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CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF *CİĞER* 'LIVER-LUNG' IN TURKISH FIGURATIVE EXPRESSIONS

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Abstract: This study investigates the conceptualizations of the body part term *ciğer* (liver-lung) as it is used in the conventionalized expressions, i.e. idioms and compounds, figuratively from the cognitive linguistic perspective. Data are collected from several dictionaries, and the idiomatic expressions that include the word *ciğer* are analyzed in relation to the cognitive theory of metaphor and metonymy (Kövecses, 2000; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The findings reveal an embodied cultural model for *ciğer* that is conceptualized as A METONYMY FOR THE PERSON, A LIVING ORGANISM, AN OBJECT OF VALUE and A CONTAINER, each of which includes diverse sub-folk models. Findings also demonstrate *ciğer* as A LOCUS FOR EMOTIONS expressing sadness, pity, liking/love, fear, affectivity, disliking/hate and happiness. The study highlights the supremacy of metaphors, metonymies and image schemas in the conceptualization of experiences in Turkish as well as supports the view that embodiment is culturally motivated.

Key words: *Liver-lung, cultural conceptualizations, metaphor, metonymy, Turkish idioms*

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CİĞER SÖZCÜĞÜNÜN TÜRKÇE DEĞİŞMECELİ İFADELERDE KAVRAMSALLAŞTILIRILMASI

Özet: Bu çalışma, bir beden bölümü sözcüğü olan ‘ciğer’in Türkçe kalıplaşmış ifadelerdeki değişmeceli kullanımını bilişsel dilbilimsel bir açıdan incelemektedir. Veriler çeşitli deyimler sözlüklerinden toplanmış ve içinde *ciğer* sözcüğü geçen deyimler ve sözcük grupları, kavramsal metafor ve metonimi kuramı (Kövecses, 2000; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) çerçevesinde incelenmiştir. Bulgular, ‘ciğer’in, her biri farklı alt modeller içeren KİŞİ, CANLI BİR VARLIK, DEĞERLİ BİR NESNE ve KAP olarak kavramsallaştığı bedenleşmiş bilişsel-kültürel bir model ortaya koymaktadır. Bulgular, ayrıca ‘ciğer’in, üzüntü, acıma, sevgi, korku, duygusallık, hoşlanmama/nefret ve mutluluk ifadelerinde sıklıkla kullanılıp DUYGULARIN MERKEZİ olarak kodlandığını göstermektedir. Çalışma, Türkçede deneyimlerin kavramsallaşmasında metafor, metonimi ve imge şemalarının egemen olduğunu vurgulamakta ve kültürün bedenleşmiş bilişin ortaya çıkışında etkili bir rol oynadığı görüşünü desteklemektedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: *Ciğer, kültürel kavramsallaşmalar, metafor, metonimi, Türkçe deyimler*

1. INTRODUCTION

Our bodies’ interaction with the environment plays a significant role in our understanding of the world we live in. Because bodies are not isolated from society, all bodies are situated in a context, that is, a cultural environment. For this reason, cognition is embodied in cultural situations (Gibbs, 1999). In recent years, the role of the human body and its internal and external parts as a source domain has been widely investigated for the understanding of abstract concepts via their metaphoric and metonymic uses (Brenzinger & Kraska-Szlenk, 2014; Maalej & Yu, 2011; Sharifian, Dirven, Yu & Niemeier, 2008). These studies have provided support for the view that although the human body poses a universal source domain for metaphors in modeling abstract concepts, cultural or folk models provide particular panoramas through which specific body parts become marked and meaningful in understanding specific abstract concepts (Gibbs, 1999; Kövecses, 2000, 2008; Maalej & Yu, 2011; Yu, 2001, 2002). In this regard, the present study explores the embodiment through the body part word

“ciğer” (liver/lung) in Turkish figurative expressions to come up with a cognitive-cultural model of it.

Cultural models are “holistically structured conceptual units” (Kövecses, 2003, p. 312) or conceptualizations that incorporate a network of conceptual metaphors, schemas, blends and categories, and reflect the collective cognition of a group of people living together (Holland & Quinn, 1987; Sharifian, 2003, 2008, 2011). In Sharifian’s terms, these cognitive networks are conceptualizations that “hierarchically characterize higher nodes of our conceptual knowledge” (2008, p. 119), emerging from the interactions between the members of a cultural group. In this sense, conceptualizations reveal how experiences are culturally constructed across time and space within a given society.

In cognitive linguistic framework, metaphor is generally defined as “the cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is partially ‘mapped’, i.e. projected, onto a different experiential domain, so that the second domain is partially understood in terms of the first one” (Barcelona, 2003, p. 3). The metaphorical connection between the two domains is described as THE TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN formula, in which complex abstract concepts (target) are construed in terms of simpler and more concrete concepts (source) that are more closely linked with our physical experiences (e.g. PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, etc.). On the other hand, metonymy is a conceptual mapping in which one experiential domain (the target) is partially understood in terms of another experiential domain (the source) within the same experiential domain, which can be formulated as THE SOURCE DOMAIN FOR TARGET DOMAIN (e.g. PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT). Metaphors are based on image schemas like containment, bodily orientation, verticality, etc., whereas the basis of metonymy is formed by bodily, especially physiological experiences.

