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Winged Expressions in Russian Linguistics and Their Reflections in Turkish

Rus Dilbiliminde Kanatlı İfadeler ve Türk Dilindeki Yansımaları Üzerine

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Abstract

In contemporary linguistics, language is recognised not only as means of communication, but also as the cultural codes of nations. One of these cultural codes is winged expressions. The expression “winged words” first appeared in Homer’s “The Iliad” and “Odyssey” epics. The term became a linguistics term, referring to commonly used expressions derived from literary works and historical sources. The sources of winged expressions in languages are generally literary works and phrases derived from folk narratives such as proverbs, idioms and fairy tales. Nowadays, however, winged expressions can be used in language because of expressions from popular novels, films, and TV series as well as speeches by well-known people such as actors and political figures. These expressions, adopted by native speakers, become ingrained in the language and form stable expressions that are understood by both native speakers and those with a profound knowledge of their culture. This study investigates whether the term, which has been analyzed within phraseology in Russian linguistics, can be applied to the Turkish language. Therefore, theories from Russian linguistics have been used to seek answers to the question of whether there are or could be winged expressions in the Turkish language.

Öz

Çağdaş dilbilimde dil, sadece bir iletişim aracı olarak değil aynı zamanda ulusların kültür kodları olarak da kabul edilmektedir. Bu kültür kodlarından bir tanesini de kanatlı ifadeler oluşturmaktadır. Kanatlı ifadeler kavramı ilk olarak Homeros’un “İlyada” ve “Odysseia” destanlarında karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Söz konusu bu kavram daha sonra, edebî eserlerden ve tarihî kaynaklardan türeyerek yaygın kullanıma sahip olan ifadelere atıfta bulunan bir dilbilim terimi haline gelmiştir. Dillerde bulunan kanatlı ifadelerin kaynaklarını genel olarak edebî eserler ile atasözleri, deyimler ve masallar gibi halk söylencelerinden türemiş kalıp ifadeler oluşturmaktadır. Ancak günümüzde kanatlı ifadeler popüler roman, film, dizi gibi yapıtlardan gelen söylemler sonucu dile yerleşebileceği gibi bir oyuncu, siyasi figür gibi tanınan kişilerin söylemleri sonucunda da meydana gelip şekillenerek dilde yer edebilmektedir. Dil konuşucuları tarafından benimsenen bu ifadeler dile yerleşerek anadil temsilcileri tarafından veya kültürü iyi tanıyanlarca anlaşılabilen kalıp söylemleri oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmada Rus dilbilimde deyimbilim çerçevesinde incelenen terimin Türk dili için söz konusu olup olamayacağı sorgulanmaktadır. Bunun için Rus dilbiliminde ele alınan teorilerden yararlanılarak Türk dilinde kanatlı ifadelerin olup olmadığı veya olup olamayacağı sorusuna yanıt aranmıştır.

Keywords

Turkish Language • Winged Expressions • Russian Language • Phraseology • Culture

Anahtar Kelimeler

Türk Dili • Kanatlı İfadeler • Rus Dili • Deyimbilim • Kültür



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Introduction

Winged expressions, which have become ingrained in the language in the form of stereotypes such as proverbs and idioms and are intertwined with the fields of art, media, politics, history and especially literature, have passed into spoken language from both written and oral expression as a result of the products put forward for human beings and have been shaped and integrated into the language. In the field of literature, written genres such as fables, poems, novels, stories, etc., programs such as television, cinema, series in media or the discourses of well-known media figures and prominent leaders in the political arena have paved the way for this to take place in the language by being adopted by society. It has also allowed them to be evaluated by separating them from other stereotypes such as proverbs, idioms and aphorisms in the above-mentioned respects.

The use of winged expressions in print and oral media such as newspapers, radio, television and the internet in addition to literature as well as visual works such as movies, TV series and social media videos to present a certain idea or situation, complete an evaluation with a striking discourse that everyone can understand, has enabled them to continue to exist in the language. Over time, the adoption and continuous use of these phrases by society has turned them into cultural codes. Some of these phrases, known as winged expressions, can also be understood in other countries as soon as they are uttered or used beyond the borders of a country. This indicates that discourses called winged expressions can exist in the language system by exhibiting intercultural characteristics. There are also those that are recognized only by representatives of a particular society and culture, and those that require background knowledge to be understood. Winged expressions that exhibit intra-cultural characteristics are frequently encountered, especially in foreign language learning, and constitute the most difficult expressions to understand for those who are unfamiliar with that culture.

The concept of “winged expressions”, which is not included in the dictionaries of linguistics terms¹ in Türkiye, was introduced for the first time in Türkiye as a linguistic term in an academic study titled “Winged Expressions in Soviet Comedy Films” in a master’s thesis², and expressions that passed from films to language and became stereotypes were examined. Unlike idioms and proverbs, which are transferred from folk literature and oral narrative to daily language, winged expressions, which can pass into language from various fields of literature such as fables, poetry, novels, stories, are stereotyped expressions that typically transition from written expression to spoken language, but can also be adopted through oral expression, and their primary function to convey a thought in a short and concise form.³ From this perspective, in addition to their primarily literary background, in the framework of Russian linguistics, winged expressions can be considered as the discourses of prominent people in various areas of social life. So, what are winged expressions as a linguistic term, do they exist in Turkish, and if so, how should we understand this expression? Turkish language speakers unknowingly use many expressions that originate in the world of television under the influence of movies and TV series in their daily discourse. These expressions can extend beyond daily speech and be incorporated to the written language. In Turkish, discourses primarily originating from literature and television (movies, TV series) are conveyed as “the most beautiful words, the most popular lines from X novel, X movie, X TV series, X poem”. In general terms, is it possible to categorize and define

¹For various linguistics terms, see. Günay Karaağaç, *Dil Bilimi Terimleri Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2022); Kamile İmer, Ahmet Kocaman and Sumru Özsoy, *Dilbilim Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, 2011); Berke Vardar, *Açıklamalı Dilbilim Terimleri Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Multilingual, 2007); Mehmet Hengirmen, *Dilbilgisi ve Dilbilim Terimleri Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Engin Yayınları, 1999).

²İpek Kırkavak, “Sovyet Komedi Filmlerinde Kanatlı İfadeler” (Yüksek lisans tezi, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2023).

³Leyla Çiğdem Dalkılıç ve İpek Kırkavak, “Rus Dili Örneği Üzerinden Kanatlı İfadeler”, *Disiplinler Arası Dil Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 6 (2023): 76, erişim 10 Nisan 2025. <https://doi.org/10.48147/dada.1270873>.

words that are be understood by native speakers and individuals with background knowledge in society, and that have entered our language mainly from various areas of life such as the cinema, television and media under one term?

Since the starting point of the study is the winged expressions in the Russian language, the answers to the above-mentioned questions were sought within the framework of winged expressions in Russian linguistics. Accordingly, it was initially necessary to determine whether the theory of these phrases, examined in Russian linguistics within idiomology, is applicable to Turkish. Therefore, examples of “winged” expressions were presented after a literature review, with a focus on Russian language sources. The National Corpus of the Russian Language (RUD), electronic periodicals and social media applications were used to support the literature review examples. The aim of the study, which uses data collection, analysis and description method, is to determine whether winged expressions exist in Turkish as they do in Russian linguistics, and if so, which expressions or words can be analyzed within this group. This study also aims to introduce Turkish linguistics to concepts such as winged speech science, winged utterance, winged expression, winged unit.

1. Winged Expressions in Language: the Russian Ecole

The concept that we refer as “winged expression” within the framework of the study, is first appears in the literature as “winged speech” in Homer's epic *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.⁴ The meaning of the concept, which is also referred to as “winged words” in the Turkish translation of the *Odyssey*, is discussed in the *Epea Pteroenta* (Winged Words) by Françoise Létoublon, professor of archaic Greek language and literature, in line with the studies of various researchers. Some researchers argue that Homer used this concept as a metaphor in poetry and that this is a tradition of oral poetry, while others accept it as a stereotype created by using words from adjective or noun groups in a metaphorical sense to enhance the expressive power of the discourse.⁵ Létoublon, on the other hand, argues that expressions reflect a collective unit in language, a direct message to the addressee, used in accordance with the situation.⁶

This expression, which appears 55 times in the *Iliad* and 59 times in the *Odyssey*, was used much later in the 18th century by the German poet Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724-1803) in the poem *Ders Messias* (Messiah), published between 1748 and 1773.⁷ Later, another German poet, Johann Heinrich Voß, preferred to use the term “winged words” in his translations of Homer in 1781 (*Odyssey*) and 1793 (*Iliad*). This expression appears in the 19th century German philologist Georg Büchmann's *Geflügelte Worte* (Winged Words), a collection of popular quotations compiled from various sources and published in 1864. The work contains not only quotations from German sources but also quotations from the Bible, Roman and Greek sources, as well as from European (Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, British) and American literature, which had a significant influence on the German educational system, culture and literature. The expressions are presented with their German translations in the book, which does not include quotations without a source. In addition, the exact source of the quotation and the conveyed meaning are given. The work has been understood as “literarily verifiable, common sayings that have entered the common vocabulary of the people” from the

⁴Homeros, *Odysseia*, trans. Ahmet Cevat Emre (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1971); Homeros. *İlyada*, trans. Ahmet Cevat Emre (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 1971).

