality and variation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kövecses, Z. (2008). Universality and variation in the use of metaphor. Selected papers from the 2006 and 2007 Stockholm metaphor festivals.

Kövecses, Z. (2010). Metaphor: a practical edition. (2nd Ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kövecses, Z. (2013). The metaphor-metonymy relationship: correlation metaphors are based on metonymy. *Metaphor and Symbol*, *28*(2), 311–320.

Lakoff, G. (1992). The contemporary theory of metaphor. In A. Ortony, (2nd Ed.), *metaphor and thought, 202-251*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). Conceptual metaphor in everyday language. *The Journal of Philosophy*, 77, (8), 453-486.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to western thought*. New York: Basic Books.

Lakoff, G., & Turner, M. (1989). *More than cool reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lepp, T. (2004). *Horses*. In M.N. Walter, & E. J. N. Fridman, (Eds) Shamanism an encyclopedia of world beliefs, practices, and culture. Santa Barbara, California. Denver, Colorado. Oxford, England: ABCCLIO publications.

Maalej, Z. (1999). Metaphor making and processing. *Journal of literary semantics*. 28 (2), p.105-123.

Maalej, Z. (1999). Metaphoric discourse in the age of cognitive linguistics with special reference to Tunisian Arabic (TA). *Journal of literary semantics.* 28 (3), p. 189-206.

Maalej, Z. (2004). Figurative language in anger expressions in Tunisian Arabic: an extended view of embodiment. *Metaphor and symbol.* 19 (1), 51-75.

Maalej, Z. (2007). The embodiment of fear expressions in Tunisian Arabic. In F. Sharifian. & G.B. Palmer, (Ed.) *applied cultural linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins publishing company.

Maalej, Z. (2008). The heart and cultural embodiment in Tunisian Arabic. In F. Sharifian, R. Driven, N. Yu, & S. Niemeire (Eds.) Application of cognitive linguistics: culture, body and language, conceptualizations of internal body organs across cultures and languages (pp. 395-425). Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.

MacArthur, F. (2005). The Competent Horseman in a Horseless World: Observations on a Conventional Metaphor in Spanish and English. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 20:1, 71-94, DOI: 10.1207/s15327868ms2001_3.

Marin-arrese, J.I. (1996). To die, to sleep, a contrastive study of metaphors for death and dying in English and Spain. *Language sciences,* 18,(1-2) 37-52.

Martsa, S. (2003). *Conceptual mappings in the ethnobiological categorization of animals*. Paper presented at the researching and applying metaphor: metaphor, categorization and abstraction conference, Paris.

McGlone, M.S. (2007). What is the explanatory value of a conceptual metaphor. *Language and communication,* 27, 109-126. Doi: 10.1016/j.langcom.2006.02.016.

Mieder, W. (2004). *Proverbs: a handbook*. London: Green book press.

Nerlich, B., & Clarke, D.D. (2007). *Cognitive linguistics and history of linguistics*. In D,R Geeraert,. & H. Cuyckens, (Ed.) *The oxford handbook of cognitive linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University press.

Newmark, P. (1988). *Approaches to translation*. London: Prentice Hall, Hemel Hempstead.

Nielsen, A.P. (1996). Of ladybugs and billy goats: What animal species names tell about human perceptions of gender. *Metaphor and symbolic activity, 11, 257- 271*.

Özçalışkan, Ş. (2002). Metaphors we move by: A cross linguistic – developmental analysis of metaphorical motion events in English and Turkish. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of California, Berkeley.

Özçalışkan, Ş. (2003b). *In a caravanserai with two doors, I am walking day and night:* metaphors of death and life in Turkish. *Cognitive linguistics,* 14(4).

Özyıldırım, I., & Yarar, E. (2012). *Türkçe metinlerde aile metaforu*. *40 yilyazilari 1972-2012*, 6-25.

P. Honeck, Mahwah] Metaphor and Symbol, 14:1, 71-75, DOI: 10.1207/s15327868ms1401_8.

Perez, R.G. (2008). A cross-cultural analysis of heart metaphors. *Revistaalicantina de EstudiosIngleses,* 21, 25-56.

Polzenhangen, f., & Wolf, H.G. (2007). Culture-specific conceptualizations of corruption in African English. In F. Sharifian, & G.B. Palmer, (Ed.) *applied cultural linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins publishing company.

Pourhossein, S. (2014) Horse metaphors in Persian and Turkish proverbs: a cross-cultural study: 24 Jan 2014: paper presented in the 3rd PhD symposium of the department of English at Stockholm University.

Quinn, N. (1991). The cultural basis of metaphor. In J. Fernandez, (Ed.) *Beyond Metaphor*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Radden, G., & Kövecses, Z. (1999). Towards a theory of metonymy. In U.-K. Panther & G. Radden (Eds.), Metonymy in language and thought (pp. 17–59). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamin.

Rodriguez, I.L. (2009). of women, Bitches, Chickens, and vixens: animal metaphors for women in English and Spanish. *Culture, language, and representation*, Vol.7, 77-100.

Ruhi, Ş., & Işık-Güler, H. (2007). Conceptualization of face and relational work in (im) politeness: Revelations from politeness lexemes and idioms in Turkish. *Journal of pragmatics*, 38, 681-711.

Ruhi, Ş. (2006). Reference to self in Turkish: implications for cognitive and cultural linguistics. 13. *UluslararasiTürk dilbilimi konferansında'*da sunulan bildiri, 13-15 Agustos 2006, Uppsala University.

Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F.J., & Hernández, L.R. (2011). The contemporary theory of metaphor: Myths, developments and challenges. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 26, 161-185.

Shakourzade, E. (1993). Ten thousands Persian Proverbs. Mashhad: Astane Ghods Publication.

Shamlu, A. (1978). Ketabe kucheh. Tehran: Mazyar Publications.

Sharifian, F. (2007). L1 cultural conceptualizations in L2 learning. In F. Sharifian, & G.B. Palmer (Ed.) *applied cultural linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins publishing company.

Sharifian, F. (2011). *Cultural conceptualizations and language*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V.

Sharifian, f., & Palmer, G.B. (2007). Applied cultural linguistics, an emerging paradigm. In Sharifian, F., & Palmer, G.B.(Ed.) *applied cultural linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin's publishing company.

Silaski, N.R. (2009). Animal metaphors in some business-related terms in English. International Conference across Languages and Cultures, Herceg Novi, Montenegro, June 4-6, 2009.

