

Sadness Metaphors and Metonymies in Turkish Body Part Idioms*

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ABSTRACT: This study examines the conceptualizations of the negative emotion sadness in Turkish body part idioms. More specifically, it addresses two main problems: (i) distribution of the body part terms used in idioms to express sadness, and (ii) conceptual metaphors and metonymies underlying the body part idioms that express sadness. The data of the study includes the idioms, which contain body part terminologies and communicate sadness. Conceptual metaphors and metonymies were identified following Barcelona (1997) and Kövecses (2000). The findings reveal that the body parts heart (yürek, kalp) and liver/lung (ciğer) are more productive in Turkish for the conceptualization of sadness. Among the conceptual mappings identified, PHYSICAL DAMAGE is the most typical one with the highest number of linguistic items. Turkish data provide insights on the cultural-cognitive model of sadness, as well as on the embodied nature of emotions.

Anahtar sözcükler: embodiment, sadness, metaphor, metonymy, body part idioms

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Türkçe Beden Bölümü İçeren Deyimlerde Üzüntü Eğretilmeleri ve Düzdeğişmeceleri

ÖZ: Bu çalışma Türkçede beden bölümü içeren deyimlerde olumsuz bir duygu türü olan üzüntüye ait kavramsallaşmaları incelemektedir. Daha belirgin olarak, çalışmada iki temel problem irdelenmektedir: (i) üzüntü ifade eden deyimlerdeki beden bölümü sözcüklerinin dağılımı, ve (ii) üzüntü ifade eden deyimlerin altında yatan kavramsal eğretilme ve düzdeğişmecelerin belirlenmesi. Çalışmanın veri tabanı beden bölümü terimleri içeren ve üzüntü ifade eden deyimlerden oluşmaktadır. Kavramsal eğretilmeler ve düzdeğişmecelerin belirlenmesinde Barcelona (1997) ve Kövecses (2000) takip edilmiştir. Bulgular, Türkçede beden bölümü sözcükleri ‘yürek’, ‘kalp’ ve ‘ciğer’in üzüntünün kavramsallaşmasında daha üretken olduğunu göstermektedir. Belirlenen kavramsal eşleşmelerden en fazla dilsel birimle FİZİKİ HASAR en tipik eşleşmedir. Türkçe veriler, üzüntüye ait kültürel-bilişsel bir modele olduğu kadar duyguların bedenleşmiş doğasına da içgörü sağlamaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: bedenleşmiş biliş, üzüntü, eğretilme, düzdeğişmece, beden bölümü deyimleri

1 Introduction

The embodiment of meaning is the principal conception of the cognitive linguistic view of meaning. In cognitive science, the term embodiment means “understanding the role of an agent’s own body in its everyday, situated cognition” (Gibbs, 2005, p. 1), that is, how our body influences the ways we think and speak. The human body is an organizational system with external body parts and internal organs that carry out diverse physiological and social functions. For this reason, it is one of the most common source domains to understand abstract concepts (Kövecses, 2010).

There is a general tendency in languages to conceptualize emotions as occurrence inside the body, which is formulated by the conceptual metaphor BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS (Kövecses, 2010). Psychological and neurological studies have supported the proposition that emotion is basically experienced inside the body. Distinct areas of the body are associated with different emotional states. Accordingly, the head, the chest and the abdomen are the most frequently involved arenas of sentiment (Damasio, 2018, p. 92). However, since the human body is not autonomous from culture, the associations between the physiological symptoms and the emotional experiences may vary from one culture to another, which are conveyed through language. According to Wierzbicka (1995), different cultures differ in terms of the attitudes they foster in their members towards emotions and emotional expressions. These attitudes and beliefs, generally called emotion schemas,

exist among the members of a cultural group more or less in a similar fashion (Sharifian, 2003). In this sense, it is important to examine how different cultural attitudes shape the way people encode and express their emotions as a reflection of different emotion schemas, and the studies of conceptual metaphors and metonymies play a significant role in identifying the emotion schemas of a culture.

Figurative language, including metaphors and metonymies, contributes a great degree to the folk and scientific conceptualization of emotion. From the cognitive linguistic perspective, conceptual metaphors are mental mappings from a more concrete source domain to a more abstract target domain (A IS B), whereas conceptual metonymies run within a single domain whereby a domain is mentally accessed through a part of the same domain (or vice versa), or a part of a domain is accessed through another part in the same domain (A STAND FOR B) (Kövecses, 2000, p. 5). Because there is a close interaction between metaphor and metonymy in figurative language, and idiomatic constructions in general base on real life experiences, it is not always easy to make a clear distinction of metaphors and metonymies, which results in the cover term ‘metaphonymy’ (Goossens, 2003).

