



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of English Linguistics

**PLANT-THEMED METAPHORS IN TURKISH PROVERBS:
A COGNITIVE APPROACH**

Nihansu YURTSEVEN AKIŞ

Master's Thesis

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Nihansu YURTSEVEN AKIŞ tarafından hazırlanan "Plant-Themed Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs: A Cognitive Approach" başlıklı bu çalışma, 27/01/2020 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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Nihansu YURTSEVEN AKIŐ

To education of girls all around the World

To my grandparents

To my lovely family

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ÖZET

YURTSEVEN AKIŞ Nihansu. *Türkçe Atasözlerindeki Bitki Temalı Metaforlar: Bilişsel Bir Yaklaşım*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2021

Bitkiler insan hayatında göz ardı edilemeyecek bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu nedenle, bitkiler insanların soyut kavramları anlamakta en sık yararlandığı somut nesnelere biridir. Bu çalışma, Türkçe atasözlerinde bitki temalı metaforların nasıl kavramsallaştırıldığını belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda çalışmada Lakoff ve Johnson'un Bilişsel Metafor Kuramı (1980) temel alınmıştır. Yapılan inceleme sonucunda 2.298 atasözünde bitki-temalı kavram bulunduğu saptanmıştır. Bunlardan AĞAÇ, BAĞ, GÜL, HARMAN ve OT en sık rastlanan kavramlardır. Bu nedenle çözümleme bu kavramlar üzerinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. İlk olarak bu kavramlara ilişkin sosyo-ekonomik ve kültüre özgü gerekçeler araştırılmıştır. Her bir metafor kavramı için yirmi atasözü hedef alanların belirlenmesi amacıyla kullanılmıştır. Bu şekilde bitki kavramı içeren toplam 100 atasözü incelenmiştir. Hedef kavramlardan oluşan rasgele sıralanarak oluşturulan bir liste eşdeğerlendirmeci tarafından kaynak-hedef eşleşmesi açısından incelenmiştir. Miles-Hubermann (1994) güvenilirlik katsayısı ile araştırmacının ve eşdeğerlendirmecinin yanıtlarının uyumluluğu hesaplanmıştır. Bu aşamada, araştırmacı ve eşdeğerlendirmecinin yanıtlarının güvenilirliğini değerlendirmek amacıyla Cohen's Kappa Testi (1960) kullanılmıştır. Bu değerlendirme sonucunda güvenilirlik katsayısı 0.73 olarak bulunmuştur. Ayrıca bitki temalı atasözlerinde saptanan metaforlara ilişkin hedef kavramlar oluşturdukları algı açısından olumsuz, olumlu ve tarafsız olacak şekilde sınıflandırılmıştır. Araştırma sonunda bulunan kavramsal metaforlar şunlardır: AĞAÇ İNSANDIR, BAĞ MÜLKÜTÜR, BAĞ EMEKTİR, BAĞ İSTENDİK SONUÇTUR, BAĞ AİLEDİR, GÜL GÜZELLİKTİR, HARMAN DEĞERLİ VARLIKTIR, HARMAN ZAMANDIR, HARMAN BOLLUKTUR, HARMAN EMEKTİR, OT GÜZELLİKTİR ve OT İSTENMEYENDİR. Bu kavramların oluşturdukları algıya göre AĞAÇ yüksek oranda tarafsız, BAĞ tarafsız ya da olumlu, GÜL olumlu, HARMAN tarafsız ya da olumlu ve OT büyük oranda olumlu bulunmuştur.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Bitkiler, Kavramsal Metafor Kuramı, Türkçe, Atasözleri

ABSTRACT

YURTSEVEN AKIŞ Nihansu. *Plant-Themed Metaphors in Turkish Proverbs and Idioms: A Cognitive Approach*, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2021.

Plants play an unneglectable role in human-life; therefore, they are among the most used concrete items that the human mind takes advantage of while understanding abstract concepts. The aim is to find out how Turkish people conceptualize plant-themed metaphors in Turkish proverbs. To this end, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory developed by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) was adopted. 2.298 proverbs contain plant-themed concepts. Based on the data, the plant-themed concepts are listed in a Table with their English translations. The most frequent concepts are found to be AĞAÇ (TREE), BAĞ (VINEYARD), GÜL (ROSE), HARMAN (THRESHING), OT (WEED); hence, these concepts were chosen. First, possible socio-economical and culture-specific justifications for the salience of each concept were investigated. For each metaphorical concept, twenty proverbs were used for target domain detection. In total, one hundred proverbs were examined. The proverbs were also analyzed by an interrater. Using the Miles-Hubermann reliability coefficient (1994), the source-target match's reliability was calculated. At this stage, the Cohen's Kappa Test (1960) was employed to analyze the reliability. Kappa values are found to be 0.73. The attributes denoted to each plant-themed concept were classified as negative, positive or neutral. The conceptual metaphors identified through the analysis are as follows: AĞAÇ İNSANDIR (TREE IS HUMAN), BAĞ MÜLKTÜR (VINEYARD IS PROPERTY), BAĞ EMEKTİR (VINEYARD IS WORK), BAĞ İSTENDİK SONUÇTUR (VINEYARD IS FAVORABLE OUTCOME), BAĞ AİLEDİR (VINEYARD IS FAMILY), GÜL GÜZELLİKTİR (ROSE IS BEAUTY), HARMAN DEĞERLİ VARLIKTIR (THRESHING IS VALUABLE POSSESSION), HARMAN ZAMANDIR (THRESHING IS TIME), HARMAN BOLLUKTUR (THRESHING IS ABUNDANCY), HARMAN EMEKTİR (THRESHING IS WORK), OT GÜZELLİKTİR (WEED IS BEAUTY) and OT İSTENMEYENDİR (WEED IS UNWANTED). The attributes classified as follows: AĞAÇ (TREE) is highly neutral, BAĞ (VINEYARD) is neutral or positive, GÜL (ROSE) is positive, HARMAN (THRESHING) is neutral or positive, and OT (WEED) is mostly positive.

Key Words: Plants, The Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Turkish, Proverbs.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CMT: The Conceptual Metaphor Theory

LM: Literal Meaning

MM: Metaphorical Meaning

COCA: Corpus of Contemporary American English

F: frequency

N: number

INTRODUCTION

“Metaphor is seen as an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning” Zoltán Kövecses (2010)

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In the human brain, ten billion to one hundred billion nerve cells exist (Herculano-Houzel, 2009). All of these neurons are connected with approximately ten thousand connections to other nerve cells. Such a system arouses great interest in the investigation of the mind. Linguistic competence, information archiving and perception are among the phenomena performed by the human mind (Friedenberg & Silverman, 2011).

Cognitive science is defined as the interdisciplinary study of mind and intelligence. Therefore, it connects and unites linguistics, artificial intelligence, psychology, anthropology and philosophy when there is a need. It started to appear in academic studies around the 1970s (Thagard, 2019). Cognitive development highly relies on personal experiences. In other words, since sensorimotor input and the human mind are interacted, cognitive science is mostly regarded as experientialist.

Cognitive linguistics is the sub-field of cognitive science. It is an umbrella term describing language empirically in terms of its relationship with the mindset and thought. Cognitive linguists take advantage of corpus studies, authentic spoken or written discourse, experimental studies about reactions and reaction times, or neuro-linguistic research with visual clues such as fMRI (Friedenberg & Silverman, 2011). As a consequence of cognitive research can be used in foreign language education, translation, psychology, artificial intelligence, sociology, anthropology, and intercultural communication.

Cognitive linguistics has the following three major hypotheses (Croft & Cruse, 2004):

- Language is not an unaided, stand-alone faculty.
- Grammar is conceptualization.
- Knowledge of language arises from language use.

In the first hypothesis, language is claimed not to be autonomous. A language requires the experiential ground to be wholly performed. Cognitive abilities such as visual perception or reasoning are not so different from each other. In this framework, language is perceived and produced in real-time as structured iconic units. Attention, categorization and memory models of cognitive psychology, specifically Gestalt psychology, have a massive impact on shaping the first hypothesis of the Cognitive Linguistics. Concerning the second hypothesis it is possible to say that grammar is not unique for one language and that it is conceptualized according to each person's mind (Croft & Cruse, 2004). The third hypothesis emphasizes the cognitive view of language knowledge and uses relationships. Instead of Universal Grammar, cognitive linguists rely on language use while grounding linguistic knowledge.

The cognitive linguistics view is a basis for many syntactic, morphological and semantic studies, but a considerable portion of cognitive linguistic studies is based on semantics. In fact, handling cognitive semantics as a separate field from other branches could be misleading, since the cognitive view does not approach the language system in a modular way (Lemmens, 2015; Evans, Bergen, & Zinken, 2007). On the contrary, language operations are regarded as a holistic whole. With this in mind, it should be acknowledged that studying a language in units is useful for linguists. Since the framework of this study will be specifically on meaning, explaining the stance of cognitive linguistics to semantics is critical and necessary. Cognitive semantics concentrates on conceptual structure, and conceptualization (Evans, Bergen, & Zinken, 2007). Conceptual structure is a term used for knowledge representation. Langacker (1987), as one of the critical academicians in cognitive linguistics, defines conceptualization with one word which is meaning. In fact, concepts, embodiment, and conceptualization are the terms used interchangeably for a mental image or meaning in cognitive linguistics (Langacker, 1986). People's cultural and physical surroundings naturally affect their conceptualization. According to cognitive linguistics, bodily experiences are highly significant. Therefore, image schemas are built based on perception. Containment, trajectory (e.g., *origin, channel, destination*), scale, space (front-back, up-down) are listed among the conceptual domains which help build up image schemas (Lemmens,

2015). Most of these terms appear in Lakoff & Johnson's seminal work *Metaphors We Live by* (1980).

The guiding principles of cognitive semantics are as follows:

- i) Conceptual structure is embodied (the 'embodied cognition thesis')
- ii) Semantic structure is conceptual structure
- iii) Meaning representation is encyclopedic
- iv) Meaning construction is conceptualization

(Evans, Bergen, & Zinken, 2007)

According to the first guiding principle, the embodied cognition thesis proposes that the body works as a constituent of the brain (Leitan & Chaffey, 2014). The body is an active connection of humans' body with the environment. In other words, discovering new information is only possible through the body's interaction with the world. Humans hear, taste, look, touch and smell the objects in order to gather data about these entities. Based on this account, the experience provides a basis for the conceptualization. That is, the inner and outer properties of the entities depend highly on the perceiver's perception. The second guiding principle indicates that linguistic contents are equal to concepts. In other words, the semantic structure is not denotational unlike claimed in earlier views (Evans, Bergen, & Zinken, 2007). In the third guiding principle, semantic or conceptual structure is represented encyclopedically signifying that their storage does not resemble dictionary-like definitions (Kiefer, 1988). When these two depiction methods are compared, it is seen that dictionary knowledge contains only specific concepts related to the term handled. On the other hand, encyclopedic knowledge includes almost all the underlying concepts in a network-like system (Kecskes, 2013). Finally, by the last principle, linguistic operations trigger and support conceptual operations (Evans, Bergen, & Zinken, 2007). In other words, meaning is constructed at the conceptual level.

Lakoff & Johnson (1980) introduced the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. According to this theory, the human mind has a metaphorical structure. Abstract concepts are understood and expressed through concrete ones. It is deducible from the theory that form and meaning are not arbitrarily matched, but rather this pairing works out through categorization. Categorization depends highly on personal experiences; therefore, each person's language has differences which are more overt in different language speakers

who belong to distinct cultures, whereas less evident for the speakers of the same language. The theory will be further discussed in detail in the Literature review part.

This study concentrates on metaphors in regard to the plant-themed proverbs. Proverbs are essential parts of cultural heritage. It is possible to claim that they are indispensable parts of language because they are succinct; even more, they transmit moral truths and social values (Phuong, 2016). Being fixed and formulaic expressions, proverbs express the community's cognition with an expression from the reservoir of centuries (Pourhossein, 2016). People's actions, ideas, emotions and wit are hidden in proverbs. Therefore, they will be powerful and interesting sources for a study on cultural cognition (Nabifar, 2013).

In *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction* by Kövecses (2010) states that plants are listed among the mostly encountered metaphor source domains. He argues that among many metaphor dictionaries on the shelves, one of the most grounded works is Alice Deignan's *Collins Cobuild English Guides 7: Metaphor* (1995). The findings and listings in the book are critical for this study because plant is itemized among the list of common source domains. While topics such as human body (Baş, 2015; Öz, 2011), animals (Pourhossein, 2016), and colors (Hastürkoğlu, 2017) are the metaphors that are studied frequently in Turkish, the plant-themed metaphors grasp less attention. Such metaphors have been seldom examined despite the undeniable connection between human-life and plants. People's eating, clothing, sheltering and defensive actions depend on plants very frequently (Phuong, 2016). Because of this relationship, there are numerous proverbs with plant-themed metaphorical expressions in different languages of the world.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory (1980) proves that daily language includes many metaphors, which can be regarded as a reflection of minds. Metaphor studies are conducted showing that metaphors are pervasive in everyday language. In Turkish, there are also Ph.D. dissertations and Master's theses evolved around the Conceptual Metaphor Theory focusing metaphors of body parts (Baş, 2015; Öz, 2011), animals (Pourhossein, 2016) and color terms (Hastürkoğlu, 2017). Motion (Özçalışkan, 2002), death and life (Özçalışkan, 2003), anger (Aksan, 2006a, 2006b), face (Ruhi & Güler, 2007), emotion and love (Aksan & Kantar, 2008), family (Özyıldırım & Yazar, 2010) and self (Ruhi & Aksan, 2012) are the metaphors that have been studied through the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. These are comprehensive studies, yet none of them concentrates on plants. Although some studies have recently been published, such as a study conducted on *findık* "nut" in regional proverbs (Bulut, 2018), no large-scale study covering multiple plant-themed concepts has been made in Turkish. The existing studies on plant-themed metaphors do not cover an analysis with the cognitive approach as this research does.

Therefore, this study attempts to fill this gap in the related field.

AIM OF THE STUDY

The study aims at listing and investigating the concepts related to plant-themed metaphors. The study also aims to reveal the most salient concepts in Turkish proverbs and the cultural justifications for the salience of each of them. Furthermore, with this study, the underlying experiences or abstract notions conceptualized by the five mostly seen plant-themed metaphors are investigated. Lastly, the study aims to find out the states (negative, neutral or positive) assigned to the mostly seen five plant-themed metaphors.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In line with the aim given above, the present study tries to answer the following questions:

- 1) What are the concepts of the plant-themed proverbs in Turkish, and what are the most salient concepts in these proverbs?

2) Which domains of experience or abstract notions are conceptualized in the five mostly seen plant-themed metaphors in Turkish proverbs?

3) What are the negative, positive or neutral states assigned to the five mostly seen plant-themed metaphors in Turkish proverbs?

LIMITATIONS

In this study, the conceptualization of the plant-themed metaphors is investigated through proverbs. Other cultural heritage pieces such as idioms, sayings, nursery rhymes, tongue twisters, folk songs, riddles, etc., can be used as data to verify results obtained through this research or broaden the frame of the study.

Among various and numerous proverb dictionaries, only two of them (Albayrak, 2009; Aksoy, 1995) guide the study as they are classified among the most comprehensive and prestigious ones. The proverbs obtained through dictionaries are used to compile a list of source domains. There may be plant-themed metaphors which are not included in the study due to the fact that they are not covered in the sourced used. Another issue is that in order to interpret the proverbs in a better way, context is required (Nafibar, 2013). It could provide plenty of new aspects to the results of the study. In fact, the study was first designed to include corpus data including proverbs, but available Turkish corpora are not as comprehensive as needed in terms of a context.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This study contains five chapters which will be given below with brief descriptions. The introduction section presents the background of the study. Related terms are clarified with respect to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (1980). Cognitive science, cognitive linguistics, cognitive semantics are presented with their basic principles. Moreover, readers can find out the statement of the problem, the aim of the study, the research questions and the limitations of the study in this chapter.

In Chapter 1, there is general information on cognitive linguistics. In the following part of the chapter, metaphor and classifications are introduced within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory framework. Then, the theory is described in detail with related terminology. After that, proverbs and plant metaphors are presented.

Chapter 2 is a depiction of the methodology adopted for the present study. It contains a detailed description of materials, data collection and data analysis procedure.

Chapter 3 lays out the findings of the study. The chapter is divided into two sections as descriptive data analysis and cognitive data analysis. There are five concepts which are closely investigated in these sections. The concepts can be listed as AĞAÇ (TREE), BAĞ (VINEYARD), GÜL (ROSE), HARMAN (THRESHING) and OT (WEED).

The conclusion chapter is composed of two sections. In the first part, the research questions are answered based on the findings of the study. In the second part, the limitations and suggestions for future studies are presented.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

The chapter starts with general features of cognitive linguistics including the introduction of the basic terms. Then, the classification of metaphors is presented based on the cognitive view. In the next part, the conceptual theory will be described in further detail; moreover, related theories will be touched upon. Next, proverbs are defined, and then plant metaphors are exemplified in order to step into the study with a better-primed mind.

1.1. COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

Cognitive linguistics is a modern way of studying the relationship between language and the mind (Evans, Bergen & Zinken, 2007). It follows a functional and experientialist approach to linguistic studies. Its emergence is thought to happen in 1975 with the studies of Lakoff & Thompson (1975), Fillmore (1975), Rosch (1975) as a result of a reaction to formal and generative linguistics (Littlemore & Taylor, 2005; Evans, Bergen & Zinken, 2007). Generative linguistics' trying to deduce underlying and surface realizations and attempts to find common properties had outcomes but not as much as expected and the researchers were mostly interested in syntax. Cognitive linguists look for more of a functional approach but generativist studies tend to disclude context and pragmatic concerns, which are vital for communication. Moreover, generativists tried to rationalize cognitive operations with transformations; hitherto, it does not satisfy cognitive linguists. For cognitive linguists, there is no modular linguistic knowledge nor Universal Grammar. Cognitive linguists argue that language learning is possible with the help of domain-general cognitive processes and the human mind is integrated or holistic storage for linguistic units. In addition, for cognitive linguists, frequency plays a fundamental role in language operation whereas it is not possible to claim the same for generativists (Holme, 2009). Furthermore, in the generative approach, concepts or entities have formulaic definitions which are delineated in detail. At the same time, in cognitive linguistics, frames (words) gain their senses through categorization, scenes and other various factors related to its properties (Fillmore, 1975).

Categorization constantly emerges in linguistic operations; therefore, it is one of the key terms that should be investigated. Categorization is seen as a skill that allows humans to make sense of the world. Through categorization the human mind classifies and stores

the information it retrieves (Cohen & Lefebvre, 2005). The categorization makes up cognition categories which are not fixed and stable but can vary depending on the context (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006).

In cognitive science, a concept is regarded as a mental representation. Within the framework of cognitive science, concepts do not have fixed definitions but it is agreed that there are computational and psychological motives constructing concepts. A concept is not stored on its own. Mostly, concepts are thought to be lists of typical features depending on personal experience. A mental lexicon is a web that contains complex connections between concepts and a metaphor is a conceptual mapping (Thagard, 2019). To put it in different words, concepts are organized through slots which construct a web-like system among each other. Within this web, hierarchies, matches, rules and many other associations are embedded. According to Ungerer and Schmid's definition (1996), a concept is a cognitive category. That is, concepts are outcomes of a specific mental process called classification. One concept is attached to another one in order to grasp and convey meaning in a more economical way. In fact, it is easier to comprehend a concept through another one and this transference generally occurs from more material and worldly sense to less tangible ones (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Only overtly delineated concepts are directly taken into the human mind without any mapping, conceptualization or categorization constructed through direct physical experience is among direct input. Below, Figure 1 lays out the mental spaces of two distinct concepts, namely CONVERSATION and WAR.

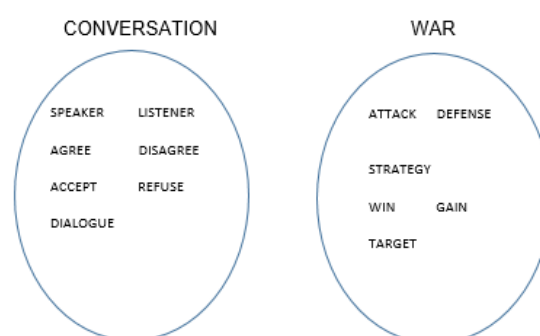


Figure 1. Mental spaces in ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor (adapted from Turner and Fauconnier (1995))

ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor is depicted in Figure 1. As can be seen, two separate mental spaces are presented in Figure 1 mental space. Turner & Fauconnier (1995) argue that long term schematic knowledge is linked to mental spaces. Below, Figure 2 exhibits the blend between the mental spaces of CONVERSATION and WAR.

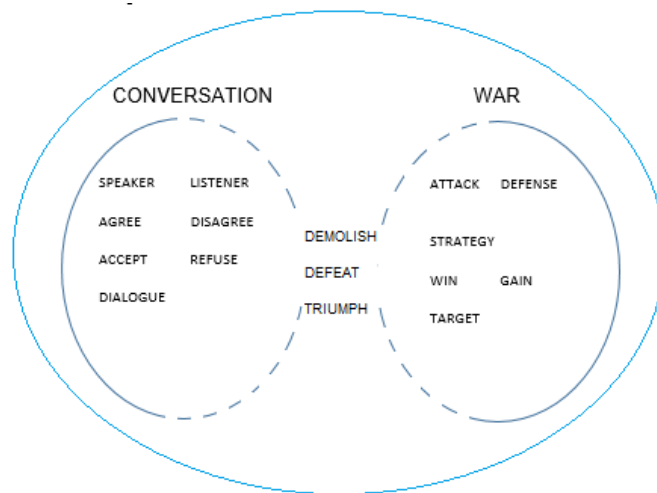


Figure 2. Mental spaces in ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor (adapted from Turner & Fauconnier (1995))

Figure 2 is given in order to describe the third mental space which is a blend. A blend is a well-recognized and significant term provided by Turner & Fauconnier (1995). In their study (Turner & Fauconnier, 1995), The Blended Space Theory is introduced and it proposes that two mental spaces come together, blend in and form a third mental space which is cross-sectional.

Another term to be concentrated upon in this section is the image-schema. The image-schema can be defined as the recurring dynamic pattern of humans' perceptual interaction and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience. 'Experience' is fed by historical, social, emotional and linguistic sources (Johnson, 1987: 16). In other words, people contact with objects and create experiences. Thus, the human brain creates image-schemas which serve as a foundation for other concepts (Kövecses, 2002). Image schemas are stored as cognitive gestalts (Littlemore & Taylor, 2015). According to cognitive linguists' stance, image-schemas are picture-like but more vivid at the same time spatial formations and not in propositional form (Gibbs, Costa Lima & Francozo, 2004).

"Image schemas are

- directly meaningful pre-conceptual structures;
- highly schematic gestalts;
- continuous analogue patterns;
- internally structured, consisting of only a few parts.” (Kövecses, 2010: 117)

In Figure 3, the continuum of schematicity and specificity of the mostly used terms in The Conceptual Metaphor Theory (1980) is demonstrated:

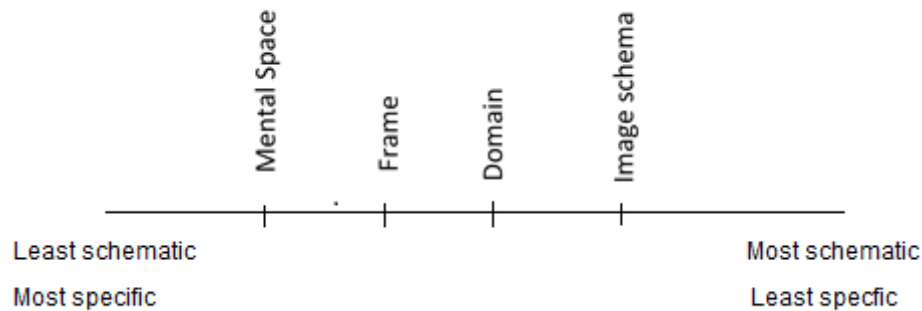


Figure 3. Continuum of conceptual structures (adapted from Kövecses (2017))

As shown in Figure 3, Kövecses (2017) puts the terms into order based on their specificity and schemes. From least schematic to most schematic, mental space, frame, domain and image schema denotes to the concept. Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) point out the schematic and skeletal structure of image schemas. Spatial organization and physical forces such as gravity play a significant role in the creation of image-schemas. Especially, CONTAINER, VERTICALITY, OBJECT schemas are among the widely seen ones. One schema can be used for multiple domains. For example, both BUILDING and BODY domains have the schema of CONTAINER. As it is mentioned in the previous sections, concept, image schema and spaces are very similar terms that arouse some complexity for the researchers.

Domains are more informative than image schemas. A context for the characterization of a semantic unit is the definition of the domain (Langacker, 1987).

1.2. METAPHOR

Metaphor has evolved from the Greek word *metapherein* referring to carry from one place to another (Miller, 1979). In today's understanding, the general description of the metaphor is to put two contents inside one form. According to *Cambridge Online Dictionary* (2020), it is defined as “an expression, often found in literature, that describes

a person or object by referring to something that is considered to have similar characteristics to that person or object.” Likewise, current definitions of other dictionaries at hand include ‘figure of speech,’ ‘figurative language’ and ‘literature’ keywords in common since in the traditional views, metaphors are regarded as a part of the ornamented written language (*Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2020; Oxford English Dictionary, 2020*). The old view argues that constructing metaphor requires finding similarities, analogy, thinking over and inspiration. Otherwise, two contents cannot be put inside one form. On the other hand, such kind of approach to metaphor is not accepted by Lakoff & Johnson (2003). Metaphor is a matter of concepts rather than an esthetic word preference. In their work, they claim that metaphors are concepts and concepts are metaphorical. Concepts and metaphors are directly related to cognition and culture. Ordinary people without any talent make up sentences full of metaphors, which shows that the previous approach to metaphor is not acceptable. It also proves that metaphors are the reflections of thought and action. In other words, metaphors are automatic production of personal world view. Kövecses (2010) agrees on the cognitive aspect of metaphors by saying the choice of talk displays the way of thinking. Metaphors enable the translation of the emotive and ideological world into more experiential ones. Moreover, when compared with automatic and natural metaphors, creating, interpreting, and appreciating literary metaphor involves the very same cognitive processes and mappings which structure our conventional understanding of the world (Littlemore & Taylor, 2005).

“The essence of metaphor is understanding one kind of thing in terms of another.” is the well-known definition (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 5). It means that metaphors are the ways of seeing the world, understanding things. In other words, in cognitive linguistics, metaphors enable the mind to comprehend unfamiliar concepts with the help of familiar ones (Grady, 1997). In order to analyze a metaphor in a more systematic way, metaphors will be considered as comprised of two conceptual domains. A domain is the systematic organization of human experience. In the literature, the wording often changes. It is probable to see the word ‘frame’ instead of domain (Semino & Demjén, 2016). The first conceptual domain is called the source domain, and it refers to a concrete or more experiential concept. It is connected to the second one which is rather abstract named the target domain in cognitive linguistics (Littlemore & Taylor, 2015). As the source domains address the target domains, naming common examples of the target domains could be beneficial: Emotion, desire, morality, thought, society, politics, economy, religion, etc. (Kövecses, 2010).

Generally, the target domains are abstract entities while the source domains are concrete ones, or, in other words, “we typically conceptualize the nonphysical in terms of the physical” (ibid). It is common sense that we map from a domain which is tangible and easy to understand to the domain that we cannot touch or perceive physically (Johansen, 2007). For instance, while a term like JOURNEY is used metaphorically to refer to LIFE, the reverse is not possible, linguistically or conceptually. Likewise, it poses no problem in referring to a person as warm but it would be meaningless to refer to a glass of milk as passionate (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

The examples below are extracted from the Corpus of Contemporary American English [COCA]. The conceptualization occurs in a way that ideas are mapped with food, arguments with war and organizations with plants.

(1) *I'm still trying to digest all this -- it's unbelievably upsetting.* [COCA]

(2) *Supporters have defended the expansion, under which the vouchers would be available to families who already can afford to send their children to private schools.*
[COCA]

(3) *We can make this vibrant organization grow if we all work together.* [COCA]

As can be seen in the given examples, source domains construct more vivid and perceptible targets. In (1), while the concept *idea* is abstract, *digesting* is rather a physical phenomenon. Sentence (2) shows the most succinct way to express the stand against a concept that is difficult to delineate. In (3), one less concrete concept *organization* mapped with a more experiential concept *plant*. Source-target domains depend on people's experiences and the links between their experiences. The correlation constructed by biological and cultural background may lead to such matching (Kövecses, 2002). For example, the existence of MORE IS UP metaphor is motivated by the action of filling a container. When a container is filled, the amount of liquid substance increases. The correlation between quantity and verticality is a base for this conceptual metaphor.

Although within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory framework, a highly adopted term is the domain, there are many other terms that can be encountered in cognitive linguistics denoting the same concept. Image Schemas, frames, scenes, mental spaces, schemas and scenarios are among synonymous uses of the domain as listed in Kövecses (2017).

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) assumes that a metaphor has the following five properties:

- Metaphors and their mappings are culturally dependent.

- The conceptual metaphors are partial in structure.
- Conceptual metaphors are based on multiple mappings.
- Metaphorical mappings are systematic.
- Conceptual metaphors are asymmetric in nature.

It is fundamental to explain each property one by one. The first property highlights the cultural dependency of conceptual metaphors. In other words, distinct cultures adopt different conceptualization because of historical and social background's diversity. It seems to be cultural values play a significant role in cognition development and the concepts are impacted by the process (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). A highly-recognized example, TIME IS MONEY is an invention of the contemporary lifestyle. In today's world, people get paid according to their working hours. People from cultures without such a system would have great trouble grasping the meaning of the mapping (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). In Ungerer & Schmid's book (2006), the notion is expressed through 'cultural evaluation'. In order to clarify cultural variation, they take advantage of A PERSON IS A PIG metaphor. In European culture, pigs are perceived as dirty and greedy animals. When *Jake is a pig* sentence is uttered, it is thought that he is untidy or he eats his food in a bad manner. Nonetheless, in Chinese culture, PIG has attributes resembling Western Culture but it has got an additional attribute. It may be used between lovers referring to cuteness. In Turkish culture, PIG has connotations of being wicked and ill-natured. Turkish PIG metaphors are very negative compared to the cultures mentioned above. Cultural background is essential but it is not the only way to construct conceptual metaphors. To put in clearer words, conceptual metaphors can be near-universal or vary on culture. Kövecses (2002) posits that there are two types of cultural variation: intercultural (cross-cultural) and intracultural (within-culture). Therefore, it is feasible to declare that the sense of conceptual metaphor may differ from culture to culture. Moreover, conceptual metaphors as reflections of the human mind may indicate individual variation from time to time.

The second feature refers to the partial nature of conceptual metaphors. One aspect of a concept is supposed to be highlighted, which leads to hiding other aspects. Any selected aspect can be emphasized more to deliver the essence (Kövecses, 2002). In other words, conveying and stressing the core would only be possible in highlighting and hiding strategy. Not all the linguistics features are included in the conceptual mappings. One of the most known metaphor, THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS uses linguistic features of BUILDINGS as given in Table 1:

Table 1. Linguistic features of BUILDINGS

[+ possessing foundation]	[+ possessing rooms]
[+ being strength]	[+ possessing staircases]
[+ being supported]	[+ possessing roof]

In Table 1, on the left-hand side, only the highlighted features of the BUILDINGS are listed, whereas, on the right, there are properties of buildings which do not have any relationship with the metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). For this reason, the matching between the source and target domain is not unique to the other one. One source domain may have several target domains. Likewise, one target domain can have multiple source domains in different environments (Dancygier & Sweetser, 2014).

Thirdly, conceptual metaphors are not comprised of one mapping. Concepts are bound to each other with a web-like connection in the human mind. Thus, there could be plenty of metaphor constructions.