Simo, J. (2011). Metaphors of *blood* in American English and Hungarian: a cross-linguistic corpus investigation. *Journal of pragmatics*, 43, 2897-2910.Doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2011.05.004.

Sullivan, K., & Sweeter, E. (2010). Is “generic is specific” a metaphor? .In F. Parril, V. Tobin, & M. Turner, (eds.) meaning, form & body.

Talebinejad, M., & Dastjerdi, H. (2005). A cross-cultural study of animal metaphors: When owls are not wise!. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 20, 133-150.

Tendah, M., & Gibb, R.W. (2008). Complementary perspectives on metaphor: cognitive linguistics and relevance theory. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 40,1813-1864. Doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2008.02.001.

Tolasa, B.R. (2004). A cognitive experientialist approach to a dramatic text: King Lear’s conceptual universe. Ph.D. Dissertation.

Tomita, S. (2009). Metaphors in great expectations in terms of humanization and dehumanization. *ERA,* new series, Vol.26, Nos. 1& 2.: 25-41. Retrieved from www.SOC.nii.ac.jp/dickens/archive/ge/ge-tomita.pdf.

Türk Dil Kurumu Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü. Retrieved from http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_atasozleri&view=atasozleri.

Valenzuela, J., & Soriano C. (*2005). Conceptual metaphor and empirical methods. Barcelona English Language and Literature Studies (BELLS). 14, 1-19.*

Whiting, B.J. (1932). The nature of the proverb: *Harvard studies and notes in philosophy and literature*, 14:273-307.

Wierzbicka, A. (1985). *Lexicography and conceptual analysis.* Ann Arbor, MI: Karoma.

Yu, N. (1995). Metaphorical expressions of anger and happiness in English and Chinese. *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity, 10*, 59–92.

Yu, N. (2007). The Chinese conceptualization of heart and its cultural context. In F. Sharifian, & G.B. Palmer, (Ed.) *applied cultural linguistics*. Amsterdam /Philadelphia*:* John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Yu, N. (2008)*.* Metaphor from body and culture. In R.W Gibbs (Ed.), the Cambridge *Handbook of metaphor and thought.* Cambridge: Cambridge University press.

Yurtbaşı. M. (2012) Sınıflandırılmış türk atasözleri. Ankara: özdemir yayıncılık.

APPENDIX 1. PERSIAN PROVERBS

1 āb ke sar bālā bere ɣurbāɣe abu ata mixune
2 ābe daryā az dahane sag najes nemiše
3 agar barā har sagi ke vaɣ mikone sang part koni geymate sang be dinār mirese
4 age mehmun yeki bāše sahebxune barāš gāv mikoše
5 āɣebat gorg zāde gorg mišavad
6 aɣle čehel zan be andāzeye yek morɣ nist
7 alaf be dahane bozi širin miyād
8 āleme bi amal mesle zanbure bi asal ast
9 asb rā gom karde donbāle naleš migarde
10 asbe davande joye xod rā ziyad mikonad
11 asbeo ke piše xar bebandi, ham bu naše ham xu miše
12 asbhāro nal mikardan kak ham pāšo derāz kard
13 asbi ke dar bist sālegi soɣanš konand, barāye savāri dar ɣiyāmat xub ast
14 asbo astar be ham lagad nazannad
15 az bi abi mordan behtare tā az ɣurbāɣe ejaze gereftan
16 az se čiz bāyad hazar kard, divare šekaste, sage darande, va zane salite
17 az xers ye mu kandan ɣanimate
18 bahre xarān če kāh barand če zafarān
19 bayad ke šotor galu bud
20 be doāye gorbe siyāhe bārun nemiyād
21 be zabune xoš mār az lune birun miyād
22 beguyi va bad bāši behtar ast ke naguyi va xar bāši
23 bolbol haft ta toxm mizare šiš taš siske yekiš bolbol
24 bovad mehre zanān hamčon dome xar
25 boz ke sahebeš bālā sareš nābāše nar mizāyad
26 boze gar az sar češme āb mixore
27 dandaro šotor šekast, tāvanaš ra xar dād
28 dandune asbe piškešo nemišmoran
29 dar xāneye mur šabnami tufānast
30 dasteš be xar nemirese pālunešo mizane
31 dasti rā ke az man borid xāh sag boxorad xāh gorbe
32 dehi ke nadāre riš sefid be boz migan abdolrašid
33 digi ke barā man najuše bezār sare sag tuš bejuše
34 divar muš dāre, muš ham guš dāre
35 emāmzāde har ɣadr sāde bāše az ye šoɣāl do bār gul nemixore
36 erse xers be kaftār mirese
37 fil zendaš ham sad tomane, mordaš ham sad tomane

38 ɣatere piš āhang āxareš tubre keš mise
39 gāv ke be lise naravad namak nemikhorad
40 gonješk bā bāz parid oftād mātahteš darid
41 gonjeske be dast beh az bāze paride
42 gonjeşke be dast beh az tāvoose nesiye
43 gorba ro agār dar otāɣ habs koni panje be rut mizane
44 gorbe baraye rezāye xodā muš nemigire
45 gorbe dasteš be gušt nemirese mige pif pif bu mide
46 gorbe rā dame hejle bāyad košt
47 gorg ke be gale oftād vāy be hāle kasi ke ye barre dāre
48 gorg ke pir šod raɣɣase sag miše
49 gusfand be fekre june ɣassāb be fekre donbe
50 gusfand rā barāye koštan čāɣ konand
51 gusfande košte az pust bāz kardan dardaš nayāyād
52 gušt rā bāyad az baɣale gāv borid
53 hamaro mar migaze māro xarčosune
54 har jā xerse jāye tarse
55 har ki xar bāše ma pālunim
56 har xari rā be yek čub nemirānand
57 hezār ɣurbāɣe jāye ye māhi ro nemigire
58 hozi ke māhi nadāre ɣurbāɣe sālāre
59 jujaro āxare pāyiz mišmoran
60 juje hamiše zire sabad nemimānad
61 kabutar ba kabutar bāz bā bāz, konad hamjens bā hamjens parvāz
62 kaftar sannāri yā karim nemixune
63 kalāɣ az vaɣti bače dar šod ye šekame sir ɣaza naxord
64 kalāɣ ke az bāɣ ɣahr kone , ye gerdu be nafe māst
65 kalāɣ sare luneye xodeš ɣār ɣār nemikone
66 kalāɣ xast rāh raftane kabko yād begire rāh rafatane xodeš ham yādeš raft
67 kalāɣe emsali aɣleš bištar az kalāɣe pārsaliye
68 kāre har boz nist xarman kuftan, gāve nar mixāhado marde kohan
69 kārvān barāye xare lang bār nemiandāzad
70 kesi ke az gorg mitarse gusfand negah nemidāre
71 kuse raft donbāle riš sibilešam az dast dād
72 māhi az sar gande gardad ney ze dom
73 māhi māhiyo mixore, māhixār har do ro
74 māhi ro har vaɣt az āb begiri tāzast
75 māhiye bozorg māhiye kuchak rā mixore
76 mār az pudne badeš miyad joloye dareš sabz miše

