

Metaphorical and Metonymical Heart in Turkish: Kalp and Yürek

Sevgi GÖKÇE*

Abstract

Traditionally, the notion of metaphor has been conceived as a figure of speech used in poetry and prose so far. In Lakoffian paradigm, however, metaphors are not confined to literary language; they are located in everyday language and they shape the way one conceptualizes a mental domain via another. Thus, abstract concepts like life, time, state and change are expressed metaphorically (Lakoff, 1993). In this study, metaphors and metonyms of kalp and yürek frequently used in colloquial Turkish are dealt within the above-mentioned theoretical framework, and even though the two words are known as synonyms, what kinds of similarities and differences exist between their metaphorical and metonymical uses are put forth. Data were collected from METU Turkish Written Corpus (Say et al., 2004), a Turkish monolingual dictionary and two Turkish dictionaries of idioms and proverbs. Findings indicate that the concept of yürek is used far more frequently than kalp in metaphors and metonyms, and that one is not replaced with another in some contexts. What this difference may result from was partially interpreted in the study; nevertheless, more research on spoken corpora and folkloric works in particular could be necessary.

Keywords: kalp, yürek, metaphor, metonym, Lakoffian paradigm.

* Öğr. Gör. Dr., Eskişehir Osmangazi University, School of Foreign Languages, Eskişehir, Turkey.
Elmek: sevgigokce@ogu.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0003-0727-4429.

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Türkçede Kalp ve Yürek Eğretilmeleri ve Ad Eksiltmeleri

Öz

Eğretilme kavramı, bugüne değin geleneksel anlamda şiir ve düzyazıda kullanılan bir söz sanatı olarak düşünölegelmiştir. Ancak Lakoff'un kuramsal dizisinde eğretilmeler (metaforlar) yazınsal dille sınırlı değildir; aksine günlük konuşma dilinde yer almaktadır ve bir zihinsel alanın bir başkası aracılığıyla kavramsallaştırılmasını şekillendirmektedir. Dolayısıyla yaşam, zaman, durum, değışim gibi soyut kavramlar eğretilme yoluyla dile getirilmektedir (Lakoff, 1993). Bu çalışmada Türkçe günlük söylemde sıkça kullanılan kalp ve yürek eğretilmeleri ve ad eksiltmeleri adı geçen kuramsal çerçevede ele alınmakta ve iki sözcüğün eş anlamlı olarak bilinmesine karşın eğretilmeler ve ad eksiltmelerde nasıl benzerlikler ve farklılıklar taşıdığı ortaya konmaktadır. Araştırma verileri ODTÜ Türkçe yazılı derlem (Say v.d., 2004), bir Türkçe sözlük ve iki Türkçe atasözü ve deyimler sözlüğünden toplanmıştır. Sonuçlar, yürek kavramının kalp kavramına göre eğretilme ve ad eksiltmede çok daha sık kullanıldığını ve kimi bağlamlarda birinin diğerinin yerine geçmediğini göstermektedir. Bu farklılığın neden kaynaklanabileceği çalışmada kısmen yorumlanmış olsa da; özellikle sözlü derlem ve halkbilim yapıtları üzerinde daha fazla araştırmanın gerekliliğı görölmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: kalp, yürek, eğretilme, ad eksiltme, Lakoff'un kuramsal dizisi.

Geniřletilmiş Özet

Metafor (eğretileme) kavramı bugüne değin şiir ve düzyazıda kullanılan bir söz sanatı olarak düşünölmüřtür. Lakoff ve Johnson'ın (1980) ifadesiyle metafor, olağandan çok olağanüstüyü dile getiren bir kavram olarak görölmekte ve insan biliřindeki yaygınlığı gözden kaçırılmaktadır. Lakoff paradigması, metaforların edebi dille sınırlı olmayıp günlük dilde yer aldığına ve bir zihinsel alanı bir başkası aracılığıyla kavramsallařtırdığına dikkat çekmektedir. Dolayısıyla hayat, zaman, hal, deęişim, aşk gibi birçok soyut kavram metaforik olarak ifade edilmektedir; örneğın “Aşk bir yolculuktur” cümlesinde göröleceęi gibi soyut bir kavram olan “aşk”, “yolculuk” gibi daha somut bir kavramla (Lakoff, 1993) eřleşmektedir.

Lakoff ve Johnson'ın (1980) kuramı, metaforun insanların bir řeyi başka bir řey açısından anlamalarına ve deneyimlemelerine yardımcı olduęu tanımına dayanmaktadır. Bu kurama göre, insanın düşünsel sistemi metaforik olarak yapılandırılmıřtır; bu nedenle metaforik kavramlar keyfi deęil; sistematiktir. Sistematiklikleri, kaynak ve hedef alanların belirli bileřenlerinin, eřleşmelerin, unsurların, kaynak ve hedef alanların iliřkilerinin, deneyimsel temelin ve beyindeki kaynak ve hedef alanlara karřılık gelen sinirsel yapıların, metaforik dil ifadelerinin ve dil dıřı gerçekliklerin ve kültürel modellerin bileřiminden gelir. (Kövecses, 2005).

Bu çalıřmada Türkçede sıklıkla kullanılan kalp ve yürek metaforları ve ad eksiltmeleri yukarıda belirtilen kuramsal çerçevede ele alınmaktadır. Türkçede kalp ve yürek eř anlamlı olarak bilinmekte ve eř anlamlı sözcüğü “anamları aynı veya birbirine çok yakın olan” olarak tanımlanmaktadır (Türk Dil Kurumu Güncel Türkçe Sözlük, 2002). Sözlük tanımında olduęu gibi, kalp ve yürek bazı anlamlarda neredeyse aynı anlama gelmektedir. Öte yandan, ikisi de çeřitli bağlamlarda ve morfolojik formlarda farklı anlamlar taşımaktadır. O nedenle bu sözcükler, eř anlamlılar gibi birbirlerinin yerini alamaz; ancak “kısmi eř anlamlılar” olarak adlandırılabilir. Bu çalıřmada, kısmen eř anlamlı olan kalp ve yürek sözcüklerinin Türkçedeki metafor ve ad eksiltmelerindeki kullanımları arasındaki benzerlik ve farklılıklar incelenmektedir.