As patterns of sensory-motor experiences, image schemas play a key role in the emergence and explanation of the embodied origins of human meaning and thought. They are generally defined as “preconceptual structures, which arise from, or are grounded in, human recurrent bodily movements through space, perceptual interactions, and ways of manipulating objects” (Hampe, 2005, p. 1). Image schemas

form the basis for abstract concepts and different facets of linguistic meaning and provide structures for certain cultural conceptualizations. For instance, the container image schema defines concepts such as IN, OUT and ENTER; the source–path–goal schema defines concepts such as JOURNEY, ARRIVE, TRAVEL, and LEAVE; and the force schema outlines concepts such as PUSH, PULL, RESIST and EMOTION (Kövecses, 2015, p. 35).

Idioms and compounds, as products of language, are collective memory banks of a society; therefore, they are important tools to investigate cultural conceptualizations. They are also vehicles for the transmission of the socio-culturally embodied conceptualizations from one generation to the next. In this respect, they are commonly employed in cognitive linguistic studies that concentrate on figurative language uses and the identification of metaphoric and metonymic conceptualizations (e.g. Charteris-Black, 2003; McPherson & Prokhorov, 2011; Occhi, 2011; Radic-Bojanic & Silaški, 2012; Yu, 2002). Similarly, the idiomatic expressions, which include the Turkish body part term *ciğer*, have been selected for the focus of the present study. *Ciğer* is the name of one of the internal organ terms in Turkish, which is frequently found in conventionalized expressions. As a borrowed word from Persian, it is used in Turkish as a general label that can be further specified as lungs (*akciğer*, white-ciğer) and liver (*karaciğer*, black-ciğer), thus it refers to either of the organs depending on the context.

We know from human anatomy that both liver and lungs have vital roles in the operation of the body. While the liver helps to clean the blood from unwanted substances, lungs help oxygen from the air we breathe enter the red cells in the blood. Depending on the embodiment thesis, it is possible to claim that the anatomical characteristics of the organs and their specific functions in the body can provide the conceptual basis for the mental representation and understanding of the organs, which tends to be consistent across languages. On the other hand, cross-cultural studies have demonstrated that liver and lungs have varying conceptualizations in different languages, though lungs seem to take less attention or to play a smaller role in constructing meaning. For instance, in two related languages Indonesian (Siahaan, 2008) and Malay (Goddard, 2008), the liver is the central body organ for emotion concepts, as a result of the old ritual of liver divination that sees liver as the central inner organ through which spiritual beings interact with

humans. In the Australian language Kuuk Thaayorre, the liver, which is conceptualized as both within and a part of the belly, has strong conceptual links with emotion and character (Gaby, 2008). In Basque, the liver word *gibel* is connected with negative feelings and attitudes which tend to arise from the conceptualization of *gibel* as ‘back side’ (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2008, 2012). In Chinese, Yu (2002) demonstrates that the liver and lungs can be associated with the emotions sadness and anger. Dogon languages of Mali encode emotions and character traits in expressions containing the word ‘liver’ (McPherson & Prokhorov, 2011).

The previous studies show that although liver and lungs have certain similarities across languages especially in terms of their association with emotions, there are considerable differences in their conceptualizations in other respects. Due to its particular linguistic use, the conceptualization of *ciğer* may show peculiarity in Turkish, which results in a distinct schema, specific to Turkish language users. Within this framework, the main purpose of the present study is to investigate the role of the body part word *ciğer* in Turkish idioms as it is used in a figurative way in expressing abstract concepts, and to analyze how it is categorized and schematized in the minds of Turkish speakers to shed a light on some aspects of the prevalent cultural conceptualizations. Exploring this cultural model will help us to illuminate the particular outlook of Turkish speakers and to make a contribution to a better understanding of different cultural universes.

2. METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The dataset is derived from several online and hardcopy dictionaries of idioms, which reflect the standard Turkish use from past to present. These dictionaries include Aksoy (2007), Bezirci (1998), Çotuksöken (2004), Emir (1974), Karlı (1999), Parlatır (2011), Püsküllüoğlu (2006), Şahin (2004), Ünlü (1976), and the online Dictionary of Proverbs and Idioms by Turkish Language Association. Dictionaries were first scanned, and a database of conventionalized expressions that include the word *ciğer* was formed. Idioms with active and passive constructions (e.g. someone's liver/lung to be pierced / to pierce through one's liver/lung), which have the same meaning, were considered to be a single entry in the study. In this way, the database that is made up of 43 *ciğer*-expressions was recorded.

In the next step, the expressions and their definitions were examined in terms of their figurative uses, and 34 *ciğer*-expressions were identified in which *ciğer* is used figuratively. For instance, the idiom “*ciğeri yanmak*” (*lit.* one’s liver-lung to burn) figuratively expresses sadness, as it is not the internal organ that actually burns.