77 mār har kojā kaj bere tu luneye xodeš rāst mire
78 mār puste xodešo vel mikone vali xuye xodešo vel nemikone
79 mār tā rāst naše tuye lunaš nemire
80 marg šotorist ke dare xāneye har kasi mixābad
81 mārgazide az rismāne siyāho sefid mitarse
82 marge xar arusiye sage
83 mārgir ra axareš mār mikoše
84 mehmun xare sāheb xunast
85 meymun balā gardāne tavile ast
86 meymun dar hamām bačeaš rā zire pā migozarad
87 meymun har či zeštar adaš bištar
88 moryˇ ham toxm mikone ham čalyˇuz
89 moryˇ har če farbetar toxmdānaštangtar
90 moryˇe gorosne arzan dar xāb mibine
91 moryˇe hamsāye yˇaze
92 mozde xar čerāni xar savārist
93 mur rā čon ajal resad par darārad
94 murče be ostoxune čarb mizane
95 murče čiye ke kalle pāčaš či bāše
96 muš ke ajaleš reside bāše sare gorbaro mixārune
97 muše zende behtar az gorbeye mordast
98 mušo gorbe čon be ham sāzand vāy be hāle dokāne bayˇāl
99 mušo gorbe čon be ham sāzand vāy be hāle dokāne bayˇāl
100 na šire šotor na didāre arab
101 na xod xorad na kas dahad gonde konad be kas dahad
102 pāye xuruseto beband be moryˇe mardom hiz nagu
103 puste xerse šekar nakardaro nafruš
104 sad gorg dar galle beh az yek ajuze dar mahalle
105 sad muš rā yek gorbe kāfist
106 sag ast ānke bā sag ravad dar javāl
107 sag bāš kučike xune nabāš
108 sag čiye ke pašmeš či baše
109 sag pāčeye sāhebešo nemigire
110 sag rā ke čāyˇ konand har miše
111 sag tā az kuneš motmaen naše ostoxun nemixore
112 sag tu xuneye sāhebeš šire
113 sag vafā dāre, zan vafā nadāre
114 sage dar huzur beh az barādare dur
115 sage māde dar lāne šir astā
116 Sage nāmak šenās beh az ādame nā sepās
117 sage sir donbāle kasi nemire

118 sage zard barādare šoɣāle
119 sagi be bāmi jaste gardeš be mā nešaste
120 sagi ke barā xodeš pašm nakone bara digarān kašk nemikone
121 sagi ke vaɣ vaɣ kone nemigire
122 sago ke be zur bebaran šekār vasate kār šāšeš migire
123 salāme gorg bi tama nist
124 sar xar bāš sāheb zar bāš
125 sare xurusi ro ke bimoɣe bexune miboran
126 šir ke az biše darāmad naro māde nadārad
127 širam bedarad beh ke asgam nāz konad
128 šoɣāl ke az bāɣ ɣahr kone manfate bāɣbune
129 šoɣāl ke morɣ migire bixe gušeš zarde
130 šoɣāl puzaš be angur nemirese mige torše
131 šoɣāle tarsu angure xub nemixore
132 šotor agar morde ham bāše pusteš bare xare
133 šotor be peyɣām ab nemixore
134 šotor bozorge zahmateš ham bozorge
135 šotor ra gom karde donbale afsāreš migarde
136 šotor savari dolā dolā nemiše
137 šotor xābidaš ham az xar istāde bozorgtare
138 tā gusāle gāv beše dele sāhebeš āb miše
139 tā nabāšd čube tar, farmān nabarand gāvo xar
140 tāzi ke pir beše az ahoo hesāb mibare
141 tobeye gorg marg ast
142 tomeye har morɣaki anjir nist
143 toxme morɣ dozd šotor dozd miše
144 xar agar jalle atlas bepušad xar ast
145 xar āxore xod rā gom nemikone
146 xar az lagade xar nārāhat nemiše
147 xar be buse vo peyɣām āb nemixore
148 xar če dānad ɣeymate noɣlo nabāt
149 xar hamun xare pāluneš avaz šode
150 xar ke alaf did garden derāz mikone
151 xar ke jo did kāh nemixore
152 xar pāyaš yek bar be čāle mire
153 xar rā bār mikoše javuno māšālā bārakalā
154 xar rā ke be mehmāni bebarand barāye xoši nist barāye āb kešist
155 xar savāri balad nist savāre asb miše
156 xarbozeye širin māle šoɣāle
157 xare bārbar beh az šire mardom dar

158 xare ru be tavile tond mire
159 xare xāli yorɣe mire
160 xareš kon afsār biyār bāreš kon
161 xaro gom karde donbāle naleš migarde
162 xāste čupān ke bāše az boze nar ham šir miduše
163 xers dar kuh abuali sināst
164 xodā xaro šenāxt ke beheš šāx nadād
165 xurus rā ham dar azā sar borand ham dar arusi
166 xurusi ro ke šoɣāl sobh mibare bezār sare šab bebare
167 ye moride xar behtar az ye dehe šiš dānge
168 yek boze gar galaro gar mikone
169 zaferun ke ziyād šod be xorde xar midan
170 zane salite sage bi ɣalādast
171 ze abe xord māhiye xord xizad, nahang ān beh ke bā daryā xizad