Veriler, ODTÜ Türkçe Yazılı Derlemi (Say v.d., 2004), bir Türkçe sözlük (Türk Dil Kurumu Türkçe Sözlük, t.y.) ve iki Türkçe deyim ve atasözleri sözlüğünden (Püsküllüoęlu, 2004; Türk Dil Kurumu Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü, t.y.) toplanmıřtır.

Elde edilen sonuçlara göre yürek, kalpten daha sık kullanılmaktadır. Taranan derlem ve sözlüklerde yürek ile ilgili 75 girdi ve 409 alıntı cümle varken kalp ile ilgili 36 girdi ve 301 alıntı cümle bulunmaktadır. Kalp ile ilgili girdilerin neredeyse yarısını kalbin organ anlamındaki kullanımı oluşturmaktadır. Buna karşın yürek sözcüğü yalnızca 18 kez organ anlamıyla kullanılırken geri kalan girdiler metaforik anlamlar içermektedir. Aynı şekilde, incelenen Türkçe atasözü ve deyimler sözlüklerinde de kalp sözcüğünün 35 girdisi görülürken yürek sözcüğünün 83 girdisi ile karşılaşılmaktadır.

Ayrıca her iki sözcüğün 8 benzer ve 7 farklı metaforik kullanımına rastlanmıştır. Kimi metaforlarda iki sözcük de benzersiz ve yeri doldurulamaz bir hedef alan olduğundan biri ötekinin yerine kullanılamamaktadır. Bunun nedeni sözcüklerin etimolojik geçmişlerinin farklı olması olabilir; zira kalp Arapçadan Türkçeye geçmiş, yürek ise Türkçe bir sözcüktür. Kalp sözcüğü yazılı dildeki yerini 13. yüzyılda almaya başlarken yürek 8. yüzyıldaki Uygur metinlerinde görülmeye başlamıştır (Çetinkaya, 2007). Bu tarihsel durum, yürek sözcüğünün kalp sözcüğüne göre derlem ve sözlüklerde daha sık yer almasının nedeni sayılabilir ve bu sözcükler eş anlamlı olarak tanımlansa da tarih boyunca ana dili Türkçe olan insanlarda farklı duygu ve düşünceler çağrıştırmış olabilir.

Bu boyuta ek olarak, iki sözcük arasındaki metafor ve ad eksiltme farklılıkları, folk modeli kavramından yararlanarak açıklanabilir. Sonuçlardan yola çıkarak düşünülebilecek bir folk modele göre, naiflik, romantizm, kırılganlık, nezaket ve merhamet kalbe atfedilmektedir. Yürek ise cesaretle, dayanışmayla ve bireyin yaşadığı olumsuzluklardan ötürü çeşitli mecazi yaralanmalarla iç içedir. Kalp, mecaz dışı kullanımlarda bile organ olarak ayrıcalıklı konumunu korumakta; yürek sözcüğünde olduğu gibi bir sakatat olarak yenilebilir bir gıda anlamı taşımamaktadır.

Bu derlem ve sözlük araştırmasında, metafor sınıflandırmaları ve olası bir kalp ve yürek folk modeli ortaya konmaya çalışılmıştır. Folk modellerini araştırmak için sözlü derlem ve folklorik eserler üzerinde daha fazla ve daha kapsamlı araştırma yapılması gerekmektedir. Küçük bir başlangıç olarak bu çalışmanın, iki kısmı eş anlamlı sözcüğün metaforik farklılıklarını görmek açısından bir çerçeve çizmesi umulmaktadır.

Introduction

In the movie *Il Postino* (Radford, 1994) a postman is assigned to deliver letters to the famous Chilean poet Pablo Neruda, who was exiled to a small island for political reasons. As the time goes by, their relationship evolves into a friendship throughout which the postman discovers poetry and the power of metaphors. When he falls in love with a girl in his neighborhood, he writes some of Neruda's "metaphorically loaded" lines to the girl to charm her. Understanding that her niece has been captivated by the poor postman's love letters, the girl's aunt, who does not approve this possible relationship at all, knocks at Neruda's door and complains about the postman as: "Your friend has lured my niece with his metaphors!"

Till these three major characters above -postman, girl and aunt- meet Neruda, none of them have ever heard of the word "metaphor". Therefore, all of them have produced their own definition depending on the change the concept has created in their lives. In the aunt's eyes, it is a dangerous way of seduction; for the postman, however, metaphors have become a new way of enjoying life.

Likewise, the way the concept of metaphor is handled in reference materials is not very different from the movie characters' approaches. In Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (2000), it is defined as "a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them". The definition in Encyclopedia Britannica Online (2011, ¶ 1) is: "figure of speech that implies comparison between two unlike entities, as distinguished from simile, an explicit comparison signaled by the words "like" or "as"". Both definitions tend to handle metaphor as a "figure of speech" and a rhetorical device for writing influential poems and aestheticizing literary texts. In Lakoff and Johnson's (1980, p. 3) words, it is seen as "a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language"; however, its pervasiveness in human cognition is overlooked.

Taking this cognitive linguistic approach to metaphor as a point of departure, this study encompasses how Turkish speakers use "heart" metaphorically and metonymically to express their thoughts and emotions. Since heart has two equivalents in Turkish *-kalp* and *yürek-*, differences and similarities between the two are discussed. To this end, data were collected from METU Turkish Written Corpus (Say et al.,

2004) and Turkish dictionaries (Püsküllüoğlu, 2004; Türk Dil Kurumu [TDK] Atasözlere ve Deyimler Sözlüğü, n.d., TDK Büyük Türkçe Sözlük, n.d.).