In the final step, the conceptual metaphors and metonymies encoded in the conventionalized expressions were identified and analyzed in relation to the cognitive theory of metaphor and metonymy (Barcelona, 1997, 2003; Kövecses, 2000, 2010; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). As a practical technique, Kövecses (2010, p. 174) describes the ‘is like’ test of Gibbs (1994) to distinguish metaphor from metonymy. Accordingly, if one thing can be said to ‘be like’ another, then it is a metaphor. If it does not make sense to say this, then it is a metonymy. The mappings between the source and target domains can be formulated as *A is like B* for conceptual metaphors, and *A stands for B* for conceptual metonymies. The expressions were then categorized according to the generic level metaphorical and metonymical mappings.

A small-scale questionnaire was administered to 20 Turkish native speakers to check whether *ciğer* is conceptualized as lungs, liver or both for each *ciğer* expressions, and found that the distribution of the participants’ choices is almost equal, and there is not a consensus on which organ is referred to in each idiom. Depending on the definitions and the results of the survey, the word *ciğer* is used to refer to either lungs or liver in this study.

3. FINDINGS

Data analysis reveals four basic categories to which the idiomatic expressions are related. Since idioms are complex structures, they may include more than one metaphorical or metonymical construction, hence can be considered as falling into more than one category. The idioms, their underlying conceptualizations and the sub-folk models are discussed under each category. The idiomatic expressions are presented with their literal English translations and definitions.

3.1. CİĞER FOR THE PERSON

PART FOR WHOLE metonymy underlies the conceptualizations of the idioms in this group, where the body part word *ciğer* metonymically represents the whole body, hence stands for the person. This category can be characterized as the underlying basis for all the other categories to be discussed. Within this category, we can find other interrelated sub-models, each of which explicates a different aspect of meaning.

CİĞER FOR THE PERSON

CİĞER IS A CONTAINER / A RECORD BOOK

In the first group of idioms, *ciğer* is an immediate representation of the person; therefore, knowing everything about a person including his/her inner feelings and thoughts is considered as knowing or reading his/her liver-lung:

- (1) *ciğerini(n içini) bilmek lit.* “knowing (the inside of) someone's liver-lung” - knowing someone very well
- (2) *ciğerini okumak lit.* “reading someone's liver-lung” - knowing the inner thoughts of the person one knows well

The idioms also entail that liver-lung is A CONTAINER or A RECORD BOOK where one's secrets, characteristic features, thoughts and emotions are contained or recorded, thus being close with someone is seen as going inside this private and inner realm and being able to read the contents.

CİĞER IS THE SEAT OF LIFE

THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS ONE'S CİĞER

The substitution between the body part *ciğer* and the person leads to more complex conceptualizations including metaphors from metonymies including the expressions of endearment:

- (3) *ciğerim lit.* “my lung-liver” - my beloved (child)
- (4) *ciğerpare lit.* “liver-lung piece” - someone who is loved a lot
- (5) *ciğerimin köşesi lit.* “the edge of my liver-lung” - my beloved (child)
- (6) *ciğer parçası lit.* “liver-lung piece” - the loved person

Because of their functions in the body, liver and lungs are vital internal organs for human beings to remain alive, which can be considered as THE SEAT OF LIFE. In this sense, the loved person is viewed as a vital organ or a part of it without which it is impossible or very hard to survive. Seeing the beloved person as one's ciğer, or a part or edge of his/her ciğer shows how valuable the beloved person/child is, and emphasizes the attachment to them, yielding the metaphor from the metonymy THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS ONE'S VITAL ORGAN (CİĞER).

THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS ONE'S CİĞER

LOSING ONE'S BELOVED IS PHYSICAL DAMAGE ON ONE'S CİĞER

Since ciğer is a very sensitive and vulnerable organ, it is important to protect it from harmful outside factors, as it is important to protect loved ones. In this sense, the harmful and destructive effect of grief due to losing one's child or beloved one is mapped with the wound or pain on one's liver-lung as in the following examples:

(7) ciğer yarası *lit.* "liver-lung wound" - the grief of losing a child

(8) ciğer acısı *lit.* "liver-lung pain" - the pain caused by the death of one's child or a close friend

THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS ONE'S CİĞER

LOVE IS A UNITY

Similar to the heart, ciğer is commonly used to communicate the positive emotion love; however, unlike the heart, which is used to express romantic love more frequently, ciğer expresses the love of a child or a close friend. 'Ciğerim' (my liver-lung) is a relatively common term of address in Turkish used to show sincerity and closeness.

Close friends who share everything, and who are always together are seen as "soul and liver-lung" which entails the UNITY metaphor of love:

(9) canciğer olmak *lit.* "being soul and liver-lung" - being very close friends

(10) *cancığەر kuzu sarması lit.* “soul and liver-lung lamb wrap” - being bosom friends, being chummy

The expressions are examples of the metonymy for the unity and harmony of two people whereby soul and liver-lung stand for the two people as a whole. According to Kövecses, LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO COMPLEMENTARY PARTS is the central metaphor for a model of love that suggests perfect harmony, attachment, and a symbiotic relationship (1986, 1988). Love, in our case, is not romantic but a general one including the related concepts friendship, affinity and sincerity; still, the psychological unity between two close people is conceptualized as a physical unity.