Idioms are conventionalized shortcut expressions that mirror a society’s common ways of thinking. They are generally defined as “an institutionalized multiword construction, the meaning of which cannot be fully deduced from the meaning of its constituent words, and which may be regarded as a self-contained lexical item” (Ayto, 2006, p. 518). They are related to metaphoric and metonymic conceptual structures and manifest “fundamental patterns of human thought” (Gibbs, 2007, p. 697). In this sense, they play a vital role in revealing the conceptualizations of emotions. Idioms are heterogeneously located in the minds of speakers within a cultural group; hence some are well established in the minds whereas some others may be lesser known due to losing their popularity in time.

The rest of the study is structured as follows: In the following sub-sections, a brief literature review on sadness is given, and the aim of the study is explained. In section 2, the method for data collection and analysis is introduced. Section 3 presents the findings in terms of the general distribution of the body part terms, and the classification of metaphors and metonymies. Section 4 discusses the results regarding the conceptual mappings found in the analyses. Finally, section 5 presents the conclusions of the study.

1.1 Literature Review: Sadness and Its Conceptualizations

Emotion is usually divided into positive and negative in psychology. It is a common belief that “feelings are often conceptualized as either ‘good’ or ‘bad’, and that in all languages people can talk of ‘good feelings’ and ‘bad feelings’

(of ‘feeling good’ and ‘feeling bad’))” (Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 281). The positive and negative valence of an emotion is closely related to its pleasantness and unpleasantness based on subjective appraisals and the social evaluations (Ortony, Clore & Collins, 1988; Solomon & Stone, 2002). Sadness is described as a negative emotion since it expresses an appraisal of something bad for the self, and is included among the basic or primary emotions (e.g. Ekman, 1999; Izard, 1991; Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson & O’Connor, 1987). Izard, more specifically, defines sadness as being caused by the loss of someone held dear through death or separation (1991, p. 200). According to Stearns (1993), sadness is a kind of emotion that focuses consideration on the self, and suggests that the individual (the self) is in need of assistance. It is commonly identified from fear and guilt in that while these emotions have something expectant about them, in sadness the self is typically not in charge of the things happened. Likewise, sadness is believed to appear when a bad circumstance that affects the individual is in any case changed the other way round. The following cognitive scenario is proposed by Wierzbicka: (a) I know something bad happened, (b) I don’t want things like this to happen, (c) I can’t think now ‘I will do something because of this’, (d) I know that I can’t do anything (1999, p. 39).

There are a number of studies on the metaphoric conceptualizations of sadness in different languages (e.g. Barcelona, 1986; Esenova, 2011; Kövecses, 2000; Moradi & Mashak, 2013; Stefanowitsch, 2006; Tissari, 2008; Van Trào, 2014). Based on the source domains identified in Barcelona (1986), Kövecses (2000) lists the metaphors of sadness as in Table 1:

Table 1. Metaphors of sadness listed by Kövecses (2000, p. 25-26)

SAD IS DOWN	He <i>brought me down</i> with his remarks.
SAD IS DARK	He is in a <i>dark</i> mood.
SADNESS IS A LACK OF HEAT	Losing his father <i>put his fire out</i> ; he's been depressed for two years.
SADNESS IS A LACK OF VITALITY	This was <i>disheartening</i> news.
SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER	I am <i>filled with</i> sorrow.
SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL FORCE	That was a <i>terrible blow</i> .
SADNESS IS A NATURAL FORCE	<i>Waves of depression came over</i> him.
SADNESS IS AN ILLNESS	She was <i>heart-sick</i> . Time <i>heals</i> all sorrows.
SADNESS IS INSANITY	He was <i>insane with</i> grief.
SADNESS IS A BURDEN	He <i>staggered under</i> the pain.
SADNESS IS A LIVING ORGANISM	He <i>drowned</i> his sorrow in drink.
SADNESS IS A CAPTIVE ANIMAL	His feelings of misery <i>got out of hand</i> .
SADNESS IS AN OPPONENT	He was <i>seized by</i> a fit of depression.
SADNESS IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR	She was <i>ruled by</i> sorrow.

Esenova (2011) studies the sadness metaphors in English, and investigates the role of several bodily and cultural elements in the production of those metaphors. She finds that there are several sadness metaphors based on the experiences of human interaction with animal species such as dogs, horses and snakes, folk beliefs about the supernatural, agricultural experience of growing plants and the practice of mixing different substances. In these metaphors the source domains of CONTAINER, ANIMAL, PLANT, SMELL, TASTE, SUPERNATURAL BEING, MIXED SUBSTANCE, PURE SUBSTANCE, HIDDEN ENEMY and TORMENTOR are mapped onto the target domain of SADNESS. Similarly, in his corpus-based study, Stefanowitsch (2006) comes up with the conceptual mappings SADNESS IS A PURE/MIXED SUBSTANCE, SADNESS IS DEPTH, SADNESS IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER, SADNESS IS A LIQUID, SADNESS IS AN AURA, SADNESS IS A SOUND, SADNESS IS A WEATHER PHENOMENON, SADNESS IS HEAT, and SADNESS IS TASTE.

