

Emotional Conceptualization in Turkish and English Body Idioms

Türkçe ve İngilizcede Duygusal Kavramsallaştırmanın Bedenle İlgili Deyimler Üzerinden Karşılaştırılması

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ÖZ

İnsan vücudu, kaynak ve hedef alanlar arasındaki eşlemeler yoluyla soyut kavramları anlamak, anlamlandırmak ve ifade etmek için her zaman en verimli alan olarak hizmet etmektedir (Lakoff ve Johnson 1980). İnsan fizyolojisi ve bilişinin ortaklığından yola çıkarak kavramsallaştırma yetisinin de benzer olduğunu varsaydığımızda, farklı kültür ve dil öbeklerinde duyguların vücudun bölümleri aracılığıyla ifadesinde benzer bir örüntünün görülmesi beklenmektedir. Bu makale, Öfke, Üzüntü, Utanç/Suçluluk, Korku/Kaygı, Kıskançlık/Gıpta, İğrenme/Nefret gibi olumsuz duyguların vücudun bölümleri aracılığıyla kavramsallaştırılmasındaki benzerlikleri ve farklılıkları Türkçe ve İngilizce deyimler üzerinden incelemeyi hedeflemektedir. Araştırma soruları şu şekildedir: 1. Türkçe ve İngilizce’de olumsuz duyguları ifade etmek için vücudun hangi kısımları kullanılmaktadır? 2. Bu duyguların iletiminde Türkçe ile İngilizce arasında benzerlikler ya da farklılıklar var mıdır? Çalışmadan ortaya çıkan en önemli sonuç, Türkçe ve İngilizce’nin duyguları tanımlayan ana eğretiler (DUYGU YÜKTÜR, DUYGU ISIDIR veya DUYGU FİZİKSEL GÜÇTÜR gibi) (Kövecses 2005) alanında çok fazla ortak yönünün bulunduğudır. Bununla birlikte, coğrafi koşullar tarafından biçimlendirildiği düşünülen kültürel anlatılar temelli farklılıklar da iki dilin bütüncesinde saptanmıştır. Sözgelimi, Türkçe Üzüntü ulamında vücudun kısımlarıyla ilgili sözcük çeşitliliğinin İngilizce’den çok daha zengin olduğu görülmüştür. **Anahtar Kelimeler:** Vücudun Bölümleriyle İlgili Deyimler, Duygusal Kavramsallaştırma, Türkçe, İngilizce

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ABSTRACT

As the closest resource, the human body always serves as the most prolific site to understand and communicate abstract concepts through mappings between the source and target domains (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Grounding upon the sharedness of the conceptualizing capacity, which derives from the common aspects of human physiology and cognition, a recurrent pattern is expected to be seen in the linguistic expression of emotions through body parts. This paper sought to discover the similarities and differences in the conceptualization of negative emotions (Anger, Sadness, Shame/Guilt, Fright/Anxiety, Jealousy/Envy, Disgust/Hate) by means of body parts in Turkish and English idioms. The research questions of the study were: 1. Which body parts are used to express the same emotion in Turkish and English? 2. Are there any similarities or differences between Turkish and English in the embodiment of the emotions? Considering the overarching conceptual metaphors characterizing human emotions i.e. EMOTION IS BURDEN, EMOTION IS HEAT or EMOTION IS PHYSICAL FORCE (Kövecses 2005), overlapping mental mappings were detected between the two languages. On the other hand, noteworthy differences like the relatively richer variety of lexis communicating Sadness in Turkish were also detected. Such differences were hypothesized to stem from distinctive cultural narratives shaped by geographical differences.

Keywords: Body Idioms, Emotional Conceptualization, Turkish, English

0. Introduction

Idioms, consisting of two or more words, are fixed expressions that as a whole have different meanings than their constituents (Flavell and Flavell 2001; Ayto 2006). Thanks to their metaphorical content, idioms provide language users with a rich mental imagery, which not only facilitates but also vitalizes expression and communication. Rather than simply or even dryly saying ‘to make someone sad’, the idiomatic expression ‘to break someone’s heart’ provides the interlocutors with a visualization and therefore enriches the expression of the feeling. Although it is sometimes possible to predict the meaning of an idiomatic expression from its components, the complete comprehension of them requires familiarity with the given society as idioms are culture-bound (Wierzbicka 1999). Consider the idiom ‘to kick the bucket’ which is believed to originate from the slaughtering practices of livestock in England around the 16th century (Lieberman 2016). Despite the denotative meanings of ‘kick’ and ‘bucket’, the expression actually means ‘to die’. As conventionalized expressions, idioms such as ‘to kick the bucket’ disclose recurrent patterns of human reasoning that is shaped by cultural practices of a given society (Gibbs 2007). As the abovementioned idiomatic expression perfectly exemplifies, idioms enable the conceptualization of an abstract concept (TARGET DOMAIN) in terms of a concrete concept (SOURCE DOMAIN) (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