As the fourth property, conceptual metaphors emerge in a systematic way. For example, the metaphor system in LOVE IS A JOURNEY can be schematized as below:

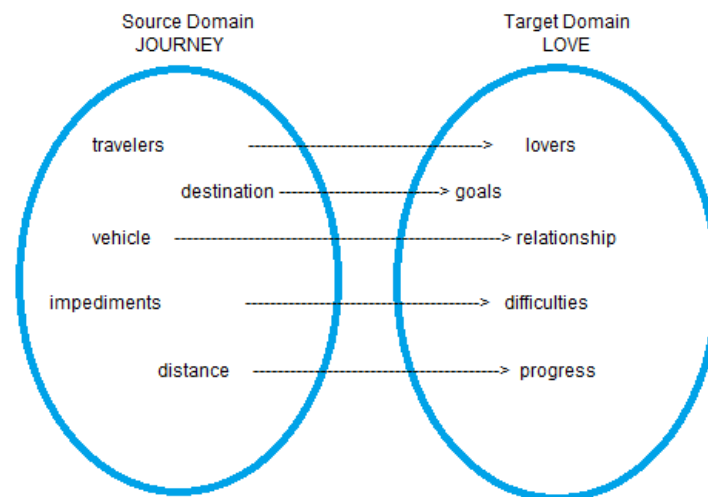


Figure 4. Hypothesized correspondences between the domains of 'love' and 'journey' (adapted from Lakoff & Johnson (1980))

As it is seen in Figure 4, two domains are linked to each other with a system. Target domains and source domains' mapping is conventionally fixed and agreed-on within the community (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Another example can be given on the matching of any visual term and humans' intellect. *See, blind, obscure, light, etc.*, are often connected

to the domain of understanding; hence, these concepts are often seen under the same mental frame in English.

(4) *It is straightforward to see then, that if victim-facing expressive theories of punishment are valid they are capable of justifying differential punishment in many cases.* [COCA]

(5) *In fact, it is starting to look like a smoke screen to obscure the fact that Democrats have no constructive answers to these real problems.* [COCA]

As in (4) and (5), the concepts linked to the visual domain can be used interchangeably with the vocabulary related to understanding. In this way, a structural isomorphism is constructed between source and target domains, which is named the Invariance Principle (Turner, 1991; Lakoff, 1993).

Lastly, conceptual metaphors are asymmetric (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In other words, it is not possible to reorganize the order of these two domains. This kind of one-way relationship of domains is called the unidirectionality principle. Contrary to that, there are cases where domains are reversible. However, in such cases, the meaning completely changes. The examples (6) and (7) clarify the non-reversability property better:

(6) *The surgeon is a butcher.*

(Kövecses, 2010: 28)

In (6), the speaker is complaining about the surgeon because of his unsuccessful operation.

(7) *The butcher is a surgeon.*

(Kövecses, 2010: 28)

Example (7), on the other hand, praises the butcher as he has done his job laboriously. Evidently, reversing metaphors change the meaning immensely.

Source and target domains are mapped not because they are equivalent but they have common features or at least one feature. Specific properties of source domains are highlighted, whereas the less related ones are hidden.

(8) *They'd spend the week in high spirits before their BitWatches hit zero, and they'd be forced to return to the temp agency's queue to fill the gap till next payday.* [COCA]

(9) *John Travolta and Kirstie Alley are still best friends and maybe were once or are currently in love?* [COCA]

Metaphors are built not only for open class items but also for closed-class items such as prepositions (Littlemore & Taylor, 2015). As in (8), Lakoff's well-known metaphor, HAPPY IS UP, the emotional state is linked to prepositional particle and constructs a meaningful mapping. Lakoff (1980) explains the case by focusing on real-life images of happy people. Happy people stand up and they tend to be more dynamic, whereas unhappy people tend to bend and crawl (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Even downturned vs. upturned mouth according to a person's emotional state can be a basis for HAPPY IS UP metaphor (Kristiansen, Achard, Dirven, & Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2008). Herein, the preposition stands for the target domain. There are cases where prepositions are engaged with source domains as well or sometimes they function as the source of metaphor where there is no content word is metaphoric as in example (9). STATES ARE LOCATIONS is the metaphor produced for the *in love* phrase in (9). Relevantly, case markers or postpositions can be metaphors depending on the language and culture (Sullivan, 2013). Adpositions, in general, are regarded to be conceptualized slightly better in terms of spatio-temporal concerns than other closed-class items.

1.2.1 Primary vs. Complex Metaphors

Grady (1997) developed a rationale of conceptual metaphor's partial and particular structure with his Decomposition Theory. Especially, the matching procedure of certain source domain features with certain target domain features but not the others is an interesting problem awaiting to be examined more in-depth. In a way, it is aimed to reveal what motivates and constrains the metaphors. Grady (1997) divides metaphor into two types: primary and complex metaphors. His distinction is approved and accepted by many scholars (Kövecses, 2002; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Each of them is discussed in the following sections.

1.2.1.1. Primary Metaphors

Primary metaphors are sometimes named as simple or primitive metaphors (Kövecses, 2002). Primary metaphors are vastly embodied. The existence of primary metaphors depends highly on human experiences and the connections that are built upon these experiences. Primary metaphors' basis is as direct as hearing a sound or seeing someone (Grady, 1997). From infancy to adulthood, there are plenty of instances commonly shared by most of people. For example, ANGER IS

FIRE; metaphor mapping arouses from our body reaction to anger. Whenever people anger level rises, their body temperature escalates. The fact has a correspondence in the real world and is universal as such categorization could be found in many of the languages even though they are not necessarily related or similar (Semino & Demjén, 2016). Therefore, it is feasible to claim that primary metaphors are vastly universal.

1.2.1.2. Complex Metaphors

Complex metaphors, also known as compound metaphors, are comprised of two or more primary metaphors. When complex metaphors are compared to primary metaphors, it is seen that complex metaphors have a tendency to be more culture-specific (Kövecses, 2010). A complex metaphor cannot be confirmed empirically unless it is divided into its primary metaphor parts. Lakoff & Johnson posit that complex metaphors are molecular, whereas primary metaphors are more atomic (1999). In other words, primary metaphors draw the outline in a very general manner; then, this layout is used to build a more detailed and specific meaning.

A well-recognized and deeply discussed complex metaphor is THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS. The scholars trying to justify the reasons for this metaphor from an experiential perspective divide the metaphor into two primary metaphors: ORGANIZATION IS A PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT. Gerard Steen argues that the existence of the primary metaphors does not contribute to the complex metaphor. Indeed, primary metaphors constrain the complex ones (Littlemore & Taylor, 2015). Therefore, it is possible to say that the relationship between primary and complex metaphors is open to debate.

1.2.2. Linguistic vs. Conceptual Metaphors

In the literature (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Gibbs, 1994; Kövecses, 2002), it is repeatedly emphasized that metaphors are conceptual entities. Nonetheless, metaphors have to be conveyed overtly so that the human mind could grasp and analyze them. Conceptual metaphors can emerge in non-linguistic ways such as movies, cartoons, drawings, sculptures and rituals (Kövecses, 2010). There are many other mediums such as advertising, dream interpretation, etc.

1.2.2.1. Linguistic Metaphor

Despite the existence of the above-mentioned occurrences of metaphor, they are not as much frequent as metaphor's appearance through the linguistic medium. A very common way to investigate metaphors is through language. A conceptual metaphor's linguistic realization is called a linguistic metaphor (Kövecses, 2010). Linguistic metaphors are surface realizations of underlying structure reflected in oral or written form (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Examining the linguistic metaphors is one of the ways to analyze conceptual metaphors. LOVE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor's linguistic realizations are provided below:

(10) *We may never, never meet again on that bumpy road to love. [the TV corpus]*

(11) *Graf and I were standing at a crossroads. He went right and I went left. That's a good-bye. We're traveling in different directions. [COCA]*

As seen in (10) and (11), the concepts related to JOURNEY are used for the cases where the subject is love.

1.2.2.2. Conceptual Metaphor

As stated earlier, the conceptualization of the notions is motivated and constrained by humans' social, physical and cultural interaction with the world. Cognitive science requires a formulaic way of explaining the metaphorical mapping. Conceptual metaphor is formulized as CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B by Kövecses (2002). Herein, A signifies source domain which is known to be more apparent compared to B which refers to the target domain which is less worldly but more abstract. Therefore, the construction LOVE IS A JOURNEY is a conceptual metaphor. The linguistic metaphor may not involve LOVE concept uttered or written but the productions entail the concept. Contrary to the linguistic metaphor, conceptual metaphors are not tangible. In other words, they are stored in the human mind as the underlying structure.

1.2.3. Function of Metaphors

In the Conceptual Metaphor Theory developed by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) metaphors are classified based on their functions: Structural, ontological and orientational metaphors.

1.2.3.1. Structural Metaphors

If a target domain is understood with the help of structures belonging to a source domain, the metaphor is structural. Many of the source-target mappings can be classified as structural metaphors. Structural metaphors have source domains which portray the target domain in a very detailed manner (Kövecses, 2002). Most of the metaphors listed by the scholars are structural (Ngoc Vu, 2015). Below, Example (12), MIND IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor is a structural one.

(12) *Does the mind operate independently of what I have considered necessary physical or sensory input signals?* [COCA]

1.2.3.2. Ontological Metaphors

In some cases, the human mind provides a source that is not well-defined or well-framed but is a part of a less delineated entity. It can be categorized as a structure, container or object yet not named precisely (Kövecses, 2002). Source-domains address the primary condition of target domains. Matching the abstract concept with a physical form is possible by quantifying, referring or personifying. Indeed, personification is among the popular ways to form an ontological metaphor. Moreover, GREAT CHAIN OF BEING metaphor is an ontological one, as well, which will be discussed in the metaphors systems section in further detail. It is seen that the users of language have very limited and generalized access to source and target domains in ontological metaphors (Tuan, 2010). If ontological metaphors are highly specified, they exist from their category and become more structural.

(13) *We need to combat inflation.* [COCA]

In (13), INFLATION IS AN ENTITY ontological metaphor is given. Thanks to this metaphor, one can rationally deal with the experiences by measuring, seeing them as a cause or identifying a particular aspect of it.

1.2.3.3. Orientational Metaphors

Orientational metaphors are based on spatial orientations. The spatial orientation source domains are specified as follows: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central – peripheral (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 15). The conceptualizations are

constructed according to physical and cultural basis. For example, MORE IS UP metaphor is an orientational metaphor.

(14) *During that time, Colorado's wealthiest 1 percent saw their income rise by 200.8 percent, according to the Colorado Fiscal Institute.*

(15) *The number goes up significantly as time goes on.*

This metaphor's underlying rationale comes from the physical experience that adding on a pile or a container raises the level. Both of the sentences (14) and (15) are instances of MORE IS UP metaphor. Metaphors built up with these concepts are named 'coherence metaphors' by Kövecses (2002).

1.2.4. Conventinality

While some of the metaphors are conventional, some metaphors are novel or unconventional. The studies on the conventionality of metaphors mostly contain brain scanning via ERP and fMRI. Although it is necessary to be aware of the terms, this kind of distinction will not be covered in a detailed manner.

1.2.4.1. Conventional Metaphor

Conventional metaphors are seen and heard very often in ordinary language. Conventional metaphors are easily interpreted and commonly known by moderate speakers of that language (Lai, Curran, & Menn, 2009). The conventionality of a metaphor depends on the culture. For example, ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIP IS KITE FLYING is a conventional metaphor in China. However, for English speakers, it is entirely novel not automatically comprehended. Moreover, if a metaphor is highly conventionalized, as in proverbs and idioms, it can be regarded as a dead metaphor, which is not productive anymore (Dancygier & Sweetser, 2014).

1.2.4.2. Novel Metaphors

When an interlocutor is exposed to a metaphor for the first time in his/her life, s/he probably faces a novel metaphor (Lai, Curran, & Menn, 2009). Novel metaphors are creative, original and unusual for language users.

1.2.5. Levels of Metaphors

Lakoff & Turner (1989) specify two levels of metaphors as generic-level and specific-level metaphors.

1.2.5.1. Generic-level Metaphors

Lakoff & Turner (1989) argued that generic-level metaphors are comprehensive, inclusionary and general. For example, EVENTS ARE ACTIONS metaphor comprises two umbrella terms, both of which have no fixed sense but rather broad and open-ended. At this point, it is possible to state that the generic-level metaphor resembles and behaves like ontological metaphors.

1.2.5.2. Specific-level Metaphors

Metaphors which revive specific notions, objects, animals or situations are labelled as specific-level metaphors. Indeed, having such a detailed mapping, specific-level metaphors show an overt resemblance to structural metaphors.

To conclude and piece together this section, Figure 5 is given:

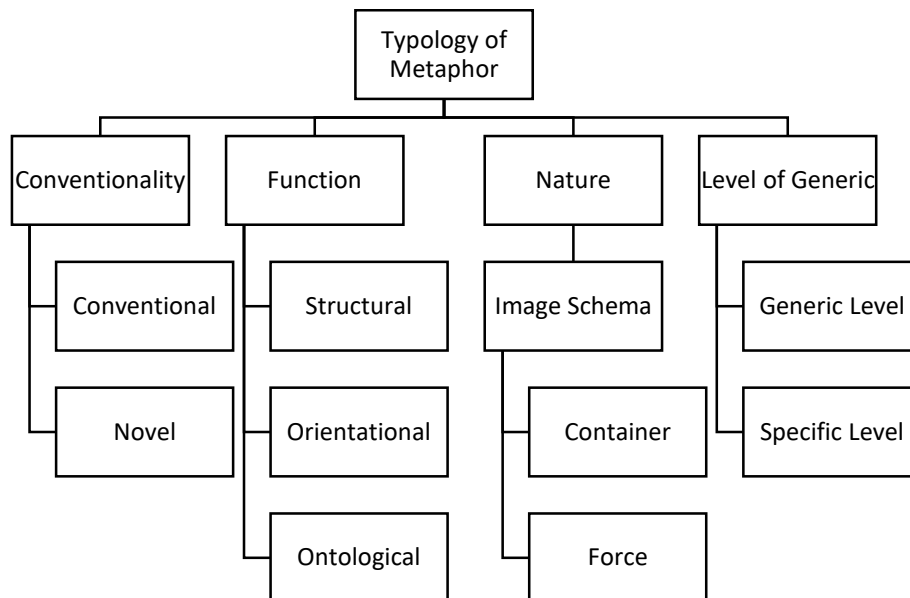


Figure 5. Typology of Metaphor (adapted from Kövecses (2010))

Overall, metaphors are classified according to four features. Figure 5 exhibits the typology of metaphor based on Kövecses (2010). The conventionality feature is connected to the commonness of a metaphor. Some metaphors may be fossilized and disguise themselves in the language. In such cases, they cannot be recognized until explored deeper. On the other hand, a function of metaphors is related to operations carried out by metaphors. These operations are regarded cognitive and can be structural, orientational or ontological. The nature of metaphor is about knowledge and image is the base of metaphor. Level of Generic is about the number of properties in concepts' definition. The higher the number of properties gets, the level of specificity rises.

1.3. CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY

As stated earlier, Lakoff & Johnson (1980) introduced the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). Different resources may handle the theory with different names as the theory has evolved in some aspects. The CMT can be seen as The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor (Littlemore & Taylor, 2015) and sometimes as the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor.

According to the theory, metaphors are not only linguistic concern but they are primarily cognitive structures. Metaphors enable people to convert abstract notions into concrete entities. While doing so, metaphors give signals about human understanding, reasoning, and expression. In other words, cultural, physical and social experiences are embedded in words. It is a startling fact that people employ metaphors automatically and the conversation flows without noticing the metaphors' existence, which is regarded as evidence that mindset and metaphor construction are bound (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). Thus, metaphors constitute data to reveal the mysteries of human cognition.

The CMT is a reaction against the view that metaphor is a figure of speech belonging to written or ornamental language. Such a view excludes metaphor and its study from cognitive linguistics as well as from any mind-related research areas. On the contrary, Lakoff & Johnson (1980) state that most of human cognition is metaphorical in nature since metaphors are shaped through bodily experiences and culture. The CMT is influenced by the experientialist approach. Lakoff (1980) uses 'experiential gestalts' term for physical experiences. For example, AFFECTIONATE IS WARM is a metaphor which connects the emotional sense of being affectionate and a thermal condition. Being held warm is embedded with being loved in the human brain since infancy where a baby is

cared by her parents. That is, hugging or other love displaying methods including touching, raises body temperature and these concepts are co-activated by no surprise. Evidently, the encounter and digestion of these notions overlap in such a case. Different scholars use distinct terminology. Lakoff's 'experiential gestalt' becomes 'conflation of physical and emotional world' in Johnson's words (1999). Jindo (2009) points to the same phenomenon using the term 'conceptually integrated configuration'. Even though terminology changes, these terms are used to denote the idea that the human experience is exploited unconsciously for comprehension of less tangible domains. The metaphor, portrayed in Johnson & Lakoff's ideas, is known as the cognitive linguistic view of metaphor.

1.3.1. Metaphor Systems

The abundance of metaphors in any language leads linguists to search for a way to categorize or classify the metaphors. In fact, the aim is to make systematic groups and conduct research accordingly. With respect to Lakoff & Turner (1989), two major metaphor systems exist: The Great Chain System and the Event Structure System. Both of the systems are highly related to grammatical categories. Nouns and verbs are distinct grammatical categories acknowledged as language universals. According to cognitive linguists, grammatical categories represent the perception of the environment. Things and relations are the basic entities used for nouns and verbs, respectively. Things are stable in space and time (*e.g., apple, cat, etc.*), whereas relations are connections among entities (*e.g., run, at, and, etc.*). Being aware of this division is helpful to understand the two metaphor systems. Nonetheless, it should be noted that these two systems are not strictly separated. Overlaps may appear within the concepts as in *relationship* or *career* creating a rather blurred line between two groups.

1.3.1.1. The Great Chain System

Objects and things surrounding people are the subjects of the Great Chain System. Based on the cognitive linguistic view, things should have stable conditions over time or space such as *bird, human, flower* (Kövecses, 2002). In other words, nouns are the components of the Great Chain System.

Although the Great Chain System and Great Chain of Being Theory have similar names, each notion's reference and function are different in several aspects. The Great Chain

of Being Theory (Lakoff & Turner, 1989) is based on a hierarchy among the concepts which is called the Great Chain of Being. The hierarchy is presented below:

Table 2. The hierarchy list based on the Great Chain of Being Theory (Lakoff & Turner, 1989).

HUMANS: higher-order attributes and behavior (e.g., thought, character)
 ANIMALS: instinctual attributes and behavior
 PLANTS: biological attributes and behavior
 COMPLEX OBJECTS: structural attributes and functional behavior
 NATURAL PHYSICAL THINGS: natural physical attributes and natural physical behavior.

The classification in Table 2 can be traced back to the Biblical sources. In this chain, many overlaps are observed even for the most distinct cultures. Thus, it is thought that the hierarchy is cross-culturally accepted and valid. Moreover, it is assumed that the hierarchy is at the core of metaphor production and understanding process. Likewise, in comprehension or expression, the human mind utilizes one specific level of concepts by replacing it with the others.

The Great Chain of Being Theory, in Lakoff & Turner's (1989) terms, does not function just for a metaphor but is also a functional common sense theory. In the book, the theory is suggested for linguistic inquiries on proverbs. Below, four basic components of the theory are given related to the theory:

- 1- The Great Chain of Being,
- 2- The common-sense theory of nature of things,
- 3- The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor,
- 4- The maxim of quantity

Below, each of these components is explained:

1.3.1.1.1. The Great Chain of Being

As it is previously handled in Table 2, every entity has its own features with a specific position on a vertical scale. In some resources, the scale may be given even broader than the list given above. For example, some scholars (Krzyszowski, 1997) include God

or spiritual entities above human beings. In the list, all lower-level attributes assigned to lower entities are a part of the higher-level entities as well. However, not all higher levels' properties have correspondence at the lower-level entities. At any stage of the hierarchy, the highest property belonging to that specific level is the decision-maker on naming since the highest property does not exist at the lower levels (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). For instance, animals are instinctual creatures and behave accordingly. This feature is a determiner for animals as plants or inanimate items do not share instinctual behavior. Determining features are also called generic-level schematization.

In proverbs, there are plenty of mappings performed across the levels. There are no rules defined on the directions of mappings. In fact, mappings can occur both upwards and downwards the scale. Even more, there can be multiple levels descended or ascended at a stroke (Lakoff & Turner, 1989).

1.3.1.1.2. The Common Sense Theory of Nature of Things

The name of the theory is self-explanatory. Each entity has predictable behaviors; that is, some actions and attributes are denoted to their sense by nature. For instance, liquids take the shape of their container and the knowledge of it is overt to anyone acknowledged by every person. Thus, in an automatic, unconscious and instinctive way, the human mind can detect the target concept coherent with the source, and the common sense theory is exemplified to address animals' instinctual attributes, resulting in instinctive behavior (Lakoff & Turner, 1989).

1.3.1.1.3. The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC Metaphor

The GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor is a generic-level metaphor as clarified in section 1.2.5. Levels of Metaphors. Despite indicating specific-level schema on the surface, proverbs are understood in relation to human faculties, ideas and emotions (Honeck & Temple, 1994). Lakoff & Turner (1989) handle the proverbs through such mapping. With this respect, 'Blind blames the ditch' proverb is deeply analyzed in their book *More than Cool Reason* (1989). From their perspective, it could be a real fact that the blind can actually blame the ditch when he mistakenly falls into one. Nonetheless, the proverb would have a very specific and narrow meaning if it just meant as above. In fact, it is justified that the concept BLIND does not connote to blind people; instead, it connotes to people with incapacities in general. Likewise, DITCH could be any circumstance that

resulted in a bad way. Depending on the situation, the image schemas belonging to BLIND and DITCH may differ but the hearers will comprehend what they refer to. As it is noticed, a specific term is used to refer to a more general sense. The proverb and its meaning fairly present the metaphor GENERIC IS SPECIFIC. It is possible to analyze proverbs in various languages through this perspective and analysis of proverbs is essential for linguistics and cognitive studies since they deliver succinct information full of cultural and social heritage.

1.3.1.1.4. The Maxim of Quantity

Grice's Maxims are well-known communicative principles in the linguistic world. Within the framework of The Great Chain of Being Theory, the maxim of quantity gains importance. In fact, the maxim of quantity is regarded as one of the main principles. Being as informative as required not less and more importantly for the case of proverbs not more is critical. With regard to the Great Chain Hierarchy, each upper-level class involves lower class properties plus additional properties of its level. If the speaker unnecessarily adopts higher level entities to communicate, s/he gives much redundant information about the lower class items deliberately or accidentally, which can cause problems during communication. The existence and effective use of this maxim make it more convenient for the pragmatic flow of the conversation (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). In a well-performed communication, it is assumed that the interlocutors do not violate the maxim of quantity, which is possible only by giving the most relevant and determining features of the entities but nothing more.

Some may argue that in proverbs, there are particular utterances irrelevant to the speech. The specificity is only on the surface. As the interlocutors continuously assume that the communicator does not violate the maxim of quantity, they directly put the proverb into the right shoes. Eventually, they obtain the right amount of information from each other (Honeck & Temple, 1994).

1.3.1.2. The Event Structure System

Events and relations are vital for the Event Structure System. Based on the cognitive view, events are regarded as changes, states and causes. Namely, grammatical categories such as adjectives, prepositions, conjunctions and verbs belong to the Event Structure System (Kövecses, 2002).

1.3.2. Theory of Conflation

Although it is not a metaphor theory but an acquisition one, Christopher Johnson's Theory of Conflation (1999) has connections about Grady's claims regarding primary metaphor and complex metaphors. His term "undifferentiated experience" is used for the linguistic expression and worldly experience occurring at the same time leading to neural binding between the two (Pfeifer & Holenstein, 2002). Such an overlap of two instances is regarded as 'conflation' within the framework of this theory. The theory of conflation mostly is to rationalize the existence of primary metaphors. Before a primary metaphor becomes a metaphor, it goes through a conflation stage where the source and target domains are activated simultaneously since two concepts occur at the same time. Even though these concepts may be confronted in distinct times afterwards, their co-occurrence in the past is a permanent input. To give an example, *knowing* and *seeing* concepts are used interchangeably in various contexts as in infancy people mostly retrieve information about the world by seeing the world (Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez-Hernández, 2011). Another similar example is provided by Johnson (1999) proving that historical meaning changes through metaphor. The synonymous words such as *comprehend*, *understand* and *grasp* are analyzed in detail. When inquiries on *comprehend*'s etymological history are carried out, it is noticed that it has a Latin origin *comprehendere* meaning 'seize' in English. Likewise, *grasp* primarily denotes 'to handle' or 'to hold'. In such cases, the relationship between source and target domain is completely conventionalized. In other words, the conflation is so common in the language that the existence of any metaphor becomes hard to notice.

1.4. PROVERBS

On the basis of this study, proverbs are deeply inquired, especially those which include plant-themed metaphors. In 1850, Russell provided a definition highlighting the essence of a proverb and highly recognized today "A proverb is the wit of one, and the wisdom of many" (Russell, 1850). What has been said is a very effective way of describing a proverb.

Without a doubt, it is significant to posit a reliable definition of a proverb. Dozens of definitions provided by different scholars exist and they bear minor changes in wording. It is observed that all of them persistently point out that proverbs are fixed sentential expressions. Moreover, proverbs have conventionalized understandings generally about

well-known truths, community rules and ethics (Lemghari, 2017). Proverbs are also viewed as didactic (Norrick, 2015). Likewise, a proverb is defined as a short sentence usually known by many people, stating something commonly experienced or giving advice in Cambridge Online Dictionary. According to Naciscione (2010), proverbs are word combinations in sentence form, which are steady and well-matched with a fully or partially figurative meaning.

Mieder (1985) came up with an interesting way of defining a proverb. His definition is inclusive and self-explanatory. As proverbs were used actively by people, he assumed that they had knowledge of what a proverb is. He asked 55 people to define a proverb. Then, he compiled the responses and took their frequency. After that, he analyzed the result and provided the definition below:

A proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorizable form and which is handed down from generation to generation.

(Mieder, 1985: 119)

Although, as it has been clarified by Mieder's work (1985) that proverbs are composed of wisdom and truths of the society, there can be contradictions among proverbs (Norrick, 2015), which is another topic to be handled by academicians. To give an example for the case in Turkish, the proverbs are given below:

(16) *İti an; çomağı hazırla.*

Literal meaning: Speak about the dog, prepare the stick.

Metaphorical meaning: Talk about the devil, he is sure to appear.

(Albayrak, 2006: 572)

(17) *İyi insan lafın üstüne gelir.*

Literal meaning: A good person comes in right after his name is said.

(Albayrak, 2006: 576)

(16) apparently indicates a negative thought about the person being talked about. The metaphor is created with the concept of DOG by highlighting its negative image in the minds. On the other hand, Example (17) does not have a metaphorical meaning. It is used directly with no metaphor intervention. (17) emphasizes the positive feeling about the person of the conversation. (16) and (17) are given to prove that proverbs may indicate disagreement among themselves.

Proverbs are explicitly metaphorical most of the time. In other words, proverbs generally do not match with the immediate surroundings. For instance,

(18) *Don't cry over the spilt milk.*

(Gibbs & Beitel, 1995: 137)

Example (18) is not used for the actual milk or the verb cry does not stand for the real action. The proverb has its context which changes each and every case (Gibbs & Beitel, 1995). Gibbs & Beitel (1995) point out that the process of comprehending proverbs is a sign of the existence of metaphorical schemes which are ready to operate in everyday thought.

Proverbs are essential sources for linguistic studies since their productions result from people's lifestyles, ideologies, moral values, and social realities (Phuong, 2016). The study of proverbs is named paremiology which has been getting more critical and attractive recently. For instance, the University of Vermont hosts Mieder's international proverb archive, which involves around 10.000 academic research papers on proverbs in addition to about 4.000 proverb collections from many languages (Mieder, 2009, as cited in Naciscione, 2011). Proverbs bear significance for cognitive studies as they enable researchers to find out culturally standardized metaphor- concept matching. Social experiences, public opinion, and their interpretation are embedded in proverbs.

The cognitive view of proverbs leads the researchers to concentrate their studies more on the human mind operations in proverb production, the mental representations, the process of understanding proverbs, proverbs categorization ways of events and pragmatic contributions of proverbs (Honeck, 1997). Researchers view proverbs as small texts that are whole and complete within themselves. In other words, they are regarded as economically alternative ways of mental operations (Sameer, 2016). Scholars describe proverbs in relation to other proverbs within their cultural context. Proverbs are seen as a part of folklore because of two main reasons. First, they are anonymous. Second, they are not acquired via literacy but cultural contact (Norricks, 2015).

1.4.1. Variations in Proverbs

Variation in proverbs is another point to be clarified for the present study. As in most of the folk products, proverbs are exposed to variation. Although the structural form never or rarely changes, lexical and morphological changes are often noticed (Hinson & Ferris,

2009). These transformations are named variations. Fixedness, being one of the core features of proverbs, restricts the changes to be too much. Speakers of a common language can recognize variations and interpret them in a proper way (Norricks, 2014).

Proverb variations occur in multiple ways. To list some, changing only one word; replacing two or more words; substitution of the ending, addition of literal interpretations; repetition of words; mixing two proverbs, playing with the word-order; etc. (Litovkina, 2014).

1.4.2. Previous Studies on Turkish Proverbs

The prominence of studying proverbs can be observed when the Turkish National Thesis Center is investigated. At Turkish universities, proverbs have been studied in 932 research from different aspects such as sociology, psychology, linguistics or theology.

There are numerous master's studies handling proverbs in terms of education and training (Can, 2011; Akyıldız, 2019; Erdoğan, 2019; Sezen, 2020). Some articles focus on education for Turkish children (Furtun, 2017). Plenty of articles on education of Turkish as a foreign language are also available (Temizyürek, 2018; Göçen, Karabulut, Yıldız Memiş, & Darama, 2020).

Many studies on Turkish proverbs are devoted to gender issues (Aşan & Demir, 2015; Çer & Şahin, 2016; Berk Yılmaz, 2019; Yalçın, 2019; Apay, 2020).

There are also comparative studies on proverbs. Azerbaijani (Usubova, 2017; Soysal, 2019), Russian (Erdoğan, 2019; Kardova, 2019), Korean (Lee, 2017), Indian (Nazar, 2018), Persian (Pourhossein, 2016), German (Çelik, 2018), Japanese (Has, 2019) and Uzbek (Eyüpoğlu, 2017) are among some of the languages that have been compared with Turkish. Additionally, there are other studies on proverbs in Turkish and other languages such as Turkmen (Karaca, 2017), Arabic (Uysal, 2020) and Kirghiz (Gül, 2020).

Most of these studies concentrate on one concept. For instance, the following single concepts have been analysed: body (İlhan, 2007; Gürel & Tat, 2019), entrepreneurship (Esen & Yılmaz, 2011), music (Erdoğan, 2015), camel (Kesik, 2018), travel (Bekir, 2018), dog (Erdoğan, 2020), comprehension (Şahan, 2020) and power (Aslan & Uyar, 2020).

The studies by Ağış (2007), Pourhossein (2016) and Ebrahimi (2018) are PhD dissertations that analysed proverbs and conceptual metaphors. In these studies,

proverbs are regarded as useful tools for cognitive studies as they deliver immense information about the culture.

1.5. PLANT METAPHOR

This section contains some examples of plant metaphors and previous academic works on plant metaphors from a cognitive linguistic point of view. In other words, this section is dedicated to the deep inquiry of source domains related to plant semantic frame concepts. One of the reasons for such in-depth analysis is to provide a proper list for the findings and discussion chapter of the study.

Although plant world is one of the source domains that can provide plenty of metaphorical expressions for the sake of cognitive studies, when it is searched through databases, it is seen that most of the studies regarding plant metaphors focus on religious works. Moreover, early metaphor studies regarding plant metaphors are connected to symbolism, figure of speech and the literary world which are barely connected to cognitive linguistics point of view. In addition to the facts mentioned above, it is a notable matter that there are no large scale studies on plant-themed metaphors in English. Considering that the English language is highly studied and a source for many contrastive studies, this study may exemplify one for many researchers on monolingual metaphor studies.

Plants and related concepts have been grasping people's attention since ancient times. People's necessity of eating and using plants affect language and their metaphorical senses in many ways (Depner & Yuan-Ling, 2004). Besides, plants construct compelling and vital images in the human mind; therefore, the inclusion of plant-related concepts in metaphorical mappings is inevitable. Every language depending on territorial and cultural properties has different plant-themed metaphors. Moreover, the same concepts may possess different senses. For instance, MELON in Mandarin Chinese signifies maturity, woman, being shared, circular shape, sweet taste while in English it is only associated with size and shape. (Depner, 2009). Among many inspirational properties of plants that are regarded to be a source for conceptual metaphors those can be listed: smell, physical features of plants, parts of plants, growing characteristics, use of plants, religious references, etc.

The PLANTS ARE COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS metaphor can be seen as one of the most encountered plant metaphors. The target referred by PLANTS is ranged from social organizations to economic systems (Kövecses, 2002).

