



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



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**KABUL VE ONAY**

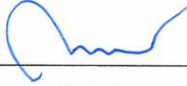
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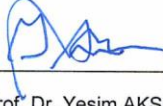
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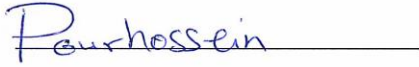
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## BİLDİRİM

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30.06.2016



Shahrooz Pourhossein

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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.

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## 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 <sup>1</sup>. 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.

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<sup>1</sup> 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, Cartesian 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 Cartesian 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 Cartesian 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, Cartesian 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 arising from embodied experiences create “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) appreciates 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 domains as 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 instinctual 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 bestial 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→ instinctual attributes→ instinctual 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 *heart* 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* (aberru), *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 Dekhoda (1999) and Shamlu (1978) and the Turkish proverbs were gathered from the collection compiled 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](http://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:

Mayāzār muri ke dāne keš ast ke jān dārado jāne širin xoš 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*

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

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*, ḡ=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 šo yāle”*

*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

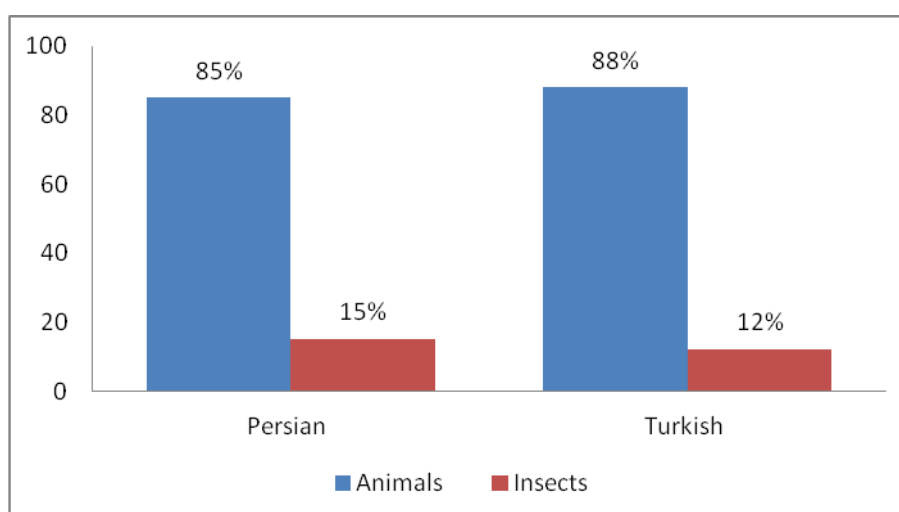
addition, as it is illustrated in table- 3 the type of the used insects in both languages were different.

*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*

<b>Turkish animals</b>	<b>N=223</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Persian animals</b>	<b>N=192</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
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 considered 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 beliefs 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.

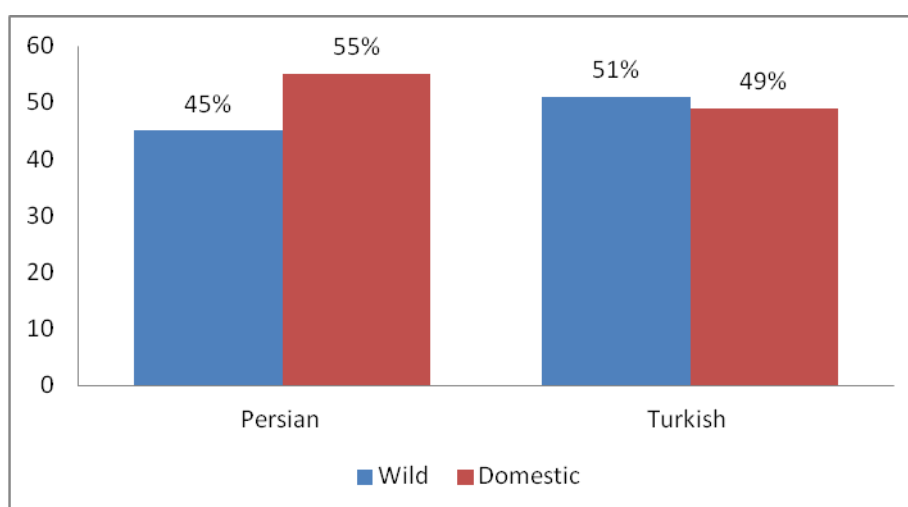
In sum, the results of the analyses illustrated that both languages had both similarities and variation in terms of number, type, frequency, and makeup of use of animals. In case of Persian language it could be argued that the particular fauna cover of arid geography of this territory as well as nomadic 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.

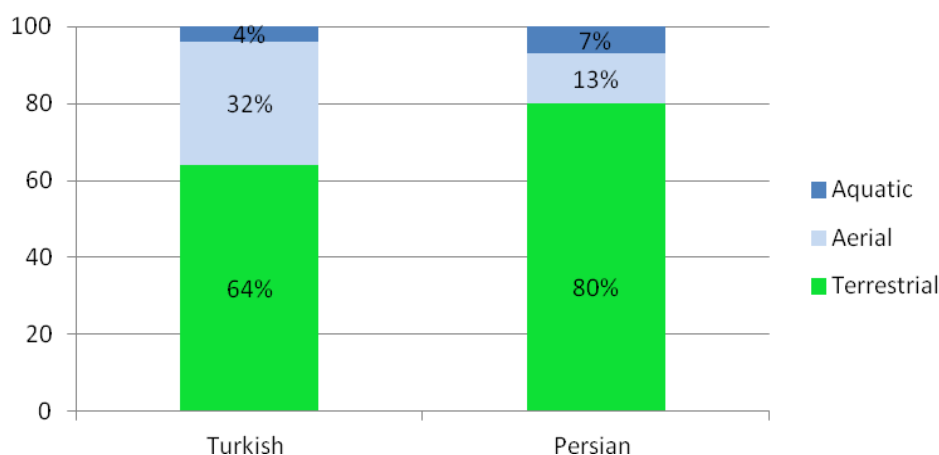
Following his researches, Nielsen (1996) argues that “animal-based metaphors and symbols, only a few of which are based on actual physical differences between male and female bodies, make up a relatively small portion of our cultural metaphors about gender” (p. 257). Nielsen conducted a study on English 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 (32%) in comparison to Persian proverbs (13%). 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.			
<i>Abdal ata binince bey oldum sanır, şalgam aşı girince yağ oldu msanır</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS FOODS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
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	SOCIAL ELEVATION IS VERTICAL ELEVATION SOCIAL ELEVATION IS RIDING HORSE GOOD IS UP	Horse riding	Being rich/ Social elevation
MI: an insignificant person who suddenly becomes rich, considers him/herself an important person	WEALTH IS FAT WEALTH IS HORSE		
TP: relation to people			
2.			
<i>Arpa verilmeyen at, kamçı zoruyla yürümez</i>	CARING IS FEEDING MOTIVATIONS ARE FOOD		
LM: A horse which is not given barley, won't run even by spur		Horse	Human
MI: you cannot force someone to work hard for			

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you without giving him/her wages/food.

TP: behavior

---

3.

*At binenin, kılıç kuşananın* Literal meaning

LM: The horse should be ridden by a skilled man and sword should be put on by skilled man

TO HAVE MASTERY IS TO RIDE A HORSE

MASTERY IS UP - -

MI: only one who has mastery can handle the assigned duty.

TP: relation to people

---

4.

*Ata binen nalını mihini arar* Metonymy: RIDING HORSE STANDS FOR DOING A TASK

LM: one who wants to ride horse must check its nails and shoe nails

PROPERTY IS HORSE

IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL Horse riding Doing a task

MI: when you want to use something, you should also check its requirements

IMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL

TP: relation to people

---

5. *At binicisini tanır*

PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

LM: Horse knows its rider

CONTROLLING IS Horse Human

MI: the worker knows his/her master's expectations and ideas

RIDING

CONTROL IS UP

TP: relation to people

---

6.

*At biniciye göre şahlanır*

PEOPLE ARE Horse Human  
ANIMALS rearing behavior

LM: Horse rears

Metonymy: HORSE

---

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



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

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

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

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

---

living together

TP: size, habitat, relation  
to people

---

23.

*Bir mih bir nal kurtarır, bir  
nal bir at kurtarır*

Literal meaning

VALUABLE IS ANIMAL

LM: One nail saves a  
horseshoe and a  
horseshoe saves a horse

VALUABLE IS HORSE

IMPORTANT IS BIG

MI: Do not underestimate  
something apparently  
small because it can have  
great impact and result on  
an important task.

IMPORTANT IS SMALL

VALUABLE IS HORSE

TP: relation to people

---

24.

*Bir sürçen atın başı  
kesilmez*

PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

LM: a horse which  
stumbles once should not  
be slaughtered

FALLIBLE IS HORSE

PUNISHING

IS

Horse

Human  
Fallible

MI: a person with high  
mastery in his job should  
not be fully denied by  
making one single mistake.

CUTTING HEAD

TP: behavior

---

25.

*Boş torba ile at tutulmaz*

BUSINESS IS ANIMAL

LM: one can't hold a horse  
with empty sack

RUNNING A BUSINESS  
IS RIDING A HORSE

Horse

Business/  
task

MI: you cannot run a big

RUNNING A BUSINESS

---

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

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

---

TP: relation to people

---

32.

*Yavaş atın çiftesi pek olur* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

LM: a slow horse kicks badly KICKING IS HORSE BEHAVIOR

MI: the anger of an apparently soft-mannered person is much bigger ANGER IS HORSE BEHAVIOR Horse Human

TP: behavior

---

33. *Yoksul âlâ ata binse, selâm almaz*

Metonymy: HORSE RIDING STANDS FOR BEING RICH/ SIGNIFICANT

LM: If a poor man rides a well-bred horse, he does not greet the people back

SOCIAL ELEVATION IS VERTICAL ELEVATION

Horse riding

Being rich

MI: a poor person who suddenly boosts, behaves self-importantly

VALUABLE IS UP

TP: relation to people

---

34.

*Yularsız ata binilmez* BUSINESS IS ANIMAL

LM: it is not possible to ride a horse without bridle RUNNING A BUSINESS IS RIDING A HORSE

Horse

Business

MI: you cannot control a business without any disciplines.

DISCIPLINE IS BRIDLE

CONTROLLING IS RIDING

TP: relation to people,

---

35.

*Yürük at yemini kendi artırır* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

REWARDS ARE FOODS

Horse

Human Hard working

LM: A horse which runs fast wins himself more food

WORKING HARD IS RUNNING

---



---

MI: a person who tries  
more, sees its happy  
results

TP: behavior

---

36

*Yürük ata kamçı değmez* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

LM: A horse which runs fast SKILLED MAN IS  
never gets spurred RUNNER HORSE

MI: someone who does WORKING HARD IS  
his/her own duty properly RUNNING  
does not get warnings

Horse Human  
hard  
working

TP: behavior

---

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

#### 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 instinctual 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.	<i>Asbo ke piše xar bebandi, ham bu naše ham xu miše</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	
	LM: If you keep the donkey and horse together, if not their smell, their temper becomes like each other	SIMILARITY CLOSENESS CHARACTER IS SMELL SOCIETY IS STABLE	IS  Horse Human
	MI: people pick up the character of those they socialize with	NOBLE IS HORSE	
	TP: relation to people, appearance	INSIGNIFICANT DONKEY	IS
2.	<i>Asbi ke dar bist sālegi soṽānaš konand, barāye savāri dar ṽiyāmat xub ast</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TEACHING HUMAN IS TRAINING HORSE GOOD IS EARLY BAD IS LATE	
	LM: A horse trained for riding in its twenty, is good for being ridden in judgment day	EARLY IS NEAR LATE IS DISTANT LATE IS JUDGMENT DAY	Horse/ Human/  Horse training Human education
	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		
3.	<i>Asbo astar be ham lagad nazannad</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	
	LM: horse and hinny don't kick each other	HURTING IS KICKING	Horse Human

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

7.	<i>Xar savāri balad nist savāre asb miše</i>	MASTERY IS UP TO HAVE HIGH MASTERY IS TO RIDE HORSE TO HAVE LOW MASTERY IS RIDING A DONKEY	Horse riding	/ Having Mastery
	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			
8.	<i>Dandune asbe piškešo nemišmoran</i>	WEALTH IS HORSE SIGNIFICANT IS HORSE	Horse	Significant
	LM: Don't count the teeth of a gift horse			
	MI: Do not look for the faults of a given gift.			
	TP: appearance			

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TM: *thematic part*, γ=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

Target domain	Source 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*

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

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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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 “kısırak”, 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. <i>Asbeo ke piše xar bebandi, ham bu naše ham xu miše</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS  SIMILARITY CLOSENESS	ARE  IS	Donkey Human insignificant
LM: If you keep the donkey and horse together, if not their smell, their temper becomes like each other	CHARACTER SMELL	IS	

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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same mistake again

TP: behavior

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7.

*Eşeğin kuyruğunu kalabalıkta kesme; kimiuzun, kimikısa der* BUSINESS IS DONKEY

LM: Don't cut donkey's tail in crowd, some would say it was short, some would say it was long-

Donkey Business

MI: don't do your business in public because everyone will confuse you by giving different comments on it

TP: appearance

---

8.

*Eşeğini sağlam kazığa bağla, sonra Allah'a ısmarla* BUSINESS IS DONKEY  
CARING IS FASTENING TIGHT

LM: First, fasten your donkey safely to a post and then ask God to protect it.

Donkey Business

MI: only asking God to do things for you is not enough, first you should work hard yourself

TP: relation to people

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9.

*Eşek at olmaz, ciğer et olmaz* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

LM: donkey can't be horse and liver (as food) can't be meat

IMPORTANT IS BIG  
SIGNIFICANT IS HORSE

Donkey Human Insignificant

INSIGNIFICANT IS

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



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

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LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*, ç=Ć, 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

Target domain	Source 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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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

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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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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MI: being a grateful animal is better than being an ungrateful human

TP: relation to people

---

20.

*Sage sir donbāle kasi nemire* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

LM: A full dog does not chase any one

FOOD IS MOTIVATION

Dog Human

MI: one who is well off has no motivation to act

TP: behavior, relation to people

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21.

*Sage zard barādare šoyāle* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

CRUEL IS DOG

LM: Yellow dog is jackal's brother

CRAFTY IS JACKAL

Dog Cruelty

MI: cruel and crafty people are from similar character

TP: appearance, relation to people

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22.

*Sagi be bāmi jaste gardeš be mā nešaste* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

SOCIAL ELEVATION IS JUMPING

LM: A dog has jumped on the wall, and its dust has fallen on us

SIGNIFICANT IS DOG

Dog Human

MI: boosting oneself by affiliating one to a high-ranked person who are actually not related to each other

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 TP: behavior
 

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23.

*Sagi ke barā xodeš pašm nakone bara digarān kašk nemikone* ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)

BENEFITS ARE CURD

LM: a dog which does not make wool for itself will not make curd for others

WEALTH IS WOOL

VALUELESS IS DOG WOOL

Dog

Human  
Useless

MI: someone who has no use for him/herself, will have no use for others either

---

 TP: relation to people
 

---

24.