⁵Françoise Létoublon, “Epea Pteroenta (‘Winged Words’),” *Oral Tradition*, 14/2 (1999): 324- 327.

⁶Létoublon, “Epea Pteroenta (‘Winged Words’),” 321-335.

⁷Sibylle Benninghoff-Lühl, *Geflügeltes Wesen Figuren des Zitats* (Deutschland: Springer-Verlag, 1998), 134. According to Sibylle Benninghoff-Lühl, Klopstock uses the expression as follows: “Geflügelte Worte sprach er zu ihnen, dann sandt’ er sie unter das weichende Volk aus”. Translation: “He spoke winged words to them, then sent them out among the people who were going away”.

moment it was published.⁸ Büchmann's term was soon adopted in other languages. Thus, the term began appearing in philology as well as literature. The English writer Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) considered the expression “words with wings” as quotable aphorisms in an essay on Walter Scott in 1888.⁹

Before Büchmann, “winged words” referred only to expressive words that departed swiftly from the lips of the speaker, in the Homeric sense, and “flew”¹⁰ straight into the ears of the listener, whereas after Büchmann the term came to refer to a mix of idioms, aphorisms, proverbs, and literary quotations. Since Büchmann introduced a new term of his own into German linguistics with this name, he tries to explain what he wants as clearly as possible. In the preface to his book, he defines “winged words” as follows:

The general tools of communication between people are not only individual words, which are ready-made in their own form and can be used by everyone; (...) they include permanent, ready-made forms of combinations of words and thoughts, called idioms, proverbs, etc. Although it cannot be specified when or under what circumstances they originated, most of these ways of thinking nevertheless includes a group that can be traced back to a specific literary or historical starting point. These are collected in the book under the title “Winged Words” and, whether or not the name “winged words” is correctly chosen or not, they are often accompanied by evidence of their surprisingly hidden origins.¹¹

Therefore, the linguist collects expressions that can be considered stereotypes, from idioms to proverbs, from aphorisms to various popular quotations in literature under this term. Two difficulties in particular are encountered in the application of the concept that has been construed as a term. The first one of these is to distinguish “winged words” from proverbs, and the second is to determine whether an expression is general enough to qualify as a winged expression. This challenge for the linguist has been actively questioned in terms of the Turkish language within the scope of this study.

Based on Büchmann's work, which laid the groundwork for the emergence and research of the phenomenon of winged expressions, this concept began to be discussed in Russia. The term “winged expressions” is discussed in the work published in 1891 by the literary-ethnographer Sergey Maksimov titled *Winged Words with S. Maksimov's Comments* (*Krilatye Slova po Tolkovaniyu S. Maksimova*). The book is the first study on Russian winged expressions. Maksimov begins his study by analyzing words from date blocks with explanations for words and aphorisms frequently used in various newspapers, magazines and articles as well as those borrowed from foreign languages which have passed into the language, mainly Latin classics and require translation and for which providing a primary source is essential for understanding. From this point of view, he collects “winged” expressions, which are unique to the Russian language and found in different areas of life.¹² He focuses on expressions that have lost their primary meaning or cannot be understood without explanation. These include proverbs, idioms and maxims, which are mostly anonymous. He explores the semantic origins of discourses across various fields such as craftsmanship, law, and folk traditions, beliefs, and customs.¹³ This concept started to be studied at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries when the field of idiomatology (phraseology) emerged in Russian linguistics, but in conjunction with idioms. For example, Mortis Mihelson refers to these expressions as “common words used

⁸ Georg Büchmann & Walter Robert-tornow, *Geflügelte Worte: Der Citatenschatz des deutschen Volkes* (Berlin: Haude & Spenerische Buchhandlung, 1898), <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/43759/43759-h/43759-h.htm>.

⁹ Tomas Carlyle, “Sir Walter Scott”, in the book *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays: within Collected and Republished works*, ed. Tomas Carlyle (London: Chapman and Hall, 1888), 145.

¹⁰ Letoublon, “Epea Pteroenta (‘Winged Words’)”, 322-323, 327.

¹¹ Büchmann ve Robert-tornow, *Geflügelte Worte: Der Citatenschatz des deutschen Volkes*, 22.

¹² Sergei Vasilyevich Maksimov, *Krilatye Slova* (Moskva: Izdanie Hudojestvennoi Literatury, 1995), 3.

¹³ Maksimov, *Krilatye Slova*, 4.

aply” instead of “winged words”.¹⁴ Russian Thought and Discourse, published in 1921. The Self and the Foreign One. An Essay on Russian Phraseology (*Russkaya Mysl i Rech. Svoe i Chujoe. Orit Russkoy Frazelogii*), published in 1921, discusses these linguistic structures together with idioms. Semyon Zaymovskiy, on the other hand, argues that the definition of “common words used aply” is not sufficient to determine winged expressions, and that quotations from an author, aphorisms, epithets, nicknames, titles, an effective phrase from a speech, newspaper or book titles, or even the title of a musical work should also be considered winged expressions¹⁵.

In general, the studies carried out in that period continue by blending in idioms. Although winged expressions were included in studies carried out in 1960 and later, they were treated as anonymous idioms (*bezımyanie frazeologizmi*).¹⁶ In the 1980s, winged expressions began to be analyzed under different subheadings within the field of idiomatology. For example, the lexemes considered as winged expressions are categorized as “winged science” (*krilatika-крылатика*) by Olga Lomakina and Valeriy Mokienko, “winged expression science” (*krilatologiya-крылатология*) by Svetlana Shulejkova, Aleksandra Makarova while Aleksandra Korolkova refers to them as “winged expression science” (*krilatistika-крылатистика*) and Lyudmila Dyadchenko refers to them as “eptology” (*eptologiya-эптология*).

Likewise, there is a great variety in the nomenclature of winged expressions within the “science of winged expressions”. In their scientific work, Nikolay Akushin and Maria Akushina, Lidia Sherbachuk used the term “winged words” (*krilatie slova-крылатые слова*), while Lyudmila Dyadechko used “etonyms” (*eptonimi-эптонимы*), Yevgeny Ivanov used winged aphorisms (*krilatie aphorizmi-крылатые афоризмы*), Yuri Karaulov referred to “precedent texts” (*pretsedentnie teksti-прецедентные тексты*), Vitaliy Kostomarov, Natalia Burvikova used the terms “logosystems” (*logosystems-логосистемы*), Konstantin Sidorenko referred to “intertextual units” (*intertekstovie edinitsi-интертекстовые единицы*), Adam Suprun used “text references” (*tekstovie reministenstsi-текстовые реминисценции*)¹⁷. A brief look at how each researcher treats this phenomenon in the language reveals the confusion of meanings of this term. Akushin and Akushina in their work *Winged Words* (*Krilatie slova*, 1955) consider these structures one of the expressive speech devices of literary language, used figuratively in the language.¹⁸

Dyadechko considers winged expressions, which he calls eptonomies, as discourses in an author’s work that have become widespread in the language and are used and collected in writing¹⁹. He notes that the first “author’s dictionaries” collecting discourses in an author’s work commenced in the 1990s, and that at that time the term “winged expressions” was used instead of “eptographic publications”.²⁰ As an example of these studies, Kostomarov and Burvikova wrote a dictionary of winged expressions in 1998 in which they analyzed the expressions from Russian writer Alexander Griboedov’s (1795-1829) *The Trouble with the Mind* (*Gore ot Uma*). The study, primarily intended for high school students, explains the colloquial equivalents of the

¹⁴Morits Ilich Mihelson, *Metkie i Hodyachie Slova. Sbornik Russkih i Inostrannih Poslovits, Izrecheni i Virajeni* (Moskva: Akademia Nauk, 1894).

¹⁵Semyon Zaymovski, *Krilatie Slova Spravochnik Tsitat i Aforizma* (Moskva: Gosizdat 1930), 14-15.