Review of Literature

Metaphor: Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) theory is based on the definition that metaphor helps people understand and experience one thing in terms of another. According to the theory, human conceptual system is metaphorically structured, therefore metaphorical concepts are not arbitrary; they are systematic. Their systematicity comes from the combination of certain components which are going to be explained and exemplified below:

- source and target domains
- mappings
- entailments
- relationships of source and target domains
- experiential basis and neural structures corresponding to source and target domains in the brain
- metaphorical linguistic expressions and nonlinguistic realizations
- cultural models (Kövecses, 2005).

Source and target domains constitute the conceptual domains of a metaphor. Source domain provides the basis for drawing metaphorical expressions to understand the target domain (Kövecses, 2002). To illustrate, considering the metaphor "life is a journey", "life" stands for the target domain and "journey" stands for the source domain where mappings take their foundation.

Mappings are systematic correspondences between target and source domains, through which abstract concepts are concretized (Kövecses, 2002). Mappings are not arbitrary; on the contrary, they are grounded in the body, everyday experience and knowledge (Lakoff, 1993). In the abovementioned metaphor, one of the elements of "life" is "human", so the element of "journey" corresponding to human is "wayfarer". In other words, "wayfarer" in the source domain goes with "human" in the target domain. Therefore, "humans are wayfarers" is a basic example of mapping. If these mappings go beyond a simple source-domain correspondence, they are called "entailments" (Kövecses, 2005). For instance, in English, calling someone a "wet blanket" in a party is an entailment of the metaphor "enthusiasm is fire" (Kövecses, 2007). Further than mappings and entailments, the relationship of sources and targets can be

multidirectional; that is, a source can match more than one target or vice versa.

Experiential basis is related to real-life physical, social or cultural bases. For instance, “happy is up” and “sad is down” because a happy person has an erect and dynamic posture in contrast to an unhappy person’s drooping posture. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In addition, the bodily experiential basis is called “embodiment”. For example, the conceptualization of “affection is warmth” is embodied in the experience of increase in body temperature as a result of affection. Accordingly, embodied experience activates certain neural connections in such a way that “when the area of the brain corresponding to affection is activated, the area corresponding to warmth is also activated” (Kövecses, 2005, p. 6). As a result, such an embodiment can be put into words by “metaphorical linguistic expressions” like “warm relationship” (Kövecses, 2005).

Nonlinguistic realizations can be called as real-life actualizations of linguistic expressions in cartoons, literary works, rituals, dream interpretation, myths, physical symptoms, social institutions, social practices, laws, foreign policy, forms of discourse. For instance, since “status is up” newborn babies are carried upstairs to ensure their success in certain rituals of some cultures (Lakoff, 1993). Moreover, cultural models of entities shape both linguistic and nonlinguistic realizations. For example, time is regarded to move in the cultures in which the culture-specific mental representation of time is that it is a moving entity (Kövecses, 2005).

Metonymy: Just like metaphor, metonymy has also been viewed as a matter of literary or figurative language; nevertheless, it is a conceptual phenomenon and it involves a cognitive process. In “She’s just a pretty face” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), *face* does not merely substitute the person; instead *face* evokes the person and person evokes the face to form a new, complex meaning (Radden & Kövecses, 1999). Likewise, in Turkish, *yüz*, which means face in English, includes the notion of honor and situation-specific identity (Ruhi & Işık-Güler, 2007). With regard to metonymy, Barcelona (2000, p. 4) provides a definition: “Metonymy is a conceptual projection whereby one experiential domain (the target) is partially understood in terms of another experiential domain (the source) included *in the same common experiential domain*”. The mappings in metonymy exist between domains and subdomains; as in the example “She’s just a pretty face” there is an interrelation between the part/subdomain (face) and the whole/domain (person).

Furthermore, metonymy operates within idealized cognitive model in respect of “contiguity” (Radden & Kövecses, 1999). The vehicle entity provides mental

access to a target entity when the two are contiguously related, that is, when they belong to the same domain. To illustrate, an author and his books belong to the same domain; they form a coherent whole and they are tightly linked in our experience of the world (Kövecses, 2002). Therefore, one can clearly infer from the sentence “I read Byron” that the speaker read one of Byron’s literary works.

Studies on “heart”: Kövecses (2002) counts “the human body” as one of the common source domains and reports a small-scale corpus study in which it was found that a large portion of metaphorical meaning derived from bodily experiences. Particularly in Turkish, speakers use parts of the body like *yürek* (heart), *kalp* (heart), *ciğer* (lung) or abstract bodily concepts like *iç* (inside), *gönül* (desire), *can* (soul), etc. in order to refer to their feelings (Aksan, 2006). Therefore, being a part of the body, “heart” is a common source and target domain for metaphors in several languages like Turkish.

Pérez (2008) dealt with conceptualizations of heart in five languages: French, Italian and Spanish, English and German. In most of the conceptualizations, the researcher found parallelisms among languages particularly when metaphors originated from bodily experiences. Idiosyncratic expressions and idioms derived from cultural and linguistic differences. As a result, the researcher concluded that if a metaphor is grounded in the body and mind, then it is expected to be universal. If it reflects idiosyncratic cultural aspects, cultural aspects in addition to cognitive aspects should be taken into account.

Adopting another culture-centered approach to studying metaphors, Pritzker (2007) worked on Chinese patients’ narrative accounts of depression. Rather than labeling heart as the one and only container of emotions, she focused on the brain metaphors serving the patients’ expression of their thoughts and emotions as well. She also drew attention to the Western categorization of heart for emotions and brain for thoughts, which was contradicted by the Chinese patients’ narrations in the study. The patients used both heart and brain for expressing their emotions and thoughts, and this was taken as an indication of multiplicity of metaphorical models of self in a Chinese context.

Metaphor studies in terms of heart metaphors in Turkish contexts are found to be scarce. Çalışkan (2010) worked on Turkish idioms and proverbs which take their conceptual domains from bodily organs, namely, foot, nose, ear, heart and face. She lists idioms and proverbs under each metaphorical conceptualization of the organs and

suggests teaching idioms and proverbs systematically within this framework. Yet, she does not make a distinction between the two equivalents of “heart” in Turkish: *kalp* and *yürek*.