*Sagi ke vaḡ vaḡ kone nemigire* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

TALKING EMPTY IS BARKING

LM: Barking dog does not bite

ACTING IS BITING

Dog  
BarkingHuman  
behavior  
Empty  
Talking

MI: someone who talks much acts less

---

 TP: behavior
 

---

25.

*Sago ke be zur bebaran šekār vasate kār šāšeš migire* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  
BAD IS DIRTY

LM: A dog which is reluctant to go hunting, starts pissing in the middle of hunting

SPOILING IS PISSING

Dog

Human

MI: a person who does a task reluctantly, spoils it

---

 TP: behavior
 

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26.

*Šīram bedarad beh ke* ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE

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<i>sagam nāz konad</i>	(personification)	Dog	Human Contemptible
LM: It is better to be torn off by lion rather than being patted by dog	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS DOWNGRADED IS DOG		
MI: to be treated bad by someone aggressors better being cared by someone contemptible	AGGRESSIVE IS LION		
TP: relation to people, behavior			
<hr/>			
27.			
<i>Tāzi ke pir beše az ahoos hesāb mibare</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
LM: When the dog gets old, it get afraid even of deer	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRUEL IS DOG	Dog	Human cruelty
MI: cruel people lose their grandeur when they get old	WEAK IS DEER WEAK IS OLD		
TP: behavior			
<hr/>			
28.			
<i>Zane salite sage bi yalādst</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SHREWISH IS DOG		
LM: A shrewish woman is a dog without collar	COLLAR IS CONTROL	Dog	Woman
MI: an aggressive woman is as uncontrollable as a collarless dog			
TP: appearance, behavior			
<hr/>			
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , $\bar{v}$ =gh, $\bar{s}$ =sh, $x$ =kh, $\bar{c}$ =ch, $a$ =æ, $\bar{a}$ =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/faltered 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. <i>Aç köpek fırını deler</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  LM: Hungry dog digs hole in bakery wall  MI: hungry man makes impossible things possible to feed him/herself  TP: behavior		Dog  Human
2. <i>Açık kaba it işer</i>	BAD RESULT DOG URINE  LM: dog pisses in the open dish  MI: not keeping the secret results in unfavorable consequences  TP: behavior		Dog Bad pissing result
3. <i>Ahmak iti yol kocatır</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  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		Dog  Human Stupid
4. <i>At ölür, itlere bayram olur</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  IMPORTANT IS BIG		Dog  Human Insignificant

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

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

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

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



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

LM: dog does not bite its owner	BEING UNGRATEFUL IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR		
MI: one should be grateful to people who do them goodness			
TP: behavior			
23.			
<i>Köpeksiz sürüye kurt dalar</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SOCIETY IS HERD		
LM: A herd without shepherd gets attacked by wolf	ENEMY IS ANIMAL GUARDIAN IS DOG	Dog	Guardian
MI: a nation without good guardian becomes attacked by enemies	BEHAVIOR		
TP: relation to people			
24.			
<i>Kurt kocayınca köpeklere maskara olur</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRUEL IS WOLF		
LM: When the wolf becomes older it becomes the dog's toy	WEAK IS DOG	Dog	Weak person
MI: powerful people who lose their grandeur when they lose their power			
TP: behavior			
25.			
<i>Sahipsiz eve it buyrur</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
LM: Dog commands in a house without owner	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
MI: when someone efficient did not take up doing the task, an insufficient person would do it	INSUFFICIENT IS BEING	Dog	Human Insufficient

TP: behavior			
26.	<i>Ürümelerini bilmeyen köpek sürüye kurt getirir</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TIMELESS SPEAKING IS BARKING	
	LM: A dog which does not know how to bark, brings the wolf to the herd	HUMAN SOCIETY IS HERD	Dog Human
	MI: if one does not speak carefully, one may make trouble for him/herself and others		
TP: behavior			
27.	<i>Yağ yiyen köpek tüyünden belli olur</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BEING RICH IS EATING FAT	
	LM: a dog which has eaten fat is known from its hair		Dog Human
	MI: the appearance of someone whose life suddenly boosts in dishonest ways reveals it		
TP: behavior			
28.	<i>Zorile köpek ava gitmez</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS FORCING IS PUSHING	
	LM: dog does not go hunting reluctantly		Dog Human
	MI: one does not do something without enough motivation		
TP: behavior			

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*, ç=Ć, 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

Target domain	Source domain			
	Dog	Dog behavior		
		Pissing	Barking	Biting
	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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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

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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 prerequisite 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 wagging 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. <i>Aç kurt bile komşusunu dalmaz</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBER IS WOLF		
LM: even the hungry wolf does not rob its neighbor		Wolf	Human
MI: one should not rob his/her neighbor			
TP: behavior			
2. <i>Aç kurt yavrusunu yer</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRUEL IS WOLF		
LM: Hungry wolf eats its own child		Wolf	Human

	MI: one might forget his own child in hard situations			
	TP: behavior			
3.	<i>Çobansız koyunu kurt kapar</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ENEMY IS WOLF		
	LM: A sheep without shepherd is the prey for wolf	WEALTH IS SHEEP	Wolf	Robber
	MI: valuable property which are not taken care of may be stolen	PEOPLE ARE HERD		
	TP: behavior			
4.	<i>Kurdun adı yamana çıkmış, tilki var baş keser</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRUEL IS WOLF		
	LM: Wolf has been notorious, some foxes cut the hair	CRAFTY IS FOX	Wolf	Human cruel
	MI: silent crafty people are worse than apparently cruel ones			
	TP: behavior			
5.	<i>Kurdun marhemeti kuzuyu dişinde taşımak</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
	LM: The clemency of a wolf is to carry the lamb in his mouth	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS MERCILESS IS WOLF		
	MI: cruel people are not expected to have mercy to weak ones	WEAK IS LAMB	Wolf	Human cruel
	TP: behavior			
6.			Wolf	Human

	<i>Kurt dumanlı havayı sever</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS OPPORTUNIST IS WOLF		Opportunist
	LM: Wolf likes the foggy weather			
	MI: some like to take advantage of messy situations			
	TP: relation to people			
7.	<i>Kurt kocayınca köpeklere maskara olur</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
	LM: When the wolf becomes older it becomes the dog's toy	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRUEL IS WOLF	Wolf	Human cruel
	MI: powerful people who lose their grandeur when they lose their power	WEAK IS DOG		
	TP: relation to people			
8.	<i>Kurt la koyun ,kılıç la oyun olmaz</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEAK IS SHEEP		
	LM: there can't be a game between wolf and sheep and no game with sword	POWERFUL IS WOLF	Wolf	Human Powerful
	MI: weak people can't fight back the powerful ones			
	TP: relation to people			
9.	<i>Kurt tüyünü değiştirir, huyunu değiştirmez</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL		Human Brutal
	LM: Wolf changes its hair but not its nature	CHARACTER IS HAIR	Wolf	
	MI: one can't change			

	his/her brutal nature			
	TP: relation to people			
10.	<i>Kurtla ortak olan tilkinin hissesi, ya tırnaktır, ya bağırsak</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRAFTY IS FOX POWERFUL IS WOLF	Wolf	Human Powerful
	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			
11.	<i>Köpeksiz sürüye kurt dalar</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS SOCIETY IS HERD ENEMY IS WOLF GUARDIAN IS DOG	wolf	Enemy
	LM: A herd without shepherd gets attacked by wolf			
	MI: a nation without good guardian becomes attacked by enemies			
	TP: relation to people			
12.	<i>Sayıllı koyunu kurt kapmaz</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBER IS WOLF WEALTH IS SHEEP	Wolf	Robber
	LM: The wolf does not snatch the sheep that are counted			
	MI: keeping the record of your property keeps off pilfering			
	TP: behavior			
13			Wolf	Enemy

<i>Sürüden ayrılan koyunu kurt yer</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
	UNITY IS HERD		
LM: a sheep separated from herd gets eaten by wolf	ALONE IS VULNERABLE		
MI: a person who has no ally get damaged by enemy			
TP: behavior			
14.			
<i>Ürümelerini (ürmesini) bilmeyen köpek (it), sürüye kurt getirir</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
	GUARDIAN IS DOG		
	SOCIETY IS HERD		
LM: A dog which does not know how to bark, brings the wolf to the herd	ENEMY IS WOLF	Wolf	Trouble /enemy
MI: if one does not speak carefully, one may make trouble for him/herself and others	TROUBLE IS WOLF		
TP: behavior			
15.			
<i>Ölmüş eşek, kurttan korkmaz</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
LM: A dead donkey is not afraid of wolf	DANGER IS WOLF	Wolf	Dangerous
MI: someone who has nothing to lose is not afraid of any danger			
TP: relation to people			
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , ç=Ç, ş=Ş			

#### 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*

Target domain	Source domain	
	Wolf	Wolf behavior (Preying)
	danger Enemy Human Trouble	Robbery

##### 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. <i>āyebat gorg zāde gorg mišavad</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL		
LM: a baby wolf finally becomes a wolf	BRUTAL IS WOLF	Wolf	Human cruel
MI: nothing can change a bad nature			
TP: relation to people			
2. <i>Gorg ke be gale oftād vāy be hāle kasi ke ye barre dāre</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBER IS WOLF		
LM: Poor the one who has one lamb when the wolf attacks the herd	WEALTH IS LAMB	Wolf	Robber
MI: poor people are more venerable when being robbed			
TP: relation to people			
3. <i>Gorg ke pir šod ravvāse sag miše</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
LM: An old wolf become the dog's dancer	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEAK IS DOG		
MI: as cruel people get old they lose their grandeur before weak people	WEAK IS OLD	wolf	Human cruel

TP: relation to people					
4.	<i>Kasi ke az gorg mitarse gusfand negah nemidāre</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBER IS WOLF			
	LM: One who is afraid of wolf, does not keep sheep	WEALTH IS SHEEP	Wolf	Robber	
	MI: someone who is afraid of losing should not possess anything				
TP: relation to people					
5.	<i>Sad gorg dar galle beh az yek ajuze dar mahalle</i>	Literal meaning			
	LM: One hundred wolves in the herd is better than a devilish in the neighborhood	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS DEVILISH IS WOMAN	-	-	
	MI: a devilish old woman is even worse than wolf				
TP: relation to people					
6.	<i>Salāme gorg bi tama nist</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)			
	LM: a wolf's greetings is not free of greed	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Wolf	Human Opportunist	
	MI: friendship of an opportunist person is not honest	OPPORTUNIST IS WOLF			
TP: ?					
7.	<i>Tobeye gorg marg ast</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS			
	LM: the regret of a wolf is its death	BAD-NATURED IS WOLF	Wolf	Human cruel	
	MI: only death can stop the bad deeds of a	ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL			

---

 rapacious person

TP: ?

---

 LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\forall$ =gh,  $\text{š}$ =sh,  $x$ =kh,  $\text{č}$ =ch,  $a$ =æ,  $\bar{a}$ =ā

#### 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*

Target domain	Source 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 instinctual *wolf* behavior on human.

*Table-27 Primary, Complex and Resemblance Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
WEAK IS OLD	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 in 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.				
<i>mušo gorbe čon be ham sāzand vāy be hāle dokāne baṡāl</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)			
LM: From the peace between cat and mouse, poor the grocer's shop	ENEMY IS CAT ENEMY IS MOUSE		Cat	enemy
MI: the unity between two enemies is dangerous for those who have something to lose				
TP: ?				
2.				
<i>Be doāye gorbe siyāhe bārun nemiyād</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)			
LM: it does not rain upon the prayers of black cat	BAD IS BLACK WICKED IS CAT		Cat	Human Wicked
MI: the world does not go				

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on according to the wishes  
of wicked people

TP:?

---

3.

*Dasti rā ke az man borid* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  
*xāh sag boxorad xāh gorbe*

VALUELESS IS DOG

LM: A hand cut off from  
me, I don't care if dog eats  
it or cat

VALUELESS IS CAT

Cat      Human  
Valueless

MI: something which is no  
longer of use for me is no  
longer my concern

TP: relation to people

---

4.

*Gorbe baraye rezāye xodā* ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE  
*muš nemigire* (personification)

LM: the cat does not hunt  
mouse for God's sake

HUNTING IS CAT  
BEHAVIOR

Cat      Human  
Benefit-  
minded

MI: no one does a favor  
without expecting to be  
repaid

BENEFITS ARE MICE TO  
HUNT

TP: behavior

---

5.

*Gorbe dasteš be gušt* ANIMAL ARE PEOPLE  
*nemirese mige pif pif bu* (personification)  
*mide*

PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

LM: the cat's hand does  
not reach to meat and  
says, it stinks

CHANCES ARE FOODS

Cat      Human

MI: one has no access to a  
favorable situation and  
starts talking bad about it

TP:behavior

---

6.

*Gorba ro agār dar otāy* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

Cat      Human

---

<i>habs koni panje be rut mizane</i>	INSUBORDINATE IS CAT				
LM: if you shut a cat in a room, it will scratch you	DEFENDING SCRATCHING	IS			
MI: if you put your enemy under too much pressure, it rebels back at you					
TP: behavior					
7.					
<i>Gorbe rā dame hejle bāyad košt</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS				
LM: The cat should be killed before the wedding chamber	TAKING KILLING	COURAGE IS	Cat	Cat	
MI: you should show your authority right from the beginning					
TP: relation to people					
8.					
<i>Muš ke ajaleš reside bāše sare gorbaro mixārune</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)				
LM: a mouse whose end has come scratches the cat's head	TROUBLE IS CAT IMPORTANT IS BIG		Cat	Trouble	
MI: someone who looks for trouble, makes the biggest mistake possible	TROUBLE IS CAT SMALL IS WEAK				
TP: behavior					
9.					
<i>Muše zende behtar az gorbeye mordast</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS VALUABLE IS ALIVE IMPORTANT IS SMALL		Cat	Human Significant	
LM: an alive mouse is better than a dead cat					
MI: a small but useful chance is better than big	WASTED IS DEAD				



---

but wasted one

TP: ?

---

10.