¹⁶See Aleksandr Mihaylovich Babkin, *Russkaya Frazelogiya, yiyo Razvitie i Istochniki* (Moskva: Nauka, 1970), 210-225.; Valery Mikhailovich Mokienko, whose book was first published in 1975, *V glub’ Pogovorki* (Sankt-Peterburg: İd Mim-Paritet, 1999), 143-146.; Nikolay Maksimov Shanski, *V Mire Slova* (Moskva: Prosveshchenie, 1978), 195-228.

¹⁷Olga Valentinovna Lomakina ve Valeriy Mihaylovich Mokienko, “Krilatka v Sovremennom Kulturnom Kontekste”, *Vestnik RUDN Seriya: Teoriya yazika Semiotika Semantika*, 10/2 (2019): 256-272.

¹⁸Nikolai Sergeyevich Ashukin & Mariya Grigoryevna Ashukina, *Krilatie Slova: Literaturnye Tsitaty, Obraznie Virajeniya* (Moskva: Hudojestvennaya Literatura, 1995), 3.

¹⁹Lyudmila Petrovna Dyadechko, “Mirovaya Avtorskaya Eptografiya: Predistoriya, Sovremennoe Sostoyanie, Perspektivi”, *Voprosi Leksikografii*, 22 (2021): 14.

²⁰Dyadechko, “Mirovaya Avtorskaya Eptografiya: Predistoriya, Sovremennoe Sostoyanie, Perspektivi”, 12

expressions in the work and how and in which situations the structures in active use should be applied.²¹ A similar study was conducted in 1999 by linguist Mokienko and researcher-writer Sidorenko. In the Dictionary of Pushkin's Winged Expressions (*Slovar Krilatih Virajeniy Pushkina*), researchers analyze approximately one thousand nine hundred expressions in the works of the Russian writer Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837). Another work analyzing the phrases that have passed into the language, called "Pushkinism", is the School Dictionary of Pushkin's Winged Phrases (*Shkolniy Slovar Krilatih Virajeniy Pushkina*) published by the same researchers in 2005.²² While working on the first study, Sidorenko also proposed the term intertextuality (intertextuality-intertextuality) as an equivalent term for winged expressions. Sidorenko interprets intertextuality as the layer of relations in the lexical corpus consisting of such factors as grammar, morpheme-word formation, syntax, vocabulary, pronunciation that make up the meaningful structure of a text.²³ These factors that constitute intertextual relations enable a mutual interaction between texts. Similarities can be seen in both structural and expressive terms in texts that have similarities among each other. The similarities and differences in terms of expression manifest themselves in literature, and then pass from literature back into language and take place in the memory of language as a cultural phenomenon. The discourses based on the expressions in the works of Griboedov and Pushkin are a reflection of such a development.

Another term that includes both winged expressions and intertextuality is "pretsedentnye teksty" (precedent texts), which can be expressed as precedent texts. There are two approaches to the definition of the term, one narrow and one broad. This term is used for texts that are widely known to representatives of the culture in the narrow approach.²⁴ Within the framework of the term first proposed by the linguist Karaulov²⁵, precedent texts are defined as repetitive expressions that are cognitively and emotionally important for individuals in a society to which they frequently refer to many times in their discourse during communication.²⁶ Researchers such as Valentina Markova, Irina Litkina, Viktoriya Krasnyh do not limit precedent texts merely to expressions within a single text. According to them, precedent texts are texts that are repeatedly used and thus known by most people from different social backgrounds and different levels of education, and are therefore "complete and self-sufficient in all aspects of speech and thinking activities".²⁷ According to Markova, precedent texts include proverbs, maxims, discourses of public figures, song lyrics, quotations from literary works, movies, series, advertisements, etc.²⁸ Others include folklore genres and motifs such as folk songs, myths and fairy tales.²⁹ Thus, from a broad perspective, precedent texts cover a wide range from expressions in holy books, discourses in literary texts, written and oral works such as songs, folk songs, poems, fairy tales to expressions and slogans uttered by public figures,

²¹Tatyana Kolmakova, "V.G. Kostomarov, N.D. Burvikova: Chitaya i Pochitaya Griboedova. Krilatye Slova i Virajeniya". *Russkaya Rech*, 4 (1999): 111.

²²Valeriy Mihaylovich Mokienko & Konstantin Pavlovich Sidorenko, *Shkolniy Slovar Krilatih Virajeniy Pushkina* (Sankt-Peterburg: Neva, 2005).

²³Konstantin Pavlovich Sidorenko, "Intertekstovye Interpretatory v Slovarie Krilatih Virajeniy Pushkina". In the book *Slovo, Fraza, Tekst: Sbornik Nauchnih Statey k 60-letiyu M.A. Alekseenko* (Moskva: Azbukovnik, 2002), 317-330.

²⁴See Boris Mihaylovich Gasparov, *Yazık. Pamyat. Obraz. Lingvistika Yazıkovogo Sushestvovaniya*, (Moskva: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 1996), 99-100.

²⁵It has been translated into Turkish by researcher Assoc. Prof. Dr. Olena Kozan with the concept of "anecdotal phenomenon". See Natalia Sergeevna Biryukova, "Anırtırma Olgu Türleri Üzerine", in the book *Kültürdilbilim: Temel Kavramlar ve Sorunlar*, trans. Olena Kozan (Ankara: Gazi Kitabevi, 2014), 107-112.

²⁶Yuri Nikolayevich Karaulov, *Russkiy Yazık i Yazıkovaya Lichnost* (Moskva: Nauka, 2010), 116-119.

²⁷Irina Valeryevna Litkina, "Obuchenie Studentov Upotrebleniyu Pretsedentnih Tekstov". (PhD thesis, Moscow Pedagogical State University, 2003); Viktoriya Vladimirovna Krasnyh, Dmitri Borisovich Gudkov et al., "Kognitivnaya baza i pretsedentnye fenomeny v sisteme drugih edinit i v kommunikatsii", *Vestnik MGU*, 9/3 (1997): 63.; Dmitri Borisovich Gudkov, *Pretsedentnoye imya i problemi pretsedentnosti* (Moskva: Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1999), 27.

²⁸Valentina Alekseeva Markova, *Stilistika Russkogo Yazıka* (Sankt-Peterburg: Lenand, 2016), 133.; Olena Kozan, "Yazıkovaya igra v zagolovkah turetskih gazet", *Uchenie zapiski Tavricheskogo Natsionalnogo Universiteta im. V.I. Vernadskogo Seriya "Filologiya Sotsialnie Kommunikatsii"* 24/63 (2011): 165.

²⁹Irina Vladimirovna Arnold, *Semantika, Stilistik, Intertekstualnost* (Moskva: Knizhnyy Dom, 2000), 426.

from words in advertisements and news to political slogans. The underlying reason lies in the fact that, regardless of their origin, they have been adopted by society and embedded in the language as a cultural phenomenon.

Shulejkova's "Winged Expressions in the Russian Language, Their Sources and Development" (*Krilatye Virajeniya Russkogo Yazıka, İh Istoçniki i Razvitie*, 2002) is one of the first monographs in Russian idiomology that deals with this subject in detail. She distinguishes between the concepts of "winged words" (*krilatoe slovo*) and "winged expressions" (*krilatoe virajenie*) in idiomatics and unites them under a single term and calls them "winged units" (*krilataya edinita*). While winged words reflect non-anonymous expressions, discourses with five distinctive features constitute winged expressions. These are 1) being linked to a specific source (author, literary, mythological, folkloric, historical hero, literary work, real event, etc.); 2) forming a whole with separate structures (consisting of two or more related words); 3) reproducibility (can be used in communication as a ready-made template); 4) being structurally molded (stereotyping); 5) semantic stability.³⁰ As such, the main feature that distinguishes fixed expressions such as proverbs and idioms from winged phrases is that they have, in Shulejkova's terms, "additional meaning" (*semantiçeskiy dovesok* - семантический довесок). These additional meanings are "loaded" with the genetic memory of the authors who created them, the works they are quoted from, or the historical events that played a role in their emergence.³¹ From this point of view, the concepts of winged words and winged expressions are closely related. In the language system, they are often referred to as aphorisms or maxims. In Turkish, expressions that reflect the above-mentioned characteristics are referred to as maxims, aphorisms, adages, or proverbs or as quotations from popular literature sources.

The range of researchers' interpretations of the linguistic phenomenon in question and their tendency to use different terms shows that this field is still in the process of development and formation stage. However, the diversity of approaches to the study of winged expressions within Russian linguistics is not unique to Russian linguistics. According to Makarova, while Slavic, German, and English phraseologists include winged words and winged expressions in their studies, phraseologists, especially in countries where French is the official language, do not consider winged expressions as a separate class within idiomatics; they are not even included as separate language units in their studies.³² A similar situation can be observed in Turkish linguistics.