Moradi and Mashak (2013) carry out a comparative study on the conceptualization of sadness metaphors in English and Persian. They find that most of the sadness metaphors such as SADNESS IS DOWN, SADNESS IS ILLNESS, SADNESS IS INSANITY, SADNESS IS NATURAL FORCE, and SADNESS IS A BURDEN are common in Persian and English. However, the linguistic manifestations or

literal meanings of these conceptual metaphors differ in most cases. Van Trào (2014) compares the metaphorical conceptualizations of sadness in English and Vietnamese, and reveals that although these two languages share the source domains DOWN and PAIN, DARKNESS is not applicable in Vietnamese, and STALE/DECAY is not found in English. Van Trào highlights that unlike English, sadness in Vietnamese is connected with internal body parts, especially with the body part ‘large intestine’, which is grounded in the cultural theory of five elements.

1.2 Aim of the Study

Although the metaphoric conceptualizations of the basic emotion types anger, love and fear have recently drawn the interest of Turkish scholars (e.g. Adıgüzel 2018; Aksan, 2006; Aksan & Kantar, 2007; Arca Akkök, 2017), studies on sadness are limited (e.g. Çetinkaya, 2006). The connection between body parts and sadness in Turkish idioms needs a systematic description from a cognitive linguistic perspective. The present study aims to fill the gap in Turkish literature, and to provide an analysis on body-related conceptualizations of sadness. To that end, the following research questions guide this study:

1. What is the distribution of the body parts used in Turkish idioms to express sadness?
2. What are the source domains that underlie the conceptualization of sadness in Turkish body part idioms?
3. What are the typical conceptual metaphors and metonymies in the body part idioms data that help us to propose a folk model of sadness in Turkish?

2 Method

2.1 Data of the Study

The data serving as the basis of this study was retrieved from several dictionaries of idioms including Turkish Language Institution’s “Online Dictionary of Idioms”, “Turkish Dictionary of Idioms” (Aksoy, 1984; Karlı, 1999; Parlatur, 2011; Püsküllüođlu, 2006), “Dictionary of Turkish Proverbs and Idioms” (Çotuksöken, 2004), and “Idioms with Organ Names in Turkish” (Şahin, 2004).

Body part idioms were compiled in three steps: First, the dictionaries of idioms were scanned, and the body part words encountered in the dictionaries were listed. Gender specific body parts, body fluids and the body parts that are used in slang or swear expressions, were not included in the list. In the second step, all body part idioms were scanned from the dictionaries, and an index was constructed. In this step, idioms which have active, passive or causal

constructions with same emotional load, and which have verb phrase and noun phrase forms were combined and considered as one lexical entry to be examined in the study. In the last step, the researchers examined the definitions of body part idioms with the guidance of a Turkish folklore specialist, and the idioms that express, or are related to sadness were included in the database.

The emotion type categorization of Ortony, Clore & Collins (1988) (the OCC model) is tailored to adapt to the Turkish culture, and used to determine the emotional load of the body part idioms. Since the OCC Model is originally put forth to institute a computationally tractable design of emotion, it distinguishes emotion types based on logical definitions. Therefore, distress is the main category label that covers a wide range of tokens including sadness. Based on our data and the cultural context, the superordinate term sadness is distinguished from distress, and examined separately. Table 2 presents the words taken as representative of the domain sadness.

Table 2. Tokens of sadness

EMOTION TYPE	SUB-TYPES
SADNESS	agony, dejection, despair, displeasure, dissatisfaction, distraught, feeling bad, feeling upset, grief, homesickness, loneliness, lovesickness, miserableness, sadness, sorrow, shock, uneasiness, unhappiness, etc.

2.2 Data Analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative analyses have been implemented in the study. Firstly, the frequencies and percentages of the body parts used in the expression of sadness were calculated to find out what components of the body are preferred culturally more in the communication of this emotion type. Secondly, conceptual metaphors and metonymies were identified intuitively by the researchers with reference to the principles of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy (Barcelona, 1997; Kövecses, 2000, 2010; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The guideline proposed by Barcelona (1997) was followed in identifying the conceptual metaphors and metonymies:

- (i) detecting where the mappings occur, and
- (ii) describing the metaphor/metonymy clearly by first looking for further conventional linguistic expressions of the metaphor/metonymy, then by looking for further semantic/pragmatic evidence, and finally by identifying the most general metaphorical/metonymic mapping according to the dominant target domain.

In order to determine inter-rater reliability of the conceptual mappings identified, a rater independently coded a random sample of roughly 20% of the data. The results revealed a strong agreement score (Cohen's $\kappa = .80$; Landis & Koch, 1977). Lastly, the analyzed expressions were classified according to general metaphoric and metonymic source domains. The frequencies of the source domains were calculated to identify the prototypical metaphors and metonymies in the conceptualization of sadness. For each conceptual mapping in the study, sample idioms are presented with their literal translations.

3 Findings

3.1 General Distribution of Body Parts

Findings show that a wide range of body parts can be used in the expression of sadness. 22 distinct body part words were identified in the data with a total of 91 idioms. Table 3 presents the absolute frequencies and percentages of the body part terms used in the idioms to express sadness.