3.1. CİĞER AS A LIVING ORGANISM

Ciğەر in this category is conceptualized mainly as AN ENTITY WHICH EXPERIENCES EMOTIONS, and is negatively affected by them. Expressions in this category generally denote negative emotions dominated by sadness. The other types of emotion are pity, fear and the neutral emotion affectivity. This category takes the biggest part in the data with 17 expressions, consisting of diverse and interrelated sub-folk models.

PITY/SADNESS IS PHYSICAL DAMAGE OF CİĞER

(THE CAUSE OF) PITY/SADNESS IS A SHARP OBJECT

CİĞER IS A VULNERABLE ENTITY

Examining the idioms closely reveals different schematizations of emotion types. Sadness and pity are commonly conceptualized as PHYSICAL DAMAGE that hurts the internal organ and damages its physical integrity as in the following idioms:

(11) *ciğeri parçalanmak lit.* “someone’s liver-lung to part” - pitying somebody a lot

(12) *ciğeri parça parça olmak lit.* “someone's liver-lung to break into pieces” - pitying somebody a lot

(13) *ciğeri paralanmak lit.* “someone’s liver-lung to be torn into pieces” - feeling pity for someone

(14) *ciğeri delinmek lit.* “someone's liver-lung to be pierced” - a tragic situation causing sadness for somebody

(15) ciğerini sökmek *lit.* “tearing someone's liver-lung” - hurting or damaging someone a lot, to make someone unviable

(16) ok gibi ciğerine işlemek *lit.* striking one's liver-lung as if by an arrow - being negatively affected by something, to agonize, to be in pain

Both liver and lungs possess soft tissue and are protected by other organs surrounding them. Based on their biological structure, they are conceptualized as sensitive parts of the body that can be hurt by outer factors. In the idioms, the unity of the liver-lung is seen as damaged metaphorically by the negative emotions, sadness and pity. The concept of harm usually refers to the nonliteral negative effects of the emotion, which is comprehended in terms of physical damage. This leads to the general conceptual metaphor of EMOTIONAL HARM IS PHYSICAL DAMAGE (Kövecses, 2000, p. 46). Physical damage denotes a visible damage as a result of one physical object knocking into another. The sub-folk models (THE CAUSE OF) PITY/SADNESS IS A SHARP OBJECT and CİĞER IS A VULNERABLE ENTITY lie behind these expressions. For the idiom “someone’s liver-lung to part”, “yürek” (heart) can be used in place of *ciğer* with the same emotional meaning; thus, *ciğer* and *yürek* (heart) are interchangeable in this idiom.

CİĞER BLOOD IS INTENSE SADNESS

CİĞER IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS

Ciğer blood is used in the expressions to indicate the intensity of sadness:

(17) ciğer kanı içmek *lit.* “drinking liver-lung blood” - suffering in great pain

(18) ciğeri kan dolmak *lit.* “someone's liver-lung to fill up blood” - being in pain and sorrow

Blood, as a bodily liquid, is a frequently used term in idioms to express sadness. For example, *crying blood* (kan ağlamak) and *shedding bloody tears* (kanlı yaşlar dökmek) refer to having deep sadness and pain and crying with sorrow. Blood usually appears as a result of physical damage of a body part. When it is used with internal body parts, it expresses the depth of the damage, namely, the intensity of sadness yielding the LIVER-LUNG BLOOD IS INTENSE SADNESS metaphor. Idiom (18) also accounts for the fluid component in the

CONTAINER image schema (Johnson, 1987) as explained in part 3.4. *Ciğer*, in this idiom, is seen as a container that is filled with blood, and when it is damaged due to negative feelings, blood comes out.

SADNESS/AFFECTIVITY IS FIRE/HEAT

CİĞER IS A BURNABLE ENTITY

BEING SAD/EMOTIONAL IS HAVING ONE'S CİĞER COOKED

Based on the INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT master metaphor listed by Lakoff, Espenson & Schwarts (1991), FIRE metaphor plays an important role in the conceptualization of sadness and affectivity, in which case *ciğer* is construed as A BURNABLE ENTITY:

(19) *ciğeri dağlanmak / ciğerini dağlamak lit.* “one's liver-lung to be cauterized / cauterizing one's liver-lung” - one's inside burning with agony and longing

(20) *ciğeri yanmak / ciğerini yakmak (birinin) lit.* “one's liver-lung to burn / burning someone's liver-lung” - suffering from intense pain

(21) *ciğeri kavrulmak lit.* “one's liver-lung to be roasted” - being in a deep pain

(22) *ciğer(i) kebab olmak lit.* “one's liver-lung to become kebab” - going through a sorrow, to suffer from intense pain

