

Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University  
Faculty of Humanities

**Modern Tendencies in the Development of Proverbs – Intertextual Jokes**  
**(based on Comparative Analysis of Anglo-American and Turkish Anti-Proverbs)**

**Öznur Usta Tuzcu**

Supervisor - Associate Professor Tea Shavladze

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## განაცხადი

როგორც წარმოდგენილი სადისერტაციო ნაშრომის ავტორი, ვაცხადებ, რომ ნაშრომი წარმოადგენს ჩემს ორიგინალურ ნამუშევარს და არ შეიცავს სხვა ავტორების მიერ აქამდე გამოქვეყნებულ, გამოსაქვეყნებლად მიღებულ ან დასაცავად წარდგენილ მასალებს, რომლებიც ნაშრომში არ არის მოხსენიებული ან ციტირებული სათანადო წესების შესაბამისად.

სახელი, გვარი, ----- (ხელმოწერა) (თარიღი) ----

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## INTRODUCTION

Language develops. Neologisms and occasionalism are frequently heard in the speech of our contemporaries. Not only do neologisms appear in the language, but new proverbs, proverb transformations of different types: anti-proverbs, pseudo proverbs, and so on, as Mieder and Litovkina (2006) establish, "Old proverbs never die, they just diversify". So modern paremiology studies newly created proverbs (modern proverbs) and transformed/modified versions of old, traditional ones. Our era is not the era of investigating only old proverbs, but the era of studying new proverbs and proverb transformations of all types. In this respect, scholars working in Paremiology compile the dictionaries of anti-proverbs, new proverbs and silicon proverbs to keep and pass them from generation to generation.

As understood, proverbs belong to the traditional verbal folklore genres, and the wisdom of proverbs has been a guide for people worldwide in their social interaction throughout the ages. Proverbs are concise, easy to remember, and valuable in every situation in life due to their content of everyday relevance. Even though proverbs are fixed expressions, they are flexible in the sense that they allow creative play with their language by speakers, have been changing the language and the message of proverbs or the way it is used to create humour and irony. This has resulted in the formation of anti-proverbs, which are — parodied, twisted, or fractured proverbs that reveal humorous or satirical speech play with traditional proverbial wisdom (Mieder, 2004: 28). Indeed, proverbs are still very useful and valuable in modern society, and anti-proverbs question the wisdom of proverbs and play with the proverb to create humour.

Anti-proverbs (Mieder's term) have many synonyms in English. One of them is "intertextual joke" (Norricks's term), which is also used in the title of the thesis. In Turkish linguistic, scientific studies, we come across synonymous terms of "anti-atasözü" (anti-proverb) (Seçkin, 2017), "komik atasözü (comic proverb). Also, Özenen (2016) used the term 'laphorism', which is analogically derived from aphorism, in order to name all these particulars of linguistic changes as of the 1990s. The term 'laphorism' is worth mentioning

in detail due to its similar creation of anti-proverbs themselves. The term has been generated by Cihan Demirci (1996) as a result of a wordplay, added L to 'aphorism' which means 'sentences generally liked by people a great deal, and contain the intensity of meaning and emotion.' Laphorism is pronounced as 'laforizma' in Turkish, and 'laf' means 'utterance, word' in English. Laphorism does not represent the transformed proverbs but any well-known phrase, apophthegm, created by a slightly changed sound. In this thesis, the terms anti-proverbs and intertextual jokes, suggested by Mieder (1982) and Norrick (2014), have been used as "working terms".

While many linguistic studies in several languages have investigated the transformed proverbs during the thirty years, they have ignored the cross-cultural structure of anti-proverbs as the source of new folk proverbs. Therefore, this PhD thesis is devoted to the study of the humorous and parodic character of Anglo-American and Turkish anti-proverbs. Although, the field of Turkish proverbs is rich in corpus and in-depth study from a social, cultural aspect to linguistics, it is remarkable that there exist few studies on anti-proverbs, on deliberate proverb innovations (Buğra, 2005; Bekiroğlu, 2014; Özzen, 2016; Gürçayır, 2008; Seçkin, 2017; Onan, 2011). Moreover, the existing ones are written in the Turkish language, which is a restriction concerning introducing the Turkish anti-proverbs to the world of Paremiology. The significance of this study in that Mieder (2007:18) believes:

*"(...) it would be a mistake to reduce the phenomenon of anti-proverbs to a mere linguistic or phraseological matter. There is a definite folkloric element involved in all of this that should be part of the discussion. It is not enough to identify hundreds of anti-proverbs and place them into collections organized according to the original proverbs followed by the altered texts or thematically by the subjects and meanings of the anti-proverbs. Scholars must also interpret the use and function of anti-proverbs in oral and written contexts and reflect upon the significance of this preoccupation with anti-proverbs by the folk themselves."*

The phenomenon of proverb modification has been observed and attended by scholars for quite some time worldwide. Plus, the process is widely studied in many other languages such as Russian (Reznikov, 2012), English (Mieder, 2004; Naciscione, 2013), Hungarian (Litovkina, 2017), Persian (Mohamadi & Mohamadi, 2015), Lithuanian (Zaikauskienė, 2012). Moroccan (Midoul, 2012), Turkish (Usta Tuzcu, 2018a) and so on. Moreover, anti-proverbs have been analyzed on a cultural basis (Shavladze & Makharadze, 2017).

**The objectives and goals of this research** are the following: 1) to analyze different scientists' opinions regarding proverbs and proverb transformations; 2) to discover the intertextual and satirical, humorous and parodic character of anti-proverbs; 3) to study characteristics of Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs in terms of their semantic and structural peculiarities in the process of transformation, and their cultural peculiarities.

**The originality of this work** is that it is the first scientific work where comparative and contrasting analyses of Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs are made on different levels: semantic, stylistic, structural, intertextual, and lingo-cultural. Though Paremiology is a popular field of science in Turkey and many scholars work on proverbs, they have never made a contrasting analysis of two unrelated languages – English and Turkish.

**The methodological basis** is developed by set goals and objectives. The methods used in the paper are the following: the method of linguistic observation and description, the comparative – contrasting method, the methods of semantic, stylistic, structural and lingo-cultural analysis.

**The theoretical value of the thesis** is determined by the fact that it contains valuable observations and reviews of scientific literature related to the researched topic and conclusions arising from the solved problems.

**The practical value of the thesis** lies in the fact that the results obtained can be used as practical or theoretical course material for lectures in Paremiology, lexicology, semantics,

language and culture and comparative linguistics. The research and analysis presented in the thesis will help those researchers who work in Paremiology and Paremiography. Besides, there is no corpus of Turkish anti-proverbs, so compiling Turkish anti-proverbs from different sources also contributes to the world of Paremiology. Finally, the existing studies on anti-proverbs are all in Turkish, so this study in English will be helpful for non-Turkish researchers.

Anglo-American and Turkish anti-proverbs have been used for the empirical material. There are numerous works on Anglo-American anti-proverbs that deal with these proverb modifications in terms of their various features. However, few academic studies have been undertaken in Turkish anti-proverbs, although the Turkish language and culture have many anti-proverbs. The reasons for this could be that the Turkish people are not aware of anti-proverbs or do not understand the term 'anti-proverb.'

227 Anglo-American anti-proverbs derived from 161 traditional proverbs are presented in the thesis, and they are primarily from one of the prominent books in this field: "Old proverbs never die, they just diversify" by Mieder and Litovkina (2006). The examples have been referenced only by the page number of the source "Old proverbs never die; they just diversify" by Mieder and Litovkina (2006) to save space in the study. Examples of Anglo-American anti-proverbs, which are from other sources, are also presented in this work. As for the corpus of Turkish anti-proverbs, a corpus of approximately 1800 anti-proverbs, which have been derived from 520 traditional proverbs, were created; however, 282 Turkish anti-proverbs derived from 165 traditional proverbs are presented in the thesis. Some words of the detected anti-proverbs have been checked in the official website of the Turkish Language Association – the dictionary of proverbs and idioms in order to ensure that the anti-proverbs are derived from traditional proverbs. The sources have been indicated in the section of the references. Though, there is no guarantee that any of the URLs [uniform resource locators] listed at the end of this study will still exist in the long run since their existence may well be short term. Considering the examples collected for academic studies on Turkish anti-proverb, most of the examples have been collected for approximately five years from various sources such as books, magazines, newspapers, TV



series, movies, social networking sites, songs, advertisements, and online collaborative hypertext dictionaries created and contributed by mostly young population based on the development of technology, economic problems, social transformation.

For the convenience of the readers<sup>1</sup>, both Turkish anti-proverbs and traditional Turkish proverbs <sup>2</sup>have been written in italics and followed by their literal translation, given in [] brackets, in order to ensure that non-Turkish readers easily understand the syntactic, lexical and stylistic changes. It should be noted that when translated from one language to another, an anti-proverb more often than not loses its message and proverbial expressions considering the wordplay, puns, which carry the characteristics of the particular language. Therefore, their stylistic, syntactic and semantic patterns may not be fully perceived by non-native Turkish readers, so the effect of the Turkish anti-proverb on native Turkish speakers may not be achieved for the non-Turkish readers.

Likewise, the Anglo-American anti-proverbs and traditional proverbs have been presented consecutively. The Anglo-American anti-proverbs have been written in italics and followed by original proverbs, given in [] brackets. Obviously, the limited length of this study only allows presenting a limited number of anti-proverbs, which is why the English equivalence of Turkish proverbs are not presented within the examples and are cited only in exceptional cases for the sake of style and clarity.

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<sup>1</sup> The translation of the Turkish anti-proverbs have been translated by the author of this thesis, and each translated item has been checked by an expert translator.

<sup>2</sup> The literal translations of the traditional proverbs were obtained from the books (1993; 2007; 1996) of Metin Yurtbaşı.

## CHAPTER 1

### 1.1. Proverb and Proverb Modifications

For centuries, scholars have concentrated on proverbs by collecting and analyzing them, searching for their history, translating them, describing their use, analyzing their meaning and structure, or assembling bibliographies and collections. Shamsutdinova, Mingazova & Sabirova (2017) note that proverbs have forever attracted scientists' attention and have been studied by multiple disciplines, such as anthropology, art, communication, culture, folklore, history, literature, philology, psychology, religion, and sociology.

The study of the proverb is 'Paremiology,' which is the systematic and comparative historical study of proverbs and proverbial expressions, while the field that studies the collection and classification of proverbs is 'Paremiography.' According to scholars (Mieder, 1997; Grzybek, 2008) paremiological and paremiographical issues are closely related to each other, and these two branches are seen as two sides of the same coin. In this regard, folklorists and cultural historians study proverbs in terms of their history and meaning as well as their usage in different historical periods. The content of proverbs and how they differ from culture to culture in proverbs that might mean the same are also the aspects that the folklorists and cultural historians are dealt with. Furthermore, linguists study proverbs regarding their features such as the lexeme, sentence, set phrase, collocation and so on.

The increasing interest in proverbs throughout the world enabled the publication of yearly proverbial journals such as "Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb" edited by Mieder since 1984; "Paremia" edited by Munoz since 1993, plus numerous articles on proverbial issues on national and international journals. There also exists an association named 'The Associação Internacional de Paremiologia / International Association of Paremiology (AIP-IAP) that aims the achievement of international scientific exchanges and establishment of trans-national projects to promote the institution and their activities, at the same time creating partnerships with other organizations working in related scientific areas (Soares, 2010).

Scholars play an important role in enabling the proverbs to maintain and pass on traditional values and thoughts from one generation to the next by studying and recording them. Moreover, the increasing number of international publications, mainly written in English (as the global language), have facilitated introducing the local and national proverbs to the rest of the world. Collecting the proverbs in languages provides a literate heritage for the next generations and is used as a source by the scholars who are occupied with a comparative study on proverbs. Furthermore, creating possibilities to perform comparative studies on the basis of their definition, content, structure, function, semantics, style, the value of proverbs and so on.

Currently, the studies are not only based on traditional proverbs but also various types of proverbial expressions such as pseudo proverbs, new proverbs, and anti-proverbs. Also, the issues of identifying and classifying proverbial expressions have been applied to many different disciplines such as sociology, psychology, linguistics, and sub-disciplines of linguistics, e.g. language learning, language acquisition and teaching, natural language processing, and so on.

Modern Paremiology deals with the study of proverbs of three different types: Traditional proverbs, Modern proverbs and Transformed / Modified proverbs. This chapter will present traditional and modern proverbs under the same heading, while modified proverbs will be placed separately. Anti-proverbs, which is the main focus of the thesis, will be explained under another heading in a more detailed perspective.

## **1.2. Traditional Proverbs and Modern Proverbs**

Proverbs are short, traditional and memorable structures due to their shortness and express obvious truth or familiar experience of a certain society. Rezaei (2012) defines a proverb as "a simple and concrete saying popularly known and repeated, which expresses a truth, based on common sense or the practical experience of humanity." Aksan, as one of the prominent paremiologists in Turkey, describes proverbs as "the traditional word patterns used by individuals who are part of the same society to describe certain situations/events/phenomena in conducting their daily contacts (1996:35). A definition

based on an analysis of proverb structure and semantic is offered by Neal R. Norrick (2014) as ‘traditional, pithy, often formulaic and figurative, fairly stable and generally recognizable units.’

One of the common features in these definitions, being ‘traditional’ indicates that proverbs are based on customs usually handed down from a previous generation, plus represent a nation's common thoughts and attitude towards the facts and phenomena. However, different views exist regarding whether proverbs represent the users’ way of thinking, the actual behaviour of a given group of people or the world view or mentality behind the proverb tradition. Hakamies stresses that individual proverb types can rarely provide enough evidence about a group’s mentality (2002). Similarly, Bhuvanesar says, “There is no correspondence between the worldview and that presented in proverbs” (2003). There certainly are contradictions between the proverbs of the same context, belonging to one group of society, but despite these contradictions, the proverbs reflect the communities’ thoughts, habits, wisdom in general. Otherwise, proverbs created by our ancestors would not survive for centuries.

Indeed, the equivalence and translation of the word ‘proverb’ in the Turkish language are ‘Atasözü,’ which can be lexically analyzed as *ata-sözü*; ‘Ata’ means ‘ancestor’ and ‘söz’ means ‘word, utterance, discourse, statement, saying.’ As comprehended, ancestors are ones from whom a person is descended and who is usually more remote in the line of descent than a grandparent (“Ancestor,” 2021). Furthermore, ancestors for many societies are those whose words are regarded as reliable and worthy of note. In this sense, proverbs in a conversation are often quoted with such introductory formulas such as “what do our ancestors say?” or (Mieder, 2014: 149) “as my grandfather used to say.” These introductory phrases prepare the listeners for a certain type of information.

Plus, proverbs are ruled by the vision, the perception and the decision of society rather than individuals. The first drafts of proverbs are asserted by one person, in their final forms, gain all the qualities of the proverbs both structurally and semantically, and become the property of the society, rather than the property of a person, and become the products

of oral culture environments over time. Finally, the proverbs are anonymized by society since many people make some additions and change them. Mieder (2004:14) states:

*“Older literary sources show very clearly that proverbs existed in such variants until one dominant wording eventually became the standard, to wit the following three historical variants of a proverb of prudence: “It is good to be wise before the mischief” (1584), “After the business is over, everyone is wise” (1666), and “It is easy to be wise after the event” (1900), with the latter version having become today’s standard form.”*

Undoubtedly, the process of a proverb is the same in Turkish Paremiology, as indicated in the example which is mainly based on morphological and lexical changes, *Böri koşnısın yimes* (XI Century), *Kurt koşnısın incitmez* (XV Century), *Kurt komşusunu yemez* (Today) (Aksoy, 1988: 28). Aksoy (1988: 16) notes that proverbs are created based on long observations and trials, and Özdemir (2001: 5) adds that the proverbs are created with the best-selected words. For example, *Sabahın kızılığı akşamı kış eder, akşamın kızılığı sabahı güz eder* [The redness of the morning makes the evening snow, the redness of the evening makes the morning autumn], the English equivalent *Red sky at night, sailor’s delight; red sky in the morning, sailors take warning*; **“experiences”** *Eski dost düşman olmaz, yenisinden vefa gelmez* [An old friend will not become an enemy and a new friend will not be loyal] also has English equivalent *Once a friend always a friend*; **“wisdom”** *Korkunun ecele faydası yoktur* [Fear is of no use against the hour of death]; **“advice”** *Ev alma, komşu al* [Get right neighbors rather than their right houses]; **“traditions”** *Hocanın vurduğu yerde gül biter* [Roses spring up where a teacher has struck]; **“beliefs”** *Ananın bahtı kızına* [Mother’s faith to her daughter]. In Turkish, there are many proverbs pertaining to agriculture: *Nisan yağar sap olur, Mayıs yağar geç olur* [If it rains in April, it shall be good grass, if it rains in May, it will be too late] which has equivalence in Anglo-American proverb as in *Rain in April is good for the stalks, whereas rain in May is good for the ears of grain*. Another example is *Erken ekme don olur, geç ekme toprak kurur* [Don’t plant early, it will get frostbitten; do not plant late, the ground will be dried out]. In fact, a number of proverbs in Turkish pertaining to **agriculture** refer to the seasons and specific times for planting, harvesting, e.g.,

*Mart kapıdan baktırır; kazma, kürek yaktırır* [March makes you look out through the door and then makes you burn the handles of your pickaxes and shovels].

Similar observations and experiences lead to various cultures, so languages have similar proverbs both semantically and structurally. Aksoy (1998: 27) mentions that “every nation's proverbs are a mirror of its being and self”, Kabaklı (1994) notes that “One nation’s view of every kind of social and individual problem can be realized in proverbs; however, almost all nations have semantically similar proverbs as well.” Regardless of what nationality they are, the thought of the people is undoubtedly combined at the same point many times. For example, the attitude of Turkish and Anglo-American societies to the act of ‘**lending**’ can be revealed from the proverbs: *At, avrat, kılıç emanet edilmez* [Lend not horse, nor wife, nor sword] and the English equivalent is *Lend your horse for a long journey, you may have him return with his skin* and *Ver elindeki sapı, dolan kapı kapı* [Lend the handle in your hand, and then you go after it from door to door] and it also has an equivalent among Anglo-American proverbs which is *Lend never that thing thou needest most*.

Likewise, the Turkish proverb *Sözü söyle alana, kulağında kalana* [Utter a sentence to the one who listens] has equivalents in eleven different languages which are English, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, Danish, Finnish, Japanese, Swedish and Latin (Yurtbaşı, 1996: 13). This is an indication of the fact that despite the differences between nations which can be the language, values, norms, history, geography, traditions, religions, flags, there are common comprehension and perceptions of the same situation. This is also reflected in the American proverb "Human nature is the same all over the world" as Mieder (2004: 25) quoted in his significant work ‘Proverbs a Handbook.’ To illustrate, the proverb in English *Barking dog seldom bites* has exact equivalents in other languages; e.g., in Turkish *Havlayan köpek ısırılmaz*, in French *Chien qui aboie ne mord pas*, in German *Hunde, die bellen, beißen nicht*, in Georgian *Mkefari dzaglis nu gesinia* and in Russian *лающие собаки редко кусают*.

Noteworthy, in the Turkish and Anglo-American context, proverbs are considered as a reliable vehicle, therefore, they are employed in both oral and written interactions such

as books, articles, stories, movies, debate TV programs to convey messages and meanings. Notably, very often, proverbs both in Turkish and Anglo-American societies are statements of principles, giving advice, literally or figuratively. For example, *Marry first, and love will follow* is an Anglo-American proverb containing direct advice. The way of giving advice is not necessarily literal; it may also be figurative. While *An apple a day keeps the doctor away* is another example of a proverb with a strictly literal interpretation, *Beware of Greeks bearing gifts* has a figurative meaning saying ‘Be careful from whom you accept favors.’ Likewise, there exist Turkish proverbs containing direct and indirect advice, for instance, *Ayağını yorganına göre uzat* [Stretch your leg according to your quilt] is a piece of indirect advice pointing to be thrifty and used figuratively (Yurtbaşı, 1996: 322). As for direct advice, *Her şeyin azı karar, çoğu zarar* [The scarcity of anything is enough, but its over-abundance is harmful] meaning is laid exactly in its literal translation.

Proverbs perform many functions. Zariyeva, & Iliev (2016) point out that utilizing proverbs in communication makes the arguments stronger, express general ideas, postulate generalizations concerning a certain idea and convey a message. From a functional point of view, the use of these ready-made structures strengthens the memorization and provides the users with the opportunity to convey their thoughts to others in the shortest time and with the least effort, is naturally preferred more in oral cultures oral language. This is because of a cognitive necessity and vitally used word patterns in oral cultures. Therefore, the purpose of using the word pattern is to express the word more effectively and strikingly.

Proverbs are also uttered to persuade people to believe in honesty and the relevance of the message. As Gözpınar (2014) asserts, proverbs may be a type of verbal weapon which is sometimes difficult to argue against. Therefore, powerful politicians make frequent use of proverbs and proverbial expressions in their speeches because the serious meaning of a proverb and its usage by an intelligent politician strengthens his argument reinforced by the emotions of traditional wisdom. Moreover, media texts serve as a stimulating platform for conveying opinions and judgments with the help of proverbs and about proverbs themselves. In their traditional or fittingly changed wording, journalists frequently use proverbs as “attention-getting” headlines (Zaukauskiene, 2012). Broadly speaking, these

reflections are mere evidence of how (and to what effect) proverb pragmatic forces are applied in reality. Thus, the mass media discourse proves to be a fascinating realm for proverb scholars and for Gözpinar (2014) “Proverbs may be considered as strategies for dealing with situations in today’s media exploited societies, proverbs frequently occur in radio, TV, magazines, advertisements, commercials and on the Internet.”

Plus, proverbs typically create a sense of belonging in their users due to their characteristics related to the past. Konstantinova (2014: 280) emphasizes that media authors can feel safe by applying these folklore dicta as they rely on common knowledge and share the same ground with the intended hearers/readers. Therefore, a sense of belonging and intimacy can be easily achieved.

Beyond their communicative function, proverbs perform several main paradigmatic functions, as shown by Zaukauskiene (2012) in her study, the assertion of tradition by sustaining the tradition; normative as they establish the world view. Moreover, proverbs are also used in treatment centers on posters as a constant reminder that it is a worthwhile struggle to overcome an addiction in order to live a normal life. Proverbs are used to test intelligence, attitudes, aptitudes, and various mental illnesses as well as are deployed by the listeners as a warning (Zaukauskiene, 2012). Proverbs are also important parts of natural language production that inevitably help students who learn a foreign language. Thanks to proverbs, students overcome their language-related problems by expanding their vocabulary as well as their understanding of the culture. Gözpinar (2014) suggests that proverbs should be incorporated in foreign language classrooms to help the development of students' language knowledge, enabling the learners to enjoy language learning and teaching in a more meaningful way. Furthermore, Onan (2011) suggests benefiting from proverbs in terms of language awareness and functional language use in the scope of mother tongue education because proverbs are particularly useful in teaching young children and help to inculcate proper manners and good habits in them very early in life.

Besides their positive contributions to the lives of people, proverbs could also have some negative messages, including ethnic, religious, national or sexist differences; that is,



they may have topics such as stereotypes, national character, ethnocentrism, and prejudice (Mieder, 2004: 198). In Anglo-American proverbs, *A woman's tongue wags like a lamb's tail* (Mieder, 2004: 28) for gender stereotyping, and *The only good Indian is a dead Indian* is a stereotype for an ethnic group (Mieder, 2004: 33). Stereotyping also occurs in Turkish proverbs such as *Ari sırrı, kari sırrı* [Secret of a bee, the secret of a woman], meaning women cannot keep a secret. Moreover, some proverbs seem to convey wrong thoughts, wrong advice or observation and contradict the definition of proverbs, which focuses on truth and wisdom. For example, *Doğru söyleyeni dokuz köyden kovarlar* [He who speaks the truth is chased out from nine villages] (Muallimoğlu, 1998: 251) seem to mean: Some truths are better left unspoken. It is not always necessary to repeat something even though it is true.

### 1.3. Modified proverbs

In 1982, Mieder made a classification of modified proverbs and singled out three main types of proverbs: anti-proverb, pseudo / quasi proverb, twisted proverb. J. Mandziuk (2016) devoted the article “A proverb a day keeps the boredom away: anti-proverbs, twisted proverbs, perverses and other animals” to the differentiation of modified proverbs. According to J. Mandziuk, **anti-proverbs** express meanings that stand in opposition to the meanings of the original proverbs (Mandziuk, 2016); for example, Money talks, but it doesn't always talk sense (from “Money talks”). Terms “**pseudo-proverb**,” “**quasi-proverb**” can be used synonymously as they are both false though they pretend to be true. They seem to be unsuccessful modifications that do not fulfil elementary proverbial requirements (Mandziuk, 2016). For example, *Early to bed and early to rise*, and it probably means your TV set is being repaired. Pseudo-proverbs are not short in form and are not memorable; they are easily forgotten. According to Solano (2012), the term ‘pseudo-saying’ corresponds to any word, word combination or phrase taken by the speaker or writer as a saying or proverb but not being one. These include quotations, slogans, catchphrases, slang words or expressions, etc.

**Twisted proverbs** are numerous, differing from pseudo-proverbs as they undergo modifications of different types: lexical, conceptual or phonological. In the anti-proverb *He*

*who laughs last laughs best* [He who laughs last, thinks slowest], the second part of the proverb is twisted, lexically modified. In such proverbs as, *Curiosity killed the cat* [Curiosity thrilled the cat], *Here today, gone tomorrow* [Heir today, gone tomorrow], phonetic modification is seen.