*Sad muš rā yek gorbe* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  
*kāfist*

IMPORTANT IS BIG

LM: one cat suffices a  
hundred mice

STRONG IS CAT

Cat      Human  
            Strong

MI: one single strong WEAK IS MOUSE  
person is enough to  
encounter many weak  
ones

TP: size,

---

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\gamma=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  
 $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{æ}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$

#### 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

Target domain	Source domain	
	Cat	Cat behavior (scratching)
	Human	Aggression
	Trouble	
	Enemy	

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. <i>Caminin mumunu yiyen kedinin gözü kör olur.</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  UNGRATEFUL IS CAT		
LM: the cat which eats the masque candle becomes blind		Cat	Human Ungrateful
MI: one who behaves ungratefully becomes punished			

TP: relation to people			
2.	<i>Cins kedi ölüsünü göstermez</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS PROUD IS CAT	
	LM: a gracious cat never let the others find his corpse		Cat Human Proud
	MI: a proud person never lets the others know what his/her pains are		
TP: behavior, relation to people			
3.	<i>Eceli gelen fare kedi taşağı kaşır</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (PERSONIFICATION)	
	LM: a mouse whose end has come scratches the cat's testicles	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG	Cat Trouble
	MI: someone who looks for trouble, makes the biggest mistake possible	TROUBLE IS CAT WEAK IS SMALL	
TP: ?			
4.	<i>Kedi aslanın ağzından şikar alamaz</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG	
	LM: Cat can't take the prey out of lion's mouth	BIG IS STRONG	Cat Human Weak
	MI: a weak one can never fight back a strong one	SMALL IS WEAK	
TP: behavior, size			
5.	<i>Kedinin boynuna ciğer asılmaz</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS UNRELIABLE IS CAT	Cat Human

	LM: one can't hang liver to the neck of a cat	BENEFITS ARE LIVER		Unreliable
	MI: you can't expect an unreliable person not to betray you			
	TP: relation to people			
6.	<i>Kedinin gideceği samanlığa kadar</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS USELESS IS CAT		
	LM: cat can only go till chaff hill		Cat	Human useless
	MI: useless people are not expected to undertake big task			
	TP: relation to people			
7.	<i>Kedinin usluluğu sıçan gorunceye kadar</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
	LM: cat is polite till it sees the mouse	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPULSIVE IS CAT	Cat	Human Impulsive
	MI: a person with impulsive character loses temper as soon as something irritates him/her	SNEAKY IS MOUSE		
	TP: behavior			
8.	<i>Kedi nedir ki budu ne ola</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
	LM: What is cat that, its thigh might be	UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL	Cat	Insignificance
	MI: a insignificant person is useless in all ways			
	TP: size			
9.			Cat	Human

<i>Kedisiz evde siçan terennümü olur</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Authoritative
	IMPORTANT IS BIG	
LM: there is mouse melody in a catless home	SUBORDINATE IS SMALL	
MI: the absence of superior gives a chance to subordinates to ramble	SUPERORDINATE IS BIG	
TP: behavior		
10. <i>Kediyi sıkıştırırsan ustune atılır</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	
	INSUBORDINATE IS CAT	
LM: if you squeeze the cat it will jump on you	DEFENDING IS JUMPING	
MI: if you suppress someone who is afraid of you, it may stand against you and attack you		Cat Weak Human
TP: behavior		
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , ç=Ć, 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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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 instinctual 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. <i>Ak koyunu gören içi dolu yağ sanır</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  GOOD IS WHITE		
LM: He who sees white sheep, considers it full of fat	metonymy: WHITE STANDS FOR	Sheep	Human Rich
MI: one should not judge the people based on their appearance	RICHNESS		
TP: appearance			
2. <i>Ak koyunun kara kuzusu da olur</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  GOOD IS WHITE  BAD IS BLACK		
LM: White sheep can have black sheep as well		Sheep	human
MI: good parents can have bad children too	CHILD IS LAMB		
TP: appearance			

3.	<i>Bir koyundan iki post çıkamaz</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFIT IS PELT		
	LM: One sheep can't have two pelt		Sheep	Human
	MI: one should not expect people beyond their real capability			
	TP: appearance			
4.	<i>Buğday ile koyun, gerisi oyun</i>	WEALTH IS ANIMAL WEALTH IS FOOD		
	LM: Sheep and wheat, the rest is game		Sheep	Valuable property /wealth
	MI: sheep and wheat are the fundamental needs of human			
	TP: relation to people			
5.	<i>Çobana verme kızı, ya koyuna götürür ya kuzu</i>	WORKING HARD IS SHEEP GRAZING		
	LM: Don't make your girl marry a shepherd because he turns her to a shepherd too		Sheep grazing	Hard work
	MI: be careful when you select the man as the future husband of your daughter			
	TP: relation to people			
6.	<i>Çobansız koyunu kurt kapar</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ENEMY IS WOLF SHEPHERDS ARE GUARDIANS	Sheep	Human
	LM: A sheep without shepherd becomes hunted by wolf			

	MI: people without good guardian would be attacked by enemy	SOCIETY IS HERD		
	TP: relation to people			
7.	<i>Her koyun kendi bacağından asılır</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
	LM: Every sheep is hung by his own leg	BEING PUNISHED IS BEING HUNG	Sheep	Human
	MI: everyone is responsible for his/her own deed			
	TP: appearance			
8.	<i>Koyunun bulunmadığı yerde Abdurrahman Çelebi derler</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
	LM: Where the sheep is rare, the goat is called Abdulrahman	VALUABLE IS SHEEP LESS VALUED IS GOAT	Sheep	Human Valuable
	MI: in the absence of valuable people, less significant people gain value			
	TP: relation to people			
9.	<i>Kurt la koyun ,kılıç la oyun olmaz</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
	LM: there can't be a game between wolf and sheep and no game with sword	WEAK IS SHEEP POWERFUL IS WOLF DANGEROUS IS WOLF	sheep	Human Weak
	MI: don't take the serious dangers simple			

TP: relation to people				
10.	<i>Sayılı koyunu kurt kapmaz</i>	WEALTH IS SHEEP		
	LM: The wolf does not snatch the sheep that are counted	ROBBER IS WOLF		
		DANGEROUS IS WOLF	Sheep	Property/ wealth
	MI: keeping the record of your property keeps off pilfering	CONTROLLING IS COUNTING		
TP: relation to people				
11.	<i>Sürüden ayrılan koyunu kurt yer</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
		UNITED IS STRONG		
	LM: A sheep separated from herd gets eaten by wolf	UNITED IS HERD		
		VULNERABLE IS ALONE	Sheep	Human
	MI: someone who has no aid and ally gets defeated by enemy quickly			
TP: behavior				
12.	<i>Yabancı koyun kenara yatar</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
		SOCIETY IS HERD		
	LM: Stranger sheep sleeps away from the herd		Sheep	Human
	MI: newcomers to an environment don't socialize quickly			
TP: behavior				
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , 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. <i>Gusfand be fekre june</i> <i>yassāb be fekre donbe</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
LM: Sheep worries about its life, butcher worries about its fat	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEALTH IS FAT	Sheep	Human
MI: opportunist people	OPPORTUNIST	IS	

	think of their benefit even at the price of others' pain	BUTCHER		
	TP: behavior, relation to people			
2.	<i>Gusfande košte az pust bāz kardan dardaš nayāyād</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TORTURE IS PEELING OFF SKIN		
	LM: dead sheep does not feel pain when its plet is peeled off		Sheep	Human
	MI: someone who has lost everything has no fear			
	TP: behavior			
3.	<i>Gusfand rā barāye koštan čāy konand</i>	WEALTH IS ANIMAL INVESTING IS FEEDING		
	LM: sheep is brought up for being slaughtered		Sheep	Property / Wealth
	MI: one invests only when one can get benefit			
	TP: relation to people			
4.	<i>Kasi ke az gorg mitarse gusfand negah nemidāre</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS ROBBER IS WOLF WEALTH IS SHEEP		
	LM: One who is afraid of wolf, does not keep sheep		Sheep	Wealth /property
	MI: someone who is afraid of losing should not possess anything			
	TP: relation to people			
	LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , $\gamma=gh$ , $\check{s}=sh$ , $x=kh$ , $\check{c}=ch$ , $a=\text{æ}$ , $\bar{a}=a$			

#### 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*

Target domain	Source 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
GOOD IS WHITE	LESS VALUED IS BEING GOAT
	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

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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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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; “bisaç”; 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. <i>Dande rā šotor šekast</i> <i>tāvānaš ra xar dād</i>		PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  IMPORTANT IS BIG	
LM: The camel broke the rib but the donkey got punished		KICKING IS CAMEL BEHAVIOR	Camel Human
MI: one makes the mistake and other one gets punished		CARELESS IS CAMEL	

TP: behavior			
2.	<i>Marg šotorist ke dare xāneye har kasi mixābad</i>	CAMEL STANDS FOR DEATH	
	LM: death is a camel which sleeps before every door		Camel Death
	MI : death is inevitable		
TP:			
3.	<i>Na šire šotor na didāre Arab</i>	BENEFITS ARE MILK TO EAT	
	LM: neither camel milk, nor visiting Arab		Camel milk Benefit
	MI: some benefits are not worth thinking of		
TP: relation to people			
4.	<i>Šotor agar morde ham bāše pusteš bare xare</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	
	LM: The skin of even dead camel is loaded on a ass	IMPORTANT IS BIG	
	MI: significant people remain significant even if they die		Camel Human significant
TP: appearance, size			
5.	<i>Šotor be peyṯām ab nemixore</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)	
	LM: Camel does not drink water by message	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS STUBBORN IS CAMEL	Camel Human stubborn
	MI: no one does a task reluctantly when the conditions are not ready		

TP: behavior			
6.	<i>Šotor bozorge Zahmateš ham bozorge</i>	WEALTH IS CAMEL IMPORTANT IS BIG WEALTH IS TROUBLE	Camel Wealth /property
	LM: Camel is big, its trouble is also big		
	MI: the bigger the wealth/property, the bigger the trouble		
TP: size			
7.	<i>Šotor ra gom karde donbale afsāreš migarde</i>	WEALTH IS CAMEL CONTROL IS BRIDLE	Camel Wealth/property
	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			
8.	<i>Bayad ke Šotor galu bud</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS THINKING IS DIGESTING	Camel throat Human mind
	LM: one should be like camel throat		
	MI: one should think seven times before talking	metonymy: THROAT STANDS FOR DIGESTING SYSTEM	
TP: appearance			
9.	<i>Šotor savari dolā dolā nemiše</i>	DOING BIG TASK IS CAMEL RIDING BENDING IS HIDING	Camel riding Notable task
	LM: Camel ridding cannot be done while bending		
	MI: one cannot undertake a		

	notable task without drawing others' attention			
	TP: relation to people			
10.	<i>Šotor xābidaš ham az xar istāde bozorgtare</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	
	LM: Even a lying camel is taller than a standing ass	IMPORTANT IS BIG		Camel Human significant
	MI: an important person is important than unimportant person in any way			
	TP: size, appearance			
11.	<i>Toxme morḡ dozd šotor dozd miše</i>	WEALTH IS CAMEL IMPORTANT IS BIG		
	LM: The egg robber becomes camel robber	WEALTH IS FOOD		Camel Wealth
	MI: someone who makes a small mistake has the potential to do bigger ones			
	TP: size , relation to people			
	LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , ṽ=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	Benefit	Wealth	Doing notable task	
wealth				

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.	<i>Cahile söz anlatmak, deveye hendek atlatmaktan zordur</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	
	LM: Teaching the ignorant is harder than making camel jump over the trench	TEACHING IS TAMING	Camel behavior Human Stubborn
	MI: teaching an ignorant person is impossible		
	TP: behavior		
2.	<i>Çingiraklı deve kaybolmaz</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	
	LM: a camel with bell never gets lost.	SELF-ASSERTION IS A RINGING BELL	Camel Human Self-asserter
	MI: one who is capable of self-assertion never gets ignored.	IMPORTANT IS BIG FORGOTTEN IS LOST	
	TP: appearance		
3.	<i>Deve boynuz ararken kulaktan olmuş</i>	ANIMAL ARE PEOPLE (personification)	
	LM: Camel has lost its ear while looking for horn	GREEDY IS ANIMAL	Camel Human Greedy
	MI: being greedy for more make you lose the one you have at hand		
	TP: behavior		
4.	<i>Deveden büyük fil var</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Camel Human Important
	LM: Elephant is bigger than	IMPORTANT IS BIG	

camel				
MI: there is always an upper hand				
TP: size				
5				
<i>Deveyi yardım uçuran bir tutam ottur</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS			
	TEMPTATIONS	ARE		
LM: It is a handful of grass which makes the camel fall from cliff	FOOD			
	BAD IS DOWN		Camel	Human Greedy
MI: sometimes small benefits may cost a lot	FALLING IS LOSING			
TP: behavior				
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , ç=Ć, 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
	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 *significance* 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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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. <i>Balık ağa girdikten sonra akli başına gelir</i>	ANIMAL ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
LM: Fish becomes wise after getting trapped	PEOPLE ARE FISH		
MI: we learn after we make mistakes	METONYMY: FISH STANDS FOR HUMAN MAKING MISTAKE IS FALLING IN TRAP		Fish Human
TP: relation to people			
2. <i>Balık baştan avlanır</i>	PURPOSES ARE FISH		
LM: Fish is captured through its head	ACHIEVING IS HUNTING		
MI: to achieve something you must get in contact with the person highest in rank	HEAD OF SOCIETY IS THE FISH HEAD METONYMY: FISH STANDS FOR SOCIETY		Fish Head of society
TP: relation to people			
3. <i>Balık baştan kokar</i>	SOCIETY IS FISH		Fish head Head of society

LM: The fish starts getting rotten from its head	CORRUPTED SOCIETY IS CORRUPTED FISH		
MI: if the head of a society is corrupted, whole the society turns corrupted	HEAD OF SOCIETY IS THE FISH HEAD METONYMY: FISH STANDS FOR SOCIETY		
TP: relation to people			
4.	<i>Büyük balık, küçük balığı yutar</i>	PEOPLE ARE FISH WEAK IS SMALL	
LM: Big fish eats the small fish	POWERFUL IS BIG	Fish	Human
MI: big powers surmount the weak ones			
TP: behavior, size			
5.	<i>Cambaz ipte, balık dipte gerek</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	
LM: Stunt should be on the rope and the fish should be in the sea		Fish	Human
MI: one should do the things which are the requirement of the job			
TP: habitat			
6.	<i>İyilik et, denize at, balık bilmezse Hâlik bilir</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)	
LM: Do goodness and throw it in the sea, if the fish does not know, God does	FORGETTING IS THROWING AWAY	Fish	Human
MI: don't expect the people to know the value of your goodness			

TP: ?				
7.	<i>Kaçan balık büyük olur</i>	CHANCES ARE FISH		
	LM: The slipping fish is big			
	MI: a wasted chance always seems too big	metonymy: FISH STANDS FOR CHANCE	Fish	Chance
	TP: size, relation to people			
8.	<i>Küçük suda büyük balık olmaz</i>	CHANCES ARE FISH		
		SOCIETY IS SEA		
	LM: There is no big fish in small water			
	MI: there are no big chances in small places	metonymy: SMALL SOCIETY IS SMALL SEA FISH STANDS FOR CHANCE	Fish	Chance
	TP: relation to people			
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , ç=Ĉ, ş=š				

Table-48 Cognitive Analysis of Fish Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1	<i>Hezār yurbāye jāye ye māhi ro nemigire</i>	PEOPLE ARE FISH VALUABLE IS FISH FROG IS VALUELESS IMPORTANT IS BIG	Human Valuable
	LM: Thousands of frogs can't take the place of one fish		
	MI: one valuable person is better than many valueless people		Fish
	TP: size , relation to people		
2.			