Winged expressions are analyzed within the concept of intertextuality in some studies. Intertextuality, which appears as a continuous process of interaction between texts within a cultural chain that spreads throughout the world, reflects the existence of a source text from which the author borrows elements while writing his own text. Intertextuality can appear as a word that belongs to someone else coming out of the mouth of the literary work's protagonist, or appear as a text that is formed and transformed in an endless cycle in an act of remembering past experiences or events, quotations, anecdotes. In German philology, phenomena such as borrowing, interpretation, quotation, paraphrasing, anecdotal and, epigraphic adaptation of a scene from a movie or parody are included in the concept of intertextuality.³³ This, in fact, shows why the concepts of winged expressions and intertextuality can be intertwined. This concept, which was initially shaped as searching for a text within a text and investigating the effect of one text on another text, now includes textual analysis in different styles and genres. Familiar expressions in a discourse can be

³⁰Svetlana Grigoryevna Shulejkova, *Krilatye Virajeniya Russkogo Yazıka, İh Istoçniki i Razvitiye* (Moskva: Azbukovnik, 2002), 28-29.

³¹Shulejkova, *Krilatye Virajeniya Russkogo Yazıka, İh Istoçniki i Razvitiye*, 32.

³²Aleksandra Stefanova Makarova, "Sovremennaya Krilatologiya: Stanovlenie Terminologicheskogo Apparata", *Uchenie Zapiski Krimskogo Federalnogo Universiteta Imeni V.I. Vernadskogo Filologicheskie Nauki Nauchniy Jurnal*, 4/70 (2018): 231.

³³Arnold, *Semantika, Stilistik, İntertekstualnost*, 378.

found not only in media and literary genres but also in verbal and nonverbal language/sign systems such as advertising texts, comics, posters and banners. These written texts, which can also be seen on various types of internet platforms and are called “demo motivators”, are distinguished by their visuality, the fact that they contain a specific slogan, and that they contain explanatory texts written in small letters.³⁴ It is possible to see the use of winged expressions in street banners and wall posters where old discourses are repurposed instead of creating new slogans to enhance memorability, as well as in emojis, which are one of the internet written-visual types.

The formation of winged expressions in the Russian language started to be analyzed mainly through the transition of expressions from literary works into written and spoken language, followed by Soviet films and cartoons, and then through the discourse of public figures. In order to limit the framework of the study, examples of winged expressions in language were analyzed within the framework of these three groups. These are 1) winged expressions from literary works; 2) winged expressions from the world of television (movies, films, series, cartoons); 3) winged expressions from the discourse of celebrities.

Many words in the works of numerous poets and writers such as Griboyedov,³⁵ Pushkin³⁶, Turgenev³⁷, Chekhov³⁸, Dostoevsky³⁹, Tolstoy⁴⁰ who are prominent names of Russian literature, have been accepted into the language as winged expressions. Knowing the source of the discourses that turn into winged expressions is the main reason why they are considered aphorisms. In the Turkish Dictionary published by the Turkish Language Association, an aphorism is defined as a concise and definite statement that expresses a thought, a feeling, or a principle, usually attributed to a known person; a maxim⁴¹, a succinct saying, a dictum, a wise saying, an aphorism⁴² or a motto. This is an indication of why expressions in Turkish that have a known origin are generally analyzed as aphorisms rather than another concept. According to Shulejkova, aphorisms and winged expressions share certain affinities; therefore aphorisms can also be winged expressions, “however while in aphorisms it is always necessary to know to the identity of the speaker, this is not essential for discourse that become a winged expression.”⁴³ It is possible to forget said the origin of discourse whose source was previously known; in this respect, it can be said that winged expressions includes expressions whose source was once known but whose traces of which have been erased or faded over time, and which have spread to the general public.

Since there are many winged expressions that have passed into the language from literature, only winged expressions that reflect the discourses that have become widespread in the language through the use of Pushkin's works are given as examples not to exceed the limits of the study. Examples obtained from searches in the RUD press, literature, oral sub-corpus tabs are presented to determine whether the winged expressions remain active in the memory of the speakers. The expression Мороз и солнце; день

³⁴Mokienko, “Kırlatka v sovremennom kulturnom kontekste”, 60-62.

³⁵Vitali Grigoryevich Kostomarov & Natalia Dmitrievna Burvikova, *Chitaya i Pochitaya Griboedova. Krlatie Slova i Virajeniya* (Moskva: Russkiy yazık, 1998).

³⁶Mokienko & Sidorenko, *Shkolny Slovar Krlatıh Virajeniy Pushkina.*; Svetlana Grigoryevna Shulejkova, “Pushkinskie Krlatie Edinitsı Kak Obekt Avtorskoj Leksikografii”, *Jurnal Acta Linguistica Petropolitana*, 9/2(2013): 565-581.

³⁷Anjelika Viktorovna Korolkova, “Aforistika İ.S. Turgeneva”, *Uchenie Zapiski Orlovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta Seriya: Gumanitarnie i Sotsialnie*, 2/83(2019): 113.

³⁸Anjelika Viktorovna Korolkova, “Aforistika A.P. Chehova”, *Uchenie Zapiski Orlovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, 4/81 (2018): 163-164.

³⁹Vadim Serov, *Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar Krlatıh Slov i Virajeniy* (Moskva: Lokid-Press, 2003), 286, <http://uchitel-slovesnosti.ru/slovari/15.pdf>.

⁴⁰Yulia Vladimirovna Arhangelskaya, “Krlatie Edinitsı L.N. Tolstogo v Sovremennih Diskursah i Slovaryah”, *Filologicheskie Nauki Vopros Teorii i Praktiki*, 7/61 (2016): 62.

⁴¹“Özdeyiş”, *Türkçe Sözlük* (Ankara: Turkish Language Association, 2011), 1866.

⁴²“Aforizma”, *Türkçe Sözlük* (Ankara: Turkish Language Association, 2011), 1866.

⁴³Shulejkova, *Krlatie Virajeniya Russkogo Yazıka, ih İstochniki i Razvitiye*, 25.

чудесный! in Pushkin's poem Winter Morning (Zimnee Utro-Зимнее Утро, 1829), meaning “Frost and sun, a wonderful day!” is considered a winged expression. A review of look at the current usage in newspaper reports reveals instances, where the phrase is still used without directly referencing the poet or the work: *Они не учитывали минус 20, хотя есть впечатление, что если у нас «мороз и солнце, день чудесный», то этого солнца достаточно для того, чтобы вирус убить», — сказала Баранова [Биолог рассказала, какая погода убивает COVID-19 // Парламентская газета, 09.02.2021].⁴⁴Translation: They didn't take minus 20 into account, but “if there is frost and sun, it's a great day” and there is an impression that this sun was enough to kill the virus,” Baranova testified. [The biologist described the kind of weather that put an end to COVID-19 // Parlamentskaya gazeta]; Экологи предупреждают: состояние воздуха ухудшится «Мороз и солнце, день чудесный» — увы, это не про Москву [В выходные из дома лучше не выходить! // Комсомольская правда, 18.02.2011].⁴⁵Translation: Environmentalists warn: weather conditions will worsen “Frost and sun, a great day!” but unfortunately it's hard to say the same for Moscow [Better stay indoors on the weekend! // Komsomolskaya Pravda].*

Another well-known example from Pushkin is a phrase from his poem The Copper Horseman (Medny vsadnik-Медный всадник, 1837). The expression Петра творенье, meaning “Peter's work”, is still used today, and it is known that it originally referred to St. Petersburg, the city founded by Peter I.: *Тем сильнее оказалось потрясение, которое Петра творенье испытало в конце XX века [Российская академия наук будет жить // Коммерсант, 15.05.2002].⁴⁶Translation: The shock to Peter's work at the end of the twentieth century was even more shocking [Russian Academy of Sciences will live // Kommersant].*

The sentence А счастье было так возможно, так близко! from Pushkin's Yevgeni Onegin (Евгений Онегин), which means “And happiness was so possible, so close!”, has also become a winged expression. This expression can sometimes be used in a long form, and sometimes in a shortened form, where the last phrase is used instead of the first:

... Не успела нас проехать последняя машина кортежа, как менты сразу попрыгали в оставшийся мериндос, и тут же слились. Мы поехали: самыми первыми — всех остальных ещё держали... Эх. А ведь счастье было так близко! Вся история могла пойти по-другому. [vk (04.09.2012)].⁴⁷Translation: the police immediately jumped into the remaining Mercedes and merged before the last cortege car passed us. We went first, the rest were still kept waiting. Ah, happiness was so close! The whole story could have turned out differently [vk (04.09.2012)].