**Silicon Proverbs** are new proverbs or proverb-like expressions using the terms relevant to the computer and digital world. These imitate the form of traditional proverbs as indicated in the examples; *Home is where you hang your @*, *The e-mail of the species is more deadly than the mail*, *A journey of a thousand sites begins with a single click*, *You can't teach a mouse old clicks*.

**Wellerism**, named after the sayings of Sam Weller in Charles Dickens's novel *The Pickwick Papers*, is also similar to anti-proverbs. Wellerism reveals itself, especially in the extended type of proverb alterations and parody, which typically consists of three parts: a real proverb or proverbial structure, a speaker, and an often humorously literal explanation due to its unexpected presence. Litovkina (2011) notes that the meaning of the proverb is usually distorted by being placed into striking juxtaposition with the third part of the wellerism. Similarly, like some anti-proverbs, wellerism questions, criticizes or mocks the wisdom of traditional proverbs due to various reasons such as changing conditions of the modern world, reacting against problems or making fun of established proverbs.

#### 1.4. On the Term “Anti-proverb”

“People do not necessarily consider proverbs to be sacrosanct” (Mieder, 2004:150); therefore, it is common to encounter the parodied, twisted, or fractured proverbs in daily surroundings. From the end of the twentieth century onwards, anti-proverbs have been continuously defined, in the words of Zaikauskienė (2012), as “Smart, funny and inventive adaptation, improvisation and modification of proverbs.” Anti-proverbs are structurally considered lexical or syntactical modified variants of the traditional proverbs due to their similarity in form and sound. Winick (1998:15) defines anti-proverbs in the following way: “..... amusing new linguistic playthings that derive their authority partly from creativity and resistance to hegemonic structures.”

The term “**Antispruchwort**” (**anti-proverb**) was coined by Wolfgang Mieder (1982:10), who has published several collections of anti-proverbs in both German and English languages. Mieder's term "anti-proverb" has been widely accepted by proverb scholars all over the world as a general label for such innovative alteration of and reactions to traditional proverbs: anti-proverb (English), anti(-) proverbe (French), антипословица (Russian), anti(-) proverbium (Hungarian), and anti-atasözü (Turkish). However, some scholars avoid using the term; Naciscione (2013) explains her opinions with these words:

“One reason why I do not support the use of the term anti-proverb is the very meaning of the affix anti- that means “against or antagonistic to smth” (The Oxford English Dictionary, 2009). I would argue that a stylistically used proverb does not go against its base form. Cognitively, it should be seen as a natural change, a stylistic development of the proverb in discourse, reflecting development of proverbial thought. As mentioned in the introduction of A. Litovkina & W. Mieder’s second collection of Anglo-American anti-proverbs” (2006: 5):

*“In fact, the “anti” component in the term “anti-proverb” is not directed against the concept of “proverb” as such. Proverbs and their wisdom continue to be of much value and relevance in modern society, but some so-called anti-proverbs have become new proverbs, with their own wisdom that is perfectly appropriate for the modern age”.*

Also, anti-proverb is a general term to denote innovative changes in the traditional use of proverbs. The genre of anti-proverb is not a recent one, in fact, as Litovkina & Mieder (2006:5) determined those proverb alterations are as old as proverbs themselves: that flourished in classical times as well as in subsequent eras: “Writers, such as William Shakespeare, Charles Dickens, and Bertolt Brecht, to name but three, have not remained religiously to standard proverb texts, but have varied and modified them to fit their communicative intentions” (Mieder, 2008:89). Moreover, unintentional variants have always existed as much as proverbs are part of folklore, but intentional variations have also been part of the use and function of proverbs, both oral and written (Mieder, 2004:28).

Proverbs typically possess certain poetic and structural features (Coinnigh, 2015:112), differentiating them from non-proverbial sentences, known as *proverbiality* by Arora (1984). Valdaeva (2003) asserts that “all stylistic devices used to build proverbs and their semantic aspect (literal and transferred meanings) also give a certain ground for modifications. So, traditional English proverbs appear to be a very good pattern for building new utterances, used in modern everyday speech”. Coinnigh (2015:112) states that "The more of these stylistic features a sentence possesses, the higher the level of proverbiality, and the greater the probability that the sentence is, or will be identified, like a proverb." Similarly, benefiting from the features of the proverb, the anti-proverbs consist of the phonological, semantic, and syntactic devices, all known as proverbial markers.

Pragmatically, these markers allow the hearers/readers to recognize the proverbial structures based on their use, function, meaning, and sound. Consequently, in order to achieve a similar effect on hearers/readers, the characteristic of proverbs, which is an advantage to ease the communicative function of proverbs, is applied to anti-proverbs as well. Accordingly, expressing ideas and feelings through anti-proverbs rather than a regular sentence is much more attractive due to anti-proverbs' proverbial advantages.

As it is known, traditional proverbs are believed to be helpful and effective for people to manage difficulties in everyday life. Then why are the anti-proverbs needed? The meaning of the traditional proverbs and their value system provide some basic structure; however, when the wisdom of proverbs does not fit a new situation, the proverbs are quickly changed into revealing anti-proverbs. In other words, when the existing proverbs do not meet expectations of the recent experiences, realities, and values which have dramatically changed over the last two decades, individuals apply proverbs differently and change them accordingly.

In other words, individuals are influenced by the changes in society and new occurrences in every sphere of life: the fast development of new technology, the role of social media, the emergence of new diseases and so on. Noticeably, people constantly react towards any political, social or economic issues such as conflicts, events, diseases,

technology, and so on. All these changes are noticed in language; moreover, these reactions find physical structure somehow in arts, cinema, music, books, literature and the like. As an important part of literature, proverbs are also a way where people discover opportunities to express their feelings and thoughts. Konstantinova (2014:276) states, "Constant changes in life lead to changes in opinions, ideologies, and morals, which inevitably and naturally reflect in the paremiological lore of the language." In Winick (1998:78) words, "Finally, proverbs address recurrent social situations in a strategic way."

"The need for alterations and the quest for something new is perhaps in human nature" (Konstantinova, 2014:281). Considering human nature, which constantly changes things, it is inevitable to observe that proverbs are changed or modified. From a Turkish perspective, the anti-proverbial understanding of the world can be explained by the reality that Turkey has been an emerging society regarding its economy and development occurring over the last 25 years. Therefore, it is reflected in how traditional proverbs have become anti-proverbs because of the rapid movement from an agrarian society into a highly developed urban society throughout Turkey. The poorest rural areas have people of all ages using mobile phones and their computers, so much so that, rapid urbanization of Turkish society instead of sitting and drinking tea in a tea house, they sit with on a daily basis connecting to the rest of the world with computers and more importantly smartphones. Moreover, the change of the value of some notions such as knowledge, intellectualism; the sense of belonging; honesty; the increase in the events of violence; financial problems; the power and effect of social media have altered the perceptions and value system of Turkish society (Usta Tuzcu, 2019a). Accordingly, people transform and adapt the proverbs to new perceptions. In her work, Seçkin (2017) notes that the consumption-oriented perception of life and lifestyle based on pragmatist philosophy has changed the proverbs. As for a concrete example, a user on the website (Uludag sozluk, 2015) clearly states it "*Bir çok atasözü bugün artık haklılığını yitirmiştir, yeni atasözlerine ihtiyacımız var*" meaning "Many traditional Turkish proverbs have lost their relevance today, we need new proverbs," means the more conditions and society change, the more proverbs are modified into anti-proverbs. Considering the developments and changes in the society as raw potato, using language as

fire, and traditional proverbs as a pot, anti-proverbs smell delicious on the platform where they are served. Language is one of the essential tools to create anti-proverbs, just like a fire to cook a meal. As Crystal (2004: 242) states:

*“What is truly remarkable is that so many people have learned so quickly to adapt their language to meet the demands of the new situations and to exploit the potential of the new medium so creatively to form new areas of expression. It has all happened within a few decades”.*

Anti-proverbs require discussion in terms of being the variants of traditional proverbs. The proverbs produced by people who have a system of oral thought are accepted as fixed expressions. Still, there exist different versions of traditional proverb, and each proverb is accepted as a traditional proverb. This is supported by Aksoy (1988) and Başaran (2013), that proverbs may vary based on the differences in time, geography, sex, religion and so on. For example, *Denize düşen **yılana** sarılır – Denize düşen **yosuna** sarılır* [He who falls into the sea will grasp at a snake/moss.] For another example, the proverb *Keskin sirke **kabına** zarar* [Sharp vinegar damages its container] is also known as *Keskin sirke **küpüne** zarar* [Sharp vinegar damages its jar.] Whereas Aksoy (1988:19) describes proverbs as static structures, Başaran (2013) notes that proverbs are dynamic and transparent, which allows for the existence of several variants of proverbs. In each case, either form of the traditional proverbs is regarded as a proverb, and since they act in the same way, these are ‘**Equivalent variants.**’ However, it should be noted that anti-proverbs are different from the equivalent variants of traditional proverbs because while each variant of the traditional proverb has wisdom, it is not the case for the anti-proverbs all the time, that is to say, some anti-proverbs are not created in order to reflect new wisdom, but for word-plays, humorous or entertainment purposes. Instead of demonstrating the anti-proverbs as ‘variants of proverbs,’ it is more acceptable to name them as ‘**Modified variants.**’ As for the equivalent variants, the traditional proverbs are changed slightly without losing their meaning, content or structure, whereas the modified variants are transformed versions of the traditional proverbs, which may consist of semantic, structural or stylistic changes.

Moreover, the traditional proverbs have a limited number of equivalent variants but may have many modified variants.

There are extremely productive proverbs in the Turkish and Anglo-American corpus, which have generated a large number of anti-proverbs. To adduce a number of examples in parenthesis indicating the number of anti-proverb, which are frequently transformed: Old soldiers never die, they just fade away (79); Money talks (63), If at first you don't succeed, try, try again (53) (Litovkina, 2017: 23); and for Turkish examples: *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "ah vatanım" demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "Ah country"] (73), *Besle kargayı oysun gözünü* [Feed the crow, and it will peck out your eyes] (38), *Ak akçe kara gün içindir* [Save the penny for a rainy day] (47). Some of the modified variants may become a traditional proverb if they are known, accepted and used by society. Ivanova (2015) states that "there is no final version for an anti-proverb so far, as anti-proverbs always exist in a number of versions, but it is possible to imagine that with time only one of them will stay."

Worthwhile mentioning is the differences between the equivalent and modified proverbs. Mainly, the usage of anti-proverbs is not similar to the traditional ones; for example, most anti-proverbs have been short-lived so far, and some of them can only be understood literally because of a lack of artistic imagery. Furthermore, the anti-proverbs are not used to teach well-accepted lessons mostly, or not handed down to the next generations or not used in similar contexts. Plus, anti-proverbs are more specific compared to proverbs, which convey a general message. More specifically, today, there is an increase in the number of Turkish anti-proverbs about corona-virus due to its popularity; however, it is highly possible not to observe new anti-proverbs on this topic when this disease disappears. According to Kozintsev (2014), "Bona fide proverbs can be repeated on numerous occasions without losing their allure, whereas anti-proverbs are attractive only as long as they are new."

Among the different usages between the anti-proverbs and the traditional proverbs, Zaikauskienė (2012) emphasizes the individual personality, quite frequently overshadowing

the sense of unity and community, created by the traditional proverbs and states that "By using the transformed utterance, the situation in question can be much more precisely and accurately illustrated and the user's position more vividly expressed." That is to say, anti-proverbs are mainly based on personal observations, thoughts, intentions, attitudes towards evaluating situations or perception of the world, and the sense of humor, while proverbs are based on shared beliefs, truth, and experience of societies. Making the proverbs are objective whilst anti-proverbs are mostly subjective. For example, the traditional proverb *Maşa varken elini ateşe sokma* [Do not put your hand in the fire when poker is available] figuratively means that do not run foolish risks, be prudent all the time. This proverb may be uttered in different situations in which there is a danger. However, the anti-proverb *Sosyal medya uzmanı varken, elini ateşe sokma* [Do not put your hand in the fire when a social media specialist is available] is only used in the context of social media. Moreover, the advice in the traditional one is objective and may be accepted by many people for staying away from danger. On the other hand, the anti-proverb is widely subjective, and the idea may be rejected by a large number of people for taking responsibility for the action they do on their social media accounts.

Furthermore, compared to the traditional proverbs, the functions and intentions of the usage of anti-proverbs are much more determined both contextually and intertextually. More specifically, most of the anti-proverbs in both Turkish and Anglo-American culture have been created by intertextual items; therefore, the hearers/readers are supposed to be familiar with the culture, the source from which the intertextuality arises, and the language. Because the hearers/readers are required to be aware of some specific knowledge of terminology relevant to social media, technology, new objects, and so on in order to understand the meaning of these new proverb-like structures. For example, *Windows'u seven maviye katlanır* [One who loves Windows bears its blue screen] derived from *Gülü seven dikenine katlanır* [One who loves the rose bears the thorn]; *Orc orc u ısırılmaz* [An Orc does not bite an Orc] derived from *İt iti sırmaz* [Dog does not bite a dog]; *Alma Bill amcanın ahını, her an koparabilir messenger'I* [Do not be cursed by uncle Bill, your messenger may disconnect at any time] derived from *Alma mazlumun ahını, çıkar aheste*



*aheste* [Do not be cursed by an aggrieved person, it comes about slowly slowly.] In these Turkish anti-proverbs, the words which have been intertextualized with a context have been indicated in **bold**, the intertextuality comes from *windows* is a term relevant to the computing industry, and its color is blue; *Orc* is a fictional humanoid creature which is very popular in the movie 'Lord of the Rings' and *Uncle Bill* refers to Bill Gates who is the Principal Founder of Microsoft Cooperation. Undoubtedly, the hearers/readers of these anti-proverbs are supposed to know the intertextual connections in order to understand the context. As for Anglo-American anti-proverbs, *If you lie down with dogs, you must be **cicciolina*** [*If you lie down with dogs, you 'll get up with fleas*] (p.178); *Why should you never abuse flat beer? Because it is not right to speak ill of – the dead? (“**De malt-nis nil isi bonum**,” you know)* [*Speak well of the dead*] (p. 271); *All that glitters is not **Herbert Gold*** [*All that glitters is not gold*] (p. 85). In these Anglo-American anti-proverbs, the hearers/readers need to understand the source of the intertextual relations to recognize the connection. In these examples, *cicciolina* is a porn star; *De malt-nis nil isi bonum* means “Nothing except some good out of evil end” in Latin, and *Herbert Gold* is an American writer.

The anonymity, one of the most prominent features of proverbs, deserves to be discussed in anti-proverbs as well because, unlike proverbs, authors of anti-proverbs are occasionally known via the authors' real names or nicknames. In the past, the usage of the internet, computer, and smartphones were not so extensive; therefore, the proverbs were uttered by individuals and remained oral, then transcript by others in their original, transformed or totally changed versions, which meant, the proverbs remained anonymous. Nowadays, individuals have the opportunity to write about their feelings on their social networking accounts, blogs, or similar platforms, books, the comment section below the websites from the first source. That is, anti-proverbs present themselves in books, blogs, social media, songs, and so on, and the writers of these mass media items can be found out on the internet.

Indeed, most Turkish anti-proverbs are produced by individual authors on social networking sites or websites such as social dictionaries relevant to specific topics. The anti-

proverbs on websites such as online collaborative hypertext dictionary based on the concept of Web sites which can be contributed by several members (eksisozluk, uludag sozluk, denizsozluk, guzelimsozler, and so on) are created and listed under the title of the blog just like the members compete. Still, the anti-proverbs do not become common as proverbs do and are not used in another contexts, unlike proverbs, therefore encountering the same anti-proverb in another source within a context is rare. However, it is common to see an omnipresent list of anti-proverbs (a group of anti-proverbs listed based on the same or different topics) appearing in many different sources, in the same shape. For example, anti-proverbs created hinged on the theme 'Corona-virus' are presented on eleven different websites such as one's Facebook account, a story of one's Instagram, one's blog, a website of online news, and so on. The list of anti-proverbs has numerous variants with differences such as a punctuation mark, an article, conjunction or replacement of one part of anti-proverb with another lexis depending on the context.

As discussed, most of the anti-proverbs have been created by individual authors who use social media accounts, authors of books of witticism or members of an online dictionary based on irony/satire, and most of the anti-proverbs have been placed on various internet websites. Anti-proverbs are displayed in visual, audial or printed media such as songs, movies, cartoons, poems, political speeches, advertisements, books, articles. They are also found on graffiti, bumper stickers, and T-shirts exhibiting old or new messages of the modern age. As Litovkina (2011) says, there is no sphere of life where they are not used. Moreover, anti-proverbs are of particular importance in journalism; besides, copywriters of advertisements also employ proverbs either traditionally or inventively to obtain the consumers' attention, and the same is true for journalists using proverbs or anti-proverbs in newspaper and magazine headlines (Mieder, 2004:162).

The dynamic development that the mass media has formed at the turn of the twenty-first century has dramatically triggered the phenomenon mentioned above of proverb modification. Bearing in mind the recent changes in the ways and forms of communication, such as using social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and other websites, it can be said that they provide opportunities to write the thoughts of the users. Therefore,

these tools have an impact on the increasing number of anti-proverbs. Furthermore, due to the advantage of publishing any post to the world instantly and efficiently, the anti-proverbs are created constantly and immediately, while the occurrence of traditional proverbs takes a long time to be accepted as a proverb. Indeed, the influence of the internet and technology has already had a great impact on our lives for a long time. Manovich asserts that the shift of all cultural production –first electronic tools (the 1980s) and then the computer-based tools (1990s) considerably eased the practice of relying on and old media content to create new productions (2002:131). Similarly, Allen (2000: 181-182) points out that technology is a dominant medium in reproducing original works:

*“The signed copy of the novel may be preferable to the unsigned copy, an original painting by Van Gogh may seem priceless, attendance at a dance performance may seem preferable to viewing it on video, but in contemporary society, our experience of these and all other arts are generally of their technological reproductions. New artistic media of the twentieth century, such as film, video and television, are, indeed, based on technological methods of reproduction”.*

Moreover, these proverb-like structures are one of the cleverest ways of attracting the hearers'/readers' attention due to their characteristics of resemblance to traditional proverbs but a surprising and unexpected change of the form or content, which mostly causes a humorous effect on the hearers/readers. To illustrate, Turkish anti-proverb *Coronalıyla yatan coronalı kalkar* [One who lies down with a person who has corona (virus) gets up with corona] derived from *Körle yatan şaşılı kalkar* [One who lies down with the blind person, gets up squint-eyed.] The traditional proverb means that if someone associates with a bad person, s/he will suffer for it. In this example, the anti-proverb causes an astonishing and humorous effect on a native Turkish speaker because Coronavirus,<sup>3</sup> which is currently an issue globally, occurs, ironically, in a proverb. This anti-proverb is created by replacing words but retains the identical structure of the traditional proverb. Also, it thematically derives from the traditional proverb based on the “association” in it,

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<sup>3</sup> (June 2021)

which may cause contamination of coronavirus, attracting attention to the importance of physical distancing, in order to be safe from contacting coronavirus.

Moreover, anti-proverbs typically follow the structure of the original proverb while changing some individual words of it. So, the change reveals in the anti-proverb as an alteration in the meaning, the literal usage of the traditional proverbs, generating a humorous impact, and ellipted or extended transformation of the original proverbs and so on. Maintaining the structure and replacing words are indicated in the following examples: *Her misyon komisyona tabiidir!* [Every mission requires commission] derived from *Marifet iltifata tabidir* [Ingenuity requires compliment] meaning. If a successful person is appreciated, he or she continues to do good things, *Kedi uzanamadığı ciğer hakkında şok açıklamalar yapar!* [The cat, when a cat can't get to the liver, makes shocking statements] derived from *Kedi uzanamadığı ciğere murdar dermiş* [When a cat can't get to the liver, says it is dirty]. As for Anglo-American anti-proverbs, *All the World's a stage" and railroad crossings furnish some of the exists* [All the World's a stage] (p.86); *Everybody's business is my business, too* [Everybody's business is nobody's business] (p. 143); *Behind every great man there is an asshole* [Behind every great man there is a woman] (p. 103); *If the knock at the door is loud and long, it isn't opportunity. It is relatives* [Opportunity knocks but once] (p.253).

Another difference between anti and traditional proverbs is that the anti-proverbs, which are characterised mainly by certain features of proverbs, do not become as popular as traditional proverbs, are noted down for entertainment purposes only, and are practically all used once. In fact, the main objective of the anti-proverbs authors is not to disseminate the new linguistic items but to express their ideas in a stylistic (not necessarily) and economical manner. In other words, the producers of anti-proverbs use the advantages of proverbs in order to have fun or convey a different message based on a new experience by changing the semantics through different words. Anti-proverbs are also used as rhetorical devices in order to express new wisdom and innovation. For example, Adeyemi (2012) examined the use of anti-proverbs in Oladejo Okediji's Rere Run within the Marxist theory and believes that anti-proverbs add humor and zest to his writing; plus, they are used to

criticize social situations (to fight for rights with wisdom). Adeyemi (2012) also asserts that the conscious manipulation of the so-called fixed proverbs could generate new proverbs, encourage creativity in the authors and expose hidden meanings of proverbs.

Furthermore, while some individuals create anti-proverbs only to have a humorous effect on the hearers/readers, mostly aimed at ridiculing the context or lessons which do not fit the constantly changing conditions today, some attempt to achieve a new content in order to correspond to the changing situations, actualize different ideas. Ababneh and Al-Ajlouny (2017) mention, “anti-proverbs are often utilized by the users to “decorate” their texts in ways typical of proverbs.” Nevertheless, besides the humorous purpose of anti-proverbs, which enhance stereotyping in society, and as Litovkina (2014) mentions, “Anti-proverbs may contain elements not only of funniness, but also of offensiveness, hostility, and aggression directed toward various social groups, including women, homosexuals, people of different professions, and so on.” This can be observed in both Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs. In Turkish anti-proverb *Çok okuyan bilmez, çok kazanan bilir* [He who read much does not know, but he who earns does] derived from *Çok okuyan değil, çok gezen bilir* [Not he who reads more knows, but he who travels much knows] generates the superiority of money to knowledge. According to Litovkina (2014) many additional anti-proverbs portray females as vain and materialistic: *Blondes prefer gentlemen with money* [Gentlemen prefer blondes] (p.151); *Man proposes, and the girl weighs his pocketbook and decides* [Man proposes, God disposes] (p.212).

### **1.5. Mechanisms of Proverb Alteration**

There exist various manners of altering the proverbs, with Anglo-American anti-proverbs, Litovkiana and Mieder (2006: 17) the most common mechanisms of proverb transformation as such: Replacing a single word, substituting two or more words, changing the first or second part of the proverb, adding a tail to the original text, adding literal interpretation, punning, word repetition, melding two proverbs, word-order reversal and other ways of alteration. Most of these mechanisms are also employed in the Turkish anti-proverbs as the ways of creating them as indicated with the examples below:

**Replacing a single word:** This mechanism occurs when a single word in a traditional proverb is replaced with another single word or word group. For example, *Yanlış hesap matematik hocasından geri döner* [Wrong calculation gets returned from Math teacher] derived from *Yanlış hesap Bağdat'tan döner* [Wrong calculation gets returned from Baghdad.] In this example, there is not any phonetic or semantic similarity between 'Bağdat'tan (from Baghdad) and 'matematik hocasından (from math teacher). However, the authors attempt to point to the 'math teachers', which is associated with the math calculation in literal meaning. However, in the traditional proverb, 'wrong calculation' refers to the meaning that a mistake will be found sooner or later. A single word is also replaced with another single word as illustrated in the example: *Sora sora crack bulunur* [There will be found crack by asking consecutively] derived from *Sora sora bağdat bulunur* [There will be found baghdad by asking consecutively]. In this anti-proverb, the structure and message of the proverb remain the same; however, *Bağdat* (Baghdad) is replaced with *crack* (crack).

While replacing words, the phonological similarity between the words is considered by the authors of anti-proverbs. For instance; *Üzüm yüzüme baka baka kararır* [Grapes become black upon seeing my face] derived from *Üzüm üzüme baka baka kararır* [Grapes become black upon seeing one another.] *Üzüm* (grape) and *yüzüm* (my face) have phonetic similarity, the addition of phoneme occurs in this example. As for Anglo-American anti-proverbs: *Live and lean* [Live and Learn] (p. 203), *The pun is mightier than the sword* [The pen is mightier than the sword] (p. 291)

**Substituting two or more words:** The most common process of creating anti-proverbs is probably substituting more words than a single one. Although most of the words in the traditional proverbs are replaced with different words by the authors, the anti-proverbs remind the proverbs due to the same structure and similar suffixes and/or prefixes. Moreover, all or most of the words or phrases are replaced, and meaning changed absolutely; still, the proverb is preserved due to its semantic formula. For example, *Kodarsan run olur, kodmazsan bug olur* [If you code, it will run, if you don't, it will become a bug] derived from *Bakarsan bağ, bakmazsan dağ olur* [If you look after it, it will become a

vineyard; if you do not, it will become a mountain.] In this example, the anti-proverb is created using technical terms relevant to the computer, and there is no phonetic and semantic similarity between the words in the anti-proverb and traditional proverb. Still, one can easily understand from which proverb is inspired due to the persistence of the ‘if’ structure in both sentences.