Without any doubt, all languages have rich repositories of verbal expressions to refer to emotions which can be defined as ‘a conscious mental reaction (such as anger or fear) subjectively experienced as strong feeling usually directed toward a specific object and typically accompanied by physiological and behavioral changes in the body’ (Merriam-Webster 2024). In line with Plutchik (1980:102) who stated that: ‘The appearance in all languages of words like *angry*, *afraid*, and *happy*, suggest that these words represent universal experiences’, emotions are intrinsic to all human beings regardless of their racial, ethnic, or sexual origin. As the constituent part of the human soul, emotions generally display themselves in non-voluntary body reactions (blushing when someone feels ashamed or having a faster heartbeat when they get excited) or verbal expressions which are generally the embodied expressions of physical reactions of the body in specific situations. Embodiment, which is the focus of this study, is ‘understanding the role of an agent’s own body in its everyday, situated cognition’ (Gibbs 2005:1). As the closest resource, the human body functions as the most prolific source domain to understand, visualize and articulate abstract concepts. The metaphorical formulation ‘BODY IS A CONTAINER OF THE EMOTIONS’, put forth by previous research (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2000; Gibbs 2005), has demonstrated that there is a universal inclination to conceptualize emotions as occurrences in the human body. Here, conceptualization refers to the process of inventing or contriving an idea or an explanation and formulating it mentally. Briefly, conceptualization is a process which specifies the meaning of a term through cognitive mapping to describe an individual’s internal mental representation of the concepts and relations among other concepts (Tolman 1948). Cognitive maps are regarded as ‘internally represented schemas or mental models for particular problem-solving domains that are learned and encoded as a result of an individual’s interaction with their environment’ (Swan 1997:188). Grounding upon the sharedness of the conceptualizing capacity, which derives from the common aspects of human physiology and cognition, it is expected to see a recurrent pattern in the linguistic expression of emotions through body parts. Since human beings are similar at the level of bodily experience and neuronal functioning, most of the emotion metaphors and metonymies are expected to be universal (Kövecses 2005: 34). A previous study by Ullmann (1963) also supported this perspective by pointing out that “the associations on which metaphors are based seem to be deeply rooted in human experience and largely independent of culture and environment”. Kraska-Szlenk (2014), for instance, noted that foot is associated with low status and unskilled work in Polish and Turkish. This perspective can also be exemplified by the idioms ‘to show one’s teeth’ in English, ‘diş göstermek’ in Turkish and ‘enseñar los dientes’ in Spanish which all use the same body part ‘teeth’ to communicate anger and resistance. Another relevant example is the depiction of a highly praised person’s betrayal with exactly the same words in Turkish and English i.e. snake and bosom through ‘koyunda yılan beslemek’ (lit. feed a snake in one’s bosom) and ‘to nurse/nourish a snake/viper in one’s bosom’.

However, this view was criticized both by Wierzbicka (1999) and Sinha and Jensen de López (2000:20) by saying that it heavily focusses on the physical and conceptual aspects of physiological embodiment while ignoring the influence of culture and society on human cognition reflected by language. According to Wierzbicka (1999) although the concept of feeling is universal, the very concept of emotion is dependent upon the culture of the individual. Consider, the description of the close alliance between two people through the same body parts, namely nail and flesh in Turkish (etle tırnak gibi olmak), Spanish (ser uña y carne) and Portuguese (ser unha com carne) while the same concept is depicted with hips in English (to be joined at the hips). Kövecses (2000:176) explained that “The language of emotion may emphasize metaphoric or metonymic understanding of a given emotion, and different cultures may prefer one way of understanding rather than the other, it should be noted that the conceptualizations of ‘body’ can be culture-specific despite the universal patterns observed in the expression of emotions through body parts. This view was also supported by Maalej and Yu (2011) and Brenzinger and Kraska-Szlenk (2014) who underlined the role of cultural schemas which identify a specific emotion with a particular body part. The studies on global tendencies concerning the embodiment of emotions reveal that conceptualization tends to center on three body parts which are abdomen, heart, and head (See Zhou *et al.* 2022). Abdominocentrism is seen to be more prevalent in Southern Asian culture whilst West Asian, European, and North African cultures incline to conceptualize emotions through the head (Sharifian *et al.* 2008; Ogarkova and Soriano 2014). The differences in the emotional vocabulary of various languages is due to the role of culture in situated and embodied cognition. Anderson (2003: 126):

‘Along with research in situated cognition, EC [embodied cognition] further suggests that intelligence lies less in the individual brain, and more in the dynamic interaction of brains with the wider world – including especially the social and cultural worlds which are so central to human cognition – and therefore suggests that fields like sociology and cultural studies can themselves be important resources for (and in some guises are part of) the cognitive sciences.’

In line with Gibbs (2005:13) who argued that “‘bodies are not culture-free objects, because all aspects of embodied experience are shaped by cultural processes’, this paper sought to find out the similarities and differences in the conceptualization of negative emotions through body parts in Turkish and English idioms. Negative emotion idioms showing *Anger, Sadness, Jealousy/Envy, Shame/Guilt, Fright/Anxiety, Disgust/Hate* through body parts are the subject matter of this study. For the comparison of body idioms in Turkish and English, the categorization of emotions made by Lazarus (1991) was used. In order to construct the database for the Turkish idioms communicating emotions through body parts, Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlüğü (Türk Dil Kurumu 2023), Türkçe Deyimler Sözlüğü (Püsküllüoğlu 2006) Türkçe Deyimler Sözlüğü (Adıgüzel 2016) were browsed. For the compilation of the English idioms, Longman Idioms Dictionary (1998), Cambridge Idioms Dictionary (2006) and The Free Dictionary (2023) were used as the reference. Only the idioms showing emotions through body parts

were taken into consideration. The lists of Turkish and English idioms were later reviewed to categorize the idioms under respective headings which communicate a specific emotion. For the analysis, Turkish and English idioms in the same category were compared to explore the nature and means of the contextualization of body parts to conceptualize emotions. The research questions of the study were:

1. Which body parts are used to express the same emotion in Turkish and English?
2. Are there any similarities or differences between Turkish and English in the embodiment of the emotions?