Потому что любовь — это такая задача, которую списать нельзя. ...Чтобы никогда не пришлось вздыхать: «А счастье было так возможно...» [30 советов для двоих // Аргументы и факты, 2004.04.20].⁴⁸Translation: Because love is the kind of duty that cannot be discarded...And happiness was very possible... so that you would never have to sigh”... [30 tips for two // Argumentı i Faktı].

Another winged expression in the same work is Его пример другим наука, which means “His example is science for others” and is used to express that an action is positive enough to be taken as an example, which can also be used to portray irony.

⁴⁴Tamara Askerova, “Biolog Rasskazala, Kak Pogoda Ubivaet COVID-19”, *Parlamentskaya Gazeta*, 2 September, 2021, <https://www.pnp.ru/social/biolog-rasskazala-kakaya-pogoda-ubivaet-covid-19.html>.

⁴⁵“V Vihodnie iz Doma Luchshe ne Vihodit!”, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, 18 February, 2011, <http://msk.kp.ru/daily/25640/804944/>.

⁴⁶“Rossiyskaya Akademiya Nauk Budet Jit”, *Kommersant*, 15 May, 2002, <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/322009>.

⁴⁷Quoted from the National Corpus of the Russian Language website (Natsionalniy Korpus Russkogo Yazıka) The abbreviation RUD will be used for subsequent citations. See “Счастье Было Так Возможно”, National Corpus of the Russian Language, access 9 January 2024, <https://ruscorpora.ru/>.

⁴⁸“RUD”.

Первый заместитель председателя Комитета Госдумы по образованию Олег Смолин также похвалил инициативу главы Рособрнадзора. «Про то, что Сергей Кравцов пошёл сдавать ЕГЭ с родителями, можно сказать: **«Его пример другим наука»**. [Эй, родители, ЕГЭ сдать не хотите ли? // Парламентская газета, 2017.02.07]. Translation: *Oleg Smolin, First Deputy Chairman of the State Duma Education Committee, praised the initiative of the head of Rosobrnadzor. "We can say this about Sergey Kravtsov taking the university entrance exams with his family: "It is a science that he is an example for others" [O parents! Don't you want to take the exam? / Parlamentskaya gazeta].*⁴⁹

The film industry plays an important role in the formation of a country's present, past and future image as well as in forming its national and social identity. Soviet cinema has such a place in contemporary Russian cinema. Soviet cinema, which existed under Soviet rule for nearly seventy years and influenced the shaping of social culture, still maintains its popularity among Russian society despite the regime change.⁵⁰ Although times have changed, Soviet films continue their "tradition" through language. Many Soviet films have become cult favorites and the expressions of the heroes in these films have become part of the language. In addition to Soviet films, there are many winged expressions derived from Soviet cartoons. The cartoon "Он улетел, но обещал вернуться" (On uletel, no obeşal vernutsa - He flew away, but promised to return) from the cartoon Karlson is back (Karlson Vernulsa-Карлсон Вернулся), directed by Boris Stepantsev and released in 1970 is one of them; In the cartoon Once Upon a Time there was a Dog (Jil-Bil Pyos-Жил-Был Пёс), directed by Eduard Nazarov, which was broadcast in 1982, there are the words "ну ты заходи, если что!" (nu tı zahodi eşli что!), "шо опять?" (sho opyat?) meaning "what now?", "щас спую" (shas spoyu) meaning "now I will sing" are winged expressions. There are two important factors why these expressions are still used today and have become part of the language. The cartoon, inspired by the Ukrainian folk tale "Serko", features the pronunciation of the Ukrainian dialect. This adds a different tone to the discourse. In addition, the sample expressions contain colloquial transpositions. These discourses, which contain elements of expressive richness and effectiveness, also reflect the conversational style of the Russian language. It can be concluded that made it easier for the expressions to settle into the language.

The cartoon series Prostokvashino (Простоквашино), based on the story Uncle Fedor, the Cat and the Dog (Dyadya Födör, Kot i Pyos-Дядя Фёдор, Кот и Пёс-) by children's book writer Eduard Uspenskiy, published in 1973, is also the source of many winged expressions. About thirty words spoken in the cartoon series, which reached audiences in 1978, were accepted as winged expressions.⁵¹ In addition to the above-mentioned Soviet cartoons, there are a large number of winged expressions from contemporary Russian cartoons such as Masha and the Bear (Masha i Medved-Маша и Медведь) which is also well known to Turkish audiences in the *Electronic Dictionary of Winged Expressions Compiled from Cartoons with Historical-Cultural-Linguistic Interpretations for Russian Language Learners*. Soviet and Russian cartoons, past and present, have been analyzed in this study. Forty-two winged expressions were identified from twenty-three different cartoons, and the expressions were supported with visuals and examples of use outside cartoons.⁵²

Finally, if we examine the discourses of public figures that have turned into winged expressions, we can include the statements of politicians among them. The ability to formulate a desired message in an effective and concise manner is key to every politician's success in communication. It is also possible for public figures

⁴⁹"RUD".

⁵⁰Maria Pravdina, "Sovetskoe Kino Kak Obekt Sovremennoy Kulturnoy Retseptsii i Zritelskoy Privyazannosti", *Vestnik Obshchestvennogo Mneniya: Dannye, Analiz, Diskussii* 2/100 (2009): 114.

⁵¹Svetlana Grigoryevna Shulejkova vd., *Rebyata, Davayte Jit Drujno! Elektronnyi Mini-Slovar Krılatih Virajeniy iz Multfilmov s İstoriko-Kulturno-Lingvisticheskim Kommentariem dlya İzuchayushih Russkiy Yazık*, (Magnitogorsk: Izdatelstvo Magnitogorskogo Gosudarestennogo Tehnicheskogo Universiteta imeni G.İ. Nosova, 2017), https://rihap.magtu.ru/doc/2017/Rebyata_davaite_zhit_druzhno_slovar_2017.pdf.

⁵²Shulejkova Svetlana Grigoryevna vd., *Rebyata, Davayte Jit Drujno! Elektronnyi Mini-Slovar Krılatih Virajeniy iz Multfilmov s İstoriko-Kulturno-Lingvisticheskim Kommentariem dlya İzuchayushih Russkiy Yazık*.

who have a certain influence in society to enrich their expressions with elements such as irony, ridicule and jokes. The words of Russian President Vladimir Putin, one of the most well-known political figures in Russia, have been given the special name “Putinism” (Путинизм), just as those named after poet-writer Pushkin. These expressions have become special elements in linguistic studies and are included in Wikipedia under this heading and where they have been updated since 2009. In his speeches, statements and press conferences, Putin uses frequently adopts popular expressions from existing sources, and these expressions replace the original source and become associated with Putin. For example the phrase (ску́чно де́вушки! Ladies, this is so boring/ordinary!) “ску́чно, де́вушки! from the novel *12 Chairs* (12 Стульев-12 стульев-1928)⁵³ has been used by Putin.⁵⁴ Another phrase of Putin's that had a wide resonance at the time it was uttered was мочить в сортире (mochit v sortire - to drown/destroy in the toilet). He used this phrase which was used both in the local and foreign press and in the Russian dub of the movie *Zombieland: Double Tap* in 1999 when answering journalists' questions about the events of the Second Chechen War and the aerial bombing of Grozny by the Russians at a press conference in Astana.⁵⁵ This phrase was also used by Israel's Defense Minister Eduard Barak during his election campaign.⁵⁶ There are 462 expressions belonging to Putin in Tsitatı.net website (Цитаты.нет/Citation.net)⁵⁷. Although these expressions are predominantly in the form of quotations and aphorisms, there are also many that are accepted as winged expressions. Time will tell how many of them will ultimately turn into winged expressions.

In addition to Putin, the statements of former Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin *Хотели как лучше, а получилось как всегда!* (Hoteli kak luchshe, a poluchilos kak vsegda-We wanted it to be the best, but it was business as usual), Former Russian Prime Minister and President Dmitri Medvedev *Денег нет но вы держитесь* (Deneg net no vy derjites-No money, but hang on), Former Moscow Mayor Yuri Lujkov *Работаете хорошо, но дальше так работать нельзя* (Rabotaete horosho, no dalshe tak rabotat nelzya - You are working well, but this is not the way to work for the future), Yulia Arsenina, Deputy Director of the Vladimir Region Health Department *Макарошки стоят всегда одинаково* (Makaroshki stoyat vsegda odinakovo - The price of pasta is always the same), and many others have been analyzed by journalists and linguists and recognized as winged expressions.⁵⁸

The political elite has an undeniable influence in Russian society not only at the level of state laws and regulations but also in all social spheres and processes. This influence also has a great impact on oral communication and everyday discourse among citizens. The attention paid to the words of public figures is often due to the fact that they are often unexpected and striking, appear ridiculous on air and contain

⁵³This expression was first used in the first line of “Russian Song” (Russkaya Pesnya) by Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin's poet friend Anton Antonovich Delvig (1798-1831), and subsequently gained popularity after the novel. It appears in the novel as an expression directed at the audience to indicate how boring, banal and ordinary the name given to the chess club is. See Anton Antonovich Delvig, *Sochineniya* (Leningrad: Hudojestvennaya Literatura 1986), 64.