Following examples also illustrate the case: *Ummadık gulp, bash yarar* ‘An unexpected gulp can split the bash’ derived from *Ummadığın taş baş yarar* [An unexpected stone can split the head]; *Trend topic olacak haber paylaşım istemez* [The news to be a Trend Topic does not need to be shared] derived from *Görünen köy kılavuz istemez* [One does not need a guide when the village is in sight]; *Üye admine küsmüş adminin haberi olmamış* [The member was offended with the admin, but the admin did not notice] derived from *Tavşan dağa küsmüş dağın haberi olmamış* [The hare (rabbit) was offended with the mountain, but the mountain did not notice.] As for Anglo-American anti-proverbs: *A soft drink turneth away company* [A soft answer turneth away wrath] (p.76), *Great aches from little corns grow* [Great oaks from little acorns grow] (p.156), *When the going gets weird, the weird turns pro* [When the going gets tough, the tough get going] (p.332), *Don’t put all your money into one stock* [Don’t put all your eggs in one basket] (p.131), *A gene is no stronger than its weakest chromosome* [A chain is no stronger than its weakest link] (p.59), and *Don’t pierce your nipples to spite your parents* [Don’t cut off your nose to spite your face] (p. 129).

**Changing the first or second part of the proverb:** Changing one part of a proverb is very frequent in creating anti-proverbs. Some of the examples from Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs are: *Kedi götünü görmüş, corona zannetmiş* [When the cat saw his own bottom he thought he got corona] derived from *Kedi Götünü Görmüş, yaram Var Demiş* [When the cat saw his own bottom he thought he was injured]; *Kırılmadık harddiskten umut kesilmez* [There will not be abandoned hope from the harddisk which not broken] derived from *Çıkmadık candan umut kesilmez* [There will not be abandoned hope from the life which not finished]; *Sütten ağzı yanan, yanık merhemi kullanır* [One who has once burnt his tongue while drinking milk will apply burn ointment] derived from

*Sütten ağzı yanan yoğurdu üfleyerek yer* [One who has once burnt his tongue while drinking milk will blow to yoghurt before eating it]; *Düsenin dostu olmaz, pazarlamacısı olur* [The person who falls does not have any friends, but a marketer] derived from *Düsenin dostu olmaz, hele bir düş de gör* [The person who falls does not have any friends, you will understand when you fall]; *Sinek küçüktür ama besleyicidir* [A fly is small, but it is nutritious] derived from *Sinek küçüktür ama mide bulandırır* [A fly is small, but it is enough to make you sick]. As for Anglo-American anti-proverbs: *If at first, you don't succeed, blame it on your wife* [If at first, you don't succeed, try, try again]; *He who laughs last doesn't get the job* [He who laughs last laughs best], *Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, you're dead* [Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me] (p.149), *Feed a cold, feed a fever* [Feed a cold and starve a fever] (p.147), *As a man needs, so shall he lie; as a tree falls, shall it lie* [As a man lives, so shall he die; as a tree falls, shall it lie] (p. 98) and *You will never miss the water while the champagne runs dry* [You never miss the water till the well runs dry] (p. 348).

**Adding a tail to the original text:** This is also named as extended proverbs, in which a traditional proverb is reinterpreted by extending its meaning by means of a comment or a remark. Some of the proverb transformations keep the traditional proverb as it is; however, some have an extension which is supporting, criticizing, mostly a surprising comment following the original text, which also causes humour due to its incongruity. The extension is generally connected to the text via conjunction. For example, *Aç ayı oynamaz, yedek kulübesinde oturur* [A hungry bear won't dance, but sits at the bench] derived from *Aç ayı oynamaz* [A hungry bear won't dance]; *Ağanın eli tutulmaz, dizisi tutulur* [Agha's hand is not held, but his Tv series is] derived from *Ağanın eli tutulmaz* [Agha's hand is not held]; *Ateş düştüğü yeri yakar, sonra da yangın çıkar* [An ember burns where it falls, then starts a fire] derived from *Ateş düştüğü yeri yakar* [An ember burns where it falls.] From Anglo-American anti-proverbs: *An apple a day keeps the doctor away, and an onion a day keeps everyone away* [An apple a day keeps the doctor away] (93), *Half the world doesn't know how the other half lives, but it has its suspicious* [Half the world doesn't know how the other half lives] (p.157), *The way to a man's heart is through his stomach, but the way*



*to a woman's heart is a buy-path* [The way to a man's heart is through his stomach] (p. 295), *You can't get blood out of a turnip, but you can wring the devil out of the top* [You can't get blood out of a turnip] (p.343), and *Appearances are deceiving, but it is better to have them deceive for us than against us* [Appearances are deceiving] (p. 97).

**Adding literal interpretation:** The figurative meaning of traditional proverbs, which makes them poetic, stylistic, appealing to the hearers, is mostly not maintained in the anti-proverb; instead, proverbs are interpreted literally. For example, *Görünen köy kılavuz istemez; yol ister, elektrik ister* [The village in sight does not require a guide; it requires road, water, and electricity] derived from *Görünen köy kılavuz istemez* [One does not need a guide when the village is in sight]; *Korkunun ecele faydası yoktur, sadece iç çamaşırları kirletir* [There is no use fearing the inevitable, but it dirties the underwear] derived from *Korkunun ecele faydası yoktur* [There is no use fearing the inevitable.] As for Anglo-American anti-proverbs: *Where there is smoke, there's pollution* [Where there's smoke, there's fire] (p. 335), *Don't put all your eggs in one basket – try an incubator* [Don't put all your eggs in one basket] (p.131), and *April showers bring May flower...and May showers bring flooded basements* [April showers bring may flower] (p. 97).

**Punning:** Using identical graphemes and phonemic representation such as polysemous, homonymous words is also a common technique in creating anti-proverbs. As Naciscione (2013) asserts, "Proverbs easily lend themselves to punning since they are figurative and cohesive combinations of words." In Turkish anti-proverbs: *Gülü seven dikenine saplanır* [Who loves the rose, stinks in to the thorn] derived from *Gülü seven dikenine katlanır* [Who loves the rose bears the thorn.] Punning is more common in Anglo-American anti-proverbs than Turkish anti-proverb. Employing ambiguity through polysemous, homonymous is a very common way of generating Anglo-American anti-proverbs, which mostly make the proverbs a cheap and somewhat despicable type of humor for many individuals and social groups (Mieder & Litovkina, 2006: 22). There are examples; *A friend in need is a friend indeed* [A friend in weed is a friend indeed] (p. 64), *A miss is as good as a male* [A miss is as good as a mile] (p. 71); *Where there is a will, there is an*

*inheritance tax, Where there is a will – there is a delay, Where there is a will, there is a wait, Where there is a will, there is a won't* [Where there's a will, there's a way] (p. 333).

**Word repetition:** The use of duplication or word repetition in different parts of anti-proverbs occurs when the proverb consists of repetition itself. *There is no fool like an old fool who marries a young fool* [There is no fool like an old fool] (p. 301), *“Every little help,” said Mr Little and took the six little Littles out to help him saw a pile of wood* [Every little helps] (p. 141). This mechanism is also common in the corpus of Turkish anti-proverbs: *Komşunun gribi komşuya korona görünür* [A neighbor's flu looks as corona to other neighbors] derived from *Komşunun tavuğu komşuya kaz, karısı kız görünür* [A neighbor's hen looks as big as a goose and his wife as young as a girl to our neighbours.] Another example is, *Mart kapıdan baktırır, korona camdan baktırır* [March makes you look out through the door and Corona makes you look out through the window] derived from *Mart kapıdan baktırır, kazma kürek yaktırır* [March makes you look out through the door and then makes you burn the handles of your pickaxes and shovels.] In this example, the traditional proverb, the verbs of two parts of the proverb are different while the anti-proverb repeats the verb *baktırır* [makes you look] repeat in both parts.

**Melding two proverbs:** The mixing of two proverbs is also a popular technique observed in anti-proverbs. The beginning of one proverb is combined with the ending of another proverb. To illustrate, the anti-proverbs *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, eşek yine eşek demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "donkey is a donkey"] and *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, nerem doğru kı demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "Is there any part of me that's straight?"] derived from *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, “ah vatanım” demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "ah country.] These anti-proverbs are melted with the proverbs *Eşeğe altın semer vursalar, eşek yine eşektir* [If they put a golden saddle on a donkey, it is still a donkey] and *Deveye “boynun eğri” demişler, “nerem doğru ki” demiş* [They told the camel that his neck was crooked, and he answered, “is there any part of me that's straight”] respectively. Moreover, *Sakla samanı oysun gözünü* [Save the straw, then it pecks your eye out] derived from *Sakla samanı gelir zamanı* [Save the straw, you will use it in due time] and *Besle kargayı, oysun*

*gözünü* [Feed the crow, and it will peck out your eyes]; *Tencere yuvarlanmış, seninki benden kara* [The pot rolled, "Yours is blacker than me"] derived from *Tencere yuvarlanmış kapağını bulmuş* [The pot rolled and found its lid] and *Tencere dibin kara seninki benden kara* ["Pot, your bottom is black." "Yours is blacker than me."] As for Anglo-American anti-proverbs: *A penny saved gathers no moss* [A penny saved is a penny earned & A rolling stone gathers no moss] (p. 73), *Necessity is the mother of strange bedfellows* [Necessity is the mother of invention & Politics make strange bedfellows] (p. 231).

**Word-order reversal:** Word-order reversal is also observed in anti-proverbs as such: *Söz sükut ise gümüş altındır* [Speech is golden, but silence is silver] derived from *Söz gümüşse, sükut altındır* [Speech is silver, but silence is golden]; *Az iş, çok laf* [Less work, more speech] derived from *Az laf, çok iş* [Less speech, more work]; *Her aslanın midesinde bir yiğit yatar* [There lies a brave man in every lion's tummy] derived from *Her yiğidin gönlünde bir aslan yatar* [There lies a lion in every brave man's heart.] As for Anglo-American anti-proverbs: *A hard man is good to find* [A good man is hard to find] (p. 65), *Let lying dogs sleep* [Let sleeping dogs lie] (p. 198), *Happiness can't buy money* [Money can't buy happiness] (p.220).

Apart from the mechanisms suggested by Mieder and Litovkina, In Turkish anti-proverbs, there are a large number of examples displaying different mechanisms of altering the proverbs as such:

**Changing verb from positive to negative, vice-versa:** The opposite meaning of proverbs are obtained by changing the verb from positive to negative or from negative to positive, for example, *Bugünün işini yarına bırak* [Put off till tomorrow what you can do today] derived from *Bugünün işini yarına bırakma* [Do not put off till tomorrow what you can do today.]

**Narrative telling** is also common in both Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs. The structure of the traditional proverbs is not maintained, a few words are kept in the anti-proverb, which remind us of the traditional proverb; this mechanism is similar to wellerism. To illustrate: *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, devamında ise "o zaman*

*vatanına git o halde" demişler. O da vatanına gitmiş fakat vatanında enfeksiyon kapıp ölmüş. Çünkü kafes daha güvenli bir yermiş* - [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, then said "now go to your hometown." The nightingale went to his hometown and died of an infection. Because the cage was a safer place] derived from *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "ah vatanım" demiş* [They put the nightingale in a golden cage, said "ah country."] As for anglo-American anti-proverbs: *Asked why he was still using a bent stick for hoeing, the happy hooker replied, "There is no tool like an old tool!"* [There is no fool like and old fool] (p. 301), *After having been subjected to innumerable speeches of welcome, Prince Phillip of England is alleged to have sighed "It never wanes but it bores"* [It never rains but it pours] (p. 184). In Turkish anti-proverbs, parts of traditional proverb are delivered within the story, however, in Anglo-American, the modified versions are embedded in the story within "quotation mark."

**Adding more words to the proverb:** the wisdom of traditional proverb is also changed by adding words into the traditional one without taking any words or phrases out of it. For example, *Abdal düğünden, çocuk oyundan, yazar ankette usanmaz* [A beggar never gets enough of wedding feasts, a child never gets enough of playing and a writer never gets enough of survey] derived from *Abdal düğünden, çocuk oyundan usanmaz* [A beggar never gets enough of wedding feasts even as a child never gets enough of playing], *Yol sormakla, keyword aramakla bulunur* [The way is found by asking, the keyword by searching] derived from *Yol sormakla bulunur* [The way is found by asking].

**Combination with Idioms:** Idioms are also popular in every day conversation in Turkish society, so it is unsurprising to encounter idioms in the Turkish anti-proverbs. For example, *Sakla samanı altından su yürütürsün* [Save the straw so that you can run water under it] derived from *Sakla samanı gelir zamanı* [Save the straw, there will come time for it] and the idiom *Saman altından su yürütmek* literally says [Run water underneath the straw] and figuratively says 'doing something secretly], and the English equivalence is 'Play one's cards close to one's chest'.

As Mieder and Litovkina (2006: 25) discuss, several methods are employed in a single anti-proverb, for instance, *One orgasm in the bush is worth two in hand* derived from [A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.] This anti-proverb displays the word-order reversal (“bush” and “hand”), double entendre (while “bush” is here a euphemism for the vagina, “in hand” implies masturbation), and the replacement of “bird” by “orgasm”. Consequently, proverbs are altered so dramatically that only a few words survive from the original text, in order to convey their own intentions and thoughts. For example, *the only golden thing that some women dislike is silence* [Silence is golden] (p.269), *If you must rise early, be sure you are a bird and not a worm* [Early to bed, early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise] (p.133).

Employing different mechanisms in a single anti-proverb is also common in Turkish anti-proverbs. Similar to the examples of Anglo-American anti-proverbs, some of the words are kept in the anti-proverb, but the structure, the stylistic and metaphoric features of traditional proverbs are ignored and mostly presented in a conversational way. These anti-proverbs can only be recognized by the ones who are familiar with the traditional proverbs. For example, *Fikrin olsun tek müşteri bağdat’tan gelir* [You have an idea, then the unique customer will come from Baghdad] derived from *Yanlış hesap bağdat’tan döner* [Wrong calculation gets returned from Baghdad]; *Çiftçiye yağmur bereketi, politikacıya da oy bereketi gereklidir* [Farmers need rain blessings and politicians vote blessings] derived from *Çiftçiye yağmur, yolcuya kurak, cümlelerin muradını verecek hak* [Rain to the farmer, dry to the passenger, god will attend the everyone’s desire]; *Üzülme son gülen sen olacaksın. Çünkü hep geç anlıyorsun* [Never mind, you will be the one who laughs last, because you catch it late] derived from *Son gülen iyi güler* [Who laughs last, laughs longest]; *Ak akçe, tedavülden kalktı amca, ama dolar, avro, tl kabul ediyoruz* [Silver money is out of circulation, uncle, but we accept dollars, Euro, Turkish lira] derived from *Ak akçe kara gün içindir* [Save the penny for a rainy day]; *Bülbülün çektiği piyango biletine bir şey çıkmaz* [The lottery ticket picked by the nightingale does not win anything] derived from *Bülbülün çektiği dili belası* [What suffers the nightingale is trouble of tongue]; *İyi beslenmeyen çocuk*

*oyun oynayamaz* [A child who is not nourished properly can't play games] derived from *Aç ayı oynamaz* [A hungry bear won't dance.]

As demonstrated above, there are many ways to apply the process of creating anti-proverbs because the anti-proverbs mainly correspond to the realities of the modern age; therefore, encounter the notions of popular life within the anti-proverbs. Popular songs, TV series, social media, politics, books, and so on all have an influence on the authors of anti-proverbs. Moreover, Turkish society and the Turkish language are exposed to the English language because of the popularity of English songs and singers in Turkey, magazines, books, movies, social networking sites and computer games in the English language.

Hence, the English language is an important factor that has a tremendous effect on individuals' way of thinking and communicating. The new Turkish generation is exposed to the English language and has created new jargon such as 'likelamak, stalklamak, trollemek, hashtaglemek, mentionlamak, retweetlemek' which are regarded as the language of the internet. As is well-known, 'to like,' 'to stalk,' 'to troll,' 'hashtag,' 'to mention,' 'to retweet' are English words, some of which are nouns, others are verbal forms. Considering that Turkish is an agglutinative language where a series of suffixes are added to the stem word, the Turkish suffix '*la-mak- le-mek*' has been added to these English words (by considering them all as noun form) in order to turn them into verbal infinitive form. The Turkish language's phonological process of vowel harmony that ensures a smooth flow is considered; therefore, the suffixes have been preferred based on the pronunciation of the English words, not the Turkish sound system. For example, 'like' is an English verb and pronounced as /laik/; therefore, the suffix 'la' has been added to put the word a verb (order) and '*mak*' to put into an infinitive form. If it had been taken as a Turkish word, it would have been '*likelemek*' due to the final sound 'e.' As a result, '*like-la-mak*' can be regarded as a 'hybrid word' combined with English and Turkish language patterns. The most important aspect is that these words have turned into Turkish words used by Turkish society by completing these words with Turkish endings.

Moreover, the Turkish equivalences of English words such as ‘retweet, troll someone’, and ‘add to favorite’ are respectively provided as ‘*retweetle, birini trollemek, and favlamak*’ in one of the most common online English-Turkish dictionary ‘Tureng dictionary.’ Obviously, none of the Turkish equivalences in these examples are Turkish and not expected to be understood by most older generation. Nevertheless, the considerable influence of the English language is apparent in producing the Turkish anti-proverbs as seen in the examples; *Bugünün comment’ini yarına bırakma* [Don’t put off today’s comment till tomorrow] derived from *Bugünün işini yarına bırakma* [Do not put off till tomorrow what you can do today] *Hackle siteyi, gelir şifresi* [Hack the website, get the passport] derived from *Besle kargayı, oysun gözünü* [Feed the crow, and it will peck out your eyes]; *Warrioru seven pot sıkıntısına katlanır* [One who loves the warrior bears the pot problem]; *Gülü seven dikenine katlanır* [One who loves the rose bears the thorn]; *Coderine bak codu include et* [Look at the coder, include the code] derived from *Anasına bak, kızını al, kenarına bak bezini al* [Look at the mother, marry the daughter; examine the selvage, then buy the cloth.]

To illustrate further: *Love beni loveyim seni* [Love me, I will love you] derived from *Say beni, sayayım seni* [Respect me, I will respect you], the words in bolt are English words and act as Turkish words; *Havlayan coder codermaz* [The Codder that barks doesn’t get coded] derived from *Havlayan köpek ısırmaz* [The dog that barks does not bite] ‘coder’ and ‘to code’ are English words. It is important to realize that the verb ‘*codermaz*’ is phonetically nearly the same with ‘*kudurmaz*’ which means ‘become rabid’ used for dogs. For one more example, *Highdan gelen lowa gider* [Whatever comes from high, goes to low] derived from *Haydan gelen huya gider* [Whatever comes from god, goes to god.] Likewise, the anti-proverb contains two English words, as shown in bolt with Turkish suffixes. This example is also related to phonetical similarity, *High* and *Hay* have exactly the same sounds but different meanings as ‘*Hay*’ means ‘god’ in Turkish.

Similarly, in the modern-day of using social media and technology, there is an increase in using hashtags, tags, or other terms relevant to media. Illustrated in the following examples, *Fakirlik ayıp değil, @... tembellik ayıp* [There is no shame in not being

poor, @... the shame lies in being lazy] derived from *Bilmemek ayıp değil, öğrenmemek ayıptır* [There is no shame in not knowing; the shame lies in not learning], *Sakla paylaşımı, gelir trend topic zamanı* [Save the sharing; there will be time to become a trending topic] derived from *Sakla samanı, gelir zamanı* [Save the straw you will use it in due time.] *DM'nin gelişi mention'dan bellidir* [The coming of DM is apparent with 'mention'] derived from *Perşembenin gelişi çarşambadan bellidir* [The coming of Thursday is apparent with Wednesday.] In the examples above, the terms belonging to social media such as '@...', *trend topic*, *DM*, *mention*' have been used in the anti-proverbs.

Another critical point to emphasize is the usage of popular lines/cues from popular soap operas or songs. These are stylistically reflected in the anti-proverbs. For better understanding, the example, *Acele giden oha falan olur yane* [One who makes haste, will be shocked] derived from *Acele giden ecele gider* [One who makes haste, goes to death.] '*Oha falan olur yane*' is a popular line from a popular TV series (Avrupa Yakası, 2004). This example emphasises how the TV series affects the language of individuals. "*Kal geliyorum*" *demez* [Petrified with astonishment does not say "I am coming."] *Kal gelmek* means "petrified with astonishment," and it also comes from the same soap opera. The anti-proverb derives from *Kaza "geliyorum" demez* [Accident doesn't say "I am coming."]

The final point to be taken into consideration is the reflection of desired life conditions, such as having an expensive or brand new dressing or presenting well-known places. For example, *Caddenin düşkünü, barbour giyer kış günü* [A person who loves street wears Barbour on a rainy day] meaning that 'street' refers to a street that consists of many expensive stores and affluent people, coming from Bağdat Street, Taksim Street in İstanbul and some well-known streets in Ankara, e.g., 7<sup>th</sup> street. The anti-proverb comes from *Fukaranın düşkünü, beyaz giyer kış günü* [Suffering poor person wears a white suit in a rainy day].

As noted, anti-proverbs are created because of the influence of social media, popular lines/cues from TV series or popular life situations, and they are not randomly selected. Otherwise, there exist some semantic or phonetic connections between the chosen words



and the traditional proverbs and/or the authors' perception of life; either way, the anti-proverbs are created stylistically, which does not meet any stylistic device in Turkish or English literature, to name them as a linguistic unit. This present work describes these forms of applications through the term *'Intentional Adaptation,'* 'intentional' because there is an intent on the users to deliberately select fashionable, well-known lines or words related to popular culture. Plus, 'adaptation' is derived from the users' adapting the terminology or English words into Turkish sentences or structures with Turkish suffixes. This is also an adaptation of traditional well-known Turkish proverbs resulting in the modern anti-proverb.

### 1.6. Main Themes in Anti-Proverbs

Anti-proverbs occur in oral communication, political rhetoric, song lyrics, newspaper headlines, book titles, advertising slogans, cartoon captions, movies, TV shows and so on. Primarily, the potential of every single anti-proverb is not only to have a humorous effect through an unexpected, dumb, amusing or nonsensical ending but also to relate to everyday referential situations. Both Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs appear in various contexts, and they range from political to sexual matters, questioning traditional proverbs' wisdom.

Turkish proverbs are classified topically into 172 categories such as neighbor, wealth, sleep, woman, home, gambling, friend, opportunity, curiosity and so on, in the bilingual (English-Turkish) proverbial dictionary of Metin Yurtbaşı (1993: XVIII). However, it does not mean that the anti-proverbs always cover this range of topics due to the fact that anti-proverbs are changed semantically and borrowing the structure of proverbs. For example, the traditional proverb: *Borç yiğidin kamçısıdır* [Debt is the whip of the brave man] is modified as *Zamlar memurun stres topudur* [Rise is the stress balls of officers.] The topic of the traditional proverb is 'borrowing,' and it means that debt drives one to work harder. However, the anti-proverb is not about 'borrowing' but about 'price rise.' Still, the structure of the proverb and anti-proverb is the same, but the words are replaced with other words

so as to convey the message relevant to the economy in Turkey. Despite the changed topic and replaced words, the anti-proverb acknowledges the original traditional proverb.

As for Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs, there is scarcely a topic that is not addressed. However, the intensity of the themes used in Anglo-American anti-proverbs is different from Turkish anti-proverbs. For example, the themes that the Anglo-American anti-proverbs are altered are mostly *sexuality, woman, professions and occupations, money, love, marriage, divorce, friendship, education and learning, alcohol and drugs, children and parents, taxes, God and religion, telephone, cars and computers* (Mieder & Litovkina, 2006: 26). As for Turkish anti-proverbs, the themes are mostly related to *social media, taxes, alcohol, money, profession - computer operator, social media specialist, coder; children, especially daughters, violence, technology, computer games, features relevant to computers such as virus, software programs, code, bug, and so on*. Moreover, there are a lot of obscene anti-proverbs in Turkish anti-proverbs, but they are not used within this study.

Many Turkish anti-proverbs are about **the features and terminology of Computers**, such as the internet, terms relevant to computer programs such as bug, code, coder, Microsoft, windows, mac, megabyte, wireless, network, computer games, and so on; most of which require specialist knowledge to understand the anti-proverbs. For example, *Perşembenin gelişi çarşambadan bellidir* [The coming of Thursday is apparent with Wednesday] is modified as *Longhorn nun gelişi xp den bellidir* [The coming of Longhorn is apparent with xp]; *Bug'in gelisi warning'den bellidir* [The coming of bug is apparent with warning]; *Dm'nin gelişi mention'dan bellidir* [The coming of Dm is apparent with mention.]

The traditional proverb with the topic of 'anticipation' has a figurative meaning, whilst anti-proverbs are all literal, requiring specialist knowledge of terminology to be understood. Still, even someone who does not understand terminology can easily discover that these anti-proverbs are derived from traditional proverbs due to the same syntactic and structural features. Notably, these anti-proverbs are created by the replacement of words, as well. For more examples, *Bugünün @... sini @... a bırakma* [Do not put off today's @... to @...] derived from *Bugünün işini yarına bırakma* [Do not put off

till tomorrow what you can do today]; *Pc'ye mac vermişler, ah windowsum demiş* [They gave Mac to Pc, said 'ah Windows] derived from *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "ah vatanım" demiş* [They put the nightgale in a golden cage, said "ah country"]; *Versiyonuna bak programını al* [Look at the version and buy the program] derived from *Anasına bak, kızını al, kenarına bak bezini al* [Look at the mother, marry the daughter; examine the selvage, buy the cloth]; *Hacke giden hacklenir* [One who goes to hack, becomes hacked] derived from *Ava giden avlanır* [One who goes to hunt, becomes hunted]; *İnternetin olsun bir milyon borcun olsun* [Let there be internet even though you have a million debt] derived from *Kardeşim olsun da kanlım olsun* [Let there be a brother of mine even though it is an enemy of mine.]