<i>Hozī ke māhi nadāre</i> <i>γurbāγe sālāre</i>	PEOPLE ARE FISH		
	ANIMAL ARE PEOPLE (personification)	Fish	Human Valuable
LM: In the pool which has no fish, frog becomes leader	IMPORTANT IS BIG		
MI: in the absence of sufficient people valueless people take the authority			
TP: relation to people, size			
3.			
<i>Māhi az sar gande gardad</i> <i>ney ze dom</i>	SOCIETY IS SEA		
	METONYMY: PART STANDS FOR WHOLE FISH STANDS FOR SEA		
LM: fish gets rotten from head			
MI: it is the head of a community which are responsible for the corruption of the community	CORRUPTED SOCIETY IS CORRUPTED FISH HEAD OF SOCIETY IS THE FISH HEAD	Fish	society
TP: relation to people			
4.			
<i>Māhi ro har vaγt az āb</i> <i>begiri tāzast</i>	CHANCES ARE FISH TO CATCH		
	GRASPING A CHANCE IS HUNTING A FISH	Fish	Chance
LM: Fish is fresh whenever you catch it			
MI: it is never late to start	CHANCE IS FISH		
TP: relation to people			
5.			
<i>Māhiye bozorg māhiye</i> <i>kuchak rā mixore</i>	PEOPLE ARE FISH		
	IMPORTANT IS BIG BIG IS POWERFUL	Fish	Human
LM: Big fish eats the small one			
MI: strong people make the smaller ones victim	CONQUERING IS EATING		

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	TP: size, behavior			
6.	<i>Māhi māhiyo mixore, māhixār har do ro</i>	PEOPLE ARE FISH		
		IMPORTANT IS BIG		
	LM: fish eats fish and pelican eats them both	OPPORTUNITIES ARE FISH TO CATCH	Fish	Human
	MI: there is always an upper hand			
	TP: behavior			
7.	<i>Ze abe xord Māhiye xord xizad, nahang ān beh ke bā daryā xizad</i>	CHANCES ARE FISH		
		SMALL SOCIETY IS SMALL SEA		
	LM: From small lake only small fishes are caught, the whale should challenge the sea	IMPORTANT IS BIG		
		SOCIETY IS SEA	Fish	Chance
	MI: big chances are found only in big environments	CHANCES ARE FISH TO HUNT		
		metonymy:		
	TP: size	FISH STANDS FOR CHANCE		

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LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\bar{v}$ =gh,  $\bar{s}$ =sh, x=kh,  $\bar{c}$ =ch, a=æ,  $\bar{a}$ =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*

Target domain	Source 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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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 in 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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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

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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.	<i>Ava gelmez kuş olmaz, başa gelmez iş olmaz</i>		
	metonymy: LM: There is no bird which could not be trapped , there is no head which would be trouble-free	PIGEON STANDS FOR HUMAN	Pigeon Human
	MI: troubles may happen to every one		
	TP: relation to people		
2.	<i>Garip kuşun yuvasını Allah yapar</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	
	LM: God builds the nest of stranger bird		pigeon Human
	MI: god helps a foreigner make his/her life		
	TP: habitat, relation to people		

3.	<i>Gözü tanede olan kuşun ayağı tuzaktan kurtulamaz</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS AMBITIONS ARE SEEDS		
	LM: A bird looking for seed can't avoid traps	APPEALING DESIRES ARE TRAPS TO FALL IN	pigeon	Human ambitious
	MI: someone who follows a dream should be ready to pay the price			
	TP: behavior			
4.	<i>Her kuşun eti yenmez</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFITS ARE PIGEON MEAT		
	LM: Not every bird's flesh is edible		Pigeon meat	Benefit
	MI: some people are not meant to give benefit rather be given			
	TP: relation to people			
5.	<i>Kanatsız kuş uçmaz</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS AIDS ARE WINGS PURPOSES ARE DESTINATION		
	LM: Bird can't fly without wing		pigeon	Human
	MI: in order to achieve your purpose you must have all what makes it possible			
	TP: appearance			
6	<i>Kuşa süt nasip olsa anasından olurdu</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFITS ARE MILK IMPOSSIBLE DREAMS ARE PIGEON MILK		
	LM: If milk was the aliment of the bird, it would have had it from its mother		Pigeon milk	Impossible dreams
	MI: some dreams are impossible to reach			

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TP: relation to people			
<hr/>			
7.	<i>Tek kanatla kuş uçmaz</i>	DOING A TASK IS FLYING	
	L LM: No bird flies with one wing	PURPOSES	ARE
	no MI: one can undertake task without help	DESTINATIONS	pigeon Task
		AIDS ARE WINGS	
<hr/>			
TP: appearance			
<hr/>			
8.	<i>Yuvayı yapan da dişi kuşdur yuvayı bozan da</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE
	LM: It is the female bird which both builds and destroy the home	WOMAN IS PIGEON	Female pigeon
	MI: it is the woman who builds or ruins the common life		Human Destructive/constructive
<hr/>			
TP: behavior			

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

According to the analyses in Turkish proverbs, pigeon (f=8) was metaphorically used to represent *human*, generating the PEOPLE 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.			
<i>Kaftar sannāri yā karim nemixune</i>	BIRDS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
LM: A cheap pigeon can't sing	PIGEON STANDS FOR HUMAN		Pigeon Human
MI: one can't expect beyond one's capabilities			
TP:?			
2.			
<i>Kabutar bā kabutar bāz bā bāz, konad hamjens bā hamjens parvāz</i>	SOCIALIZING IS FLYING		
LM: Bird with bird, eagle with eagle, those of the same class fly together	PIGEON STANDS FOR HUMAN		
MI: people of the same personality usually socialize with each other			

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 TP: behavior
 

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 LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TM: *thematic part*,  $\gamma=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  
 $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{æ}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$ 

#### 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 primary metaphors observed in Turkish proverbs where *purposes* were defined in terms of *destinations*. In another case, *appealing desires* 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	AIDS ARE WINGS
AMBITIONS ARE SEEDS TO EAT	AMBITIONS ARE SEEDS
APPEALING DESIRES ARE TRAPS TO FALL IN	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 *nest*, *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. <i>mušo gorbe čon be ham sāzand vāy be hāle dokāne bayāl</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)	CAT STANDS FOR	Human robber
LM: From the peace	HUMAN		



	between cat and mouse, poor the grocer's shop	ROBBER IS CAT		
	MI: the unity between two enemies is dangerous for those who have something to lose	ROBBER IS MOUSE		
	TP: behavior			
2.	<i>Divar muš dāre, muš ham guš dāre</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
		CRYPTIC IS MOUSE		
	LM: the wall has mouse and the mouse had ears		Mouse	Human (cryptic /nosy )
	MI: one should not talk the secrets loudly			
	TP:			
3.	<i>Gorbe baraye rezāye xodā muš nemigire</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
	LM: the cat does not hunt mouse for God's sake	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)	Mouse	Human
	MI: no one does a favor without expecting to be repaid	HUNTER IS CAT  BENEFITS ARE MOUSE		
	TP: ?			
4.	<i>Muš ke ajaleš reside bāše sare gorbaro mixārune</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
	LM: a mouse whose end has come scratches the cat's head	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  WEAK IS SMALL	Mouse	Human
	MI: someone who looks for trouble, makes the biggest mistake possible			
	TP: behavior			

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5	<p><i>Mušē zende behtar az gorbeye mordast</i></p> <p>LM: an alive mouse is better than a dead cat</p> <p>MI: a small but useful thing is better than big but useless thing</p> <p>TP: appearance</p>	<p>PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS</p> <p>IMPORTANT IS SMALL</p>	<p>Moue</p> <p>Human</p>
<hr/>			
6.	<p><i>Sad muš rā yek gorbe kāfist</i></p> <p>LM: one cat suffices a hundred mice</p> <p>MI: one single strong person is enough to encounter many weak ones</p> <p>TP: size</p>	<p>PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS</p> <p>IMPORTANT IS BIG</p> <p>WEAK IS MOUSE</p> <p>STRONG IS CAT</p>	<p>Mouse</p> <p>Weak Human</p>

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LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $v=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$

#### 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.			
<i>Eceli gelen fare kedi taşağı kaşır</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (PERSONIFICATION)		
LM: a mouse whose end has come scratches the cat's head	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS IMPORTANT IS BIG	mouse	Human
MI: someone who looks for trouble, makes the biggest mistake possible	TROUBLE IS CAT SMALL IS WEAK		
TP: behavior			
2.			
<i>Kedinin usluluğu siçan gorunceye kadar</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)	Mouse	Human sneaky
LM: cat is polite till it sees			

the mouse	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
MI: a person with impulsive character loses temper as soon as something irritates him/her	IMPULSIVE IS CAT SNEAKY IS MOUSE		
TP: behavior			
3.			
<i>Kedisiz evde siçan terennümü olur</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
LM: Mouse melody goes on in a cat-free house	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Mouse	Human Inferior
MI: the absence of superior gives a chance to subordinates	IMPORTANT IS BIG BEING SUBORDINATE IS BEING SMALL		
TP: behavior			
4.			
<i>Sıçan çıktığı deliği bilir</i>			
LM: The mouse knows the hole it has come out	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRIMINAL IS MOUSE	Mouse	Human Criminals
MI: a criminal person knows how and where to escape when the problem rises	CRYPTIC IS MOUSE		
TP: habitat			
5.			
<i>Sıçan geçer yol olur</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
LM: The mouse passes, it becomes a road.	CRIMINAL IS MOUSE CRYPTIC IS MOUSE	Mouse	Human Criminals
MI: an criminal goes a wrong way and that way becomes popular			
TP: behavior			
LM: literal meaning, MI: metaphorical interpretation, TP: thematic part, ç=ç, ş=ş			

#### 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*

<b>Target domain</b>	<b>Source domain</b> <b>Mouse</b>
	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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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. <i>Be zabune xoš mār az lune birun miyād</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
LM: With kind words even the snake comes out of the whole	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
MI: talking kindly can even convince the most dangerous enemies	CONVINCING IS TAKING OUT OF HOME	Snake	Human inflexible
TP: behavior, habitat	INFLEXIBLE IS SNAKE		
2. <i>Hamaro mar migaze māro xarčosune</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
LM: Everyone is bitten by snake, we are stung by stinkbug	IMPORTANT IS BIG		
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	SIGNIFICANT IS SNAKE		
TP: relation to people, behavior	TROUBLES ARE SNAKE BITE	Snake	human Significant

3.	<i>Mār az pune badeš miyad joloye dareš sabz miše</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
	LM: Snake hates the mint and it grows before its door		Snake	Human
	MI: people run into someone whom they hate			
	TP: habitat			
4.	<i>Mār har kojā kaj bere tu luneye xodeš rāst mire</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS HONESTY IS STRAIGHT DISHONEST IS SNAKE BENDED IS BAD		
	LM: snake might enter everywhere bending, but it enters its own nest straight		Snake Appearance	Human
	MI: one can be dishonest outside but at home one should be honest	STRAIGHT IS GOOD		
	TP: behavior, habitat			
5.	<i>Mār puste xodešo vel mikone vali xuye xodešo vel nemikone</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CHARACTER IS SKIN		
	LM: Snake might leave its skin but not its nature	ESSENTIAL IS INTERNAL DANGEROUS IS BEING	Snake	Human bad-natured
	MI: bad nature never changes			
	TP: behavior, relation to people			
6.	<i>Mārgazide az rismāne siyāho sefid mitarse</i>	BAD EXPERIENCE IS SNAKE BITE	Snake bite	Bad experience
	LM: The one bitten by snake fears from black	BAD IS BLACK		



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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

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7.

*Mārgir ra axareš mār mikoše*

	FOLLOWING	BIG		
LM: Snake hunter finally gets killed by snake	AMBITIONS	IS		
	FOLLOWING SNAKE		Snake	Ambition

MI: whoever gets involved in troublesome things will be the victim of it

TP: relation to people

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8.

*Mār tā rāst naše tuye lunaš nemire* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

	HONESTY IS STRAIGHT		
LM: Snake can't enter his nest until it becomes straight	DISHONEST IS SNAKE		
		Snake	Human

MI: dishonesty is not welcome at home

TP: appearance, habitat

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LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\gamma=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$

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

Investigating the Persian proverbs illustrated that *snake* ( $f=8$ ) 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

Target domain	Source 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. <i>Bana dokunmayan yılan bin yaşasın</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS HARM IS SNAKE BITE HARMFUL IS SNAKE		Human Dangerous / enemy
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		Snake	
2. <i>Denize düşen yılanı sarilir</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS TRUSTING EMBRACING	IS	Human Unreliable
LM: He who falls in the sea embraces the serpent		Snake	

	MI: in helpless situations, one even asks for help from the most unreliable and dangerous people	UNRELIABLE IS SNAKE			
	TP: relation to people				
3.	<i>Her deliğe elini sokma, ya yılan çıkar ya çıyan</i>	DANGERS ANIMALS	ARE		
	LM: Don't thrust your hand in any hole, either serpent comes out or centipede	DANGER IS SNAKE WANTING STRETCHING HAND	IS	Snake	Dangerous
	MI: don't do harmful curiosity				
	TP: relation to people				
4.	<i>Yılana yumuşaktır diye el sunma</i>	DANGERS ANIMALS	ARE		
	LM: Don't offer your hand to serpent because it appears soft	DANGER IS SNAKE OFFERING FRIENDSHIP IS OFFERING HAND		Snake	Human Deceptive
	MI: Do not let the soft appearance of some people make you trust them.				
	TP: appearance, relation to people				
5.	<i>Yılanın başı küçükken ezilmeli</i>	TROUBLES ANIMALS	ARE		
	LM: Snake's head should be smashed while it is small	IMPORTANT IS BIG CONTROLLABLE SMALL	IS	Snake head	Trouble
	MI: an enemy or danger should be eradicated as it is small	CONTROLLING SMASHING	IS		

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TP: appearance, relation to people

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LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*, ç=Ć, 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*

Target domain	Source domain	
	Snake	Snake bite
	Human	trouble
	Danger	

#### 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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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 instinctual 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. <i>Baz bazla, kaz kazla, kel tavuk topal horozla</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  SOCIALIZING IS FLYING		
LM: Eagle with eagle, goose with goose and bald hen with crippled rooster		Rooster	Man
MI: everyone should socialize with the people of her/his own type			
TP: behavior			
2. <i>Bir çöplükte iki horoz ötmez</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS  RULING IS CROWING		
LM: Two roosters don't crown in the same dump		Rooster	Human
MI: a land can't have two leaders			
TP: behavior, habitat			
3.		Rooster	Human

<i>Cins horoz yumurtada iken öter</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS	Well-bred	Genius
LM: A well-bred rooster starts crowing inside the egg	CHILD IS EGG	Crowing	Self- asserter
MI: a genius is recognizable from its childhood	WELL-BRED IS GENIUS CROWING IS SELF- ASSERTING		
TP: behavior			
4.			
<i>Her horoz kendi çöplüğünde öter</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS CROWING IS RULING		
LM: Every cock crows in his own dump		crowing	Having authority
MI: everyone has more authority and influence where s/he is known			
TP: behavior, habitat			
5.			
<i>Horoz ölür, gözü çöplükte kalır</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
LM: The rooster dies and his eye still looks back at his dump	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS	Rooster	Human
MI: we are dependent on our beloveds and belongings	TO WISH IS TO HAVE EYE ON SOMETHING		
TP: ?			
6.			
<i>Horozu çok olan köyde sabah geç olur</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS		
LM: Morning comes late in a village where they have many roosters	COMMENTING IS CROWING	crowing	Commenting