1. Literature Review

Since Lakoff (1987) and Johnson's (1987) introduction of the concept of embodiment in Conceptual Metaphor Theory, research on embodiment via body parts has been chronologically shaped around three main topics which are 'the body in the mind' (Johnson 1987), 'the culture in the mind' (Shore 1996) and finally 'culture in the body' (Maalej 2004) (See Maalej and Yu 2011). Despite the global presence of linguistic patterns that enable the articulation of cognitively based feelings through body reactions and parts in all languages (Wierzbicka 1999), there is a great linguistic variation among them as cultures assign different roles to body parts in their conceptualization of emotions (Ogarkova and Soriano 2014). Perhaps the most relevant example is the locus of emotions in different cultures. Heart is perceived to be the resource base of emotions in Germanic and Romance languages whereas Malay, Tahitian and Nigerian English consider guts and liver to be the storehouse (See Ogarkova and Soriano 2014). Following the Cultural Model, Siahaan (2008) contrasted Indonesian and English to determine the source domain of the emotional and mental activities with respect to the historical and cultural basis of human cognition in both societies. In Indonesian, liver (*hati*) is regarded as the seat of thought and emotion due to archaic beliefs. The head is hardly seen as the site of thought while it is firmly associated with hierarchy and leadership. In contrast with English, no sort of duality is detected between emotion and thought in Indonesian. Although liver (*hati*) hosts both emotional and mental activity in Indonesian, there is a stark contrast between them in Anglo-Saxon culture as head is identified with cognition whereas heart is associated with affective processes. In a similar vein, Goddard (2008) focused on the spatialization of emotions in English and Malay which, like Indonesian, is also an Austronesian language. Similar to the findings of the Siahaan (2008) who investigated the same topic in a neighboring culture, the Malay liver (*hati*) is perceived to be more cognitive and dynamic than the English heart, as it is regarded as the ruler of the human body in Malay folk culture. In contrast to both Indonesian and Malay which specify liver as the main site of emotion and thought, heart (*xin*) is viewed as the epicenter of emotional and rational human states and activities in ancient Chinese culture (Yu 2008). Obviously, these findings show a great difference between Western and Eastern cultures' conceptualization of emotions emphasizing that Western cultures make a distinction between irrational emotions and rational thinking by linking them respectively with two different body parts which are heart and head (Niemeier 2008).

Another well-known example showing the impact of culture is by Yu (1998) who stated that because of the cultural saliency of gas in Chinese culture, anger is conceptualized as pressurized gas in the body in Chinese whilst most other languages such as Turkish identify the same emotion as pressurized liquid in the body with 'kan beynine sıçramak' (lit. the blood splatter to one's brain). Another cross-linguistic study on the communication of anger through body parts was by Ogarkova and Soriano (2014) who compared twenty thousand instances of anger words from Spanish, Russian and English linguistic databases i.e. respectively Corpus del Español, Russian National Corpus, and British National Corpus to determine the points of intersection and differentiation. One striking similarity is the presence of the overarching metaphor BODY AS A CONTAINER in three languages. While the eyes are specified as the container of deep/ great anger, voice is identified with the less intense forms of anger. On the other hand, Russian and English were noted to differ greatly on the locus of anger since soul (duša) is associated as the hub whereas English tends to conceptualize the mind/head as the base of anger. Pavlenko (2002) also investigated emotional conceptualization in Russian and American English by comparing linguistic outputs of native speakers of both languages about two short films. While Russian testees tended to mark emotions as active processes articulated through a series of external behaviors, American participants considered emotions as internal states. Concordantly, the Russians used verbal patterns whilst Americans employed adjectival patterns to describe emotions. Despite the number of cross-linguistic studies focusing on the conceptualization of emotions through body parts in different cultures, far too little attention has been paid to Turkish in comparison to other languages. Rather than contrastive studies, research about the Turkish language has centralized upon the linguistic examination of body parts i.e. eye and liver or emotions such as anger with reference to Turkish culture (Baş 2015; Baş 2016; Arica-Akkök 2017; Baş 2018). So far, the only comprehensive cross-cultural study was found to be made by Ağış (2007) who compared Turkish and Judeo-Español proverbs and idioms to find out if the same sensory organs are used to express a specific emotion. Triangulating both quantitative and qualitative analysis, she found that the speakers of Judeo-Español specify both the eyes and ears as the means of expressing disgust/hate considering the eyes as the seat of jealousy/envy and love/affection. On the other hand, Turkish locutors employ nose to convey sadness, anger, and pride while tongue is associated with disgust/hate and sadness. Seeing the gap in literature on cross-cultural studies comparing Turkish with other languages, this study sought to examine which individual body part was employed to conceptualize a particular negative emotion in Turkish in comparison with English.

2. Analysis

Emotion is the complicated psychological and physiological experience of an individual's mind as a response to an internal or external stimuli. People often behave in certain ways as a direct result of their emotional state, such as crying, fighting, or fleeing. Emotions are divided into two categories by Craig (2003), as classical emotions and homeostatic emotions. Classical emotions such as anger, lust and fear are aroused by external stimuli while homeostatic emotions like thirst and hunger are awakened by internal physical factors. Lazarus (1991) also made a classification of emotions under two headings with respect to negative and positive valency. Negative emotions were specified as Anger, Disgust / Hate, Fright / Anxiety, Shame / Guilt, Sadness, Jealousy / Envy while positive ones are identified as Happiness/Joy, Relief, Pride, Love/Affection. Only the list of the negative emotions specified by Lazarus (1991) was taken into consideration in this study.