It is clear from the idioms that there is something destructive with sadness, which is mapped onto fire, with its negative potentiality of burning and mutating the internal structure of the body parts. Especially the expressions *roasting, grilling or being kebab* profile a COOKING scenario in which one's *ciğer* suffers from deep sorrow and pain, similar to the transformation that foodstuff undergoes while being cooked. The roasted or grilled liver-lung evokes the conceptualizations of SADNESS IS FIRE/HEAT and BEING SAD IS HAVING ONE'S CİĞER COOKED; therefore, the emoter is unable to breathe. The idioms “*içini yakmak*” (burning someone's inside), “*içini dağlamak*” (cauterizing someone's inside), “*yüreğini dağlamak*” (cauterizing someone's heart) are found with the same emotional meaning, which shows that *ciğer* and *iç* (inside) can be replaced in some idioms, and *ciğer* may refer to inside of the body. The idioms provide further support for the view that sadness is one of the “hot” emotions in

Turkish culture, which physically damages the inside organs of the body when it becomes very intense.

(23) *ciğeri pişmek lit.* “someone’s liver/lung being cooked” - being full inside with various emotions

Affectivity is an emotional state in which the emoter shows emotional responses as a result of the arousal of emotions. Feeling emotional is viewed as the change of the physical state of the body part *ciğer* by being cooked as in sadness, yielding the metaphors AFFECTIVITY IS FIRE and BEING EMOTIONAL IS HAVING ONE’S CİĞER COOKED.

SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL AGITATION

CİĞER IS A VULNERABLE ENTITY

The negative emotion sadness also physically agitates *ciğer* as in the following examples:

(24) *ciğeri sızlamak lit.* “one’s liver-lung to ache” - feeling sorry, deploring, having an ache by heart

(25) *ciğerine batmak lit.* “stinging one’s liver-lung” - suffering, being sorry

“Yürek” (heart) can be replaced with *ciğer* in these idioms with the same emotional meaning. The words *ache* and *prick* exemplify a mapping in which the body-part is physically agitated; hence the person is physically disturbed, which yields the conceptual metaphor SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL AGITATION (Kövecses, 2000). Just like the heart, *ciğer* is seen as the part of the body, which is physically agitated by an external cause, namely, the negative emotion, which entails the conceptualization CİĞER IS A VULNERABLE ENTITY.

CİĞER IS AN ANTHROPOMORPHIZED ENTITY

Ciğer can be personified in a metonymical way, and is seen as AN ANTHROPOMORPHIZED ENTITY as in the following expressions:

(26) *ciğeri kan ağlamak lit.* “one's liver-lung to cry blood” - being distressed and sorrowful

(27) *ciğerleri bayram etmek lit.* “one's liver-lungs having field day” - smoking a better kind of cigarette; going out for fresh air

These expressions imply that *ciğer* is an independent agent, an additional part of the person, or another part of the self, which can rejoice or react to negative feelings by crying. As indicated above, blood is used with internal organs to express the intensity of sadness. An organ personified as crying or rejoicing reflects CİĞER FOR PERSON metonymy as discussed above.

3.3. CİĞER AS AN OBJECT OF VALUE

Because of their vital role in the body, both lungs and liver are conceptualized as something valuable, and can be conceptualized as AN OBJECT OF VALUE. This is reflected in the expressions in which *ciğer* is used.

CİĞER IS A VALUABLE ENTITY

(28) *ciğeri beş/on para etmemek lit.* “someone's liver-lung isn't worth five/ten cents” - being a worthless, useless and low-down person

Based on the metonymy CİĞER FOR THE PERSON (PART FOR WHOLE), in this idiom, the unworthiness of the disliked person is conceptualized in terms of the unworthiness of his/her liver-lung. The value or price of the person's liver-lung is projected onto his/her own honor or value that entails the CİĞER IS VALUE / A VALUABLE ENTITY.

HAPPINESS IS PHYSICAL CONTACT

When associated with happiness, *ciğer* is seen as AN OBJECT THAT CAN BE TAKEN AND GIVEN:

(29) *ciğerini almak lit.* “taking someone's liver-lung” - making someone happy

This idiom is used in the same meaning as *gönül (gönlünü) almak* (taking someone's gönül), in which *ciğer* is used in place of *gönül*. *Gönül* is an abstract term that roughly refers to heart, mind and desire, and is the site of wishes and thoughts (Ruhi & Işık-Güler, 2007). There is a complex structure of meaning in the idiom that leads metaphors from metonymy. Happiness in this idiom as well as in *gönül almak* seems to be particularly a kind of happiness or pleasure that exists as shared between two or more individuals (Ruhi, 2006, p. 97), so it can be called "intersubjective happiness." Nice words or behavior metonymically represent the hand of a person, while *ciğer* stands for another person, and there is a physical contact between them. This yields the metaphors HAPPINESS IS PHYSICAL CONTACT and EFFECT ON EMOTIONAL SELF IS A CONTACT WITH PHYSICAL SELF.