(19) *Intergovernmental tax immunity prevented taxation on a branch of the Bank of the United States, 13 federal securities, 14 U.S. banknotes, 15 U.S. certificates of indebtedness, 16 investments in federal securities, 17 and the income of federal employees [COCA].*

(20) *In a time of tension with law enforcement, she said, Howard County has grown into "one of the most supportive communities [COCA].*

As in (19) and (20), concepts connected to PLANT source domain are used apart from its original semantic area. In (19), BRANCH is a part of a bank. In (20), *grown* is an action performed by a community. Similar examples exist in Turkish, too.

The screenshot shows the website of Marmara University's Faculty of Sciences. The main heading is 'Anabilim Dalları ve Programlar'. The text below the heading discusses the university's programs and departments, with several terms highlighted in red boxes: 'Anabilim Dalları', 'Anabilim Dallarında', 'Anabilim Dalı', and 'Anabilim Dallarında'. The page also includes a section for 'TEMEL BİLİMLER' and a list of faculty members.

Figure 6. 'Branch' as in the PLANTS ARE COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS metaphor (Marmara University, 2020)

In Figure 6, the chunks marked with rectangular frames are translated into English as 'department' although the word 'dal' refers to the branch in its basic sense. With this example, it is proved that the conceptual metaphor PLANTS ARE COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS persists in Turkish. There are many entailments of PLANTS ARE COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS metaphor. Entailments refer to constituent metaphors. Related constituent metaphors build up the system required for the conceptual metaphor theory. For instance, PARTS OF PLANTS FROM WHICH OTHER PARTS GROW ARE ORIGINS OR CAUSES LEADING TO EFFECTS and THE FRUITS

OR THE CROP OF A PLANT ARE THE BENEFICIAL CONSEQUENCES OF A PROCESS metaphors are only two entailments among many belonging to PLANTS ARE COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS (Kövecses, 2002).

The PARTS OF PLANTS FROM WHICH OTHER PARTS GROW ARE ORIGINS OR CAUSES LEADING TO EFFECTS is another metaphor that often occurs in everyday conversations.

(21) *There's so much going on in the hospital that nobody really has the time to sit there and really dig deep into the root of the problem [COCA].*

(22) *As we also explained above, the justification for legal intervention with the parties' agreement should stem from obstacles to renegotiation and promote ex-post efficiency during financial distress [COCA].*

(21) and (22) function as evidence that plants are useful tools for understanding or expressing the cause and effect relationship.

(23) *Sadede geelim ve sorunun kökünü görelim artık (Koru, 2020).*

LM: Let's get down to business and see the root of the problem.

In example (23), the translation of the word root makes perfect sense as the usage of the metaphors resembles in both languages.

THE FRUITS OR THE CROP OF A PLANT ARE THE BENEFICIAL CONSEQUENCES OF A PROCESS is another conceptual metaphor that is often faced (Kövecses, 2002).

(24) *Lee believes when a kid takes responsibility he cultivates a sense of honor that bears more fruit [COCA].*

(25) *Small businesses reap benefits of Halloween buying [COCA].*

The metaphor being self-explanatory is widely adopted in ordinary language. Examples like (24) and (25) are pervasive and abundant in daily usage. In (24), it is observed that honor is cultivated, although it is not a crop. Moreover, the result is expressed with the concept of fruit. (25) shows that actions related to agriculture such as reaping can be associated with the benefits of work.

Table 3 presents the target domains of plant metaphors found in Vietnamese by Phuong (2012).

Table 3. Outline of plant metaphor domain of Vietnamese plant metaphors (Phuong, 2012)

Source domain	Target domain	
PLANTS	1. Human beings	Biological human beings
		Social human beings
		Mental and sentimental human beings
	2. Space (physical and psychological space)	
	3. Time (physical and psychological time)	
	4. Science	
	5. Abstract concepts of mental and social life	
	6. Decorative nature	
	7. Military	
	8. Things	

In Table 3, the source and target domains of Vietnamese plant metaphors are given. Here Phuong (2012) lists all the target concepts found in plant metaphors such as space, time, science and military etc.

Table 4 below lists the source domains related to the botanical world and their targets.

Table 4. Common Set of Metaphorical correspondences of A PLANT IS A HUMAN BEING metaphor (Filipczuk-Rozinska, 2016)

SOURCE DOMAIN	TARGET DOMAIN
PLANTS	HUMAN BEINGS
vegetation	life
planting	inseminating
growing	developing
sick plant	sick person
withering	ageing, dying
fertilising	stimulating development
ripening	maturing
roots	human being's background
destroying a plant	disposing of human beings

In Table 4, the primary metaphor is A PLANT IS A HUMAN BEING which was found in Polish. These statements indicate that plants refer to different target concepts in distinct languages.

One of the most prestigious and respected sources according to Kövecses (2007) available on plant metaphors is Deignan's *Collins Cobuild English Guides 7: Metaphor* (1995). In this work, plant metaphors are classified into seven categories as *plants, parts of plants, flowers, fruit, cultivating plants, growth* and *unhealthy plants*. The book was built upon an enormous corpus based on daily English which is the bank of English.

During the investigation of the conceptual metaphor studies conducted about botanical entities, it is seen that most of the accessible previous works in English on this topic are contrastive studies. Vietnamese (Phuong, 2012), Mandarin Chinese (Depner & Yuan-Ling, 2004), Polish (Filipczuk-Rosińska, 2016), Lionese (Sugishima, 1994) are among the languages subjected to contrastive study on plant-related conceptual metaphor theory.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

This chapter lays out the methodology used in the study. The materials, data collection and analysis methods are presented thoroughly in separate sections.

2.1. SAMPLE

The study is evolved around source-domain-orientation in order to obtain a list of data in the primary stage. In source-domain oriented research studies, the investigator selects a concrete entity, then search for its metaphorical uses. In this study, concepts of the plant world are chosen. On the other hand, the researchers of target-domain-oriented studies handle the abstract concept first, then collect related source-domain concepts that conceptualize them (Simo, 2011). For example, a researcher may only focus on FEAR metaphors and try to investigate the source concepts associated with them.

After going through Turkish proverb dictionaries (Kocaoluk, 1983; Çotuksöken, 2005; Akyalçın, 2012; Saraçbaşı & Minnetoğlu, 2017; Pala, 2018) two of the paremiographic collections were selected considering their scholarly background: *Türkiye Türkçesinde Atasözleri* (Albayrak, 2009) and *Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü 1* (Aksoy, 1988)

The number of proverbs and that of the plant-themed proverbs found in these sources are given in Table 5 below:

Table 5. The number of total proverbs and plant-themed proverbs

	Proverbs	Plant-themed proverbs
<i>Türkiye Türkçesinde Atasözleri</i> (Albayrak, 2009)	18.838	2.298
<i>Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü 1</i> (Aksoy, 1988)	2.667	617

As shown in Table 5, there are 18.838 proverbs in Albayrak's work (2009) and 617 proverbs in Aksoy's work (1988). The number of plant metaphors in the first source is found to be 2.298. It is 617 in the second source.

2.2. DATA COLLECTION

Before starting to collect data, a list of plant-themed concepts was written down obtained by the index section of Albayrak's dictionary for plant-themed concepts.

The concepts that are connected with the plant world indirectly and even with mental force, for example *odun* "wood" or *değnek* "shillelagh", were not included in the study. On the other hand, the places where plants are cultivated and grown were included as these concepts have a wide range of diversity in Turkish such as *bağ* "garden of vineyards", *bahçe* "garden", *tarla* "field", *ekenek* "cropland", etc. Moreover, their frequency of appearance in Turkish proverbs was also regarded as salient.

Albayrak's work (2009) was only available as a hard copy. Hence, the selecting procedure had to be performed manually. All the plant-themed concepts available in the index part were noted with their numbers. Then, numbers were traced throughout the dictionary so that proverbs with plant-themed metaphors could be listed. After that, a similar method was applied in Aksoy's dictionary (1988). The second book was found in PDF form. Thanks to this facility, each concept on the previous list was searched through the computer.

During the selection of the source-concepts, one of the criteria was including nouns but not verbs. The reason for this kind of elimination was the Metaphor System chosen for this study. The study was designed according to the Great Chain System, in which researchers narrow down their data to nouns so that they can work in an organized way (Kövecses, 2002).

Albayrak (2009) included some proverbs that contain local words. These less recognized words were defined at the end of the source. This property is significant for the research as one of the aims was to list plant-themed concepts in Turkish proverbs. For example, *acımık* refers to euphorbia.

(26) *Acımıktan acımık, çöğürçükten çöğürçük.*

Literal Meaning: From cousinia a cousinia, from buffalo to buffalo.

Metaphorical Meaning: Everybody takes after from his ancestors.

(Albayrak, 2009: 88)

As in (26), some concepts were relatively new for the researcher. Thus, there could never be a conceptual mapping regarding such cases. These proverbs could only be understood via inferences. Considering the fact that in order to conduct a cognitive study,

the human mind needed to possess a mapping about the proverb. Hence, the research had to include and be around the proverbs that are recognized by the layman. With this fact in mind, most seen five concepts in proverbs were identified. Then twenty proverbs that are commonly known by ordinary people were chosen regarding four considerations. First, availability in both of the primary sources of the present study was significant. Second, according to the definition of the proverb by Mieder (2004), being in the form of a statement was essential. Therefore, the instances appeared with dialogue or a question were excluded. To be exact on this criterion, observe the example below:

(27) *Koz ağacı olur da kovuğu olmaz mı?*

Literal Meaning: If there were a walnut tree, wouldn't there be a burrow of it?

(Albayrak, 2009: 660)

Although (27) and similar formations of proverbs were listed as proverbs by Albayrak in his collection, they were not taken into consideration in the metaphor examination part of the study.

Below, the procedure adopted for the identification of the metaphors is introduced. The method is named as Metaphor Identification Procedure by Pragglejaz Group (2007).

1. Read the text and try to have a general understanding.
2. List the lexical units of the text.
3. (a) Lexical units will be examined one by one. For this study, only one lexical unit will be closely investigated. Look at meaning in context.
(b) Decide if the related lexical item is used in basic meaning or not. Basic meanings are more concrete, more precise and generally historically older.
(c) Lexical unit may have a more basic and contrasting meaning than the one available in the context. Determine if the contextual meaning makes sense compared to the basic meaning.
4. If yes, mark metaphorical the lexical unit at hand.

The first step requires grasping the context. In the second step, each lexical unit is identified. In the third step, lexical units are investigated whether they are used in their basic meaning or not. Basic meaning stands for more perceptual and older senses of a concept. If a concept is not directly used with its basic meaning and it can be somehow related to the basic meaning through the context, then it can be marked as a metaphor.

Identification of the existence of the metaphor was not sufficient for the flow of the study but it was an essential step to choose proverbs as there were proverbs with literal meaning. This method is a must since the proverbs are not only composed of metaphors

as in (28). Their meaning can be supported by other devices such as simile and metonymy. In (28), there is a direct meaning. Hence, in order to detect metaphors, a well- designed system has to be adopted while choosing proverbs for metaphoric study.

(28) *Yaş ağaca balta vuran el unmaz.*

Literal Meaning: The hand which chops a sappy with an axe would never be happy.

(Albayrak, 2009: 876)

(29) *Amelsiz âlim yemişsiz ağaç gibidir.*

Literal Meaning: An actionless scholar is like a fruitless tree.

(Albayrak, 2009: 153)

In (29), the connection between ACTIONLESS SCHOLAR and FRUITLESS TREE is directly given in the context. Herein, the use of *like* in the mapping converts it into a simile.

Moreover, in most of the definitions of the term proverb, it is seen that the words fixed and stable are used to depict the notion. However, it should draw the attention of scholars that proverbs have variations (Norricks, 2015). Therefore, special attention is paid to variations during the proverb collection period. In fact, both of the dictionary compilers whose works are handled in the present thesis handle variations as distinct proverbs. As in the example below, four variations are available in the same source as different entries.

(30) a. *Ağaca çıkan keçinin dama çıkan oğlağı olur*

Literal meaning: A goat climbing to a tree has a yeanling climbing to a roof.

b. *Ağaca çıkan keçinin minareye çıkan oğlağı olur*

Literal meaning: A goat climbing to a tree has a yeanling climbing to a minaret.

c. *Ağaca çıkan keçinin dala bakan oğlağı olur*

Literal meaning: A goat climbing to a tree has a yeanling staring at a branch.

(Albayrak, 2009: 106)

d. *Taşa çıkan keçinin dala bakan oğlağı olur*

Literal meaning: A goat climbing to a tree has a yeanling staring at a branch.

(Aksoy, 1988: 200)

Example in (30) is only one example extracted from many instances. In this study, variations were regarded as types of one proverb. Additionally, they were taken into

consideration while evaluating the conceptual values of the proverb at hand just in case of the researcher's or rater's deficiency to put the proverb in a proper context.

2.3. PROCEDURE

In order to find target domains in connection with each source domain the following questions were asked about the metaphors handled. What is understood in terms of what? In other words, which source domain is conceptualized through which target domain? The responses of these questions enable to detect the target domains embedded in the proverbs. For example, *Ağaç yaşken eğilir*. "A twig is a bent while it is green". the domain of HUMAN was conceptualized in terms of TREE generating the TREE IS HUMAN metaphor. These source domain and target domain information obtained through the question technique were placed in tables in order to display in a more organized way.

2.3.1. Table Construction

The proverbs containing the AĞAÇ (TREE), BAĞ (VINEYARD), GÜL (ROSE), HARMAN (THRESHING) and OT (WEED) metaphors are chosen. The existence of metaphors was determined based on Metaphor Identification Procedure by Pragglejaz Group (2007).

1. Read the text and try to have a general understanding.
2. List the lexical units of the text.
3. (a) Lexical units will be examined one by one. For this study, only one lexical unit will be closely investigated. Look at meaning in context.
(b) Decide if the related lexical item is used in basic meaning or not. Basic meanings are more concrete, more precise and generally historically older.
(c) Lexical unit may have a more basic and contrasting meaning than the one available in the context. Determine if the contextual meaning makes sense compared to the basic meaning.
4. If yes, mark metaphorical the lexical unit at hand.

In the first requirement, context has to be understood. As a second to do, lexical units stated above AĞAÇ (TREE), BAĞ (VINEYARD), GÜL (ROSE), HARMAN (THRESHING) and OT (WEED) are investigated if they are in their basic sense or not. Basic meaning refers to more tangible and etimologically older meanings. In the case of basic meaning is not in use, but the concept still has some connections with its basic meaning, then it can be coded as a metaphor.

After deciding on the list of proverbs to be used for further analysis, each metaphoric concept was searched online through the official website of the Turkish language institution, www.tdk.gov.tr, for their contemporary and basic meanings. Then, the researcher provided the literal (LM) and metaphorical meanings (MM) of the proverbs. In order to check the accuracy of translations, they were checked by advanced English speakers of Turkish. These translations were presented in a table of four columns. First, the proverb is written down. Second, LM and MM were given one under the other. Third, target domains were written down and in the last section, attributes were included. Below, a sample table for cognitive analysis is provided:

Table 6. Sample Table of the Cognitive Analysis of Turkish Proverbs

Proverb	Meaning	Target Domain	Attribute
Üzüm üzümüne baka baka kararır.	LM: Grapes become black upon seeing one another. MM: Bad society corrupts a decent man.	HUMAN	-

In Table 6 an example of the analysis table is demonstrated. As it is seen, proverbs are given with their literal and metaphorical translations in the meaning column. In the target domain column, abstract notions and underlying experiences behind the source domain is presented. Lastly, in the attribute column, the state of the target concept in the proverb is marked as neutral (0), negative (-) or positive (+).

2.3.2. Inter-rater Reliability

Inter-rater was chosen based on the following criteria. First, his native language had to be Turkish. Second, as the study focused on the cultural understanding of the proverb metaphor, he was better to be a layman with poor knowledge of the area. At the beginning of his responding process, the researcher's target concept list was given to the inter-rater. Then, he was asked to match these concepts with the proverbs listed after reading the proverbs and their variations. Then, he had to mark each target domain as negative (-), positive (+) or neutral (0) according to their senses in his mind.

The answers provided through the matching step were processed through Miles and Huberman's formula (1994) given below in order to calculate inter-rater reliability.

$$\text{Reliability} = \text{Agreement} / (\text{Agreement} + \text{Disagreement})$$

Based on Miles and Hubermann (1994), the rating should be agreed by the interraters by near or more than 90%.

For the next analysis, Cohen's Kappa Test (1960) was found suitable. The test is used to estimate of harmony between two observers (Kılıç, 2015). For the calculation, the formula below was used:

$$\kappa = \frac{\text{Pr (a)} - \text{Pr (e)}}{1 - \text{Pr (e)}}$$

Here, Pr (a) symbolizes the total of two observer agreement ratios, and Pr (e) is the possibility of the agreement's emergence by chance. Kappa test results range from 0 to 1.

Cohen's Kappa (1960) interprets the results as in Table 7.

Table 7. Values of agreement based on the Kappa test (Kılıç, 2015)

0	=	agreement equivalent to chance.
0.1	–	0.20 = slight agreement
0.21	–	0.40 = fair agreement
0.41	–	0.60 = moderate agreement
0.61	–	0.80 = substantial agreement
0.81	–	0.99 = near perfect agreement
1	=	perfect agreement

Table 7 demonstrates the interpretation values of Cohen's Kappa (1960) co-efficient test between the researcher and the interrater.

Positive, negative and neutral values were used to extract percentages between the two raters. A short statistical report was organized about the attributes. There are some instances where two raters' responses show inconsistency. In such cases, for the ultimate decision of target domain or attribute values, only the divergent responses were

directed to another interrater. The choices of the third person were accepted as the second agreed marking which constitutes the majority. To illustrate the target concepts and the attributes, the list of markings were compiled into tables.

2.4. DATA ANALYSIS

The data were analyzed by employing two perspectives: descriptive and cognitive. This way, it was possible to analyze the data both qualitatively and quantitatively.

With descriptive statistics, an analysis of number, type and frequency information about plant-themed proverbs were listed in a table. Descriptive statics were also used to build various graphics and charts that illustrate the raw data. On the other hand, a table was designed to illustrate the list compiled and the English correspondences of the concepts were included in the list. Throughout this period, online translation methods were benefited. The concepts were counted according to their categories to display the cultural salience upon these categories. In this section, possible cognitive aspects of the most salient five plant-themed metaphors were in the research study's focus.

For the cognitive analysis, the source domains, the most seen five plant-themed concepts, were mapped to possible target domains based on the researcher's cognitive conceptualization. After that, the target attributes were coded with their negative, positive or neutral states. In the next step, in order to test the reliability and accuracy of the cognitive analysis an inter-rater's responses were analyzed through Miles and Hubermann Formula (1994) and Cohen's Kappa (1960).

The co-efficiency test adopted for the target concept identification process was Miles and Hubermann Formula (1994) as this formula is placed in the last step of Miles-Hubermann Qualitative Data Analysis Model (1994). The model is demonstrated in Figure 7:

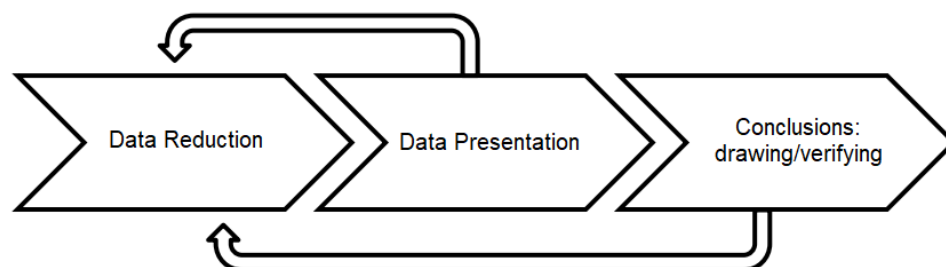


Figure 7. Miles and Hubermann Model (1994)

Figure 7 exhibits the qualitative data analysis model named Miles-Hubermann Model. In Miles and Hubermann Model (1994), the researcher collects the data which are difficult measure but intense and massive in size. The data are organized systematically and reduced by the researcher. The reduction process continues throughout the analysis process. This step includes grouping and conceptualizing the data. In this study, naming and labeling the concepts corresponds to data reduction part of the Miles and Hubermann Model (1994). For the next step, data presentation, the concepts identified should be sorted. If possible number of the concepts can be decreased by elimination so that the data are presented in a succinct way. Then, for the conclusion step, the labels are recoded by a different evaluator. After that, the responses are compared through Miles and Hubermann Formula (1994) so that the consistency of the codes can be revealed. This method is also adopted in the conceptual metaphor study of Saban et. al. (2006).

The co-efficiency test for the states of target concepts is Cohen's Kappa (1960). In Kappa, the interpretation relies heavily on the type of task and categories. It is suitable for qualitative research involving nominal coding. For this study, the codings are (0) for neutral, (+) for positive and (-) for negative states of the concepts. Additionally, when there are two annotators Cohen's Kappa is appropriate for use. It accounts for both disagreement and agreements in the data which is a more detailed way to demonstrate the responses compared to simpler percentage systems (Tavakoli, 2012).

CHAPTER 3

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The study is conducted to explore the concepts of the botanical world in Turkish culture as well as the most salient plant-themed concepts within the language. Moreover, the Turkish conceptualization of plant-related words is planned to be displayed. Hence, the following section will reveal the number, frequency, and source-target domain information based on the data collected.

3.1. DESCRIPTIVE FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION OF PLANT-THEMED CONCEPTS

Out of 21.505 proverbs presented in Albayrak's *Türkiye Türkçesinde Atasözleri* (2009) and Aksoy's *Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü* (1980) 2.298 proverbs include plant-themed nouns. This immense number reveals how salient plant-themed concepts are. Figure 8 shows the distribution of the plant-themed concepts in the sources:

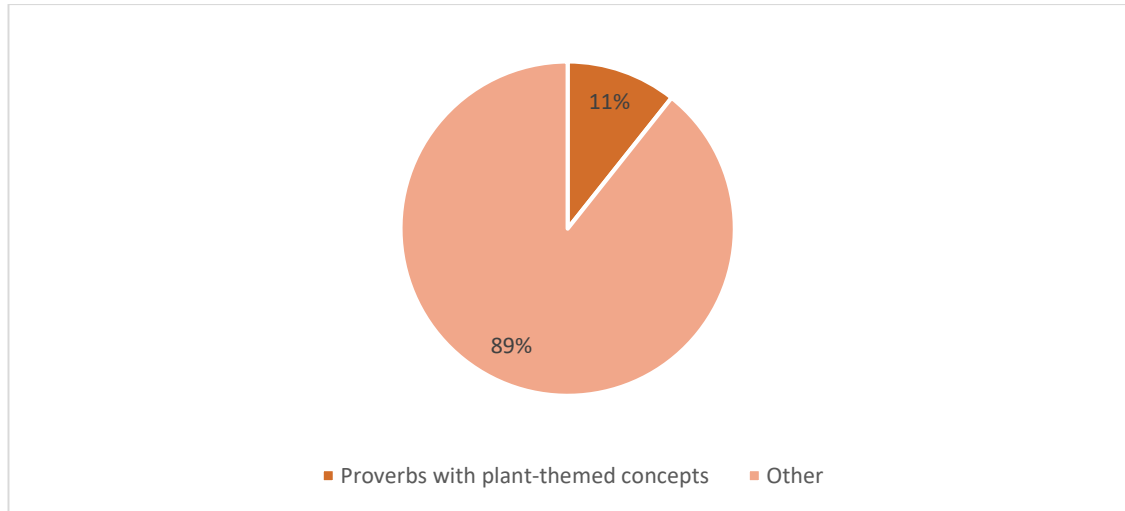


Figure 8. The percentage of proverbs with plant- themed concepts

As it can be observed in Figure 8, the rate of the plant-related concepts is 11%. In addition, there are 162 distinct plant-themed concepts used in these proverbs. If the plant-themed notions which are derived from one origin and closely related to each other, they are considered as one concept. To be more concrete, leaf, leafed or leafless are categorized under LEAF as an umbrella term. The names and translations of the plant-themed concepts found in Turkish proverbs are provided in Table 8:

Table 8. Plant-themed concepts in Turkish Proverbs

Concept	Translation	Concept	Translation	Concept	Translation
ağaç	tree	devetabanı	monstera	limon	lemon
abanoz	ebony	diken	thorn	mantar	mushroom
acımık	cousinia	dut	mulberry	marul	lettuce
acur	gherkin	ebegümeçi	hibiscus	maydonoz	parsley
ahlat	wild pear	ekenek	cropland	menekşe	violet
alma/elma	apple	ekin	crop	mercimek	lentil
anız	stubble	elma	apple	meşe	oak
ardıç	juniper	erik	plum	meyve	fruit
armut	pear	fasulye	bean	mısır	corn
arpa	barley	fesleğen	basil	murt	hambeles
asma	grapevine	fıstık	peanut	muşmula	medlar
asmakabağı	gourd	fidan	sapling	nar	pomegranate
aşlık	dried wheat	firik	pounded unripened wheat	narpuç	wild mint
ayrıkotu	couch grass	gilgil	corn grain	nergis	daffodil
ayva	quince	gonca	bud	nohut	chickpea
badem	almond	gül	rose	omça	tree of vineyard
bağ	vineyard	gülyağı	attar of roses	orman	forest
bakla	broad bean	haraba	fruit of unvaccinated tree	ot	herb
balkabağı	pumpkin	harman	threshing	otlak	pasture
banta	wild pear	harnup	carob	ödağacı	aloes-wood tree
bar	fruit	hıyar	cucumber	pamuk	cotton
bardacık	fig	hurma	date	pancar	beet
başak	wheat head	ihlamur	linden	patates	potato
bezir	linseed oil	ısırgan	nettle	patlıcan	eggplant
biber	pepper	incir	fig	pazı	chard
bostan	kitchen garden	kabak	pumpkin	pırasa	leek
böğürtlen	blackberry	kabuk	shell	pıtıracık	cocklebur
budak	snag	kahve	coffee	pirinç	rice
buğday	wheat	kamış	reed	reyhan	basil
ceviz	walnut	karabiber	black pepper	sakız	gum
çağala	green almond	karpuz	watermelon	salep	sahlep
çalı	bush	kavak	poplar	salkım	bunch
çam	pine	kavun	melon	saman	hay

çam sakızı	mastic	kayın	beech	samsak	garlic
çavdar	rye	kekik	thyme	saz	reed
çayır	meadow	kelek	unripe melon	sebze	vegetables
çeç	rick	kepek	bran	selvi	cypress
çekirdek	seed	kestane	chestnut	soğan	onion
çelem	russian turnip	keten	linseed	söğüt	willow
çelmik	mixed hay	kına	henna	sukabağı	gourd
çemiç	dried mulberry	kızılcık	cranberry	sumak	sumac
çınar	sycamore	kiraz	cherry	sümbül	hyacinth
çiçek	flower	koçan	stub	şalgam	turnip
çiğdem	crocus	koru	grove	taflan	euonymus
çim	grass	kovuk	cavity	tahıl	grain
çir	dried plum or apricot	koz	walnut	tere	cress
çitlembik	terebinth berry	kozalak	cone	tınaz	hayrick
çitmik	shorter branch of vineyard	kök	root	tohum	seed
çotuk	tree root	kuşburnu	rosehip	turp	radish
çötük	tree of vineyard	küspe	bagasse	tütün	tobacco
çükündür	red beet	kütük	timber	üzüm	grape
dal	branch	lahana	cabbage	yaprak	leaf
darı	millet	lale	tulip	yarpuz	pennyroyal
demet	bundle	lalezar	tulip garden	yasemin	jasmine

Table 8 exhibits that Turkish is rich in terms of plant-themed concepts. In order to interpret the list of concepts in terms of cultural salience, the number of occurrences in proverbs is observed.

In Table 9, the first twenty most frequent concepts and the occurrence quantity are provided.

Table 9. The number of plant-themed concepts in proverbs

Concept	Number of occurrence	CONCEPT	Number of occurrence
AĞAÇ	239	SOĞAN	49
BAĞ	118	ÇALI	46
GÜL	98	DARI	39
HARMAN	93	ÜZÜM	39
OT	91	MEYVE	38
ARPA	74	ELMA	38
ODUN	63	KÖK	35
SAMAN	57	ARMUT	34
BUĞDAY	57	YAPRAK	32

Table 9 gives detailed information on how many times the concepts occur in proverbs. Obviously, the most encountered concept is AĞAÇ (TREE). In their study, Karakuş & Keçe (2012) found out that trees are recognized as the mostly encountered plant concept that is available in Turkish proverbs. Their finding is once more proven with the results stated in Table 9. Then, BAĞ (VINEYARD), GÜL (ROSE), HARMAN (THRESHING) and OT (HERB) follow one another. The usage of high rates for a specific concept is a sign of the human mind's productivity with it. In other words, productivity is connected with salience and salience gives clues about daily life. Apparently and inevitably, people's lifestyle affects human language. In fact, as the study examines proverbs closely, it can be said that cultural experiences play an extensive role in shaping the language.

When the most frequent concepts are inquired in a deeper way, the effects of economical endeavours on the language can be seen in a much clearer way. Since ancient years, people in Anatolia deal with animal husbandry and agriculture. The vegetation is steppe in central regions. The climate and soil are suitable for BAĞ (VINEYARD), HARMAN (THRESHING), ARPA (BARLEY), SAMAN (STRAW) AND BUĞDAY (WHEAT). These concepts are overtly and directly related to agricultural life existing in the country. By the seashore, the climate is more welcoming to greener plants. AĞAÇ (TREE) and OT (WEED) are encountered in these regions (Akman & Ketenoğlu, 1986). In the following sections, the five concepts will be presented in a detailed manner with their cultural justifications for being salient in Turkish.

Below, Figure 9 exhibits the percentages of the most salient plant-themed concepts in Turkish proverbs.

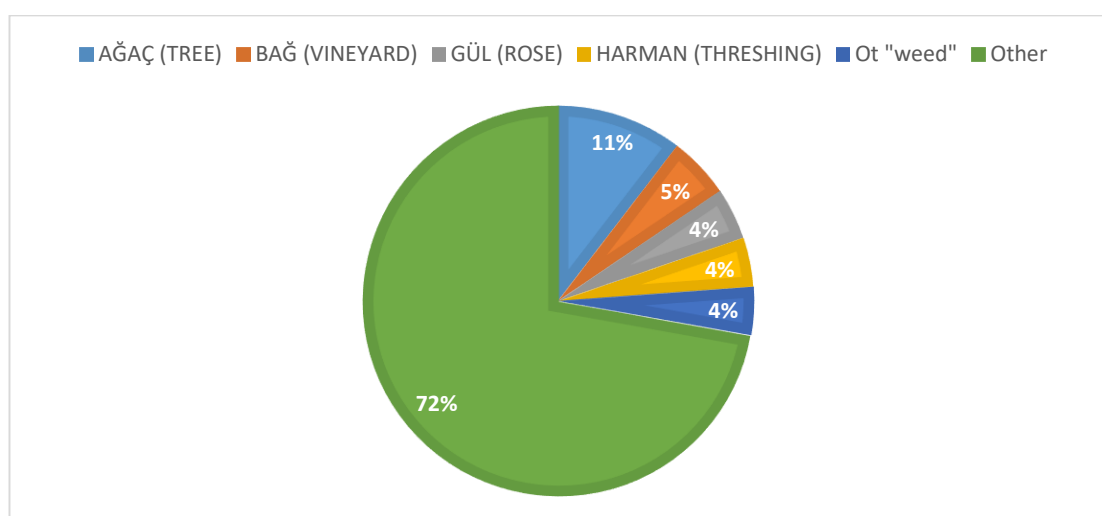


Figure 9. The most salient plant-themed concepts in Turkish Proverbs

Figure 9 demonstrates the portion of mostly seen concepts within all of the plant concepts. It can be said that compared to all of the botanical concepts, more than a quarter of the plant-themed proverbs are composed of the five most frequent concepts handled. The percentages of GÜL (ROSE), HARMAN (THRESHING) and OT (WEED) are equal. BAĞ (VINEYARD) is found more in quantity with only one percent difference. As stated before, AĞAÇ (TREE) is the most salient concept. BAĞ (VINEYARD), ROSE (GÜL), HARMAN (THRESHING) and OT (WEED) follow AĞAÇ (TREE) respectively. These concepts are regarded as essential components of the plant-themed conceptual world for Turkish speakers.

3.2. DESCRIPTIVE FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION ON THE CULTURAL MOTIVES FOR THE PLANT-THEMED METAPHORICAL USE

After extracting the information that the most salient five concepts are AĞAÇ (TREE), BAĞ (VINEYARD), GÜL (ROSE), HARMAN (THRESHING) and OT (WEED). Below concepts will be provided with information on the cultural sphere so that Turkish cultural cognition can be exhibited with various examples.