2.1 Anger

Anger is an emotion marked by stress and enmity because of disappointment, real or hypothetical wounds caused by others, or else perceived wrongdoing (APA Dictionary of Psychology 2018). It is an impulsive reply of the brain mechanism to a certain threat or pain. Table 1 presents the body idioms showing Anger in Turkish and English.

Turkish	English
1.a. Ağzından çıkan kulağı duymamak (lit. One's ear doesn't hear what he/she is saying)	1.b. To give somebody the rough side of the tongue
2.a. Ağzını açıp gözünü yummak (lit. To open one's mouth and to close one's eye)	2.b. To give somebody a tongue lashing
3.a. Ağzından köpük saçmak (lit. To disseminate foam from one's mouth)	3.b. To be foaming at the mouth
4.a. Ağzından ateş saçmak (lit. To release fire from one's mouth)	4.b. To have steam coming out of ears
5.a. Burundan solumak (lit. To breathe through nose)	5.b. To grind one's teeth
6.a. Diş gıcırdatmak (lit. To gnash one's teeth)	6.b. To gnash one's teeth
7.a. Diş göstermek (lit. To show one's teeth)	7.b. To show/bare one's teeth
8.a. Diş bilemek (lit. To whet one's teeth)	8.b. To give somebody the evil eye
9.a. Gözü kararmak (lit. One's eyes blacken)	9.b. To have face like thunder
10.a. Gözünü kan bürümek (lit. Blood cover one's eyes)	10.b. To blow the top
11.a. Gözünde şimşekler çakmak (lit. Lightning flash in one's eyes)	11.b. To be hot-headed
12.a. Gözü dönmek (lit. One's eyes twirl)	12.b. To bite somebody's head off
13.a. Gözleri çakmak çakmak olmak (lit. One's eyes get flashes)	13.b. To shake one's fist
14.a. Kaşını çatmak (lit. To furrow one's eyebrows)	14.b. To be up in arms
15.a. Kafası kızmak (lit. One's head gets hot)	15.b. To have a chip on one's shoulder
16.a. Kafasının tası atmak (lit. The top of one's head blows off)	16.b. To make one's blood boil
17.a. Kafası atmak (lit. One's head blows off)	17.b. To vent one's spleen
18.a. Kan başına/ beynine sıçramak (lit. Blood splatter to one's head/brain)	18.b. To have a sudden rush of blood to the head
19.a. Birinin boğazına/gırtlığına sarılmak (lit. To grasp somebody's throat)	19.b. To jump down somebody's throat

The most noteworthy pattern in Table 1 is the prevalence of external body parts mainly located on the head both in Turkish (ağız, diş, kulak, göz, kafa) and English (tongue, mouth, ear, face, teeth). This shows that anger is rather visible and difficult to hide from others in both languages as exemplified by 1.a., 2.a., 3.a., 4.a., 5.a., 10.a., 11.a., 13.a., 15.a., 19.a. as well as 3.b., 4.b., 11.b., 12.b., 13.b., 14.b. and 19.b. ANGER IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER is the overarching metaphorical frame in this table now that it is conceptualized as something that comes out of mouth, nose, ears, eyes or head because of the

intensity of the emotion. 3.a., 10.a., 18.a. and 3.b., 4.b., 16.b. also show that the abovementioned metaphorical frame can be specified as ANGER IS A FLUID IN A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER now that the expression of anger is instantiated through the eruption of body fluids i.e. saliva and blood. The frequency of mouth (1.a., 2.a., 3.a. and 4.a.) and tongue (1.b., 2.b. and 3.b.) also shows that anger is characterized by an oral activity such as shouting or scolding. On the other hand, 19.a and 8.b., 13.b., 14.b. and 19.b. show that anger can be envisaged as a direct attack on somebody. The high frequency of idioms consisting of teeth in Turkish (6.a., 7.a., 8.a.) and English (5.b., 6.b., 7.b.) while communicating anger is also interesting as this tendency seems to reflect the observation of a wild animal, perhaps a wolf which has the intention of intimidating or attacking the perceived threat. This image-schema takes us to the formulation of AN ANGRY PERSON IS A WILD ANIMAL frame which again makes us think that anger is somehow seen as uncivilized and even primitive behavior.

Some of the listed idioms (1.a., 2.a., 3.a., 4.a., 9.a., 10.a., 11.a., 12.a., 13.a., 15.a., 16.a., 17.a., 18.a., 19.a. and 3.b., 4.b., 9.b., 10.b., 11.b., 13.b., 14.b., 16.b., 17.b., 18.b., 19.b.) also fall into the category of ANGER IS LOSS OF SELF-CONTROL as they indicate hysterical and irrational behaviors. It is noted that an angry person lacks the ability to function as a sane person (Lakoff and Kövecses 1987:391) which leads us to the conclusion that ANGER IS INSANITY. Another overlapping pattern between Turkish and English is the weather metaphors as seen in 11.a., 13.a. (lightning/flash) and 9.b. (thunder) with conceptualization through ANGER AS A NATURAL FORCE IN A VESSEL. While the vessel is the eye in Turkish, it is the face in English. Apart from this, ANGER IS HEAT is the other point of intersection since this intense emotion is associated with high temperature in the human body as shown in 4.a., 15.a. and 4.b., 11.b. and 16.b.