⁵⁴“Skuchno Devochki! Tsitatami iz Kakih Filmov i Knig Razgovarivaet Vladimir Putin”, *Maksim*, 25 January, 2021, <https://www.maximonline.ru/lifestyle/skuchno-devochki-citatami-iz-kakikh-filmov-i-knig-razgovarivaet-vladimir-putin-id564367/>; “Skuchno Devochki! Putin Nazval Rassledovaniya Navalnogo Montajem”, *Rianovosti.ru*, 25 January, 2021, <https://ria.ru/20210125/putin-1594485460.html>. Putin, During a meeting with university students on the occasion of Students' Day, in response to a question about a video published about a study conducted by Alexei Navalny, in which he was asked about having a palace in Gelincik, he used this phraser: “They posted a photograph of me doing the butterfly stroke. I'm a bit sloppy, but sometimes I like to swim like this, in a pool I've never been to. I don't know what kind of pool it was but I did swim in it. When and where? In 2016 in Yenisei. In these cases, it's just a compilation, a montage. To paraphrase one of our famous characters: “Ladies, this is so boring. They could at least have thought of something else”. “Vskazivaniya Rossiyskih Politikov, Kotorie Stali Krilatymi Frazami”, *DailyMoscow*, 29 May, 2022, <https://dailymoscow.ru/polit/vyskazyvaniya-rossiyskih-politikov-kotorye-stali-krilatymi-frazami>.

⁵⁵Tamara Hodova, “Zombilend: Kontrolniy Vistrel” Vernet Vas Obratno v 2009 god, no Zachem?”, *Tass*, 29 October, 2019, <https://tass.ru/opinions/7031516>.

⁵⁶“Ministr Oborony Izrailya Prizovet ‘Mochit Terroristov v Sortire’”, *Lenta.ru*, 27 January, 2009, <https://lenta.ru/news/2009/01/27/barak/>.

⁵⁷“Tsitatı İzvestnıh Lichnostey. Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin”, access 11 January, 2024, <https://ru.citaty.net/avtory/vladimir-vladimirovich-putin/>.

⁵⁸Oksana Evgeniyevna Chernova, Aleksandra Anatolyevna Osipova & Oksana Valeryevna Franchuk, “Makaroshi Stoyat Vsegda Odnakovo (Novie Krilatıe Virajeniya i ih Istochniki v Sovremennom Russkom Yazıke)”, *Filologiya i Kultura* 2/60(2020): 115-119; “Krılatıe Frazı Rossiyskih Politikov”, *Dzen*, 21 August, 2023, <https://dzen.ru/a/Y84nl7WggzEuLzcm>.

obvious deviations from general ethical norms. Therefore, they attract the attention and scrutiny of journalists, bloggers and representatives of various segments of the population who are active citizens.⁵⁹ The fact that these people use particularly vulgar language in their speech raises another point of contention regarding the use of language.⁶⁰

2. Winged Expressions in Turkish

The concept of “winged word”, which first appears in Turkish in the translation of Homer’s work, is used in the field of literature in the sense of enticing, memorable, and impressive expression, predominantly in compilations and poetry. For example, this expression can be found in the title of Turkish journalist and writer Oktay Akbal’s book of essays titled “Do Winged Words Fly?” published in 2003. The author equates this expression, which he also uses as a subtitle in his compilation, with the concept of aphorisms. He considers them as true to life expressions that have been heard, spoken and written, maintaining their effect even after centuries, and intended for the benefit of future generations.⁶¹ This phrase later appears in the title of a poetry collection for children, first published in 2006 and consisting of 444 poems by 128 poets. The inside cover of the book refers to Homer for “words with wings”.⁶² The phrase was later used as the title of the online exhibition organized by the Troy Excavations Art Team from December 25, 2020 to January 25, 2021.⁶³ In two more recent works, there is a similar approach in terms of semantics. The 2022 edition of the book titled *Kanatlı Sözler* (Words with Wings), written by Halil Ülke, contains the following passage regarding the expression: “Do words have wings? Yes, and not just two wings, but more... Why? So that more would be broken...I fueled phrases I couldn’t put into words and loaded them on wings so that they could fly freely to the hearts I couldn’t reach. I didn’t want the formidability of distances to obstruct the words”.⁶⁴ From these words, it can be concluded that Ülke treats the expressions he calls “winged words” as a written expression of the meanings and feelings he wants to convey to the reader in his poems. In the preface to his work titled *Kanatlı Sözler Özdeyişler* (Vecizeler), İbrahim Köse presents his work as a compilation of notes comprised of more than 700 aphorisms containing memories, reflections and experiences from his life.⁶⁵ The author again provides an insight regarding the chosen title in the preface: “I also had birds on the roof of the house. Birds that I held tightly, opened my palms momentarily and released into the blue sky. Sometimes the feathers of the flying birds would remain in my hand. These words that remain on my tongue now are like the feathers left in my hands from those childhood years”.⁶⁶ Quotations in the form of aphorisms on various subjects are categorized under general headings such as Idea (Thought), Life, Education-Culture-Art, Man and Humanity, Love-Marriage-Family, and Administration (Management). In this study, the expression “winged sayings” consists of sayings compiled by the author as a reflection of his memories from his childhood and youth.

Makarova's observation that foreign experts in idiomatology and linguists do not consider winged expressions as special linguistic units and do not analyze them as separate stereotyped expressions needs

⁵⁹Franchuk, “Makaroshi stoyat vseгда odinakovo (Novie Krlatie Virajeniya i ih Istochniki v Sovremennom Russkom Yazıke)”, 116.

⁶⁰Yulia Aleksandrovna Bessonova, “Sovremennaya Rossiyskaya Politicheskaya Elita i Problemy Yazıkovoy Kompetentsii”, *Srednerusskiy Vestnik Obchestvennih Nauk* 4/5(2007): 60-61.

⁶¹Oktay Akbal, *Kanatlı Sözler Uçar mı?* (İstanbul: Dünya Yayınları, 2003), 114.

⁶²*Kanatlı Sözler Bahçesi*, compiled by Yunus Bekir Yurdakul,(İstanbul: Mavibulut Yayınları, 2022).

⁶³“Kanatlı Sözler”, Katmanlar 7. Çanakkale Bineali, Special Project Online Exhibition, accessed July 9, 2023, <https://www.canakkalebienali.com/kanatli-sozler-katmanlar/>.

⁶⁴Halil Ülke, *Kanatlı Sözler* (İstanbul: Kitapyurdu Doğrudan, 2022), 9.

⁶⁵İbrahim Köse, *Kanatlı Sözler Özdeyişler (Vecizeler)* (İstanbul: Kitapyurdu Doğrudan, 2023), 8.

⁶⁶Köse, *Kanatlı Sözler Özdeyişler (Vecizeler)*, 7.

in-depth research in Turkish linguistics.⁶⁷ Academician Olena Kozan, in her 2014 book titled *Russian and Turkish Newspaper Headline Language: A Culturolinguistic Approach*, mentions the concept of “anecdotal phenomenon” and defines this concept as the repetition of a phenomenon or object in culture.⁶⁸ This concept has been translated into Turkish using terms such as anecdotal text, anecdotal fact, anecdotal noun, anecdotal word in contemporary culturolinguistic research.⁶⁹ Since information about paraphrasing events is more specific to a society, carries national, and cultural values and is not found in dictionaries, identifying, explaining and classifying them is important for understanding the language. In this study, the concept of anecdotal phenomenon was examined within the framework of Turkish newspaper headlines and analyzed in five subcategories: anecdotal nouns, anecdotal words, anecdotal events, anecdotal texts and anecdotal phenomena.