APPENDIX 2. TURKISH PROVERBS

1 Abdal ata binince bey oldum sanır şalgam aşa girince yağ oldum sanır
2 Aç arsalandan tok domuz yeğdir
3 Ac ayı oynamaz
4 Aç köpek fırını deler
5 Aç kurt bile komşusunu dalamaz
6 Aç kurt yavrusunu yer
7 Aç tavuk kendini buğday ambarında sanır
8 Acemi katır kapı önünde yük indirir
9 Açık kaba it işer
10 Adam adamdır, olmasa da pulu; eşekeşektir, olmasa da çulu
11 Ağaca çıkan keçinin dala bakan oğlağı olur
12 Ahmak iti yol kocatır
13 Ak keçiyi gören içi dolu yağ sanır
14 Ak koyunu gören içi dolu yağ sanir
15 Ak koyunun kara kuzusu da olur
16 Arı bal alacak çiçeği bilir
17 Arı, kızdıranı sokar
18 Arıdan korkan bal satamaz
19 Arık öküze bıçak olmaz
20 Arpa verilmeyen at, kamçi zoruyla yürüm
21 Arslan yatağından bellidir
22 At bulunur meydan bulunmaz, meydan bulunur at bulunma
23 At adımına gore değil, adamına gore yürür
24 At at oluncaya kadar sahibi mat olur
25 At binenin, kılıç kuşananın
26 At binicisini tanır
27 At biniciye gore şahlanır
28 At çalındıktan sonra ahıra kilit ne çare
29 At ölür, itlere bayram olur
30 At sahibine göre eşer
31 Ata binen nalını, mıhını arar
32 Ata eyer gerek, eyere er gerek
33 Atım tepmes ,itim kapmaz deme
34 Atın bahtsızı arabaya düşer
35 Atın ölümü arpadan olsun
36 Atına bakan ardına bakmaz
37 Atlar nallanırken kurbağa ayağını uzatmaz
38 Ava gelmez kuş olmaz, başa gelmez iş olmaz

39 Ayı sevdiği yavrusunu hırpalar
40 Ayiyi fırına atmişlar yavrusunu ayağının altına almış
41 Azıklı at arıklama
42 Bahşiş atın dişine bakılmaz
43 Bakmakla usta olunsa, köpekler kasap olurdu
44 Balık ağa girdikten sonra aklı başına gelir
45 Balık baştan avlanır
46 Balık baştan kokar
47 Bana dokunmayan yılan bin yaşasın
48 Baz bazla, kaz kazla, kel tavuk topal horozla
49 Besle kargayı, oysun gözünü
50 Besle, büyük danayı; tanımasın anayı
51 Bir ahırda at da bulunur, eşek de
52 Bir çöplükte iki horoz ötmez
53 Bir koyundan iki post çıkmaz
54 Bir mıh bir nal kurtarır, bir nal bir at kurtarır
55 Bir sürçen atın başı kesilmez
56 Bodur tavuk her gün piliç
57 Boş torba ile at tutulmaz
58 Buğday ile koyun, gerisi oyun
59 Bugünkü tavuk yarınki kazdan iyidir
60 Bülbülün çekdiği hep dilinden dir
61 Büyük balık, küçük balığı yutar
62 Cahile söz anlatmak, deveye hendek atlatmaktan zordur
63 Cambaz ipte, balık dipte gerek
64 Caminin mumunu yiyen kedinin gözü kör olur.
65 Canı yanan eşek attan yürük olur
66 Çarşı iti ev beklemez
67 Çıngıraklı deve kayb olmaz
68 Cins horoz yumurtada iken öter
69 Cins kedi ölüsünü göstermez
70 Çobana verme kızı, ya koyuna götürür ya kuzu
71 Çobansız koyunu kurt kapar
72 Denize düşen yılana sarilir
73 Deve boynuz ararken kulaktan olmuş
74 Deveden büyük fil var
75 Deveyi yardan uçuran bir tutam ottur
76 Dişi köpek kuyrugunu sallamazsa, erkek köpek arkasına düşmez
77 Dokuz at bir kazığa bağlanmaz
78 Duşmanın karınca ise de hor bakma

79 Eceli gelen fare kedi taşağı kaşır
80 Eceli gelen köpek cami duvarına işer
81 El elin eşeğini türkü çağırarak arar
82 Eşeğe altın semer vursalar, eşek yine eşektir
83 Eşeğe binmek bir ayip inmek iki ayip
84 Eşegi eşeğin yanina bağlasan, ya tuyunden alir ya huyundan
85 Eşeğini sağlam kazığa bağla, sonra Allah`a ısmarla
86 Eşek at olmaz, ciğer et olmaz
87 Eşek bile bir düştüğü yere bir daha düşmez
88 Eşeğin kuyruğunu kalabalıkta kesme; kimiuzun, kimikısa der
89 Eşek eşeği ödünç kaşir
90 Eşek hoşaftan ne anlar; suyunu içer, tanesini bırakır
91 Fukaranın tavuğu tek tek yumurtlar
92 Gammaz olmasa tilki pazarda gezer
93 Garip kuşun yuvasını Allah yapar
94 Göle su gelinceye kadar kurbağanın gözü patlar
95 Gözü tanede olan kuşun ayağı tuzaktan kurtulamaz
96 Her deliğe elini sokma, ya yılan çıkar ya çıyan
97 Her gönülde bir aslan yatar
98 Her horoz kendi çöplüğünde öter
99 Her koyun kendi bacağından asılır
100 Her kuşun eti yenmez
101 Her sakaldan bir tel çekseler, köseye sakal olur
102 Horoz ölür, gözü çöplükte kalır
103 Horozu çok olan köyde sabah geç olur
104 inek gibi süt vermeyen, öküz gibi kütan surer
105 Irmaktan geçerken at değiştirilmez
106 İt derisinden post olmaz, eski duşman dost olmaz
107 It ite buyurur itte kuyruğuna
108 It iti suvatta bulur
109 It itin ayağına basmaz
110 İt ürür, kervan yürür
111 İtin ahmağı baklavdan pay umar
112 İtin duası Kabul olunsaydı gökten kemik yağardı
113 İtle çuvala girilmez
114 İtle yatan bitle kalkar
115 İyilik et, denize at, balık bilmezse Hâlik bilir
116 Kaçan balık büyük olur
117 Kadı ekmeğini karınca da yemez
118 Kanatsız kuş uçmaz