Similarly, *Damlaya damlaya göl olur* [There becomes a lake by drop by drop] is changed as *Zamlaya zamlaya kriz olur* [There becomes a crisis by raise by raise]. The traditional proverb means small savings will make up a fortune, and the topic is 'Thrift,' but the anti-proverb, which borrows the structure of the proverb, is related to '**price rise and economic crisis.**' Noteworthy, the anti-proverb does not have a figurative meaning. Another modified version of the same traditional proverb is *Tıklaya tıklaya fare bozulur* [The mouse will be broken by click by click]; that is also used literally, and it does not relate to the topic "thrift" but simply says 'be careful with the mouse'.

Another example is - *At ölür meydan kalır, yiğit ölür şan kalır* [Horse leaves barn behind, warrior leaves a glory behind] is changed as - *At ölür meydan kalır, yiğit ölür miras kalır* [Horse leaves barn behind warrior leaves a heritage behind]. The topic of the traditional proverb is '**fame,**' whilst the topic of anti-proverb is 'heritage.' Again, *Ölenle ölünmez* [Do not die with the dead] and the anti-proverb is *Ölenle ölünmez, mirasına konulur* [Do not die, but take his inheritance]. The topic of the proverb '**death**' is also changed as '**heritage.**' *Can çıkmayınca huy çıkmaz* [Habits do not expire until the soul expires] is modified as *Can çıkmadan, mirasçılar evden çıkmaz* [Inheritors do not leave home until the soul expires]. In this example, the proverb refers to '**personality**' while the anti-proverb is related to '**heritage.**' Although, the traditional proverbs of particular topics ended up differently with the topic of 'heritage.'

Here, the anti-proverbs derived from the same traditional proverb will be examined in terms of not preserving the original topic. The traditional proverb *Denize düşen yılanı sarılır* [One who falls into the sea grabs on to the snake] refers to 'Remedy,' meaning that a desperate man will face any risk. However, anti-proverbs such as *Hayata düşen yılanı sarılır* [One who falls into the life grabs on to lies] and *İktidara düşen, çıkarına sarılır* [One who falls into the Government in power grabs on to self-interests]. These anti-proverbs are used figuratively as in the proverb; however, the topics are 'lie' and 'interest,' respectively. Nevertheless, other anti-proverbs are *Sağlığı bozulan meyveye sarılır* [One whose health deteriorates grabs on to fruits]; *Denize düşen, yüzme bilmiyorsa ayvayı yer* [One who falls into the sea will be in trouble unless he knows how to swim]; *Denize düşen, varile sarılır* [One who falls into the sea grabs on to barrels]; and *Denize düşen koli basili'ne sarılır* [One who falls into the sea grabs on to parcels]. These anti-proverbs are all used literally. The topics are **health, danger, marine pollution,** respectively. The last two anti-proverbs are created by replacing the words 'barrels,' and 'parcels' referring to the criticism the barrels seen in the Black Sea (Yalçınar, F. & Özkoç, 2005).

Another theme which the authors of Turkish anti-proverbs emphasize is the issues related to **government, politics, politician and election.** For instance, *Garip kuşun yuvasını, belediye yıkar* [The houses of poor people are destroyed by the municipality] derived from *Garip kuşun yuvasını, allah yapar* [God helps poor people to have a house]; *Bal tutan parmağını, sözünü tutmayan politikacı avucunu yalar* [He who handles honey licks his finger, the politician who does not keep his promise licks his palm] derived from *Bal tutan parmağını yalar* [He that handles honey, licks his finger]; *Politikacıların ömrü laklakla geçer!* [The politicians spend all his life with yak yak] derived from *Leyleğin ömrü laklakla geçer* [Life of white stork passes with yak yak (gabble)]; *Eski politikacılara rağbet olsaydı, sandıklara oy yağardı* [If the old politics were in demand, vote would rain into the voting box] derived from *Köpeğin duası kabul olsaydı gökten kemik yağardı* [If the dog's prayer was accepted, the bone was falling from the sky.]

**Health** is also focused on when creating the Turkish anti-proverbs emphasizing the importance of good health, especially when advertisements for junk food or unhealthy food are so effective on individuals. For example, *Meyve yersen sağlıklı, yemezsen hasta olursun* [If you eat fruit, you will be healthy, if you don't, you will be sick] derived from *Bakarsan bağ, bakmazsan dağ olur* [If you look after it, it will become a vineyard; if you do not, it will become a mountain]; *Meyve sebze bir olunca vitaminler bol olur* [When fruits and vegetables are united, vitamins will be abundant] derived from *İki gönül bir olunca samanlık seyran olur* [When two hearts are united, hayloft becomes promenade]; *Sağlıksız işe mikrop bulaşır* [Microbe involves in an unhealthy work] derived from *Acele işe şeytan karışır* [The demon involves in haste work]; *Gdo'lu alma organik al* [Don't buy a food with GMO, buy organic food] derived from *Ev alma komşu al* [Don't buy a house, take for yourself a neighbor]; *Sağlıklı beslenene mikrop bile dokunmaz* [Even a microbe will not touch one who eats properly] derived from *Su içene yılan bile dokunmaz* [Even a snake will not touch one who drinks water.]

Recently, professions such as **social media specialists, lawyers** and **computer programmers** have become popular in Turkish society, which have been reflected in the anti-proverbs as such: *Davası açılacak müvekkilin avukatı ayağına gelirmiş* [The lawyer comes himself to the client whose case will be claimed] and *İyi olacak şirketin ayağına sosyal medya uzmanı gelir* [The social media specialist comes himself to the company that will recover] derived from *İyi olacak hastanın doktor ayağına gelirmiş* [The doctor comes himself to the patient that will recover]; *Sosyal medyacı sosyal medya uzmanlığını bildirinceye kadar sosyal medya elden gider* [By the time a social media user has proved he's a social media specialist he'll have no social media account left] derived from *Tilki tilkiliğini anlatıncaya kadar post elden gider* [By the time the fox has proved he's a fox he'll have no skin left]; *Sadık sosyal medya uzmanı, akrabadan yeğdir* [A real social media specialist is better than relatives] derived from *Sadık dost akrabadan yeğdir* [A true friend is better than relatives.]

The Turkish economic situation is also mirrored in the anti-proverbs: *Evdeki hesap, enflasyona uymaz* [The math at home does not fit in inflation] derived from *Evdeki hesap*

*çarşıya uymaz* [The math at home does not meet in market]; *Sakla samanı gelir zam-anı* [Save the straw, raise on its price will come] derived from *Sakla samanı gelir zamanı* [Save the straw, you will use it in due time]; *Akılsız başın zahmetini bütçeler çeker* [The trouble of mindless head makes for budgets] derived from *Akılsız başın cezasını ayaklar çeker* [A foolish head makes for weary feet]; *Ayağını Parana Göre Uzat* [Stretch your legs according to the amount of your money] derived from *Ayağını yorganına göre uzat* [Stretch your legs according to the size of your quilt]; *Eskiden ekmek aslanın ağzındaydı. Şimdi aslan da aç* [The bread used to be in the lion's mouth. Now the lion is hungry, too] derived from *Ekmek aslanın ağzında* [Bread is in the lion's mouth.]

The popularity and excessive usage of **social networking sites** by Turkish people have influenced these individuals, so there exists a large number of anti-proverbs applicable to social networking sites such as *Hayır dile sosyal medyaya, hayır gele başına* [Wish the welfare of social media that you too may prosper] derived from *Hayır dile eşine/komşuna, hayır gele başına* [Wish the welfare of others that you too may prosper] meaning 'Don't think badly about others, wish them well so they will think the same about you.' Other examples: *Söz gümüşse, sosyal medya altındır* [Speech is silver, but social media is golden] derived from *Söz gümüşse sükut altındır* [Speech is silver, but silence is golden]; *Sosyal medyanın sonu selâmettir* [The end of social media is salvation] derived from *Sabrın sonu selâmettir* [The end of patience is salvation], and *Tek sosyal ağ ile sosyal medya uçmaz* [Social media does not fly with only one social network] derived from *Tek kanatla kuş uçmaz* [A bird does not fly with only one wing]; *Facebook hesabı birbirine baka baka paylaşır* [Facebook accounts share upon seeing each other] derived from *Üzüm üzüme baka baka kararır* [Grapes become black upon seeing one another.]

Turkish society has not remained insensitive to **the covid-19 coronavirus pandemic** causing quarantine worldwide, in 2020-2021, and still ongoing. Some of the anti-proverbs created during the coronavirus period based upon its various perspectives, being highly infectious and readily transmitted; the precautions are taken to prevent the spread of the disease, especially using cologne, physical distancing, being vaccinated; the economic and social outcomes, as such: *Su uyur, korona uyumaz* [Water sleeps but the corona never

sleeps] derived from *Su uyur düşman uyumaz* [Water sleeps but the enemy never sleeps] created for its presence at any time. *Kolonyanın kadri koronada bilinir* [The value of cologne becomes clear when one has corona] derived from *Abanın kadri yağmurda bilinir* [The value of a coat becomes clear when it rains], meaning something is not appreciated until it is required. The anti-proverb is created for the increased usage of cologne, which recently was not used so often before corona, but traditionally cologne has an exceptional place in Turkey because it was always offered to guests immediately upon entering the house. Another example, *Zengine Covid-19 derler, fakire de Korona derler* [To the rich they say “He has covid-19”, to the poor they say “He has corona”] derived from *Eli Boşa “ağa Uyur” Derler; Eli Doluya “ağa Buyur” Derler* [To the guest who brings no present they say “the master is asleep”, but to the one with a present they say “welcome sir”.] These anti-proverbs also determine the poor and rich people based on the terminology. *Coronanın koyunu sonra çıkar oyunu* [It is a sheep from Corona, its trick will come out later] derived from *Karamanın Koyunu Sonra Çıkar Oyunu* [It is a sheep from Karaman, its trick will come out later] meaning there is something “fishy” about this; focusing on the symptoms manifesting themselves a few days later.

Emphasising the most important precaution, which is “stay home”, there are anti-proverbs as such: *Çok okuyan değil çok gezen korona olur* [He who travels a lot catches coronavirus and not he who reads a lot] derived from *Çok okuyan değil, çok gezen bilir* [He who travels a lot knows better and not he who reads a lot.] For death and the sorrow because of the coronavirus, the anti-proverb *Korona düştüğü yeri yakar* [The corona burns the place where it falls] derived from *Ateş düştüğü yeri yakar* [The fire burns the place where it falls]. As for the not maintaining at least a 1-metre distance between others, *Coronalı coronaya dokuna dokuna ölür* [Someone with corona dies by touching to corona] derived from *Üzüm üzüme baka baka kararır* [Grapes become black upon seeing one another]. Finally, the economic difficulties during the pandemic, *Ak akçe koronalı günler içindir* [Save the penny for days of a Covid-19 day] derived from *Ak akçe kara gün içindir* [Save the penny for a rainy day].

Other themes significant in Turkish anti-proverbs are violence, diet, obesity, appearance, law, tax, gambling, heritage, friendship, education and learning, alcohol and drugs. To illustrate by: *Kızını dövmeyen karısıyla yetinir!* [He who does not beat his daughter will make do with his wife!] derived from *Kızını dövmeyen dizini döver* [He who does not beat his daughter will beat his knees] for **violence**; *Besle kargayı şişmanlasın, sonra da rejime sokarsın* [Let the crow be fat, then put it in the regime] derived from *Besle kargayı oysun gözünü* [Feed the crow, and it will peck out your eyes] for **diet / overweight**; *Gülme komşuna, dişlerin çürük* [Don't laugh at your neighbor, your teeth are decayed] derived from *Gülme komşuna gelir başına* [Do not mock your neighbor's misfortune, you may soon meet the same fate] for **appearance**; *Adaletin kestiği parmak kanar* [The finger cut by justice bleeds] derived from *Adaletin kestiği parmaz acımaz* [The sword of justice has no scabbard] for **law**; *Kumarda kaybeden evine don, gömlek gider* [The one who loses at gambling turns back home with his underwears] derived from *Kumarda kaybeden aşkta kazanır* [The one who loses at gambling wins with love] for **gambling**; *Damlaya damlaya göl olur, ona da vergi koyarlar* [[There becomes a lake by drop by drop], and they lay a tax on it] derived from *Damlaya damlaya göl olur* [There becomes a lake by drop by drop] for **tax**; *Ev alma, araba al* [Do not buy a house, buy a car] derived from *Ev alma, komşu al* [Don't buy a house, take for yourself a neighbor] for **cars**; *Nick'ini söylemeyen chat arkadaşı bulamaz* [Someone who does not say his/her nickname cannot find any chatmate] derived from *Derdini söylemeyen derman bulamaz* [Anyone who does not tell his/her trouble, can not find a cure] for **friendship**; *Çok okuyan bilmez, çok kazanan bilir* [He who read much does not know, but he who earns does] derived from *Çok okuyan değil, çok gezen bilir* [Not he who reads more knows, but he who travels much knows] for **knowledge**; *Alkol bütün kötülüklerin anasıdır ama ana gibi yar olmaz* [Alcohol is the mother of all evils but no friend like a mother] derived from *Ana gibi yar, Bağdat gibi diyar olmaz* [No lover like a mother, no country like Baghdad] for **alcohol**.

According to Mieder & Litovkina, **lawyers, politicians, and doctors** are among the most frequent targets of humor in Anglo-American anti-proverbs (2006: 31). *Crime pays – be a lawyer* [Crime doesn't pay] (p. 120); *Ignorance of the law does not prevent the losing*



*lawyer from collecting his bill* [Ignorance of the law is no excuse] (p. 180); *Politics makes strange bedfellows – rich* [Politics makes strange bedfellows] (p. 260); *Advice is cheap...except when you consult a doctor or lawyer or tax accountant* [*Advice is cheap*] (p. 82); *What can't be cured supports the doctor* [What can't be cured must be endured] (p. 326).

'**Women**' is another theme of anti-proverbs which show hostility toward women, reduce the woman to the status of sex object, depict the woman as stupid, portray females as vain, materialistic and demanding; the examples are such: *The male was made to lie and roam, but woman's place is in the home* [A woman place is in the home] (p. 79); *Underneath every successful man, there is a woman* [Behind every great man, there is a woman] (p. 103); *The way to a woman's heart is through his wallet* [The way to a man's heart is through his stomach] (p. 294); *A man's castle is his home, and his wife has the keys to all the rooms* [A man's home is his castle] (p. 70); *Love is blind, but your mother in law isn't* [Love is blind] (p. 205).

Another theme, in the Anglo-American anti-proverbs, is '**money**' as seen in the examples: *All work and no play make Jack a rich man* [All work and no play make Jack a dull boy] (p. 88); *Love may laugh at locksmiths, but he always has a profound respect for money bags* [Love laughs at locksmiths] (p. 207). The examples for '**love**' is as follows: *Variety is the spice of love* [Variety is the spice of life] (p. 323); *Faint heart never won fair lady – but a full purse can always pull the trick* [Faint heart never won fair lady] (p. 145). '**Marriage**' is another theme on which anti-proverbs are created, for example, *Man proposes – but not always marriage* [Man proposes, God disposes] (p.212); *Make love, not war ...get married and do both* [Make love, not war] (p. 210). '**Divorce**' is also the theme of some anti-proverbs: *Love makes the world go round, divorce makes it wobble* [Love makes the world go round] (p.207); *Divorces are made in heaven* [Marriages are made in heaven] (p.215).

The examples related to the theme of '**Friendship**' are as follows: *You cannot use your friends and have them too* [You cannot eat your cake and have it too] (p.344); *What a wife doesn't know doesn't hurt her, but it does give her friends something to talk about*

[You don't know can't hurt you] (p.327); as for the theme '**Education**' and '**Learning**' the examples can be illustrated as: *A fool and his money sooner and later wind up in college* [A fool and his money are soon parted] (p. 61); *What you don't know you can learn* [What you don't know can't hurt you] (p.327); *Don't become a dropout: a little learning is a dangerous thing* [A little knowledge is a dangerous thing] (p.66). '**Alcohol**' and '**drugs**' are also the themes observed in the anti-proverbs as indicated in the examples: *All road lead to rum* [All road leads to Rome] (p. 85); *An alcoholic is a man who never puts off till tomorrow the drinking he can do today* [Never put off till tomorrow what you can do today] (p. 234).

'**Children**' and '**Parents**' are also seen in the anti-proverbs: *Out of mouths of babes come remarks their parents should never have uttered in the first place* [Out of mouths of babes] (p.256); *Moderation in all things...said the boy to his father who was about to give his son a spanking* [Moderation in all things] (p.220). Finally, '**Taxes**' is conveyed in the anti-proverbs as in *A man's home is his tax deduction* [A man's home is his castle] (p.70); *Charity begins at home and ends on the income tax return* [Charity begins at home] (p. 113); *Money isn't everything- in fact, with taxes and the high cost of living, it's nothing* [Money isn't everything] (p. 224).

**Sexuality** is a themes that both Anglo-American and Turkish anti-proverbs cover as indicated in the examples: *A kiss is as good as a smile* [A miss is as good as a mile] (p. 71); *Love thy neighbor, but make sure her husband is away* [Love thy neighbor as yourself] (p. 209); *"Silence gives consent," as the man said when he kissed the dumb woman* [Silence gives consent] (p.269) are the examples for sexuality.

As evident in the examples above, the themes of Anglo-American and Turkish anti-proverbs are different, although anti-proverbs exist in the same topics such as taxes, alcohol, knowledge, friendship, money and professions -lawyers and politicians. These examples also exemplify that the producers of anti-proverbs change or modify the traditional proverbs without sticking to the topics of the traditional proverb but convey their attitudes, critics, belief by replacing relevant words. Plus, the producers' faithfulness to the structure

of the traditional proverb invokes the hearers/readers to recognize the traditional proverb, which creates more interesting and remarkable anti-proverbs.

## CHAPTER 2

### 2.1. Intertextuality as a Linguistic Phenomenon

Intertextuality is one of the most complicated terms of literary studies which many theorists have attempted to define; still, the definitions significantly differ from each other in terms of their focal points. While some scholars such as Rifaterre (1994) and Barthes (2001) emphasize the role of readers and the reading process in the discipline, some are mainly concerned with the relationships among texts. As a general thing, intertextuality is used to depict the manners in which different texts shape messages and their implications. In writing and other artworks, authors and artists are impacted by various elements that connect. For instance, an author who has viewed a film might be influenced by the ideas. This impact may influence the author's composition; while other writers might be unconscious of other texts' impact, others aim to turn an inspirational idea from another text into a new concept that carries extra meaning. In this context, writers and artists occasionally borrow plots, themes and characters or recreate them, which can be detected by the reader, such as, direct quotation, citation, allusion, echo, reference, imitation, collage, parody, pastiche, literary conventions. All intertextuality provides text to be transformed or reproduced versions of previous texts, and are regarded as 'intertextual references' that also help create humor in different aspects. From this viewpoint, anti-proverbs are one of the most salient examples of intertextuality, therefore, anti-proverbs will be examined as an intertextual practice, from the perspective of linguistics, which focuses on the humorous effect of anti-proverbs created through intertextuality. Indeed, intertextuality research goes beyond the mere recognition of parallels between artistic works, and the new forms in which they are viewed are entertaining to explore. Furthermore, there exist studies which have investigated intertextuality in different fields such as advertising (Oppenheim, 2014), sitcom series (Kinnonen, 2012), music (Barron, 2015), and paremiology (Usta Tuzcu, 2019b).

The term "intertextuality" was coined by Julia Kristeva in the late 1960s, though it is a common belief that the concept of intertextuality dates back to the ancient times, to the

first person, first text and discourse (Alfaro, 1996). According to Leitch, intertextuality is defined as “a text’s dependence on prior words, concepts, connotations, codes, conventions, unconscious practices and texts. Each text is an intertext that borrows, knowingly or not, from the immense archive of previous culture” (Leitch, 2001: 21 as cited from Zengin (2016). As a concept, intertextuality has also been defined by various theorists such as Kristeva (1980), Alfaro (1996), Saussure (1966), Bakhtin (1990), Barthes (2001), Riffaterre (1994), Genette (1992). For Kristeva (1980), any work of art is an inter-text, interacting with, and rewritten, transformed and parodied versions of other texts. Alfaro (1996) defines intertextuality as “traces and, tracing of others, due to the differential and historical features of texts and adds that the concept of intertextuality has drawn attention to the interrelation of texts rather than being individual structures.” Zengin (2016) defines intertextuality simply as creating texts by borrowing words and concepts from other texts and adds that writers are actually readers of previous or concurrent texts which are naturally affected by other texts in various ways, such as references, citation, and so on. Despite having their own intertextual theories, theorists and practitioners come to the common viewpoint that ‘no text exists own, and all texts are in a relationship with other texts’.

Indeed, intertextuality has its origins in the exceptional work of the Swiss linguist Saussure (1966). Saussure’s revolutionary structuralism and his ideas of arbitrariness in signs and their differential aspect provide a basis of intertextuality in the sense that the meaning of a word comes from its difference from other linguistic elements rather than its relation to things. Besides, Saussure’s linguistic theory of claiming that language operates in two axes: syntagmatic and paradigmatic. As such, the syntagmatic axis represents the juxtaposition of words to compose a sentence; whilst the paradigmatic axis represents the selection of choice of words from possible words. In essence, stemming from the word level, texts are interrelated with each other, and their meanings depend on their relationship to other texts. So, intertextuality is an inescapable fact of creating meaning and texts.

Similarly, Bakhtin (1990) argues that every text has been written/uttered previously, so a writer or a speaker is not the creator of what they write or utter; none of us is “Adam”. Therefore, appearing unlikely that any text is unique nor used before, so there is a dialogism

instead of monologism in literary works. Bakhtin's dialogism is related to intertextuality and the existence of anti-proverbs in the sense that "the meaning of other word or utterance is formed through the speaker's relation to other people, other people's words and expressions and the specific culture experienced in a specific time and place." (Zengin, 2016). Accordingly, anti-proverbs are created only owing to the existence of traditional proverbs and the recent cultural experiences of modern-day people.

Bakhtin's (1990) theory of dialogism and heteroglossia<sup>4</sup> paved the way for Julia Kristeva's theory of intertextuality. For Kristeva (1980), intertextuality occurs in each text, and there is no unique text, whether be literary or non-literary, due to the dialogic nature of language and the generation of meaning derived from a text's relation with other texts. Henceforth, the authors are not viewed as the creators of the original texts but rather as compilers of previous texts by transforming, rewriting or parodying them. According to Kristeva (1980), writers are readers of the texts before they are creators of the texts, which is also a post-structuralist and post-modernist attitude. Also, Kristeva (1980) asserts the subjectivity of language and adds that every utterance or text has its performer's (writer or speaker) assumptions and knowledge, so texts and utterances can be naturally interpreted differently. Possibly the reason for the occurrence of a wide range of different interpretations of one single poem or other literary works and, of course, the anti-proverbs. Kristeva (1980) also emphasizes that the reading process is both complicated and productive in a way that old texts interfere with the new texts, and the reader shifts from the role of consumer to that of producer, by interpreting and finally producing the meaning.

Indeed, both production and consumption of cultural products occur simultaneously. Content in new media (social media and any website which enables their users to 'contribute') is in a constant state of being. In this sense, content produced in the new media environment is seldom complete. This discussion brings to mind the concepts

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<sup>4</sup> The presence of two or more voices in a text or other artistic works. In Allen's (2000: 213) words, (Bakhtin) hetero, Gr. 'other' + glossia Gr. 'tongue': 'other-tongued', 'other-voiced'. Defined by Graham Roberts thus: 'heteroglossia ... refers to the conflict between "centripetal" and "centrifugal", "official" and "unofficial" discourses within the same national language'. The term also has a smaller-scale application: 'every utterance contains within it the trace of other utterances, both in the past and in the future'.

of hypertextuality of Genette (1992) and deconstruction Derrida (1976). Concepts such as displacement and pluralization of meaning are closely related to hypertextuality and Kristeva's concept of intertextuality. In this context, the increasing number of anti-proverbs on the internet, with 'hypertextuality'; the subjects that people are inspired by while creating anti-proverbs are related to 'intertextuality'.

Intertextuality, according to contemporary French theorist and critic Gerard Genette's ideas, differs from that of Kristeva, by using the term "transtextuality," or "textual transcendence" for the relationship between a particular text and another text. Though intertextuality was only one form, Genette (1992) subdivided the term transtextuality into five categories: intertextuality, paratextuality, metatextuality, hypertextuality, and architextuality. Genette (1992:81-84) uses the concept of transtextuality in order to examine the relationship between a text with other texts more broadly and systematically. Genette states that "all that sets the text in relationship, whether obvious or concealed with other texts".

Among these categories of transtextuality, the fourth type, 'hypertextuality' is transforming, modifying, elaborating or extending a text (including parody, spoof, sequel, translation). In this regard, the occurrence of anti-proverbs deals with a particular type of intertextuality, Genette's "hypertextuality", which refers to any relationship uniting one text to an earlier one and which suggests the concepts of influence and sources. Accordingly, hypertextuality includes a classification of different main textual facts determined by the nature of the relationship (imitation or transformation of the main text) and its order (playful, satirical, serious). Also, the hypertextuality is provided by alluding to irrelevant subjects and content different from the original proverb. Considering that traditional proverbs are imitated and transformed playfully and satirically based on different contexts in the society, perceiving that anti-proverbs are an example of hypertextuality.