MI: many comments on one topic prevents from reaching to a consensus on it			
TP: behavior			
7.			
<i>Vakitsiz öten horozun başını keserler</i>		PEOPLE ARE BIRDS	
LM: The head of a rooster crowing timeless, gets cut		TIMELESS TALKING IS CROWING	
MI: a person who talks timeless makes big problems		BEING PUNISHED IS LOSING HEAD	crowing timeless Talking
		TIMELESS TALKING IS ROOSTER BEHAVIOR	
TP: behavior			
8.			
<i>Zenginın horozu da yumurtlar</i>	literal meaning		
LM: The rich man's rooster also lays egg		IMPOSSIBLE IS ROOSTER EGG	
MI: money opens all the impossible doors for rich people			
TP: relation to people			
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , ç=Ć, 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

Target domain	Source 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.	<i>Pāye xurusetō beband be mor̄ye mardom hiz nāgu</i>	ANIMAL ARE PEOPLE (personification)	
	LM: Tie your rooster's foot and don't accuse neighbors' hen for being lusty	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS BEING LUSTFUL IS ROOSTER BEHAVIOR	Rooster Lustful man
	MI: control your sexual desires and don't blame the women for provoking you	MAN IS ROOSTER WOMAN IS HEN CONTROLLING IS TYING UP THE FOOT	
	TP: relation to people, behavior		
2.	<i>Sare xurusi ro ke bimor̄ye bexune miboran</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS	
	LM: The rooster crowing timeless should be slaughtered	TIMELESS TALKING IS CROWING TIMELESS TALKING IS ROOSTER BEHAVIOR	Rooster/ Crowing Human/ Timeless talking
	MI: a person who talks timeless makes big problems		
	TP: behavior		
3.	<i>Xurusi ro ke šor̄yāl sobh</i>	WEALTH IS ROOSTER	Rooster Wealth



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

Target domain	Source domain	
	Rooster	Rooster crowing
	man	
	human	time less talking
	Wealth	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 mor̄ye 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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
BEING PUNISHED IS LOSING HEAD	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
WISHING SOMETHING IS TO HAVE EYE ON IT	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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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”<sup>2</sup> and “xurus”, “morç”, and “juje” in Persian respectively. Each gender had separate metaphorical use in both languages.

<sup>2</sup> “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. <i>Alaf be dahane bozi širin miyād</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  APPEALING IS SWEET		
LM: grass taste sweet to goat	DESIRES ARE GRASS TO EAT	Goat	Human
MI: we look at everything from our own point of view			
TP: behavior			
2. <i>Boz ke sahebeš bālā sareš nābāše nar mizāyad</i>	BUSINESS IS GOAT  LOSS IS HAVING MALE GOAT		
LM: A goat not taken care by its owner, gives birth to male goat	CARING IS BEING ABOVE ONE'S HEAD	Goat	Business
MI: someone who does not take care of his/ own business will face trouble	ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY IS FERTILITY		
TP: relation to people			
3. <i>Boze gar az sar češme āb mixore</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  SNOBBY IS SCABBY GOAT		
LM: scabby goat drinks water from the river bank	CHARACTER IMPERFECTION IS PHYSICAL DEFICIENCY	Scabby Goat	Human Snobby
MI: insufficient people praise themselves more			
TP: appearance			
4. <i>Dehi ke nadāre riš sefid be boz migan abdolrašid</i>	ANIMAL ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
LM: In a village which has	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.	<i>Kāre har boz nist xarman kuftan, gāve nar mixāhado marde kohan</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEAK IS GOAT		
	LM: Not every goat can Thresh the flail, it is a task of a bull and an skilled man	STRONG IS BEING BULL	Goat	Human inexpert
	MI: certain tasks need highly-experienced people to carry it out			
	TP: behavior, relation to people			
6.	<i>Xāste čupān ke bāše az boze nar ham šir miduše</i>	IMPOSSIBLE IS MILKING A MALE GOAT		
	LM: If the shepherd wants, he can even get milk from the male goat		Milking Male Goat	Impossible task
	MI: if someone really wants all impossible are possible			
	TP: relation to people			
7.	<i>Yek boze gar galaro gar mikone</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS FALLIBLE IS SCABBY GOAT		
	LM: A scabby goat mar the whole flock		Scabby Goat	human Fallible
	MI: the price of a mistake of one person is paid by all	CHARACTER INSUFFICIENCY IS PHYSICAL DEFICIT		

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 TP: appearance, behavior
 

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

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#### 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*

Target domain	Source 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* metonymically 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. <i>Ağaca çıkan keçinin dala bakan oğlağı olur</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CHILD IS GOAT		Goat Human
LM: A goat which jumps on trees, will have a baby which climbs the branches			
MI: children follow their parents			
TP: behavior			
2. <i>Ak keçiyi gören içi dolu yağ sanır</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS GOOD IS WHITE RICH IS WHITE		Goat Human
LM: White goat appears to have a lot of fat inside her			
MI: do not judge the people based on their appearance			
TP: appearance			
3. <i>Keçi can derdinde, kasap yağ derdinde</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS OPPORTUNIST BUTCHER WEAK IS GOAT	IS	Goat Human
LM: Goat worries about its life, butcher worries about its fat			
MI: everyone worries about his /her benefits	BENEFITS ARE FAT		
TP: relation to people			
4. <i>Koyunun bulunmadığı yerde keçiyeye Abdurrahman Çelebi derler</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS VALUABLE IS SHEEP		Goat Human Insufficient
LM: Where the sheep is rare, the goat is called Abdulrahman			

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 LESS VALUED IS GOAT
 

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MI: in the absence of  
valuable people, less  
significant people gain  
value

TP: relation to people

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LM: literal meaning, MI: metaphorical interpretation, TP: thematic part, ç=Ć, 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) metaphorically 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 husbandry, 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. <i>Ayle čehel zan be andāze ye yek mor̄y nist</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS WOMAN IS HEN		
LM: Forty women's wisdom is not even as much as the wisdom of a hen MI: women are not wise		Hen	Woman Unintelligent
TP: relation to people			
2. <i>mor̄y ham toxm mikone ham čalyuz</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS WOMAN IS HEN CHILD IS EGG		
LM: hen lays both healthy egg and spoiled egg MI: parents can have both good and bad children		Hen/ laying eggs	Woman (mother)/ Having baby
TP: behavior, relation to people			
3. <i>mor̄y har če farbetar toxmdānaš tangtar</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS RICH IS FAT BEING STINGY IS HAVING TIGHT VENT		
LM: the fatter the hen, the tighter its vent MI: the richer, the stingier		Hen fatness	Human richness
TP: appearance, relation to people			
4. <i>mor̄ye gorosne arzan dar xāb mibine</i>	ANIMALS ARE BIRDS (personification)		
LM: Hungry hen dreams		Hen	Human day dreamer

of millet	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE		
MI: we dream of what we don't have	DESIRES FOODS	ARE		
TP: ?				
<hr/>				
5.				
<i>mor̄ye hamsāye yāze</i>	SUSTENANCE HEN	IS		
LM: Neighbor's hen always seems goose				
MI: others' sustenance and belongings always seems better and more	SUSTENANCE GOOSE	IS	Hen	Sustenance
TP: appearance, size				
<hr/>				
6.				
<i>Pāye xuruseto beband be mor̄ye mardom hiz nagu</i>	ANIMALS ARE BIRD (personification) PEOPLE	ARE		
LM: Tie your rooster's foot and don't accuse neighbors' hen for being lustful	ANIMALS LUSTFUL ROOSTER	IS		
MI: control your sexual desires and don't blame the women for provoking you	MAN IS ROOSTER WOMAN IS HEN CONTROLLING TYING UP THE FOOT		Hen	Woman
TP: relation to people, behavior				
<hr/>				
7.				
<i>Tomeye har mor̄yaki anjir nist</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS AMBITIONS FIGS	ARE		
LM: Not every hen's food is fig				
MI: not everyone is made for big challenges			Hen	Human
TP: behavior , relation to				



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people

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LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\gamma=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{æ}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$

#### 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 “*mory*” (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 “*mory*” in Persian proverbs. In its specific literary use in Persian literature including poetry, and Persian classical texts on Sufism, “*mory*” is one of the well-entrenched literary metaphors which conceptualizes *Sufi* -who is supposed to be only man. In fact, in its latter use, “*mory*” -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. <i>Aç tavuk kendini buğday ambarında sanır</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
LM: in her dreams, hungry hen sees herself in wheat storeroom	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Hen	Human Day- dreamer
MI: we usually dream if the things we don't have	DESIRES ARE WHEAT		
TP: ?			
2. <i>Baz bazla, kaz kazla, kel tavuk topal horozla</i>			
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.	<i>Bugünkü tavuk yarınki kazdan iyidir</i>	SUSTENANCE IS HEN VALUABLE IS BIG		
	LM: Today's hen is better than tomorrow's goose	GOOD IS EARLY EARLY IS CLOSE		
	MI: an available but small earning is better than the big but not at hand	BAD IS LATE LATE IS DISTANT	Hen	Earning
	TP: relation to people	GOOSE IS VALUED HEN IS LESS-VALUED		
4.	<i>Bodur tavuk her gün piliç</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS		
	LM: Small hen, hen every day	UNINTELLIGENT IS HEN		
	MI: people of no talent, hardly have chances to advance in life		Hen	Human Unintelligent
	TP: relation to people, size			
5.	<i>Kaz gelen yerden tavuk esirgenmez</i>	SUSTENANCE IS ANIMAL LESS- VALUED IS HEN		
	LM: those who send the goose as gift, they won't grudge hen	VALUED IS GOOSE IMPORTANT IS BIG	Hen	Sustenance
	MI: those who make big favors never grudge small favors			

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TP: relation to people, size			
<hr/>			
6.	<i>Fukaranın tavuğu tek tek yumurtlar</i>	BUSINESS IS HEN	
		INCOME IS EGG	
LM:	Poor people's hen lays egg one by one	LAYING EGG IS HAVING INCOME	Hen business
MI:	despite hard work poor people's earn less income		
	TP: behavior		

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LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*, ç=Ć, 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 instinctual 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

Target domain	Source 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, *FATNESS 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 *bowel*, 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* represents 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
DESIRES ARE FOODS	BUSINESS IS HEN
EARLY IS CLOSE	UNINTELLIGENT IS HEN
EARLY IS GOOD	GOOSE IS VALUED
LATE IS BAD	LESS-VALUED IS HEN
LATE IS DISTANT	VALUED IS HEN
	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. <i>Gammaz olmasa tilki pazarda gezer</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRIMINAL IS FOX		
LM: in the absence of backbiter ,The fox rambles in bazaar			Fox Human Criminal
MI: an outlaw commits crime if s/he has no fear of informants			

TP: behavior				
2.	<i>Kurdun adı yamana çıkmış, tilki var baş keser</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRUEL IS WOLF		
	LM: Wolf has been notorious, some foxes cut the hair	CRAFTY IS FOX	Fox	Human crafty
	MI: silent crafty people are worse than apparently cruel ones			
TP: behavior				
3.	<i>Kurtla ortak olan tilkinin hissesi, ya tırnaktır, ya bağırsak</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS CRAFTY IS FOX		
	LM: The share of a fox who becomes wolf's partner is either nail or bowel	POWERFUL IS WOLF	Fox	Human Crafty
	MI: a crafty person is always subordinate to his powerful partner			
TP: relation to people				
4.	<i>Tilki tilkiliğini bildirinceye kadar post elden gider</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
	LM: The pelt is spoiled till the fox can prove that it is really fox	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WEALTH IS FOX PELT	Fox	Human
	MI: till one can prove his/her innocence, one has even tolerated the punishment			
TP: appearance				
5.	<i>Tilkinin dönüp dolaşır geleceği yer kürkçü</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Fox	Human



<i>dükkânıdır</i>	PREVENTING WANDERING	IS		
LM: The final destination of fox is fur shop				
MI: one cant escape from destiny				
TP: appearance				
6.	<i>Yatan aslandan, gezen tilki yeğdir</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
		UNIMPORTANT IS BIG		
LM: A rambling fox is better than sleeping lion	IMPORTANT IS SMALL		Fox	Human Straying
MI: laziness is not an appreciated trait.				
TP: behavior				
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , ç=Ç, ş=Ş				

#### 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*

<b>Target domain</b>	<b>Source domain</b>
	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. <i>Emānzāde har yadr sāde bāše az ye šoyāl do bār gul nemixore</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMAL  CHEATER IS JACKAL		
LM: No matter how simple-hearted an imam might be, he does not get cheated twice by a jackal		Jackal	Human Deceptive
MI: one should not be cheated twice by crafty people			

TP: relation to people					
2.	<i>Sage zard barādare šoyāle</i>	ANIMALS PEOPLE (personification)	ARE		
	LM: Yellow dog is jackal's brother	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	Jackal	Human Crafty
	MI: cruel and crafty people are from similar character	CRAFTY IS JACKAL CRUEL IS DOG			
	TP: appearance, relation to people	CHARACTER COLOR	IS		
3.	<i>šoyāl ke az bāy yahr kone manfate bāybune</i>	ANIMALS PEOPLE (personification)	ARE		
	LM: A jackal offended by garden, serves the benefit of gardener	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	Jackal	Human Robber
	MI: the far the dangerous person, the less the damages	BENEFITS FRUITS	ARE		
	TP: behavior	ROBBER IS JACKAL			
4.	<i>šoyāl ke mory migire bixe gušeš zarde</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE		
	LM: a jackal which hunts hen, has yellow ear	ROBBER IS JACKAL		Jackal	Human Robber
	MI: not everyone is made for any task	BENEFITS ARE HEN TO HUNT			
	TP: appearance				
5.	<i>šoyāl puzaš be angur nemirese mige torše</i>	ANIMALS (personification)	SARE PEOPLE	Jackal	Human robber

LM: Jackal cant fetch the grape and blames it for being Sour	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE		
				DISGUSTING IS SOUR
MI: one defames what one can't achieve to hide his/her own insufficiency in getting it	BENEFITS GRAPES	ARE		
				APPEALING IS SWEET
TP: behavior				
6.				
<i>šoṽāle tarsu angure xub nemixore</i>	ANIMALS PEOPLE (personification)	ARE		
LM: Coward jackal can't eat good grape	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	Jackal	Human Opportunist
MI: achieving big goals needs courage	BENEFITS GRAPES	ARE		
TP: relation to people				
7.				
<i>Xarbozeye širin māle šoṽāle</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE		
LM: Sweet Persian melon belongs to jackal	BENEFITS MELONS	ARE	Jackal	human Crafty
MI: crafty people always have the best				APPEALING IS SWEET
TP: relation to people				
8.				
<i>Xurusi ro ke šoṽāl sobh mibare bezār sare šab bebare</i>	WEALTH IS ANIMAL ROBBER IS JACKAL			
LM: A rooster hunted in morning by jackal, better to be hunted in the evening				
MI: to postpone an inevitable loss is not reasonable			Jackal	Robber
TP: relation to people				