119 Karga ile gezen boka konar
120 Karınca kanatlanınca serçe oldum sanır.
121 Karınca zevali gelince kanatlanır
122 Karıncadan ibret al, yazdan kısı karsılar
123 Kartala bir ok değmiş, o da kendi yeleğinden
124 Kartalin begenmedigini kargalar kapisir
125 Kaz gelen yerden tavuk esirgenmez
126 Keçi can derdinde, kasap yağ derdinde
127 Kedi aslanın ağzından şikar alamaz
128 Kedi nedir ki budu ne ola
129 Kedinin boynuna ciğer asılmaz
130 Kedinin gideceği samanlığa kadar
131 Kedinin kanadı olsaydı serçenin adı kalmazdı
132 Kedinin usluluğu siçan gorunceye kadar
133 Kedisiz evde siçan terennümü olur
134 Kediyi sıkıstırırsan ustune atılır
135 Kılavuzu karga olanın burnu boktan kurtulmaz
136 Kır atın yanında duran ya huyundan ya tuyunden
137 Kırk serçeden bir kaz iyi
138 Komsunu iki inekli iste ki kendin bir inekli olasin
139 Köpeğe gem vurma kendini at sanır
140 Köpek bile yağ yediği kaba pislemez
141 Köpek ekmek veren kapiyi tanir
142 Köpek sahibini ısırmaz
143 Köpeksiz sürüye kurt dalar
144 Koyunun bulunmadığı yerde keçiye Abdurrahman Çelebi derler
145 Küçük suda büyük balık olmaz
146 Kurdun adı yamana çıkmış, tilki var baş keser
147 Kurdun marhemeti kuzuyu dişinde taşımak
148 Kurdun yavrusu kuzu olma
149 Kurt dumanlı havayı sever
150 Kurt kocayınca köpeklere maskara olur
151 Kurt la koyun ,kılıç la oyun olmaz
152 Kurt tüyünü değiştirir, huyunu değiştirmez
153 Kurtla ortak olan tilkinin hissesi, ya tırnaktır, ya bağırsak
154 Kuşa süt nasip olsa anasından olurdu
155 Maymun çomağı bir kere yer
156 Ölmüş eşek, kurttan korkmaz
157 Šahin gözünü ette açmıs; karga gözünü bokta açmıs
158 Sahipsiz eve it buyruk

159 Sayılı koyunu kurt kapmaz
160 Sen ağa, ben ağa; bu ineği kim sağa
161 Serçe ile konusanın sesi semadan gelir
162 Serçeden korkan darı ekmez
163 Serçeye çubuk beredi
164 Serkeş okuz (son) soluğu kasap dukkanında alır
165 Sıçan çıktığı deliği bilir
166 Sıçan geçer yol olur
167 Sürüden ayrılan koyunu kurt yer
168 Tek kanatla kuş uçmaz
169 Tilkinin dönüp dolaşıp geleceği yer kürkçü dükkânıdır
170 Ürümesini (ürmesini) bilmeyen köpek (it), sürüye kurt getirir
171 Vakitsiz öten horozun başını keserler
172 Yabancı koyun kenara yatar
173 Yağ yiyen köpek tüyünden belli olur
174 Yalnız öküz, çifte koşulmaz
175 Yatan aslandan, gezen tilki yeğdir
176 Yavaş atın çiftesi pek olur
177 Yılana yumuşaktır diye el sunma
178 Yılanın başı küçükken ezilmeli
179 Yoksul âlâ ata binse, selâm almaz
180 Yularsız ata binilmez
181 Yumurtasına hor bakan civcivini cılk eder
182 Yürük at yemini kendi artırır
183 Yürük ata kamçı değmez
184 Yuvayı yapan da dişi kuşdur yuvayı bozan da
185 Zemheride yoğurt isteyen cebinde inek taşır
186 Zenginin horozu da yumurtlar
187 Zorile köpek ava gitmez

APPENDIX 3. PRIMARY METAPHORS IN PERSIAN PROVERBS

APPEALING IS SWEET
ACTING IS BITING
AMBITIONS ARE FIGS TO EAT
APPEALING IS TASTY
AVAILABLE IS AT HAND
AVIDITY IS FLYING
AVIDITY IS WING
AWARENESS IS MATURITY
BAD IS BENDED
BAD IS BLACK
BAD IS COLD
BAD IS DIRTY
BAD IS FAR
BAD IS LATE
BAD RESULT IS SHITTING
BEGINNING OF AN ACT IS MOUTH
BEING IN PAIN IS BEING SLAUGHTERED
BEING RICH IS BEING FAT
BEING RICH IS BEING WHITE
BENEFITING IS EATING
CARING IS BEING ABOVE ONE'S HEAD
CARING IS FEEDING
CHARACTER IMPERFECTION IS PHYSICAL DEFICIENCY
CHARACTER IS COLOR
CHARACTER IS SKIN
CHARACTER IS SMELL
CONQUERING IS EATING
CONTROL IS COLLAR
CONTROL IS BRIDLE
CONTROL IS UP
CONTROLLING IS BEATING
CONTROLLING IS RIDING
CONTROLLING IS TYING UP THE FOOT
DANGEROUS IS BIG
DEFENDING IS SCRATCHING
DESIRES ARE GRASS
DESIRES ARE WHEAT
DIFFICULTIES ARE HEAVY LOADS TO CARRY
DIRECTING IS RIDING
DISASTER IS STORM
DISGUSTING IS SOUR

EARLY IS NEAR
END OF A PROCESS IS HUMAN RECTUM
ENJOYING IS RIDING
ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL
FIGHTING IS BEATING
FOOLING IS RIDING
GOOD IS STRAIGHT
GOOD IS EARLY
GOOD IS NEAR
GOOD IS WHITE
GOOD RESULTS ARE FOODS
HIDING IS BENDING
HOLY IS CLEAN
HONESTY IS STRAIGHT
IMPERFECTION IS DIRT
IMPORTANT IS BIG
IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL
IMPORTANT IS SMALL
IMPOSING IS PUSHING
INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS
INVESTING IS FEEDING
KNOWING IS SEEING
LATE IS DISTANT
LIFE IS JOURNEY
MASTERY IS UP
MISSED IS FLOWN AWAY
MISTAKES ARE PITS TO FALL IN
MORE IS UP
MOTIVATION IS HUNGER
POWERFUL IS BIG
PRAISING ARE HEAVY LOADS TO CARRY
PROBLEMS ARE HAVEY LOADS TO CARRY
PUNISHED IS LOSING HEAD
PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS
SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS
SOCIAL ELEVATION IS JUMPING
SPOILING SOMETHING IS PISSING
TAKING COURAGE IS KILLING
TAKING UP A TASK IS EATING PROCESS
THINKING IS DIGESTING
TORTURE IS PEELING OFF SKIN
UNAWARE IS CHILD
UNIMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL
UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL

VALUABLE IS BIG
VULNERABLE IS SMALL
WASTED IS BEING DEAD
WEAK IS LAME
WEAK IS SMALL

APPENDIX 4. PRIMARY METAPHORS IN TURKISH PROVERBS

APPEALING DESIRES ARE TRAPS TO FALL IN
APPEALING IS SWEET
APPEALING IS TASTY
BAD IS LATE
BAD CHARACTER IS LOUSE TO PICK UP
BAD ENVIRONMENT IS DUMP
BAD IS ARID
BAD IS BLACK
BAD IS COLD
BAD IS DIRTY
BAD IS DOWN
BAD IS LATE
BEING RICH IS EATING FAT
BOOSTING IS FLYING
CARING IS FASTENING TIGHT
CARING IS FEEDING
CARING IS LOOKING
CHARACHTER IS HAIR
CHARACTER IS COLOR
CONTROL IS UP
CONTROL IS BRIDLE
CONTROLLABLE IS SMALL
CONTROLLABLE IS LESS
CONTROLLABLE IS SMALL
CONTROLLED IS DOWN
CONTROLLER IS RIDER
CONTROLLING IS RIDING
CONTROLLING IS COUNTING
CONTROLLING IS SMASHING
DEFENDING IS JUMPING
DEFENDING IS STINGING
DESIRES ARE FOODS TO EAT
DESPISING IS LOOKING DOWN
DIFFICULTIES ARE FIRE TO BURN IN
DIFFICULTIES ARE HEAVY LOADS TO CARRY
DISCIPLINE IS BRIDLE
EARLY IS CLOSE
ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL
FAVORITES ARE FOOD TO EAT
FORGETTING IS THROWING AWAY
FORGOTTEN IS LOST
GOOD IS EARLY

GOOD IS WHITE
GOOD IS UP
HOLY IS CLEAN
IMPERFECTION IN CHARACTER IS PHYSICAL DEFICIENCY
IMPORTANT IS BIG
IMPORTANT IS SMALL
INSIGNIFICANT IS SMALL
INVOLVED IS TRAPPED IN SOMETHING
LATE IS DISTANT
LEARNING IS OPENING EYES
LIEF IS A JOURNEY
LOSING IS FALLING
MASTERY IS UP
MISTAKE ARE TRAP TO FALL IN
MISTAKES ARE PITS TO FALL IN
MORE IS UP
MOTIVATION IS PAIN
MOTIVATION IS FOOD
MOUTH IS CONTAINER
OFFERING FRIENDSHIP IS OFFERING HAND
POWER IS UP
POWER IS WING
POWERFUL IS BIG
PROTESTING IS JUMPING
PUNISHED IS HUNG
PUNISHED IS LOSING HEAD
PURPOSES ARE DESTINATION
REWARDS ARE FOODS
RICH IS WHITE
SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS
SOCIAL ELEVATION IS VERTICAL ELEVATION
STRONG IS BIG
STRONG IS THICK
SUBORDINATE IS BEING SMALL
SUPERORDINATE IS BIG
TASKS ARE LOADS TO CARRY
TEMPTATIONS ARE FOODS
TROUBLES ARE HEAVY THING TO CARRY
TRUSTING IS EMBRACING
TRYING IS RUNNING
UNCONTROLLABLE IS MORE
UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL
UNIMPORTANT IS BIG
UNIMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL

UNIMPORTANT IS PERIPHERIAL
VALUABLE IS UP
VULNERABLE IS ALONE
WAITING IS LOOKING
WANTING IS STRETCHING HAND
WEAK IS SMALL
WEAK IS ALONE
WEAK IS THIN
WISHING SOMETHING IS TO HAVE EYE ON IT
WORRYING IS LOOKING BACK

APPENDIX 5. METAPHORS AND METONYMIES IN PERSIAN PROVERBS

AMBITIONS ARE SNAKES
BAD EXPERIENCE IS SNAKE BITE
BEING UNGRATEFUL IS BITING
BENEFIT IS PELT
BENEFIT IS YOGHURT
BENEFIT IS HONEY
BENEFIT IS MILK
BENEFIT IS CAMEL MILK
BENEFIT IS FAT
BENEFIT IS PIGEON
BOILING POT FOR BOOMING BUSINESS
CHERISHING IS HORSE SHOE NAILING
CHILD IS NIGHTINGALE
CHILD IS EGG
CHILD IS SPOILED EGG
CORRUPTED SOCIETY IS CORRUPTED FISH
CRAFTY IS JACKAL
CRUEL IS DOG
CRUEL IS WOLF
CRYPTIC IS MOUSE
CURSING IS CROWING
DANGER IS WOMAN
DANGER IS SNAKE
DANGER IS BEAR
DEATH STANDS FOR CAMEL
DESPISED IS DOG
DISHONEST IS SNAKE
DISOBEDIENT IS CAT
DISOBEDIENT IS DONKEY
DOING BIG TASK IS RIDING CAMEL
EARNING IS HEN
EDUCATING HUMAN IS TRAINING HORSE
EMPTY TALK IS BARKING
EMPTY TALK IS BEE BUZZ
ENEMY IS CAT
ENEMY IS MOUSE
FALLIBILE IS DONKEY
FALLIBLE IS BALD GOAT
FERTILITY FOR ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY
FIGHTING IS BEATING
FISH FOR SOCIETY
FOLLOWING BIG AMBITIONS IS FOLLOWING SNAKE
FRUITFUL EFFORT IS EGG TURNING TO NIGHTINGALE