Table 3. Distribution of the body parts in idioms for sadness

Body Parts	Frequency	Percentage
Yürek-Heart	31	34,1%
Ciğer-Liver/Lung	15	16,5%
Kalp-Heart	12	13,2%
Göz-Eye	6	6,6%
Boğaz-Throat	5	5,5%
Baş-Head	3	3,3%
Beyin-Brain	2	2,2%
Burun-Nose	2	2,2%
Dudak-Lip	2	2,2%
Ağız-Mouth	1	1,1%
Bel-Waist	1	1,1%
Boyun-Neck	1	1,1%
Çene-Chin	1	1,1%
Dil-Tongue	1	1,1%
Göğüs-Chest	1	1,1%
Kemik-Bone	1	1,1%
Kirpik-Eyelash	1	1,1%
Kol-Arm	1	1,1%
Kulak-Ear	1	1,1%
Saç-Hair	1	1,1%
Tüy-Hair	1	1,1%
Yüz-Face	1	1,1%
Sum	91	100%

It is seen in Table 3 that heart (yürek) ($f=31$; 34,1%) is the body part that has the highest number of idioms in expressing sadness, followed by liver/lung (ciğer) ($f=15$; 16,5%) and heart (kalp) ($f=12$; 13,2%), which shows that sadness is more likely to be felt in one's inside, and the internal organs heart and liver/lung can be considered as the LOCUS for sadness in Turkish. This finding is in line with the previous studies in other languages. For instance, in Basque, the liver is connected with negative feelings (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2008), in Indonesian, the liver is the seat of several basic emotions including sadness (Siahaan, 2008), in Tunisian Arabic, heart is the target domain of sadness (Maalej, 2008), and in Chinese, sadness is linked to intestines, liver, lungs and heart (Yu, 2002). Based on these similarities, we can deduce that there is a general tendency in languages to feel sadness inside one's body.

3.2 Classification of Metaphors

Data analysis reveals several source domains that can be grouped under the categories of physical damage, physical agitation, fire, burden, physical entity, physical contact, down, ecstasy, darkness, force and self-harm.

3.2.1 *Sadness is a physical damage*

The concept of harm usually refers to the nonliteral negative effects of sadness, which is comprehended in terms of physical damage. This leads to the general conceptual metaphor of EMOTIONAL HARM IS PHYSICAL DAMAGE (Kövecses, 2000). The data indicates that PHYSICAL DAMAGE metaphor outnumbers the other types of metaphors related to sadness ($f=24$; 30%, see Table 4), and it is mostly the internal organs (i.e. the heart and liver-lung) that are damaged metaphorically by sadness. The other body parts include brain, arm, hair and tongue. Accordingly, the body parts can be gnawed, wounded, broken down, pierced, torn, rent or shattered as in these expressions: *kalbi parçalanmak* ‘to feel deep sadness’ (*lit.* sb’s heart to shatter), *kalbi yırtılmak* ‘to suffer’ (*lit.* sb’s heart to tear), *ciğerini sökmek* ‘to hurt sb a lot’ (*lit.* to tear sb’s liver-lung), *kolu kanadı kırılmak* ‘being dejected, becoming helpless’ (*lit.* one’s arm and wing to be broken).

Idioms such as *yüreğine bıçak saplamak* ‘to hurt’ (*lit.* to stick a knife into sb’s heart), *ok gibi ciğerine işlemek* ‘being negatively affected by something’ (*lit.* to strike one’s liver-lung as if by an arrow) and *beyninden vurulmuşa dönmek* ‘to get shocked after receiving bad news’ (*lit.* being shot from one’s brain) instantiate the physical damage caused by a sharp instrument, specifically by a needle, knife, bullet or arrow. The conceptual mapping between the intense negative feelings and the harmful object that causes damage also exemplify the metaphor (THE CAUSE OF) SADNESS IS A SHARP OBJECT.

Blood, as body liquid, is commonly used to convey excessive sadness as in the constructions *kalbi/yüreği kanamak* ‘to be shaken with intense sorrow’ (*lit.* sb’s heart to bleed), *ciğeri kan dolmak* ‘being in sorrow’ (*lit.* sb’s liver-lung to fill up blood) and *yüreğinden kan gitmek* ‘to be in deep pain’ (*lit.* blood to go out from sb’s heart). Since blood comes out as a result of a physical damage of the body, the conceptual link between the deepness of the damage and the intensity of sadness results in the metaphor HEART/LIVER-LUNG BLOOD IS INTENSE SADNESS.