Even though they are considered synonymous (TDK Büyük Türkçe Sözlük, n.d.), there are certain metaphorical and metonymical uses in which one cannot replace the other. Günay (2015) discusses the synonymy of *gönül*, *kalp* and *yürek* throughout the history of Turkish and points out that even though these three words appear to replace one another, they have several different senses in various contexts. She notes that in contemporary Turkish *gönül* and *kalp* can substitute each other in some religious senses whereas *yürek* is not used in that sense. As another example by Günay (*ibid.*), *kalp* and *yürek* may be used in medical contexts to refer to heart, but *gönül* cannot refer to an organ apart from few exceptional idioms like *gönülü bulanmak*.

Regarding the rarity of research on metaphorical and metonymical uses of “heart” in Turkish within Lakoffian paradigm, it is aimed to deal with differences and similarities between metaphors and metonymies in the domains of *kalp* and *yürek* in this study.

Method

Data were collected from METU Turkish Written Corpus (Say, et al., 2004) and dictionaries of Turkish idioms (Püsküllüođlu, 2004; TDK Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü, n.d.). On the basis of Lakoffian paradigm and components of metaphors, cases of metaphorical and metonymical uses of “heart” in Turkish were counted, grouped and analyzed to find an answer to the research question: “What are the similarities and differences between *kalp* and *yürek* in terms of metaphorical and metonymical uses?”

Findings

In the corpus the uses of *yürek* are more frequently encountered than the uses of *kalp*. 75 entries of *yürek* (including 409 excerpts) and 36 entries of *kalp* (including 301 excerpts) are examined. Almost half of the entries in *kalp* belong to literal uses of heart as the organ (143 excerpts). Standing in stark contrast, only 18 excerpts of *yürek* refer to the organ while the remaining is predominantly used for metaphorical conceptualizations (See Table 1). Likewise, in dictionaries of Turkish idioms, 35 idiomatic

expressions of *kalp* are listed, whereas idiomatic expressions of *yürek* are counted as 83. More frequent use of *yürek* is attributed to its being a Turkish word since it was seen in Uighur written texts in the 8th century while *kalp* was borrowed from Arabic and encountered in the 13th-century written texts (Çetinkaya, 2007).

Table 1. Percentages of Uses of *Kalp* and *Yürek* in METU Turkish Written Corpus (Say, et al., 2004)

	<i>kalp</i>	<i>yürek</i>
Literal use	47.5%	4.4%
Metaphorical and metonymical uses	52.5%	95.6%

Metaphors: Similar metaphorical conceptualizations of *yürek* and *kalp*

Yürek / kalp is a container of emotions: In almost all dialects of Turkish language, *kalp* or *yürek* is the place for emotions (Özkan & Şadiyeva, 2003), which is also reported in other languages (Pérez, 2008). Haşim (1928) shares the opinion of Chartier, a French philosopher, on the rationale for the worldwide perception of heart as the place of love and courage, about which Turkish is not an exception:

The word “heart” means both “love” and “courage” in every language. Since words have taken their meanings with the experience of centuries, this consensus in the meanings attributed to the word “heart” in every language evidences that folk observation has encountered the same truth in every era and in every country. He who does not know how to love does not know how to die, and war complements love. Folk wisdom accepting the “heart” as the center of love and heroism, which is located in the chest as the rich and noble region where the life forces are divided, does not place these two feelings in the stomach, which is the intestinal bed of nutrition and digestion. Thus, one is able to rise to the virtues of love and courage only by despising vulgar needs. Is it really possible to imagine a “love” or “courage” that keeps accounts like a merchant? (p. 28)

In addition to this universal conception of heart as a sublime container of emotions of love and courage, heart is used to support mind or brain in Turkish.

Daha fazla bozulmadan yeni kuşaklara ulaşabilmeleri için bizden yardım istediklerini fısıltılarıyla ulaştırıyorlar, kulaklarımızdan önce yüreklerimize ve beynimize. (In order to reach new generations without spoiling any more, they conveyed their wishes for our help by their whispers to our hearts and brains before our ears.)

Türkiye'nin başarısı, Müslümanların kalbinin ve aklının kazanılması için, hem

ABD hem de dünya açısından çok önemlidir. (In order to win Muslims' hearts and minds, Turkey's success is very important for both the USA and the world.)

Yürek / kalp is in the deepest: *Yürek / kalp* is a place at depth where all secrets are kept.

Mürekkep yüreğindeki bütün gizleri dökecek ortaya. (Ink will reveal all the secrets in his/her heart.)

Siz de kanatlı sözler duymaktan hoşlanırsınız eminim bundan, kalbinizin bir köşesinde küçük bir iyi nokta kalmıştır mutlaka. (You like hearing wingy words too, I'm sure about it, and in a corner of your heart a good small spot has absolutely stayed.)

Experiences are 'buried' in *kalp / yürek* as well:

Oğlunun cenazesinde gururla ve acısını ta yüreğinin içine gömerek halay çekiyordu. (The mother danced the halay proudly in his son's funeral burying her sorrow just in her heart's inside.)

Biz, geçmişte ne varsa güzel olan, yanımıza aldık, kalbimize gömdük. (We took whatever was good in the past and buried them in our heart.)

Similar to the conceptualization of burial of experiences, reviving beloved memory of a person in heart can be another entailment of "heart as the most secure and the deepest part" of the human.

O ölmedi; kalbimizde yaşıyor. (He did not die; he lives in our hearts.)

Every event happening to this deepest part is conceptualized to have permanent effects on the human as well. Therefore, idiomatic phrases of *kalbine / yüreğine dokunmak* (touch one's heart) and *kalbine / yüreğine işlemek* (perpetrate one's heart) are used to express profound effects of events on the deepest part of the body.