3.2.1. The Concept of AĞAÇ (TREE)

Out of 2.298 proverbs that include plant-themed concepts, 239 of them include the word tree. Only the word ağaç “tree” is counted within the data. The concept is at the core of religious, social and economic context in Turkish culture.

The concept AĞAÇ (TREE) evokes the notions of vitality, existence, and fertility in Turkish culture (Gürsoy, 2012; Işık, 2004; Arslan, 2014; Işık, 2019). Trees are viewed as holy entities from ancient times (Işık, 2004). In Anatolia, there are many superstitions evolving around trees. For instance, people, particularly the ones following the Alevi Bektashi tradition, tie a piece of cloth to trees and make a wish (Gürsoy, 2012; Duymaz & Şahin, 2008; Arslan, 2014). Trees are protectors, integrators, connectors and producers. Apparently, cultural beliefs assign a holy power to trees. In fact, according to Turkish myths, nine human race was created under and sheltered in the shadow of a tree with nine branches (Banarlı, 1976). Even further, some documents claim the first Hun, and the same legend is valid for Uyghurs, was born out of a tree hole (Ögel, 1971). The sacred feature of trees is also handled in famous legends such as Oghuz Khagan (Kamalo, 2015) and Ergenekon (Şenocak, 2013). In Ergenekon legend, a group of Turks

is stuck among mountains for 400 years. They eat fruits from trees and by burning the trees, they melt the mountain which leads them to regain their freedom. In Oghuz Khagan legend, there is an almighty mountain which is surrounded by three trees with river torrents (Banarlı, 1976; Işık, 2004; Işık, 2019). Such remarks indicate how essential trees are in the spiritual world of Turkish people.

In Turkish culture, dream interpretation is still widespread among people. In Islamic culture, dreams are viewed as Godly messages delivered to a person (Çetin, 2012). In his work, Halil Çetin connects dreams with trees to prophecy, empery or authority. Although different sources suggest distinct interpretations for similar dreams, the source provided above support the ideas with historical instances.

Trees are also an indispensable part of social life. Apart from its common use as a material for shelters, chairs and tables, they possess culture-specific employments as well. For instance, plenty of Turkish musical instruments are made of trees. *Kopuz* “qopuz” and *tar* “tar” are just two of the examples among many (Gürsoy, 2012). Moreover, according to shamanist beliefs, a shaman’s drum is made out of a life tree (Işık, 2004). Trees not only supply material for social context but also used as motifs in creative works. Architecture, weaving, miniature, jewelry, literature, music and so many other artistic productions contain tree symbols (Turancı & Özgen, 2018; Yurteri & Ölmez, 2008).

In addition, there are plenty of people who are economically dependent on trees. From furniture craftsman to agriculture, the use of the tree is widely divergent. For example, a traditional woodcarving art on reading desks and carriage works’ known as *kundekari* is performed with wooden material (Nas, 2005). In her thesis, Nas (2005) interviewed artisans from three woodwork industries. Interviewers reported that they continued to earn their monthly income through their handicraft.

3.2.2. The Concept of BAĞ (VINEYARD)

The second most seen plant-themed concept in Turkish proverbs is BAĞ (VINEYARD). Anatolia has a rich tradition of producing and consuming grapes. In his study, Güçgeldi Bashimov (2017) states that 3.650 kilos of grapes were produced in 2015. The same year, the income out of grape export is reported as 570,4 million dollars. According to these data, Turkey is placed in the third place in grape production of the world. Overtly, the economic benefit of grapes is eminent. Furthermore, when compared to other

agricultural crops such as fruits and vegetables, vineyards can be set in more difficult areas such as sides of the hills, areas exposed to wind or harsh climate. Considering that Turkey is a mountainous land with various climatic properties and has a tendency for erosions, vineyard becomes a perfect candidate for appreciating the region (Bashimov, 2017).

Plenty of vineyard and grape motifs exist in Turkish culture. In folk literature, the grape concept is seen in proverbs, riddles, songs, legends, stories, etc. Moreover, traditional ceremonies such as wedding and birth include rituals with grapes. Healers get various benefits from grapes. For instance, the water of leaves of the grapes is good for hair care. Although grape motifs can be seen in handcraft, agriculture, poetry and other artistic works (Şenocak, 2007), there are not as many as studies conducted on the concept of BAĞ (VINEYARD). It is observed that ÜZÜM (GRAPE) (f=39) concept appears far less than BAĞ (VINEYARD) (f=118). Only after a second look, it is noticed that sixteen of the proverbs both include *vineyard* and *grape* concepts within the same proverb. It is possible to suggest that vineyard word 'bağ' in Turkish is more salient since it is replaceable with concepts such as garden, field, etc.

In certain cities of Turkey, e.g., Kayseri, people move to vineyard houses temporarily, particularly in summertime (Altuncuoğlu, 2018). The tradition is rooted, ongoing and essential for the local people. Grape production changes the lifestyle for a period of time. Vineyard requires hard work. Weeding, animal and illness dangers are taken care of. Watering is another issue to be handled. Harvesting grapes from vineyards also announces that busy weeks are ahead. Moreover, grapes are generally processed into post-products, such as *pekmez* "grape molasses", dried fruit, wine, vinegar, jam, etc., with the labor of weeks. In his study, Altuncuoğlu (2018) states that guests coming to vineyard houses are offered these delicious treats.

For dream interpreters, fresh grapes are regarded as the best sustenance. It is connected with the notion of abundance. On the one hand, the black grape is viewed as sadness and illness. On the other hand, white grape is thought to be healing and propitious (Şenocak, 2007).

3.2.3. The Concept of GÜL (ROSE)

GÜL (ROSE) concept is the third most salient (f=98) plant-themed notion emerging in Turkish proverbs. After examining the proverbs, two entities, namely philomel and thorn,

seem to appear frequently inside the sentences with GÜL (ROSE) concept. Twelve proverbs, including the GÜL (ROSE) concept, contain the bird Philomel, too. This co-occurrence repeats in literature, songs, drawings, wishes & curses and other related artistic productions (Ayaz, 2011; Çetindağ Süme, 2017). Likewise, rose and thorn concepts can appear together. In the proverb list made up for this study, eleven proverbs show the use of both rose and thorn within the same context.

Rose is another plant that is seen in various places in everyday life. Similar to the other two concepts, literal texts, drawings, architecture, hand-made items and many other social life indicators frequently address the concept of GÜL (ROSE). In the literature, it is regarded as one of the most-recognized and benefited concepts (Çetindağ Süme, 2017). The concept has such significance in Turkish culture that there are given names such as Gül, Bingül, Ayşegül, Badegül, Gülcan, Gülay, etc. (Ayaz, 2011)

In Islamic Mysticism, GÜL (ROSE) symbolizes the love for the prophet Muhammad (Çetindağ Süme, 2017; Ayvazoğlu, 1992; Yıldız, 2012). Turkish people believe that prophet Muhammad's smell, skin color, and beauty are likened to rose. Thus, Turkish people musk up rose water after religious meetings (Ayaz, 2011).

Turkey is one of the biggest rose-oil producers in the world (Baydar, 2006). The production of rose oil is around two tons annually. Additionally, approximately four tons of rose concrete are cultivated per year. The plant is used for a wide range of purposes: Medical, cosmetics, food industry, detergent or landscaping. Rosewater is precious as it is an antiseptic.

Moreover, rose is known to be rich in vitamin C. In the Ottoman period, Turkish people consumed rose as rose jam, marmalade, juice, cologne, Turkish delight, etc. For the trade of the plant, there were special bazaars (Yıldız, 2012). The tradition is ongoing in most of the cities even today.

Seeing a rose in dreams is interpreted as propitious. A yellow rose is associated with illness, whereas a white rose is connected to promotion in professional life. Smelling a rose, collecting roses or having a bud of a rose at hands refers to peace and happiness. If a sick person sees a bed with roses, it leads to an interpretation of his forth-coming death which will happen within forty days. When a person sees a faded rose in his dream, it means he will break up with his lover (Yıldız, 2012). On the other hand, more distinct interpretations are also available in the literature. People generally follow writers who are close to their sect or religious beliefs.

3.2.4. The Concept of HARMAN (THRESHING)

HARMAN (THRESHING) is ranked in the fourth place (f=93) among the most salient plant-themed concepts in the proverb list. It reflects the vital role of agriculture in society. From the earlier agricultural attempts to today's, there has been a rich wheat cultivation culture in the Anatolian region (Zencirci, 2015).

Harman "threshing", as the outcome of the one-year labor, is the most important economic activity for the local people each year (Mat, 2013). Hence, people celebrate it with various rituals. Songs, dances and games are organized for various ceremonies (Zencirci, 2015). Aegean region's "Harman Dali" and Tokat's "Ellik" folk dances are well-known demonstrations of human's happiness after threshing. If the harvest is fruitful, then the celebrations occur with higher energy and enthusiasm. The places for threshing activity enable people to socialize. Girls and boys meet and work together for threshing. Families and neighbors help each other. If some families do not get along, it may result in the split of threshing areas.

3.2.5. The Concept of OT (WEED)

OT (WEED) is the last plant-themed concept that will be examined deeper for this study. The concept is crucial as it is the fifth (f= 91) most salient plant-themed concept that appears in Turkish proverbs. The Turkish version of the word *ot* "weed" can have denotations of both positive as in herb or grass and negative as in weed. The rest of this section will focus on all of the senses; however, the proverbs at hand mainly evolve around weed sense of the concept.

Because of climate and geographical properties, one of the widest vegetation in Turkey is herbs (Günel, 2013). In the region, herbs have been used for medical and gastronomical purposes since ancient times (Berkay Karaca, Yıldırım, & Çakıcı, 2015). Especially in scarcity times, people notice the different recipes are applicable to herbs. In Anatolia, herbs are consumed sometimes with eggs, sometimes with yogurt, sometimes by boiling or frying. In fact, in order to widen tourism and introduce local recipes to visitors, a herb festival is organized in Bodrum annually since 2010 (Özkan, Curkan, & Sarak, 2015).

In a Hadith, Prophet Muhammad states that "Muslims' common values are grass, water and fire." (Akyüz, 2015: 242). Prophet Muhammad has various hadiths that emphasize

these three values. According to the Quran, these are created not only for humans but also for other living entities. Theologians interpret the grass word as agricultural products in general. If dreams and their interpretations have to be examined, collecting herbs in a dream is interpreted to reach richness. Herb, with a beautiful smell, means terrible news is coming. Lying on the grass refers to stay lonely for some time. Cutting weeds is interpreted as getting rid of problems (Nablusi, 2019).

Weeds are one of the most severe problems that farmers have to deal with. Due to weeds each year, 24% of Turkish grain production is wasted (Güncan, 1972). Definitely, the statistics sustained as an example is an old one but the recent studies concentrate more on individual cities. Those research papers also include comprehensive outcomes on the weed problem of agricultural life in Turkey.

3.2. COGNITIVE FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION ON THE TARGET CONCEPTS AND ATTRIBUTES

As it is discussed in the methodology chapter, cognitive data analysis ~~will be~~ is the second method employed for responding to the research questions. In the following sections, a table is provided for each proverb. First, the proverbs will be introduced with their variations. Then, the variations will be discussed according to the regional classification of the proverbs. After that, the proverbs will be provided with tables which include information on attributes (as positive, negative or neutral) plus source and target concepts.

The researcher identified the target concepts. After that, the concept list was given to the inter-rater. Miles and Hubermann's (1994) reliability co-efficient is found to be 0.92. Moreover, attributes were classified according to their states by both of the observers. The Cohen's Kappa (1960) is used for the responses on states and the Kappa values were found to be 0.73 for all of the concepts. In the following sections, the results will be given for each concept specifically.

3.2.1. Analysis of AĞAÇ (TREE)

Plants that have a suitable body for wood or timber supply and that can live for a long period of time are named *ağaç* "tree" according to the online dictionary of the Turkish Language Association (Turkish Language Association's Online Dictionary, 2020). This description constructs the basic meaning of tree for Turkish people.

In their study, Karakuş & Keçe (2012) found out that trees are recognized as the mostly encountered plant concept that is available in Turkish proverbs. After the data analysis of the present research, the fact is proven once more as the sources at hand give the highest salience to the concept of AĞAÇ (TREE) (n=239). The benefit obtained through trees and literal didactic messages on the importance of tree protection are among the subject of the proverbs.

(31) *Ağacı sev, ağacı koru.*

LM: Love trees, protect them.

(Aksoy, 1988: 55)

In (31), the AĞAÇ (TREE) concept is used in the sense that is depicted in dictionaries. In this specific instance, the concept is used with its direct meaning. Including or depending on dictionary-based meaning is one of the fallacies that a researcher can fall. It is essential to detect metaphorical meanings in proverbs and include such cases in the study. As a source domain, AĞAÇ (TREE) referents can differ depending on the context. These referents are culturally recognized. The proverbs provided below do not employ the basic sense in daily conversation.

Table 10 demonstrates the proverbs and their variations including tree metaphors.

Table 10. Proverbs involving AĞAÇ (TREE) metaphors and their variations

Proverbs	Variations
<p>Ağaç düşer, yakınına yaslanır.</p> <p>LM: When a tree falls, it leans on the nearest one.</p> <p>MM: You can find the support you need from your close friends and relatives.</p>	<p>Ağaç düşer de yakınına yaslanır.</p> <p>LM: The tree falls and leans something close to it.</p> <p>Ağaç düşse de yakınına yaslanır.</p> <p>LM: Even if the tree falls, it leans to something close.</p>
<p>Ağaç kökünden yıkılır.</p> <p>LM: A tree falls from its root.</p>	<p>Ağaç kökünden çürür.</p> <p>LM: The tree rots from the root.</p> <p>Her ağaç kökünden çürür.</p>

<p>MM: A society is wrecked because of its head or foundation.</p>	<p>LM: Every tree rots from its root. Ağaç kökünden kurur. LM: The tree dries from its root. Her ağaç kökünden kurur. LM: Every tree dries from its root. Köksüz ağaç temelsiz duvara benzer. LM: The rootless tree resembles a groundless wall. Köksüz ağaç kurur. LM: The rootless tree dries.</p>
<p>Ağaç ne kadar uzasa göğe ereceği yok. LM: No matter how long it gets; a tree never reaches to sky. MM: There is a limit of acceleration in every part of our lives.</p>	<p>Ağaç ne kadar uzasa göğe erdiği yok. LM: No matter how long it gets, a tree does not reach the sky. Ağaç ne kadar uzasa göğe ermez LM: No matter how long the tree grows it does not reach the sky.</p>
<p>Ağaç yaprağıyla güzeldir. LM: A tree is beautiful with its leaves. MM: Humans show their existence with their children, family and friends.</p>	<p>Ağaç yaprağı ile gürlür. LM: The tree roars with its leaf. Ağacı güzel gösteren yapraklarıdır. LM: Leaves show a tree's beauty. Ağacın yapraklısı yaprağın meyvelisi. LM: Leafy tree, fruity leaves. Ağaç dal ile ağaç olur. LM: A tree is a tree with its branches. Ağaç dalı ile gürlür. LM: The tree roars with its branches. Ağaç yemişine göre kıymetlenir.</p>

	<p>LM: A tree gain even more value thanks to its nuts.</p> <p>Bir ağaç yemişinden anlaşılır.</p> <p>LM: A tree is recognized from its nuts.</p> <p>Dal, ağacı gösterir</p> <p>LM: The branch shows the tree.</p>
<p>Ağaç yaşken eğilir.</p> <p>LM: A tree is bent while it is green.</p> <p>MM: Humans can't be taught after some age.</p>	<p>Ağaç fidan iken eğilir.</p> <p>LM: The tree bends when it is a seedling.</p> <p>Ağaç genç iken eğilir.</p> <p>LM: The tree bends when it is young.</p> <p>Ağaç yeşil iken eğilir.</p> <p>LM: The tree bends when it is green.</p> <p>Ağaç gençliğinde eğilir.</p> <p>LT: The tree bends in its youth.</p> <p>Ağaç küçükken doğrulur.</p> <p>LT: The tree is straightened when it is small.</p> <p>Ağaç yaşken doğrulur.</p> <p>LM: The tree is straightened when it is green.</p> <p>Yaş ağaç tez eğilir.</p> <p>LM: The green tree bends quickly.</p> <p>Ağaç kart iken eğilmez.</p> <p>LM: The tree does not bend when it is aged.</p> <p>Kuru ağaç eğilmez, kart meşe bükülmez.</p>

	<p>LM: The dry tree does not bend, the aged oak cannot be curved.</p>
<p>Ağaç, meyvesi olunca başını aşağı salar.</p> <p>LM: When a tree has fruits, it bends its head.</p> <p>MM: Intellectual people that contribute to society are decent and humble.</p>	<p>Ağacın meyvesi olunca başını aşağı eğer.</p> <p>LM: If the tree has fruits, its head is down.</p> <p>Ağacın meyvesi olunca başını aşağı indirir.</p> <p>LM: When the tree has fruits, it lowers its head.</p> <p>Ağaç bar verdikçe başını aşağı eğer.</p> <p>LM: As the tree gives fruit, it tilts its head down.</p>
<p>Ağaca balta vurmuşlar "sapı bedenimden" demiş.</p> <p>LM: When a tree gets beaten by an axe, it says the handle is from my body.</p> <p>MM: A person gets the biggest harm from its nearest.</p>	<p>Ağaca balta vurmuşlar, "Vur, sapı bendendir demiş."</p> <p>LM: They hit the tree with an axe and it said, "Hit, the handle is mine."</p> <p>Ağaç baltaya sapın benden demiş.</p> <p>LM: The tree said to the ax that its handle was from the tree.</p> <p>Ağaca balta vurmuşlar, neyleyim sapı bendendir demiş.</p> <p>LM: They hit the tree with an ax, it said what should I do, the handle is from me?</p>
<p>Ağaca çıksa pabucu yerde kalmaz.</p> <p>LM: If he climbs up a tree, he takes his shoes with him.</p> <p>MM: Cautious people take the precautions of their actions.</p>	<p>Ağaca çıksa pabucu bile yerde kalmayacak.</p> <p>LM: Even if he climbs on a tree, his shoe will not stay on the ground.</p>

<p>Ağacın gölgesi dibine düşmez.</p> <p>LM: The shadow of a tree does not fall to its bottom.</p> <p>MM: People are not helpful to their close friends or relatives</p>	
<p>Ağacın kurdu içinde olur.</p> <p>LM: The worm of a tree is inside its body.</p> <p>MM: The organizations collapse because of its own workers.</p>	<p>Ağacın kurdu bedeninde.</p> <p>LM: The woodworm of the tree is in its body.</p> <p>Ağacın kurdu içinde olmayınca ağaç kurumaz.</p> <p>LM: If the woodworm is not inside of the tree, it does not dry out.</p> <p>Ağacın kurdu içinde olmayınca ağaç çürümez.</p> <p>LM: The tree will not rot when there is no woodworm in the tree.</p> <p>Ağacın kurdu içinden olmazsa ağaca zeval yoktur.</p> <p>LM: If the woodworm is not inside, there is no decadence for the tree.</p> <p>Ağacın zevali içindeki kurtttandır.</p> <p>LM: The decadence of the tree is from woodworm in it.</p> <p>Ağacı kurt içinden yer.</p> <p>LM: The woodworm eats the tree in it.</p> <p>Ağaç kurdu içinde besler.</p> <p>LM: The tree feeds woodworm inside.</p>
<p>Ağacın meyvesi de kendine benzer.</p> <p>LM: The fruit resembles its tree.</p>	<p>Zehirli ağacın meyvesi de zehirlidir.</p> <p>LM: The fruit of the poisonous tree is also poisonous.</p> <p>Her ağacın gölgesi kendine benzer.</p>

<p>MM: The children take after from their parents.</p>	<p>LM: The shadow of every tree is similar to the tree.</p> <p>Armut ağacı elma vermez.</p> <p>LM: Pear tree does not give apples.</p> <p>Elma ağacı armut vermez.</p> <p>LM: Apple tree does not give pears.</p> <p>Bir ağaç yemişinden anlaşılır.</p> <p>LM: The tree is recognized from its nut.</p>
<p>Balta değmedik ağaç olmaz.</p> <p>LM: There is no tree without the touch of an axe.</p> <p>MM: There is no one without any injury or pain.</p>	<p>Dertsiz baş, yarasız ağaç olmaz.</p> <p>LM: There is no problemless head, nor woundless tree.</p>
<p>Bir ağacın altında bin koyun gölgelenir.</p> <p>LM: A thousand sheep are in the shadow of one tree.</p> <p>MM: Many people get benefits from a wise and helpful person.</p>	<p>Bir ağacın altında bir sürü yatar.</p> <p>LM: A flock lies under a tree.</p>
<p>Bir ağaçta gül de biter diken de.</p> <p>LM: A tree has both roses and thorns.</p> <p>MM: Both bad and good people can come from the family.</p>	<p>Bir ağaçtan çeç küreği de çıkar bok küreği de.</p> <p>LM: You can get both a shovel and a scarab from a tree.</p> <p>Bir ağaçtan hem kaşık yapılır hem sübek.</p> <p>LM: spoons and potties are made from the same tree.</p> <p>Bir ağaçtan okluk da çıkar bokluk da çıkar.</p> <p>LM: Both a quiver and poop pot are made from the same tree.</p>

<p>Çıkacağına ağaca göre tırman.</p> <p>LM: Climb according to the tree.</p> <p>MM: The job you have undertaken must be suitable for your talent and opportunities.</p>	<p>Çıktığına ağaca göre tırman.</p> <p>LM: Climb according to the tree you will climb.</p>
<p>Her ağacın meyvesi olmaz.</p> <p>LM: Not all trees have fruits.</p> <p>MM: Expecting the same performance and benefit from all people is a fallacy.</p>	<p>Her ağaçtan düdük olmaz al haberi zurnadan.</p> <p>LM: Listen to zurna, not all trees are suitable for whistle carpentry.</p>
<p>Her ağacın dibine yatılmaz.</p> <p>LM: Don't lie to every tree's shadow.</p> <p>MM: You cannot rely on everybody.</p>	<p>Her ağaca dayanılmaz.</p> <p>LM: Do not lean on to every tree.</p> <p>Her ağaçtan kaşık olmaz.</p> <p>LM: Every tree is not suitable for spoon carpentry.</p> <p>Her eğri ağaçtan yay olmaz.</p> <p>LM: Every curved tree is not suitable for bow carpentry.</p>
<p>Meyve, ağacından uzağa düşmez.</p> <p>LM: Fruits do not fall far away from their trees.</p> <p>MM: Children are similar to their family.</p>	<p>Elma, ağacından uzak düşmez.</p> <p>LM: Apple doesn't fall away from its tree.</p> <p>Armut, ağacından uzak düşmez.</p> <p>LM: Pear does not fall away from its tree.</p>
<p>Meyvesini ye de ağacını sorma.</p> <p>LM: Eat the fruit and don't ask about its tree.</p> <p>MM: It is not right to investigate the sources.</p>	

<p>Meyveli ağacı taşlarlar.</p> <p>LM: Trees with fruits get beaten by stones.</p> <p>MM: Talented, wise and helpful people do not get the respect they deserve; instead, society finds them strange. They are harshly criticized.</p>	<p>Ağacın meyvedarına atarlar taşı.</p> <p>LM: They throw the stone to the fruitful tree.</p> <p>Kırk ceviz görmeden ağaca taş atma.</p> <p>LM: Don't throw stones at the tree until you see forty walnuts.</p> <p>Kırk koz görmeyince ağaca taş atma.</p> <p>LM: Don't throw stones at the tree until you see forty walnuts.</p> <p>Meyveli ağaca taş atan çok olur.</p> <p>LM: There are many to throw stones to a fruitful tree.</p> <p>Meyvedar ağacı taşlarlar.</p> <p>LM: People throw stones at the bearer tree.</p> <p>Meyvesiz ağaca kimse taş atmaz.</p> <p>LM: No one throws stones at the fruitless tree.</p> <p>Meyvesiz ağaç taşlanmaz.</p> <p>LM: The fruitless tree does not get stoned.</p> <p>Taşı yemişli ağaca atarlar.</p> <p>LM: People throw the stone at a tree with nuts.</p> <p>Yemişsiz ağaca taş atmazlar.</p> <p>LM: People do not throw stones at the tree without nuts.</p>
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In Table 10, the list of variations is given on the left side of each proverb so that the researcher and the inter-rater can respond to the questions for the inquiry of metaphors by looking at several examples that originated from the same essence. In other words,

variations enable the construction of a better context for the cultural background to which the proverb belongs. Only reading the proverb by itself may not give sufficient input for interpretation of the metaphor, especially when the proverb is not highly recognized in the community. The interpretation is a reflection of the cognition of a person.

Moreover, in the study by Tatar (2007), the proverbs are classified based on the origin of cities. Although it is not as comprehensive as Albayrak's (2009) or Aksoy's (1988) proverb collections, it is a dependable source in order to have an idea of regional salience on specific concepts. It is estimated that the book is a collection of more than 1200 proverbs. Furthermore, the source is based on seventy cities; hence, it supplies additional information on variations especially on their geographic distribution. Tatar (2005) reported AĞAÇ (TREE) from twenty cities located in different regions. AĞAÇ (TREE) proverbs are reported from Adana, Ağrı, Artvin, Balıkesir, Çanakkale, Çankırı, Çorum, Elazığ, Giresun, Isparta, Kayseri, Kırşehir, Muş, Ordu, Rize, Tekirdağ, Trabzon, Tunceli, Samsun and Sinop. In Tatar's book (2005), there are twenty-four proverbs with AĞAÇ (TREE) concept. Among all, Çanakkale has the highest number of tree proverb (n=3). It is observed that there is no particular geographical region that excludes the concept of AĞAÇ (TREE). Proverbs with AĞAÇ (TREE) exist in all geographical regions.

There are sixty-seven variations of twenty proverbs that include AĞAÇ (TREE) concept. In fact, the number's magnitude is another statistical information to demonstrate the salience of AĞAÇ (TREE) concept in Turkish cognition. Below, Table 11 lists the target domains and attributes related to the concept of AĞAÇ (TREE).

Table 11. Target domains and attributes for AĞAÇ (TREE) concept

Proverb	Meaning	Target Domain	Attribute
Ağaç düşer yakınına yaslanır.	LM: When a tree falls, it leans on the nearest one. MM: You can find the support you need from your close friends and relatives.	HUMAN	0
Ağaç kökünden yıkılır.	LM: A tree falls from its root. MM: A society is wrecked because of its head or foundation.	SOCIETY	0
Ağaç ne kadar uzasa göğe ereceği yok.	LM: No matter how long it gets; a tree never reaches to sky. MM: There is a limit of acceleration in every part of our lives.	SCHOLAR	+

Ağaç yaprağıyla güzeldir.	LM: A tree is beautiful with its leaves. MM: Humans show their existence with their children, family and friends.	PARENTS	0
Ağaç yaşken eğilir	LM: A tree is bent while it is green. MM: Humans can't be taught after some age.	HUMAN	0
Ağaç, meyvesi olunca başını aşağı salar.	LM: When a tree has fruits, it bends its head. MM: Intellectual people that contribute to society are decent and humble.	HUMAN	+
Ağaca balta vurmuşlar "sapı bedenimden" demiş.	LM: When a tree gets beaten by an axe, it says the handle is from my body. MM: A person gets the biggest harm from its nearest.	HUMAN	0
Ağaca çıksa papucu yerde kalmaz.	LM: If he climbs up a tree, he takes his shoes with him. MM: Cautious people take the precautions of their actions.	ACTION	0
Ağacın gölgesi dibine düşmez	LM: The shadow of a tree does not fall to its bottom. MM: People are not helpful to their close friends or relatives	HUMAN	0
Ağacın kurdu içinde olur.	LM: The worm of a tree is inside its body. MM: The organizations collapse because of its own workers.	SOCIETY	0
Ağacın meyvesi de kendine benzer	LM: The fruit resembles its tree. MM: The children take after from their parents.	PARENTS	0
Balta değmedik ağaç olmaz	LM: There is no tree without the touch of an axe. MM: There is no one without any injury or pain	HUMAN	0
Bir ağacın altında bin koyun gölgelenir.	LM: A thousand sheep are in the shadow of one tree.	SCHOLAR	+

	MM: Many people get benefit from a wise and helpful person.		
Bir ağaçta gül de biter diken de.	LM: A tree has both roses and thorns. MM: Both bad and good people can come from the family.	SOCIETY	0
Çıkacağı ağaca göre tırman.	LM: Climb according to the tree. MM: The job you have undertaken must be suitable for your talent and opportunities.	ACTION	0
Her ağacın dibine yatılmaz.	LM: Don't lie to every tree's shadow. MM: You cannot rely on everybody.	HUMAN	-
Her ağacın meyvesi olmaz	LM: Not all trees have fruits. MM: Expecting the same performance and benefit from all people is a fallacy.	HUMAN	-
Meyve, ağacından uzağa düşmez.	LM: Fruits do not fall far away from their trees. MM: Children are similar to their family.	PARENTS	+
Meyvesini ye de ağacını sorma.	LM: Eat the fruit and don't ask about its tree. MM: It is not right to investigate the sources.	SOURCE	0
Meyveli ağacı taşlarlar	LM: Trees with fruits get beaten by stones. MM: Talented, wise and helpful people do not get the respect they deserve; instead, society finds them strange. They are harshly criticized.	SCHOLAR	+

Table 11 exhibits the target domains and the states of attributes for each proverb involving AĞAÇ (TREE) metaphors. Based on Miles and Huberman (1994), the final inter-rater agreement rate must approach or exceed 90%. For AĞAÇ (TREE) metaphor, there is no difference between the codings of the raters, producing the reliability as $20/(20+0)=1$.

The target domains mapped for AĞAÇ (TREE) concept are presented in Table 12:

Table 12. Frequency of the target domain list for AĞAÇ (TREE) concept

Source Domain	Target Domain	Number
AĞAÇ (TREE)	HUMAN	8
	SCHOLAR	3
	PARENTS	3
	SOCIETY	3
	ACTION	2
	SOURCE	1

As shown in Table 12, there are eight target domains mapped to AĞAÇ (TREE). Four of them, namely, HUMAN (n=8), SCHOLAR (n=3), PARENTS (n=3), SOCIETY (n=2) can be assembled to reach HUMAN IS TREE (n=16) metaphor. Then, for AĞAÇ (TREE) concept TREE IS HUMAN metaphor becomes highly dominant in Turkish proverbs. The agreement rate between two responders bears significance since the present study does not only account for one speaker's intuition.

The TREE IS HUMAN metaphor contains one of the most common metaphor construction methods which is personification, an ontological metaphor. An example of it is given as follows:

(32) *Ağaç düşer yakınına yaslanır.*

LM: When a tree falls, it leans on the nearest one.

MM: You can find the support you need from your close friends and relatives.

(Albayrak, 2009: 108)

As in example (32), supporting the nearest one physically or psychologically is a feature of human beings.

In descriptive findings, AĞAÇ (TREE) is found to symbolize vitality, existence, and fertility (Gürsoy, 2012; Işık, 2004; Arslan, 2014; Işık, 2019). People have superstitions evolving around trees (Gürsoy, 2012; Duymaz & Şahin, 2008; Arslan, 2014). There are Turkish myths (Banarlı, 1976; Ögel, 1971; Kamalo, 2015; Şenocak, 2013) involving AĞAÇ (TREE). The symbols of AĞAÇ (TREE) are seen in architecture, weaving, miniature, jewelry, literature, music (Turancı & Özgen, 2018; Yurteri & Ölmez, 2008). Considering these descriptive findings and the cognitive findings stated in Table 12, it is not surprising

to extract TREE IS HUMAN metaphor out of Turkish proverbs. AĞAÇ (TREE) has an indispensable role in Turkish life-style. From economic to social life, it is a plant that is frequently benefited. Therefore, Turkish people conceptualize AĞAÇ (TREE) as human beings, which they find similar to themselves.

Looking at the attributes of AĞAÇ (TREE), it is possible to suggest that AĞAÇ (TREE) is often regarded as a neutral concept. The claim will be justified by the table supplied by the researcher and the interrater. In Table 13, the agreement rate between the two evaluators is 0.78, according to Cohen's Kappa (1960). Regarding that 0.80 is interpreted as near perfect agreement, the agreement is considered within the limits of acceptability. The harmony between the two responders can be broken because of the contextual dependency of proverbial attributes. On account of the differences between the two responders, it can be said that there is no complete opposite response in any case. The responders are seemed to be lost at a neutral stance or one of the other possible case.