3.2.2 Sadness is physical agitation

Damasio highlights that while pleasure is correlated with various tones of happiness, pride, and other positively framed emotions, pain is correlated with negative emotions, such as fear, sadness, and disgust, whose association habitually represent what is called suffering (1999, p. 76). When a person feels sad, the psychological agitation reflects upon the body, making the person suffer metaphorically. In 17 expressions in the data (22%), sadness is seen as A PHYSICAL AGITATION or pain that affects the organs heart, liver-lung, brain, nose and head. The idioms include the verbs *ache*, *sting*, *twist*, *hurt*, *cry* and the nouns *agitation*, *ache*, *torment* which illustrate a mapping in which the body part is physically agitated, thus the person is bodily agitated as in these examples: *yüreği dayanmamak* ‘to deplore’ (*lit.* one’s heart cannot withstand sth), *kalp ağrısı* ‘the pain caused by the unrequited love’ (*lit.* heartache), *burnunun direği sızlamak* ‘to sadden a lot’ (*lit.* someone’s nose bone aching).

3.2.3 Sadness is fire/heat

According to Kövecses (2000), intensity of the emotion is usually expressed via the source domains heat and fire, yielding INTENSITY IS HEAT/FIRE. The HEAT/FIRE metaphor is considered to be a specific level FORCE metaphor, since the usual resultant action of FIRE is that the person in an emotional state becomes energized or dysfunctional (Kövecses, 2000, p. 76). The particular effect of heat is that it damages the thing burning, that is, damage to the self. In Turkish context, sadness is seen as FIRE (high degrees of heat) that makes the emoter dysfunctional as a result of exposure to the uncontrolled, intense emotion.

In 12 expressions in the data (15%), intense sadness is seen as fire or extreme heat that burns cauterizes, or stigmatizes the heart (*yürek*), liver-lung, eye and brain hence metaphorized as SADNESS IS FIRE. It is particularly the heart and liver/lung affected by sadness most: *yüreğini/ciğerini dağlamak* ‘someone’s inside to burn with agony and longing’ (*lit.* cauterizing someone’s heart), *yüreğini ateş almak* ‘to feel extremely sad’ (*lit.* one’s heart catching fire). It is also seen as an electrical fire caused by an unexpected sad event: *gözlerinde/beyninde şimşekler çakmak* ‘to be shaken with a very sad occasion’ (*lit.* lightning flashing in someone’s eyes/brain). The data demonstrate that sadness is among “hot” emotions in Turkish culture, which can damage the physical integrity of different parts of the body when it becomes very intense.

3.2.4 Sadness is burden/an external pressure

Since negative emotions are viewed as difficult states to cope with for the emoter, the emotional stress or difficulty on the self is generally mapped with

the external pressure caused by the burden on the body-container, which yields the metaphor EMOTIONAL DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS (Kövecses, 2000, p. 82). In the data, 8 idioms (10%) including the verbs squash, squeeze, sink, fall down exemplify an external pressure on the heart and liver-lung: *ciğerine/yüreğine oturmak* ‘to feel sad suddenly’ (*lit.* to sit onto one’s heart), *yüreği ezilmek* ‘to feel sorry’ (*lit.* one’s heart to be squashed). In these idioms, the conceptual link between stress or difficulty caused by the extreme or sudden feeling of sadness and burden illustrate the metaphor SADNESS IS BURDEN.

3.2.5 Sadness is a physical entity

In 7 idioms (9%) in the data, sadness is conceptualized as a physical entity that lives in, covers or blocks the throat and heart. This physical entity can be A PHYSICAL SUBSTANCE or A BLOCK that congests, knots or sticks the throat, hence preventing the organ from properly fulfilling its functions, resulting in not being able to speak or eat at all: *boğazında düğümlenmek* ‘not to be able to speak due to anxiety or sadness; to feel sad’ (*lit.* (something) to knot in one’s throat).

The physical entity can also be a liquid that covers and fills the container heart in the idiom *yüreğini kaplamak* ‘to feel sadness and anxiety’ (*lit.* (something) to fill sb’s heart). Additionally, in the idiom *yürekte keder kökleşmek* ‘someone’s grief to deepen’ (*lit.* grief to root in the heart), the intensity and continuity of sorrow or grief, which lasts long, is conceptualized as rooted inside the heart like a plant, producing the metaphor GRIEF IS A LIVING ORGANISM, or more specifically, A PLANT.

3.2.6 Sadness is physical contact

In 3 idioms (4%), the heart (yürek) and liver/lung are conceptualized as a contact point or a permeant entity that allows emotions to go inside, while sadness is seen as PHYSICAL CONTACT that makes a physical effect on these internal organs by touching and penetrating in them: *yüreğine dokunmak* ‘to get sad, to be affected deeply and extremely’ (*lit.* to touch one’s heart), *ciğerine işlemek* ‘to be negatively affected or to feel upset by a bad saying or behavior’ (*lit.* to penetrate/sink into one’s liver-lung). These idioms illustrate a mapping where the source domain is contact, touch, and the target domain is feeling, emotion and effect, in accordance with the EFFECT ON EMOTIONAL SELF IS CONTACT WITH PHYSICAL SELF metaphor (Lakoff, Espenson & Schwartz, 1991).