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\gamma=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ,  $\bar{a}=\text{\textcircled{a}}$

#### 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*

<b>Target domain</b>	<b>Source domain</b>
	<b>Jackal</b>
	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	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
IMPORTANT IS SMALL	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. <i>Besle kargayı, oysun gözünü</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	
LM: Feed raven and he finally starches your eye	CHILD IS RAVEN UNGRATEFUL IS RAVEN	Raven	Ungrateful child
MI: to foster an ungrateful person			



TP: relation to people,					
2.	<i>Karga ile gezen boka konar</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE		
	LM: the one get along with raven, sits on dung	BAD IS BLACK		Raven	Human Bad friend
	MI: we become like the people we socialize with	SOCIALIZING FLYING	IS		
	TP: relation to people, behavior	BAD IS DUMP			
3.	<i>Kartalın beğenmediğini kargalar kapışır</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE		
	LM: Ravens compete over something that eagle does not care about	NOBLE IS EAGLE INFERIOR IS RAVEN		Raven	Human Inferior
	MI: a chance or something that a noble person never likes seems very appealing to an inferior person				
	TP: behavior				
4.	<i>Kılavuzu karga olanın burnu boktan kurtulmaz</i>	ANIMALS PEOPLE (personification)	ARE		
	LM: Whoever's guide is raven can't get rid of muck	BAD IS DUMP BEING INVOLVED IS BEING TRAPPED		Raven	Human Bad Friend
	MI: a bad companion leads you to a wrong way				
	TP: relation to people,				
5.	<i>Şahin gözünü ette açmış; karga gözünü bokta açmış</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	Raven	Human Inferior

<p>LM: Falcon has opened its eyes to flesh and raven to dung</p> <p>MI: we keep on living the way we have been brought up by our parents</p> <p>TP: behavior</p>	<p>LEARNING IS OPENING EYES</p> <p>INFERIOR IS RAVEN</p> <p>NOBLE IS FALCON</p>
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LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*, ğ=Ċ, ſ=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*

<b>Target domain</b>	<b>Source domain</b> <b>Raven</b>
	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.	<i>Kalāy ke az bāy yahr kone , ye gerdu be nafe māst</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification )	
	LM: Raven is miffed by garden, we have won a nut	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	
	MI: someone harmful who leaves us by his/her own choice is our fortune	BENEFITS ARE NUTS TO EAT ROBBER IS RAVEN	Raven Human Robber
	TP: relation to people, behavior		
2.	<i>Kalāy az vaḡti bače dar šod ye šekame sir yaza naxord</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	
	LM: Raven has not eaten full since its has had babies		Raven Human
	MI: parenthood is demanding even for animals		
	TP: behavior		
3.	<i>Kalāy sare luneye xodeš yār yār nemikone</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BAD IS BLACK	
	LM: Raven does not crow in his own nest	CURSING IS CROWING	Raven/ Human/ Cursing
	MI: it is not nice to curse your own family and relatives	CURSING IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR	
	TP: behavior, relation to people		
4.	<i>Kalāy xast rāh raftane</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE	

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<i>kabko yād begire rāh</i> (personification )				
<i>rafatane xodeš ham yādeš</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		Raven	Human
<i>raft</i>				Greedy
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				

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5.

<i>Kalāye emsali ayleš bištar</i>	ANIMALS	ARE		
<i>az Kalāye pārsaliye</i>	PEOPLE			
	(personification )			
LM: The raven born this year is wiser than the raven born last year				
	PEOPLE	ARE	Raven	Human
	ANIMALS			Wise
MI: younger people are wiser				
TP:				

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LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $v=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{æ}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$

#### 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 instinctual 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	Raven	Source domain 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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
BEING INVOLVED IN BEING TRAPPED	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
IMPORTANT IS BIG	BAD ENVIRONMENT IS DUMP
LEARNING IS OPENING EYES	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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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. <i>Aç arslandan tok domuz yeğdir</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	Lion Human Nobel
LM: A full pig is better than a hungry lion	NOBLE IS LION INFERIOR IS PIG		

	MI: nobility is not enough to survive one needs to know how to strive to survive				
	TP: relation to people				
2.	<i>Arslan yatağından bellidir</i>	ANIMALS PEOPLE (personification)	ARE		
	LM: Lion reveals his character by the place where he sleeps	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	Lion	Human
	MI: our character is revealed by the way we live				
	TP: habitat, behavior				
3.	<i>Her gönülde bir aslan yatar</i>	AMBITIONS ANIMALS	ARE		
	LM: In every heart a lion repose	IMPORTANT IS BIG		Lion	Ambition
	MI: every heart has big ambition to reach				
	TP: size, relation to people				
4.	<i>Kedi aslanın ağzından şikar alamaz</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE		
	LM: Cat can't take the prey out of lion's mouth	IMPORTANT IS BIG STRONG IS BIG		Lion	Human Powerful
	MI: a weak one can never fight back a strong one	WEAK IS SMALL			
	TP: behavior, size				
5.	<i>Yatan aslandan, gezen tilki yeğdir</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE		
	LM: A rambling fox is better than sleeping lion	UNIMPORTANT IS BIG IMPORTANT IS SMALL		Lion	Human Lazy



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MI: laziness is not an appreciated trait.      BRISK IS FOX  
LAZY IS LION

TP: behavior

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LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*, Ć=Ć, ŝ=ŝ

#### 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*

Target domain	Source domain
	Lion
	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.	<i>Sag tu xuneye sāhebeš šire</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE
	LM: Dog is lion at its owner's home	IMPORTANT IS BIG	Lion
	MI: everyone is strong in his/her own domain	DOMAIN OF POWER IS HOUSE	Human Authoritative
	TP: behavior		
2.	<i>Sage māde dar lāne šir ast</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE
	LM: Female dog is lion at home	WOMEN ARE DOG	Lion
	MI: every woman is strong only at home	WOMEN ARE LION DOMAIN OF POWER IS HOUSE	Authoritative Woman
	TP: behavior		
3.	<i>Šir ke az biše darāmad naro māde nadārad</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE
	LM: When the lion jumps out of bush , it no longer matters if it male or female	DANGER IS ANIMAL	Lion
	MI: a dangerous person is dangerous no matter man or woman		Human Dangerous
	TP: behavior		
4.	<i>Širam bedarad beh ke sagam nāz konad</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	
	LM: It is better to be torn off by lion rather than being patted by dog	DOWNGRADED IS DOG AGGRESSIVE IS LION	Lion
	MI: to be treated bad by someone aggressor is		Aggressive person

---

better being cared by  
someone contemptible

TP: relation to people,  
behavior

---

5.

*Xare bārbār beh az šīre mardom dar* PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

LM: An donkey which carries load is better than a lion which preys people

AGGRESSIVE IS LION  
STUPID IS DOG

Lion Aggressive  
person

MI: to be a harmless stupid  
is better than being  
damaging powerful

TP: behavior

---

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\gamma=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{æ}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$

#### 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. <i>Dar xāneye mur šabnami tufānast</i>	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS VULNERABLE SMALL DISASTER IS STORM	IS	Ant Human Vulnerable
LM: A dew in ant's nest is a storm			
MI: a small problem for someone weak is disaster			
TP: size, habitat			
2. <i>Mur rā čon ajal resad par darārad</i>	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS MORE IS UP AVIDITY IS WING UNIMPORTANT SMALL	IS	Ant Human Insignificant
LM: when the end of an ant arrives , it grows wings			
MI: one's end come when one starts avidity			
TP: size, appearance	ASKING MORE IS FLYING		
3. <i>Murče be ostoxune čarb mizane</i>	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS BENEFITS ARE BONE		Ant Human Benefit-minded
LM: Ants attack to fatty bones			
MI: people look for benefits			
TP: behavior			
4. <i>Murče čiye ke kalle pāčaš či bāše</i>	PEOPLE ARE INSECT INSIGNIFICANT SMALL BENEFITS ARE BONE	IS	Ant people Insignificant
LM: What is ant itself that the broth made of ant's head and leg might be!			

---

MI: someone insignificant  
has no benefit for anyone

TP: appearance, size

---

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\gamma=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  
 $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{æ}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$

#### 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*

Target domain	Source domain Ant
	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. <i>Duşmanın karınca ise de hor bakma</i>	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS ENEMY IS ANIMAL		
LM: don't downgrade your enemy even if it is an ant	DESPISING IS LOOKING DOWN	Ant	Enemy
MI: enemy is enemy, no matter what	BAD IS DOWN		
TP: size			
2. <i>Kadı ekmeğini karınca da yemez</i>	UNIMPORTANT IS SMALL		
LM: even ant does not eat the bread of judge		Ant	Human Insignificant
MI: even ant does not want to eat a bread earned by bribery			
TP:			
3. <i>Karınca kanatlanınca serçe oldum sanır.</i>	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS		
LM: when the ant gets wings, it considers itself sparrow	IMPORTANT IS BIG BOOSTING IS FLYING	Ant	Human Insignificant
MI: someone who has obtained unimportant and temporary power considers itself an important one	POWER IS UP MORE IS UP		
TP: appearance	POWER IS WING		



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4.	<i>Karınca zevali gelince kanatlanır</i>	PEOPLE INSECTS	ARE		
	LM: when the end of an ant comes it starts flying	MORE IS UP			
	MI: an unfairly-boosted person will fall quickly	BOOSTING IS FLYING		Ant	Human Insignificant
	TP: appearance, size	INSIGNIFICANT IS SMALL			
		POWER IS WING			

---

5.	<i>Karıncadan ibret al, yazdan kısı karsılar</i>	Literal meaning PEOPLE ARE ANIMAL			
	LM: learn from ant, it anticipates the winter from summer	BEING HARD-WORKING IS BEING ANT		Ant	Ant
	MI: be foreseer	DIFFICULTIES ARE COLD DAYS			
	TP: behavior				

---

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*, ç=Ć, 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	<b>Source domain</b> <b>Ant</b>
	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 kârgær” 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 *reproduction* 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. <i>Az xers ye mu kandan</i> <i>ɣanimate</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  STINGY IS BEAR		
LM: To pick a hair from bear is also a trophy	WEALTH IS BEAR WOOL	Bear	Human Stingy
MI: to get something from someone stingy, is a success			
TP:			
2. <i>Erse xers be kaftār mirese</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
LM: The heritage of bear is left for hyena	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Bear	Human Stingy
MI: the heritage of a rich stingy person is spent by someone who wastes it	STINGY IS BEAR		
TP:			
3. <i>Har jā xerse jāye tarse</i>	DANGER IS BEAR		
LM: Wherever the bear, there is fear		Bear	Dangerous

MI: whenever there is  
someone careless there is  
danger

TP:behavior

4.

*Puste xerse šekar* WEALTH IS BEAR PELT  
*nakardaro nafruš*

LM: don't sell the fur of a  
bear not yet hunted

Bear  
pelt      Wealth

MI: Do not count on the  
income of a business, which  
you have just started.

TP: appearance

5.

*Xers dar kuh abuali sināst* ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE  
(personification)

LM: bear is Avcina in  
mountain

PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

Bear      Human  
Wise

MI: in a place where  
everyone is ignorant, a half-  
wise person is idol

TP: ?

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\bar{v}=gh$ ,  $\bar{s}=sh$ ,  
 $x=kh$ ,  $\bar{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$

#### 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. <i>Ac ayı oynamaz</i>			
LM: Hungry bear does not dance	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
MI: one should feed his/her workers, and then expect them to work	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS WORKING IS DANCING MOTIVATION IS FOOD	Bear	Human
TP: behavior			
2. <i>Ayi fıına atmışlar yavrusunu ayağının altına almış</i>	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	DIFFICULTIES ARE FIRE TO BURN IN		
MI: when difficulties come up, one may even ignore own child to save her/his own life			
TP: ?			

---

3.

<i>Ayi sevdiđi yavrusunu hirpalar</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
LM: bears beats the child which it likes more	INDELICATE IS BEAR	Bear	Human Bearish/ indelicate
MI: beating is sometimes meant for good purpose			
TP: behavior			

---

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*, Ć=Ć, ŝ=ŝ

#### 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.			
<i>Āb ke sar bālā bere</i> <i>γurbāye abu ata mixune</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
LM: When the water streams uphill, the frog sings <sup>3</sup> <i>Abu Ata</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS VALUELESS IS FROG		Frog Human
MI: comments of a valueless person			
TP: behavior			
2.			
<i>Az bi abi mordan</i> <i>behtare tā az γurbāye</i> <i>ejaze gereftan</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
LM: To die in thirst is better than asking for permission from frog	INSIGNIFICANT IS FROG		Frog Human insignificant
MI: it is hard to request something from someone insignificant			
TP: relation to people			
3.			
<i>Hezār γurbāye jāye ye māhi</i> <i>ro nemigire</i>	PEOPLE ARE FISH VALUABLE IS FISH		
LM: Thousands of frogs can't take the place of one fish	VALUELESS IS FROG IMPORTANT IS BIG		Frog Human insignificant
MI: one valuable person is better than many valueless			

<sup>3</sup> Abu Ata is one of the compositions in classic Persian music

people			
TP: size , relation to people			
4.	<i>Hozî ke mâhi nadâre</i> <i>ÿurbâÿe sâlâre</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)	
	LM: In the pool which has no fish, frog becomes leader	INSUFFICIENT IS FROG FISH IS SUFFICIENT	
	MI: in the absence of valuable people, valueless people take the authority	SOCIETY IS POOL	Frog      Human Insufficient
TP: relation to people			
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , ÿ=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.	<i>Atlar nallanırken kurbağa</i> <i>ayağını uzatmaz</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE
	LM: when horse are given shoes, frog must not stretch his leg	IMPORTANT IS BIG	Frog      Human insignificant
	MI: a valueless person should not expect to be treated as a valuable person.		
TP: relation to people			
2.	<i>Göle su gelinceye kadar</i> <i>kurbağanın gözü patlar</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE
	LM: till water would the lake, frog's eye burst out	WAITING IS LOOKING	Frog      Human

	BAD IS ARID
MI: till the conditions turn to favorable, one undergoes great pains	GOOD IS WATER
TP: appearance, habitat	
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , ç=Ĉ, 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

Target domain	Source domain Frog
	Human

#### 4.2.21.2 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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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. <i>Serçeden korkan darı ekmez</i>	INVESTING PLANTING MILLET	IS	
LM: one that is afraid of sparrow cant plant millet	DAMAGES ARE BIRDS		Sparrow Harmful
MI: timidity is great hindrance			
TP: behavior			
2. <i>Karıncanın kanatları serçe oldum sanır.</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS IMPORTANT IS BIG BOOSTING IS FLYING		
LM: when the ant gets wings, it considers itself sparrow	POWER IS UP		Sparrow Human Significant
MI: someone who has obtained unimportant and temporary power considers itself an important one	MORE IS UP POWER IS WING		
TP: appearance, size			
3. <i>Serçeye çubuk beredi</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS		
LM: for sparrow a even a narrow branch makes bruise	INSIGNIFICANT IS SMALL	IS	Sparrow Human Insignificant
MI: for someone weak the slightest things is hurting	DISASTER IS STORM	IS	