2.2 Sadness

Sadness is defined as an affective state of unhappiness or distress which is generally triggered by the loss of someone or something that is highly appreciated or eagerly expected (APA Dictionary of Psychology 2018). Table 2 below shows the distribution of body part idioms expressing sadness in Turkish and English. Considering the idioms from 9.a. to 23.a. in Table 2, sadness in Turkish is predominantly identified with *yürek/kalp* (heart) and *ciğer* (liver/lungs) while it is mainly linked with heart in English as the idioms between 7.b. and 20.b. in Table 2 show. The country's location at the crossroads of Eastern, Asian, and Western cultures may be the source of the equal importance of heart and liver/lung in Turkish culture. While the ancient Eastern civilizations situated both in and outside of the Mediterranean Basin considered liver/lung as the center of human body, the Western civilizations view heart as the locus of life (See Orlandi *et al.* 2018). Turkish culture and therefore language might be affected by this geographical feature. Despite this difference, the association of sadness with heart and liver/lung puts forth the idea that this emotion is seated at internal organs and not as easily observable as anger in both cultures. Another common point is the perception of SADNESS AS PHYSICAL AGITATION as the verbs burn,

cauterize, knot, break, ache, pierce, stick all present a visualization of great damage caused by something or somebody. The different forms of physical suffering from sadness can be grouped into three main headings. The first subframe is SADNESS IS FIRE which is instantiated through the lexis burn, cauterize, melt, fire, and ember in 8.a., 11.a., 13.a., 14.a., 15.a., 20.a. which are all Turkish idioms. It is surprising to see that there are no idioms showing sadness as fire through body parts in English. The second subframe is SADNESS IS A POWERFUL BLOW through vocabulary break, pierce, shatter, broken, plunge in 5.a., 7.a., 9.a., 10.a., 18.a., 19.a. and 11.b., 15.b., 16.b. and 17.b. This forceful blow may either break the heart as if it was made of porcelain or else stab it with a sharp pointed object such as knife or dagger. In both situations, sadness is viewed as an attack to the integrity of vital organs (heart, liver/lung) which actually stand for the human soul. The third subframe is SADNESS IS BURDEN as knot, lump, heavy and press in 6.a., 17.a. and 6.b., 7.b. insinuate a sort of emotional load which impedes breathing or swallowing.

Turkish	English
1.a. Ağzını bıçak açmamak (lit. A knife can't open somebody's mouth)	1.b. To be down in the mouth
2.a. Burnunun direği sızlamak (lit. One's nose bone aches)	2.b. There wasn't a dry eye in the house
3.a. Gözleri dolmak (lit. One's eyes are filled with tears)	3.b. To have face like wet weekend
4.a. Gözleri yaşarmak/buğulanmak (lit. One's eyes get wet/steamed up)	4.b. To have a long face
5.a. Yüzünden düşen bin parça olmak (lit. What falls from one's face is divided into thousand pieces)	5.b. To have face as long as a fiddle
6.a. Boğazı düğümlenmek (lit. One's throat gets knotted)	6.b. To have a lump in one's throat
7.a. Bağırnı delmek (lit. Something pierces the bosom)	7.b. To have a heavy heart
8.a. Bağırnı yanmak (lit. One's chest/bosom burns)	8.b. To have heart in boots
9.a. Ciğerini delmek (lit. Something pierces the liver/lung)	9.b. To be sick at the heart
10.a. Ciğeri parçalanmak (lit. One's liver/lung is crushed)	10.b. To have an aching heart
11.a. Ciğeri yanmak (lit. One's liver/lung burns)	11.b. To have a broken heart
12.a. Ciğeri sızlamak (One's liver/lung aches)	12.b. To cry one's heart out
13.a. Yüreğine ateş/kor düşmek (lit. Fire falls down into somebody's heart)	13.b. To eat one's heart out
14.a. Yüreğinin yağı erimek (lit. The fat of somebody's heart melts)	14.b. One's heart bleeds
15.a. Yüreğini dağlamak (Something cauterizes one's heart)	15.b. To die of a broken heart
16.a. Yüreği dayanmamak (lit. One's heart can't stand)	16.b. To pierce one's heart
17.a. Yüreği sıkışmak (lit. One's heart feels pressed)	17.b. To feel a dagger plunged to the heart
18.a. Yüreğine hançer gibi saplanmak (lit. Something sticks into the heart like a dagger)	18.b. One's heart sinks
19.a. Yüreği parça parça olmak (lit. One's heart falls into pieces)	19.b. One's heart sinks into boots
20.a. Yüreği yanmak (lit. One's heart/bosom burns)	20.b. To tug at the heart strings
21.a. Yüreği karmarmak (lit. One's heart darkens)	21.b. To be a misery guts
22.a. Kalbi kırılmak (lit. One's heart gets broken)	22.b. To feel guttled
23.a. Kalbe dokunmak (lit. Something touches the heart)	23.b. To tear one's hair out
24.a. Beli bükülmek (lit. One's waist bends down)	24.b. To beat one's chest/breast
25.a. Boynu bükülmek (lit. One's neck bends down)	
26.a. Saçını başını yolmak (lit. To tear one's own hair and head)	
27.a. Dizini dövmek (lit. To beat one's knees)	

Another salient metaphorical frame in both languages is SADNESS IS DOWN which can be observed through *down*, *bend down*, *in boots* and *sink* in 5.a., 24.a., 25.a. and 1.b., 8.b., 18.b., 19.b. In opposition to the abovementioned idioms which depict sadness in terms of internal organs, this image schema is more conceivable since people have a drooping posture when they are unhappy or depressed (Barcelona 1986). Here, the verb sink necessitates a detailed explanation as it is only seen in the English corpus. Previous research on immigration discourse in

British media has shown that there is a tendency of depicting immigration in terms of water related disaster metaphors such as floods or waves, since this conceptualization is relevant to the cultural narratives identifying Britain as an island (Chilton 2004; Charteris-Black 2006). The verb sink in 18.b. and 19.b. may be evaluated within this framework as well since the mapping between the sinking of a ship and sinking of an individual's heart because of sadness can originate from the cultural narratives. Heavy in 7.b. and long in 4.b., 5.b. can also be perceived as another form of a downward movement in the context of sadness as all imply a slump in the posture.