FUTILE EFFORT IS SPOILED EGG
GENEROSITY IS KILLING COW
GOOD WILL IS WISHING COW
GRASPING A CHANCE IS HUNTING A FISH
GRATEFUL IS DOG
GREEDY IS WOLF
HANDLING IS BEATING
HANDLING IS BEATING
HARMLESS IS DONKEY
HAVING CHILD IS LAYING EGG
HAVING HIGH MASTERY IS RIDING HORSE
HAVING LOW MASTERY IS RIDING DONKEY
HELPFUL IS DOG
HOUSE FOR DOMAIN OF POWER
HUNTER IS CAT
HURTING IS KICKING
IGNORANT IS DONKEY
IMPOSSIBLE IS MILKING A MALE GOAT
IMPOSSIBLE IS ROOSTER EGG
INFLEXIBLE IS SNAKE
INSIGNIFICANT IS DONKEY
INSIGNIFICANT IS FROG
INSIGNIFICANT IS FLEA
INSUFFICIENT IS FROG
INSUFFICIENT IS GOAT
INTRUSIVE IS DONKEY
INVESTING IS LAYING EGG
KICKING IS DONKEY BEHAVIOR
KICKING IS HINNY BEHAVIOR
KICKING IS HORSE BEHAVIOR
LAZY IS CAT
LOSS IS HAVING MALE GOAT
LOYAL IS DOG
LUSTFUL IS ROOSTER
MAKING EFFORTS IS LAYING EGGS
MAN IS ROOSTER
MATURE IS HEN/ROOSTER
NOBLE IS HORSE
OBEDIENT IS DONKEY
OPPORTUNIST IS BUTCHER
OPPORTUNIST IS WOLF
OPPOSING IS BARKING
PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
PEOPLE ARE BIRD
PEOPLE ARE FISH
PEOPLE ARE INSECTS

POWER IS HORN
PROFIT-MINDED IS DONKEY
RESULTS ARE CHICKENS
ROBBER IS CAT
ROBBER IS JACKAL
ROBBER IS MOUSE
ROBBER IS RAVEN
ROBBER IS WOLF
SEA FOR SOCIETY
SELF-ASSERTER IS MULE
SIGNIFICANT IS DOG
SIGNIFICANT IS HORSE
SIGNIFICANT IS SNAKE
SKY FOR SOCIETY
SMALL IS ANIMAL
SMALL SEA FOR SMALL SOCIETY
SNOBBY IS BALD GOAT
SOCIAL ELEVATION IS JUMPING
SOCIALIZING IS FLYING
SOCIETY IS POOL
SOCIETY IS STABLE
SPOILED IS RABBIT
SPOILING IS OVERFEEDING
SPOILING SOMETHING IS PISSING IN IT
SPONGER IS DOG
STINGY IS BEAR
STRONG IS BULL
STRONG IS CAT
STUBBORN IS DONKEY
STUBBORN IS CAMEL
STUPID IS DOG
STUPID IS DONKEY
SUFFICIENT IS FISH
SUSTENANCE IS DONKEY
SUSTENANCE IS GOOSE
SUSTENANCE IS HEN
TIMELESS TALKING IS CROWING
TROUBLE IS SNAKE BITE
TROUBLE IS CAT
TROUBLE IS WEALTH
USEFUL IS BEE
USEFUL IS BEE
USELESS IS BULL
VALUABLE IS FISH
VALUABLE IS FISH
VALUABLE IS GOOSE

VALUABLE IS SHEEP
VALUABLE IS SAFFRON
VALUELESS IS FROG
VALUELESS IS CAT
VALUELESS IS DONKEY
VALUELESS IS GOAT
VALUELESS IS DOG
VALUELESS IS HEN
VALUELESS IS CHAFF
WASTING IS FEEDING DOG
WASTING IS FEEDING DONKEY
WATRE FOR BENEFIT
WORKING HARD IS MILKING
WORKING HARD IS GRAZING
WORKING HARD IS HORSE BEHAVIOR
WORKING HARD IS RUNNING

APPENDIX 6. METAPHORS AND METONYMIES IN TURKISH PROVERBS

AGGRESSIVE IS CAT
AGGRESSIVE IS DOG
AMBITIONS ARE ANIMALS
ANGRY IS HORSE
BAD RESULT ARE ROTTEN EGG
BAD RESULT OF AN ACT ARE DOG URINE
BEING HARD WORKING IS BEING ANT
BEING RICH IS EATING FAT
BENEFIT IS BULL
BENEFIT IS COW
BENEFIT IS EGG
BENEFIT IS FAT
BENEFIT IS HONEY
BENEFIT IS MELON
BENEFIT IS MILK
BENEFIT IS NUT
BENEFIT IS PELT
BENEFIT IS PIGEON MEAT
BENEFIT IS WATER
BENEFIT IS YOGURT
BIRDS FOR DAMAGES
BITING IS DOG BEHAVIOR
BRISK IS FOX
BUSINESS IS HORSE
BUSINESS IS LAYING EGG
BUSINESS IS DONKEY
BUSINESS IS HEN
CHANCES ARE SWEETS TO EAT
CHANCESARE FISH
CHERISHED CHILD IS CHICKEN
CHERISHING IS HORSE SHOE NAILING
CHICKEN FOR GOOD RESULT IS
CHILD IS CALF
CHILD IS CHICKEN
CHILD IS EGG
CHILD IS GOAT
CHILD IS HORSE
CHILD IS LAMB
CHILD IS RAVEN
CLUMSY IS MULE
COMMENTING IS CROWING
CONDITIONS ARE FIELDS TO RIDE IN
CONDITIONS ARE FIELDS TO RIDE IN
CONTEMPTIBLE IS DOG
CORRUPTED SOCIETY IS CORRUPTED FISH
CRAFTY IS FOX
CRIMINAL IS FOX
CRIMINAL IS MOUSE
CRUEL IS WOLF
CRYPTIC IS MOUSE
CUTTING IS HURTING

DANGEROUS IS SNAKE
DANGEROUS IS WOLF
DIFFICULTIES ARE COLD DAYS
DISASTER IS STORM
DOING A TASK IS FLYING
DUMP FOR RULING DOMAIN
EARNING IS HEN
EARNINGS ARE EGGS
ENEMY IS WOLF
FALLIBLE IS DONKEY
FAMILY IS STABLE
FAVORABLE TASK IS HORSE RIDING
FISH FOR SOCIETY
FISH HEAD FOR HEAD OF SOCIETY
GIVING BENEFIT IS GIVING MILK
GOOD WILL IS WISHING COW
GOOSE IS VALUED
GRASPING CHANCE IS HUNTING A FISH
GREED IS ANIMAL
GREED IS DESIRE TO EAT
GREEDY IS HORSE
GUARDIAN IS DOG
HARD TASK IS PUSHING THE PLOW
HARD-HEARTED IS BEAR
HARM IS SNAKE BITE
HAVING HIGH MASTERY IS BEING HORSE F
HAVING LOW MASTERY IS BEING DONKEY
HUMAN REACTION IS HORSE NEIGHING
HUMAN REACTION IS HORSE REARING
HURTING IS BITING
HURTING IS CUTTING
HURTING IS KICKING
HURTING IS SHOOTING
IGNORANT IS DONKEY
ILL-BRED IS WOLF
IMPOSSIBLE IS PIGEON MILK
IMPULSIVE IS CAT
INDELICATE IS BEAR
INFERIOR IS DOG
INFERIOR IS PIG
INFERIOR IS RAVEN
INNOCENT IS LAMB
INSIGNIFICANT IS BEING DONKEY
INSUBORDINATE IS CAT
INSUFFICIENT IS DOG
KICKING IS HORSE BEHAVIOR
LAZY IS DOG
MAN IS DOG
MERCILESS IS WOLF
MOUNTING A DONKEY IS BEGINNING A WORK
NEGLECTED CHILD IS ROTTEN EGG
NOBLE IS EAGLE
NOBLE IS FALCON