---

TP: size				
<hr/>				
4.	<i>Kedinin kanadı olsaydı serçenin adı kalmazdı</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS		
		INSIGNIFICANT	IS	
	LM: if the cat had wings, sparrow's name would be eradicated	SMALL		
		Metonymy:		
		NAME STANDS FOR	Sparrow	Human Weak
	MI: if powerful people get whole power, they eradicate the weak people	BEING		
TP: size				
<hr/>				
5.	<i>Kırk serçeden bir kaz iyi</i>	TASKS ARE BIRDS		
	LM: one goose is better than forty sparrows	CONTROLLABLE	IS	
		LESS		
			Sparrow	Small Task
	MI: dealing one big task is better than dealing with many small tasks	UNCONTROLLABLE	IS	
		MORE		
TP: size				
<hr/>				
6.	<i>Serçe ile konuşanın sesi semadan gelir</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS		
		SOCIALIZING	IS	
	LM: the voice of someone speaking with sparrow is heard from sky	TALKING		
			Sparrow	Human
	MI: we behave according to who our companion is			
TP: size				

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LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*, v=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.			
<i>Gonješk bā bāz parid oftād mātahteš darid</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS	ARE	
LM: Sparrow flew with eagle, it fell and its ass torn off	SOCIALIZING FLYING	IS	Human Insignificant /weak
MI: one should socialize with people of his/her own class	DANGEROUS BIG	IS	
TP: size	IMPORTANT BIG	IS	
2.			
<i>Gonješke be dast beh az bāze paride</i>	CHANCES ARE BIRDS	ARE	
LM: A sparrow at hand is better than flying eagle	IMPORTANT IS NOT AVAILABLE	IS NOT IS AT	Sparrow small Chance



		HAND		
MI: available but small chances are better than big but wasted chances		MISSED IS FLOWN AWAY		
TP: size				
3.				
<i>Gonješke be dast beh az tāvoose nesiye</i>	CHANCES ARE BIRDS			
LM: A sparrow at hand is better than promised peacock	IMPORTANT IS SMALL			
	AVAILABLE IS AT HAND		Sparrow	Small chance
MI: a small but available chance is better than big but promised	BAD IS FAR			
	GOOD IS NEAR			
TP: size				

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*, ç=Ĉ, 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*

Target domain	Source domain Sparrow
	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 *controllability* 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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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
	SOCIALIZING 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 chance*, 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.			
<i>Baz bazla, kaz kazla, kel tavuk topal horozla</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS		
	SOCIALIZING	IS	
LM: Eagle with eagle, goose with goose and bald hen with crippled rooster	FLYING		Significant
	IMPORTANT IS BIG	Eagle	Human
MI: everyone should socialize with the people of her/his own type			
TP: behavior			
2.			
<i>Kartala bir ok deęmiş, o da kendi yeleęinden</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS		
	ARROW IS PAIN		
LM: Eagle was shot with an arrow and it was made of his own feather	HURTING	IS	
	SHOOTING	Eagle	Human
MI: one always get hurt by his/her own close people			
TP:			
3.			
<i>Kartalin beęenmedigini kargalar kapisir</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
	NOBLE IS EAGLE		
LM: Raven fight for something that eagle does not care about	INFERIOR IS RAVEN		
		Eagle	Human noble
MI: a chance or something that a noble person never likes seems very appealing to an inferior person			
TP:			

LM: literal meaning, MI: metaphorical interpretation, TP: thematic part, =, =

#### 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*

Target domain	Source domain Eagle
	Human

*Table-129 Cognitive Analysis of Eagle Metaphors in Persian Proverbs*

Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1. <i>Gonješ k bā bāz parid oftād mātahteš darid</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS SOCIALIZING FLYING	IS	
LM: Sparrow flew with eagle and its donkey got torn off	DANGEROUS IS BIG	Eagle	Human Significant
MI: one should socialize with people of his/her own class			
TP: size			
2. <i>Gonjeske be dast beh az bāze paride</i>	CHANCES ARE BIRDS IMPORTANT IS SMALL		
LM: A sparrow at hand is better than flying eagle	AVAILABLE IS AT	Eagle	Big Chance

		HAND			
	MI: available but small chances are better than big but unreal chances	MISSED AWAY	IS	FLOWN	
	TP: size				
3.	<i>Kabutar ba kabutar bāz bā bāz, konad hamjens bā hamjens parvāz</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS SOCIALIZING FLYING		IS	
	LM: bird with bird, eagle with eagle and ones from same kind fly together	IMPORTANT IS BIG		Eagle	Human Significant
	MI: Birds of the same feather fly together				
	TP: behavior, size				
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , $\gamma=gh$ , $\check{s}=sh$ , $x=kh$ , $\check{c}=ch$ , $a=\text{æ}$ , $\bar{a}=a$					

#### 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

Target domain	Source domain Eagle
	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*.

Table-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.			
<i>Age mehmun yeki bāše</i>	WEALTH IS COW		
<i>sahebxune barāš gāv mikoše</i>	GENEROUS IS KILLING		
LM: If the guest is only one person, then the landlord kills its cow for him/her	COW		Cow
MI: to have many guests is not pleasant			Wealth / property
TP: relation to people			
2.			
<i>Gāv ke be lise naravad</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
<i>namak nemikhorad</i>	BENEFITS ARE SALT TO EAT		Cow Human
LM: a cow which does not go			



to manger, won't eat salt	PURPOSES	ARE	
MI: if you don't try you find get the result	DESTINATION		
TP: behavior			
<hr/>			
3			
<i>Gušt rā bāyad az baṣale gāv borid</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
	BENEFITS	ARE FLESH	
LM: the meat should be cut from the side of the cow	TO EAT		Cow Human
MI: it is not valiancy to take advantage of poor people's property			
TP: relation to people			
<hr/>			
4.			
<i>Tā nabāšd čube tar, farmān nabarand gāvo xar</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
	DISOBEDIENT	IS	
LM: Cow and donkey don't obey you without lash	DONKEY		
	CONTROL IS UP		Cow Human
MI: people obey when they are scared	CONTROLLING	IS	
	RIDING		
TP: relation to people, behavior	CONTROLLING	IS	
	BEATING		
	SOCIETY IS STABLE		

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*, ṽ=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.			
<i>inek gibi süt vermeyen, öküz gibi kütan surer</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS BENEFICIAL IS COW		
LM: One which don't give milk like cow, should plow like bull	USELESS IS BULL		Cow
	BENEFIT IS MILK		Human beneficial
MI: if someone does not do something by his/ her own will, s/he will be forced	HARD WORK PULLING PLOW simile	IS	
TP: relation to people			
2.			
<i>Komsunu iki inekli iste ki kendin bir inekli olasin</i>	WEALTH IS ANIMAL WEALTH IS COW		
LM: wish two cows for your neighbor so that you be given one	GOOD WILL IS WISHING WEALTH(COW)		Cow
			Wealth
MI: have good will for others to have its good reflection back to you			
TP: relation to people			
3.			
<i>Sen ağa, ben ağa; bu ineği kim sağa</i>	BENEFITS IS MILK TO DRINK		
			Milking cow
			Hard work

LM: You are master , I am master, who is going to milk the cow	WORKING HARD IS MILKING COW		
MI: to see yourself more valuable than the task , it will never be done			
TP: relation to people			
4.			
<i>Zemheride yoğurt isteyen cebinde inek taşır</i>	WORKING HARD IS MILKING COW		
LM: whoever wishes for yogurt in winter, must carry a cow in pocket	BENEFITS ARE YOGURT		
MI: whoever wishes for something valuable but hard to achieve, should tolerate difficulties		Cow	Benefit
TP: relation to people			
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , ç=Ć, 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 *benefits*. 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.	<i>Arık öküze bıçak olmaz</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE
	LM: knife does not cut the thin bull	HURTING CUTTING	IS
	MI: it is no valiancy to torture someone frail		
	TP: appearance		
2.	<i>inek gibi süt vermeyen, öküz gibi kütan surer</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE
	LM: One which don't give milk like cow, should drag plow like bull	BENEFICIAL COW	IS
	MI: if someone does not do something by his/ her own will, s/he will be forced	BENEFICIAL BULL	IS
	TP: relation to people	GIVING MILK GIVING BENEFIT	IS
		BENEFIT IS MILK	
3.	<i>Yalnız öküz, çifte koşulmaz</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE
	LM: An alone cow should not be attached to plow	HARD TASK PUSHING	IS THE
	MI: one should not expect the task of two person to be carried out by one	PLOW	
		BEING ALONE BEING WEAK	IS

TP: relation to people			
4.	<i>Serkeş okuz (son) soluğu kasap dukkanında alır</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE
	LM: rebellious bull takes the last breath in butchery	BEING PUNISHED IS LOSING HEAD	Bull Human
	MI: rebellious people finally pay heavy price for their attitude	REBELLIOUS BULL	IS
TP: behavior			
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , ç=Ĉ, ş=š			

Table-140 Cognitive Analysis of Bull Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	<i>Kāre har boz nist xarman kuftan, gāve nar mixāhado marde kohan</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE
	LM: Not every goat can Thresh the flail, it is a task of a bull and an skilled man	WEAK IS GOAT STRONG IS BULL	Bull Human strong/experienced
	MI: certain tasks need highly-experienced people to carry it out		
TP: relation to people			
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , γ=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*

Target domain	Source 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 Turkish Proverbs

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. <i>Ak koyunun kara kuzusu da olur</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	
LM: White sheep can have black sheep as well	CHILD IS LAMB BAD IS BLACK	Lamb	Child
MI: good parents might have bad child	GOOD IS WHITE		
TP: appearance			
.2 <i>Çobana verme kızı, ya koyuna güttürür ya kuzu</i>	HARD WORK IS LAMB GRAZING		
LM: Don't let your girl marry a shepherd because he turns her to a shepherd too		Lamb grazing	Hard work
MI: be careful when you select the man as the future husband of your daughter			
TP: ?			
3. <i>Kurdun marhemeti kuzuyu dışında taşımak</i>	ANIMALS PEOPLE (personification)	ARE	
LM: The clemency of a wolf is to carry the lamb in his mouth	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	Lamb Weak person
MI: a villain's kindness is just what suits him.	MERCILESS IS WOLF WEAK IS LAMB		
TP: behavior			
4. <i>Kurdun yavrusu kuzu</i>	PEOPLE	ARE	Lamb Innocent Person

<i>olmaz</i>	ANIMALS
LM: A wolf's child never becomes a lamb	ILL-BRED IS WOLF INNOCENT IS LAMB
MI: people live by the same nature they were born with	
TP: behavior, relation to people	

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*, ç=Ç, ş=Ş

#### 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*

Target domain	Source 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. <i>Gorg ke be gale oftād vāy be hāle kesi ke ye barre dāre</i>	WEALTH ANIMAL  ROBBER IS WOLF	IS		
LM: when the wolf attacks the herd, poor the one who has only one lamb	WEALTH IS LAMB		Lamb	Wealth
MI: when a disaster happens someone who is poorer is the biggest loser				
TP:				

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $v=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{æ}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$

#### 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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
BAD IS BLACK	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE
WHITE IS GOOD	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. <i>Baz bazla, kaz kazla, kel tavuk topal horozla</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS SOCIALIZING FLYING	IS	
LM: Eagle with eagle, goose with goose and bald hen with crippled rooster			Goose Human
MI: everyone should socialize with the people of her/his own type			
TP: behavior			
2. <i>Bugünkü tavuk yarınki kazdan iyidir</i>	EARNING IS ANIMAL IMPORTANT IS BIG GOOD IS EARLY EARLY IS CLOSE BAD IS LATE LATE IS DISTANT VALUED IS GOOSE		
LM: Today's hen is better than tomorrow's goose			Goose Earning
MI: an available but small earning is better than the big but not at hand			
TP: relation to people	LESS-VALUED IS HEN		
3. <i>Kaz gelen yerden tavuk esirgenmez</i>	SUSTENANCE IS GOOSE LESS-VALUED IS HEN VALUED IS GOOSE	IS	
LM: those who send the goose as gift, they won't grudge hen			Goose Sustenance
MI: those who make big favors never grudge small favors	IMPORTANT IS BIG		

TP: relation to people, size	
4.	<p><i>Kırk serçeden bir kaz iyi</i>      TASKS ARE BIRDS</p> <p>LM: one goose is better      CONTROLLABLE      IS than forty sparrows      LESS</p> <p>MI: dealing one big task is      UNCONTROLLABLE      IS better than dealing with      MORE many small tasks</p> <p>TP: size</p>
	Goose      Big Task
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , ç=Ć, 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*

<b>Target domain</b>	<b>Source domain</b> <b>Goose</b>
	earning human Sustenance task

Table-151 Cognitive Analysis of Goose Metaphors in Persian Proverbs

Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.			
	<i>mor̄ye hamsāye yaze</i>	WEALTH IS BIRD	
	LM: Neighbor's hen always seems goose	VALUED IS GOOSE	
		LESS-VALUED	IS Goose Wealth
	MI: others' property always seems better and more	HEN	
		IMPORTANT IS BIG	
	TP: size		

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\bar{y}=gh$ ,  $\bar{s}=sh$ ,  $x=kh$ ,  $\bar{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$

#### 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

Target domain	Source domain
	Goose
	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. <i>Arı bal alacak çiçeği bilir</i>	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS		
LM: The bee knows the flower from which it must take honey	BENEFITS ARE HONEY		
MI: one knows where one's profit is made	PURPOSES DESTINATION	ARE	Bee Human Benefit-minded
TP: behavior, relation to people			
2. <i>Arı, kızdıranı sokar</i>	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS		
LM: Bee stings the ones who make it angry, no matter they die at the end	DEFENDING IS STINGING		
MI: people attack when they are annoyed			Bee Human
TP: behavior			
3.			Bee Obstacle

<i>Aridan</i>	<i>korkan</i>	<i>bal</i>	BENEFITS ARE HONEY TO EAT
<i>satamaz</i>			
LM: He who is afraid of bee can't sell honey		OBSTACLES ARE BEE STING	
MI: thinking about the negative aspects of something takes the courage of act away			
TP: behavior			
LM: <i>literal meaning</i> , MI: <i>metaphorical interpretation</i> , TP: <i>thematic part</i> , ç=Ć, 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*

<b>Target domain</b>	<b>Source domain</b> <b>Bee</b>
	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. <i>āleme bi amal mesle</i> <i>zanbure bi asal ast</i>	PEOPLE ARE INSECTS  BENEFITS ARE HONEY TO LM: a erudite who don't practice his own knowledge is like a bee without honey	EMPTY TALK IS BEE BUZZ	Bee Human
	MI: talking is not enough, one should act	USEFUL IS BEE	
	TP: behavior		

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\bar{v}$ =gh,  $\bar{s}$ =sh,  $x$ =kh,  $\bar{c}$ =ch,  $a$ = $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{a}$ = $a$

#### 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. <i>Meymun har či zeštar adaš bištar</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	
LM: the uglier the monkey is, the more playful it is	ANIMALS PEOPLE (personification)	ARE	Monkey Human
MI: ugly people try to attract others by behaving in a exaggerating way	PLAYFUL IS MONKEY		
TP: behavior			
2. <i>Meymun balā gardāne tavile ast</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	Monkey child

LM: monkey is the FAMILY IS STABLE  
scapegoat of the stable

MI: younger member of  
the family are the  
scapegoat of family

TP: behavior

3.