Table 13 shows Cohen's Kappa (1960) results for AĞAÇ (TREE) attributes:

Table 13. Cohen's Kappa (1960) results for AĞAÇ (TREE) attributes

Interrater	Researcher				Ratio in total
	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Total	
Neutral	13	1	1	15	75.0%
Negative	0	1	0	1	5.0%
Positive	0	0	4	4	20.0%
Total	13	2	5	20	100.0%
Ratio in total	65.0%	10.0%	25.0%	1	
Agreement	13	1	4	18	
By Chance (with Ratio)	48.8%	0.5%	5.0%	54.3%	
Pr(a)	0.9				
Cohen's Kappa	78%				
Variance	0.00099				

As can be seen in Table 13, thirteen proverbs about AĞAÇ (TREE) are regarded as neutral by both raters. Hence, AĞAÇ (TREE) concept is found to be dominantly neutral. In other words, AĞAÇ (TREE) concepts in proverbs have 65% neutral attributes according to the researcher and 75% according to the interrater. The result seems

surprising after the positive image created by the descriptive data analysis section which focuses on AĞAÇ (TREE) and its importance in Turkish culture.

When it comes to examine negative and positive images of AĞAÇ (TREE), the numbers fall dramatically compared to neutral attribution of the concept. Among twenty proverbs, only one proverb is rated negatively by both responders, while four were marked as positive. The negative attribute of AĞAÇ (TREE) is calculated as 10% considering the researcher's marking, whereas the interrater finds AĞAÇ (TREE) negative with 5%. Furthermore, the positiveness of AĞAÇ (TREE) is estimated 25% according to responses of the researcher, while the interrater's positive evaluation of AĞAÇ (TREE) is 20%.

After finding out the attributes that cause disagreement between the two evaluators, the uncertain ones are once more marked by another native speaker of Turkish. The final values are to be found in Table 14 below:

Table 14. Attribute evaluation for AĞAÇ (TREE) concept

Concept	Attribute		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral
AĞAÇ (TREE)	5	2	13

As can be seen in Table 14, 65% of AĞAÇ (TREE) attributes are assigned to a neutral state. Meaning that, it is basically and more often conceptualized as a neutral concept. On the other hand, 25% of AĞAÇ (TREE) attributes are marked as positive. The concept of AĞAÇ (TREE) is observed with negativeness with the rate of 10%. Negativeness is the least observed attribute for AĞAÇ (TREE).

(33) *Meyvesini ye de ağacını sorma.*

LM: Eat the fruit and don't ask about its tree.

MM: It is not right to investigate the sources.

(Albayrak, 2009: 871)

In example (33), AĞAÇ (TREE)'s target domain is identified as SOURCE. It is marked neutral since in this proverb the metaphor has neither favorable nor unfavorable understanding. Even though with the descriptive findings, cultural value assigned to the concept may arouse a positive image before the analysis completed, in many cases (n=13), AĞAÇ (TREE) is evaluated as neutral concept. This is not an expected result but

it leads the researcher look at other factors. AĞAÇ (TREE) is an inanimate concept that is frequently seen in everyday life. There is no difficulty in seeing or using one. AĞAÇ (TREE) is completely accesible and ordinary.

3.2.2. Analysis of BAĞ (VINEYARD)

The concept BAĞ (VINEYARD) has different senses appearing in the online dictionary of the Turkish Language Association. The first sense has nothing to do with “vineyard”. It refers to concepts such as connection or link. Therefore, the word has to be manually separated to start with the ones with the “vineyard” sense on the surface. The second sense has a Persian origin and it describes “vineyard” as it is in English (Turkish Language Association’s Online Dictionary, 2020). It can refer to the area where grape stems are set. Moreover, in Turkish, there is a semantic extension of the concept BAĞ (VINEYARD). In some cases, it is used interchangeably with the word garden.

As it was previously described in detail in the descriptive data analysis section, the vineyard plays an important role in Turkish people’s daily life. The salience is before the eyes since the concept of BAĞ (VINEYARD). (n=118) is ranked in the second place of all plant-themed concepts in terms of appearance in the preliminary sources. Below, in Table 15, various proverbs with BAĞ (VINEYARD) metaphors are listed.

Table 15. Proverbs involving BAĞ (VINEYARD) metaphors and their variations

Proverbs	Variations
<p>Baba oğluna bir bağ bağışlamış, oğul babasına bir salkım üzüm vermemiş.</p> <p>LM: A father gives his vineyard to his son, the son does not give a bunch of grapes.</p> <p>MM: Parents readily sacrifice their lives for their children, whereas children forcefully give the parents the smallest commitments.</p>	<p>Babası oğluna bir bağ vermiş, oğul babasına bir salkım üzümü çok görmüş.</p> <p>LM: His father gave a vineyard to his son, and his son thinks a bunch of grapes is a lot for his father.</p> <p>Ata oğula bağ kıydı, oğul ataya salkım kıymadı.</p> <p>LM: The father donated a vineyard to his son; the son did not give a bunch for the father.</p> <p>Babası oğluna bir bağ bağışlamış, oğul babasına bir çitmik salkım üzüm vermiş.</p>

	<p>LM: His father donated a vineyard to his son, and his son only gave a grape bunch of grapes to his father.</p> <p>Bağ sahibi bağı vermiş, bağ verici bir salkım üzüm vermemiş.</p> <p>LM: The vineyard owner gave the vineyard, and the acceptor didn't give a bunch of grapes.</p>
<p>Bağa bak üzüm olsun, yemeye yüzün olsun.</p> <p>LM: Take care of the vineyard so that you may have a face to eat the grapes.</p> <p>MM: If you give your time and energy to a product, you have a right to ask for some of it. Otherwise, you should be ashamed when you want it.</p>	<p>Bağı kaz üzüm olsun; üzümü yemeye yüzün olsun.</p> <p>LM: Built up the vineyard to be grape; you should have the face to eat the grape.</p> <p>Bağda izin olsun, üzüm yemeye yüzün olsun.</p> <p>LM: Leave a mark in the vineyard, have the cheek to eat grapes.</p> <p>Bağa var izin olsun, yemeye yüzün olsun.</p> <p>LM: Go to the vineyard to leave a mark, have the cheek to eat grapes.</p>
<p>Bakarsan bağ, bakmazsan dağ olur.</p> <p>LM: If you take care of an area, it can become a vineyard. Otherwise, it can look like a mountain.</p> <p>MM: A machine, a human, a work and many other things work fine if they are regularly checked. Otherwise, they get corrupted.</p>	<p>Bakarsan bağ, bakmazsan dağ.</p> <p>LM: If you take care, it will be a vineyard, otherwise a mountain.</p> <p>Bağa bakılmazsa dağ olur.</p> <p>LM: If you don't take care of the vineyard, it becomes a mountain.</p> <p>Bağ barsız at tımarsız olmaz.</p> <p>LM: There is no vineyard without grapes, no horse without a tie.</p> <p>Ekersen bağ olur, ekmezsen dağ olur.</p> <p>LM: If you plant it becomes a vineyard, if you do not plant it becomes a mountain.</p>
<p>Ayı dağda üzüm bağda olur.</p> <p>LM: Bears live in the mountains; grapes are grown in vineyards.</p>	<p>Tarla çayırdadır, bağ bayırda.</p> <p>LM: The field is in the meadow; the vineyard is on a ridge.</p>

<p>MM: Every creature lives in its proper habitat.</p>	<p>Dağ kuşu dağda, bağ kuşu bağda yakışır.</p> <p>LM: The mountain bird on the mountain and the vineyard bird on the vineyard is good.</p> <p>Dağ kuşu bağda, bağ kuşu dağda olmaz.</p> <p>LM: The mountain bird should not be in the vineyard; the vine bird should not be in the mountain.</p> <p>Dağ gülü bağda bitmez, bağ gülü dağda bitmez.</p> <p>LM: The mountain rose does not grow in the vineyard; the vine rose does not grow in the mountain.</p> <p>Çoban aldı bağa gitti; kurt aldı dağa gitti.</p> <p>LM: The shepherd took it and went to the vineyard; The wolf took it and went to the mountain.</p>
<p>Bağ gideceğine yaprağı gitsin.</p> <p>LM: Leaves are dispensable when compared to a vineyard.</p> <p>MM: Instead of your life, you prefer giving your property away.</p>	<p>Bağ gideceğine yaprak gitsin.</p> <p>LM: Let the leaves go, instead of the vineyard.</p>
<p>Bağdaki bağdan, sürüdeki sürüden yer.</p> <p>LM: The one in the vineyard eats from the vineyard, the one in the flock eats from the flock.</p> <p>MM: Everybody keeps food on the table depending on their profession.</p>	
<p>Böğürtlen dallanmış, bağ oldum sanmış; türk ata binmiş ağa oldum sanmış.</p> <p>LM: Blackberry thinks it has become a vineyard when it sees its branches. Turk thinks he is a landlord when he rides a horse.</p>	<p>Böğürtlen çiçek açmış, bağ oldum sanmış; Yörük ata binmiş, bey oldum sanmış.</p> <p>LM: Blackberry blossomed, thought it became a vineyard; Yörük got on a horse and thought he were a gentleman.</p>

<p>MM: Having new items does not change the core of a thing.</p>	<p>Böğürtlen büyümüş, bağ oldum sanmış, Kürt ata binmiş, bey oldum sanmış.</p> <p>LM: Blackberry grew, thought it were a vineyard, Kurdish ride a horse, thought he were a monsieur.</p> <p>Böğürtlen büyümüş, bağ oldum sanmış, Kürt ata binmiş ağa oldum sanmış.</p> <p>LM: Blackberry grew, thought it were a vineyard, Kurdish ride a horse, thought he were a landlord.</p>
<p>Destursuz bağa girilmez.</p> <p>LM: One cannot enter a vineyard without permission.</p> <p>MM: You cannot use another one's possessions without permission.</p>	<p>Destursuz bağa girenleri sopa ile kovarlar.</p> <p>LM: They chase with a stick the ones who entered the vineyard without permission.</p> <p>Destursuz bağa girilmez; girenin yediği sopayı Mevla bilir.</p> <p>LM: There is no entrance to the vineyard without permission, God knows the beat the entrant gets.</p>
<p>El eli, bağ da beli bilir.</p> <p>LM: A hand recognizes the other one, the vineyard recognizes the spade.</p> <p>MM: Everybody gets stronger acquaintance with its surroundings.</p>	
<p>Geçti çağlar bozuldu bağlar.</p> <p>LM: Within time, vineyards get corrupted.</p> <p>MM: As time passes, every beauty fades away.</p>	
<p>Tandır başında bağ dikilmez.</p> <p>LM: The work of a vineyard does not finish in front of the fire.</p> <p>MM: Chatting distracts and prevents you from doing your labor.</p>	<p>Tandır başında bağ dikmek kolaydır.</p> <p>LM: It is easy to build up a vineyard standing in front of the tandoor.</p> <p>Bağ dua değil çapa ister.</p> <p>LM: The vineyard requires a hoe, not prayers.</p>

<p>Boğazda bağ bitmez.</p> <p>LM: Appetite does not spring up the vineyard.</p> <p>MM: Only by eating the crops and enjoying the time you cannot handle your duties.</p>	
<p>Çorbayı iç, bağı dolan; eti ye, dağı dolan.</p> <p>LM: Drink soup, walk around a vineyard; Eat meat, walk around a mountain.</p> <p>MM: Soup gives little energy, whereas meat gives more energy to the body.</p>	
<p>Dağdan gelen, bağdakini kovar.</p> <p>LM: The one coming from the mountain dismisses the one in the vineyard.</p> <p>MM: Ignorant and unmannerly people can be placed to the positions of educated and polite people.</p>	<p>Dağ iti gelir, bağ itini kovar.</p> <p>LM: The mountain dog comes and chases the vineyard dog.</p>
<p>Dağ üstü bağ olmaz.</p> <p>LM: There should not be a vineyard on a mountain.</p> <p>MM: Every service is done in its place</p>	
<p>Bizim bağın kuruğu hem ekşidir hem de tatlı.</p> <p>LM: Grapes of our vineyard is both sour and sweet.</p> <p>MM: Children, relatives and friends of a person can be both good and bad</p>	<p>Ekşi mekşi bizim bağın kuruğu.</p> <p>LM: Sour or not, it is our vineyard's unripped grape.</p> <p>Ekşi de olsa bizim bağın kuruğu.</p> <p>LM: Even if it is sour, it is the unripped grape of our vineyard.</p> <p>Koruk da olsa bizim bağın üzümü.</p> <p>LM: Even if it is unripened, it is a grape of our vineyard.</p>

<p>Görünen bağın uzağı olmaz.</p> <p>LM: If you see the vineyard, it is not far.</p> <p>MM: If you are sure of the result of your labor, you do it with ease.</p>	
<p>İki gönül bir olursa bağ duvar istemez.</p> <p>LM: If two hearts are connected, then there is no need for walls surrounding the vineyards.</p> <p>MM: Love can make up for all the existing problems.</p>	
<p>Ne dağda bağım var ne tilkiyle davam.</p> <p>LM: I have neither vineyard on the mountain nor a problem with the fox.</p> <p>MM: I have no business with anything.</p>	<p>Dağda bağ alanın, çakaldan davası eksik olmaz.</p> <p>LM: The ones buying vineyard on a mountain are always in trouble with jackals.</p> <p>Dağda bağın var, yüreğinde dağın var.</p> <p>LM: You have a vineyard in the mountain; you have a mountain in your heart.</p> <p>Her kimin bağı var yüreğinde dağı var.</p> <p>LM: Whoever possessing a vineyard carries a mountain in the heart.</p> <p>Kimin ki bağı var yüreğinde dağı var.</p> <p>LM: The one that has a vineyard also has a mountain in the heart.</p> <p>Ne dağda bağım var ne çakaldan davam.</p> <p>LM: Neither have I vineyard on the mountain nor trouble with jackals.</p>
<p>Üzüm için bağ duvarına yaslanma.</p> <p>LM: Don't lean on the vineyard wall for the grape.</p> <p>MM: Don't take foolish actions for small benefits.</p>	

Table 15 indicates that twenty vineyard proverbs possess thirty-three variations. It is also seen that some of these proverbs do not have variations. In fact, if the proverbs are not common or widespread around the country, they do not demonstrate variations. It is also probable that the variations were not be recorded.

Thirteen proverbs on vineyard theme are found in the study by Tatar (2007). Some of these proverbs are reported from twelve cities, including Ağrı, Antalya, Artvin, Aydın, Erzincan, Gaziantep, Hakkari, Isparta, Mersin, Malatya, Tokat and Sinop. Among them, Isparta has more proverbs in quantity (n=2). It is seen that the distribution of BAĞ (VINEYARD) is holistic in general, and no specific region is found to have more proverbs with this concept. It may be a result of BAĞ (VINEYARD) vegetation is possible in almost every condition, from windy to hilly areas.

Below, Table 16 illustrates the meanings of the proverbs, the target domains mapped to source domains and attributes.

Table 16. Target domains and attributes for BAĞ (VINEYARD) concept

Proverb	Meaning	Target Domain	Attribute
Baba oğluna bir bağ bağışlamış, oğul babasına bir salkım üzüm vermemiş.	LM: A father gives his vineyard to his son, the son does not give a bunch of grapes. MM: Parents readily sacrifice their lives for their children, whereas children forcefully give their parents the smallest commitments.	PROPERTY	+
Bağa bak üzüm olsun, yemeye yüzün olsun	LM: Take care of the vineyard so that you may have a face to eat the grapes. MM: If you give your time and energy to a product, you have a right to ask for some of it. Otherwise, you should be ashamed when you want it.	WORK	0
Bakarsan bağ, bakmazsan dağ olur.	LM: If you take care of an area, it can become a vineyard. Otherwise, it can look like a mountain. MM: A machine, a human, a work and many other things work fine if they are regularly checked. Otherwise, they get corrupted.	FAVORABLE OUTCOME	+

Ayı dağda üzüm bağda olur.	LM: Bears live in the mountains; grapes are grown in vineyards. MM: Every creature lives in its proper habitat.	HABITAT	0
Bağ gideceğine yaprağı gitsin.	LM: Leaves are dispensable when compared to a vineyard. MM: Instead of your life, you prefer giving your property away.	LIFE	+
Bağdaki bağdan, sürüdeki sürüden yer.	LM: The one in the vineyard eats from the vineyard, the one in the flock eats from the flock. MM: Everybody keeps food on the table depending on their profession.	WORK	0
Böğürtlen dallanmış, bağ oldum sanmış; türk ata binmiş ağa oldum sanmış.	LM: Blackberry thinks it has become a vineyard when it sees its branches. Turk thinks he is a landlord when he rides a horse. MM: Having new items does not change the core of a thing.	FAVORABLE OUTCOME	+
Destursuz bağa girilmez.	LM: One cannot enter a vineyard without permission. MM: You cannot use another one's possessions without permission.	PROPERTY	0
El eli bağ da beli bilir	LM: A hand recognizes the other one, the vineyard recognizes the spade. MM: Everybody gets stronger acquaintance with its surroundings.	HUMAN	0
Geçti çağlar bozuldu bağlar	LM: Within time, vineyards get corrupted. MM: As time passes, every beauty fades away.	LIFE	+
Tandır başında bağ dikilmez.	LM: The work of a vineyard does not finish in front of the fire. MM: Chatting distracts and prevents you from doing your labor.	WORK	0

Boğazda bağ bitmez.	LM: Appetite does not spring up the vineyard. MM: Only by eating the crops and enjoying the time you cannot handle your duties.	PROPERTY	+
Çorbayı iç, bağı dolan; eti ye, dağı dolan.	LM: Drink soup and walk around the vineyard. Eat meat walk around the hill. MM: Soup gives little energy, whereas meat gives more energy to the body.	EASY LABOR	-
Dağdan gelen, bağdakini kovar.	LM: The one coming from the mountain dismisses the one in the vineyard. MM: Ignorant and unmannerly people can be replaced to the positions of educated and polite people.	RESIDENTIAL AREA	+
Dağ üstü bağ olmaz.	LM: There cannot be a vineyard on the mountain. MM: Every service is done in its place.	FAVORABLE OUTCOME	+
Bizim bağın kuruğu hem ekşidir hem de tatlı.	LM: Grapes of our vineyard is both sour and sweet. MM: Children, relatives and friends of a person can be both good and bad	FAMILY	0
Görünen bağın uzağı olmaz.	LM: If you see the vineyard, it is not far. MM: If you are sure of the result of your labor, you do it with ease.	WORK	0
İki gönül bir olursa bağ duvar istemez.	LM: If two hearts are connected, then there is no need for walls surrounding the vineyards. MM: Love can make up for all the existing problems.	PROPERTY	+
Ne dağda bağım var ne tilkiyle davam	LM: I have neither vineyard on the mountain nor a problem with the fox. MM: I have no business with anything.	PROPERTY	+

Üzüm için bağ duvarına yaslanma.	LM: Don't lean on the vineyard wall for the grape. MM: Don't take foolish actions for small benefits.	PROPERTY	0
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Table 16 exhibits that ten target domains are mapped onto the source domain of BAĞ (VINEYARD). After the responses on target domains noted by the researcher and the inter-rater, Miles and Hubermann formula is applied. The agreement between both of the responders is calculated $17/(17+3)=0.85$, which is seen as sufficient. On the other hand, expanding the sample size may produce more concrete results about the issue. The target domains determined above are demonstrated in Table 17 with their number of occurrences.

Table 17. Frequency of the target domain list for BAĞ (VINEYARD) concept

Source Domain	Target Domain	Number
BAĞ (VINEYARD)	PROPERTY	6
	WORK	4
	FAVORABLE OUTCOME	3
	LIFE	2
	HABITAT	1
	HUMAN	1
	EASY LABOR	1
	RESIDENTIAL AREA	1
	FAMILY	1

Table 17 clearly exhibits the fact that the target concept PROPERTY is the most mapped one to the source concept BAĞ (VINEYARD). WORK and FAVORABLE OUTCOME concepts are ranked consecutively, whereas LIFE comes next. On account of Table 18, it is seen that HABITAT, HUMAN, EASY LABOR, RESIDENTIAL AREA and FAMILY are listed as target concepts that are connected with BAĞ (VINEYARD).

A more condensed mapping is created out of the outcome noted above. The concepts of PROPERTY (n=6), HABITAT (n=1) and RESIDENTIAL AREA (n=1) have a semantic connection with each other. Therefore, an umbrella term containing all can be thought as PROPERTY (n=8). VINEYARD IS PROPERTY is one of the conceptual metaphor extracted from data with 40%. Moreover, WORK (n=4) and EASY LABOR (n=1)

concepts create similar senses in the human mind. Thus, they are taken into consideration under WORK concept. VINEYARD IS WORK is another conceptual metaphor (n=5) reached after the study of proverbs. In other words, 25% of BAĞ (VINEYARD) metaphors belong to VINEYARD IS WORK metaphor. In addition, FAVORABLE OUTCOME (n=4) and BEAUTY (n=1) are considered to be interrelated. Although BEAUTY concept constructs a bigger picture in the minds' of speakers, taking into account The Great Chain Metaphor Theory's significant principle maxim of quantity, FAVORABLE OUTCOME (n=5) concept is thought to be more suitable to connect these concepts. VINEYARD IS FAVORABLE OUTCOME is the conceptual metaphor found by 25% of the current data. Lastly, FAMILY (n=1) and HUMAN (n=1) concepts are categorized together under the roof of FAMILY (n=2) concept. VINEYARD IS FAMILY is the last conceptual metaphor detected after the research. All of the conceptual metaphors are recoded according to their metaphorical meanings. HUMAN target domain is connected to FAMILY as the target of VINEYARD found closer to FAMILY than HUMAN. Example (34) will be more explanatory of the case:

(34) *El eli, bağ da beli bilir.*

LM: A hand recognizes the other one, the vineyard recognizes the spade.

MM: Everybody gets stronger acquaintance with **its surroundings**.

(Albayrak, 2009: 472)

The metaphor's target domain in (34) is identified as HUMAN. In the MM, the domain can be translated as surroundings. As a consequence in a re-evaluation process HUMAN target domain can be perceptualized under FAMILY.

In example (35), VINEYARD IS PROPERTY metaphor is observed more than other metaphors. Below there is an example of it:

(35) *Destursuz bağa girilmez.*

LM: One cannot enter a vineyard without permission.

MM: You cannot use another one's possessions without permission.

(Albayrak, 2009: 344)

Example (35) clearly displays the VINEYARD IS PROPERTY conceptual metaphor in a Turkish proverb.

Although the number of occurrences of VINEYARD IS WORK metaphor is not as many as VINEYARD IS PROPERTY, it seems to be prominent compared to others. An example of it is given as follows:

(36) *Bağa bak üzüm olsun, yemeye yüzün olsun.*

LM: Take care of the vineyard so that you may have the cheek to eat the grapes.

MM: If you give your time and energy to a product, you have a right to ask for some of it. Otherwise, you should be ashamed when you want it.

(Albayrak, 2009: 218)

In (36), it is seen that BAĞ (VINEYARD) stands for WORK. According to Lakoff & Johnson (1999), such a metaphor is regarded as an ontological one. PROPERTY, WORK, FAVORABLE OUTCOME, LIFE, HABITAT, HUMAN, EASY LABOR, RESIDENTIAL AREA, FAMILY are the target domains identified for BAĞ (VINEYARD). All of these metaphoric concepts are connected to agricultural life. The source domain itself is also associated with agriculture. Descriptive findings on BAĞ (VINEYARD) are also in line with the cognitive findings. In descriptive findings, Güçgeldi Bashimov (2017) states the significance of vineyard cultivation economically. WORK, PROPERTY, RESIDENTIAL AREA, FAMILY and HABITAT domains are all related to this aspect. The products of vineyard are essential food products (Altuncuoğlu, 2018). This fact can be linked to the domains of LIFE and FAVORABLE OUTCOME. With these connections, target domains can be justified through cultural factors.

Below, Table 18 illustrates Cohen's Kappa (1960) results for BAĞ (VINEYARD) metaphor attributes by two coders.

Table 18. Cohen's Kappa (1960) results for BAĞ (VINEYARD) attributes

Interrater	Researcher				Ratio in total
	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Total	
Neutral	9			9	45.0%
Negative		1		1	5.0%
Positive	2		8	10	50.0%
Total	11	1	8	20	100.0%
Ratio in total	55.0%	5.0%	40.0%	1	
Agreement	9	1	8	18	
By Chance (with Ratio)	24.8%	0.3%	20.0%	45.0%	

Pr(a)	0.9
Cohen's Kappa	82%
Variance	0.0014

As it can be seen in Table 18, for both raters, there are nine neutral markings for these twenty proverbs. Moreover, there are also eight positive responses. Only one negative evaluation is mutually given.

While 5% of the researcher's attribute evaluation demonstrates negativity, the markings provide 45% neutral and 50% positive attributes to BAĞ (VINEYARD). Likewise, the interrater's neutral and positive markings are overwhelmingly high compared to the negative ones. The interrater's responses can be specified as 55% neutral and 40% positive. Merely 5% of his notations are negative. At this point, it is possible to declare that *bağ* has mainly neutral and positive attributes. Clearly, it is almost never perceived as a negative attribute. Table 19 presents the attribute evaluation for BAĞ (VINEYARD) concept.

Table 19. Attribute evaluation for BAĞ (VINEYARD) concept

Concept	Attribute		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral
BAĞ (VINEYARD)	11	1	9

As it can be seen in Table 19, BAĞ (VINEYARD) concept has mostly positive attributes. More specifically, 55% of BAĞ (VINEYARD) concept are considered to be positive whereas 45% of it are regarded as neutral. Positive target domains can be listed as RESIDENTIAL AREA, LIFE, PROPERTY, FAVORABLE OUTCOME. Below (37) exhibits one instance of a BAĞ (VINEYARD) source domain positively marked.

(37) Dağdan gelen, bağdakini kovar.

LM: The one coming from the mountain dismisses the one in the vineyard.

MM: Ignorant and unmannerly people can be replaced to the positions of educated and polite people.

(Albayrak, 2009: 340)

In example (37), the target domain is identified as RESIDENTIAL AREA. In this proverb, the person that lives in a vineyard regarded as an educated and polite dweller. Thus, it has got a positive image in the Turkish cognition.

Neutral marked target domains can be listed as: PROPERTY, WORK, FAMILY, HABITAT. As it is seen, PROPERTY is observed both neutral and positive depending on its sense in the proverb. Below, (38) and (39) can exhibit different values assigned to BAĞ (VINEYARD) for the same target domain.

(38) Baba oğluna bir bağ bağışlamış, oğul babasına bir salkım üzüm vermemiş.

LM: A father gives his vineyard to his son, the son does not give a bunch of grapes.

MM: Parents readily sacrifice their lives for their children, whereas children forcefully give their parents the smallest commitments.

(Albayrak, 2009: 112)

The target domain PROPERTY has a positive image because it signifies sacrifice which is voluntarily given. In Turkish culture, parents and their relationship with children also bares significance. In (39), PROPERTY is marked neutral.

(39) Üzüm için bağ duvarına yaslanma.

LM: Don't lean on the vineyard wall for the grape.

MM: Don't take foolish actions for small benefits.

(Albayrak, 2009: 1012)

In (39), PROPERTY is regarded neutr. The wall of a vineyard does not create neither favourable nor infavourable image. It is inbetween. It is possible that if the proverbs that are not very common, they may be evaluated as neutr.

3.2.3. Analysis of GÜL (ROSE)

In the Turkish Language Association online dictionary, GÜL (ROSE) is defined as the example plant of the rosaceae family. Another sense included in the source emphasized its structure with layers and smell. It is significant to bear in mind that *gül*- refers to the action of laughing as well. Therefore, special attention has to be given to the concepts. As seen, proverbs may have contained a homophonic counterpart or simply may have taken advantage of the homophonic resemblance (Turkish Language Association's Online Dictionary, 2020). Nonetheless, the data were eliminated from GÜL (ROSE) homophone. Table 20 lists the proverbs with GÜL (ROSE), including its variations.

Table 20. Proverbs involving GÜL (ROSE) metaphors and their variations

Proverbs	Variations
<p>Başkasının ellemiş olduğu gülü takınma.</p> <p>LM: Do not wear the rose touched by others.</p> <p>MM: Do not be with women that had previous romantic relationships.</p>	<p>Başkasının kokladığı gül koklanmaz.</p> <p>LM: The rose that someone else smelled shouldn't be smelled.</p>
<p>Binde bir gelinen yere gül döşerler, her gün gelinen yere kül döşerler.</p> <p>LM: People floor roses for rarely visitors, ashes for often visitors.</p> <p>MM: If you visit someone often it becomes ordinary, you do not get much attention. If you go there rarely, you got more attention, respect, and entertainment with a welcome.</p>	<p>Günde gelene kül döşerler, ayda gelene gül döşerler.</p> <p>LM: They lay ash on the floor for a daily visit, rose for a monthly visit.</p> <p>Günde gelen çul üste, ayda gelen gül üste.</p> <p>LM: Daily visitors sit on sacks, monthly visitors sit on roses.</p>
<p>Bir gül ile bahar olmaz.</p> <p>LM: The spring doesn't come with only one rose.</p> <p>MM: A satisfying result cannot be achieved with one small, beautiful sign.</p>	
<p>Gönül var güle konar, gönül var çöplüğe.</p> <p>LM: A heart can beat for either a rose or a dump.</p> <p>MM: Some people love good and nice things in life and people who love bad and ugly things. The person who loves it does not think it is bad to him. He always thinks it is beautiful.</p>	<p>Gönül var güllüğe, gönül var çöplüğe düşer.</p> <p>LM: One heart can fall in love with a rose, another one falls into a garbage dump.</p> <p>Gönül var güllüğe, gönül var küllüğe düşer.</p> <p>LM: One heart falls in a rose garden, whereas another one falls into an ashtray.</p> <p>Eşek küle aşık bülbül güle aşık.</p> <p>LM: Donkey is in love with ashes. Nightingale is in love with roses.</p>

<p>Gül dikensiz olmaz.</p> <p>LM: There is no rose without any thorn.</p> <p>MM: There may be a flaw in the person and objects we love or obtain. People endure the troubles due to the person they love and the work they love.</p>	<p>Bu cihanda ne yar ağyarsızdır ne gül dikensiz.</p> <p>LM: In this world, neither lover is alone, nor rose is without thorns.</p> <p>Dikensiz gül ile nazsız güzel olmaz.</p> <p>LM: There is no rose without thorns and no beauty without coyness.</p> <p>Dikensiz gül olmaz, engelsiz yar olmaz.</p> <p>LM: There is no rose without thorns, neither love without barriers.</p> <p>Gül çelgelsiz yar engelsiz olmaz.</p> <p>LM: There is no rose without a hook, neither love without any barrier.</p> <p>Gül dikenli ağaçta biter.</p> <p>LM: Rose is bloomed on a tree with thorns.</p>
<p>Gül, goncayken koklanır.</p> <p>LM: The rose can be smelled when it is a rosebud.</p> <p>MM: You should take benefit of the beauties before it is too late.</p>	<p>Her gül zamanında kokar.</p> <p>LM: Every rose smells in time.</p>
<p>Gül yanında kabak anılmaz.</p> <p>LM: There shouldn't be any talk on zucchini when there is a rose around.</p> <p>MM: One should not talk about bad things when good things are around.</p>	<p>Gül vaktinde zarta koklanmaz.</p> <p>LM: A fart should not be smelled in rose time.</p>
<p>Gülüne bak, goncasını al.</p> <p>LM: Look at the rose, get the rosebud.</p> <p>MM: If parents are good, children are grown with manner.</p>	
<p>Her gül için bir bülbül olmaz.</p> <p>LM: There is not a nightingale for every rose.</p>	

<p>MM: Not every beauty is appreciated with the same amount of value.</p>	
<p>Hocanın vurduğu yerde gül biter.</p> <p>LM: A rose blossoms where the teacher beats.</p> <p>MM: If the teacher sees it necessary, he beats the child. The beating is thought as a blessing, and the blush with the beating is described as a blossom of rose on the beaten point.</p>	<p>Öğretmenin vurduğu yerde gül biter.</p> <p>LM: A rose blooms where the teacher slaps.</p> <p>Hocanın vurduğu yerde gül açar.</p> <p>LM: A rose blooms where the hodja slaps.</p>
<p>Küllükte bazen gül biter.</p> <p>LM: Sometimes, a rose can grow up in an ashpot.</p> <p>MM: Sometimes, there could be real beauties coming out of bad environments.</p>	<p>Yabanda bitmiş, ama gül bitmiş.</p> <p>LM: A flower bloomed in the wild, but it is a rose.</p> <p>Küllükte bittim, gül bittim.</p> <p>LM: I bloomed in an ashtray, but I bloomed like a rose.</p> <p>Küllükte bitmiş ama gül bitmiş.</p> <p>LM: It bloomed in an ashtray but as a rose.</p> <p>Çöplükte bittim, gül bittim</p> <p>LM: I bloomed in a trash bin, but I am a rose.</p> <p>Çöplükte bitmiş, gül bitmiş.</p> <p>LM: It was bloomed in a trash bin, but it is a rose.</p>
<p>Vakitsiz açan gül erken solar.</p> <p>LM: A rose blooming untimely fades away early.</p> <p>MM: There is an appropriate time to do every job, the work done before or after the time, the words spoken untimely, lead to negative consequences.</p>	<p>Vakitsiz açılan gül tez elden solar.</p> <p>LM: A rose blooming untimely fades away suddenly.</p> <p>Vaktinden evvel açan gül toz açar.</p> <p>LM: A rose that blooms before its time, blooms dust</p> <p>Vakitsiz açılan gül çabuk solar.</p>

	LM: A rose blooming untimely fades away quickly.
<p>Diken olup ayağa batacağına gül ol da yakaya takıl.</p> <p>LM: Rather than being a thorn harming the foot, be a rose and be used as a buttonhole.</p> <p>MM: Instead of harming people, helping enables them to be remembered positively.</p>	<p>Diken olup ayağa batacağına gül olup yakaya takıl.</p> <p>LM: Rather than being a thorn harming the foot, be a rose and be used as a buttonhole.</p>
<p>Dikenden gül biter, gülden diken.</p> <p>LM: The rose grows on the thorn; the thorn grows on the rose.</p> <p>MM: Bad people may have warmhearted children, just like good people may have evil offspring.</p>	<p>Bir ağaçta gül de biter, diken de.</p> <p>LM: One tree holds both a rose and a thorn.</p>
<p>Bok böceğine gül koklatınca çatlar.</p> <p>LM: When the scarab smells roses, it cracks.</p> <p>MM: Giving more positive things than necessary has its side effects.</p>	
<p>Bir demet gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.</p> <p>LM: A bunch of roses is better than a threshing herb.</p> <p>MM: A handful kind educated and intelligent people are better than thousands of uneducated, rude people.</p>	<p>Bir demet güzel kokulu gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.</p> <p>LM: A bundle of roses with a nice smell is better than lots of weed.</p>
<p>Dostun attığı gül, onulmaz yara açar.</p> <p>LM: The rose thrown by the friend makes a cureless wound.</p> <p>MM: Ordinary people's bad attitudes do not affect the soul. However, a friend's littlest attack can harm badly.</p>	<p>Dostun gülü yaralar beni.</p> <p>LM: The rose of a friend wounds me.</p> <p>Düşmanın attığı taş değil, dostun attığı gül yaralar beni.</p> <p>LM: What wounds me is not the stone thrown by my enemy, but the rose of a friend.</p>

<p>Gül bülbülsüz yaraşmaz.</p> <p>LM: Rose cannot be thought without a nightingale.</p> <p>MM: If a nightingale were not in love with the rose, people do not value it as much as they do now. Everything is precious with its match.</p>	<p>Gülün kadrini bülbül bilir.</p> <p>LM: Only a nightingale knows the importance of a rose.</p>
<p>Gülü seven dikenine katlanır.</p> <p>LM: Rose lover bears with its thorn.</p> <p>MM: Every human has positive and negative traits. If one loves genuinely, then bears with both sides of the person.</p>	<p>Bir gül için bin dikene katlanılır.</p> <p>LM: One endures a thousand thorns for one rose.</p> <p>Bir gül için bin dikene sabret!</p> <p>LM: Endure a thousand thorns for a rose.</p> <p>Bir gül için bin dikene hizmet et.</p> <p>LM: Serve a thousand thorns for one rose.</p> <p>Bahçıvan bir gül için bin dikene su verir.</p> <p>LM: A gardener waters a thousand thorns for a rose</p>
<p>Gülü tarife ne hacet ne çiçektir biliriz.</p> <p>LM: No need to describe rose, we know how it is.</p> <p>MM: People should not give well-known information just to speak.</p>	

As it is seen in Table 20, twenty rose proverbs have thirty-three variations. In Tatar's book (2007), ten proverbs with ROSE exist from eight different cities of Turkey, including Adana, Bolu, Eskişehir, Erzurum, Erzincan, Kütahya, Niğde, Tekirdağ and Tokat. Looking from a geographical perspective, these cities are located in the Mediterranean, Central Anatolia and Eastern Anatolia. Therefore, it may be suggested that such proverbs are less common in the western and northern regions.