Intertextuality is a practice of making sense, and in order to understand the anti-proverbs, which are subjective formations, it is necessary to understand and know what the

inspired source is. This relationship brings to mind Derrida's strategy of deconstruction. Consequently, deconstruction refers to how a text is re-read with its relationship with other texts by being included in 'intertextual' networks of meaning and how its meaning is out of the control of the author's intent. Thus, it aims to show how the meaning/text gets rid of the author's domination and becomes plural. With the assistance of intertextuality, is explained with examples in the following sub-sections- and deconstruction, revealing that the meaning in language is not single and absolute, on the contrary, meaning is assigned to language/word from outside through individuals' interests, experiences, knowledge, and so on. Therefore, when the users of social media or new media produce anti-proverbs, they become a part of the reproduction of the text. In this sense, anti-proverbs are the reproduction of the traditional proverbs as a result of the relationship between the meaning of the traditional proverbs and anti-proverbs since there is a productive and creative relationship between meanings of the traditional proverbs and the users' understanding. Hence, meaning and the limit of traditional proverbs exceed their boundaries and are constantly reproduced and restructured on the new media subjectively and in pursuant of the spirit of post-structuralism.

The productivity in intertextuality is also observed in the works of Barthes (2001), who asserts that a text is a production process even after its writing process. Barthes (1998) defines text as a combination of old texts, and every text is created from other texts. All the quotations and insertions shape the reader's interpretation, and signification of the text, which leads to the emergence of different meanings and interpretations of a single text such as proverbs changed both structurally and semantically that reminds us that Barthes's declaring the death of the author and celebrating the birth of the reader. Barthes assertion is because, according to him, the meaning of the text is not single; on the contrary, the text is plural, which means that both the readers of the texts and the authors of the texts are always in interaction with other texts. Therefore, the generation of the meanings of a text occurs at both the production and the reception level. As for the anti-proverbs, although there is no known author in the anonymous proverbs, the semantic, structural and cultural



change of the traditional proverbs can also be evaluated as the "death of norms"<sup>5</sup>. For example, the proverb *Çok okuyan değil, çok gezen bilir* [Not he who reads more knows, but he who travels much knows] means that who travels a lot knows much more than who reads a lot. So, knowledge is measured by travelling. However, the anti-proverb *Çok okuyan bilmez, çok kazanan bilir* [He who read much does not know, but he who earns does] says the more someone earns, the more knows. So, no matter how much someone travels, reads or lives, rich people know much more. In today's world, it is seen that rich people are obeyed and not questioned.

Likewise, the practice of constantly reproducing anti-proverbs by users through an intersubjective process in the new media environment is itself a deconstruction performance. To illustrate further, *Bir coronalı bir orduyu öldürür* [One who gets corona(virus) kills an army] derived from *Bir Korkak Bir Orduyu Bozar* [One coward can spoil an army], *Kuzguna civcivi lwl 60 görünür*<sup>6</sup> [A black raven is a lwl 60 in the eyes of the chicks] derived from *Kuzguna yavrusu şahin görünür* [A black raven is a phoenix in the eyes of his parents.] Considering the examples and references of the anti-proverbs above, plus their content, noting that the topics range from a virus to a computer game, which shows that the authors of the anti-proverbs benefit from the intertextuality of various fields. Furthermore, all the examples above are placed in the new media, so in a written form. However, intertextuality is supposedly not applied in written form all the time but also maintained through inter-discursivity. Norrick (1989) extends the content of intertextuality from written text to spoken as it is clear in his definition "intertextuality occurs any time one text suggests or requires references to some other identifiable text or stretch of discourse spoken or written". Moreover, Kubilay Aktulum<sup>7</sup> defines intertextuality as the relation to

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<sup>5</sup> 'Death of the norm' has been explained and exemplified in Chapter 3 in detail, and it has been indicated that anti-proverbs have been outcomes of social changes in society.

<sup>6</sup> This anti-proverb is obtained from a forum of a computer game called 'knight'; civciv [chick] is the target point. Lwl refers to 'level' in English, but it has been written with a w sound.

<sup>7</sup> Kubilay Aktulum is one of the prominent academics working in the field of intertextuality in Turkey.

written texts, while interdiscursivity<sup>8</sup> is the relation to oral narrative tradition (2013: 22). From the perspective of the creation of anti-proverbs, both intertextual and interdiscursivity has been applied in written and spoken way. For example, *Mutluluk aslanın ağzında* [Happiness is in the lion's mouth] is derived from '*Ekmek aslanın ağzında*', [The bread is in the lion's mouth] metaphorically says earning money and finding a job in order to afford things is very difficult. And literally, Aslan (lion) is a dangerous animal in order to approach and take the bread from it. In the anti-proverb, '*happiness*' replaces 'bread', and means that being happy is difficult. This anti-proverb is from a Turkish song (Özer & Ateş, 2017). Anti-proverbs are also applied on Tv shows, e.g., *Deveye sormuşlar*, "*neren doğru?*", *deve demiş özgüvenim özgüvenim* [They asked the camel that "Which part of you is straight?", he answered, "my self-confidence, my self-confidence"] derived from *Deveye "boynun eğri" demişler*, "*nerem doğru ki" demiş* [They told the camel that his neck was crooked, and he answered, "Is there any part of me that's straight"]; in a cartoon film *Su küçüğün, köprü büyüğün* [Water is for young and bridge is for the elder] derived from *Su küçüğün söz büyüğün* [Water is for young and word is for the elder].

Intertextuality also belongs to the post-structuralist and post-modernist theory in a way that the reader who has a cultural and historical background determines the meaning<sup>9</sup> of the text, whilst the modern attitude is objective. In the broadest sense, the post-structuralist theory perceives text as an object to be decoded and denies objectivity in interpretation. Plus, the discipline of post-structuralism claims that there is no work on its own; all the works emerge with each other. Although the distinction between post-structuralism and post-modernism is the subject of various debates, throughout this text, post-modernism will be used as an "umbrella concept" encompassing post-structuralism. Post-structuralism is a natural extension of post-modernism in this respect. According to

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<sup>8</sup> Proverbs were initially discursive; however, they have become textual material because individuals use proverbs in their speech as well as on written materials such as books, newspapers, social media accounts. Therefore, proverbs naturally transform in both written and discursive environments.

<sup>9</sup> According to Ekiz (2017), the meaning of a text depends on the knowledge, background, intent of the readers.

Aylesworth (2015), “post-modernism<sup>10</sup> can be described as a set of critical, strategic and rhetorical practices employing concepts such as difference, repetition, the trace, the simulacrum, and hyperreality to destabilize other concepts such as presence, identity, historical progress, epistemic certainty, and the univocity of meaning.” From this perspective, anti-proverbs have meaning and concepts different from the traditional proverbs; repeated parts and keeping the same form of the traditional proverbs; their imitation of the traditional proverbs may be regarded as products of post-modernism.

Also, in the post-structural period, in which there is no logical or necessary relationship between the post-structuralist texts, anti-proverbs follow a completely arbitrary order, which is listed one after the other on Facebook, Twitter and many online platforms on the internet. Moreover, anti-proverbs are unrelated and go beyond the limits of the proverbs from which they are derived and have a post-structural feature. In both Turkish and Anglo-American corpus, traditional proverbs are frequently transformed on the internet without worrying about any semantical meaning within the text; that is, the authors of the anti-proverbs do not ponder whether the readers understand the text or not. Also, in the post-structural period, where there is no logical or necessary relationship between the post-structuralist texts, anti-proverbs follow an utterly arbitrary order, which is listed one after the other on Facebook, Twitter and many online platforms on the internet. The authors’ only aim, using the intertextual references, is to add another anti-proverb to the list under the title of a specific topic, which might be about technological issues, coronavirus, politics, social events, economic issues, and so on.

For example, one of the very popular websites in Turkey is “eksisozluk.com<sup>11</sup>” has different titles based on different themes, and one of them is *coder atasözleri* ‘Coder Proverbs’. The website users have created more than 500 anti-proverbs related to the terms

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<sup>10</sup> The universality, unity and integrity of the modern mind require the view that the same rules apply everywhere. Post-modernism, on the contrary, opposes this view, arguing that every situation is different and must be understood in a special way.

<sup>11</sup> Ekşi Sözlük (Turkish pronunciation: [ec'ʃi sœz'lyc]; "Sour Dictionary", stylized as ekşi sözlük) is a collaborative hypertext dictionary based on the concept of Web sites built upon user contribution.[2] However, Ekşi Sözlük is not a dictionary in the strict sense; users are not required to write correct information.

such as *bug*, *code*, *coder*, and other computational terms under the title of *coder atasözleri*. One of the anti-proverb is *İki coder bir olunca stackoverflow seyran olur* [When two coders are together, a stakeoverflow becomes promenade] derived from *İki gönül bir olunca samanlık seyran olur* [When two hearts are united, hayloft becomes promenade]. In this anti-proverb, the user does not have any semantic concern since s/he has used the terms “coder” and “stackoverflow” which do not belong to the Turkish language. Moreover, there is technical content in meaning, indicating a difficulty for an English speaking person to understand the terms. Therefore, it can be said that these anti-proverbs and others on this website are created only for a small group of people who deal with the computational terms closely.

Moreover, considering the “coder proverbs”, it can be hardly said that there is any relation between the anti-proverbs and the original proverbs in terms of their meanings. For instance, *Acele koda syntax error karışır* [The syntax error takes a hand in a code hastily written] derived from *Acele işe şeytan karışır* [The demon involves in haste work]. There is no semantic similarity between these proverbial phrases, but the syntax and some of the lexis are the same, reminding the readers of traditional proverbs.

Still, an arbitrary or associative relationship is established between anti-proverbs and proverbs. The arbitrariness comes from the authors’ free choice of any topic/ theme without any concern, while common words and structure represent the association between the traditional and anti-proverbs. This connotation, which will vary according to various factors such as experience, knowledge and social status of the people, leads to the formation of various anti-proverbs through intertextual relations.

The existence of, and reactions to, the anti-proverbs suggest a relationship to post-modernism. Post-modernism has generally been shaped against the problems that have emerged from modernism's evolution, which disturbed the masses (Özdoyran, 2019). Thus, post-modernism, which is based on a critical approach to the problem has been created by modernism as opposed to the modernist approach, which advocates the view that the meaning is one, absolute, universal and fixed, anti-proverbs as cultural and social reflections

may be defined as a crisis; from the point of view that the anti-proverbs question the absolute meaning of traditional proverbs by creating several different meanings. In other words, meanings of traditional proverbs that are suppressed and limited in the understanding of modernism are re-interpreted in the new media due to new experiences. When it comes to proverbs, which are accepted as inviolable for Turkish people, the crisis is felt more.

As mentioned before, anti-proverbs are mostly observed on the web, the new media, allowing users to change<sup>12</sup> anything they read on that platform. The expectations of readers and hearers, who are strictly committed to the original form of proverbs, are high, which can be understood from their comments on social media: Some of the comments are as such: *Atasözü ve deyimlerde bir kelime değişirse anlatım bozulur bunu da bilmek gerekli. Kalıplasmis ifadeler olduğu için.* 'If a word changes in proverbs and idioms, the statement will be perverted, it is necessary to know this too. Because of being formulaic expressions'; *Sayfa iyice boş yapmaya başladı* 'The page started to mess around'; *Virüsün bulaşmadığı bir atasözleri kalmıştı..* 'It was only proverbs left, in which the virus did not infect'; *Ne saçma paylaşımlar ya* 'What nonsense posts!'; *Boş şeyler boş insanlar* 'Ridiculous things, empty people!'; *Hiçbirine gülmedim okul tatilindeki kardeşine mi verdin hesabı admin?* 'I didn't laugh at any of them, did you give the account to your brother during the school holiday, admin?' *Atasözlerimizi ayaklar altına aldınız!* 'You have trampled on our proverbs!' *Bir Atasözlerimiz kalmıştı bozmadığınız. Yazıklar olsun size* 'It was only our proverbs left that you have not interfered in'; *Neresi komik bunların!* 'How funny are these!'

The comments indicate that the proverb genre is similar to an implied social contract between the proverbs and the hearers and listeners; that is, some part of the society protects the proverbs as a sacrosanct inheritance from their ancestors. It should be noted that there are organizational patterns within the usage of anti-proverbs that hearers and readers should understand and develop a sense of feeling familiarity with the anti-proverbs and the message presented by the writers and speakers. In addition, with the flexibility of the

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<sup>12</sup> Özdoğru (2019) defines the new media as the "chernoil" of human history in the field of communication.

proverb genre, individuals use an effective medium in order to establish a relationship between tradition and innovation.

## 2.2. Types of Intertextuality

It is helpful to define several key strategies for creating associations between texts while contemplating how creators construct texts (their style). According to Ekiz (2017), intertextuality is applied by allusion, parody, pastiche, citation or any other intertextual technique.

Appropriation is one of the intertextual strategies of applying intertextuality. Characters are often repeated or reinvented to allow a writer to say something different regarding a specific topic or simply entertain. Any ideas, plots, themes or content from other source material are often copied by authors who condemn or ridicule a certain feature of our culture. Anti-proverbs are an obvious example of this technique, which community members apply to recreate texts (traditional proverbs) to ridicule the changing notions in society. For example, *Mart kapıdan baktırır, kazma kürek yaktırır* [March makes you look out through the door and then makes you burn the handles of your pickaxes and shovels] altered as *Mart kapıdan baktırdı korona Boğazdan götürdü* [March (month) made someone look from the door and corona killed from the throat.] The creator of this anti-proverb ridicules the tragedy of the pandemic by utilizing a traditional proverb. The first part of the proverb is kept as it is, apart from the tense- from present to past.

Another method of applying intertextuality is alluding to things. An **allusion**, a short, subtle reference to a person, location or case, means creating a direct or indirect reference known to have a particular meaning. Talbot (1995: 49) defines allusion as deliberately reusing a fragment of an earlier text. In ordinary discussions, individuals often respond to other messages and circumstances intentionally or unintentionally as it is defined (Montgomery, Durant, Fabb, Furniss, & Mills, (2007: 156) as an allusion as making an implicit or explicit reference to some other text within one text. Explicit references mean that an actual quotation is made and is generally indicated by quotation marks, whereas no signals are used by implicit allusive reference to indicate that an allusion is made. In an

implicit verbal allusion, the initial wording is often changed to suit the new meaning. Implicit allusions are often more challenging to spot and depend primarily on previous knowledge of the text being alluded to. With an anti-proverb, it is rare to encounter an explicit allusion; however, implicit allusion is observed in most of the anti-proverbs.

**Parody** is one of the forms of literature similar to satire or parody that imitates the characteristics of a writer or a work for the comical effect. Norrick (1989: 131) explains that parody is an intertextual relationship as it contains an actual text and a caricature thereof. Whereas with parody, "certain characteristics of the source text are maintained or accentuated while others are varied" (Norrick, 1989: 131). Ross (1998: 48) explains that parody cannot exist without the initial work, but it continues to point out that parody can also be original and innovative.

Parody differs from intertextual and allusive humor in that it usually announces its source text, and therefore does not challenge the audience to identify it but instead invites the audience to ridicule it (Norrick, 1989: 129). Allusive jokes for Norrick (1989), the audiences aim for laughter and are supposed to recognize the source text, whilst in parody, the source text is announced, and laughter is not required. Despite their differences towards the source text, both allusion and parody anticipate a humorous impact on the audience. Parody also relies on a longer intertextual reference, not merely on a single punch line like jokes. For a parody to work, there has to be an established and remarkable congruence with the original work (Norrick, 1989: 132). According to Ross (1998: 49), the purpose of parody may range from a playful imitation to harsh satire and can also sometimes be viewed as a celebration of the success of the original work.

**A citation**<sup>13</sup> is another common form of deliberate intertextuality – unlike allusion, it is not subtle. The existence of a text is obvious, such that readers may notice its from a quote. The purpose of a quotation is to admit, loud and simple, that the speaker borrows an idea or a word from someone else about giving credit to the original writers. This is often

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<sup>13</sup> Although this is a common way of applying intertextuality, the citation is not observed in anti-proverbs since they are mostly based on implicit intertextuality. Even though some well-known quotes are used in the creation of anti-proverbs, the owners of the quotes are not presented.

termed 'explicit intertextuality.' Norrick (1989) points out that unnamed sources are freely used in everyday conversation whilst scholarly texts use intertextual references as accurately and conspicuously as possible.

### 2.3. The Importance of Intertextuality

Intertextuality plays a crucial role in decoding the culture, which consists of art, books, movies, religion, cuisine, dance, etc. The happenings around them influence individuals creating their culture; there is always a relationship between various cultural areas. Moreover, the developments in different areas such as social, political or economic life are also reflected in folkloric values such as proverbs, traditions, etc. Consequently, the intertextual approach<sup>14</sup> reproduces the tradition and makes the folklore remain alive and dynamic. In fact, cultural and folkloric elements survive as long as they have a dynamic feature, which depends on the recreation of the cultural elements along with the modern-day developments. As Aktulum (2013: 9) asserts the transfer of a folkloric product from one period to another without changing will create the danger of stereotyping and museumization. The inevitable and effective way of updating these elements is to apply 'intertextuality'. According to Aktulum (2013: 16), "what is traditional is culturally important, tradition has an active power in it, and is open to re-production on that sense".

Moreover, Aktulum (2013: 17) notes that the tradition, presumed to be kept and preserved, has the characteristic of applying to a specific variation. The presence of anti-proverbs is one of the conspicuous examples of this aspect. As part of the tradition, proverbs<sup>15</sup> act in the same way and generate different variations based on the differences in time, geography, sex, religion besides new experiences and changing life conditions. This process does not always occur naturally, and the proverbs are changed deliberately by

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<sup>14</sup> Winick (1998:10) notes that intertextuality can be a powerful tool for understanding the tension between the proverb's inherent and contextual meanings.

<sup>15</sup> It will be seen, then, that proverbial metaphor is itself a kind of intertextuality, in which two different universes of discourse are brought together in comparison. (Winick, 1998:227)



individuals who benefit from the power of intertextuality and modify proverbs based on the variations on their experiences.

Individuals create these proverb-like structures instead of generating new proverbs; hereby, a bridge has been built between the experience in the past and today through intertextuality. For example, the proverb *Kusursuz dost arayan dostsuz kalır* [He who looks for a friend without fault, remains without a friend] emphasizes the indulgence in friendship. Though, the proverb is twisted as *Revizesiz iş arayan işsiz kalır* [He who looks for a job without revision, remains without a job]. The transformed version emphasizes being content with any occupation. As observed from the substitution of the words in the traditional proverb<sup>16</sup>, intertextuality has been employed in order to update the traditional proverb to modern-day conditions. However, it does not necessarily mean that the wisdom of all traditional proverbs are outmoded, as Mieder (2008: 122) expresses in these words:

*“Proverbs are never out of season and will assuredly remain so, since people will always be in need of expressing their old and new wisdom in easily remembered formulaic structures, employing them strategically as ready-made and usually metaphorical signs in various contexts.”*

Instead of creating a text in a different genre such as a riddle, parable, poem, article and so on, the author of the text has preferred to employ a proverb; so, has built a bridge between the tradition and today, which is also pointed by Winick (1998: 25) “To speak or write proverbially, “to proverb,” is to use certain strategies of intertextual reference in order to achieve a rhetorical end.” In this respect, the intertextual method transforms traditional elements into a fictional context and reuses them in folklore<sup>17</sup> context by the power of proverbs.

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<sup>16</sup> Winink (1998: 16) notes that transformed proverbs remind us the traditional proverbs since they borrow some of those proverbs’ ancestral authority based on their appearance and their wisdom. However, there exist many anti-proverbs having no sense but resemble the traditional proverbs only syntactically. So the authority works only in appearance in most cases.

<sup>17</sup> According to Aktulum (2013: 30) folkloric products are reused in other works not to be forgotten, and the myth ‘born out of the ashes’ has been provided through intertextuality. Indeed, the variants of new texts are derived from the prototype of a text, and some of them will differ from the prototypes in time and become new texts and new prototypes.

In other words, the existence of anti-proverbs, which are also the combination of tradition and innovation, is an evidence of reusing the folkloric elements through intertextuality. An intertextual approach to proverbs suggests the pervasiveness of novelty in proverb usage by demonstrating that each instance of proverb use includes both old and modern<sup>18</sup> definitions. In reality, a proverbial utterance contains both conventional and innovative components, but it is up to the participants to prioritize the old or the new (Winick, 1998: 14).

Attempting to understand the notion of humor, the following section deals with the theories of humor that will be assessed from the perspective of linguistics in the thesis, which focuses on the humorous effect of anti-proverbs created through intertextuality.

#### 2.4. Intertextuality as a Source of Humor

**Humor**, in common sense, is defined as 'something that makes a person laugh or smile' (Ross, 1998) and due to its being a multi-disciplinary concept; it has been studied in many fields of research such as psychology, philosophy, linguistics, sociology, literature and so on. Humor has been studied and attempted to be clarified by different scholars such as Morreal, Raskin, Attardo (1994), Monro, Lyttle, Spiegel and so on from the definition of humor to the characteristics of response or both (Smuts, 2006). However, the theories of humor are just divided into three main categories: **Superiority Theory**, **Relief Theory**, and **Incongruity Theory**.

According to the *superiority theory of humor*, human nature has a sudden sense of superiority over others that can create humor or amusement. Mulder and Nijholt (2010) explain the superiority theory as "laughing about the misfortunes of others; it reflects our superiority." This notion of the theory of superiority dates back to Plato and Aristotle. Plato suggests that deficiencies, limitations, weaknesses of human drive others to laugh, allowing people to feel superior to other people, such as seeing themselves as wealthier, more

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<sup>18</sup> It must be noted that when a traditional proverb is turned into a new text, it undertakes a mission and is used in different contexts by the society, and finally becomes a known proverb. Though, the case is mostly not valid for anti-proverbs, since they are generally used once in the source where they are generated.

handsome or smarter than they are ("Laughter - Superiority Theory," 2018). He also emphasizes that humor derives from the mixture of pleasure and pain that lies in the malice of amusement (Smuts, 2006). Aristotle develops the theory of Plato and believes that laughable is a subdivision of the ugly; plus, laughter can be a desirable thing as long as it is not too much. Hobbes characterizes laughter as a 'sudden glory' and an expression of a sudden realization that we are better than others (Ross, 1998).

Another theory of humor is *the relief theory*. This theory attempts to describe humor from this point of view of psycho-psychology. Freud (1960) asserts the idea that humans save "psychic energy" generated by repression and released by humor, alleging that the human brain creates so-called "censors" in order to create barriers to prevent from thinking "unpleasant" or "forbidden" thoughts such as death, sex" to be able to elude these barriers jokes are a way of releasing the "physic energy in the form of laughter. According to Mulder and Nijholt (2010), this release is spontaneous and expresses itself in laughter.

While the Superiority Theory says that the cause of laughter is the feelings of superiority, the Relief Theory says that laughter is the release of nervous energy. The Incongruity Theory says that it is the perception of something incongruous, which violates our mental patterns and expectations. This approach was taken by James Beattie, Immanuel Kant, Arthur Schopenhauer, Søren Kierkegaard, and many later philosophers and psychologists and is now the dominant theory of humor in philosophy and psychology (Morreall, 2020).

*In the incongruity theory*, all humor derives from comparing the source and the new text so that humans compare what they know and expect in everyday life and what they experience in the new situation. The differences which contradict their expectation create a sense of incongruity and so the humor in humans. In other words, humor is widely regarded as a response to an incongruity which is defined in the dictionary of Longman as "the fact that something is strange, unusual, or unsuitable in a particular situation." The incongruity theory is the cognitive side of humor theories. According to this theory, there are rules between the objects and the events, so humans regulate their lives by the rules.

The situations that occur beyond the rules and contradict humans' expectations cause humor (Şahin, 2010), which is called incongruity. Accordingly, Şahin (2010) explains the situation in which humans laugh when they see someone fall through the incongruity theory because this behavior of "fall" is not congruent to what humans expect 'Humans walk or stand but do not fall.' In other words, humans' all expectations, knowledge, and experiences get upside down when they see someone falling, which becomes a source of humor. However, not all incongruent situations are regarded as humorous, for example, earthquakes, traffic accidents, fires are also incongruent, but humans do not show a sense of humor.

Mulder and Nijholt (2002), on the other hand, consider the incongruity theory as part of the linguistics discipline due to its function of explaining the structure of jokes and lack of attention to the reasons of humor, finding this theory insufficient in regards to "why we can hear a joke more than one time and still find it funny and why not all incongruities such as earthquakes, the accident is funny." As mentioned before, not all incongruent situations such as traffic accident, earthquakes, funerals are the source of humor; on the contrary, humans experience a sense of grief and loss in these situations. Nonetheless, what can explain "laughter" following (or during) situations such as a funeral, worshipping with other people, in a severe board meeting, or similar situations? Noting that laughter and humor are connected, but they are not the same concepts. John Morreall (1983) asserts a distinction between laughter and humor: the former is derived from a pleasant psychological shift while the latter derives from a social cognitive shift. Laughter is a physical relevance of a humorous situation; though not all humorous situations have to end with laughter, sometimes it just ends with a smile.