O gün gelene dek, ışıltılı vitrinlerin altında ısınabilmek için kibritler çakacağız, ayaz yüreğimize işleyecek, elimizdeki ateşi çocuklara doğru uzatacağız. (Until that day we are going to strike matches to warm under shining shop windows, crisp weather is going to penetrate our heart, we are going to pass the fire in our hands to children.)

Üstümüzden geçip giden şehrin *ta* kalbimize işleyen titreşimlerine bıraktım kendimi. (I let myself go with the vibrations penetrating into our hearts of the city which passed above us.) Because *yürek* and *kalp* are conceptualized to be located in the deepest place of the human body, in order to emphasize this distance, *ta* is additionally used to give the meaning "over there".

Yürek / kalp is restless: In line with the conceptualization of containing emotions, *yürek* and *kalp* overperform their “beating” function when the human body undergoes an intense emotive experience. This can be explained through humans’ experiential basis. Since in real life heart beats faster when the human experiences love, anxiety, etc, this excessive beating is expressed through certain verbs. The restlessness of *yürek / kalp* is conceptualized in its response to two main emotive situations:

Reactions to positive emotions like overjoy, excitement, exhilaration, etc: *Yürek / kalp* can react to events arousing such positive feelings through *atmak* (throb), *çarpmak* (throb), *kuş gibi çarpamak / çırpınmak* (flutter), *oyynamak* (get loose), *oynatmak* (cause heart to get loose), *yerinden oynamak* (come loose), *kalkmak* (stand up), *kaldırmak* (cause heart to stand up), and onomatopoeic verbs like *hop etmek* (leap), *hoplamak* (leap), *hoplatmak* (cause heart to leap), *küt küt / güm güm atmak* (throb with several knocks), *kıpır kıpır olmak* (be fidgety).

Sevda için çarpan yüreklerimize kilit vuran devrimcilerdik. (We were the revolutionists who locked their hearts throbbing for love.)

In addition to these restless activities of heart, if extremity in excitement peaks, heart can “almost stop”.

Her aramaya gidişte, kazmaya başlayışta heyecandan kalpler duracak gibi olur. (In every search, in every excavation, hearts are on the verge of stopping out of excitement.)

Reactions to negative emotions like stress, tension, fear, etc: The verbs listed above can be used for expressing negative feelings as well.

İki gün iki gece uyku uyumadan çalışmıştık. Hazırlık tamdı. Herkesin kalbi küt küt atıyordu. (We worked without sleeping for two days and nights. Preparations were complete. Everybody’s heart throbbed with several knocks.)

Kendimi hasta gibi duyumsuyordum. Başımın ağrısı, yüreğimin huzursuz çırpınışı... (I felt ill. My headache, my heart’s uneasy flutter...)

Furthermore, *yüreğine / kalbine inmek* is used for articulating death and extreme fears, which means “being struck with paralysis in one’s heart”. Since the existence of a healthy heart is essential for being alive, extreme experiences may lead to death or fears as terrible as death. Another extremity, overanxiety, is expressed through the idiom of *yüreği / kalbi ağzında olmak* (having one’s heart in one’s mouth) or *yüreği / kalbi ağzına gelmek* (coming of one’s heart to one’s mouth). Considering

the conceptualization that heart is in the deepest place of the human body, this idiomatic expression visualizes how heart can rapidly come a long way from the very innermost to the mouth because of intensive anxiety as illustrated below:

Kuşkuluydum. Heyecanlıydım. Oturur oturmaz çantasından bir zarf çıkardı, şunu okuyun, sonra konuşuruz, dedi. Yüreğim ağzıma geldi. (I was suspicious. I was nervous. The minute s/he sat down, s/he took an envelope out of his/her bag, “Read this and then we’ll speak”, s/he said. My heart came to my mouth.)

Yürek / kalp is virtue or evil: İyi kalpli / iyi yürekli stands for *good-hearted* and their opposites, *kötü kalpli / kötü yürekli* (bad-hearted) are used for describing evil people. *Temiz kalpli / temiz yürekli* (clean-hearted) can be used for describing *simple-hearted* people and both *açık kalpli* and *açık yürekli* mean *open-hearted*. However, opposites of neither cleanness (**kirli kalpli / *kirli yürekli*) nor openness (**kapalı kalpli / *kapalı yürekli*) exist in domains of *kalp / yürek*. When *kalpli* takes an adjective, it gains the meaning of the adjective used (Günay, 2015) and in the cases of *temiz* and *açık*, it gains the secondary meanings of the adjectives (e.g.: *temiz* means morally pure in this context); as a result, antonyms of their primary meanings cannot go together with *kalp*.

Yürek / kalp is material: The equivalent of *taş kalpli / taş yürekli* is *stony hearted* and its opposite *yumuşak kalpli / yumuşak yürekli* is *softhearted*. However, *yufka yürekli* (heart like phyllo dough) which also stands for softheartedness cannot alternate with **yufka kalpli* and it is not encountered in the corpus and dictionaries at all. This may be due to the etymological differences between *yufka* and *kalp* because the word *yufka* dates back to Central Asian Turkic languages (Terzi, 2006) and its use can be assumed as former as *yürek* while *kalp*, as mentioned before, began to be used later. Therefore, it can be deduced that *yufka* and *yürek* had already collocated before the appearance of *kalp* in the history of Turkish.

Yürek / kalp is sincerity: *Yürek / kalp* is conceptualized as the most sincere part of the human because it contains the purest forms of emotions hidden in the deepest part of the body, it reacts to these emotions and it represents the human’s true virtue or evil by its quality or its material. Thus, something coming from *yürek / kalp* is welcome as a sign of sincerity.

Saddam’la samimi ve nazik bir ortamda görüşme yaptıklarını belirten Tüzmen, “Sayın Saddam kalpten konuştu. Gerçekçi konuştu...” dedi. (Stating that they had a meeting with Saddam in a sincere and kind atmosphere, Tüzmen said: “Mr. Saddam spoke wholeheartedly. He spoke realistically...”)