Anecdotal nouns include both the plain and connotative meanings of nouns commonly known by the general public. The examples in this subheading, unlike winged expressions, use words that are known in the language (e.g. feinting the Grim Reaper for the second time). This, in our opinion, brings them closer to figures of speech in terms of usage. Likewise, name transfer can be observed in examples such as ‘Gandhi Patlaması’ (Gandhi Explosion) and Çakma Napoleon (Knockoff Napoleon). However, what we mean by winged expressions mostly includes phrases with complete elements. In the framework of newspaper headlines, paraphrases are categorized into three categories: proverbs, idioms and quotations. The expression Bayburt has not seen such persecution since Bayburt was Bayburt, which is presented as one of the idioms used in its transformed state in the Idioms section, is actually not an idiom in our opinion, but rather an example of a true winged expression, although it was not expressed by a public figure or a well-known person in society.⁷⁰ This opinion, presented by an audience member after listening to the Presidential Symphony Orchestra, which came to Bayburt to give a concert, exhibits a winged expression feature because it has entered the language and settled into usage. This shows how a person’s discourse is integrated into the language. It suggests that even if the source is not a public figure, a profound statement can also pass into a language through the media and become embedded in both the written and spoken language alongside newspaper headlines. The subtitle “Quotations” examines discourses in two areas: society (Oxford vardı da okumadık mı?) (Oxford was available, but we couldn’t be bothered) and politics (One minute’nin rövanşı) (payback for one minute).⁷¹ Anecdotal events reflect the transformations that words have undergone. For example, in our opinion açılım, Balyoz, çuval geçirmek, Ergenekon, Mavi Marmara, Titanik (Opening, Sledgehammer, covering someone’s head with a sack, Ergenekon, Mavi Marmara, Titanic) do not reflect the concept of winged expression that we endeavored to present in this study, but the naming of historical cultural events in society. There are four subcategories in the anecdotal text category: “Literature anecdotes” (Çalikuşu, Ateşten Gömlek, İstiklal Marşı), “Mythology/Religion anecdotes” (Noah’s Ark, Tower of Babel, Sirat Bridge), “Cinema/Animation/Program anecdotes” (Kurtlar Vadisi, Aşk-ı Memnu, Recep İvedik, İssız Adam, Hababam Sınıfı Uyanıyor), “Song anecdotes” (İlle de Roman Olsun, Uzun İnce Bir Yoldayım).⁷² Finally, an anecdote includes playing with the phenomenon and graphical changes made with apostrophes. Since the expressions in the study are analyzed in terms of newspaper headlines, the discourses that can be defined as winged expressions in the Turkish language are limited in terms of research. Despite the opinions presented above, the study is valuable because it is the first study to pave the way for the research and classification

⁶⁷Aleksandra Stefanova Makarova, “Sovremennaya Kırilatologiya: Stanovlenie Terminologicheskogo Apparata”, 231.

⁶⁸Olena Kozan, *Rus ve Türk Gazete Haber Başlığı Dili: Kültürdilbilimsel Yaklaşım* (Ankara: Sonçağ Yayıncılık, 2014), 72.

⁶⁹Kozan, *Rus ve Türk Gazete Haber Başlığı Dili: Kültürdilbilimsel Yaklaşım*, 73.

⁷⁰Kozan, 173.

⁷¹Kozan, 174-175.

⁷²Kozan, 185-189.

of these and similar cultural expressions. This shows that the Turkish language is open to further research in terms of revealing the spoken and written media language.

It is noted that the discourses in the Turkish language, which qualify as winged expressions in our opinion, mainly consist of Yeşilçam (Turkish film industry) lines and current popular TV series and movies.

Many expressions, which cannot be mentioned here due to the limits of the study, are widely known in Turkish culture, sometimes in short form or with added expressions. Here are some examples:

"Isn't this a goal either, Referee?" (Şaka ile Karışık), *"Your mother was an angel, darling"* (Ana Hakkı Ödenmez), *"The light of my life is going to the park"* (Çöpçüler Kralı), *"Your arrogance matches your beauty"* (Küçük Hanımefendi), *"Don't hold the little brother-in-law"* (Tosun Paşa), *"Get out of my sight!"* (Davaro, Çiçek Abbas), *"Fistık will be mine, I'll ride her with a whip"* (Öksüzler), *"Tearing! Bad hand!"* (Evcilik Oyunu), *"Why don't you faint while you are at it, Feriha"* (Adını Feriha koydum), *"If I knew it was a sin to love, I swear I wouldn't have loved you."* (Bir Kulunu Çok Sevdim), *"Don't be stupid"* (Aşk-ı Memnu).

It can be said that the expression "No way, Never", which is included in the lines of many male and female actors in Yeşilçam movies and has become a phenomenon, is a winged expression.⁷³ It has been observed that this expression has been used many times in the social media application Instagram, both as it is and with various additions or extensions (#nayırnolamazninanamıyorum, #nayırnolamazdedibana, #nayırnolamaztadındabirfotioldu) with a hash tag (#). Scanning results showed that the expression was mentioned in 1742 posts and used as a profile name and descriptive word on 28 profile pages. The same expression appears in the online newspaper Gazete Duvar as "No way, never, I can't see" in the title of a promotional article of a movie about what happened in real life to the hero whose one eye is blind and who is on the verge of losing the other one.⁷⁴ The expression was chosen for the title of Birgün newspaper's news article on open-air movie theaters ("No way, never" in the open air).⁷⁵ Other uses of the expression can be found in the daily Günboyu with the headline "No way, never! Icardi and Wanda Nara are the new stars of Yeşilçam"⁷⁶ and Yeni Şafak newspaper's article title "No way, Never! I have put in 70 years of labor".⁷⁷ The number of these and similar examples in terms of newspaper titles and news content is quite high.

In the movie *A Turkish Girl in Germany*, the expression "We belong to different worlds" is another widely known expression. Similiar to the previous example, it was observed that this expression was tagged in 81 posts and 4 profile pages on the social media application Instagram in various ways (#bizayrıdünyalarıninsanıamabirokadardaayda, #bizayrıdünyalarınkedileriyiz, #bizayrıdünyalarınkedileriyiz, #bizayrıdünyalardanıq, #bizayrıdünyayız, #bizayrıdünyalarıngezenterileriyiz etc.). In addition, the expression was used in the headline or news content of many online newspaper websites. Sputnik Türkiye (Ertuğrul Özkök responds to Emin Çölaşan: We belong to different worlds ...) ⁷⁸, Hürriyet (from İnce to CHP: We belong to different worlds) ⁷⁹,

⁷³"Nayır Nolamaz Nasıl Ortaya Çıktı?", *Odatv*, 30 November, 2008, <https://www.odatv4.com/medya/nayir-nolamaz-nasil-ortaya-cikti-3410>.

⁷⁴Can Öktemer, "Nayır Nolamaz, Göremiyorum!", *Gazeteduvar*, 5 September, 2020, <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/sinema/2020/09/05/nayir-nolamaz-goremiyorum>.

⁷⁵"Açık Havada 'Nayır Nolamaz' Keyfi, *BirGün*, 2 July, 2015, <https://www.birgun.net/haber/acik-havada-nayir-nolamaz-83952>.

⁷⁶"Nayır nolamaz! İcardi ve Wanda Nara Yeşilçam Yıldızı", *Günboyu Gazetesi*, 21 August, 2023, <https://www.gunboyugazetesi.com.tr/nayir-nolamaz-icardi-ve-wanda-nara-yesilcam-yildizi-215106h.htm>.

⁷⁷"Nayır Nolamaz! 70 Yıllık Emeğim Var", *Yeni Şafak*, 18 February, 2018, <https://www.yenisafak.com/hayat/nayir-nolamaz-70-yillik-emegim-var-3132069>.

⁷⁸"Ertuğrul Özkök'ten Emin Çölaşan'a Yanıt: Biz Ayırı Dünyaların İnsanıyız, Sen Hakaretten, Nefretten Besleniyorsun", *Sputnik Türkiye*, 21 April, 2022, <https://anlatilaninotesi.com.tr/20210422/ertugrul-ozkokten-emin-colasana-yanit-biz-ayiri-dunyalarin-insaniyiz-sen-hakaretten-nefretten-1044332280.html>.

⁷⁹"İnce'den CHP'ye: Ayırı Dünyaların İnsanıyız", *Hürriyet*, 27 January, 2024, <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/inceden-chpye-ayiri-dunyalarin-insaniyiz-42396956>.

Manisakula Haber (We belong to different worlds)⁸⁰ websites are just a few of the places where the expression has been used as a title. An internet search revealed that the expression in question was mentioned in many TV series, movie lines and news headlines and other forms of contents. Although the numbers may increase over time, even the figures given above on social media use show that the statements are still relevant for society.

One of the lines from the movie Banker Bilo (1980), *"I did it, but ask me why I did it?"* can also be considered a winged expression. The expression is also encountered in Kahraman Gündüz's column *"Go ahead, ask me why I did it?"*⁸¹ and Açıll Sezen's column *"ask me why I did it?"*⁸². In addition, it has been used as the name of five profile pages on the Instagram social media application.