Other visible body reactions or parts in the communication of emotion are the *eyes*, *face*, *mouth*. Since crying is a natural reaction when someone feels distressed, it is not surprising to see the *eyes* as containers of sadness in 3.a., 4.a. and 2.b. Although they do not appear persistently as the abovementioned metaphorical frames, 1.a., 26.a., 27.a., 23.b. and 24.b. also present interesting revelations. In 1.a., sadness is associated with silence and passivity as even 'a knife cannot open the *mouth* of a person in agony.' On the contrary, 26.a., 27.a., 23.b. and 24.b. depict a miserable person as someone engaged in hysterical activities such as tearing *head* and *hair* or beating the *chest* and *knee*. These two opposing ends of physical reactions can be explained by different stages of grief and mourning (See Fisher 2023).

2.3 Shame / Guilt

Shame is a rather unpleasant self-conscious emotional state originating from the perception of having done something improper, indecent, or dishonorable while guilt is not only identified by embarrassment of having done something wrong but also characterized by the will to lessen the impact of this mistake (APA Dictionary of Psychology 2018). According to cultural anthropologist Benedict (1934), shame is a violation of cultural or social values while feelings of guilt arise from violations of one's internal values. There is not a clear-cut distinction between shame and guilt; nevertheless, Lewis (1971) stated that guilt is the outcome of "internalized values about right and wrong," whereas shame is concerned with one's "ego-identity," (cited in Lazarus 1991: 240). Table 3 below shows the body idioms showing Shame/Guilt in Turkish and English. It is seen that the head, especially the face is the main site of these emotions in both languages, which means that feelings of Shame/Guilt are easily spotted. Apart from being linked with physical reactions such as blushing, it is quite natural to see face in the Shame/Guilt related idioms now that it is the primary point of our social encounters. As can be seen from 3.a., 4.a., 7.a., 8.a. and 2.b., 6.b. and 8.b., both Turkish and English collocate Shame/Guilt with heat which can be formulated as SHAME/GUILT IS FIRE. Apart from connecting the color red with shame and guilt, there is also a tendency to depict shame in terms of the color black in Turkish as exemplified in 2.a. and 6.a. On the contrary, honor/pride in Turkish culture is always associated with color white as in 'Alın açık, yüzü ak' (lit. The forehead is open, the face is white) (See Yıldırım 2012). Considering 1.a., another interesting finding about Turkish is the depiction of

honor/pudicity as a vein on someone's forehead. Losing face in public is marked with the fissure of this vein in Turkish culture.

Table 3: Idioms showing Shame/Guilt through Body Parts in Turkish and English	
Turkish	English
1.a. Alnının ar damarı çatlamak (lit. One's vein of honour on the forehead gets fissured)	1.b. To put foot in one's mouth
2.a. Alnına kara çalmak/sürmek (lit. One smear somebody's face with black substance)	2.b. To have red ears
3.a. Kulakları kızarmak (lit. One's ears turn red)	3.b. To rub somebody's nose in something
4.a. Başından aşağı kaynar sular dökülmek (lit. Hot water spills from the top of one's head)	4.b. To lose face
5.a. Başını öne eğmek (To bend one's head down)	5.b. To have egg on one's face
6.a. Yüzünü kara çıkarmak (lit. Somebody makes one's face black)	6.b. To be red faced
7.a. Yüzü kızarmak (lit. One's face turns red)	7.b. To fall flat on one's face
8.a. Yüzü kıpkırmızı olmak (lit. One's face becomes extremely red)	8.b. To be caught red- handed
9.a. Yüzü yere geçmek (lit. One's face gets to the ground)	9.b. To make somebody's hair curl

Another common pattern between Turkish and English is the formulation of SHAME/GUILT IS DOWN as observed in 4.a., 5.a., 9.a. and 7.b. The feeling of shame and guilt is linked with falling down, which actually depicts this negative emotional reaction as a loss of high status.

2.4 Fright/Anxiety

Fright is an emotional state which is prompted when someone faces a dangerous situation whilst anxiety is characterized by uneasiness and somatic symptoms of tension in which an individual is afraid of an imminent threat or approaching disaster (APA Dictionary of Psychology 2018). Fright is oriented in the present time whereas anxiety is future-based. While the feeling of fright is marked with physiological changes such as trembling, rapid heartbeat, disturbance of blood circulation, tensing of the muscles and (de)mobilization of the body to give a response, anxiety is often accompanied by physical sensations such as heart palpitations, nausea, chest pain, shortness of breath, or headache. Table 4 below presents body part idioms showing Fright/Anxiety in Turkish and English. Considering the rich variety of body parts (*face, skin, hair, heart, tongue, spine, blood*) in Table 4, the sensation of Fright/Anxiety is dispersed more throughout the body in opposition to Anger, Sadness, and Shame/Guilt. An overall reading prompts the idea that the idioms are actually verbal reflections of physiological reactions in the face of an imminent or approaching danger or threat.