*Meymun dar hamām* ANIMALS ARE  
*bačeaš rā Zire pā* PEOPLE  
*migozarad* (personification)

LM: monkey stands on its own bay in bath PEOPLE ARE  
ANIMALS Monkey Human

MI: In difficult situations,  
even the parents forget HEARTLESS IS  
about their children MONKEY  
and become heartless

TP: ?

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\gamma=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  
 $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{æ}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$

*Table-162 Cognitive Analysis of Monkey Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs*

Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1. <i>Maymun çomağı bir kere yer</i>	PEOPLE ANIMALS	ARE	
LM: The monkey bears the stick one		Monkey	Human
MI: once being punished is enough to learn			
TP: behavior			

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\zeta=\check{C}$ ,  $\varsigma=\check{s}$

#### 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

<b>Target domain</b>	<b>Source domain Monkey</b>
	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. <i>Jujaro āxare pāyiz mišmoran</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS  INVESTING IS LAYING EGG  RESULTS ARE CHICKENS	Chicken	Result
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			
2. <i>Juje hamiše zire sabad nemimānad</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS  CHILD IS CHICKEN  UNAWARENESS IS BEING COVERED	Chicken	Child
LM: chicken does not stay under the basket for ever			
MI: children grow up and will understand everything	KNOWING IS SEEING  UNAWARENESS IS CHILDHOOD		

TP: behavior	AWARENESS MATURITY	IS	
	MATURITY HEN/ROOSTER	IS BEING	

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

Table-166 Cognitive Analysis of Chicken Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs

Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1. <i>Yumurtasına hor bakan civcivini cilk eder</i>	PEOPLE ARE BIRDS  BUSINESS IS LAYING EGG  RESULTS ARE CHICKENS  LOOKING DOWN IS DESPISING BAD RESULT IS ROTTEN EGG		
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	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
TP:	CHILD IS CHICKEN		

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*, ç=Ć, 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

Target domain	Source 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. <i>ɣatere piš āhang āxareš</i> <i>tubre keš mise</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS  SELF-ASSERTION IS MULE BEHAVIOR		
LM: a mule walking ahead, becomes sack carrier finally		Mule	Human Self-asserter
MI: too much advance brings one's end			
TP: relation to people			

2.	<i>Asbo astar be ham lagad nazannad</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
		BENEFITS ARE		
	LM: horse and hinny don't kick each other	FOODS TO EAT		
		HURTING IS KICKING	Hinny	Human
	MI: relatives and family members are bad towards each other	KICKING IS HORSE BEHAVIOR		
		KICKING IS HINNY BEHAVIOR		
	TP: behavior			

Turkish Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
<i>Acemi katır kapı önünde yük indirir</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
	CLUMSY IS MULE		
LM: Awkward mule drops its load down before the door	TASKS ARE LOADS TO CARRY	Mule	Human clumsy
MI: clumsy person can't carry out a task properly			
TP: behavior			

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\gamma=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$ ;  $\zeta=\check{C}$ ,  $\xi=\check{s}$ ,  $\zeta=\check{C}$ ,  $\xi=$

#### 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 “yater” 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. <i>Deveden büyük fil var</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
LM: Elephant is bigger than camel	IMPORTANT IS BIG	Elephant	Human Signifiant
MI: there is always an upper hand			



TP: size			
Turkish Proverb	metaphors & metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1.	<i>Fil zendaš ham sad</i> PEOPLE ARE <i>tomane, mordaš ham sad</i> ANIMALS <i>tomane</i>		
	IMPORTANT IS BIG		
	LM: Elephant is hundred toman, either dead or alive		
	MI: someone significant remains significant even after death	Elephant	Human Signifiant
TP: size			

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\gamma=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$ ;  $\zeta=\check{C}$ ,  $\varsigma=\check{s}$

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\zeta=\check{C}$ ,  $\varsigma=\check{s}$

#### 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. <i>Bolbol haft ta toxm mizare</i> <i>šiš taš siske yekiš bolbol</i>	BAD CHILD IS SPOILED EGG  CHILD IS EGG		
LM: Nightingale lays seven eggs, six of them are rotten, one becomes nightingale	FRUITFUL EFFORT IS NIGHTINGALE  FUTILE EFFORT IS SPOILED EGG	Nightingale	Child
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.			
<i>Bülbülün çektiği hep dilinden dir</i>	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
LM: Whatever happens to nightingale is because of his tongue	TROUBLES ARE HEAVY THING TO CARRY		Nightingale Human
MI: talking is troublesome	Metonymy: TONGUE STANDS FOR SPEAKING		
TP: behavior			

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $v=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{æ}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$   $\check{c}=\check{C}$ ,  $\check{s}=\check{S}$

#### 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 instinctual 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 “bülbul” 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. <i>Tā gusāle gāv beše dele sāhebeš āb miše</i>	BIG BUSINESS IS COW  BUSINESS IS ANIMAL		
LM: Till the calf become cow, its owner’s heart melt in worry	CHILD IS CALF		
	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Calf	Business Children
MI: till the investment on a business pays off, the investor tolerates many worries	SMALL BUSINESS IS CALF		
TP: relation to people			

Turkish Proverb	Metaphors & Metonymies	S. domain	T. domain
1. <i>Besle, büyük danayı; tanımasın anayı</i>	ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE (personification)		
LM: Feed the calf and at the end does not know the mother	CARING IS FEEDING  CHILD IS CALF	Calf	Child
MI: children become ungrateful at the end	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS		
TP: relation to people			

LM: *literal meaning*, MI: *metaphorical interpretation*, TP: *thematic part*,  $\gamma=gh$ ,  $\check{s}=sh$ ,  $x=kh$ ,  $\check{c}=ch$ ,  $a=\text{\textcircled{a}}$ ,  $\bar{a}=a$ ,  $\zeta=\check{C}$ ,  $\xi=\check{s}$

#### 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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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*

<b>Primary Metaphors</b>	<b>Complex &amp; Resemblance Metaphors</b>
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*

<b>T. Domain</b>	<b>S. Domains in Persian</b>	<b>S. Domains in Turkish</b>
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 domains in Persian or Turkish.

*Table-185 Categorization of common Target domains in Persian and Turkish metaphor*

<b>T. Domains</b>	<b>S. Domains in Persian</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>S. Domain in Turkish</b>	<b>F</b>
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.

<u>Persian</u>	<i>f</i>	<u>Turkish</u>	<i>f</i>
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 CHARACTER 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 DIGESTING 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 investigated 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 (Johnson & 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.

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## APPENDIX 1. PERSIAN PROVERBS

- 1 āb ke sar bālā bere ʔurbāʔe abu ata mixune
- 2 ābe daryā az dahane sag najes nemiše
- 3 agar barā har sagi ke vaʔ mikone sang part koni geymate sang be dinār mirese
- 4 age mehmun yeki bāše sahebxune barāš gāv mikoše
- 5 āʔebāt gorg zāde gorg mišavad
- 6 aʔle čehel zan be andāzeye yek morʔ 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 soʔanš konand, barāʔe savāri dar ʔiyāmat xub ast
- 14 asbo astar be ham lagad nazannad
- 15 az bi abi mordan behtare tā az ʔurbāʔe ejaze gereftan
- 16 az se čiz bāʔad hazar kard, divare šekaste, sage darande, va zane salite
- 17 az xers ye mu kandan ʔanimate
- 18 bahre xarān če kāh barand če zafarān
- 19 bayad ke šotor galu bud
- 20 be doāʔe 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 mizāʔad
- 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 emānzāde har ʔadr sāde bāše az ye šoʔāl 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 gonješke 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 kārɣān 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 zeštār adaš bištār  
 88 morṽ ham toxm mikone ham čalṽuz  
 89 morṽ har če farbetar toxmdānaštangtar  
 90 morṽe gorosne arzan dar xāb mibine  
 91 morṽe hamsāye ṽaze  
 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 baṽāl  
 99 mušo gorbe čon be ham sāzand vāy be hāle dokāne baṽāl  
 100 na šire šotor na didāre arab  
 101 na xod xorad na kas dahad gonde konad be kas dahad  
 102 pāye xuruseto beband be morṽe 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 bāše  
 109 sag pāčeye sāhebešo nemigire  
 110 sag rā ke čāṽ 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 šoyāle  
 119 sagi be bāmi jaste gardeš be mā nešaste  
 120 sagi ke barā xodeš pašm nakone bara digarān kašk nemikone  
 121 sagi ke vaṽ vaṽ 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 bimoye bexune miboran  
 126 šir ke az biše darāmad naro māde nadārad  
 127 širam bedarad beh ke asgam nāz konad  
 128 šoyāl ke az bāṽ ṽahr kone manfate bāṽbune  
 129 šoyāl ke morṽ migire bixe gušeš zarde  
 130 šoyāl puzaš be angur nemirese mige torše  
 131 šoyāle tarsu angure xub nemixore  
 132 šotor agar morde ham bāše pusteš bare xare  
 133 šotor be peyṽām 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 morṽaki anjir nist  
 143 toxme morṽ 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 peyṽām āb nemixore  
 148 xar če dānad ṽeymate noṽlo 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 šoyāle  
 157 xare bārbar beh az šire mardom dar

- 158 xare ru be tavile tond mire  
159 xare xāli yorve 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 šoyāl 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 valādash  
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 aşı 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 kocadır
- 13 Ak keçiyi gören içi dolu yağ sanır
- 14 Ak koyunu gören içi dolu yağ sanır
- 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, kamçı zoruyla yürüm
- 21 Arslan yatağından bellidir
- 22 At bulunur meydan bulunmaz, meydan bulunur at bulunmaz
- 23 At adımına göre değil, adamına göre yürür
- 24 At at oluncaya kadar sahibi mat olur
- 25 At binenin, kılıç kuşananın
- 26 At binicisini tanır
- 27 At biniciye göre şahlanır
- 28 At çalındıktan sonra ahıra kilit ne çare
- 29 At ölür, itlere bayram olur
- 30 At sahibine göre eşer
- 31 Ata binen nalını, mihini arar
- 32 Ata eyer gerek, eyere er gerek
- 33 Atım tepmes ,itim kapmaz deme
- 34 Atın bahtsız 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 atmışlar yavrusunu ayağının altına almış  
41 Azıklı at arıklama  
42 Bahşış atın dişine bakılmaz  
43 Bakmakla usta olursa, köpekler kasap olurdu  
44 Balık ağa girdikten sonra akli 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 mih 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 çektiği 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 yılanı sarılır  
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 taşacağı 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 ayıp inmek iki ayıp  
84 Eşegi eşeğin yanına bağlasan, ya tuyundan 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 kaşır  
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 İrmaktan geçerken at değiştirilmez  
106 İt derisinden post olmaz, eski düşman dost olmaz  
107 İt ite buyurur itte kuyruğuna  
108 İt iti suvatta bulur  
109 İt 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 deęmiş, o da kendi yeleęinden  
124 Kartalin begenmedigini kargalar kapisir  
125 Kaz gelen yerden tavuk esirgenmez  
126 Keçi can derdinde, kasap yağ derdinde  
127 Kedi aslanın aęzından şikar alamaz  
128 Kedi nedir ki budu ne ola  
129 Kedinin boynuna cięer asılmaz  
130 Kedinin gideceęi samanlığa kadar  
131 Kedinin kanadı olsaydı serçenin adı kalmazdı  
132 Kedinin usluluęu siçan gorunceye kadar  
133 Kedisiz evde siçan terennümü olur  
134 Kediye sıkıştırırsan 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 Köpeęe gem vurma kendini at sanır  
140 Köpek bile yağ yedięi kaba pislemez  
141 Köpek ekmek veren kapiyi tanir  
142 Köpek sahibini ısırmas  
143 Köpeksiz sürüye kurt dalar  
144 Koyunun bulunmadıęı 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 deęiştirir, huyunu deęiştirmez  
153 Kurtla ortak olan tilkinin hissesi, ya tırnaktır, ya baęırsak  
154 Kuşa süt nasip olsa anasından olurdu  
155 Maymun çomaęı bir kere yer  
156 Ölmüş eşek, kurttan korkmaz  
157 Şahin gözünü ette açmış; karga gözünü bokta açmış  
158 Sahipsiz eve it buyruk



- 159 Sayılı koyunu kurt kapmaz  
 160 Sen ağa, ben ağa; bu ineği kim sağa  
 161 Serçe ile konuşanın sesi semadan gelir  
 162 Serçeden korkan darı ekmez  
 163 Serçeye çubuk beredi  
 164 Serkeş okuz (son) soluğu kasap dükkanında 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  
CHARACTER 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  
FALLIBLE 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  
CHANCES ARE 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 Declaration 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.

**Name Surname:** Shahrooz Pourhossein

**Student No:** N10242824

**Department:** English Linguistics

**Program:** English Linguistics

**Status:**  Masters  Ph.D.  Integrated Ph.D.

12/07/2016

*Pourhossein*



### ADVISOR APPROVAL

APPROVED.

Prof. Dr. Işıl Özyıldırım



## APPENDIX 8: ETHNIC BOARD WAIVER FORM

 <p style="margin: 0;"><b>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY</b> <b>GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES</b> <b>ETHICS BOARD WAIVER FORM FOR THESIS WORK</b></p>
<p style="margin: 0;"><b>HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY</b> <b>GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES</b> <b>ENGLISH LINGUISTICS TO THE DEPARTMENT PRESIDENCY</b></p> <p style="text-align: right; margin: 0;">Date: 12/07/2016</p> <p style="margin: 0;">Thesis Title / Topic: Animal Metaphors in Persian and Turkish Proverbs: A Cognitive Linguistic Study</p> <p style="margin: 0;">My thesis work related to the title/topic above:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people.</li> <li>2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.).</li> <li>3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity.</li> <li>4. Is not based on observational and descriptive research (survey, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development).</li> </ol> <p style="margin: 0;">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.</p> <p style="margin: 0;">I respectfully submit this for approval.</p> <p style="margin: 0;"> <b>Name Surname:</b> <u>Shahrooz Pourhossein</u> <span style="float: right; text-align: right;">12/07/2016 <i>Pourhossein</i></span>  <b>Student No:</b> <u>N10242824</u>  <b>Department:</b> <u>English Linguistics</u>  <b>Program:</b> <u>English Linguistics</u>  <b>Status:</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Masters <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ph.D. <input type="checkbox"/> Integrated Ph.D.         </p>
<p style="margin: 0;"><b><u>ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL</u></b></p> <p style="margin: 0; text-align: center;">APPROVED.</p> <p style="margin: 0; text-align: center;">   <u>Prof. Dr. Işıl Özyıldırım</u> </p>