**Intertextual humor** depends on the audience's ability to recognize the source text (Norrick 1989: 118). Although Norrick (1989: 123) says that in many cases, in order for the comic incongruity – in other words, the inappropriateness, irrelevance or ambiguity of the situation – to appear, identifying the source may not be enough, but the audience needs to first recognize the reference as such. However, for intertextual humor to work in the first place, Norrick (1989: 120) says that it has to presuppose "a performer and an audience with

shared knowledge of some preexisting stretch of discourse." Whilst creating the humor, the performer then demonstrates knowledge of the source in a successful telling, and the audience's laughter demonstrates their ability to access the appropriate knowledge and to connect it to the current discourse in a new way. Intertextuality, therefore, stresses the interactional aspect of humor (Norrick 1989: 120).

However, note that all humor in anti-proverbs comes from comparing the source and the new text. Therefore, the recognition of the source text is significantly important to achieve a humorous impact on the receiver, which determines the achievement by the laughter of the receiver at the right moment. However, the attitudes, background, beliefs, group membership, character, and the environment that the hearers/readers have, play an essential role in recognizing the source text. Norrick (1989) emphasizes that humor depends on conditions such as the audience, the situation and the cultural context, plus some funny stimulus. Besides, in our world of technology, having accounts on various social media applications such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, the frequency and the manner of using the accounts are crucial in being familiar with the popular and/or current source text (popular culture allusion), which are mostly preferred to create a humorous text by the creators. The anti-proverbs *Ebolanın olmadığı yerde coronaya abdurrahman çelebi derler* [Where there is no Ebola (virus), Corona (virus) is called as 'Aburrahman Çelebi'] derived from *Koyunun bulunmadığı yerde, keçiye Abdurrahman Çelebi derler* [Where there are no sheep, goats are called as 'Aburrahman Çelebi']. The other one *Corona'nın şahidi ebola'dır* [Corona's witness is Ebola] derived from *Bozacının şahidi şıracı* [The fermented millet drink seller's witness is the grape seller]. The allusions in these anti-proverbs come from the 'coronavirus and Ebola', which are generally understood, allowing easier understanding by individuals. Otherwise, the meaning is incomprehensible to the listeners.

Montgomery et al. (2007: 157) also point out that allusions refer to, for example, pop songs, films, and television – in other words, popular culture allusions, that can serve to position readers or viewers who recognize the allusions concerning the new context. For example, by recognizing the pop-culture allusions, the viewer of a particular television show is positioned as the target audience of that medium –as in being a person of a certain

age and possessing a certain range of cultural knowledge (Montgomery et al., 2007: 157). Moreover, not all intertextual jokes, including the anti-proverbs, result in a behavioristic response, such as laughter, due to various reasons such as the lack of knowledge and understanding of the audience in decoding the message and identifying the source text, the language deficiency (if the joke is in a foreign language), the physical deficiency (poor visual or audial perception skills), the environment (dark or too loud) and so forth.

## **2.5. Anti-Proverb as a Type of “Intertextual Joke” and its Humorous Nature**

This section focuses on the intertextual relationship between the anti-proverbs and the traditional proverbs; plus, the humorous outcome resulting in intertextuality. In terms of intertextuality, proverbs and anti-proverbs are similar since they are both intertextual creations. Winick (1998: 77) defines proverbs as "... brief (sentence-length) strategic utterances which derive a sense of wisdom, wit and authority from explicit and intentional intertextual reference to a tradition of previous similar utterances." Similarly, anti-proverbs derive from the traditional proverbs and intentional intertextual references<sup>19</sup>. Winick (1998: 16) adds that "Both the novelty of an utterance and its use of traditional features can contribute to its ability to appear both wise and witty." So, anti-proverbs may be considered as "iconic intertextual representations of provability" due to their intentional resemblance to traditional proverbs, though they do not always appear as wise.

Anti-proverbs, which are created through intertextuality and mostly result in humor is typically regarded as intertextual jokes. Norrick (1989: 117) describes "intertextual jokes" as aggressive towards the audience in that they challenge the audience to recognize made references. "Intertextual jokes" can involve references from different sources as indicated in Norrick's work (1989), such as another joke, a well-known phrase from literature (Shakespeare), a nursery rhyme, a postcard, a proverbial phrase, a favorite song, and so on; therefore, as a part of broader artistic practice, intertextuality obviously crosses its

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<sup>19</sup> Naturally, the hearers/readers mostly, do not challenge the identification of the references, which are mainly implicit allusions as defined by Montgomery et al. (2007: 161) no signal is used to indicate that an allusion is being made because the implicit allusions are as clear as the explicit ones due to the fact that the most common and well-known texts are preferred to allude in the new text – anti-proverb.

boundaries. The purpose of telling intertextual jokes is not; however, to embarrass hearers or point out the performer's superiority. Instead, according to Norrick (1989: 118), the purpose is to discover relevant social data concerning the listeners, namely data on their attitudes, beliefs, group membership, and so on. Naturally, if the intertextual reference goes wholly unnoticed or the audience fails to understand meaning and relevance, it creates no humor (Norrick, 1989: 127).

The 'context' is critical to succeed in both the creation and the comprehension of anti-proverbs. The context is like the history of a book, the background of the authors, and the readers' experience. This screens who the author is; where the author lived and wrote; in what country it was produced; what was happening at that time in that country; what other books were written at the time; and where it is being read and by whom. All texts are influenced by context socially, politically, culturally or historically. Moreover, the creator's personal life and perceptions are part of its context and enable a text's meaning. Clayton states, "The shape of intertextuality depends on the shape of influence. One may see intertextuality either as the enlargement of a familiar idea or as an entirely new concept to replace the outmoded notion of influence" (Clayton, 1991: 3).

Key terms of this approach are 'influence' and 'inspiration'. The concept of influence privileges an earlier text (or artist) over a later one for which it acts as a source. Conversely, inspiration regards the later text (or artist) as an innovative improvement over the previous one (Landwehr, 2002: 2). As for the anti-proverbs, the influence and the inspiration work in that, the creators are influenced by the changing conditions around them, and inspired by the traditional proverbs while creating the anti-proverbs. The influence is a crucial point for both the creators and the hearers/readers. In order to create anti-proverbs, there must be some stimulating events concerning the creators so that they may produce the anti-proverbs by alluding to the things they are influenced by. Moreover, the creators are inspired by the traditional proverbs, and rather than expressing themselves through a simple sentence such as *Çok gezen korona olur* [He who travels much catches corona (virus)], they prefer to express themselves by using the power of the traditional proverbs and say *Çok gezen mi korona olur çok*

*okuyan mı?* [Who catches corona (virus) one who travels much or who reads much?] derived from *Çok gezen çok bilir* [He that travels much knows much].

As for the listeners/readers, the influence becomes involved in the comprehension of the anti-proverbs if they know the intertextual relations, plus the traditional proverb itself. This is the only possible way for an anti-proverb to be successful. Winick (1998: 234) explains the process in these words:

*“Indeed, the tendency toward an intertextual interpretation of the proverb is not eliminated by making the proverb literal; it is intensified. The hearer must recognize what the usual course of interpretation would be--she must recognize the proverb as being a metaphor and understand what that metaphor means. At the same time, she must recognize that that course of interpretation is inapplicable to this specific situation. This causes a collision of different processes of intertextual interpretation.”*

So the humor derives from such intertextual contradictions, and the listeners/readers enjoy the humor by recognizing the similarities and differences between proverbs and anti-proverbs through the intertextual references<sup>20</sup>. Litovkina (2017: 39) also implies that since many of us regard proverbs as inviolable, their reinterpretation in innovative forms will generate laughter. Some anti-proverbs make us laugh because they challenge our assumptions about common beliefs, order, and codes.

Literalized proverbs are also funny for hearers/readers since proverbs are known by their metaphoric features. Hearers/readers are entirely unaccustomed to using proverbs in their literal meaning. Therefore, the proverbs' literal usage results in laughter due to their

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<sup>20</sup> Naturally, the listeners/readers mostly, do not challenge the identification of the references which are mainly implicit allusions as defined by Montgomery et al., (2007: 161) no signal is used to indicate that an allusion is being made, because, the implicit allusions are as clear as the explicit ones due to the fact that the most common and well-known texts are preferred to allude in the new text – anti-proverb.



unexpected effect on the hearers/readers. As Winick (1998: 238) states, "... the humor derives from the reader's negotiation of two levels of meaning: the metaphorical meaning that the proverb usually evokes, and the new, strange literal meaning." The literalization is mostly applied in the first part of proverbs; so, the second part is transformed and most parodied. The proverb *Tencere yuvarlanmış kapağını bulmuş* [The pot rolled and found its lid] means He's found a friend who is as bad as he is. It has been transformed as *Tencere yuvarlanmış yemekler dökülmüş* [The pot rolled and the dishes are poured out]. In the proverb, the rolling pot represents a person who has a friend who is very similar to him/her, which is a metaphoric usage. But in the anti-proverb, the rolling pot is used in its literal meaning, which can be understood on hearing the rest of the anti-proverb.

Moreover, the creation of anti-proverbs already depends on an intertextual practice since using any parts from the original text in a correct or incorrect way counts as an intertextual relationship. Anti-proverbs are created in many ways, such as substituting, replacing, eliciting stimulated by borrowing or reinterpreting ideas explored by others. Keeping the structure of traditional proverbs but changing the meaning by transforming them indicates a change in the content, which is another source of humour<sup>21</sup> since the unforeseen words of the very well-known proverb sound humorous for the hearers/readers while the original wording of the proverbs is adapted to suit the new context. This content-based change is sourced by various areas of life: political, economics, social as well as some sexual and dirty content. The sexuality, including some body parts or terminology relevant to intercourse, causes laughter on the hearers of such anti-proverbs. According to Vargha and Litovkino (2013), the humour of many proverb parodies is based upon the incongruous use of the vulgar or taboo words as well as on the contrast between an innocent text of a proverb and the sexually-loaded reinterpretation of it. There exist a large number of obscene proverbs within the corpus of Turkish anti-proverbs, but I preferred to keep them out of the scope of the thesis.

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<sup>21</sup> As Litovkina and Vargha (Punning) (2013) asserts the unforeseen linking of different words, meanings or ideas creates the comic surprise.

Still, some anti-proverbs require a search for ensuring that they are proverbs originally and how they have become anti-proverb, if they are alluded to, from another proverb, a text from a popular movie, a song or another source. This method of analyzing the allusion is to trace the allusion; for Montgomery et al. (2007), the internet is the most valuable and obvious way to trace an allusion. It was considered whether the anti-proverbs alluded to an outside text, what they try to convey in their new context and their possible impact on the hearers/readers. Therefore, the anti-proverbs have been analyzed for their humorous effect on the hearers/readers based on the humor theories. Besides, an intertextual analysis includes how social members display their knowledge of connections between texts and their knowledge, feelings and experiences through proverbs. However, it is challenging to examine the humorous side of anti-proverbs through the theories of humor due to the lack of standards of analysis. The examples have been illustrated as follows:

*Korkunun ecele faydası yoktur* [There is no use of fear of death] is transformed as *Korkunun ecele faydası yoktur, sadece iç çamaşırları kirletir* [Cowards die many times before their deaths; it only dirties the underwear.] The first part of the anti-proverb is a proverb, which means "Cowards die many times before their deaths", while the second part is sourced from an idiom that means "frighten the pants off" in its original version. In this version, it literally says, "it only dirties the underwear." The humor comes from two sources in this text: the first one is the unexpected extension of the proverb, and the second is the polite way of using the idiom. It can be considered under the category of relief theory of humor. The proverb containing the subject of "death," which is an unpleasant idea for human being, causes the hearers/readers to feel stressed until the second part is introduced. The humorous way of referencing an idiom enables the hearers/readers to release the energy with laughter.

The traditional proverb *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "ah vatanım" demiş* [They put the nightingale in a golden cage, said "ah country"] is changed as *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, bülbül yine bülbül* [They put the nightingale in a golden cage, but it is still a nightingale], and the traditional proverb *Eşeğe altın semer vursalar, eşek yine eşektir* [If

they put a golden saddle on a donkey, it is still a donkey] is modified as *Eşeğe altın semer vurmuşlar, “ah vatanım” demiş* [If they put a golden saddle on a donkey, (The donkey) said: "ah country."] In these examples, both anti-proverbs keep the first part of the proverbs from which they are derived; however, the second parts of the anti-proverbs are created by swapping the second parts of their original extensions. Consequently, the intertextuality occurs between two proverbs by swapping their second parts. Incongruity theory and relief theory overlap in the former example. Considering the situation of the nightingale jailed in a cage, causing stress on the receiver, which is not a pleasant situation for the animal, but later on it ends with an unexpected way (with a different proverb), so it causes a sense of humor and incongruity that enables the receiver to release the energy through laughter. As for the second example, there is incongruity theory due to the unexpected continuation of the proverb, which is a surprising end for a native Turkish speaker. So, it causes laughter.

Another example to illustrate how the intertextuality and humor mechanism work in anti-proverbs is the proverb *Bülbülün çektiği dili belası* [The trouble the nightingale gets from her tongue (speech).] The proverb means that if someone speaks without thinking, it may cause some trouble in the future. The anti-proverbs *Bülbülün çektiği piyango biletine bir şey çıkmaz* [The lottery ticket picked by the nightingale does not win anything] and *Bülbülün çektiği dili belasıdır, siyasetçi de aynen öyledir. Nefes alıp durmadan yerli yersiz konuşur* [What suffers the nightingale is trouble of tongue, just as a politician does, he speaks without stopping to consider whether or not it's appropriate]

Both anti-proverbs are derived from the proverb above. The former anti-proverb is linked to the traditional proverb with the word “çekmek”, which is a homonymous word. In the traditional proverb, it means “suffer”, whilst in the former anti-proverb, it means “to pick”. The misuse of the proverb with the text “pick the lottery ticket,” a popular phrase in Turkey, creates humor for the hearers/readers since it is incongruent. In the latter anti-proverb, the nightingale is compared to a politician in a way that they both put themselves into difficulty due to their over-speaking.

*Görünen köy kılavuz istemez* [Good wine needs no bush' means one does not need a guide when the village is in sight.] The anti-proverb *Görünen köy, uzakta değildir* literally says [The village in sight is not too far]. The anti-proverb has been used in a popular Turkish movie called "Umudumuz Şaban (Our hope is Şaban) by a well-known Turkish actor. Its humorous effect depends on the viewers' knowledge of a children song "there is a village in distant, it is our village, even if we do not go there, ...) which is referred to the second part "uzakta değildir (not in distant). The actor who is a mayor in the scene begins his speech with a proverb but unexpectedly finishes it with a part of a song, which causes laughter on the hearers/readers. From this point of view, it can be considered under the category of incongruity theory.

*Üzüm üzüme baka baka kararır* [Grapes become black upon seeing one another] is transformed as *Üzüm üzüme baka baka solarium!* [Grape solarium upon seeing one another!] Solarium as a technical term defines a bed equipped with ultraviolet lights used for an artificial sun tan, plus, "(solarium) sun tan" and "(kararmak) blacken" are semantically related words. So, the intertextual reference refers to a technical term in this anti-proverb, and it creates humor due to its unexpected usage.

*Her yiğidin bir yoğurt yiyişi vardır* [Every brave man has his own way of eating yoghurt] means that everybody cherishes his way of doing things, which is 'Different strokes for different folks' in Anglo-American proverb corpus. The anti-proverb says *Her aslanın bir terbiyecisi yiyişi vardır* [Every lion has its own way of eating its handler.] The anti-proverb uses the structure of the proverb in the traditional proverb though the meaning is completely different. Only two words (brave man and yoghurt) were replaced with words (lion and handler) that are out of context and irrelevant, but after recognizing the original source, the hearers/readers find it humorous.

*Pilavdan dönenin kaşığı kırılınsın*, which is [Come hell or high water] in Anglo-American proverb means [Someone who refuses rice, let the spoon break.] The anti-proverb *Pilavdan dönenin, kuru fasülyede gözü vardır* [Someone who refuses rice has eyes on white beans.] The proverb means a person who spurns the opportunities that come his way is

someone who doesn't deserve to be helped in any way. The word “pilav (rice)” is the opportunity, and “kaşık (spoon) is the help in this context. However, the anti-proverb uses the first part of the proverb as exactly how it is but the second part is different structurally and semantically. In Turkish culture, rice and white beans are as a couple as a meal, and people prefer to eat them together. The anti-proverb has a humorous effect on the receiver due to their unexpected usage in this way.

Coronavirus has also inspired many anti-proverbs creators, which caused a large number of anti-proverbs regarding coronavirus and its related terms on various social media platforms. The thread presents to the whole world is treated with humour and ridicule through anti-proverbs. Using satiric language, parody and word plays, the anti-proverb creators try to convey their concerns and negative experiences about the issue in a humorous way. The proverb *Nerede çokluk, orada bokluk* [Where there is a multitude, there is muckiness] is changed as *Nerede çokluk, orada corona* [Where there is a multitude, there is Corona (virus).] The coronavirus is transmitted through droplets released into the air when an infected individual coughs or sneezes. Therefore, practicing physical distancing is crucial to prevent this disease. This anti-proverb has intertextuality which refers to the pandemic and the importance of avoiding crowded places. Besides, both ‘(*bokluk*)’ muckiness and ‘Corona’ allude to negative situations and replacing the ‘Corona’ in the anti-proverb causes laughter due to both incongruity and relief. When Corona, which causes a high level of stress on people, it is used in an anti-proverb in a humorous way so that they feel relieved.

In the example of Anglo-American anti-proverbs, *All roads lead to Rome* is changed as *To a romantic girl, all roads lead to Romeo*; the anti-proverb is based on a play called "Romeo and Juliet", one of Shakespeare's most popular plays. In this play, the character Romeo is a handsome, intelligent, and sensitive character, which is mostly a dream of romantic girls at almost all times. Therefore, this anti-proverb clearly refers to this play by using the name of the character. This anti-proverb reveals humour to listeners due to its incongruity between the original proverb and the anti-proverb. The resemblance of the

structure and the common word 'all roads lead to' reminds the listeners of the original proverb; but a changed version causes laughter.

For another example, *Home, sweet home* is transformed as *A birdhouse was named home, tweet home*. The proverb means, "One's home is the best place to feel truly comfortable." In the anti-proverb, the proverb has changed by adding a definition to the home by referring to "Twitter," a popular online news and social networking service where users post and interact with messages, known as "tweets." The word "bird" comes from its logo, which contains an icon of a bird.

There exist examples of anti-proverbs in Politics as well. For example, Hillary Clinton used anti-proverbs such as "No family is an island", which is based on the proverb "No man is an island", "Child care is not a spectator sport", which clearly has its connection to the modern proverb "Life is not a spectator sport" in her book "It Takes a Village" (Mieder, 2016). Obama also uses anti-proverbs in his speeches and interviews. In an interview of November 2006 in Harper's, he changes the proverb "Beauty is in the eye of the beholder" into "Pork is in the eye of the beholder. The hearers/readers do not tend to think it is pork, especially if it is a great public- works project" (Mieder, 2009).

*'Home is where the heart is'* is changed as *Home is where the bar is*. The intertextual relationship is established in the second part of the proverb, which alludes to social life. Another intertextuality occurs in a song of Wax, which is named as *'Home is where the bar is'*. Therefore, the song uses a proverb in its transformed form, alluding to the social life and infers that bars have become people's home, and the bartenders have become the family. From the humorous perspective, the anti-proverb causes laughter due to the incongruous use of the word 'bar' replaced 'home'. The *bar* is not expected to be one's home; therefore, it is funny in a bad way.

*It's a poor rule that won't work both ways* is transformed and expanded as *Another good rule that won't work both ways is the saying that health makes wealth*. The anti-proverb is used both metaphorically and literally. If one is healthy mentally and physically, s/he can make money and, if one is healthy, s/he can develop a sense of well-being. In the

anti-proverb, there is an intertextual connection with another anti-proverb, 'Health makes wealth'. It is derived from *Haste makes waste* meaning no matter for what reasons, behaving rapidly or unconsciously is never a successful crisis response.

*There is no fool like an old fool* means that a foolish old age is exceptionally foolish because, from experience, an old person may have learned not to make the sort of mistakes a young person does. This proverb has been altered as *As they say in Texas, "There is no pool like an oil pool!"* The intertextuality comes from the several prolific oil pools in Texas, which generated a period of dramatic change and economic growth in the U.S. Semantically, there is not any connection between the traditional and the transformed, but keeping the syntax the same and changing only two words remind the native English speaker of the traditional proverb. This causes humor due to the incongruous use of the new context.

In this chapter, some intertextual crafting techniques that can link texts together, such as appropriation, allusion, parody, and quotation, were explained, and examples from Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs were presented from intertextual perspectives. Considering the intertextual references, it can be said that the creation of anti-proverbs depends on an intertextual practice and the allusions from different sources such as movies, TV shows, technology, and so on. The endless recycling, transforming and quoting of traditional proverbs, artistic styles and different forms has become a part of the post-modern literature and the new cultural logic of modern society. During this transformation, the proverbs need an intertextual process that relates to modern-day developments, because as is mentioned, updating folkloric elements keeps them alive. More fundamentally, through intertextual practices, it becomes possible to build our understanding of people, the ongoing cultural production in tradition in both oral and written environments. However, playing with traditional proverbs are regarded as unacceptable behavior for some parts of Turkish society. While some freely change the traditional proverbs for some reasons, which is considered a funny, entertaining, and creative activity, some regard the anti-proverbs as a crisis. Still, people parodying the proverbs create humorous proverbial phrases in the end. The humor which is sourced by the intertextual gap between the traditional and the

parodied proverbs requires the reader to interpret different layers of intertextual interpretation. The meaning of the intertextual interpretation is mostly obtained by pushing the boundaries of the wisdom of traditional proverbs.



## CHAPTER 3

### 3.1. Proverbial and Anti-Proverbial Pictures of the World

Proverbs have been guiding the traditions, culture, habits, social acceptance of society for centuries, demonstrating what is accepted and approved in that society and what is wrong and what is forbidden. Mieder (1985: 119) defines the proverbs as: *"a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorable form and which is handed down from generation to generation"*.

Tuğluk (2013) states that "Proverb is rigid, sententious, succinct and anonymous saying that is on the basis of rule, based on observations and experiences of years, involves wise thoughts and philosophical mysteries and also bears the trace of community's culture." Traditional wisdom has never been absent from Turkish daily speech and is prevalent in daily conversations at home, school, ceremonies, and all other parts of social life. Therefore, proverbs as spoken expressions in the daily speech of Turkish people are the central part of Turkish culture, which reflects all aspects of their lives. Moreover, individuals epitomize their way of thinking, feelings, and ideas through proverbs; plus, they use the proverbs as a vehicle to describe and interpret the world, solve their daily conflicts, and support their arguments. For example, the proverb *Tatlı dil yılanı deliğinden çıkarır* [Pleasant words will lure a snake from his hole] and English equivalence is 'You can catch more flies with honey than with vinegar' means that individuals should use reasonable and kind words in order to be in a good relationship even with their enemies. This proverb has the characteristic of being a guide in social relations within the society.

Proverbs have a significant influence on society; as Mieder (2004) states, "they are the products of memories, experiences, and beliefs of societies." In Syzdykov's (2014) words, "the proverbs manifest the wisdom and spirit of the people." Proverbs express public wisdom and reflect public attitudes (Ababneh & Al-Ajlouny, 2017). Aksoy (1988: 15) establishes that "proverbs express the common thought, mischief, and attitude of the nation; they guide us." Onan (2011) acknowledges that "proverbs are literary products that reflect

the way a nation perceives the world." Similarly, Goskheteliani (2011) stresses that proverbs reflect national culture, which contains folk wisdom, morals and traditions transmitted through generations in verbal and non-verbal communication, metaphorically describing human activities. In this regard, proverbs represent the spiritual and material circumstances of life as well as the cultural heritage. Thus, each culture has its own set of sayings, which differ considerably from other cultures, indicated in the proverb, "If you want to know a people, know their proverbs." So, proverbs teach a great deal about society.

Bekiroğlu (2014) defines proverbs as folkloric products with important references to cultural codes and has applied Turkish proverbs in order to find clues explaining communication phenomena, socially approved and proposed communication acts, and explore explicit and/or hidden messaging related to communicational acts. Bekiroğlu (2014) asserts that individuals undergo specific socialization and culturing processes. Therefore, the culture in which people socialize affects how they communicate. Equally, individuals change their cultures according to the ways they communicate. As Ulusoy Aranyosi (2010) notes, the changes in communication and the method of acquiring knowledge and transferring the culture within society have to lead the proverbs to be part of this change process.

According to Syzdykov (2014), the primary purpose of proverbs is to give people's assessment of the objective reality of phenomena as an expression of the world. So what happens when the existing proverbs do not meet the recent experiences, realities, and values which have dramatically changed over the last two decades? Then individuals apply proverbs and transform them in order to express their new wisdom, message, attitude, criticism and the like, which is clearly stated by a user in a website [www.uludagsozluk.com](http://www.uludagsozluk.com). "bir çok atasözü bugün artık haklılığını yitirmiştir, yeni atasözlerine ihtiyacımız var" meaning "Many proverbs have lost their correctness today, we need new proverbs". Readers would almost definitely have been persuaded to consider or speculate about why conventional proverbs have lost their utility and relevance in the real world, as sensed in the quote. The situation is not different in America, which is also mentioned in the book 'Proverbs Speak Louder Than Words' (2008: 97), as Mieder mentions about the journalists

and free-lance writers claiming that 'old proverbs are simply not appropriate anymore at the end of the twentieth century'.