Table 4: Idioms showing **Fright/Anxiety** through Body Parts in Turkish and English

Turkish	English
1.a. Benzi atmak (lit. One's face fades away)	1.b. To make one's skin crawl
2.a. Dili dolaşmak (lit. One's tongue gets tangled)	2.b. To jump out of skin
3.a. Dili tutulmak (lit. One's tongue stiffens)	3.b. One's heart misses a beat
4.a. Dilini yutmak (lit. One swallow his/her tongue)	4.b. To have one's heart in mouth/throat
5.a. Dili içine kaçmak (lit. One's tongue withdraws)	5.b. To strike fear/terror into the heart of somebody
6.a. Gözü korkmak (lit. One's eyes are scared)	6.b. To send a shiver down one's spine
7.a. Gözleri yuvasından fırlamak (lit. One's eyeballs get out of the eyesockets)	7.b. One's stomach is in knots
8.a. Yüreği küt küt atmak (lit. One's heart beats faster)	8.b. To have one's hair stand on its end
9.a. Yüreği ağzına gelmek (lit. One's heart comes up to mouth)	9.b. To pull/tear one's hair out
10.a. Eli ayağı buz kesmek (lit. One's hands and feet get icy)	10.b. To get cold feet
11.a. Dizinin bağı çözülmek (lit. The joints of one's knees come loose)	11.b. To go weak at the knees
12.a. Tüyleri diken diken olmak (lit. One's hair becomes thorny)	12.b. One's knees knock together
13.a. Sinirleri bozulmak (lit. One's nerves become broken down)	13.b. To make one's blood run cold
14.a. Kanı donmak (lit. One's blood freezes)	14.b. To curdle one's blood
15.a. Başından korkmak (lit. One fears for his head)	15.b. To be a bundle of nerves
	16.b. To lose one's nerves
	17.b. To have one's hair stand on its end

With respect to 10.a., 12.a., 14.a. and 6.b., 8.b., 10.b., 13.b. in Table 4, it is understood that FEAR IS LACK OF HEAT since Fright/Anxiety is described as a drop in body temperature through lexis such as *freeze*, *ice*, *shiver* and *cold*. The next common metaphorical formulation in both languages is FEAR IS IRREGULARITY IN HUMAN BODY which is concretized through *tangle*, *stiffen*, *get out*, *beat*, *crawl*, *jump out*, *loose*, *heart in mouth*, *thorny*, *miss a beat*, *knot*, *knock*, *curdle* and *tear out* in 7.a., 8.a., 9.a., 11.a., 12.a., 13.a., 14.a. and 1.b., 2.b., 3.b., 4.b., 6.b., 7.b., 8.b., 9.b., 11.b., 12.b., 14.b., 16.b. and 17.b. A closer look at the lines of 11.a., 11.b. and 12.b. reveal that both languages conceptualize that FEAR IS INABILITY TO MOVE. Another instantiation of incompetence is solely seen in the Turkish dataset in 2.a., 3.a., 4.a. and 5.a. which all indicate speech impediment through entanglement, stiffening, swallowing or else withdrawal of tongue. This incapacity can be conceptualized as FEAR IS INABILITY TO SPEAK. With respect to Fright/Anxiety idioms in both corpora, it can be said that the physiological effects of fear stand for this negative mood as body part idioms in Table 4 are all built upon physical reactions in the wake of danger or threat (See Kövecses 1990).

2.5 Jealousy/Envy

According to Parrott and Smith (1993), jealousy arises when an individual becomes aware that s/he lacks another person's quality, success, or possession. The individual either may want to own that thing or else desire the other to lose it. Parrott and Smith (1993) also add that jealousy may occur when an individual feels resentful of another person who has the potential of taking away something or someone beloved. Jealousy is related to the urge to possess something. The Subject may want to possess something or demand maintaining the ownership of something. While jealousy communicates the fear of losing someone or

something an individual holds dear, envy, which also refers to discontent and resentment that originate from lacking the qualities or possessions of the other(s), does not insinuate any sort of fear (Also see APA Dictionary of Psychology 2018).

Table 5 below lists the distribution of body parts idioms showing Jealousy/ Envy in Turkish and English. As illustrated by 4.a., 5.a., 6.a., 7.a., 8.a. and 1.b., 2.b., 3.b., the most striking finding is the connection of this negative emotional mood with the eyes. This can be formulated as JEALOUSY IS SEEING since eyes are cast as the containers of Jealousy/Envy. The object of desire is somehow disturbing for the eye as it dazzles or stings the organs of sight. On the other hand, a person's looks might also stick out with jealousy or envy, which can negatively impact the object of the gaze as 'gözü değmek' in 8.a. This can be explained in terms of 'nazar' (evil eye) which is deeply embedded in Turkish culture. Although nazar (evil eye) concept originates from the Mediterranean Basin, it is also seen in other cultures (Türkmenoğlu-Berkan and Tuncer-Manzakoğlu 2016). The association of eye and Jealousy/Envy in English dataset is a proof of this widespread tradition. In English, jealousy is also associated with the color green and monstrosity as in 1.b. Whilst Turkish identifies Jealousy/ Envy with other parts of the face such as mouth and teeth, English considers heart as the other important site of this negative affective state. According to Swartz (1998) envy always begins in the eyes which detect the object of desire and later is experienced in the heart where the desire to possess that object is formed and finally may be articulated through the mouth to verbalize and spread envy.