NOBLE IS HORSE
NOBLE IS LION
OBSTACLES ARE BEE STING
OPPORTUNIST IS BUTCHER
OPPORTUNIST IS WOLF
OPPOSING IS BARKING
PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
PEOPLE ARE BIRDS
PEOPLE ARE FISH
PEOPLE ARE FOODS
PEOPLE ARE INSECTS
PLANTING MILLET IS INVESTING
PLAYFUL IS MONKEY
POWERFUL IS WOLF
PREVENTING IS WANDERING
PROUD IS CAT
REBELLIOUS IS BULL
RESULTS ARE CHICKENS
RIDING A HORSE FOR ADOPTING AN APPROACH
RIDING A HORSE FOR SOCIAL ELEVATION
ROBBER IS WOLF
RULING IS CROWING
RUNNING A BUSINESS IS FEEDING A HORSE
RUNNING A BUSINESS IS RIDING A DONKEY
RUNNING A BUSINESS IS RIDING A HORSE
SEXUAL ATTRACTION IS SHAKING TAIL
SHEPHERDS ARE GUARDIANS
SIGNIFICANT IS HORSE
SKILLED MAN IS RUNNER HORSE
SMALL SOCIETY IS SMALL SEA
SNEAKY IS MOUSE
SOCIALIZING IS FLYING
SOCIALIZING IS TALKING
SOCIETY IS HERD
SOCIETY IS SEA
SOCIETY IS STABLE
STARTING A BUSINESS IS RIDING HORSE
STINGY IS HAVING TIGHT VENT
STOPPING A WORK IS DISMOUNTING A DONKEY
STUPID IS DOG
TEACHING IS TAMING
TIMELESS TALKING IS BARKING
TIMELESS TALKING IS CROWING
TO HAVE MASTERY IS TO BEHAVE LIKE A HORSE
TO HAVE MASTERY IS TO RIDE A HORSE
TROUBLE IS CAT
TROUBLE IS WOLF
UNGRATEFUL IS CAT
UNGRATEFUL IS RAVEN
UNINTELLIGENT IS HEN
UNITY IS HERD
UNTRUSTABLE IS CAT
USELESS IS BULL

USELESS IS CAT
VALUABLE IS GOOSE
VALUABLE IS SHEEP
VALUABLE IS HEN
VALUABLE IS HORSE
VALUABLE IS MEAT
VALUELESS IS GOAT
VALUELESS IS LIVER
VENERABLE IS ALONE
VILLAIN IS DOG
WEAK IS GOAT
WEAK IS LAMB
WEAK IS SHEEP
WEAK IS DOG
WEALTH IS COW
WEALTH IS DONKEY
WEALTH IS FAT
WEALTH IS FOOD
WEALTH IS FOX PELT
WEALTH IS HORSE
WEALTH IS SHEEP
WELL-BRED IS GENIUS
WOMAN IS DOG
WOMAN IS PIGEON
WORKING HARD IS GRAZING SHEEP
WORKING HARD IS MILKING COW
WORKING HARD IS RUNNING
WORKING HARD IS GRAZING LAMB

APPENDIX 7: ORIGINALITY REPORT

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
THESIS/DISSERTATION ORIGINALITY REPORT

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LINGUISTICS

Date: 12/07/2016

Thesis Title / Topic: Animal Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs: A Cognitive Linguistic Study

According to the originality report obtained by myself/my thesis advisor by using the Turnitin plagiarism detection software and by applying the filtering options stated below on 12/07/2016 for the total of 364 pages including the a) Title Page, b) Introduction, c) Main Chapters, and d) Conclusion sections of my thesis entitled as above, the similarity index of my thesis is 8 %.

Filtering options applied:

1. Approval and Decleration sections excluded
2. Bibliography/Works Cited excluded
3. Quotes excluded
4. Match size up to 5 words excluded

I declare that I have carefully read Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences Guidelines for Obtaining and Using Thesis Originality Reports; that according to the maximum similarity index values specified in the Guidelines, my thesis does not include any form of plagiarism; that in any future detection of possible infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility; and that all the information I have provided is correct to the best of my knowledge.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

12/07/2016

Name Surname:	Shahrooz Pourhossein
Student No:	N10242824
Department:	English Linguistics
Program:	English Linguistics
Status:	☐ Masters ☒ Ph.D. ☐ Integrated Ph.D.

Pourhossein

ADVISOR APPROVAL

APPROVED.

Prof. Dr. Işıl Özyıldırım

APPENDIX 8: ETHNIC BOARD WAIVER FORM

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM FOR THESIS WORK

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ENGLISH LINGUISTICS TO THE DEPARTMENT PRESIDENCY

Date: 12/07/2016

Thesis Title / Topic: Animal Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs: A Cognitive Linguistic Study

My thesis work related to the title/topic above:

1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people.
2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.).
3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity.
4. Is not based on observational and descriptive research (survey, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development).

I declare, I have carefully read Hacettepe University's Ethics Regulations and the Commission's Guidelines, and in order to proceed with my thesis according to these regulations I do not have to get permission from the Ethics Board for anything; in any infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility and I declare that all the information I have provided is true.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

12/07/2016

Name Surname:	Shahrooz Pourhossein
Student No:	N10242824
Department:	English Linguistics
Program:	English Linguistics
Status:	☐ Masters ☒ Ph.D. ☐ Integrated Ph.D.

Pourhossein

ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL

APPROVED.

Prof. Dr. Işıl Özyıldırım