3.2.7 Sadness is downward orientation

In relation to the slouching body posture, 3 idioms (4%) in the data illustrate

the general conceptualization of sadness as a downward orientation in relation to the UP/DOWN image schema: *kulağı düşük* ‘joyless, dejected’ (*lit.* sb’s ear to be low), *boynu bükük* ‘to be desperate’ (*lit.* sb’s neck to be bended) and *beli bükülmek* ‘having a psychological break down due to sadness’ (*lit.* one’s waist to bend). Shaver et.al, (1987) note that slumped, drooping posture is among the typical characteristics of sadness. In this sense, this metaphor has a metonymical basis (THE DOWNWARD ORIENTATION OF THE BODY FOR SADNESS) in that it is closely linked to our physical experience of being physically nearer to the ground while feeling this emotion (see Kövecses, 2013).

3.2.8 Sadness is ecstasy

In two idioms in the data (3%), the undesirable negative effects of sadness are conceptualized as the smoke caused by marijuana, therefore feeling sad or melancholic is conceptualized as being under the effect of drugs. In the idioms *başı dumanlanmak* ‘to sadden’ (*lit.* one’s head becoming smoky) and *gözlerini duman bürümek* ‘to be lost in thought; to feel sad, to grieve’ (*lit.* smoke pervading someone’s eyes), the person under the influence of drugs (i.e. negative feelings) is unable to think rationally or see clearly since their head or eye is covered by smoke.

3.2.9 Sadness is darkness

As basic human experiences, light and dark usually have positive and negative associations respectively. Black is the color used in mourning ceremonies in Turkish culture. People attending these ceremonies used to wear black to exhibit their mourning and pain (Gönen, 2005, p. 226). The negative value of the black color and the entities in this color has been idiomatized only in *başına karalar bağlamak* (*lit.* tying black(s) on one’s head) to convey woe and grief, yielding the metonymy-based metaphor SADNESS/GRIEF IS DARKNESS and WEARING BLACK COLOR ON ONE’S HEAD FOR GRIEF metonymy (1%).

3.2.10 Sadness is a physical force

EMOTIONS ARE FORCES is one of the master metaphors, which organizes much of our thinking about emotion (Kövecses, 2000). Only one idiom (1%) was found in the data including two distinct body parts, that is, *yüreği boğazına tıkanmak* ‘to feel sorry’ (*lit.* someone’s heart to congest on his/her throat), in which sadness is seen as A PHYSICAL FORCE that makes the heart move upwards, resulting in congestion of the throat. In other words, the physical force on the heart causes a change in its place, entailing the metaphor HEART IS A MOVABLE OBJECT.

3.2.11 Sadness is self-harm

Related to the INSANITY metaphor (Kövecses, 2000), the person under the influence of intense sadness cannot think and act rationally, which may result in the behavioral response of self-harm or self-punishment as a result of the loss of self-control. One idiom (1%) is found in the data that exemplifies this metonymy-based metaphor: *saçını başını yolmak* ‘being frantic with sorrow, having a deep sadness due to an unwanted situation’ (*lit.* to tear one’s hair and head out).

3.3 Classification of Metonymies

12 idioms in the data were found to have a metonymic basis. Depending on Kövecses’s (2000) categorization of emotion metonymies, the linguistic expressions were categorized under two titles, namely, the physiological effects, and the behavioral and expressive responses for the emotion.

3.3.1 Behavioral and expressive responses of sadness for sadness

Emotions may accompany certain behavioral and expressive responses of the emoter that are used in place of the emotion concepts. In the data, 10 idioms were identified all of which include external organs: nose (burun), eye (göz), eyelash (kirpik), mouth (ağız), lip (dudak), face (yüz) and chin (çene).

Crying (tears) is usually associated with sadness and grief, and is considered as an expressive reaction (Kövecses, 1990; Shaver et.al, 1987). 6 idioms (50%) have been identified in the data including the eyes and nose since when people are very sad, their eyes tend to be full of tears and they sniff their nose, producing CRYING FOR SADNESS metonymy: *gözleri nemlenmek* ‘to weep slightly’ (*lit.* one’s eyes to moisten), *iki gözü iki çeşme (ağlamak)* ‘to cry continuously; someone who cries continuously’ (*lit.* (crying) two eyes two fountains), *burnunu çekmek* ‘to feel like crying due to not finding what someone expected’ (*lit.* sniffing one’s nose).

Generally, emotions are viewed as “mentally incapacitating phenomena” involving INABILITY TO SPEAK and INABILITY TO THINK (Kövecses, 2000, p. 75). Shaver et.al (1987) include “talking little or not at all” in their list of the characteristics of sadness. In two idioms in the data (17%), namely, *ağzını / çenesini bıçak açmamak* ‘not to speak due to sadness, grief or resentment’ (*lit.* knife not opening someone’s mouth / chin), the emoter cannot talk and keeps silent, yielding INABILITY TO SPEAK FOR SADNESS metonymy. This behavioral effect also motivates the conceptual metaphor SADNESS IS SILENCE.