Sigara bağımlısı olduğunuz sürece bir şeyi yürekten söyleyemezsiniz: mutlu, doyumlu ve huzurlu bir sigara içicisi olduğunuzu. (As far as you are a smoking addict, you cannot say one thing wholeheartedly: you are a happy, satisfied and peaceful smoker.)

Yürek / kalp is fillable: *Yürek / kalp* is conceptualized like a tabula rasa to be filled with new emotions. This may seem conflicting with the first assumption that *yürek / kalp* is already the container of emotions. On the contrary, it is related to the highlighting versus hiding functions of metaphors (Kövecses, 2002). In the ‘container’ metaphor, the heart limited to one certain emotion is highlighted, while its fillable aspect is hidden. Similarly, in the ‘fillable’ metaphor, the heart’s initial empty state and its refillability are highlighted, but its being a container is hidden.

İçimizi ısıtan, yaşam yollarımızı aydınlatan, yüreğimizi güven ve sınımsız bir sevgiyle dolduran, belki de bu dünyaya ait olmayan bir insandı. (He was such a person warming our innermost, illuminating our roads in life, filling our hearts with trust and a warm love, and maybe not belonging to this world.)

The idiom *yüreğini boşaltmak / dökmek* (empty / pour one’s heart) meaning relief after self-revelation is an entailment of this metaphor, as well.

Yürek / kalp is flexible: In Turkish, shape of the heart is not conceived as a fixed entity; it gives reaction to emotion-arousing happenings by being squeezed (*kalbi / yüreği sıkışmak*) and narrowing (*kalbi / yüreği daralmak*) for unpleasant experiences, widening (*kalbi / yüreği genişlemek*) for relief, and swelling (*yüreği kabarmak / şişmek*) for intensive pleasant or unpleasant emotions.

Eşber Beye haber salındı mı, Mahmut Bey? diye sorduğunu duydum, yüreğim korkuyla sıkıştı. (I heard s/he asked “Has news been brought to Eşber, Mahmut?”, my heart was squeezed with fear.)

Musa, kalbinin sıkıştığını hissetti. Kadın, kendisine bir şeyler söylemeye çalışıyordu galiba. (Musa felt his heart tightened. The woman probably tried to say something to him.)

Sevinçten yüreği kabardı Elmas’ın. (Elmas’s heart swelled out of joy.)

En basit olumsuzluk belirtisi, olasılığı, oluşumu yüreğimi daraltmaya yetiyor. (A simplest sign, possibility and occurrence of misfortune suffice to narrow my heart.)

Neden? Çünkü canımız sıkıldı bizim. Çok sıkıldı. İnsanlıktan konuşunca

genişliyor kalbimiz bir tek. (Why? Because we got annoyed. So annoyed. Our heart widens only when we speak about humanity.)

An entailment of this flexibility might be the pressurizable feature of heart as exemplified below:

Onu bu hallerde görünce uğursuz bir kasvet çöküyordu yüreğinin üstüne. (When s/he saw him/her in these circumstances, a sinister gloom flopped down on his/her heart.)

İçinde çok kötü, çok huzursuz, çok soğuk bir boşluk, sanki midesine, yüreğine, beynine oturmuş kara, soğuk bir sıkıntı topu vardı. (S/he had a very bad, very uneasy, very cold hollow in his/her inside as if there were a dark, cold ball of depression sitting in his stomach, heart, brain.)

Different metaphorical conceptualizations of *yürek* and *kalp*

Kalp rather than yürek is precious: Although *altın kalpli* (golden-hearted) is observed in 4 cases in the corpus, *altın yürekli* is not. Labeling gem-like value to *kalp* is also exemplified in *perlanta gibi kalp* –heart like a brilliant- (Çetinkaya, 2007). The opposite of this value is put into words as *kalbi bozuk* (spoilt heart). The example below displays that a precious *kalp* can only be ‘won’ or ‘stolen’.

Bu birikimini en iyi şekilde değerlendirerek öğretmenlerin kalbini kazanabilir. (S/he can win his/her teachers’ hearts by making the most of his/her accumulation.)

Winning *kalp* exists, but winning *yürek* does not. The idiom *kalbine girmek* (enter one’s heart) also means winning a person’s heart. Since *kalp* is conceptualized as treasury, one has to deserve to enter it! Likewise, in the databases stealing one’s *kalp* exists, but stealing one’s *yürek* does not. Thus, ascribing gem-like values to *kalp* but not to *yürek* can be owing to Turkish speakers’ different image schemata of the two.

Kalp is mercy: *Kalp* represents mercifulness, but when the derivational morpheme of *-li* (with) is attached to *kalp* (**kalpli*: with heart), it does not describe merciful people. However, if the adjectives of *iyi* (good) and *kötü* (bad) or the nouns of *altın* (gold) and *taş* (stone) precede *kalp*, these combinations are used to describe existence or absence of mercy in a human being. In contrast, the derivational morpheme of *-siz* (without) can be attached to *kalp* (*kalpsiz*: heartless) to refer to merciless people. By the same token, one cannot become or be made ‘heartful’ (**kalplileş(tir)mek*), but

one can become or be made ‘heartless’ (*kalpsizleş(tir)mek*). Günay (2015) underlines that when *kalp* is used together with an adjective, it gives the sense that heart is full of a certain positive or negative emotion described by that adjective because *kalp* embraces all spiritual states. Therefore, it can be understood that using the derivational morpheme of *-siz* (as in *kalpsiz*) eliminates all humane feelings. The case in *yürek* is, though, different, which is to be dealt later in the paper.

Kalp is the center more than yürek: In Turkish monolingual dictionary (TDK, Büyük Türkçe Sözlük, n.d.) and in Çetinkaya’s research (2007), metaphorical conceptualization of “centrality” is restricted to *kalp* as the center of something. Similarly, more tokens for *kalp* (7 cases) are found in the corpus than the ones for *yürek* (4 cases). Particularly for organizations, foundations and countries *kalp* (5 cases) is more frequently used than *yürek* (1 case) in the corpus. This can be explained with tendency to use *kalp* as the organ. As *kalp* is located at the center of the body, centrality of something can be better explained with it. In addition, *kalp* is vital to body, so is a centralized phenomenon to its surroundings. Kövecses (2002) elucidates such relationships with correlations in experience and perceived structural similarity.