Table 21 presents the target domains and attributes connected to GÜL (ROSE).

Table 21. Target domains and attributes for GÜL (ROSE) concept

Proverb	Meaning	Target Domain	Attribute
Başkasının ellemiş olduğu gülü takınma.	LM: Do not wear the rose touched by others. MM: Do not be with women that had previous romantic relationships.	WOMAN	-
Binde bir gelinen yere gül döşerler, her gün gelinen yere kül döşerler.	LM: People floor roses for rarely visitors, ashes for often visitors. MM: If you visit someone often it becomes ordinary, you do not get much attention. If you go there rarely, you got more attention, respect, and entertainment with a welcome.	COURTESY	+
Bir gül ile bahar olmaz.	LM: The spring doesn't come with only one rose. MM: A satisfying result cannot be achieved with one small, beautiful sign.	SIGN	+
Gönül var güle konar, gönül var çöplüğe	LM: A heart can beat for either a rose or a dump. MM: Some people love good and nice things in life and people who love bad and ugly things. The person who loves does not think it is bad for him. He always thinks it is beautiful.	BEAUTY	+
Gül dikensiz olmaz.	LM: There is no rose without any thorn. MM: There may be a flaw in the person and objects we love or obtain. People endure the troubles due to the person they love and the work they love.	BEAUTY	+
Gül, goncayken koklanır.	LM: The rose can be smelled when it is a rosebud.	WOMAN	+

	MM: You should take benefit of the beauties before it is too late.		
Gül yanında kabak anılmaz.	LM: There shouldn't be any talk on zucchini when there is a rose around. MM: One should not talk about bad things when good things are around.	BEAUTY	+
Gülüne bak, goncasını al.	LM: Look at the rose, get the rosebud. MM: If parents are good, children are grown with manner.	PARENTS	0
Her gül için bir bülbül olmaz	LM: There is not a nightingale for every rose. MM: Not every beauty is appreciated with the same amount of value.	BELOVED ONE	+
Hocanın vurduğu yerde gül biter.	LM: A rose blossoms where the teacher beats. MM: If the teacher sees it necessary, he beats the child. The beating is thought as a blessing and the blush with the beating is described as a blossom of rose on the beaten point.	REDNESS	+
Küllükte bazen gül biter.	LM: Sometimes, a rose can grow up in an ashpot. MM: Sometimes, there could be real beauties coming out of bad environments.	BEAUTY	+
Vakitsiz açan gül erken solar.	LM: The rose that blossoms before its time fades away early. MM: There is an appropriate time to do every job, the work done before or after the time, the words spoken untimely, lead to negative consequences.	SITUATION	0

Diken olup ayağa batacağına gül ol da yakaya takıl.	LM: Rather than being a thorn harming the foot, be a rose and be used as a buttonhole. MM: Instead of harming people, helping enables them to be remembered positively.	BEAUTY	+
Dikenden gül biter, gülden diken.	LM: The rose grows on the thorn; the thorn grows on the rose. MM: Bad people may have warmhearted children, just like good people may have evil offspring.	BEAUTY	+
Bok böceğine gül koklatınca çatlar.	LM: When the scarab smells roses, it cracks. MM: Giving more positive things than necessary has its side effects.	BEAUTY	+
Bir demet gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.	LM: A bunch of roses is better than a threshing herb. MM: A handful of kind, educated and intelligent people is better than thousands of uneducated, rude people.	BEAUTY	+
Dostun attığı gül, onulmaz yara açar	LM: The rose thrown by the friend makes a cureless wound. MM: Ordinary people's bad attitudes do not affect the soul. However, a friend's littlest attack can harm badly.	LITTLE MISDEED	-
Gül bülbülsüz yaşamaz.	LM: Rose cannot be thought without a nightingale. MM: If a nightingale were not in love with the rose, people do not value it as much as they do now. Everything is precious with its match.	BELOVED ONE	0
Gülü seven dikenine katlanır.	LM: Rose lover bears with its thorn. MM: Every human has positive and negative traits. If one loves genuinely, then bears with both sides of the person.	BELOVED ONE	+
Gülü tarife ne hacet ne çiçektir biliriz	LM: No need to describe rose, we know how it is.	WELL-KNOWN INFO	+

	MM: People should not give well-known information just to speak.		
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Table 21 demonstrates each target concept and the state of these concepts related to the twenty proverbs above.

The Miles and Hubermann formula indicates a 85% consistency between the researcher and the inter-rater. The reliability is calculated as: $17/(17+3)=0.85$. Table 22 presents the frequency of the target domain list for GÜL (ROSE) concept.

Table 22. Frequency of the target domain list for GÜL (ROSE) concept

Source Domain	Target Domain	Number
(GÜL) ROSE	BEAUTY	8
	BELOVED ONE	3
	WOMAN	2
	COURTESY	1
	SIGN	1
	PARENTS	1
	REDNESS	1
	SITUATION	1
	LITTLE MISDEED	1
	WELL-KNOWN INFO	1

As it can be seen in Table 22, BEAUTY is the most preferred target concept that is mapped onto (GÜL) ROSE (n=8). Lüleci (2016) also states that ROSE IS BELOVED metaphor is frequently used by Turkish writers as the present study confirms it with the help of proverbs. According to Table 23, apart from two concepts, namely BELOVED ONE (n=3) and WOMAN (n=2), the target domains listed in Table 23 occur only once. Therefore, it is possible to interpret that their mapping is rather recessive than the above mentioned three concepts. BEAUTY, being the most dominant concept in Table 23, constructs ROSE IS BEAUTY conceptual metaphor. Furthermore, BELOVED ONE and WOMAN target domains can also be regarded under the concept of BEAUTY. Two of three clashing answers given by the responders are between BELOVED ONE and BEAUTY, whereas one is between WOMAN and BEAUTY. It is apparent that these concepts are connected in a way that they construct a bigger picture at the end. Consequently, ROSE IS BEAUTY (n=13) can be seen as the main conceptual metaphor

that is extracted from the analysis of proverbs. 65% of target domains direct the minds to BEAUTY.

After analyzing Turkish proverbs with the rose concept, it is concluded that ROSE IS BEAUTY is the most salient conceptual metaphor. An example of it is given as follows:

(40) *Gönül var güle konar, gönül var çöplüğe.*

LM: A heart can beat for either a rose or a dump.

MM: Some people love good and nice things in life and people who love bad and ugly things. The person who loves does not think it is bad to him, he always thinks it is beautiful.

(Albayrak, 2009: 479)

Example (40) displays that ROSE is used to refer BEAUTY. The target concept becomes more concrete and tangible with the help of the source domain. Descriptive findings support ROSE IS BEAUTY metaphor. In Islamic culture, the smell and beauty of Mohammed are found similar to rose (Çetindağ Süme, 2017; Ayvazoğlu, 1992; Yıldız, 2012). As people love and respect him, this association navigates the target domain's attachment to BEAUTY. Beautiful and lovely babies are named after GÜL (ROSE) (Ayaz, 2011) which is a sign for cultural appreciation of the concept. Moreover, it is found beneficial for health and skin care (Yıldız, 2012). This makes GÜL (ROSE) a concept that is wanted.

Table 23 demonstrates the agreement rate and each responder's markings upon attribute values based on Cohen's Kappa (1960).

Table 23. Cohen's Kappa (1960) results for GÜL (ROSE) attributes

Interrater	Researcher				Ratio in total
	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Total	
Neutral	3			3	15.0%
Negative		2		2	10.0%
Positive	1		14	15	75.0%
Total	4	2	14	20	100.0%
Ratio in total	20.0%	10.0%	70.0%	1	
Agreement	3	2	14	19	
By Chance (with Ratio)	3.0%	1.0%	52.5%	56.5%	
Pr(a)	0.95				

Cohen's Kappa	89%
Variance	0.0005

As it is seen in Table 23, the agreement between the researcher and interrater on the attributes of the GÜL (ROSE) concept is found to be 0.89 which refers to a near-perfect agreement. First, there are three neutral, two negative and fourteen positive commonly marked items. Consequently, it is possible to suggest that GÜL (ROSE) shows a high incidence of being positive in mind.

Table 24 indicates the states of attributes allocated to GÜL (ROSE) concept.

Table 24. Attribute evaluation for GÜL (ROSE) concept

Concept	Attribute		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral
(GÜL) ROSE	15	2	3

Table 24 demonstrates the results after the disagreement resolution between the researcher and the interrater by the inclusion of a third native speaker of Turkish. As it is clearly observed in Table 24, the concept is pre-dominantly considered to be positive. The percentage of positive markings is calculated as 65%, whereas 10% negative and 15% neutral attributes are found in the data.

(41) Gülü tarife ne hacet ne çiçektir biliriz.

LM: No need to describe rose, we know how it is.

MM: People should not give well-known information just to speak.

(Albayrak, 2009: 481)

In (41), the proverb states that GÜL (ROSE) is a concept that is known by anybody. In a hidden way, it posits the favorable properties of GÜL (ROSE) by referring its smell and shape. Thus, it is marked positively. People spend their time and energy to grow this plant. *Gül* "rose" is found only in gardens with aesthetic concerns. People give each other a bundle of rose on special days. Literature, songs, drawings and many other folklore elements are full of *gül* "rose" motif (Ayaz, 2011; Çetindağ Süme, 2017). All of these facts can justify the positive image of *gül* "rose" in Turkish cognition.

3.2.4. Analysis of HARMAN (THRESHING)

Harman “threshing” and the concepts related to it in Turkish is expressed with various terms in English. In particular, threshing, winnowing, blending and harvesting are among the most commonly preferred English expressions for *harman* “threshing”. Turkish Language Association’s Online Dictionary defines *harman* as the job of separating the seed from the harvested plant. As a second sense, it is seen that the word is also used for the act of blending (Turkish Language Association’s Online Dictionary, 2020). For instance, two or more types of tea packets are mixed and create a new taste. This action is also named *harman* “threshing”. Lastly, according to the same source, if something is abundant in quantity, then the abundancy is called *harman* “threshing”, too.

Table 25 presents twenty Turkish proverbs with HARMAN (THRESHING) metaphors.

Table 25. Proverbs involving HARMAN (THRESHING) metaphors and their variations

Proverbs	Variations
<p>Bol ekmek harmanda, bol et kurbanda olur.</p> <p>LM: Abundancy of bread is in threshing, abundancy of meat is in eid qurban.</p> <p>MM: Everything has its special time to be in abundant quantity. When you find bread in high amounts, you may lack meat and vice versa.</p>	
<p>Dağ başında harman savrulmaz.</p> <p>LM: You should not winnow on the top of the mountain.</p> <p>MM: Every work has a suitable place to be carried out.</p>	<p>Alçaklara ev yapma sel için yüksekler harman yapma yel için ihtiyarlıkta genç kadın alma el için.</p> <p>LM: Don’t make houses in lower places for flood, don’t thresh for wind, don’t get married to a young woman for others.</p> <p>Dağ başına harman yapma, savurursun yel için; sel önüne değirmen yapma, öğütürsün sel için</p> <p>LM: Don’t thresh to mountains, you winnow it for wind, don’t make windmill in front of the flood, you would grind it for the flood.</p>

	<p>Dağ başında harman yapma, savurursun yel içinde; sel önünde değirmen yapma, öğütürsün sel içinde</p> <p>LM: Don't thresh on the mountains, you would winnow it in the wind; don't make a windmill in front of the flood, you would grind it in flood.</p> <p>Kocalıkta genç alma, el için; yüksek yere harman yapma, yel için, dere içine ev yapma, sel için.</p> <p>LM: Don't get married to young when you are old for others, don't thresh in high places for wind, don't make a house in the river for the river.</p>
<p>Harmanı yakarım diyen orağa yetişmemiş.</p> <p>LM: The one who said I burn your harvest cannot reach to reaping time.</p> <p>MM: If you talk about harming other people, you will be affected by your negative action in the end.</p>	<p>Harmanı yakacağım diyen orağa yetişemez.</p> <p>LM: The one who says I will burn the harvest, can't make it to sickle.</p> <p>Harmanı yakarım diyen orağa yetişemez.</p> <p>LM: The one who says I burn the harvest, can't make it to sickle.</p> <p>Harmanı yakmak isteyen orağa yetişmez.</p> <p>LM: The one who wants to burn the harvest can't make it harvest.</p> <p>Harmanı yakmak isteyen, orağa erişemez.</p> <p>LM: The one who wants to burn the harvest, can't reach the sickle.</p> <p>Harmanını yakayım diyen ekinine yetişmezmiş.</p> <p>LM: The one who says I want to burn your harvest, can't make it to his crop.</p> <p>Yığılı yakan harmana yetişmez.</p> <p>LM: The one who burns the harvest can't make it to his harvest.</p>

	<p>Harmanı yakayım derken ekinine yetişememiş.</p> <p>LM: While he was thinking of burning the harvest, he couldn't catch his crop</p>
<p>Koca öküz girmeyince harman dövülmez.</p> <p>LM: If the big bull is not involved, the threshing does not finish.</p> <p>MM: Difficult missions can be completed only with the guidance or support of experienced fellows.</p>	<p>Harmanı koca öküz kaldırır.</p> <p>LM: The old ox does the harvest.</p>
<p>Rüzgar eserken harmanı savur.</p> <p>LM: Winnow when the wind blows.</p> <p>MM: You should use the opportunities when they are available.</p>	<p>Yel eserken harmanını savur.</p> <p>LM: Winnow it when the wind blows.</p> <p>Yelini bulan harmanını savurur.</p> <p>LM: The one who finds wind winnows it.</p>
<p>Arı kadar eri olanın harman kadar yeri olur.</p> <p>LM: If you have a man the size of a bee, you have an area the size of a threshing floor.</p> <p>MM: Even if you have an occupation and prosperity, a woman is valued according to her husband.</p>	<p>Horoz kadar kocan olsun harman kadar yerin olsun.</p> <p>LM: Have a husband as big as a rooster, have an area to thresh.</p> <p>Horoz kadar eri olanın, harman kadar yeri olur.</p> <p>LM: If you have a man as big as a rooster, you have a place as big as threshing land.</p>
<p>Bir demet gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.</p> <p>LM: A bunch of roses is better than a threshing herb.</p> <p>MM: A handful of kind, educated and intelligent people is better than thousands of uneducated, rude people.</p>	<p>Bir demet güzel kokulu gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.</p> <p>LM: One bundle of nice smelling rose is better than lots of weed.</p> <p>Bir demet güzel kokulu gül, bir harman ottan daha iyidir.</p> <p>LM: One bundle of nice smelling roses is much better than lots of weed.</p> <p>Bir demet kokulu gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.</p>

	LM: One bundle of nice smelling rose is better than threshing weed.
<p>Dirgene dayanamayan porsuk, harmana girmez.</p> <p>LM: A Badger that cannot bear hayforks does not enter the threshing floor.</p> <p>MM: If a person wants to reach success, he should take some risks.</p>	<p>Dirgene dayanamayan porsuk, harmana gelmez.</p> <p>LM: A badger that can't endure hayfork, do not enter the threshing land.</p> <p>Harmana giren porsuk dirgene dayanır.</p> <p>LM: The badger entering the threshing land endures the hayfork.</p> <p>Dirgene dayanmayan porsuk harman kıyısına çıkmaz.</p> <p>LM: The badger that cannot endure hayfork do not come close to the threshing land.</p> <p>Dirgene dayanmayan porsuk, harmana girmesin.</p> <p>LM: The badger that cannot endure a hayfork shouldn't enter threshing land.</p>
<p>Yabasız harman savrulmaz.</p> <p>LM: You cannot winnow without hayfork.</p> <p>MM: You need the proper equipment for specific works.</p>	<p>Kış sobasız olur da harman yabasız olmaz.</p> <p>LM: A winter may pass without a heater, but threshing needs a hayfork.</p>
<p>Geçmiş harman savrulmaz.</p> <p>LM: It is not possible to winnow foregone harvest.</p> <p>MM: There is no point in following past events.</p>	
<p>Harmana giren tozsuz çıkmaz.</p> <p>LM: If you do threshing, you cannot be dust-free.</p> <p>MM: If you do a job, you carry signs of it on your body and soul.</p>	
	Harmanda dirgen yiyen sığa yılına kadar acısını unutmaz.

<p>Harmanda dirgen yiyen sapa bir daha gelmez sapa.</p> <p>LM: The donkey-foal which is beaten by hayfork in threshing, does not repeat his action.</p> <p>MM: If a person is punished because of his bad attitude, he will not repeat his actions.</p>	<p>LM: The donkey-foal, which is beaten by a hayfork, won't forget its pain for one year.</p> <p>Harmanda dirgen yiyen öküz yılına kadar acısını unutmaz.</p> <p>LM: The ox which is beaten by a hayfork won't forget its pain for one year.</p>
<p>Harmandan gelen harmana gider.</p> <p>LM: The things that come with threshing go to threshing.</p> <p>MM: The income obtained through a job is spent on the same job.</p>	
<p>Harmanı olmayanın dermanı olmaz.</p> <p>LM: If there is no threshing, then there is no remedy.</p> <p>MM: If a farmer does not work, he becomes desperate.</p>	
<p>Alma şehir kızını hamam der ağlar alma köylü kızını harman der ağlar.</p> <p>LM: Don't get married to the urban girl since she cries for hammam; don't get married to the country girl since she cries for threshing.</p> <p>MM: Each person should be married to someone who is appropriate to their culture. Otherwise, the marriage will not be peaceful for both of the sides.</p>	
<p>Kaçan kurtulur kalan harmanı döver.</p> <p>LM: The one running away is free, whereas the one staying has to thresh.</p> <p>MM: The ones who know how to escape from doing the job do not do it. On the other hand, those who are not that much witty have to deal with the job.</p>	
<p>Şartı tarlada keselim harmanda yabalaşmayalım.</p>	<p>Sabanda anlaşamayan harmanda anlaşamaz.</p>

<p>LM: Let's determine the conditions in the crop field and not get wild in threshing.</p> <p>MM: Before starting a job, the duties, shares and other issues have to be discussed in detail so that there will not be a problem during the work.</p>	<p>LM: The ones who cannot make the deal in plow time can't reach an agreement in threshing time.</p> <p>Şartı tarlada keselim harmanda yaba olmayalım.</p> <p>LM: Let's determine the conditions in the crop field and not be wild in threshing.</p>
<p>Yanan harmanın öşrü sorulmaz.</p> <p>LM: There is no tax for burnt harvest.</p> <p>MM: If there is no property, there is no benefit coming from it.</p>	<p>Yanmış harmanın öşrü olmaz.</p> <p>LM: There is no tax for burnt harvest</p> <p>Yanmış harmanın öşrü alınmaz.</p> <p>LM: The tax for burnt harvest is not taken.</p> <p>Yanmış harmandan öşür olmaz.</p> <p>LM: There is no tax from burnt harvest.</p> <p>Yanık harmandan öşür alınmaz.</p> <p>LM: The tax of burnt harvest is not taken.</p>
<p>Harman sonu saçılan buğday aranmaz.</p> <p>LM: Don't search for wheat after threshing.</p> <p>MM: If something available in abundant quantities, you don't think about small gains.</p>	<p>Harman zamanı saçılan buğday aranmaz.</p> <p>LM: Don't search for wheat during threshing time.</p>
<p>Harmanda izi olmayanın sofrada yüzü olmaz.</p> <p>LM: If someone does not have a mark on threshing, he should be ashamed to be at the dinner table.</p> <p>MM: You can only claim right on the work you sweated on. Otherwise, your share is nothing.</p>	<p>Tarlada izi olmayanın harmanda yüzü olmaz.</p> <p>LM: If someone does not have a mark in the crop field, he should be ashamed to appear in the harvest.</p> <p>Tarlada iz harmanda yüz gerek.</p> <p>LM: It is a must to have a mark on the crop field and have a face in threshing.</p> <p>Harmanda izi olmayanın sofrada yüzü olmaz.</p>

	<p>LM: The one who does not have a mark in threshing has no face for dinner.</p> <p>Tarlada izi olmayanın harmanda gözü olmaz</p> <p>LM: The one who does not have a mark on the crop field has no eye on the threshing.</p> <p>Harmanda izin olsun, yemeye yüzün olsun.</p> <p>LM: Have a mark in threshing, have a face to eat it.</p>
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As indicated in Table 25, thirty-eight variations are found for the twenty proverbs chosen. The concept HARMAN (THRESHING) is reported from eight cities, including Adana, Ağrı, Bolu, Isparta, İzmir, Ordu, Tokat, Yozgat (Tatar, 2007). Furthermore, all cities are distributed in different parts of Turkey and there could be no specified district for threshing.

Table 26 presents the target concepts and attributes connected to HARMAN (THRESHING).

Table 26. Target domains and attributes for HARMAN (THRESHING) concept

Proverb	Meaning	Target Domain	Attribute
Bol ekmek harmanda, bol et kurbanda olur.	<p>LM: Abundancy of bread is in threshing, abundancy of meat is in eid qurban.</p> <p>MM: Everything has its special time to be in abundant quantity. When you find bread in high amounts, you may lack meat and vice versa.</p>	TIME	+
Dağ başında harman savrulmaz.	<p>LM: You should not winnow on the top of the mountain.</p> <p>MM: Every work has a suitable place to be carried out.</p>	WORK	0
Harmanı yakarım diyen orağa yetişmemiş.	<p>LM: The one who said I burn your harvest cannot reach to reaping time.</p>	VALUABLE POSSESSION	+

	MM: If you talk about harming other people, you will be affected by your negative action in the end.		
Koca öküz girmeyince harman dövülmez.	LM: If the big bull is not involved, the threshing does not finish. MM: Difficult missions can be completed only with the guidance or support of experienced fellows.	WORK	0
Rüzgar eserken harmanı savur.	LM: Winnow when the wind blows. MM: You should use the opportunities when they are available.	WORK	0
Arı kadar eri olanın harman kadar yeri olur.	LM: If you have a man the size of a bee, you have an area the size of a threshing floor. MM: Even if you have an occupation and prosperity, a woman is valued according to her husband.	ABUNDANCY	+
Bir demet gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.	LM: A bunch of roses is better than a threshing herb. MM: A handful of kind, educated and intelligent people is better than thousands of uneducated, rude people.	ABUNDANCY	-
Dirgene dayanamayan porsuk, harmana girmez.	LM: A Badger that cannot bear hayforks does not enter the threshing floor. MM: If a person wants to reach success, he should take some risks.	PLACE	+
Yabasız harman savrulmaz.	LM: You cannot winnow without hayfork. MM: You need the proper equipment for specific works.	WORK	0
Geçmiş harman savrulmaz.	LM: It is not possible to winnow foregone harvest. MM: There is no point in following past events.	WORK	0

Harmana giren tozsuz çıkılmaz.	LM: If you do threshing, you cannot be dust-free. MM: If you do a job, you carry signs of it on your body and soul.	WORK	0
Harmanda dirgen yiyen sıpa bir daha gelmez sapa.	LM: The donkey-foal which is beaten by hayfork in threshing, does not repeat his action. MM: If a person is punished because of his bad attitude, he will not repeat his actions.	TIME	0
Harmandan gelen harmana gider.	LM: The things that come with threshing go to threshing. MM: The income obtained through a job is spent on the same job.	WORK	0
Harmanı olmayanın dermanı olmaz.	LM: If there is no threshing, then there is no remedy. MM: If a farmer does not work, he becomes desperate.	VALUABLE POSSESSION	+
Alma şehir kızını hamam der ağlar alma köylü kızını harman der ağlar	LM: Don't get married to the urban girl since she cries for hammam; don't get married to the country girl since she cries for threshing. MM: Each person should be married to someone who is appropriate to their culture. Otherwise, the marriage will not be peaceful for both of the sides.	PLACE	+
Kaçan kurtulur kalan harmanı döver.	LM: The one running away is free, whereas the one staying has to thresh. MM: The ones who know how to escape from doing the job do not do it. On the other hand, those who are not that much witty have to deal with the job.	WORK	-
Şartı tarlada keselim harmanda yabalaşmayalım.	LM: Let's determine the conditions in the crop field and not get wild in threshing. MM: Before starting a job, the duties, shares and other issues have to be discussed in detail so	TIME	0

	that there will not be a problem during the work.		
Yanan harmanın öşrü sorulmaz.	LM: There is no tax for burnt harvest. MM: If there is no property, there is no benefit coming from it.	VALUABLE POSSESSION	0
Harman sonu saçılan buğday aranmaz.	LM: Don't search for wheat after threshing. MM: If something available in abundant quantities, you don't think about small gains.	TIME	0
Harmanda izi olmayanın sofrada yüzü olmaz.	LM: If someone does not have a mark on threshing, he should be ashamed to eat from it. MM: You can only claim right on the work you sweated on. Otherwise, your share is nothing.	WORK	+

As illustrated in Table 26, there are five target concepts associated with HARMAN (THRESHING). More specifically, TIME, WORK, VALUABLE POSSESSION, ABUNDANCY and PLACE are the concepts mapped onto HARMAN (THRESHING). Only one source concept is not mapped onto the same target concept by the researcher and interrater. $19/(19+1)=0.95$ shows that the agreement rate is high.

Table 27 shows the number of target concepts associated with HARMAN (THRESHING).

Table 27. Frequency of the target domain list for HARMAN (THRESHING) concept

Source Domain	Target Domain	Number
HARMAN (THRESHING)	WORK	9
	TIME	4
	VALUABLE POSSESSION	3
	ABUNDANCY	2
	PLACE	2

As illustrated in Table 27, among the identified target concepts, ABUNDANCY (n=2) is the least referred one along with PLACE (n=2). VALUABLE POSSESSION (n=3) is placed in the third place according to the number of occurrences in the data, whereas

TIME (n=4) is the second most seen target domain. Finally, WORK (n=9) is observed to be the most salient concept. Therefore, it is possible to argue that in regard to these concepts those of PLACE and VALUABLE POSSESSION can be used interchangeably. VALUABLE POSSESSION is seen as the most appropriate selection for the target concept based on the proverbs with these concepts. Thus, THRESHING IS VALUABLE POSSESSION (n=5) is one of the conceptual metaphor extracted from the data. Given that the others are not correlated, they can be considered to be distinct conceptual metaphors. THRESHING IS WORK (n=9) is the most appearing conceptual metaphor. On the other hand, THRESHING IS TIME (n=4) emerges in the second row. THRESHING IS ABUNDANCY (n=2) is found to be one of the least preferred conceptual metaphors.

THRESHING IS WORK is the most salient conceptual metaphor identified through proverbs. An example of it is given as follows:

(42) *Dağ başında harman savrulmaz.*

LM: You should not winnow on the top of the mountain.

MM: Every work has a suitable place to be carried out.

(Albayrak, 2009: 318)

In the explanation of MM (42), the target concept is determined as WORK. THRESHING is seen as carrying out a task or perform duty.

THRESHING IS TIME is another common conceptual metaphor encountered in the sample. An example of it is given as follows:

(43) *Harman sonu saçılan buğday aranmaz.*

LM: Don't search for wheat after threshing.

MM: If something available in abundant quantities, you don't think about small gains.

(Albayrak, 2009: 503)

Depending on the region threshing season is known by local people and a reference point. As in (43), the end of the threshing mostly coincides with September.

When BAĞ (VINEYARD) and HARMAN (THRESHING) metaphors are compared, it is noticed that they have the same target domains in several cases. Overall, the target

concepts are similar to each other. To specify, it is possible to state that target domains of both concepts can be linked to mental space of agricultural world. WORK, TIME, VALUABLE POSSESSION, ABUNDANCY and PLACE have a blended space with HARMAN (THRESHING) and can have such an intersection set with agriculture, too.

Table 28 demonstrates the Cohen's Kappa (1960) results for HARMAN (THRESHING) attributes.

Table 28. Cohen's Kappa (1960) results for HARMAN (THRESHING) attributes

Interrater	Researcher				Ratio in total
	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Total	
Neutral	10		2	12	60.0%
Negative		2		2	10.0%
Positive			6	6	30.0%
Total	10	2	8	20	100.0%
Ratio in total	50.0%	10.0%	40.0%	1	
Agreement	10	2	6	18	
By Chance (with Ratio)	30.0%	1.0%	12.0%	43.0%	
Pr(a)	0.9				
Cohen's Kappa	82%				
Variance	0.00154				

As it can be seen in Table 28, the agreement rate between coders is near perfect agreement due to the fact that Cohen's Kappa values were estimated as 0.82. There are ten neutral, two negative and six positive items that are accepted by both of the evaluators. Looking at the researcher's markings, it is seen that HARMAN (THRESHING) is 60% neutral, 10% negative and 30% positive. On the other hand, the interrater indicates 50% neutral, 10% negative and %40 positive attributes upon HARMAN (THRESHING). Herein, it is seen that the concept is often seen with a more neutral quality rather than positive or negative. Additionally, being associated with positive thoughts and emotions is more likely for HARMAN (THRESHING), especially when compared to negative ones. Table 29 indicates the numbers of positive, negative and neutral markings for HARMAN (THRESHING).