Sadness is usually expressed with the downward position of the lips, since when we smile, the ends of the mouth turn upwards, and when we are sad, they turn downward in relation to the SAD IS DOWN metaphor (Kövecses, 1991). The

images in two idioms (17%) refer to the emoter's facial expression with the droopiness and tense muscles of the face and the sad looks in the opposite of the smile, yielding DROOPING LIPS/FACE FOR SADNESS metonymy: *dudak sarkutmak* 'to show displeasure, sadness or resentment with facial features' (*lit.* to droop lips), *yüzü allak bullak olmak* 'one's distress and sadness being evident on one's face' (*lit.* sb's face becomes topsy-turvy).

3.3.2 Physiological effects of sadness for sadness

The conceptual link between sadness and its physiological symptoms reveals certain metonymic mappings, especially the cause-effect relationship. Two idioms including the body parts lip (*dudak*) and chest (*göğüs*) can be put into this category. The muscular twitch on the lips, as a physiological effect of sadness, generally occurs before crying or accompanies it, and can easily be observed on someone's face. This physiological effect stands for the sadness as articulated in the idiom *dudakları titremek* 'to feel like crying' (*lit.* someone's lips trembling), resulting in UNCONTROLLED MUSCULAR TWITCHES FOR SADNESS (8%).

In the idiom *göğüs geçirmek* 'to breathe deeply with sadness and pain' (*lit.* chest sigh), breathing deeply and sighing as a physiological effect of sadness, yield the DEEP INHALE FOR SADNESS metonymy (8%). This idiom can also be related to the BURDEN metaphor, which exerts a physical load on the chest, and hinders breathing, therefore the person needs to breathe deeply.

4 Discussion

Damasio highlights that "all emotions use the body as their theater" (1999, p. 51), and it is the culture, which profiles certain parts of the body for certain emotion types. Data of the study shows that Turkish gives a large place to the verbalization of sadness through body part idioms, and a number of body parts are implemented to conceptualize sadness. As Yu highlights, cultures design their bodies in different ways because, "they conceptualize how the mind (i.e. the cognitive functions of thinking and feeling, etc.) is related to, or located in, the body differently" (2009, pp. 367-368). In relation to the body parts identified in the study, we can deduce that there are diverse salient centers of the body in Turkish culture for the conceptualization of sadness; more specifically the internal organs are seen as the seat of sadness.

"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" (Kövecses, 2000, p. 176). The study makes clear in what ways Turkish speakers have perceived the negative emotion sadness through ages and how its unfavorable effects have been idiomatized

through metaphors and metonymies. The investigation of this emotion concept suggests a folk model consisting of a number of metaphors and metonymies that complement one another to form the complex conceptual structure of this emotion type. The metaphorical model of sadness basically depicts transformations of several internal organs, including a change of state ranging from being torn into pieces, being cooked, or completely burnt. Table 4 presents the distribution of the source domains in idioms that give rise to conceptual metaphors.

Table 4. The distribution of metaphorical source domains for sadness

Metaphors	Frequency	Percentage
PHYSICAL DAMAGE	24	30%
PHYSICAL AGITATION	17	22%
FIRE	12	15%
BURDEN	8	10%
ENTITY	7	9%
DOWN	3	4%
PHYSICAL CONTACT	3	4%
ECSTASY	2	3%
DARKNESS	1	1%
PHYSICAL FORCE	1	1%
SELF-HARM	1	1%
SUM	79	100%

Among a number of conceptualizations, sadness is understood typically as something that damages and harms the physical integrity of the internal organs, making them imaginatively agitated and non-functional, and disturbing the balance of the body. This correlates with the master metaphor PSYCHOLOGICAL HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY (Lakoff et.al, 1991). Conceptualizing sadness in terms of physical injury and pain is not a random mapping since recent neuropsychological and neuroimaging research have demonstrated that physical pain and emotional and social pain share a common phenomenological and neural basis (Eisenberger & Lieberman, 2005). In other words, the same neural region of the brain, that is, the frontal area of the right hemisphere, is found to be involved in the processing of both physical pain and negative emotions (Pauli, Wiedemann & Nickola, 1999). For this reason, it is natural to understand and communicate affective pain in terms of physical pain. This also explains the reason why the word *acı*, which originally means the burning sensation on the gustatory organ tongue, and also has an extended meaning of ‘pain’, is figuratively used in reference to sadness, anguish and woe, as well as in the definitions of the idioms in the data frequently. Conveying a subjective

experience in terms of a physical experience makes this abstract feeling more tangible; hence helps the emoter to be understood and sympathized with genuinely.

Overall, the conceptual metonymies have a smaller role in the conceptualization of sadness when compared to the metaphors. The metonymical model of sadness includes the behavioral/expressive reactions, and the physiological effects of sadness on the body ranging from crying to facial expressions, inability to speak or deep inhales (Table 5). It is mainly the behavioral and expressive responses rather than physiological effects that represent sadness. Crying (weeping) as a nonverbal signal of sadness is the typical metonymic conceptualization that is more likely to accompany this negative emotion involving the eyes, eyelashes and nose ($f=6$; 50%). In line with the findings of Yu (2002), the metonymic mappings primarily comprise the idioms with external body parts, illustrating sadness with reference to the bodily experiences and processes being observed externally. Hence we can deduce that there is a general tendency that metaphoric mappings are widespread when the emotional experience is placed in the internal body parts and metonymic mappings are widespread when it is placed in the external body parts.