The expression "our boss is making fun of us" from Kibar Feyzo, one of the cult movies of Turkish cinema, is one of the widely known lines. In a post of Kafa magazine dated May 31, 2022, it was featured on the cover of the magazine (issue 93) as "our boss is messing with us". Similarly, in Celal Durgun's column in Önder⁸³, a Milas newspaper, the title "our boss is making fun of us" was used in Timur Soykan's article titled "our boss is making fun of us..." and in many other news titles and contents, in social media applications. This expression is widely used in the discourse of speakers.⁸⁴

Some frequently repeated lines in modern Turkish TV series have also become part of everyday spoken Turkish language. The expressions "Sevim, run, the killer is here!" in the TV series Bizimkiler, which aired between 1989-2002, "Ali Rıza Bey, let's not spoil our mood" in the TV series Yaprak Dökümü, and "That ship will come one day" in the TV series Leyla ile Mecnun can be given as examples.⁸⁵ In addition, expressions such as "Son, that's your aunt", "It's me, it's me, your Bihter", "You are Bihter Ziyagil, don't be stupid" from the TV series Aşk-ı Memnu and discourses such as "I love her, over", "You just won't go away!" from the TV series Behzat Ç are frequently used in social media applications and included in expressions used in dialogues between individuals in society depending on the flow of the conversation.

Expressions in movies and TV series are also reflected in song titles and news headlines.⁸⁶ For example, "Okan Buruk to his soccer player: You can't go anywhere"⁸⁷; 'You are my friend's love' (song/Juanito, Nesrin Sipahi, Teoman, Petek Dinçöz), 'You can't go anywhere' (song/Orhan Esen; TV series/Erkencikuş-43rd episode, Saklabeni-7th episode, Hercai-6th episode, Duy Beni-12th episode) and many other expressions wait further research to determine the language memory of Turkish culture. Examining these expressions, which are also used as superscripts on items such as stickers, cups, t-shirts, bookmarks, fridge magnets, etc., is not only important for understanding the dynamics of language, but also for understanding the cultural values of society.

⁸⁰Zerrin Ağar, "Ayrı Dünyaların İnsanlarıyız", *Manisa Kulis*, 13 April, 2023, <https://www.manisakulishaber.com/ayri-dunyalarin-insanlariyiz>.

⁸¹Kahraman Gündüz, "Hele Bir Sor, Niye Yaptım?", *Haberajandanet*, 14 December, 2020, <https://haberajandanet.com/Article/hele-bir-sor-niye-yaptim/KO3xm9KW9MhumWPNv6qF>.

⁸²Açıll Sezen, "Bi'Sor Neden Yaptım?", *Dünya Newspaper*, 4 May, 2017, <https://www.dunya.com/kose-yazisi/bi-sor-neden-yaptim/360991>.

⁸³Celal Durgun, "Ağam Bizimle Eğleniyi", *Milas'ın Gazetesi Önder*, 20 Nisan, 2020, <https://www.milasonder.com/yazarlar/celal-durgun/agam-bizimle-egleniyi/2495>.

⁸⁴Timur Soykan, "Ağam bizimle eğleniy...", *BirGün Newspaper*, 11 January, 2021, <https://www.birgun.net/makale/agam-bizimle-egleniy-329910>.

⁸⁵İpek Kırkavak, "Sovyet Komedi Filmlerinde Kanatlı İfadeler", 56.

⁸⁶For detailed examination see Kozan, *Russian and Turkish Newspaper Headline Language: A Culturo-linguistic Approach*.

⁸⁷"Okan Buruk'tan Futbolcusuna: Hiçbir Yere Gidemezsin", *Zpor*, 19 Aralık, 2023, <https://www.gzt.com/zpor/sacha-boey-galatasarayda-kalacak-mi-3772933>.

Conclusion

Winged expressions are language units that are known by members of the same society and function as a reminder explanation or discourse by reviving the connections related to a work, person, event, subject in the memory at the moment they are used. These ready-made discourses, which suddenly come to one's mind and are immediately understood upon hearing, might not always reflect deep meanings, but they fulfill functions such as being striking, impressive and funny during communication. In this respect, they have a holistic syntax structure that contains their meanings. While their syntactic structure is semantically holistic, it is flexible in terms of form with additions and subtractions. Flexibility in structure does not affect the characteristic of these discourses as stereotypes. In other words, their structural flexibility does not prevent them from being recognized.

The different approaches to winged expressions in linguistics show that this topic is still developing and constitutes an active area for language research. Winged expressions, which constitute all the cultural, formal, stylistic, metaphorical and cognitive layers of language and reflect the individual's mental vocabulary, are productive units of language that continue to develop. These discourses, which are handled within idiomatics and constitute a part of the idiomatic structure, are important in terms of creating a collection of winged expressions, dictionaries, the development of national and international culture and changes in a language. Although the processes of their emergence and their reflection and analysis in a language are various, they show the tendencies in the language and the influence of foreign culture or foreign language on another language, if any. In this respect, winged expressions that exhibit international characteristics reveal a cultural interaction which is beyond borrowing. Those that exhibit national characteristics, on the other hand, reflect cultural characteristics that belong only to one community.

The source of winged expressions in the Russian language is primarily literature, as well as visual and auditory art fields such as cinema, films, cartoons, which have an impact on society in the current world, and the media that deliver the speeches of social figures to the audience-listeners. A work, a subject, an event or a discourse affects the memory of society and takes place together as a whole in the relationship of language-history-culture. In this respect, winged expressions in the Russian language occur in the language as an integral part of history and language and culture in particular. Unlike Russian, instead of the concept of winged expressions, which is obviously not a known area of Turkish idiomology, words such as quotation, lines, sayings, maxims are preferred in the Turkish language. However, since winged expressions have both a cultural and an intertextual character, these concepts are semantically insufficient. The term anecdotal phenomenon is the first important step towards understanding the concept in question, realized on the basis of the Turkish-Russian language pair.

In our opinion, anecdotal nouns and events are differentiated from the long sentence structures that we aim to deal with and have more affinity with the quotations in the anecdotal texts (cinema, animation, programs) and referring utterances (political and social) sections. While the concept of winged expressions can be proposed as a more inclusive one for anecdotal texts and anecdotal words, it shows that there is still room for further research in understanding the Turkish language, especially the spoken language. In this respect, the term "winged expressions" can also be presented as a general inclusive concept for longer sentence structures. Furthermore, our analysis reveals that when Russian sources are searched in terms of future studies on this subject, terms such as "krilatye virajeniya" (winged expressions), "krilatye slova" (winged words), "krilatye edinitsy" (winged units), *krilatologiya* (science of winged speech) correspond to the concept of the anecdote phenomenon presented under a single term in the Turkish language. Both political discourses and the expressions of public figures adopted by society, especially quotations from anecdotal expressions, which can be considered winged expressions, are waiting to be examined in terms

of language prevalence. Likewise, expressions originating from cinema, animation and programs in the anecdotal text section are also waiting to be studied. A new classification study is needed to distinguish which of the “winged expressions”, especially those uttered by public figures, socially prominent persons, professionals such as actors, artists, etc., can be considered as quotations and which as anecdotal text. On the other hand, the phrase Bayburt has not seen such persecution since Bayburt was Bayburt, uttered by an individual who was not a public figure or known to the society, constitutes a clear example of how an expression can be adopted by the speakers of a language when spread through the media. Therefore, examining the section of quotations from anecdotal texts and anecdotal words within the scope of anecdotes which we consider “winged expressions,” is necessary to understand the development stages of the Turkish language. Investigating which words were adopted by people or recognized through celebrities and which ones emerged as a result of an interview, exchange, video broadcast will provide an understanding of the cultural development of the Turkish language in the postmodern period.

One of the obstacles to recognizing a discourse as a winged expression or an anecdote is the fact that, unlike in Russian, the discourses of well-known people are considered aphorisms. If the source of a discourse has been adopted by the speakers, memorized and integrated into a language, we think that it can easily evolve from an aphorism into a winged expression. Since it is possible to forget the source of a known discourse, it can be said that winged expressions include expressions whose source used to be known but whose traces have been erased or not over time, and which have spread to the general public.

The evaluation shows that winged expressions adopted into the Turkish language originate mostly from cinema and TV movies and TV series rather than literature. We can say that the fact that these expressions have become stereotypes and been ingrained in the memories of native speakers and comprehensible to large audiences from the moment they were uttered and are used in daily language points to the existence of “winged expressions” in the Turkish language within the framework of the analyzed theory.



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