Table 29. Attribute evaluation for HARMAN (THRESHING) concept

Concept	Attribute		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral
HARMAN (THRESHING)	7	2	11

As can be seen in Table 29, HARMAN (THRESHING) is rarely regarded as having a negative attribute. The concept is found closer to positive and neutral states. Overall, the concept displays 35% positive and 55% neutral characteristics. Thus, it is possible to suggest that HARMAN (THRESHING) is prone to be a neutral concept.

(44) *Şartı tarlada keselim harmanda yabalaşmayalım.*

LM: Let's determine the conditions in the crop field and not get wild in threshing.

MM: Before starting a job, the duties, shares and other issues have to be discussed in detail so that there will not be a problem during the work.

(Albayrak, 2009: 920)

In Example (44), HARMAN (THRESHING) source domain is mapped onto TIME target domain. It is neutral. THRESHING IS TIME conceptual metaphor does not evoke positive or negative image in the mind.

(45) *Harmanı olmayanın dermanı olmaz.*

LM: If there is no threshing, then there is no remedy.

MM: If a farmer does not work, he becomes desperate.

(Albayrak, 2009: 504)

The proverb in (45) has a conceptual metaphor THRESHING IS VALUABLE POSSESSION. Even the name of the target domain directs the researcher to positive marking. HARMAN (THRESHING) is reflected as a remedy and cure.

3.2.5. Analysis of OT (WEED)

Turkish Language Association's Online Dictionary gives the definition of *ot* as follows: "The plants whose parts on the ground surface do not get lignified and stay soft are

weeds. They are small plants which vegetate in spring and get dry after one or two seasons.” (Turkish Language Association’s Online Dictionary, 2020). Therefore, the translation of the word is given as weed. However, the basic meaning of OT (WEED) is broader than WEED. One can additionally see the pharmaceutical and gastronomical meaning of the word which corresponds to *herb* in English. In example (46), one sentence from Turkish TS Corpus includes OT (WEED) in its HERB sense.

(46) *Taze yapraklar küçük parçalar halinde yararlı ot salatasına eklenebilir. [TS Corpus]*

LM: Fresh leaves can be added to herb salad in small pieces.

As in example (46), OT is also translated as HERB in English. It is a positive equivalent in contrast to WEED.

Table 30 indicates that there are twenty Turkish proverbs including OT (WEED) metaphors.

Table 30. Proverbs involving OT (WEED) metaphors and their variations

Proverbs	Variations
<p>Ağılda doğan oğlağın çayırdaki otu biter.</p> <p>LM: The goat born in a warren, its weed grows in the meadow.</p> <p>MM: God gives the opportunities needed to raise a child when it is born.</p>	<p>Ağılda oğlak doğsa, ovada otu biter.</p> <p>LM: If a goat is born in a warren, its weed grows on the lowland.</p> <p>Ağılda oğlak olsa, ovada otu biter.</p> <p>LM: If there is a goat born in a warren, its weed grows on the lowland.</p> <p>Ağılda oğlak doğsa, dere boyunda otu biter.</p> <p>LM: If a goat is born in a warren, its weed grows by the river.</p> <p>Ağılda oğlak doğsa, derede otu biter.</p> <p>LM: If a goat is born, its weed grows in the river.</p>
<p>Arslana ot atar, ata et.</p> <p>LM: He throws weed to a lion, meat to a horse.</p> <p>MM: Some people with negative</p>	<p>Ata et, aslana ot atılmaz.</p> <p>LM: Don't give meat to a horse, weed to a lion.</p>

<p>intentions may show impossible events as they were real.</p>	<p>Ata et, ite ot verilmez.</p> <p>LM: Don't give meat to a horse, weed to a dog.</p> <p>Aslana ot, ata et yedirilmez.</p> <p>LM: Don't feed a lion with weed, a horse with meat.</p>
<p>Aşk ota da konar, boka da konar.</p> <p>LM: Love lands on both weed and sheet.</p> <p>MM: Human beings can fall in love with people without regarding they are good or bad.</p>	<p>Gönül hem ota konar, hem boka konar.</p> <p>LM: Heart may land on weed or shit.</p>
<p>Tepenin otu dereden bellidir.</p> <p>LM: The weed of the hill is understood from its river.</p> <p>MM: A human's deeds are understood from his actions.</p>	
<p>Bir tutam ot deveye hendek atlatır.</p> <p>LM: A weed tuft makes a camel jump over a ditch.</p> <p>MM: Small help can make someone achieve great actions.</p>	<p>Deveyi hendekten atlatan bir tutam ottur.</p> <p>LM: It is one tuft of weed that makes a camel jump over a ditch.</p>
<p>Buğday yanında acı ot da sulanır.</p> <p>LM: The bitter weed next to wheat is watered thanks to the wheat.</p> <p>MM: Someone's positive actions toward his environment enables the people surrounding him to benefit from the outcomes.</p>	<p>Buğdayın yanında acı ot da sulanır.</p> <p>LM: The bitter weed next to wheat is watered thanks to the wheat.</p>
<p>Deve sevmediği otu burnunun önünde bulur.</p> <p>LM: A camel finds the weed he dislikes in front of his nose.</p> <p>MM: If a person dislikes someone else, he will find that disliked person constantly around himself.</p>	<p>Devenin sevmediği ot, burnunun önünde biter.</p> <p>LM: The weed that a camel dislikes will grow in front of its nose.</p> <p>Keçinin sevmediği ot gelir karşısında dikilir.</p> <p>LM: The weed that a goat dislikes comes and stands against it.</p>

	<p>Keçinin sevmediği ot, karşısında dikilir.</p> <p>LM: The weed that a goat dislikes stands against it.</p> <p>Kuzunun sevmediği ot burnunda biter.</p> <p>LM: The weed that a sheep does not like grows on its nose.</p> <p>Yılanın sevmediği ot deliğinin ağzında biter.</p> <p>LM: The weed that a snake dislikes grows in its hole.</p> <p>İnsanın istemediği ot burnunun dibinde biter.</p> <p>LM: The weed that a human dislikes grows next to his nose.</p> <p>Eşeğin istemediği ot burnunun dibinde biter.</p> <p>LM: The weed that a donkey dislikes grows next to its nose.</p>
<p>Her ot kendi kökünden biter.</p> <p>LM: Every weed vegetates on its root.</p> <p>MM: Every human carries the characteristics of their family.</p>	<p>Her ot kendi kökü üzerinde yeşerir.</p> <p>LM: Every weed greens on its root.</p> <p>Ot kökü üstünde biter.</p> <p>LM: Weed grows on its root.</p>
<p>Kendisi için ot toplamayan, başkası için sepet örer.</p> <p>LM: The one, who does not collect weeds for himself, wattle baskets for others.</p> <p>MM: If someone does not work for himself, he has to work under others' command.</p>	
<p>Kimse sağmadığı ineğin önüne ot atmaz.</p> <p>LM: Noone throws weed in front of a cow that he does not milk.</p>	

<p>MM: Noone suffers any trouble for something that does not supply any advantages.</p>	
<p>Kötü otun tohumu çok olur. LM: The bad weed has many seeds. MM: Wickedness scatters very fast.</p>	
<p>Sürünün önüne geçen otun iyisini seçer. LM: The one in front of the flock chooses the best weed. MM: The leaders of a community gets the best of everything.</p>	
<p>Yeşil ot vardır şifa, yeşil ot vardır zehir. LM: There is a green weed that heals, there is a green weed that poisons. MM: Everything that looks beautiful isn't always beneficial. They could be harmful as well.</p>	
<p>Her otu pancar diye yeme. LM: Don't eat every herb thinking that it is beet. MM: Do not treat everyone with the same manner.</p>	<p>Her otu pancar diye biçme. LM: Don't mow every herb thinking that it is beet.</p>
<p>Devenin yemediği ot, başını ağrıtır. LM: The weed that the camel does not eat give headaches to it. MM: If a person does something he is not familiar with, he feels uncomfortable.</p>	<p>Kedi yemediği otu yerse başı ağrır. LM: If a cat eats weed that it doesn't eat, it gives the cat headache. Eşeğin yemediği ot ya başını ağrıtır ya dişini. LM: The weed that the donkey does not eat either gives headache or toothache. Eşeğin yemediği ot, başını ağrıtır. LM: The weed that the donkey does not eat gives him a headache. Eşeğin yemediği ot başını şişirir.</p>

	<p>LM; The weed that the donkey does not eat swells his head up.</p> <p>Eşegin yemediği ot başını gencaltır.</p> <p>LM: The weed that the donkey does not eat swells his head up.</p> <p>Devenin yemediği ot, başını ağrıtır.</p> <p>LM: The weed that the camel does not eat gives it a headache.</p> <p>Devenin yemediği ot, başına zarar.</p> <p>LM: The weed that the camel does not eat is bad for his head.</p>
<p>Kötü otun kökü derinde olur.</p> <p>LM: The bad weed has its roots in the deep.</p> <p>MM: People do not become bad all of a sudden. There are reasons underlying their change.</p>	
<p>Kuzunun kendi kopardığı ot tatlı olur.</p> <p>LM: The weed plucked by sheep is sweet to it.</p> <p>MM: For humans, the best works are their attempts.</p>	
<p>Mermer üstünde ot bitmez.</p> <p>LM: No weed can grow on marble.</p> <p>MM: It is in vain to work on something whose positive result is impossible.</p>	
<p>Susuz yerin otu haramdır.</p> <p>LM: It is wrong to use weed of the dry area.</p> <p>MM: As there is no life without water, living in dryland is wrong.</p>	
<p>Şahin küçüktür et yer, deve büyüktür ot yer.</p>	<p>Deve büyük ot yer; şahin küçük et yer.</p>

LM: A hawk is small and eats meat, whereas a camel is big and eats weed. MM: Do not judge people by their positions or appearance. They can have interesting abilities that can surprise everyone.	LM: A camel is big and eats weed, a hawk is small eats meat.
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Table 30 indicates that twenty-eight variations are found in relation to the weed metaphors. In Tatar's collection of proverbs (2007) the concept of OT (WEED) is seen in Afyon, Hakkari, Kırklareli, Mardin, Muğla and Urfa. In each province, there is only one example of it. If the regional distribution of the cities is considered, it is noticed that cities in the Black Sea region are not reported as having the metaphors of OT (WEED).

Table 31 exhibits the range of target domains and appropriate attributes connected to each source domain.

Table 31. Target domains and attributes for OT (WEED) concept

Proverb	Meaning	Target Domain	Attribute
Ağılda doğan oğlağın çayırda otu biter.	LM: The goat born in a warren has its weed in the meadow. MM: God gives the opportunities needed to raise a child when it is born.	LIVELIHOOD	+
Arslana ot atar, ata et.	LM: He throws weed to a lion, meat to a horse. MM: Some people with negative intentions may show impossible events as they were real.	MISFIT	0
Aşk ota konar, boka da konar.	LM: Love lands on both weed and sheet. MM: Human beings can fall in love with people without regarding they are good or bad.	BEAUTY	+
Tepenin otu dereden bellidir.	LM: The weed of the hill is understood from its river. MM: A human's deeds are understood from his actions.	RESULT	0

Bir tutam ot deveye hendek atlatır.	LM: A weed tuft makes a camel jump over a ditch. MM: Small help can make someone achieve great actions.	BEAUTY	+
Buğday yanında acı ot da sulanır.	LM: The bitter weed next to wheat is watered thanks to the wheat. MM: Someone's positive actions toward his environment enables the people surrounding him to benefit from the outcomes.	UNWANTED	-
Deve sevmediği otu burnunun önünde bulur.	LM: A camel finds the weed he dislikes in front of his nose. MM: If a person dislikes someone else, he will find that disliked person constantly around himself.	UNWANTED	-
Her ot kendi kökünden biter.	LM: Every weed vegetates on its root. MM: Every human carries the characteristics of their family.	OFFSPRING	0
Kendisi için ot toplamayan, başkası için sepet örer.	LM: The one, who does not collect weeds for himself, wattle baskets for others. MM: If someone does not work for himself, he has to work under others' command.	WORK	0
Kimse sağmadığı ineğin önüne ot atmaz.	LM: Noone throws weed in front of a cow that he does not milk. MM: Noone suffers any trouble for something that does not supply any advantages.	WORK	+
Kötü otun tohumu çok olur.	LM: Unwanted weed has many seeds. MM: Wickedness scatters very fast.	UNWANTED	-
Sürünün önüne geçen otun iyisini seçer.	LM: The one in front of the flock chooses the best weed. MM: The leaders of a community gets the best of everything.	LIVELIHOOD	+

Yeşil ot vardır şifa, yeşil ot vardır zehir.	<p>LM: There is a green weed that heals, there is a green weed that poisons.</p> <p>MM: Everything that looks beautiful isn't always beneficial. They could be harmful as well.</p>	BEAUTY	0
Her otu pancar diye yeme.	<p>LM: Don't eat every herb thinking that it is beet.</p> <p>MM: Do not treat everyone in the same manner.</p>	BEAUTY	0
Devenin yemediği ot, başını ağrıtır.	<p>LM: The weed that the camel does not eat give headaches to it.</p> <p>MM: If a person does something he is not familiar with, he feels uncomfortable.</p>	UNWANTED	-
Kötü otun kökü derinde olur.	<p>LM: The bad weed has its roots in the deep.</p> <p>MM: People do not become bad all of a sudden. There are reasons underlying their change.</p>	UNWANTED	-
Kuzunun kendi kopardığı ot tatlı olur.	<p>LM: The weed plucked by sheep is sweet to it.</p> <p>MM: For humans, the best works are their attempts.</p>	WORK	+
Mermer üstünde ot bitmez.	<p>LM: No weed can vegetate on marble.</p> <p>MM: It is in vain to work on something whose positive result is impossible.</p>	MISFIT	0
Susuz yerin otu haramdır.	<p>LM: It is wrong to use weed of the dry area.</p> <p>MM: As there is no life without water, living in dryland is wrong.</p>	LIVELIHOOD	-
Şahin küçüktür et yer, deve büyüktür ot yer.	<p>LM: Hawk is small and eats meat, whereas the camel is big and eats weed.</p> <p>MM: Do not judge people by their positions or appearance. They can</p>	MISFIT	0

	have interesting abilities that can surprise everyone.		
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Table 31 clearly demonstrates that there are seven target domains connected to OT (WEED) concept. These target concepts can as follows: MISFIT, UNWANTED, LIVELIHOOD, WORK, BEAUTY, OFFSPRING and RESULT. Only one source concept's target is not responded with the same mapping. Thus, Miles and Hubermann coefficient is found to be 95%, indicating that there is a strong agreement between the two raters. The reliability formula is applied as in: $19/(19+1)=0.95$.

Table 32 gives the list of target domains and their number of occurrences in twenty Turkish proverbs.

Table 32. Frequency of the target domain list for OT (WEED) concept

Source Domain	Target Domain	Number
OT (WEED)	UNWANTED	5
	BEAUTY	4
	LIVELIHOOD	3
	MISFIT	3
	WORK	3
	OFFSPRING	1
	RESULT	1

As it can be seen in Table 32, OFFSPRING (n=1) and RESULT (n=1) are the least salient target concepts mapped onto OT (WEED). On the other hand, LIVELIHOOD (n=3), MISFIT (n=3) and WORK (n=3) are categorized with OT (WEED) more in number. Moreover, BEAUTY (n=4) is observed to be in the second position after a count of the match while UNWANTED (n=5) is placed in the first. Herein, the most two salient concepts carry almost contrastive meanings in their sense. BEAUTY and UNWANTED are the ultimate result of OT (WEED) concept's metaphorical sense in Turkish culture. As it was mentioned at the beginning of this section, the concept can denote both weed and herb at the same time. Considering the fact that weed is mostly connected to negative features of a plant and HERB is mapped with healing or curing, it is inevitable to have such binary in metaphorical meaning. The concept bears two of these senses at the same time.

After the analysis of OT (WEED) metaphors, the conceptual metaphor WEED IS UNWANTED is found dominant in the list. An example of it is given as follows:

(47) *Kötü otun tohumu çok olur.*

LM: Unwanted weed has many seeds.

MM: Wickedness scatters very fast.

(Albayrak, 2009: 671)

As in (47), OT (WEED) constructs a negative image in the minds of Turkish speakers in certain cases. On the other hand, as the concept corresponds to the English word “herb” it also bares a positive use. Below, there is an example given:

(48) *Aşk ota konar, boka da konar.*

LM: Love lands on both weed and sheet.

MM: Human beings can fall in love with people without regarding they are good or bad.

(Albayrak, 2009: 181)

WEED IS BEAUTY conceptual metaphor is exemplified in (49). Unlike the metaphor in (48), BEAUTY can be a target domain matched with WEED. Cultural background and contextual use of the concept help people to interpret meaning correctly.

Table 33 presents the results of the Cohen's Kappa (1960) co-efficient test for the OT (WEED) attributes.

Table 33. Cohen's Kappa (1960) results for OT (WEED) attributes

Interrater	Researcher				Ratio in total
	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Total	
Neutral	7			7	35.0%
Negative	1	6		7	35.0%
Positive	2		4	6	30.0%
Total	10	6	4	20	100.0%
Ratio in total	50.0%	30.0%	20.0%	1	
Agreement	7	6	4	17	
By Chance (with Ratio)	17.5%	10.5%	6.0%	34.0%	
Pr(a)	0.85				
Cohen's Kappa	77%				

Variance	0.00292
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As illustrated in Table 33, the agreement between two raters is 0.77. Given that 0.80 and higher are considered nearly perfect, the result can be classified as an acceptable agreement.

The findings show that OT (WEED) is assigned to neutral value seven times, negative value six times and positive one four times by two of the responders. The researcher marks WEED 35% neutral, 35% negative, 30% positive while the interrater thinks that the concept 50% neutral, 30% negative and 20% positive. As it is seen, the percentages differ between the two evaluators. Nonetheless, the concept is mapped to positive attributes with the least frequency. The concept changes its attributes so dramatically that it can be interpreted to reach different senses.

Table 34 includes the states of being positive, negative or neutral for OT (WEED) metaphors.

Table 34. Attribute evaluation for OT (WEED) concept

Concept	Attribute		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral
OT (WEED)	7	2	11

As illustrated in Table 34, OT (WEED) is more inclined to be a neutral one. Again, the positive value keeps its position as the second most chosen attribute. At this point, percentages of different attributes can be listed as 35% positive, 10% negative and 55% neutral.

(49) *Mermer üstünde ot bitmez.*

LM: No weed can vegetate on marble.

MM: It is in vain to work on something whose positive result is impossible.

(Albayrak, 2009: 669)

The proverb (49) exhibits WEED IS MISFIT metaphor. The tone of the proverb is objective as if it were a factual information. The proverb states an everyday reality. Therefore, it is seen as a neutral concept.

(50) *Bir tutam ot deveye hendek atlatır.*

LM: A weed tuft makes a camel jump over a ditch.

MM: Small help can make someone achieve great actions.

(Albayrak, 2009: 158)

In (50), WEED IS BEAUTY metaphor is handled. As the conceptual metaphor's target domain suggests WEED has a favorable feature in proverb (50). In metaphorical meaning it is interpreted as help, which can also be associated with positiveness.

CONCLUSION

The study is conducted as an attempt to demonstrate conceptual mapping on plant-themed proverbial metaphors in the sample. To this end, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) was adopted to analyse the related metaphors. The research questions were tried to be answered by descriptive and cognitive data analysis methods. In this chapter, the research questions are answered, and the limitations of the study and suggestions for further studies are presented.

The first research question of the study is given as follows:

RQ1. What are the concepts of the plant-themed proverbs in Turkish and what are the most salient concepts in these proverbs?

Based on the review of two Turkish proverb dictionaries by Aksoy (1988) and Albayrak (2009), 162 plant-themed concepts are found. Of them, the most frequently used ten concepts are given as follows: AĞAÇ (TREE), BAĞ (VINEYARD), GÜL (ROSE), HARMAN (THRESHING), OT (WEED), ARPA (BARLEY), SAMAN (HAY), BUĞDAY (WHEAT), DAL (BRANCH), and SOĞAN (ONION). The first five most salient ones, namely AĞAÇ (TREE), BAĞ (VINEYARD), GÜL (ROSE), HARMAN (THRESHING), and OT (WEED) are selected for analysis.

The total number of proverbs contained in the dictionaries by Aksoy (1988) and Albayrak (2009) is 21.505. In the study, it is found that of them 2.298 proverbs include plant-themed concepts. In other words, 11% of all proverbs in the database are found to have plant-themed concepts.

The concept of AĞAÇ (TREE) is a highly significant figure in Turkish culture. It is possible to see AĞAÇ (TREE) in religious, social and economic life. In religious and cultural studies, this concept is mostly connected with the tree of life. Many of the Turkish legends such as Oghuz Khagan, Ergenekon and Dede Qorqut Epic include AĞAÇ (TREE). In these texts, the concept is linked to fertility, life, health. In dream interpretation, it is related to prophesy and authority. All these variances and frequent use suggest that this concept is one of the factors shaping social life. It is a material used in arts, furniture, architecture and economic activities. The income obtained from lumbering, fruit growing and paper industry depends on trees.

The concept of BAĞ (VINEYARD) and grape production one of the most important economic activities in Turkey. In fact, Turkey is the third grape importer in the world

according to the 2015 statistics (Güçgeldi Bashimov, 2017). Moreover, it is seen in folk literature, social ceremonies, handcraft, and other human activities in Turkish culture. It is consumed in multiple ways such as fresh fruit, dried fruit, vinegar, wine or pekmez. For dream interpretations, it is a sign of abundance.

In Turkish culture, GÜL (ROSE) is such an essential concept that many girls are named after it. The value appraised to the concept originates from Islamic beliefs. Many people associate the concept with the prophet Muhammed (Çetindağ Süme, 2017; Ayvazoğlu, 1992; Yıldız, 2012). Moreover, rose is a valuable substance for economic activities. Medicine, alimentation, perfumery, etc., are among the sectors that profit by rose.

Threshing is a crucial social and economic activity in Turkish culture. It is gathering time for work and celebration at the same time. There are songs, dances and games (Zencirci, 2015) dedicated to HARMAN (THRESHING). It leads to a meeting of bachelors for marriage and production of new agricultural goods.

OT (WEED) is one of the widest vegetation in Turkey (Günay, 2013). Therefore, it is cheap and accessible. People cook it and use it for healing purposes (Berkay Karaca, Yıldırım, & Çakıcı, 2015). Moreover, it is interpreted as richness, terrible news, being lonely depending on how it is seen in dreams.

RQ2. Which domains of experience or abstract notions are conceptualized in the five mostly seen plant-themed metaphors in Turkish proverbs?

In the analysis of target domains, cultural background regarding each concept is researched thoroughly and mapped to possible target concepts observing the proverbs and their variations accordingly by the researcher. Then, the possible concepts are collected, mixed and presented to an interrater. The interrater's evaluation generally shows an agreement with the researcher's work. At the points where disagreement is observed, another native speaker is involved. Herein, two of the three answers play a determiner role in the target domain.

After analyzing twenty proverbs with eighty-two variations, TREE IS HUMAN metaphor is found dominant and pervasive. The list of target domains extracted from the data can be given as SCHOLAR, PARENTS, SOCIETY, ACTION and SOURCE.

Twenty proverbs with fifty-three variations are analyzed so that the experiences and abstract domains beneath BAĞ (VINEYARD) can be unearthed. The analysis of the BAĞ (VINEYARD) concept leads the study to nine concepts: PROPERTY, WORK,

FAVORABLE OUTCOME, LIFE, HABITAT, HUMAN, EASY LABOR, RESIDENTIAL AREA, and FAMILY. After a second evaluation of the concepts for possible conceptual metaphors, VINEYARD IS PROPERTY, VINEYARD IS WORK, VINEYARD IS FAVORABLE OUTCOME and VINEYARD IS FAMILY metaphors are noticed to be dominant in the data.

GÜL (ROSE) has forty-one variations for twenty proverbs. The target domains of GÜL (ROSE) metaphor can be listed as: BEAUTY, BELOVED ONE, WOMAN, COURTESY, SIGN, PARENTS, REDNESS, SITUATION, and LITTLE MISDEED. ROSE IS BEAUTY conceptual metaphor is found dominant in the present data. The target concept has a positive sense in the minds of Turkish speakers.

In addition to threshing meaning, the Turkish *harman* word refers to concepts such as winnowing, harvesting and blending. Therefore, it is possible to declare that the Turkish version of threshing, better to say *harman*, has a more extended meaning than its English counterpart. In the Turkish Language Association's online dictionary, *harman* is defined as the process of distinguishing the seed from the harvested plant. This sense is the basic meaning accepted for the study. Twenty proverbs with fifty-seven variations are investigated in a detailed manner. Five target concepts are specified based on the research. WORK, TIME, VALUABLE POSSESSION, ABUNDANCY and PLACE are among these concepts. After an analysis of interconnectivity between the concepts, four conceptual metaphors are constructed. THRESHING IS VALUABLE POSSESSION, THRESHING IS TIME, THRESHING IS ABUNDANCY and THRESHING IS WORK are the conceptual metaphors identified through the process.

The last source domain handled in the research is OT (WEED). The Turkish version of *ot* refers to weed, herb and grass at the same time. Thus, it is possible to declare that its meaning can be extended to negative, positive and neutral notions at the same time. Weed as a plant is widespread in Turkey. Most of the proverbs, including *ot* seem to be on weed sense of the concept. In hard times such as war, natural disaster or poverty, Turkish people benefit from herbs for nutritional purposes. Moreover, since ancient years, herbs have been used for medicinal purposes. For dream interpreters, collecting herbs and getting rid of weed are associated with positive forthcoming events.

Turkish Language Association's online dictionary defines a weed as the soft plants that grow above the ground without lignification. They are described as tiny plants which grow in spring and dry after several seasons. After an analysis of twenty proverbs and thirty-six variations of them, seven target domains are specified. UNWANTED, BEAUTY,

LIVELIHOOD, MISFIT, WORK, OFFSPRING and RESULT are the identified underlying target concepts. Observing senses and conceptual links between these targets, the ultimate conceptual metaphors can be WEED IS BEAUTY and WEED IS UNWANTED. Probably as in English, weed has a more negative image compared to *ot* “weed” in Turkish looking at its definition (*Cambridge Online Dictionary, 2020*). HERB IS BEAUTY would be a better choice of wording. Understanding the exact stand of the concept highly dependent on the context.

RQ3. What are the negative, positive or neutral states assigned to the five mostly seen plant-themed metaphors in Turkish proverbs?

The concept of AĞAÇ (TREE), quantitatively the most salient one, is generally perceived as neutral by looking at Turkish proverbs. The concept hardly ever arouses negative feelings for Turkish speakers. The target concepts related to AĞAÇ (TREE) can be listed as HUMAN, SCHOLAR, PARENTS, SOCIETY, ACTION, SOURCE. HUMAN is mostly thought to be neutral. All of the SCHOLAR matches are marked as positive. PARENTS is regarded as neutral in two proverbs, positive in one proverb. SOCIETY, ACTION and SOURCE are observed with their neutral image in mind.

BAĞ (VINEYARD) is regarded as dominantly positive. It is essential to assert that the neutral state is also found to be linked to the concept. The gap between the number of occurrences for these two states is not huge. Negativity is scarcely associated with BAĞ (VINEYARD). The target concepts identified in proverbs involving BAĞ (VINEYARD) are PROPERTY, WORK, FAVORABLE OUTCOME, HABITAT, LIFE, HUMAN, EASY LABOR, RESIDENTIAL AREA, FAMILY. PROPERTY is mostly seen as a positive concept. FAVORABLE OUTCOME, LIFE and RESIDENTIAL AREA are marked positively in each proverb that BAĞ (VINEYARD) occurs mapped onto these concepts. WORK, HABITAT and HUMAN target concepts have a neutral evaluation in the minds of Turkish speakers.

The concept of rose is predominantly enlisted as positive. Neutral and negative states are rarely combined with (GÜL) ROSE. BEAUTY, BELOVED ONE, WOMAN, COURTESY, SIGN, WELL-KNOWN INFO and REDNESS are among the target concepts engaged to GÜL (ROSE) and they bear a positive image in the proverbs the concept appears.

HARMAN (THRESHING) is chiefly matched with neutral attributes. The concept is also found to be perceived positively in many of the proverbs. There is not much of a

difference in the quantity of positive and neutral responses. TIME, WORK, VALUABLE POSSESSION, ABUNDANCY and PLACE are the target concepts identified for HARMAN (THRESHING). TIME and WORK are mostly regarded as neutral concepts, whereas PLACE and ABUNDANCY are generally perceived as positive concepts.

Lastly, OT (WEED) is mostly seen as a neutral concept, although it is also considered positive. In some cases, the concept of OT (WEED) is categorized as a negative concept. The target concepts connected to OT (WEED) can be listed: LIVELIHOOD, MISFIT, BEAUTY, RESULT, UNWANTED, OFFSPRING and WORK. UNWANTED is negatively marked in all cases seen in the study. MISFIT, RESULT and OFFSPRING have a neutral state. BEAUTY, WORK and LIVELIHOOD are marked with a positive state in many of their evaluations.

Limitations and Suggestions for Further Studies

Cultural specifications are essential to cognitive studies. Although proverbs are among the dependable sources that can be benefited, there are many folklore elements such as idioms, sayings, nursery rhymes, tongue twisters, folk songs, riddles, etc. All of these elements can be used for verification of the current study. For regional deductions, a proverb dictionary that investigates proverbs according to their city is used. The source is proportionally small for the size of this research. If available, more profound collections should be chosen to observe the geographical distribution of proverbs.

Two proverb collections are selected as the corpora of the present study. Many proverb dictionaries are compiled by various scholars. These sources can be used to conduct different metaphorical studies based on proverbs. The research can be enriched with the addition of contextual use of proverbs. Available Turkish corpora do not supply sufficient contextual data that contain proverbs.

In the study, the conceptual analysis is limited and performed with five mostly seen concepts because of the big data size. The rest of the plant-themed concepts still remain to be investigated. Additionally, only twenty proverbs are selected to be studied. The number of proverbs can be increased. Moreover, the concepts that are hypernyms, AĞAÇ (TREE) and OT (WEED) should be investigated with hyponyms in order to see if there are different perceptions for specific kinds.

Widely recognized the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (1980) is adopted for the present study. Different theoretical frameworks can be selected to investigate metaphors, such as the Neural Theory of Metaphor (Narayanan,1977). Moreover, the study can be

designed with a questionnaire. In such a version, participants can identify target domains. In this way, common and distinct responses may lead to a more solid result.