Türk modeli ve ‘enerji coğrafyası’nın kalbindeki Türkiye’nin jeostratejik konumu 11 Eylül dünyasında öylesine ön plana çıktı ki... (Turkish model and the geostrategic position of Turkey at the heart of energy region have come to the foreground in the world of September 11 in such a way that...)

Kalp is fragile; yürek suffers injuries: *Kalp* can be broken in Turkish, but *yürek* cannot. This may be due to the metaphorical conceptualization of *yürek* as courage, and there may be an underlying assumption that courage is a tough and infrangible thing.

Tibet bu davranışıyla benim kalbimi kırdı. (Tibet broke my heart with his behavior.)

On the other hand, *yürek* can get stung (*sızlamak*), get sprained (*burkulmak*), hurt (*acımak*), bleed (*kanamak*), smash (*parçalanmak*) and be wounded (*yaralanmak*) for sorrowful events.

Küçük çocukların katledilmesi yüreğimizi sızlatıyor. (Murders of very small children sting our hearts.)

Mersin’de 12 yaşındaki Senem Kısac’ın 5 milyon lira ödemediği için karnesini alamayıp hastalanması, yürekleri burktu. (12-year-old Senem Kısac’s not getting her

report card and falling ill as she could not afford to pay 5 million liras for it sprained hearts.)

Buraya niçin geldiğinizi anlatmaya kalksam inanın ülkem adına yüreğim acır. (If I attempted to tell why you came here, believe me, my heart would hurt on behalf of my country.)

Kızının yumuşak dokularının her ezilişinde, annenin yüreği kanamıştı. (The mother's heart bled for every smash of her daughter's soft tissues.)

Bu ağır tutum karşısında Dreyfus'un adalet için yürekleri parçalayan haykırışını dinledi. (He listened to Dreyfus' outcry smashing hearts against that oppressive attitude.)

Bütün bu gelişimin sonrasında birkaç haftadır yaşanan ve söylenenler Fener'e sempati duyan Üsküdarlı çocuğun sarı - kırmızı yüreğini derinden yaralıyor. (Following the entire event, the things that happened and were said for a few weeks deeply wound the yellow-and-red heart of the child from Üsküdar liking Fener.)

In addition, only *yürek* is flammable, but *kalp* is not. *Kalp* can merely contain fire, but it cannot burn or melt. A clear, contrastive example can be found in the lines of *The Epic of Sheikh Bedreddin* by the famous Turkish poet, Nâzım Hikmet: “*O âteş ki kalbimin içindedir / tutuşmuştur / gündün güne artıyor. / Dövülmüş demir olsa dayanmaz buna / eriyecek yüreğim...*” (“*The fire in my heart / has burst into flame / and is mounting daily. / Were my heart wrought iron, it could not resist, / it would melt...*” tr. by Blasing & Konuk, 2002)

Entailments of the flammability of *yürek* can be seen in the onomatopoeic verb *cız etmek* in which “*cız*” is the sound of burning, and in the idioms of *yüreğine su serpmek* (*sprinkle water at one's heart*) and *yüreği serinlemek / yüreğini serinletmek* (*heart's cooling / cooling one's heart*) in case of a relief.

As seen in the examples above, *yürek* suffers more injuries and burns in comparison to *kalp* since *yürek* is a dynamic power which provides the link between interior and exterior forces, and burning of *yürek* depicts one's firm belief in God in Islam (Günay, 2015). The reason behind this difference may be found in the etymological roots of *yürek*. It came from the verb *yürümek* (to walk), and it used to include the meanings of moving, walking and working (Eyuboğlu, 2004). Consequently, *yürek* as a moveable entity may run the risk of getting injured, burning and melting.

Yürek is the stomach: In the idioms *yüreği bayılmak* (fainting of heart) and *yüreği ezilmek* (crushing of heart) the meaning is ‘getting hungry’ and in *yüreği bulanmak* (nausea of heart) and *yüreği kabarmak* (swelling of heart) ‘being nauseated’ is meant. As Çetinkaya (2007) reports, *kalp* refers to the heart itself, whereas *yürek* embraces a wider part of the body as it alternates with words like *iç* (inside), *bağır* (chest), *karın* (stomach) in certain idioms such as *içi ezilmek* (crushing of inside) and *yüreği ezilmek* (crushing of heart).

Yürek is courage: *Yürek* is used to refer to courage, but *kalp* is not. *Yürek* can also take derivational morphemes of *-li* (with) and *-siz* (without), which evinces the conceptualization that *yürek*, denoting courage, can be later added to the body or removed from it. However, *kalp*, that is thought to already exist as a vital organ, can only be removed as in *kalpsiz*. Thus, one can be ‘with heart’ (*yürekli*), one can ‘get heartened’ (*yüreklenmek*) or one can ‘hearten someone’ (*yüreklendirmek*) for instilling brevity, but one cannot be described as **kalpli*, they cannot get heartened with *kalp* (**kalplenmek*), nor can they hearten another with it (**kalplendirmek*).

Baştakiler kıskırtılmış kalabalığa karşın, mertçe, yüreklice davranırlarsa her şey kolayca düzelecek. (Despite the provoked crowd, if the rulers act manfully, heartfully, everything will get better.)

Kendi takımına alır, oyuna katkıda bulunmama yardımcı olur, paslaşır, yürekendirir, iyi oynamam için desteklerdi. (He used to pick me for his team, help me contribute to the game, pass, hearten, support me to play well.)

The idiom *yüreğini koymak* (put one’s heart into) can also be taken as an entailment of this metaphor since it involves plucking up courage and taking initiative.