Table 5. The distribution of metonymies for sadness

Metonymies	Frequency	Percentage
CRYING	6	50%
INABILITY TO SPEAK	2	17%
DROOPING LIPS/FACE	2	17%
UNCONTROLLED MUSCULAR TWITCHES	1	8%
DEEP INHALE	1	8%
Sum	12	100%

Data manifests some cases where both metaphor and metonymy operate in somatic idioms, which result in metaphonymy. This accords with Kövecses's (2013) remark that it is predominantly the primary metaphors that have a metonymic basis, which especially comprises the emotion concepts. He holds that some metaphors originate from metonymies "through the application of the cognitive processes of generalization (schematization) and specialization (elaboration)" (2013, p. 80). This happens when "there is a particular frame with a specific element inside the frame, and the element can be used to provide access to the whole frame, i.e., it can be used metonymically" (p. 80). In the idioms in our data, *başına karalar bağlamak*, *saçını başını yolmak*, *ağzını bıçak açmamak*, there is a single domain for the concept of sadness, where an element

of the domain (i.e. the behavioral responses) is used for the whole domain. For instance, the idiom “knife does not open one’s mouth/chin” indicates not being able to talk due to sadness, in which case the effect of sadness on the person (i.e. not being able to talk, keeping silent) stands for the emotion (i.e. sadness). Following the steps of Kövecses (2013), UNABLE TO TALK is generalized or schematized to the concept of SILENCE.

The study shows that some of the conceptual mappings found in our data match with the previous studies: DARK, DOWN, INSANITY, BURDEN, FORCE, A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, A LIVING ORGANISM, PLANT (Barcelona, 1986; Esenova, 2011; Kövecses, 1990, 2000; Moradi & Mashak, 2013; Stefanowitsch, 2006). On the other hand, there are some mappings that have not been recorded in these studies (e.g. ECTASY, SILENCE, PHYSICAL CONTACT, UNCONTROLLED MUSCULAR TWITCHES, and HARMFUL BEHAVIOR). Kövecses (2000) states that HEAT/FIRE source domain applies to the emotions anger, (romantic) love, lust and shame in English. In contrast, our data shows that FIRE is commonly used for the conceptualization of sadness indicating the intensity of the uncontrolled and unbearable feeling. Additionally, the linguistic elaborations of the common conceptual mappings might vary depending on the cultural preferences (e.g. one’s ear is low, one’s liver-lung being roasted, tearing one’s hair etc.). Such variations in linguistic expressions indicate that Turkish speakers tend to be more indirect in the expression of sadness; hence the idiom “fire fell into my heart”, for example, is a more indirect and effective expression than the direct expression “I feel sad” as it creates a mental link with the emotion and its psychosomatic impact on the person.

Turkish society is generally identified with the values of collectivism (Hofstede, Hofstede, Minkov, 2010), which seems to have an influence on the way and the extent to which Turkish speakers prefer idiomatic expressions in communicating sadness. Because “emotions in the collectivist cultures tend to embody the connectedness between individuals and their social environment” (Mesquita, 2001, p. 73), the common employment of idioms aims to sustain solidarity between the speakers. In this respect, Turkish data provide further support for the ‘body-based social constructionism’, which holds that both body and culture play a motivating role in the emergence of conceptual metaphors and metonymies (Kövecses, 2000, 2015). In short, the study makes it clear that embodiment is not merely physiology based, and cultural artifacts can affect both our physiological experiences and figurative language use.

5 Conclusion

This study has dealt with the relationship between body and emotion, and more specifically focused on the expression of sadness via body parts in conventionalized expressions. The figurative and idiomatic language use of

sadness give us clues on how sadness is schematized in the minds of Turkish speakers, and its cognitive-cultural model. In general, the study indicates that Turkish tends to treat sadness not merely as an internal psychophysiological feeling but primarily as a corporal phenomenon going on inside the body. The predominance of physical images to talk about this emotion type reveals that sadness is seen as a physical event that generates internal bodily changes. The findings agree with Gibbs' statement that "emotions are not simply or completely 'mental sensations' but rely on tactile, felt feelings from the outside that become part of our inner emotional experiences" (2005, p. 245). The physical component of the emotions puts forth that human body is not only an entity or mechanism that experiences and is used to express emotions, but also A CONTAINER that contains the emotions in it. These findings establish that emotional experience is embodied, and accord with the anti-Cartesian view of human body as a shaper of not only human cognition but also emotions.

As a final remark, this study is restricted with the idioms that include a body part term; therefore a folk model proposed for sadness is shaped in terms of idioms. For a better understanding of the internal structure of this emotion type, a corpus-based research can be suggested for further research. Still, this study is a first attempt to propose a cognitive-cultural model of sadness in Turkish.

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