Mieder (2008: 99) sets against this assertion by saying that "they play an important role in disseminating the false idea that proverbs for some reason have outlived their usefulness.' Mieder (2008: 99) adds that "proverbs as ready-made pieces of wisdom have and will not outlive their value as metaphorical expressions." Indeed, proverbs, when considered their literal meaning, may sound outdated; however, they are deserved to be decoded with their metaphorical meanings, which refer to different meanings in different situations and contexts. From this perspective, just as with proverbs, anti-proverbs are also used as a vehicle of communication. In this regard, the existence of anti-proverbs also proves the continuity of tradition (Gürçayır, 2008); besides, the proverbs remain "alive" in society. Indeed, changing traditional proverbs is not a new trend, as Aksoy (1988: 28) notices "One person undoubtedly created the first draft of a proverb. Nevertheless, over time, many people have chipped it over, made additions, changes; they gave the proverb a shape that the society like and adopt." Özezen (2016) emphasizes that language is open to change, a dynamic phenomenon, also, an area of individual freedom. Therefore, it is not an unexpected situation to encounter changes in the proverbs in the fluctuating world. In light of this fact, it can be said that anti-proverbs are a re-evaluation and questioning of what is believed in society.

Who applies anti-proverbs? As it is noted before, transforming proverbs – anti-proverbs - is a language play, which is employed by anyone who uses humorous language and aims to attract the attention of the readers/hearers to the social events, changing values, new developments and trends and so on, applying a manner of communication. Anti-proverbs are also used in mass media to socialize. According to Buğra (2005), the reproduction of proverbs shared on online communities such as [eksisozluk.com](http://eksisozluk.com) is regarded as the movement of the oral culture of proverbs to the online platform and that people who do not spend time together meet their social needs on the Internet through an online community website.

Özenen (2016) has evaluated the changes in formulaic items and fixed expressions such as idioms, proverbs, aphorisms, prayers and swearing as reproduction which refers to pragmatic, syntagmatic/syntactic, lexical / and semantic changes made in familiar and generalized fixed expressions. Anti-proverbs have been analyzed on a cultural basis as well. T. Shavladze and T. Nakashidze-Makharadze (2017) conducted a comparative study between Anglo-American and Georgian proverbial and anti-proverbial pictures of the world. They showed that Anglo-American anti-proverbial has significantly changed, though Georgian mentality reflected in proverbs and anti-proverbs remained unchangeable. Russian Professor E. Ivanova (2015) compared Russian and Anglo-American proverbial and anti-proverbial pictures of the world in the article "Proverbial and anti-proverbial pictures of the world." Ivanova (2015) has proposed the following statement for the nature of anti-proverbs: "Anti-proverbs form an anti-proverbial picture of the world similar to proverbs forming the proverbial picture of the world." Besides, according to Ivanova (2015), this anti-proverbial picture consists of a more contemporary attitude and a more modern understanding of the surroundings than the world's proverbial image. So it can be said that these molded terms are not only created for comedic language and entertainment purposes but also meaningful to audiences whose principles of speech express a view of life and a form of criticism.

Although anti-proverbs seem temporary and spontaneous, reflecting the creators' value system, culture, attitudes, feelings, political opinion, and the like, according to Özezen (2016), this process of linguistic reproduction refers to the reproduction of valued judgments of the relevant culture; asserting that this reproduction is conducted with the idea that the idealized valued judgment is not valid and that the words are sometimes covered only by the actual one; thereby, uncovering the anti-proverbs hidden reality. According to Seçkin (2017), anti-proverbs may be considered as a reflection of the perception of the young population rather than functioning as traditional proverbs. Moreover, the perception of mass production of material goods prompts individuals to reproduce the proverbs (Gürçayır, 2008). The existence of 58 variations of *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar*, "*ah vatanım*"  *demiş*, [They put the nightingale in a golden cage, said "ah

country"] in the website [www.uludagsozluk.com](http://www.uludagsozluk.com), which is an online dictionary that can be contributed by several users, supports the idea of how the perception of mass production has become part of the culture.

Gürçayır (2008) asserts that the anti-proverbs which have been transferred not from generation to generation but from forum to the forum can be regarded as such even though the anti-proverbs do not reflect the experience of society, their existence demonstrates that the proverbs adapt themselves to the world where the information has rapidly change, everything is consumed in a short time. Besides, Seçkin (2017) has conveyed the notion regarding the anti-proverb as these new patterns have been created as a result of the experiences of a particular group, not all segments of the society. In this sense, unlike the traditional proverbs, anti-proverbs have a narrower meaning and require specific knowledge to be understood. Using the proverbs by replacing some of the words with terms relevant to various fields such as technology, mass media, health, policy and so on can be regarded that the society is familiar with and accepts the traditional proverbs, plus has an in-depth knowledge of terminology regarding various fields so that they can carry out language plays. For example, *bug coderin kamçısıdır* [Bug is coder's whip] which is derived from the proverb *Borç yiğidin kamçısıdır* [Debt is brave's whip] shows that creating anti-proverbs also requires an in-depth knowledge of the terminology of computer and computational terminology. An individual who does not spend time on the computer or technically works on a computer may not understand the message conveyed, unlike the traditional proverbs, which mostly have a general meaning.

Moreover, anti-proverbs are semantically different from traditional proverbs in terms of their salient literal meaning rather than metaphoric meaning. Based on how proverbs change, some of the anti-proverbs are inescapably shorter-lived than others, for example; the anti-proverb *Dos acı söyler* [It takes Dos to tell the bitter truth] is derived from *Dost acı söyler* [It takes a friend to tell the bitter truth] "Dos" is an operating system which dominated between 1981-1994. The anti-proverb was created in 2008 when Windows server was in use. *Dos acı söyler* refers to the idea that dos was not an efficient and practical operating system. Moreover, individuals became crueller to "dos" and reproduced the

proverb *Dos kocamış; windowsun maskarası olur* [Dos has become jester of windows because it gets older] derived from *Kurt kocayınca köpeklerin maskarası olur* [Wolf becomes jester of dog when it gets older]. This situation can be evaluated from two perspectives: Firstly, technology has been developing so rapidly that many terms lose their value over a short time. Windows 2008 replaced dos and Windows, and its updated versions are replacing it. Secondly, individuals react cruelly to the things that they have benefited from and put them out of use quickly, because compared to the past, people can more easily acquire “things” they want, which make the “things” more disposable.

What needs to be taken into consideration is that proverbs that made life easier in the past leave their place nowadays to a world in which information is swiftly shared and the very information that existed the day before is contradicted by the progress that occurs following day. For instance, the frequently updated versions of existing programs as illustrated in the example above, and applications; a rapid change in trends; the content of TV programs; or particularly Turkey's politic; economic and social agenda. In such a rapidly changing world, sustaining the long-term existence and validity of experiences perceived in traditional proverbs is becoming more challenging. Therefore, individuals are required to adapt the proverbs to the virtual environment. Considering Turkey's social and economic changes, especially with technology and social networks, have had a tremendous influence on the creation of anti-proverbs. Undeniably, these two phenomena have become an important part of individuals' lives over the last decade. As Crystal (2004: 224) states, "given that the technological developments upon which they rely are constantly evolving, putting users under constant pressure to adapt their language to the demands of new contexts, and giving them fresh opportunities to interact in novel ways." Crystal (2004: 224) also adds that "The readiness with which people do adapt language to meet the needs of new situations, which is at the heart of linguistic evolution." In this case, the anti-proverbs are regarded as part of this linguistic evolution.

According to Holmes (2013: 343), “languages differ” and concludes that “the thought patterns of their speakers also differ. However, the only evidence we have that their thought patterns differ is the language they use”, which is also seen in the ‘anti-proverbs.’

From this perspective, the thought patterns of social media users are affected by the properties of social media and technology, and accordingly, proverbs which are perceived as sacrosanct structures are extremely modified, twisted or transformed in social media in order to meet the new experiences derived from the changes. Crystal (2004: 7) notes that “to change a critical element in any situation is to motivate a change in the language people use there if they wish to behave conventionally – whether the change is from one region to another, from law court to the street, from home to pub, from one listener to many, or from face-to-face to distant conversation.” From this perspective, the creation of anti-proverbs can be considered as a change from real life to virtual life. This circumstance can be regarded as the reauthorization of the truths of these wise words in the virtual world as well (Gürçayır, 2008).

In this regard, Konstantinova (2014) points out that media authors use these cultural and linguistic gems creatively by modifying them in order to attempt fresh news and different interpretations. As Mieder (2004) indicates, proverbs used as attention-getting headlines are frequently utilized by journalists; anti-proverbs also function as a remarkable tool and are even applied as a headline of online newspapers as Donat (2018) used this anti-proverb *Tweet at, izi kalsın* [Tweet enough and some will stick] derived from *Çamur at, izi kalsın* [Throw dirt enough, and some will stick] for his online article. Additionally, applying anti-proverbs in social media discourse plays a crucial role in explaining the users' worldview, opinions, and attitudes towards the 'social media phenomenon,' exemplified in the following sections.

“The internet is part of our everyday lives, and who we are guides how we use it” (Correa, Hinsley, & De Zuniga, 2010). One of the main components of the internet -the social networking sites- provide a context where people across the world can communicate, exchange messages, share knowledge, and interact with each other regardless of the distance that separates them (Sawyer & Chen, 2012). However, the emergence of social networking sites has led to varieties in the language with characteristics closely related to the intentions, activities, and (to some extent) personalities of the users. As David Crystal (2004: 226) says, “we have already seen this happen with broadcasting technology: radio

brought a new kind of language, which quickly yielded several sub-varieties (commentary, news, weather . . .); then television added a further dimension, which similarly evolved sub-varieties". There is little doubt that digital technology and social networking sites already significantly impact culture and language. In his book *Language and the Internet*, David Crystal (2004: viii) comments:

*"Moreover, as the Internet comes increasingly to be viewed from a social perspective, so the role of language becomes central. Indeed, notwithstanding the remarkable technological achievements and the visual panache of screen presentation, what is immediately apparent when engaging in any of the Internet's functions is its linguistic character? If the Internet is a revolution, therefore, it is likely to be a linguistic revolution».*

From a linguistic perspective, communication on social networking sites heavily relies on written language, which is supposed to be short, precise, creative, stylistic and intriguing. For this purpose, social media accounts users use language freely, creatively, courageously, even carelessly sometimes. So, the main features of the verbal and written language of human interaction in real life profoundly alter the way from oral to the virtual environment, especially on social media discourse, which is experienced in social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. According to Crystal (2004: 28), as a form of communication, the language of the Internet is interesting because of the way it relies on characteristics belonging to both sides of the speech, such as loosely structured, spontaneous, socially interactive and writing -such as repeatedly revisable. As Amedie (2015) says, "This media outlet accommodates a wide variety spontaneous, formal, informal, scholarly, unscholarly writing to flourish." The users also employ informal writing style and conversational nature, including extensive use of non-standard tokens, emoticons, incomplete and ungrammatical sentences, and so on (Liu, Weng and Jiang 2012).

The Turkish language is a significant part of Turkish culture, which has been recently influenced by the language of countries that produce technology. In the Turkish language, symbols, images, photos have been used more than ever, which caused language corruption and deterioration. Moreover, some factors such as the limited characters,



especially on Twitter, limit the characters to 140 words; lack of knowledge, ignorance or lack of attention of users; eagerness to post a message in a short time lead the users of social networking sites to be hasty. So, the users make mistakes in the language use such as not using punctuation marks or not using them appropriately; not beginning with a capital letter for proper nouns or a new sentence; not separating conjunction 'de, da, ki- these Turkish conjunctions have to be written separately, not attached to the word, (these are also enclitic conjunction) and so on.

In addition, the younger generation in Turkish society prefers uploading photos and using emoticons instead of writing proper sentences to express themselves. Plus, omitting the vowel sounds from the words is a prevalent attitude observed in social media discourse. Some of the examples to vowel omitting as such: kib- kendine iyi bak (take care of yourself); k.b. – kusura bakma (excuse me); s.a. -selamun aleykum (peace be with you); aeo –Allaha emanet ol (God bless you); mrb – merhaba (hello); g.t - geri takip (follow back); h.g – hoşgeldiniz (welcome). These examples are all Turkish words. Also, Turkish words are abbreviated by using numbers that are homophones of the replaced words, e.g., 1şey- bir şey (something); kah6- kahvaltı (breakfast). Letters that resemble emoticons are also replaced words, for example, X: Sır vermem (I do not tell the secret); S- Kafası karışmış (confused); I – ilgisiz (uninterested). Additionally, there are some English words used by Turkish society in the same manner, e.g., DM (direct message); TT (trend topic); U (you); bro (brother). The English language is not only used in this form in the daily speech of Turkish people; words such as 'okay, bye, thank you, and hello' are frequently utilized instead of their Turkish equivalence.

It is undeniable that social media, which accommodates a wide variety of spontaneous, formal, informal texts, also plays a vital role in impacting the culture as well as trends, music, movie, literature, and even proverbs, as Furedi (2017) states, "the internet is transforming human life towards a more enlightened and creative existence". Furthermore, social media discourse frequently employs proverbs since the proverbs are one of the preferred linguistic patterns for conveying attitudes, opinions, beliefs, and such, pragmatically speaking, the usage of proverbs is based on the users' goals and intentions. As

a result, social networking sites have become the platform encouraging users to share usage and play with the proverbs. As a result, social networking sites have become the platform encouraging the users to share not just usage but play with the proverbs. Gürçayır (2008) evaluated this situation as man's changing and transforming creativity as well as the necessity of experience transmitted in proverbs.

According to Garcia (2015), social networking sites are implemented for remembering and explaining the traditional proverbs as well as gathering anti-proverbs. There exist fan pages on Facebook, hashtags, and accounts on Twitter devoted to collecting proverbs and anti-proverbs. For example, "https://twitter.com/smatasozleri" consists of anti-proverbs which are created by replacing some words of traditional proverbs with words related to social media: *Sosyal medyadan kuvvet doğar* [Social media makes strength] derived from *Birlikten kuvvet doğar* [Union makes strength], social media is regarded as more potent than coming together physically. As presented in this example, anti-proverbs emphasize the power and position of social media in society. Moreover, anti-proverbs are used to give a message to the friends of the creators as such: *Ak akçe kara @..<sup>22</sup>. içindir* [Save the penny for a black (bad) @] derived from *Ak akçe kara gün içindir* [Save the penny for a rainy day] which means save for a rainy day, still, tagging a user into the anti-proverb aims to convey the message directly (personally) to the user (@...).

There are also tweets on Twitter and private pages or groups on Facebook aiming to collect proverbs in different languages such as Chinese and American. Besides, social media collects regional proverbs through tweets, e.g. <https://twitter.com/KaradenizSzleri>. This page is devoted to collecting the proverbs which belong to the black sea region of Turkey. Another example can be the *Trakya Atasözleri*- 'Thrace proverbs' which are collected on a private page on Facebook which aims to collect, remember and spread the culture of the region of Thrace. In addition, Twitter collects proverbs and anti-proverbs on specific topics such as proverbs on **raki** @RAtasozleri; **mother** @Anabilimdali; **aviation** @havaciatasozler

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<sup>22</sup> The user names belonging to personal accounts have been concealed and replaced by three dots in order to be ethical.

and so on. The users of social networks also post pictures and images in order to visualize the proverbs including the text as well.

Taking into consideration the relationship between social media and culture reveals that it is both interactive and dynamic. Social media provides an inevitable medium in order to interact with new ideas, new identities and different cultures, in this sense, it stimulates the users to create similar items; that is to say, playing with proverbs is not an attitude of only Turkish society, the anti-proverbs exist in different cultures and languages as well. Due to social media's mass cultural exchange and intercultural communication, the new creation in language has become a pattern. For example, the interference to the traditional proverbs is not observed in a particular culture or language; so, there are many researchers who have already conducted considerable research on anti-proverbs in different languages such as Russian (Reznikov, 2012), English (Mieder, 2004), Hungarian (Litovkina, 2017), Persian (Mohamadi & Mohamadi, 2015).

Below, there exist examples of anti-proverbs from Turkish and Anglo-American societies, which have been evaluated based on the changes in the context of the culture. Some of the anti-proverbs given below have been obtained from social media discourse, which are the posts, messages, tweets, comments, or any written, visual or audial material shared in social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc. However, it should be noted that anti-proverbs were not generated in social media or social networking sites, the anti-proverbs date back to the birth of proverbs; still, social media has a tremendous effect on the increasing number of anti-proverbs, their content and even on their structures.

### **3.1.1. Proverbial and Anti-Proverbial Pictures of the World based on Turkish**

#### **Anti- Proverbs**

Not knowing something or answering 'I do not know' is frequently regarded as a deficiency in today's world. Individuals act as if they know everything (Firat, 2008). An irrelevant answer in the society is preferred rather than the answer 'I do not know,' which is reflected in this anti-proverb as such *Bilmemek ayıp değil, Yeter ki çaktırma* [There is no

shame in not knowing as long as you do not reveal that you do not know] derived from *Bilmemek ayıp değil, öğrenmemek ayıptır* [There is no shame in not knowing; the shame lies in not learning] The proverb says a man cannot know everything, but he can ask and learn. Other anti-proverbs indicating this situation is *Bilmemek ayıp değil, önemli olan çaktırmamak* [Not knowing is not a shame; the important thing is not to show that you do not know]; *Bilirsen söz söyle ibret alsınlar, yok bilmezsen başını salla rapçı sansınlar!* [If you know, say it and let them draw a lesson from it; If you do not know, shake your head and let them think you are a rapper.]

In Turkey, people suffer from poverty which is a recurring problem. In addition, finding jobs and earning enough to afford any family needs is not easy, which is also a problem in Turkey. In order to demonstrate this situation, the anti-proverb: *Fakirlik ayıp değil, @..<sup>23</sup>. tembellik ayıp* [There is no shame in not being poor, @... the shame lies in being lazy] derived from *Bilmemek ayıp değil, sormamak ayıp* [It is not shameful not to know; it is shameful not to ask]. The proverb says it is not disgraceful to ask, it is disgraceful not to know, which is used to encourage people to be inquisitive. However, the anti-proverb conveys the message that poverty is not shameful and people should try to find a job and work instead of being lazy, which is regarded as a shame a social media user has created this anti-proverb. Besides, the creator added a word into the anti-proverb, which is a tag '@...' who is most probably someone who is an acquaintance and another social media user to give a message directly to that user. In social media, using tags is essential for active engagement with users of social networking sites since it allows social media users to assign a piece of content to a specific person when they mention them in a post or comment. In this anti-proverb, the verb of both sides of the traditional proverb has been preserved, but the new content words have replaced the subjects. 'Not to know' has been replaced by 'poverty' and 'not to ask' has been replaced by 'laziness', which reflects an economic problem of society and shows a social detection regarding the notion 'knowledge.'

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<sup>23</sup> The user names belonging to personal accounts have been concealed and replaced by three dots in order to be ethical.

In the past, individuals mostly preferred to live where they were born, where their families live, even, living in the same house with their parents after they got married. However, nowadays, in the modern world, many individuals prefer to live in places where they benefit from. The proverb *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "ah vatanım" demiş* [They put the nightingale in a golden cage, said "ah country"] conveys the idea that there is nothing like freedom, and no matter how luxurious a living environment is provided, a person will miss and want to live at his/her home. The nightingale metaphorically refers to the human soul, and the golden cage refers to wealth and money. In the variants of the proverb such as *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "Oh ne rahat" demiş* [They put the nightingale in a golden cage, said "so comfortable"]; *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar "24 ayar olsun" demiş* [They put the nightingale in a golden cage, said "let it be 24 carats"] or *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, bunun swarovski taşlısı yok mu demiş* [They put the nightingale in a golden cage, said "Is not there a cage with swarovski"] As it is evident in the anti-proverbs, in Turkish society, it is not important to live nearby home if the conditions are luxuries and comfortable enough. Moreover, the proverb emphasizes moral values such as home, the sense of belonging, whilst the anti-proverb highlights the material elements such as money, golden, gemstone.

Besides, people are becoming more and more individualistic in Turkish society (Seçkin, 2017). Individualism is a reflection of the pragmatism that brings the interests of individuals forward. In this understanding, issues/concerns that are of their benefit are always ahead of what is to the benefit of society (Altıntaş, 2012). Çevikoğlu (2009) states, "Nowadays, self-interest and self-reflection in human relations are the most valid forms of behavior and almost the basic philosophy of life. This change has been reflected in the anti-proverbs such as *Pilavdan dönenin, kuru fasülyede gözü vardır* [Someone who refuses rice has eyes on white beans] derived from *Pilavdan dönenin kaşığı kırılınsın* [Let the spoon be broken of the person who waives from rice dish]; *Kurtlardan teklif geldi. Sürüden ayrılıyorum* [Wolves made a suggestion. I am leaving the herd] derived from *Sürüden ayrılanı kurt kapar* [Wolves will devour a lamb/sheep away from the herd]; *Para gelecek yerden sanat esirgenmez* [There will not be spared art from a place which can come money]

derived from *Kaz gelecek yerden tavuk esirgenmez* [There will not be spared chicken from a place which can come goose]; and finally *Bill gates gibi baban olsun tonla derdin tasan olsun!* [If you have a father like Bill Gates, it is not important whether you have many problems!] derived from *Kardeşim olsun da kanlım olsun* [Let there be a brother of mine even though it is an enemy of mine]. The proverb stipulates that siblings help and support each other in case of any difficulties, so even if the sibling does not get on well with each other, it is desirous of having one. In the anti-proverb, have a father like Bill Gates and have a thousand problems! So the proverb is based on emotional reason, while the anti-proverb is based on financial reasons and self-interest.

The individualism also expresses itself in the anti-proverb *Sürüden ayrılan kişilik kapar* (Demirci, 2004: 132) [Personality grabs the person who leaves the flock] which is derived from the traditional proverb *Sürüden ayrılanı kurt kapar* [Wolves will devour a lamb/sheep away from the herd.] The proverb conveys the idea that a person who insists on going on it alone is headed for trouble; that is to say, the person who leaves a community of his/her friends and does the work by himself/herself remains unsupervised and unsupported; suffers great damages. Sorensen and Oyserman (2011) note that individuals feel tangible and real, and group members are obligated to and interdependent with each other. The proverb emphasizes the benefit of collectivism as well. However, in the anti-proverb, it has been underlined that individuals can gain a personality only if they leave the community; otherwise, they will resemble the others.

On the contrary to what Sorensen & Oyserman (2011) state that "Within a collectivistic perspective, individuals can only be understood within the context of the groups they belong to and in terms of their connections with particular others." The anti-proverb implies that a person who leaves a community will gain a "personality," emphasising individualism and discrediting collectivism. Other examples supporting individualism are as such: *Denize düşen yılanı sarılır* [One who falls into the sea grabs on the snake] has variations such as *Denize düşen, varile sarılır* [One who falls to the sea grabs on to the drum] and *Denize düşen koli basili'ne sarılır* [One who falls into the sea grabs on to parcels]. While the traditional proverb conveys that a desperate man will face any risk,

the anti-proverb reflects the aspect of Turkish society that a desperate man is on his own; people do not help each other; each is alone in this modern world.

The changing society in terms of supporting each other and becoming more individual is also reflected in these anti-proverbs: *Ağlarsa anam ağlar, başkası yalan ağlar* [Your mother alone will wail on you, others fake cry] in other words [If anyone should bewail me, my mother would do so, the others would cry only feignedly.] The proverb means that when someone is in trouble, in a miserable or difficult situation, it is only his/her mother who becomes sad and tries to help. Other variants of the proverb as such: *Ağlarsa anam ağlar, gerisi PLAY-BACK yapar* [It is my mother who cries, others play back.], *Ağlarsa anam ağlar o da zaten yalandan ağlar* [It is my mother who cries, but she is just faking] implies that no one becomes sad for someone except his/her mother; even his/her mother does not become sad, she just seems to be so. Some variants of this proverb are relevant to social media and the internet: *Ağlarsa anam ağlar gerisi sosyal ağlar* [It is my mother who cries, others are social networks], *Ağlarsa kablosuz ağlar gerisi yalan ağlar* [It is wireless networks who cry, others are just faking], *Ağlarsa kablosuz ağlar gerisi yerel ağlar* [It is wireless networks who cry, others are local area networks], *Ağlarsa anam ağlar bir de kablosuz ağlar* [It is my mother and wireless networks who cry.] These anti-proverbs mean that the real tears are shed by mothers and the rest weep “crocodile tears” and that these “crocodile tears” are shared through social networks. These variants of anti-proverbs emphasize wireless networks and how efficient and essential they are in modern life. A strong indication to be taken into consideration, is that from all variants, there is a tendency towards individualism and a sense of loneliness in the social life of Turkish people.

This cultural and social change is also discovered in the change of the proverb *Derdini söylemeyen derman bulamaz* [Anyone who does not tell his/her trouble, can not find a cure] has been modified as *Derdini söylemeyen iyi yapar. Bir de onun derdiyle uğraşamayız!* [The person who does not tell his/her problem does well. We cannot deal with his/her problem!]; also, *Derdini google'da aratmayan derdine derman bulamaz* [Anyone who does not Google her problem can not find a cure] Apparently, the semantical change of the proverbs is that individuals have become so individualistic that they do not want to

listen to their friends' problems and try to assist them emotionally, financially or in any other way. Once more, the Internet replaces the family or friend who is supposed to be with the person in need.