Sayın genel başkanım, gelin koyun yüreğinizi, merkez soldaki bir büyük buluşmayı, ulusalcılık ve namusluluk temelindeki bir büyük uzlaşmayı yaratalım. (Dear general president, come and put your heart, let us create a great meeting at the center-left, a great consensus based on nationalism and honesty.)

Yürek is a means of solidarity: Particularly when preceded by the adjective *tek* (one, single), *yürek* functions as a tool to describe all the people involved in a solidaristic act as if their hearts beat simultaneously.

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti benim tanık olduğum en zor günlerini geçiriyor. Ulusal güçler ortak değerlerde tek yürek olarak birleşmek zorundadır. (Turkish Republic is going through the most difficult days I have ever witnessed. National forces have to unite on common values as one heart.)

Metonymies

Similar metonymical conceptualization of *yürek* and *kalp* for the human:

Both *kalp* and *yürek* have part-whole relationship in metonymical expressions. It should be noted, however, this part-whole relationship is not between the organ and the body. Heart represents the human or his/her personality.

Meydanlara sığar mıydı acep yalnız kalplerin ayak sesleri? (I wonder if lonely hearts' footsteps would fit in squares.)

Ben de seni, temiz, bilinçli bi yürek olarak bilirdim. (I supposed you to be a pure, conscious heart.)

Different metonymical conceptualization of *yürek* and *kalp* for heart diseases: *Kalp* is used to refer to cardiac illnesses such as heart failure, heart attack, etc, but *yürek* is rarely preferred. This may be due to the more frequent use of *kalp* as the organ (Çıkmaz, 2006) because after Turks had accepted Islam, *kalp* entered Turkish as an equivalent of *gönül*, but semantic extension resulted in using *kalp* as the organ pumping blood (Eyuboğlu, 2004). Therefore, in the idealized cognitive model (Radden & Kövecses, 1999), *kalp* is more contiguous to diseases.

Bir - iki yıl sonra sevgili Selâhattin ağabey kalpten öldü. Nur içinde yatsın... (A few years later beloved brother Selâhattin died of heart. Rest in peace...)

Discussion

Although there are cases in which *kalp* and *yürek* can replace each other, *kalp* is a unique and irreplaceable target domain and *yürek* is another unique and irreplaceable target in certain metaphors. This may be due to the different etymological histories of the words; that is, *kalp* was borrowed from Arabic following the acceptance of Islam, whereas *yürek* has been a long-standing Turkish word since it was used in first written texts (Çetinkaya, 2007; Günay, 2015). Therefore, this historical background might be the reason behind the frequency of entries of *yürek* in corpora. Besides, these words might have evoked different things in people's image schemata throughout the history.

In addition to this diachronic dimension, the metaphorical and metonymical variation between the two words can be attributed to different folk models. Folk models are considered to be simplified cultural models of understanding (Radden, 2001). While fragility, kindness, mercifulness are ascribed to *kalp*, *yürek* is the token for

courage, solidarity and several kinds of metaphorical injuries for expressing sorrow. Furthermore, Çetinkaya (2007) suggests that in Turkish prose the emotive concepts of courage and fear are associated with *yürek*, but love and romance are more frequently associated with *kalp*. Similarly, while the idiom *kalbi dolu* (one's heart filled with someone special) and its opposite *kalbi boş* (one's empty heart lacking significant other) are used to refer to involvement in a romantic relationship, **yüreği dolu* and **yüreği boş* are not encountered in the corpora. The proverb *kalp kalbe karşıdır* (Heart faces heart) means "love is mutual" (TDK, Atasözleri ve Deyimler Sözlüğü, n.d.), but it cannot be alternated with **yürek yüreğe karşıdır*:

Then the possibility of diverse folk models can be taken into account: There might be a folk model of *kalp* as something naïve, romantic and fragile, *yürek* as something bold and confronting difficulties. As another possibility, *kalp* may enjoy an aristocratic image as it was much used in romantic poems of *Divan* poetry appealing to the governors and bureaucrats of the Ottoman Empire, and *yürek* which was recorded in Turkish folk poems and songs may have belonged to larger populations throughout the history. Even in literal uses, *kalp* maintains its privileged status as the organ. It cannot be lowered to the "edible" level of *yürek* as a type of sweetbread. In the corpus, the use of *kalp* as the meat for human consumption was not encountered, but 4 excerpts of *yürek* in this respect were found. There is also an idiom in Turkish as "*yürek yemek*" (to eat heart) which refers to daring acts of people. Therefore, while one can easily eat *yürek*, what exempts *kalp* from being a part of the human diet might be found in the abovementioned folk model.

Though simplistic the assumptions may be, more systematic and diachronic investigation into heart in Turkish folklore together with its poetry, prose, legends, lyrics, idioms, proverbs, lullabies, etc. may yield valuable results. Also in such a study, it should not be disregarded that metaphorical and metonymical distinctions between *kalp* and *yürek* may have social, ethnic, regional, stylistic and individual dimensions (Kövecses, 2005).

Seeing that metaphors and metonymies constitute indispensable parts of languages, Turkish language instruction cannot escape raising metaphorical and metonymical consciousness. Yağız and Yiğiter (2007) suggest designing classroom activities to teach the unknown through the known by teaching mappings and to make students aware of both universality of metaphors and cross-cultural dissimilarities. Moreover, Çalışkan (2010) advocates teaching idioms and proverbs within the frame-

work of conceptual metaphors instead of grounding teaching process on memorization of a set of arbitrarily formed idioms. Accordingly, this study may provide a basic outline to teach idioms constructed with *kalp* and *yürek* to learners of Turkish as a foreign language.

Conclusion

This study was an English language teacher's attempt to examine two seemingly synonymous Turkish words (*kalp* and *yürek*) in the Lakoffian paradigm of metaphors. On the basis of corpus and dictionary data, it was observed that the words do not have the same meaning in several contexts. Hence, it is concluded that the differences between the two words might be based on folk models originating from different historical backgrounds of the words. These possible folk models are thought to deserve further linguistic and etymological research^{1*}.

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