CİĞER FOR A DESIRABLE OBJECT/COMMODITY

Ciğer can stand for A DESIRABLE OBJECT or COMMODITY that one wants to possess, as in the following examples:

(30) *keci ciğere bakar gibi bakmak (süzme veya seyretmek) lit.* "looking (watching) as if a cat looks at liver-lung" - looking at something with desire

(31) *keciye ciğer ısmarlamak/emanet etmek lit.* "ordering/entrusting liver-lung to a cat" - giving something to someone untrustworthy to hide it

Both of the expressions depend on the cat's fondness of *ciğer* as its food. In the first idiom, *ciğer* is seen as A DESIRABLE OBJECT, which one aspires to own. Therefore a person's desiring looks at someone/something is likened to a cat's desiring looks to eat the meat. On the other hand, in the second idiom, *ciğer* is construed as A COMMODITY that is subject to get lost when left with someone unreliable.

3.4. CİĞER AS A CONTAINER

Human body and particular body parts are usually conceptualized as containers especially for the expression of emotions derived from the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS. As discussed above, the idioms 'knowing the inside of someone's liver-lung' and 'someone's liver-lung to fill up blood' illustrate a

container *ciğer* in which personal information is stored and blood flows into in case of injury.

The container image schema in our data provides further information for the conceptualization of the negative emotion sadness.

SADNESS IS A BURDEN ON ONE’S CİĞER

(32) *ciğerine oturmak lit.* “to sit/sink on one’s liver-lung” - suddenly feeling sorry

Emotional stress or difficulties are usually conceptualized as a burden, yielding the metaphor EMOTIONAL DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS (Kövecses, 1998, 2000). According to Kövecses (1998, p. 143), many emotions like anger, fear, sadness, and shame are viewed as difficult states to cope with for the subject of emotion. In other words, the external pressure caused by the burden on the body-container corresponds to the distress or difficulty caused by the emotion on the self. In this idiom, the thing that causes sadness is conceptualized as a burden or a pressure on the body part, therefore troubles the person, and is schematized as SADNESS IS A BURDEN or SADNESS IS AN EXTERNAL PRESSURE.

CİĞER IS A CONTACT POINT / A PERMEANT ENTITY

In the following idiom, *ciğer* is conceptualized as A CONTACT POINT or A PERMEANT ENTITY that allows emotions to go inside:

(33) *ciğerine işlemek lit.* “penetrating into one’s liver-lung” - being negatively affected or to feel upset by a bad saying or behavior

The idiom expresses sadness, which is metaphorized as A PHYSICAL CONTACT that makes a physical effect on *ciğer* by penetrating into it. This metaphor entails what Lakoff et al. (1991, p. 45) call the EFFECT ON EMOTIONAL SELF IS CONTACT WITH PHYSICAL SELF metaphor, where the source domain is contact and touch, and the target domain is feeling, emotion and effect. Similar expressions are found with the two heart words *kalp* and *yürek* in the idiom ‘penetrating into one’s heart’ with the same meaning. As sensitive organs, liver, lung and

heart seem to absorb the things around them and are deeply affected by intense sadness.

CİĞER IS A MOVEABLE ENTITY

FEAR IS A PHYSICAL FORCE

FEAR IS MOTION/DISPLACEMENT OF THE INTERNAL ORGANS

Ciğer can also be conceptualized AS A MOVEABLE ENTITY whose position can be changed due to the physical force of the negative emotion fear:

(34) *ciğeri ağzına gelmek lit. "one's liver-lung coming up into one's mouth" - to dread*

In this idiom the word *ciğer* is used in a similar meaning to *yürek* (heart) as in the idiom *yüreği ağzına gelmek* (one's heart to come up into one's mouth). According to Rull, the self is commonly considered to be a space or container where internal events such as thoughts, beliefs or emotions are produced; therefore "[e]motions can be conceptualized as internal forces moving inside people exerting some pressure from the inside" (2001, p. 181). It is the FORCE schema that lies behind this conceptualization, which refers to the pressure of two forceful entities upon each other when they are in interaction (Kövecses, 2000; Talmy, 2000). In the example, the intensity of fear is conceptualized as an internal pressure, which forces one's *ciğer* (liver-lung) or heart to move up into one's mouth; thus, metaphorized as FEAR IS A PHYSICAL FORCE and FEAR IS MOTION/DISPLACEMENT OF THE INTERNAL ORGANS.

4. DISCUSSION

This study has investigated the cultural conceptualizations of *ciğer* (liver-lung) in Turkish figurative expressions and revealed a cognitive-cultural model of it that is made up of metaphors, metonymies and image schemas. Accordingly, in addition to being an internal organ vital for life, *ciğer* is conceptualized as the locus for emotions, one's private, inner realm where one's inner self and values are stored, one's valuable entity (i.e. a beloved object or a person), and the sensitive and vulnerable side of the person (i.e. permeant, burnable

and moveable entity) that is affected easily by outside factors (Figure 1). All these conceptualizations are different facets of the cognitive-cultural model of *ciğer*, and they demonstrate that there is not a single conceptualization, but an aggregate of different sub-folk models, all of which are interrelated to one another.