There are numerous contrastive studies conducted on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Although the present study is designed to be monolingual, it would enrich the literature if a contrastive study is carried out.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. RESEARCHER'S RESPONSE TO AĞAÇ (TREE)

Proverb	Meaning	Target Domain	Attribute
Ağaç düşer yakınına yaslanır.	LM: When a tree falls, it leans on the nearest one. MM: You can find the support you need from your close friends and relatives.	HUMAN	0
Ağaç kökünden yıkılır.	LM: A tree falls from its root. MM: A society is wrecked because of its head or foundation.	SOCIETY	0
Ağaç ne kadar uzasa göğe ereceği yok.	LM: No matter how long it gets; a tree never reaches to sky. MM: There is a limit of acceleration in every part of our lives.	SCHOLAR	+
Ağaç yaprağıyla güzeldir.	LM: A tree is beautiful with its leaves. MM: Humans show their existence with their children, family and friends.	PARENTS	0
Ağaç yaşken eğilir.	LM: A tree is bent while it is green. MM: Humans can't be taught after some age.	HUMAN	0
Ağaç, meyvesi olunca başını aşağı salar.	LM: When a tree has fruits, it bends its head. MM: Intellectual people that contribute to society are decent and humble.	HUMAN	+

Ağaca vurmuşlar balta "sapı bedenimden" demiş.	LM: When a tree gets beaten by an axe, it says the handle is from my body. MM: A person gets the biggest harm from its nearest.	HUMAN	0
Ağaca çıksa papucu yerde kalmaz.	LM: If he climbs up a tree, he takes his shoes with him. MM: Cautious people take the precautions of their actions.	ACTION	0
Ağacın gölgesi dibine düşmez	LM: The shadow of a tree does not fall to its bottom. MM: People are not helpful to their close friends or relatives.	HUMAN	0
Ağacın meyvesi de kendine benzer	LM: The fruit resembles to its tree. MM: The children take after from their parents.	PARENTS	0
Balta değmedik ağaç olmaz	LM: There is no tree without the touch of an axe. MM: There is no one without any injury or pain.	HUMAN	0
Bir ağacın altında bin koyun gölgelenir.	LM: A thousand sheep are in the shadow of one tree. MM: Many people get benefit from a wise and helpful person.	SCHOLAR	+
Bir ağaçta gül de biter diken de.	LM: A tree has both roses and thorns. MM: Both bad and good people can come from the family.	SOCIETY	0
Çıkacağına ağaca göre tırman.	LM: Climb according to the tree. MM: The job you have undertaken must be suitable for your talent and opportunities.	ACTION	0
Her ağacın dibine yatılmaz.	LM: Don't lie to every tree's shadow. MM: You cannot rely on everybody.	HUMAN	-

Her ağacın meyvesi olmaz	LM: Not all trees have fruits. MM: Expecting the same performance and benefit from all people is a fallacy.	HUMAN	-
Meyve, ağacından uzağa düşmez.	LM: Fruits do not fall far away from their trees. MM: Children are similar to their family.	PARENTS	+
Meyvesini ye de ağacını sorma.	LM: Eat the fruit and don't ask about its tree. MM: It is not right to investigate the sources.	SOURCE	0
Meyveli Ağacı taşlarlar.	LM: Trees with fruits get beaten by stones. MM: Talented, wise and helpful people do not get the respect they deserve; instead, society finds them strange. They are harshly criticized.	SCHOLAR	+

APPENDIX 2. INTER-RATER'S RESPONSE TO AĞAÇ (TREE)

Proverb	Meaning	Target Domain	Attribute
Ağaç düşer yakınına yaslanır.	LM: When a tree falls, it leans on the nearest one. MM: You can find the support you need from your close friends and relatives.	HUMAN	0
Ağaç kökünden yıkılır.	LM: A tree falls from its root. MM: A society is wrecked because of its head or foundation.	SOCIETY	0
Ağaç ne kadar uzasa göğe ereceği yok.	LM: No matter how long it gets; a tree never reaches to sky. MM: There is a limit of acceleration in every part of our lives.	SCHOLAR	+
Ağaç yaprağıyla güzeldir.	LM: A tree is beautiful with its leaves. MM: Humans show their existence with their children, family and friends.	PARENTS	0
Ağaç yaşken eğilir.	LM: A tree is bent while it is green. MM: Humans can't be taught after some age.	HUMAN	0
Ağaç, meyvesi olunca başını aşağı salar.	LM: When a tree has fruits, it bends its head. MM: Intellectual people that contribute to society are decent and humble.	HUMAN	0
Ağaca balta vurmuşlar "sapı bedenimden" demiş.	LM: When a tree gets beaten by an axe, it says the handle is from my body. MM: A person gets the biggest harm from its nearest.	HUMAN	0

Ağaca çıksa papucu yerde kalmaz.	LM: If he climbs up a tree, he takes his shoes with him. MM: Cautious people take the precautions of their actions.	ACTION	0
Ağacın gölgesi dibine düşmez	LM: The shadow of a tree does not fall to its bottom. MM: People are not helpful to their close friends or relatives.	HUMAN	0
Ağacın kurdu içinde olur.	LM: The worm of a tree is inside its body. MM: The organizations collapse because of its own workers.	SOCIETY	0
Ağacın meyvesi de kendine benzer	LM: The fruit resembles to its tree. MM: The children take after from their parents.	PARENTS	0
Balta değmedik ağaç olmaz	LM: There is no tree without the touch of an axe. MM: There is no one without any injury or pain.	HUMAN	0
Bir ağacın altında bin koyun gölgelenir.	LM: A thousand sheep are in the shadow of one tree. MM: Many people get benefit from a wise and helpful person.	SCHOLAR	+
Bir ağaçta gül de biter diken de.	LM: A tree has both roses and thorns. MM: Both bad and good people can come from the family.	SOCIETY	0
Çıkacağı ağaca göre tırman.	LM: Climb according to the tree. MM: The job you have undertaken must be suitable for your talent and opportunities.	ACTION	0
Her ağacın dibine yatılmaz.	LM: Don't lie to every tree's shadow. MM: You cannot rely on everybody.	HUMAN	-

Her ağacın meyvesi olmaz	LM: Not all trees have fruits. MM: Expecting the same performance and benefit from all people is a fallacy.	HUMAN	0
Meyve, ağacından uzağa düşmez.	LM: Fruits do not fall far away from their trees. MM: Children are similar to their family.	PARENTS	+
Meyvesini ye de ağacını sorma.	LM: Eat the fruit and don't ask about its tree. MM: It is not right to investigate the sources.	SOURCE	0
Meyveli ağacı taşlarlar.	LM: Trees with fruits get beaten by stones. MM: Talented, wise and helpful people do not get the respect they deserve; instead, society finds them strange. They are harshly criticized.	SCHOLAR	+

APPENDIX 3. RESEARCHER'S RESPONSE TO BAĞ (VINEYARD)

Proverbs	Variations	Target domain	Attribute
Baba oğluna bir bağ bağışlamış, oğul babasına bir salkım üzüm vermemiş.	Babası oğluna bir bağ vermiş, oğlu babasına bir salkım üzümü çok görmüş. Ata oğula bağ kıydı, oğul ataya salkım kıymadı. Babası oğluna bir bağ bağışlamış, oğlu babasına bir çitmik salkım üzüm vermiş. Bağ sahibi bağını vermiş, bağ verici bir salkım üzüm vermemiş.	PROPERTY	+
Bağa bak üzüm olsun, yemeye yüzün olsun.	Bağı kaz üzüm olsun; üzümü yemeye yüzün olsun. Bağda izin olsun, üzüm yemeye yüzün olsun. Bağa var izin olsun, yemeye yüzün olsun.	WORK	0
Bakarsan bağ, bakmazsan dağ olur.	Bakarsan bağ, bakmazsan dağ. Bağa bakılmazsa dağ olur. Bağ barsız at tımarsız olmaz. Ekersen bağ olur, ekmezsen dağ olur	FAVORABLE OUTCOME	+
Ayı dağda üzüm bağda olur.	Tarla çayırdı, bağ bayırda. Dağ kuşu dağda, bağ kuşu bağda yakışır. Dağ kuşu dağda, çöl kuşu çölde gerek. Dağ kuşu bağda, bağ kuşu dağda olmaz. Dağ gülü bağda bitmez, bağ gülü dağda bitmez. Çoban aldı bağa gitti; kurt aldı dağa gitti.	HABITAT	0
Bağ gideceğine yaprağı gitsin.	Bağ gideceğine yaprak gitsin.	LIFE	+

Bağdaki bağdan, sürüdeki sürüden yer.		WORK	0
Böğürtlen dallanmış, bağ oldum sanmış; türk ata binmiş ağa oldum sanmış.	Böğürtlen çiçek açmış, bağ oldum sanmış; Yörük ata binmiş, bey oldum sanmış. Böğürtlen büyümüş, bağ oldum sanmış, Kürt ata binmiş, bey oldum sanmış. Böğürtlen büyümüş, bağ oldum sanmış, Kürt ata binmiş ağa oldum sanmış.	FAVORABLE OUTCOME	+
Destursuz bağa girilmez.	Destursuz bağa girenleri sopa ile kovarlar. Destursuz bağa girilmez; girenin yediği sopayı Mevla bilir.	PROPERTY	0
El eli, bağ da beli bilir		HUMAN	0
Geçti çağlar bozuldu bağlar.		LIFE	+
Tandır başında bağ dikilmez.	Tandır başında bağ dikmek kolaydır. Bağ dua değil çapa ister	WORK	0
Boğazda bağ bitmez		FAVORABLE OUTCOME	+
Çorbayı iç, bağı dolan; eti ye, dağı dolan.		EASY LABOR	-
Dağdan gelen, bağdakini kovar.	Dağ iti gelir, bağ itini kovar.	RESIDENTIAL AREA	+
Dağ üstü bağ olmaz.		FAVORABLE OUTCOME	+
Bizim bağın kuruğu hem ekşidir hem de tatlı.	Ekşi mekşi bizim bağın kuruğu. Ekşi de olsa bizim bağın kuruğu. Koruk da olsa bizim bağın üzümü.	FAMILY	0
Görünen bağın uzağı olmaz.		WORK	0

İki gönül bir olursa bağ duvar istemez.		PROPERTY	0
Ne dağda bağım var ne tilkiyle davam	Dağda bağ alanın, çakaldan davası eksik olmaz. Dağda bağın var, yüreğinde dağın var. Her kimin bağı var yüreğinde dağı var Kimin ki bağı var yüreğinde dağı var. Ne dağda bağım var ne çakaldan davam	PROPERTY	0
Üzüm için bağ duvarına yaslanma.		PROPERTY	0

APPENDIX 4. INTER-RATER RESPONSE TO BAĞ (VINEYARD)

Proverbs	Variations	Target domain	Attribute
Baba oğluna bir bağ bağışlamış, oğul babasına bir salkım üzüm vermemiş.	Babası oğluna bir bağ vermiş, oğlu babasına bir salkım üzümü çok görmüş. Ata oğula bağ kıydı, oğul ataya salkım kıymadı. Babası oğluna bir bağ bağışlamış, oğlu babasına bir çitmik salkım üzüm vermiş. Bağ sahibi bağını vermiş, bağ verici bir salkım üzüm vermemiş.	PROPERTY	+
Bağa bak üzüm olsun, yemeye yüzün olsun.	Bağı kaz üzüm olsun; üzümü yemeye yüzün olsun. Bağda izin olsun, üzüm yemeye yüzün olsun. Bağa var izin olsun, yemeye yüzün olsun.	WORK	0
Bakarsan bağ, bakmazsan dağ olur.	Bakarsan bağ, bakmazsan dağ. Bağa bakılmazsa dağ olur. Bağ barsız at tımarsız olmaz. Ekersen bağ olur, ekmezsen dağ olur	FAVORABLE OUTCOME	+
Ayı dağda üzüm bağda olur.	Tarla çayırdaki, bağ bayırda. Dağ kuşu dağda, bağ kuşu bağda yakışır. Dağ kuşu bağda, bağ kuşu dağda olmaz. Dağ gülü bağda bitmez, bağ gülü dağda bitmez. Çoban aldı bağa gitti; kurt aldı dağa gitti.	HABITAT	0
Bağ gideceğine yaprağı gitsin.	Bağ gideceğine yaprak gitsin.	LIFE	+

Bağdaki bağdan, sürüdeki sürüden yer.		WORK	0
Böğürtlen dallanmış, bağ oldum sanmış; türk ata binmiş ağa oldum sanmış.	Böğürtlen çiçek açmış, bağ oldum sanmış; Yörük ata binmiş, bey oldum sanmış. Böğürtlen büyümüş, bağ oldum sanmış, Kürt ata binmiş, bey oldum sanmış. Böğürtlen büyümüş, bağ oldum sanmış, Kürt ata binmiş ağa oldum sanmış.	FAVORABLE OUTCOME	+
Destursuz bağa girilmez.	Destursuz bağa girenleri sopa ile kovarlar. Destursuz bağa girilmez; girenin yediği sopayı Mevla bilir.	HABITAT	0
El eli, bağ da beli bilir		HUMAN	0
Geçti çağlar bozuldu bağlar.		BEAUTY	+
Tandır başında bağ dikilmez.	Tandır başında bağ dikmek kolaydır. Bağ dua değil çapa ister	WORK	0
Boğazda bağ bitmez		PROPERTY	+
Çorbayı iç, bağı dolan; eti ye, dağı dolan.		EASY LABOR	-
Dağdan gelen, bağdakini kovar.	Dağ iti gelir, bağ itini kovar.	RESIDENTIAL AREA	+
Dağ üstü bağ olmaz.		FAVORABLE OUTCOME	+
Bizim bağın koruğu hem ekşidir hem de tatlı.	Ekşi mekşi bizim bağın koruğu. Ekşi de olsa bizim bağın koruğu. Koruk da olsa bizim bağın üzümü.	FAMILY	0
Görünen bağın uzağı olmaz.			0
İki gönül bir olursa bağ duvar istemez.		WORK PROPERTY	0

Ne dağda bağım var ne tilkiyle davam	Dağda bağ alanın, çakaldan davası eksik olmaz. Dağda bağın var, yüreğinde dağın var. Her kimin bağı var yüreğinde dağı var Kimin ki bağı var yüreğinde dağı var. Ne dağda bağım var ne çakaldan davam	PROPERTY	+
Üzüm için bağ duvarına yaslanma.		PROPERTY	+

APPENDIX 5. RESEARCHER'S RESPONSE TO GÜL (ROSE)

Proverb	Variations	Target Domain	Attribute
Başkasının ellemiş olduğu gülü takınma.	Başkasının kokladığı gül koklanmaz.	WOMAN	-
Binde bir gelinen yere gül döşerler, her gün gelinen yere kül döşerler.	Günde gelene kül döşerler, ayda gelene gül döşerler. Günde gelen çul üste, ayda gelen gül üste.	COURTESY	+
Bir gül ile bahar olmaz.		SIGN	0

Gönül var güle konar, gönül var çöplüğe	Gönül var güllüğe, gönül var çöplüğe düşer. Gönül var güllüğe, gönül var küllüğe düşer. Eşek küle aşık bülbül güle aşık.	BEAUTY	+
Gül dikensiz olmaz.	Bu cihanda ne yar ağyarsızdır ne gül dikensiz. Dikensiz gül ile nazsız güzel olmaz. Dikensiz gül olmaz, engelsiz yar olmaz. Gül çelgelsiz yar engelsiz olmaz. Gül dikenli ağaçta biter.	BEAUTY	+
Gül, goncayken koklanır.	Her gül zamanında kokar.	BEAUTY	+
Gül yanında kabak anılmaz.	Gül vaktinde zarta koklanmaz.	BEAUTY	+
Gülüne bak, goncasını al.		PARENTS	0
Her gül için bir bülbül olmaz		BEAUTY	+
Hocanın vurduğu yerde gül biter.	Öğretmenin vurduğu yerde gül biter. Hocanın vurduğu yerde gül açar.	REDNESS	+
Küllükte bazen gül biter.	Yabanda bitmiş, ama gül bitmiş. Küllükte bittim, gül bittim. Küllükte bitmiş ama gül bitmiş. Çöplükte bittim, gül bittim Çöplükte bitmiş, gül bitmiş.	BEAUTY	+
Vakitsiz açan gül erken solar.	Vakitsiz açılan gül tez elden solar. Vaktinden evvel açan gül toz açar.	SITUATION	0

	Vakitsiz açılan gül çabuk solar.		
Diken olup ayağa batacağına gül ol da yakaya takıl.	Diken olup ayağa batacağına gül olup yakaya takıl.	BEAUTY	+
Dikenden gül biter, gülden diken.	Bir ağaçta gül de biter, diken de.	BEAUTY	+
Bok böceğine gül koklatınca çatlar.		BEAUTY	+
Bir demet gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.	Bir demet güzel kokulu gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.	BEAUTY	+
Dostun attığı gül, onulmaz yara açar	Dostun gülü yaralar beni. Düşmanın attığı taş değil, dostun attığı gül yaralar beni.	LITTLE MISDEED	-
Gül bülbülsüz yaraşmaz.	Gülün kadrini bülbül bilir.	BELOVED ONE	0
Gülü seven dikenine katlanır.	Bir gül için bin dikene katlanılır. Bir gül için bin dikene sabret! Bir gül için bin dikene hizmet et. Bahçıvan bir gül için bin dikene su verir.	BELOVED ONE	+
Gülü tarife ne hacet ne çiçektir biliriz		WELL-KNOWN INFO	+

APPENDIX 6. INTER-RATER'S RESPONSE TO GÜL (ROSE)

Proverb	Variations	Target Domain	Attribute
Başkasının ellemiş olduğu gülü takınma.	Başkasının kokladığı gül koklanmaz.	WOMAN	-
Binde bir gelinen yere gül döşerler, her gün gelinen yere kül döşerler.	Günde gelene kül döşerler, ayda gelene gül döşerler. Günde gelen çul üste, ayda gelen gül üste.	COURTESY	+
Bir gül ile bahar olmaz.		SIGN	+
Gönül var güle konar, gönül var çöplüğe	Gönül var güllüğe, gönül var çöplüğe düşer. Gönül var güllüğe, gönül var küllüğe düşer. Eşek küle aşık bülbül güle aşık.	BEAUTY	+
Gül dikensiz olmaz.	Bu cihanda ne yar ağyarsızdır ne gül dikensiz. Dikensiz gül ile nazsız güzel olmaz. Dikensiz gül olmaz, engelsiz yar olmaz. Gül çelgelsiz yar engelsiz olmaz. Gül dikenli ağaçta biter.	BEAUTY	+
Gül, goncayken koklanır.	Her gül zamanında kokar.	WOMAN	+
Gül yanında kabak anılmaz.	Gül vaktinde zarta koklanmaz.	BEAUTY	+
Gülüne bak, goncasını al.		PARENTS	0
Her gül için bir bülbül olmaz		BELOVED ONE	+
Hocanın vurduğu yerde gül biter.	Öğretmenin vurduğu yerde gül biter. Hocanın vurduğu yerde gül açar.	REDNESS	+

Küllükte bazen gül biter.	Yabanda bitmiş, ama gül bitmiş. Küllükte bittim, gül bittim. Küllükte bitmiş ama gül bitmiş. Çöplükte bittim, gül bittim Çöplükte bitmiş, gül bitmiş.	BEAUTY	+
Vakitsiz açan gül erken solar.	Vakitsiz açılan gül tez elden solar. Vaktinden evvel açan gül toz açar. Vakitsiz açılan gül çabuk solar.	SITUATION	0
Diken olup ayağa batacağına gül ol da yakaya takıl.	Diken olup ayağa batacağına gül olup yakaya takıl.	BEAUTY	+
Dikenden gül biter, gülden diken.	Bir ağaçta gül de biter, diken de.	PARENTS	+
Bok böceğine gül koklatınca çatlar.		BEAUTY	+
Bir demet gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.	Bir demet güzel kokulu gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.	BEAUTY	+
Dostun attığı gül, onulmaz yara açar	Dostun gülü yaralar beni. Düşmanın attığı taş değil, dostun attığı gül yaralar beni.	LITTLE MISDEED	-
Gül bülbülsüz yaraşmaz.	Gülün kadrini bülbül bilir.	BELOVED ONE	0
Gülü seven dikenine katlanır.	Bir gül için bin dikene katlanılır. Bir gül için bin dikene sabret! Bir gül için bin dikene hizmet et. Bahçıvan bir gül için bin dikene su verir.	BEAUTY	+
Gülü tarife ne hacet ne çiçektir biliriz		WELL-KNOWN INFO	+

APPENDIX 7. THE RESEARCHER'S RESPONSE TO HARMAN (THRESHING)

Proverbs	Variations	Target Domain	Attribute
Bol ekmek harmanda,bol et kurbanda olur.		TIME	+
Dağ başında harman savrulmaz.	<p>Alçaklara ev yapma sel için yükseklere harman yapma yel için ihtiyarlıkta genç kadın alma el için</p> <p>Dağ başına harman yapma, savurursun yel için; sel önüne değirmen yapma, öğütürsün sel için</p> <p>Dağ başında harman yapma, savurursun yel içinde; sel önünde değirmen yapma, öğütürsün sel içinde</p> <p>Kocalıkta genç alma, el için; yüksek yere harman yapma, yel için, dere içine ev yapma, sel için.</p>	WORK	0
Harmanı yakarım diyen orağa yetişmemiş.	<p>Harmanı yakacağım diyen orağa yetişemez.</p> <p>Harmanı yakarım diyen orağa yetişemez.</p> <p>Harmanı yakmak isteyen orağa yetişmez.</p> <p>Harmanı yakmak isteyen, orağa erişemez.</p> <p>Harmanını yakayım diyen ekinine yetişmezmiş.</p> <p>Yığını yakan harmana yetişmez.</p> <p>Harmanı yakayım derken ekinine yetişmemiş.</p>	VALUABLE POSSESSION	+

Koca öküz girmeyince harman dövülmez.	Harmanı koca öküz kaldırır.	WORK	0
Rüzgar eserken harmanı savur.	Yel eserken harmanını savur. Yelini bulan harmanını savurur.	WORK	0
Arı kadar eri olanın harman kadar yeri olur.	Horoz kadar kocan olsun harman kadar yerin olsun.	ABUNDANCY	+
Bir demet gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.	Bir demet güzel kokulu gül, bir harman ottan iyidir. Bir demet güzel kokulu gül, bir harman ottan daha iyidir. Bir demet kokulu gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.	ABUNDANCY	-
Dirgene dayanamayan porsuk, harmana girmez.	Dirgene dayanamayan porsuk, harmana gelmez. Harmana giren porsuk dirgene dayanır. Dirgene dayanmayan porsuk harman kıyısına çıkmaz. Dirgene dayanmayan porsuk , harmana girmesin.	PLACE	+
Yabasız harman savrulmaz.	Kış sobasız olur da harman yabasız olmaz.	WORK	0
Geçmiş harman savrulmaz.		WORK	0
Harmana giren tozsuz çıkmaz.		WORK	0
Harmanda dirgen yiyen sapa bir daha gelmez sapa.	Harmanda dirgen yiyen sapa yılına kadar acısını unutmaz. Harmanda dirgen yiyen öküz yılına kadar acısını unutmaz.	TIME	0
Harmandan gelen harmana gider.		WORK	0

Harmanı olmayanın dermanı olmaz.		VALUABLE POSSESSION	+
Alma şehir kızını hamam der ağlar alma köylü kızını harman der ağlar		PLACE	+
Kaçan kurtulur kalan harmanı döver.		WORK	-
Şartı tarlada keselim harmanda yabalaşmayalım.	Sabanda anlaşılamayan harmanda anlaşamaz. Şartı tarlada keselim harmanda yaba olmayalım.	PLACE	0
Yanan harmanın öşrü sorulmaz.	Yanmış harmanın öşrü olmaz. Yanmış harmanın öşrü alınmaz. Yanmış harmandan öşür olmaz. Yanık harmandan öşür alınmaz.	VALUABLE POSSESSION	+
Harman sonu saçılan buğday aranmaz.	Harman zamanı saçılan buğday aranmaz.	TIME	0
Harmanda izi olmayanın sofrada yüzü olmaz.	Tarlada izi olmayanın harmanda yüzü olmaz. Tarlada iz harmanda yüz gerek. Harmanda izi olmayanın sofrada yüzü olmaz. Tarlada izi olmayanın harmanda gözü olmaz Harmanda izin olsun, yemeye yüzün olsun.	WORK	+

APPENDIX 8. INTERRATER'S RESPONSE TO HARMAN (THRESHING)

Proverbs	Variations	Target Domain	Attribute
Bol ekmek harmanda,bol et kurbanda olur.		TIME	+
Dağ başında harman savrulmaz.	<p>Alçaklara ev yapma sel için yükseklere harman yapma yel için ihtiyarlıkta genç kadın alma el için</p> <p>Dağ başına harman yapma, savurursun yel için; sel önüne değirmen yapma, öğütürsün sel için</p> <p>Dağ başında harman yapma, savurursun yel içinde; sel önünde değirmen yapma, öğütürsün sel içinde</p> <p>Kocalıkta genç alma, el için; yüksek yere harman yapma, yel için, dere içine ev yapma, sel için.</p>	WORK	0
Harmanı yakarım diyen orağa yetişmemiş.	<p>Harmanı yakacağım diyen orağa yetişemez.</p> <p>Harmanı yakarım diyen orağa yetişemez.</p> <p>Harmanı yakmak isteyen orağa yetişmez.</p> <p>Harmanı yakmak isteyen, orağa erişemez.</p> <p>Harmanını yakayım diyen ekinine yetişmezmiş.</p> <p>Yığını yakan harmana yetişmez.</p> <p>Harmanı yakayım derken ekinine yetişememiş.</p>	VALUABLE POSSESSION	+

Koca öküz girmeyince harman dövülmez.	Harmanı koca öküz kaldırır.	WORK	0
Rüzgar eserken harmanı savur.	Yel eserken harmanını savur. Yelini bulan harmanını savurur.	WORK	0
Arı kadar eri olanın harman kadar yeri olur.	Horoz kadar kocan olsun harman kadar yerin olsun.	ABUNDANCY	+
Bir demet gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.	Bir demet güzel kokulu gül, bir harman ottan iyidir. Bir demet güzel kokulu gül, bir harman ottan daha iyidir. Bir demet kokulu gül, bir harman ottan iyidir.	ABUNDANCY	-
Dirgene dayanamayan porsuk, harmana girmez.	Dirgene dayanamayan porsuk, harmana gelmez. Harmana giren porsuk dirgene dayanır. Dirgene dayanmayan Porsuk harman kıyısına çıkmaz. Dirgene dayanmayan porsuk, harmana girmesin.	PLACE	+
Yabasız harman savrulmaz.	Kış sobasız olur da harman yabasız olmaz.	WORK	0
Geçmiş harman savrulmaz.		EVENT	0
Harmana giren tozsuz çıkmaz.		PLACE	0
Harmanda dirgen yiyen sapa bir daha gelmez sapa.	Harmanda dirgen yiyen sapa yılına kadar acısını unutmaz. Harmanda dirgen yiyen öküz yılına kadar acısını unutmaz.	TIME	0

Harmandan gelen harmana gider.		WORK	0
Harmanı olmayanın dermanı olmaz.		VALUABLE POSSESSION	+
Alma şehir kızını hamam der ağlar alma köylü kızını harman der ağlar		VALUABLE POSSESSION	+
Kaçan kurtulur kalan harmanı döver.		WORK	-
Şartı tarlada keselim harmanda yabalaşmayalım.	Sabanda anlaşılamayan harmanda anlaşamaz. Şartı tarlada keselim harmanda yaba olmayalım.	TIME	0
Yanan harmanın öşrü sorulmaz.	Yanmış harmanın öşrü olmaz. Yanmış harmanın öşrü alınmaz. Yanmış harmandan öşür olmaz. Yanık harmandan öşür alınmaz.	VALUABLE POSSESSION	0
Harman sonu saçılan buğday aranmaz.	Harman zamanı saçılan buğday aranmaz.	TIME	0
Harmanda izi olmayanın sofrada yüzü olmaz.	Tarlada izi olmayanın harmanda yüzü olmaz. Tarlada iz harmanda yüz gerek. Harmanda izi olmayanın sofrada yüzü olmaz. Tarlada izi olmayanın harmanda gözü olmaz Harmanda izin olsun, yemeye yüzün olsun.	WORK	0

APPENDIX 9. RESEARCHER'S RESPONSE TO OT (WEED)

Proverbs	Variations	Target Domain	Attribute
Ağılda doğan oğlağın çayırdaki otu biter.	Ağılda oğlak doğsa, ovada otu biter. Ağılda oğlak olsa, ovada otu biter. Ağılda oğlak doğsa, dere boyunda otu biter. Ağılda oğlak doğsa, derede otu biter.	LIVELIHOOD	0
Arslana ot atar, ata et.	Ata et, aslana ot atılmaz. Ata et, ite ot verilmez. Aslana ot, ata et yedirilmez.	MISFIT	0
Aşk ota da konar, boka da konar.	Gönül hem ota konar, hem boka konar.	BEAUTY	+
Tepenin otu dereden bellidir.		RESULT	0
Bir tutam ot deveye hendek atlatır.	Deveyi hendekten atlatan bir tutam ottur.	BEAUTY	+
Buğday yanında acı ot da sulanır.	Buğdayın yanında acı ot da sulanır.	UNWANTED	-
Deve sevmediği otu burnunun önünde bulur.	Devenin sevmediği ot, burnunun önünde biter. Keçinin sevmediği ot gelir karşısında dikilir. Keçinin sevmediği ot, karşısında dikilir. Kuzunun sevmediği ot burnunda biter. Yılanın sevmediği ot deliğinin ağzında biter.	UNWANTED	-

	İnsanın istemediği ot burnunun dibinde biter. Eşeğin istemediği ot burnunun dibinde biter.		
Her ot kendi kökünden biter.	Her ot kendi kökü üzerinde yeşerir. Ot kökü üstünde biter.	OFFSPRING	0
Kendisi için ot toplamayan, başkası için sepet örer.		WORK	0
Kimse sağlamadığı ineğin önüne ot atmaz.		WORK	+
Kötü otun tohumu çok olur.		UNWANTED	-
Sürünün önüne geçen otun iyisini seçer.		LIVELIHOOD	0
Yeşil ot vardır şifa, yeşil ot vardır zehir.		BEAUTY	0
Her otu pancar diye yeme.	Her otu pancar diye biçme.	BEAUTY	0
Devenin yemediği ot, başını ağrıtır.	Kedi yemediği otu yerse başı ağrır. Eşeğin yemediği ot ya başını ağrıtır ya dişini. Eşeğin yemediği ot, başını ağrıtır. Eşeğin yemediği ot başını şişirir. Eşeğin yemediği ot başını gencaltır. Devenin yemediği ot, başını ağrıtır. Devenin yemediği ot, başına zarar.	UNWANTED	-

Kötü otun kökü derinde olur.		UNWANTED	-
Kuzunun kendi kopardığı ot tatlı olur.		WORK	+
Mermer üstünde ot bitmez.		MISFIT	0
Susuz yerin otu haramdır.		LIVELIHOOD	-
Şahin küçüktür et yer, deve büyüktür ot yer.	Deve büyük ot yer; şahin büyük et yer.	MISFIT	0

APPENDIX 10. INTER-RATER'S RESPONSE TO OT (WEED)

Proverbs	Supporting Variations	Target Domain	Attribute
Ağılda doğan oğlağın çayırdaki otu biter.	Ağılda oğlak doğsa, ovada otu biter. Ağılda oğlak olsa, ovada otu biter. Ağılda oğlak doğsa, dere boyunda otu biter. Ağılda oğlak doğsa, derede otu biter.	LIVELIHOOD	+
Arslana ot atar, ata et.	Ata et, aslana ot atılmaz. Ata et, ite ot verilmez. Aslana ot, ata et yedirilmez.	MISFIT	0
Aşk ota da konar, boka da konar.	Gönül hem ota konar, hem boka konar.	BEAUTY	+
Tepenin otu dereden bellidir.		RESULT	0
Bir tutam ot deveye hendek atlatır.	Deveyi hendekten atlatan bir tutam ottur.	BEAUTY	+
Buğday yanında acı ot da sulanır.	Buğdayın yanında acı ot da sulanır.	UNWANTED	-
Deve sevmediği otu burnunun önünde bulur.	Devenin sevmediği ot, burnunun önünde biter. Keçinin sevmediği ot gelir karşısında dikilir. Keçinin sevmediği ot, karşısında dikilir. Kuzunun sevmediği ot burnunda biter. Yılanın sevmediği ot deliğinin ağzında biter.	UNWANTED	-

	İnsanın istemediği ot burnunun dibinde biter. Eşeğin istemediği ot burnunun dibinde biter.		
Her ot kendi kökünden biter.	Her ot kendi kökü üzerinde yeşerir. Ot kökü üstünde biter.	OFFSPRING	0
Kendisi için ot toplamayan, başkası için sepet örer.		WORK	0
Kimse sağmadığı ineğin önüne ot atmaz.		WORK	+
Kötü otun tohumu çok olur.		UNWANTED	-
Sürünün önüne geçen otun iyisini seçer.		LIVELIHOOD	+
Yeşil ot vardır şifa, yeşil ot vardır zehir.		BEAUTY	0
Her otu pancar diye yeme.	Her otu pancar diye biçme.	BEAUTY	0
Devenin yemediği ot, başını ağrıtır.	Kedi yemediği otu yerse başı ağrır. Eşeğin yemediği ot ya başını ağrıtır ya dişini. Eşeğin yemediği ot, başını ağrıtır. Eşeğin yemediği ot başını şişirir. Eşeğin yemediği ot başını gencaltır. Devenin yemediği ot, başını ağrıtır. Devenin yemediği ot, başına zarar.	UNWANTED	-

Kötü otun kökü derinde olur.		UNWANTED	-
Kuzunun kendi kopardığı ot tatlı olur.		WORK	+
Mermer üstünde ot bitmez.		MISFIT	0
Susuz yerin otu haramdır.		UNWANTED	-
Şahin küçüktür et yer, deve büyüktür ot yer.	Deve büyük ot yer; şahin büyük et yer.	MISFIT	-



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Tarih: 08/02/2020

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