Turkish	English
1.a. Ağzının suyu akmak (lit. Water drips from one's mouth)	1.b. To be a green eyed monster
2.a. Ağız sulanmak (lit. One's mouth waters)	2.b. To have eye on something
3.a. Dişleri kamaşmak (lit. One's teeth set on edge)	3.b. To keep a jealous eye on something
4.a. Gözleri kamaşmak (lit. One's eyes set on edge)	4.b. To eat your heart out
5.a. Göze diken olmak (lit. To be a thorn to one's eyes)	5.b. To be heart burning
6.a. Gözünü bir şeye dikmek (lit. To set one's eyes on something)	
7.a. Gözü kalmak (lit. One's eyes stay fixed on something)	
8.a. Gözü değmek (lit. One's eyes touches to something)	

2.6 Disgust/Hate

Disgust is a strong dislike of taste, sight, smell, or touch of something literally or figuratively repugnant whereas hate indicates a confrontational attitude grounding upon rage, aggression and abhor. The feeling of disgust arises when dirty, inedible, infectious, or offensive things are seen. Rozin and Fallon (1987) proposed that disgust triggers “a characteristic facial expression, an appropriate action tendency (distancing oneself from or expelling the offending object), a distinctive physiological response (nausea), and a characteristic feeling state (revulsion)” (as cited in Lazarus 1991: 260). Table 6 shows the body part idioms showing Disgust/Hate in Turkish and English. All the idioms given below describe the feeling of repulsion when the object of Disgust/Hate is met. The most consistent pattern in Turkish and English is the identification of these emotions

with *stomach* and *gut* as in 7.a., 8.a., 9.a. and 5.b., 6.b., 7.b., 8.b. As expected, the lexis surrounding these two visceral organs is rather negative such as *nauseous*, *sickening*, *turn* or *wrenching*. Since Disgust/Hate is cognitively and verbally conceptualized as sickness, it can be formulated as DISGUST/HATE IS FEELING SICK. According to Peña-Cervel (2001), human beings tend to take advantage of visceral organs such as *stomach* and *gut* to underline the instinctual character of this affective emotional state which is triggered by an internal or external stimuli.

Turkish	English
1.a. Ayakları geri geri gitmek (lit. One's feet go backwards)	1.b. To be dragging feet
2.a. Burun kıvrırmak (lit. To twist one's nose)	2.b. To thumb one's nose at something
3.a. Gözünü kin /nefret bürümek (Grudge/Hatred covers one's eyes)	3.b. To be fed up to the back teeth
4.a. Dudak bükme (lit. To curl one's lips)	4.b. To curl one's lips
5.a. Yüzü soğuk olmak (lit. One's face is cold)	5.b. To turn one's stomach
6.a. Yüzünü/Suratını ekşitmek (lit. To make one's own face sour)	6.b. One can't stomach something
7.a. Midesi almamak (lit. One's stomach couldn't accept something)	7.b. To hate one's guts
8.a. Midesi bulanmak (lit. One's stomach gets nauseous)	8.b. To be gut wrenching
9.a. Mide bulandırıcı olmak (To be sickening the stomach)	

Consistency between Turkish and English was also observed in lines 1.a., 2.a., 4.a. and 1.b., 2.b. and 4.b. as the same body parts i.e. *feet*, *nose* and *mouth* are used to express Disgust/Hate. On the other hand, 5.a. and 6.a. also reveals that *face* is preferred as another site of these negative emotions in Turkish. In 5.a., cold is associated with Disgust/Hate while 6.a. labels them like food that leaves a bad taste in the mouth. Turkish also diverts from English in its connotation of hate with *eyes* through grudge and hatred in 3.a.

3. Conclusion

The comparison of conceptualization in Turkish and English body idioms showing negative emotions with regard to the classification made by Lazarus (1991) has shown that there are many commonalities between English and Turkish. Considering the overarching conceptual metaphors characterizing human emotions (Kövecses 2005), overlapping mental mappings were detected between the two languages. For instance, the metaphorical frame EMOTION IS BURDEN was spotted in the Sadness and Shame/Guilt categories of Turkish and English since both emotional moods are generally perceived to cause downward spatial orientation in the human body. Another point of intersection is the EMOTION IS HEAT formulation. Both languages associate Anger as a fire burning inside the body (Ağzından ateş saçmak or to be hot headed) while Fright/Anxiety is collocated with the lack of heat (eli ayağı buz kesmek or to have cold feet). The metaphor of EMOTION IS A PHYSICAL FORCE is also persistent in both corpora since the listed negative emotions are conceptualized as

triggers of adverse physical changes in the body with force (Yüreği parça parça olmak or to pierce one's heart). Turkish and English also have resemblances in the specifications of the generic EMOTION IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER metaphor. Anger is identified as pressurized liquid in the head (kan beynine sıçramak or a sudden rush of blood to the head) whereas Sadness is characterized by pressurized liquid in the eyes. Except the categories of Sadness and Disgust/Hate, there is a tendency to employ external organs as the sites of emotions. This can be explained in terms of PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION principle (Kövecses 1990).

Despite these resemblances, there are also points where Turkish and English diverge from each other due to cultural differences. The discrepancy is evident in the category of Sadness idioms, now that Turkish has a more diversified body lexis i.e. heart and liver/lung in the expression of sorrow. Apart from this, in the Turkish dataset there is a tendency to perceive Sadness as unbearable heat inside the body. This inclination may stem from the pagan Turkish beliefs which consider fire as almighty (See Gülyüz 2019). As explained above, the cultural narratives shaped by geographical factors seems to be decisive here. In a similar vein, the English idioms showing Sadness opt for the verb sink which may also be justified in terms of collective consciousness molded by cultural myths based upon geographical location. However, it should be noted that the data of this research is rather limited to prove the validity of these inferences. Future research should therefore concentrate on the investigation of the possible cultural ties underlying these differences. Nevertheless, this study shows that body, mind, and culture are considered to be equally important in our comprehension of the physiologically and culturally contextualized nature of human cognition through linguistic structures instead of focusing on a small-scale cross linguistic data.

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