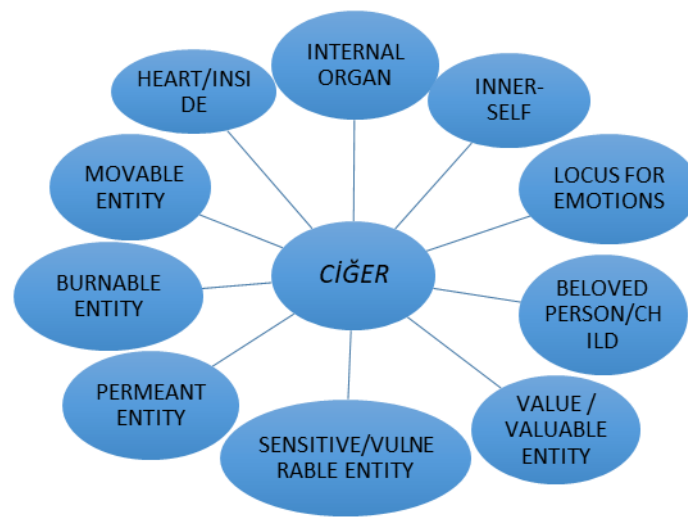


Figure 1. Components of the cultural model of *ciğer*

Depending on the PART-WHOLE image schema, the PART FOR WHOLE (i.e., CİĞER FOR PERSON) metonymy provides the underlying basis for most of the metaphors found in the study. This accords with the argument of Kövecses that some metaphors can emerge from schematization and elaboration through a metonymic process (2013, 2015). Because we experience our bodies as wholes with parts, we attribute different roles and functions to each part of the body, which in time, gain different metaphorical representations. In our case, one's body part *ciğer* is closely associated with one's self or the loved one, which forms the basis of submetaphorical conceptualizations such as THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS ONE'S CİĞER or CİĞER IS AN ANTHROPOMORPHIZED ENTITY.

Additionally, the CONTAINER image schema, which has a basic role in our understanding of daily experiences, operates mainly in the conceptualization of emotions identified in the analysis. The

conceptualization of our bodies as containers is related to IN-OUT orientations, as a natural result of the form and functioning of our bodies, including for example ingesting and excreting, or taking air into our lungs and breathing it out (Lakoff, 1987, p. 271). When these bodily experiences are combined with cultural values and traditions, specific body parts can be characterized as containers with distinct contents. The present study reveals that the container *ciğer* is generally filled with emotions, feelings and personal values, and is affected by its contents in a good or bad way.

Findings have also demonstrated that *ciğer* carries a meaning similar to the heart as it is used interchangeably with the heart words (*yürek* and *kalp*) in some idioms. This close association shows that *ciğer* is seen as important as the heart, which is considered the central organ for emotion. Just like the heart, *ciğer* is seen as a store where one's innermost feelings are preserved. On the other hand, unlike the heart (*kalp*), which is more prototypically used to convey romantic love (Baş, 2017), *ciğer* expresses a more general love, endearment, compassion, sincerity and self-sacrifice, which are associated with the relationship of affinity and kinship bonds in Turkish. We can deduce that when used in figurative speech, *ciğer* is more than a single organ; rather it is a conglomerate of organs that generally refers to the upper part of the body or one's inside. This accords with the view of McPherson & Prokhorov (2011, p. 40) that in butchering livestock, "the heart, liver and lungs are removed together in one piece, giving rise to the idea that at least the three together form a single complex organ that, due to its position in the upper abdomen, comes to be seen as the seat of the emotions." Moreover, *ciğer* acts as more than a physical organ in Turkish, but like *gönül*, it can be considered as one of the cultural key terms in Turkish, which covers the person's inner-self, including feelings, emotions, desires and values.

The study shows *ciğer* as a productive source domain for the communication and conceptualization of emotions in Turkish, which is manifested by CIĞER IS THE LOCUS/CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS metaphor. This finding accords with the belief that the concept of emotion is generally identified with "the human body and its functioning" because emotions are commonly exhibited through bodily behavior (Kövecses, 2013, p. 77). In this sense, it provides evidence for the embodied nature of emotions by unveiling how

different types of emotion are conceptualized and schematized in the minds of Turkish speakers. Seven different emotion types are identified in the data, i.e. sadness, love, pity, disliking/hate, fear, happiness and affectivity. Among these emotion types, the most prototypical one is sadness, which is conceptualized as PHYSICAL DAMAGE, PHYSICAL AGITATION, FIRE, BURDEN and PHYSICAL CONTACT. Based on the findings discussed above, an outline of how the emotions are schematized via the body part term *ciğer* is presented in Figure 2:

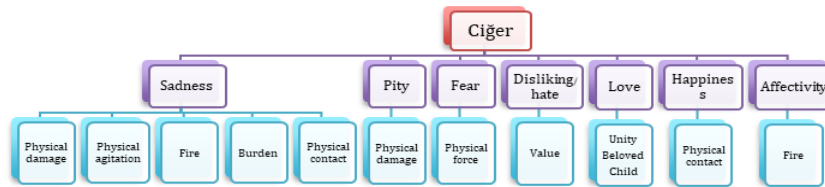


Figure 2. Conceptualizations of emotions via *ciğer* expressions

In addition to sadness, pity is conceptualized as a PHYSICAL DAMAGE, while fear is seen as a PHYSICAL FORCE, affectivity is seen as FIRE, happiness is seen as PHYSICAL CONTACT, love is seen as one’s own liver-lung and UNITY between the loved one’s liver-lungs, and hate is metonymically conceptualized in terms of VALUABLE ORGAN. Figure 2 also makes it clear that different emotion types can be conceptualized in similar ways, and that both metaphors and metonymies play important roles in the construal of emotions.

The emotion metaphors identified in the data are congruent with those identified by Kövecses (1990, 2000) at the generic level (e.g. EMOTION IS PHYSICAL DAMAGE, EMOTION IS PHYSICAL FORCE, EMOTION IS BURDEN, etc.). On the other hand, at the specific and linguistic levels, the emotion metaphors show characteristic features. For instance, Kövecses (2000) states that the heat/fire metaphor can be found in anger, romantic love, lust and shame, whereas it doesn’t seem to occur as a source domain with sadness. However, the present study demonstrates that in Turkish, fire is a common source domain that is mapped with intense sadness, resulting in SADNESS IS FIRE metaphor. In this sense, sadness is one

of the hot emotions in Turkish, which, under excessive exposure, burns and damages the physical integrity of internal organs, namely, psychologically harming the emoter. Additionally, at the linguistic level, idiomatic expressions like *one's liver-lung being cauterized*, or *one's liver-lung becoming kebab* are observed as the elaborations of the specific metaphor SADNESS IS FIRE. In this respect, the Turkish data provide support for the “body-based social constructionism” view put forth by Kövecses (2000, 2015), which prescribes that both universal bodily experience and cultural variations can be observed in the creation of metaphors.

Finally, the findings on Turkish enable us to make cross-cultural comparisons on the conceptualization of the liver-lung. Similar to Indonesian (Siahaan, 2008), Malay (Goddard, 2008), Basque (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2008) and Dogon languages (McPherson & Prokhorov, 2011), the liver-lung is conceptualized as A LOCUS OF EMOTIONS in Turkish. However, the types of these emotions and how they are conceptualized differ. For instance, in Chinese, liver is closely associated with anger and sadness, while the lungs are only associated with sadness (Yu, 2002). In Indonesian, the liver describes the emotions including love, happiness, anger, worry and sadness (Siahaan, 2008). In Malay, the word for liver *hati* is conceptualized as the locus of desire, intention, romantic love, longing, jealousy and sorrow, (Goddard, 2001, 2008). In Dogon, anger, happiness, proud, satisfied, relieved, disgust and disappointment are encoded in liver expressions (McPherson & Prokhorov, 2011). In Basque, the liver is related to various feelings and attitudes, all of which are negative: listlessness, lethargy, laziness, mistrust, disdain, aversion, withdrawal, bitterness, introversion and hostility as a result of its conceptualization as the ‘back region’ (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2008, 2012). These differences show that although body parts, as a source domain, may be conceptually linked with the same target domain, that is, emotion, the inner mappings within these general domains are not necessarily the same, and they show difference across languages since each culture ascribes different emotional load to particular body parts.

Additionally, the conceptual content of the liver-lung may vary across languages. In Indonesian, the liver is conceived as a container for human characters and attitudes, mental activities, religious belief and moral values in addition to the emotions (Siahaan, 2008), and as the

character trait and the private, inner realm of the person in Malay (Goddard, 2001, 2008). On the other hand, the Turkish conceptualization of the liver-lung is restricted to the self, emotions, feelings, endearment and personal values. The only ciğer-expression used for the character trait can be *ciğersiz* (lack of ciğer), which refers to “coward” or “unconscientious” people depending on the context. We can deduce that differences outweigh in the conceptualization of the liver, which are natural results of the cultural embodiment. In other words, each culture reflects its native worldview on the internal organs, which in turn mirrors on the linguistic expressions.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper attempted to establish the Turkish cognitive-cultural model of the body part *ciğer* based on the figurative expressions it is used with. The findings show that *ciğer* does not only stand for body organs but also for the psychological faculties, which are abstract in nature. In this sense, it plays a key role in the conceptualization of the world, and in interpreting the relationship between the self and outer world.

Different languages have different ways of conceptualizing the body depending on how they conceptualize the reality. As Yu states, “culture functions as a filter that selects aspects of sensori-motor experience and connects them with subjective experiences and judgments for metaphorical mappings” (2008, p. 247). This study represents a case in which conceptual metaphors are grounded in the body but shaped by a culture-specific metaphorical understanding of an internal organ inside the body. *Ciğer*, in Turkish context, is one of the moderators between cognition and culture, and it provides further evidence for the linguistic manifestation of embodied cognition.

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