*Aslan yattığı yerden belli olur* [A lion may be learned where it lives], this proverb makes a connection between the way people use places where they live and stay and their personalities. However, in the anti-proverb, *Aslan hemen belli olur* [A lion immediately manifests itself] appearance is considered important enough to reflect the personality of the person. (Bekiroğlu, 2014). Apart from the place, materials such as the brand of clothes, mobile phones, cars and so on have also become significant in the first assessment of relationships.

In Turkey, unemployment is a common problem, and many factors should be taken into consideration when unemployment is evaluated, one of which is the inactiveness of people. According to Alper (2017), unemployment is not only due to the lack of jobs but also because of the indolence of the new generation; unhappiness or desk work requests, and, have an impact on unemployment figures. Indolence has been demonstrated in the anti-proverbs as *Az iş, çok laf* [Lest work, more words] derived from *Az laf, çok iş* [Lest speech, more work]; *Yenilen pehlivan güneşe doymaz* [The beaten wrestler is never satisfied with the sun] derived from *Yenilen pehlivan güreşe doymaz* [The beaten wrestler does not have enough of wrestling], which refers to the people who give up working and prefer to rest when they fail at work instead of working hard.

Unemployment and laziness tend to people gamble. Unfortunately, gambling is escalating in Turkey, and unemployment and COVID are contributors, which can be seen in the anti-proverbs as such: *Ak akçe kumar içindir* [Save the penny for a gambling day] derived from *Ak akçe kara gün içindir* [Save the penny for a rainy day]; *Kumarda kaybeden, evine don gömlek gider* [The one who loses at gambling turns back home with his underwear] derived from *Kumarda kaybeden aşta kazanır* [Unlucky at cards, lucky in love]; *Ayağını ganyana göre uzat* [Stretch your legs according to the winning horse] derived from *Ayağını yorganına göre uzat* [Stretch your legs according to the size of your quilt.]



The Turkish economic difficulties, which are further reflected in the anti-proverbs, *Sakla samanı gelir zam anı* [Save the straw, raise time will come] demonstrate the economic changes in the society regarding price rises. Reproducing the anti-proverb has occurred by dividing the last word into two parts, each of which is a unique word- zam (increase) anı (time). Price increases in almost everything in Turkey have been inevitably felt in society. The proverb *Ekmek aslanın ağzında* [The bread is in the lion's mouth] metaphorically says earning money and finding a job in order to afford things is very difficult, and literally, Aslan (lion) is a dangerous animal in order to approach and take the bread from it. However, the anti-proverb *Eskiden ekmek aslanın ağzındaydı. Şimdi aslan da aç* [The bread used to be in the lion's mouth. Now the lion is hungry, too.] means in the past one could afford things if s/he works in a job, however, today it has become much more difficult to make one's living even if s/he works, indicating the financial difficulties of Turkish society. Other examples; *Evdeki hesap, enflasyona uymaz* [The math at home does not fit in inflation] derived from *Evdeki hesap çarşıya uymaz* [The math at home does not meet in market]; *Ak akçe zamlar içindir* [Save the penny for price raise] derived from *Ak akçe her gün içindir* [Save the penny for every day]; *Damlaya damlaya, cepte para kalmaz* [There's no money in the pocket by dropping], *Zamlaya zamlaya kriz olur* [There is crisis with the raise], *Damlaya damlaya göl olur, ona da vergi koyarlar* [There becomes a lake by drop by drop, and they lay a tax on it] derived from *Damlaya damlaya göl olur* [There becomes a lake by drop by drop]; and finally *Zamlar memurun stres topudur* [Raise is the officer's stress ball] derived from *Borç yiğidin kamçısıdır* [Debt is whip of the brave man.]

*Damlaya damlaya göl olur* [There becomes a lake by drop by drop] turns into *Damlaya damlaya bir şey olmaz, üstelik etrafı da ıslatır* [Nothing becomes by dropping; moreover, it wets the surround.] The anti-proverb eloquently indicates that making savings does not aid people. Moreover, people are put into difficulties because of economic restraints. 'Etrafı ıslatmak (wet around)' is not regarded as a desirable situation. Similarly, *Saklaya saklaya cöplük olduk* [We have become dump by dropping] is an anti-proverb which is most probably produced in order to refer to people who reject collecting and keeping things at home, a common occurrence in present day Turkish homes.

Exemplifying a similar situation is *Besle kargayı büyüyünce tavuk diye satarsın* [Feed the crow, you will sell it when it grows] which is derived from *Besle kargayı oysun gözünü* [Feed the crow, and it will peck out your eyes] demonstrating when someone returns evil for good. The traditional proverb conveyed to the listeners/readers that objects that seem utterly worthless now should not be thrown away, becoming handy someday, thus encouraging people to become thrifty. Being dishonest for the acquisition of wealth is also discovered in the anti-proverb *Ucuz etin yahnisi sürümden kazandırır!* [Stew from cheap meat gains from demand] derived from the proverb *Ucuz etin yahnisi yavan olur* [Cheap meat yields dilute soup.] In these anti-proverbs, it is advisable that individuals should benefit from every situation, even when it is the trick to sell a crow as a turkey. Apparently, instead of being thrifty and not consuming everything at once, everything has been seen as an object that can be sold or bought (Seçkin, 2017). So, the anti-proverb consists of an encouraging message of being a trickster or a liar, unconcerned by the relationship with others, and the ideal is to acquire wealth.

Other anti-proverbs *Sakla samanı, inekler aç kalsın* [Save the straw and let the cows starve] and *Sakla samanı bulamasınlar* [Save the straw so that they don't find it] are derived from *Sakla samanı, gelir zamanı* [Save the straw, you will use it in due time] are also anti-proverbs in order to reflect the evil people who wish/desire others to be in trouble or difficulty. Taking the first part of the traditional proverb literally, saving the straw is not saved for needy times but leaving the cow without food or allowing others to find it as indicated in the anti-proverbs.

This desire for consumption is also a remarkable fact in the changing society of Turkey (2021), and based on the sense of belonging in society and in other words, keeping up with current trends. For instance, using English words when speaking Turkish, buying expensive technological products when unable to afford them, sharing the best photos, tagging himself/herself in popular places, and so on are all based on the desire to belong to a particular group in society. All these challenges require consumption which is a supposed demonstration of happiness and existence. The notion of consumption is supported by the mass media and has become the meaning of life and the accurate measure of happiness

within the search of creating a modern middle-class society in Turkey, as opposed to an agrarian one that is deemed undesirable. The anti-proverb *Ak akçe her gün içindir* [Save the penny for every day] derived from *Ak akçe kara gün içindir* [Save the penny for a rainy day] is a reflection of the rising consumerism in Turkish society, such as cars, property and foreign holidays. This change in society illustrates that saving money is invalid; money is valuable and meaningful when spent and consumed conspicuously (Seçkin, 2017). Some other anti-proverb derived from the traditional proverb above is *Ak akçe kara gün gelene kadar değerini yitirir* [Silver money loses the value until the day comes] derived from *Ak akçe kara gün içindir* [Save the penny for a rainy day] and advice the hearers/readers to spend the money and consume things today. In other words, it is counsels that consumption is the method of achieving a good life.

Today (2021), people tend to cheat, lie, and steal, and, unfortunately, dishonesty has become common in Turkish society, with a deterioration in mores. The creators of the following anti-proverbs have reflected this reality: *Öğrenci öğrenciye bakarak beş alır* [A student gets a score of 5 by copying from another student] which is derived from *Üzüm üzüme baka baka kararır* [Grapes become black upon seeing one another]; *Her yiğidin bir rüşvet yiyişi vardır* [Each brave man takes a bribe in his way] which is derived from *Her yiğidin bir yoğurt yiyişi vardır* [Each brave man eats yogurt in his way]; *Sınava kopyasız girmek, savaşa silahsız girmek gibidir* [Entering the exam without copy is like being at war unarmed] derived from *Komşu kızı almak kalaylı kaptan su içmek gibidir* [Marrying the neighbor's daughter is like drinking water from a newly tinned copper bowl]; *Politikacı köprüyü geçene kadar seçmene dayı der* [The politician calls the voters "uncle" until he crosses the bridge] which is derived from *Köprüyü geçene kadar ayıya dayı derler* [They call the bear "uncle" until they have crossed the bridge.]

The current Turkish society compels individuals to lie in order to become successful, to rid themselves of troubles, for self-interest and so on. The proverb *Eğri otur, doğru konuş* [Sit slouching, speak truly] figuratively says 'the way of your behaving, sitting, the dressing is not the business of others but no matter what, you are supposed to speak truly' (Aksoy, 1988). However, the anti-proverb *Doğru konuşmuyor ama hep eğri oturduğu için kafam*

*karışıyor* [S/he is not speaking truly, but I am confused because s/he sits slouching all the time] is different in a way; contrary to the other anti-proverbs, this one shows that there is a strong belief in traditional proverbs. On the other hand, another anti-proverb *Eğri oturalım, belimiz ağrısın* [Sit slouching, suffer from low back pain] ignores the part of 'speaking truly' and demonstrates the attitude of the society towards it. In addition, *Hayata düşen yalana sarılır* (Demirci, 2004: 1) [One who falls into the life grabs on to lies] derived from *Denize düşen yılanı sarılır* [One who falls into the sea grabs on the snake] is an anti-proverb that conveys the message that individuals embrace lies when they are born.

Modern Turkish families have been portrayed as emotionally interdependent, and it is suggested that the new child-rearing practices will produce an "autonomous-relational" rather than an independent or interdependent self in the child (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996: 89). This is reflected in the anti-proverb *Kızını dövmeyen, torununu erken sever* [He who does not beat his daughter will love their grandchild earlier than expected] derived from *Kızını dövmeyen dizini döver* [He who does not beat his daughter will beat his knees.] According to the proverb, parents should educate their daughters; otherwise, the children will make mistakes that disappoint them, which is indicated in the second part of the proverb. However, the anti-proverb does not include any sorrow or regret that reflects one of the societal changes concerning the education and relationships in the family.

In Turkish culture, respect is accorded by age. The eldest has the most authority, so younger ones avoid arguing or disrespecting them. However, the current situation of the relationship between elders and youngers is demonstrated in the anti-proverb as *Su küçüğün, sürahi büyüğüdür* [Water is for young and pitcher is for elder] derived from *Su küçüğün, söz büyüğüdür* [Water is for young and word is for the elder.] The proverb says water is for young and word is for elder, which can be regarded as a reference from a socio-cultural perspective because in Turkey, elders were given priority of speaking and respected both in verbal and nonverbal communication. However, at present, as it is seen in the anti-proverb which says water is for young and pitcher is for the elder as it is understandable, that the elder is in the position of the server. Moreover, *Sakla samanı ders çalışırken yersin* [Save the straw you can eat while studying] derived from *Sakla samanı, gelir zamanı* [Save

the straw, you will use it in due time] is an anti-proverb produced to refer to hardworking students who resemble cows, which is regarded as a disrespectful attitude.

Another change that can be observed in Turkish society and has been reflected in the anti-proverbs is the tendency towards violence. People can be violent with the desire to keep up with society by being affected by their environment. Factors such as the raising of males from a young age to conflict and violence, and the use of violence as a discipline in Turkish culture, put individuals from a young age into a violent mindset. Factors such as social pressure, marginalization, lack of education, sociocultural position, financial problems, stress, migration, and urbanization push people towards violence, because of perceived or actual failure to achieve. Some of the examples are *Gülme komşuna dayak yersin* [Don't laugh at your neighbor, you will be beaten] derived from *Gülme komşuna, gelir başına* [Who laughs at other people's misfortunes may soon meet the same fate]; *Anasına bak, babasından dayak ye* [Look at his mother, get beaten by his father] derived from *Anasına bak kızını al, kenarına bak bezini al* [Look at the mother, marry the daughter; examine the selvage, then buy the cloth]; *Akılsız başın cezasını tetikçi çeker!* [Shooter serves the sentence which belongs to the mindless mind] derived from *Akılsız başın cezasını ayaklar çeker* [A foolish head makes for weary feet] If you don't use your head your feet do the work; *Bükemediğin bileği ısır* [Bite the wrist you can't bend] derived from *Bükemediğin eli öp, başına koy* [Kiss the wrist and put it on your head if you can't bend]; *Bekleyen derviş beklediği kişiyi gebertmiş* [The dervish who waits long kills the person who makes him wait] derived from *Bekleyen derviş muradına ermiş* [Dervish who has patient attains his desire]; *Eceli gelen yiğit cadde ortasından yürür* [The valiant whose death comes walks in the middle of street] derived from *Eceli gelen köpek cami duvarına işer* [The dog which is soon to death of time pees on the mosque wall]; *Öfkeyle kalkan reality show oturur!* [The one who stands up with anger sits with reality show] derived from *Öfke ile kalkan zararlar oturur* [He who gets up in anger sits down with a loss.] The crime rate has also been increasing in Turkey, and this fact is reflected in the anti-proverb as *Bir elin nesi var iki elin kelepçesi var!* [What does one hand have, two hands have handcuffs] derived from *Bir elin nesi var iki elin sesi var!* [What does one hand have, two hands have voice!].

At present (2021), innovations have emerged because of rapidly-developing technology put into the service of humanity and peoples' experience of lifestyle changes day by day. In daily life, most work has been carried out by machines; people take cars even for short distances, so people move less. Developing technologies also affect the way of eating habits of people negatively. Studies show that the cases of being overweight and obesity has increased in Turkey as well as over the world (Sağlık Bakanlığı, Temel Sağlık Hizmetleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2010). Moreover, the eating habits of Turkish people has changed dramatically. Being overweight is one of the most common problems people are facing right now. The way of shopping and cooking has altered due to attitudes towards food. In the past, it was typical for a family to have their meals at the same time every day, so the disciplined approach helped to keep people slimmer and healthier (Petty, 2017). In the modern-day, due to several reasons such as limited time, laziness, skipping breakfast, snacking, several cups of coffee, buying expensive but unhealthy food, dining out at restaurants whose menus are full of fatty foods and huge portions have replaced the regular eating rule.

Consequently, people gain weight, which is problematic for how they want to see themselves in the mirror. Therefore, people visit dietitians, take medicines, have a fat removing operation, go to gyms, and lose weight; this also requires financial support. Accordingly, anti-proverbs illustrate the popular movement and notion of 'diet.': *Sakla samanı inekler rejim yapsın* [Save the straw, let the cows go on a diet] derived from *Sakla samanı, gelir zamanı* [Save the straw, you will use it in due time]. *Besle kargayı şişmanlasın, sonra da rejime sokarsın* [Let the crow be fat, then put it in the regime] derived from *Besle kargayı oysun gözünü* [Feed the crow, and it will peck out your eyes] is one of the anti-proverbs which indicates the change in the Turkish society in terms of appearance and is reflected in the anti-proverbs to illustrate the current situation of Turkish society. According to Haug (2006), commodity aesthetics is one of the most powerful forces in a capitalist society. It counters the traditional ideological powers - notably religion, education, and art - and infiltrates them to a certain extent. In conjunction with the new

media, it is probably the dominant force in the collective imagination of millions of people every day.

As it is comprehended from some Turkish anti-proverbs, the perception of aesthetics among Turkish people remains dominant in social life: *İnsan insanın imajmaker'idir!* [The human is human's image maker] derived from *İnsan İnsanın şeytanıdır* [The human is human's demon]; *Kırk yıllık kâni estetik ameliyatla olabilir yani!* [Forty years of life can be possible with cosmetic surgery] derived from *Kırk yıllık Yani, olur mu Kani* [Forty years of life cannot be possible]; *Dost başa düşman imaj'a bakar* [Friends look at the head and enemy looks at the image] derived from *Dost başa, düşman ayağa bakar* [Friends look at the head and enemy looks at the feet]; *Solaryum girmeyen eve doktor girer* [Doctor enters home which solarium doesn't] derived from *Güneş girmeyen eve doktor girer* [Doctor enters home which sun doesn't]; *Gülme komşuna, dişlerin çürük* [Don't laugh at your neighbor, your teeth are decayed] derived from *Gülme komşuna, gelir başına* [Who laughs at other people's misfortunes may soon meet the same fate]; *Gülü seven dikenine epilasyon yaptırır!* is used for well-groomed all the time meaning [One who loves roses they remove its hair] derived from *Gülü seven dikenine katlanır* [Who loves the rose bears the thorn]; *Üzüm üzümüne baka baka solarium!* [Grape solarium upon seeing one another!] (refers to being swarthy even in winter) derived from *Üzüm üzümüne baka baka kararır* [Grapes become black upon seeing one another]; *Zorla güzellik, güzellik salonunda olur* [Beauty by force can be achieved in beauty salon] derived from *Zorla güzellik olmaz* [No good/beauty can be achieved by force.] The situation may be reflected in the following anti-proverb in a kind of humorous way: *Deveye demişler boynun eğri deve demiş "I am tired of the society's unrealistic beauty standards"* [They told the camel that his neck was crooked, and he answered, "I am tired of the society's unrealistic beauty standards"] derived from *Deveye "boynun eğri" demişler, "nerem doğru ki" demiş* [They told the camel that his neck was crooked, and he answered, "Is there any part of me that's straight."] Interestingly, this anti-proverb continues in English.

"People must work hard if they want to reap the benefit." In other words, people should care about what they have in order to make improvements. Nevertheless, today, this

caring attitude has been replaced by a reckless behavior which is also reflected in the anti-proverbs such as *Bakarsan bağ olur, bakmazsan bakma!* [If you look after it, it will become a vineyard; if you don't, don't look after!] derived from *Bakarsan bağ, bakmazsan dağ olur* which means [If you look after it, it will become a vineyard; if you do not, it will become a mountain]. Other examples are as such: *Sakla samanı çürüsün* [Save the straw, let it decay] derived from *Sakla samanı, gelir zamanı* [Save the straw, you will use it due time.] As determined before, saving the straw means to be economical and cautious; today, the straw is saved in order to let it decay. *Bugün başından atabileceğin işi yarına bırakma* [Never put off today's work which you can avoid till tomorrow] derived from *Bugünün işini yarına bırakma* [Do not put off till tomorrow what you can do today]

Frequently, Turkish people believe that the courts do not always give the correct decision and has been unfair in some cases, which are demonstrated in the anti-proverbs such as *Adaletin kestiği parmağa yazık olur* [It's a shame about the finger cut by justice] and *Adaletin kestiği parmak kanar* [The finger cut by justice bleeds] derived from *Şeriatın kestiği parmak acımaz* [The sword of justice has no scabbard] Whatever the justice rules, it is obeyed. Relatively, it also believed that people are not always promoted or appointed based on their performance and knowledge but on their relatives or acquaintances, which has been indicated in the anti-proverb *Tebdil-i mekanda torpil ve kadrolaşma vardır!* [There are torpedo and staffing in the position change that is] derived from *Tebdil-i mekanda ferahlık vardır* [There is release in the position change.] Change is as good as rest.

*Tatlı dil yılanı deliğinden çıkarır* [Good words take the snake out from its hole] exists in the modern world as *Tatlı söz yılanı vız gelir* [Soft words do not matter a whit to a snake]; *Söz gümüşse, sükut altındır* [Speech is silver, but silence is golden] has a variation as *Söz gümüşse, sözlüğü olan köşeyi döner* [If a word is a silver, the person having a dictionary becomes rich]; *Sofrada elini, mecliste dilini kısa tut* [At the table, keep your hand short; at a social gathering, your tongue] is changed as *Politikacı sofrada elini, konuşurken gevezeliğe gerek kalmadan dilini kısa tutmalı* [A politician should keep his hand short at the table and his tongue without the need for babbling while speaking]. The traditional proverbs emphasize the importance of concise sayings in society. In other words, silence and less



speaking are much more acceptable than speaking. In other words, silence and less speaking are much more acceptable than speaking. According to Hofstede's model (2011), individualist cultures prefer predominantly verbal communication and express their feelings verbally. Conversely, oral communication in collectivist cultures is often supported and reinforced by nonverbal elements. In some cases, it is preferable to be silent instead of taking verbal action. From the anti-proverbs, it can be said that Turkish society has turned from a collectivist to an individualist approach.

Wi-fi has revolutionized the way people live compared to the past; for example, individuals have access to various online sources fast and efficiently, do online shopping even from the next-door market, play online games or spend time on entertaining sites or social media through the internet. Moreover, considering the time spent on the internet, it can be said that neighborhood, social life, collectivism has dramatically been influenced. The shared entity between neighbors is not 'supported' but 'wi-fi.' For example, the anti-proverb *Komşu komşunun, wifisine muhtaçtır* [A person is in need of his/her neighbor's Wi-Fi] derived from *Komşu komşunun külüne muhtaçtır* [A person is in need of his/her neighbor's ash] illustrates the relations among neighbors.

The anti-proverb produced in the modern world has also shown that reliability has been decreasing amongst individuals. *Borç yiğidin kamçısıdır* [Debt is brave's whip] has been modified as *Borç yiğidin karın ağrısıdır* [Debt is brave's stomach-ache.] The proverb encourages people to work hard to pay their debts; however, the anti-proverb allows people to think the debt makes them ill, incapacitating them, and unable to repay the debt. The anti-proverbs supporting this situation are: *Besle karıyı, taksın boynuzu* [Feed the wife then she cheats] derived from *Besle kargayı, oysun gözünü* [Feed crow, let it scratch your eyes out]; *Parayı veren bir daha nah geri alır* [Whoever pays money, that is who will never take it back] derived from *Parayı veren düdüğü çalar* [Whoever pays money, that is who calls the tune.]

Also, in Turkish society, there is a belief that good people in our society will go to heaven. However, leaving the other world belief aside, it is understood from the anti-

proverbs that the good people are not rewarded in this world, even for being good, they pay a price which is observed in the anti-proverb *İyiler cinnete gider* [Good people go to madness] derived from *İyiler cennete gider* [Good people go to heaven]. Another example is *İyilik yap, suya at, ıslansın* [Do a good thing, throw it into the sea, let it get wet] derived from *İyilik yap denize at halik bilmezse malik bilir* [Do a good thing, throw it into the sea, although fish does not understand, god knows.] While in the proverb, it is emphasized that individuals should help others without expecting any return, the anti-proverb denotes that individuals value the help of others. *Az veren candan çok veren enayiliğinden verir* [Anyone who donates little donates from his/he soul, anyone who donates much, donates because s/he is sucker] derived from *Az veren candan çok veren maldan* [Anyone who donates little donates from his/her soul, anyone who donates much, donates from his/her property], which has a very similar to the previous one in terms of its message on how individuals do not understand the meaning of helping each other.

Another source of the Turkish anti-proverbs is social media, which Turkish people have used to share their sorrow, happiness, success, illness with a photo taken in a hospital room, and criticism relevant to art, music, politician, economy and so on. Social media has become so significant that individuals have changed their attitudes towards society, which have been reflected in the anti-proverbs as such: *Söz gümüşse, sosyal medya altındır* [Speech is silver, but social media is golden] derived from *Söz gümüşse, sükut altındır* [Speech is silver, but silence is golden]; *Sosyal medya, kılıçtan keskindir* [The social media is sharper than the sword] derived from *Dil kılıçtan keskindir* [The tongue is sharper than the sword] What is shared on social media is more valuable than words uttered; *Yuvayı yapan sosyal medya uzmanıdır* [It is social media specialist who makes the nest] derived from *Yuvayı yapan dişi kuştur* [It is hen which makes the nest]; so, even the marriages depend on the relationship on social media. *Akıl yaşta değil Google'dadır* [Intelligence is not in age, it is in Google] derived from *Akıl yaşta değil baştadır* [Intelligence is not in age, it is in the head] it is preferred to obtain information from Google instead of consulting to elders. *Sosyal medyanın sonu selâmettir* [The end of social media is salvation] derived from *Sabrın sonu selamettir* [The end of patience is salvation.] *Facebook'ta bir yalan paylaştım google'da*

*arattım, ben de inandım* [I shared a lie on Facebook, searched it on Google, I believed in it as well] derived from *Aşağı köyde bir yalan söyledim, Yukarı köye çıkana kadar ben de inandım* [I told a lie in the down village, I believed in it until I arrive in the upper village]. This anti-proverb shows how people become so dependent on the internet without questioning its reliability; Jarvis (2012: 169) states that "the experiences that are accepted as right in real life may not be right on the internet." As indicated in this anti-proverb, what is wrong in the real world may not be correct on the internet. *Bana beğendiklerini, takip ettiklerini felan söyle sana kim olduğunu söyleyeyim* [Tell me who your favs and follows and such are, and I will tell you who you are], *Facebook arkadaşını söyle, sana kim olduğunu söyleyeyim* [Tell me who your Facebook friend is, and I will tell you who you are] derived from *Bana arkadaşını söyle, sana kim olduğunu söyleyeyim* [Tell me who your friend is, and I will tell you who you are]. Social media is a reflection of the users' personality.

### 3.1.2. Proverbial and Anti-Proverbial Pictures of the World based on Anglo-American Anti-Proverbs

The traditional proverb [No pain, no gain] (p.239) means nothing can be achieved without effort, suffering, or hardship, often explicitly applied to physical exercise. *Without pain, you gain* is the adapted version of modern life. As Shavladze and Makharadze (2017) illustrated in their study, one can succeed in the modern world without hard work. Also, success is easy to achieve if one is supported financially or by a person holding a high rank. *Never do today what you can put off for tomorrow* [Never put off for tomorrow what you can do today] (p.234); *Hard work never killed anybody, but who wants to be his first victim?* [Hard work never killed anybody] (p.159). These anti-proverbs indicate that indolence has become a habit in the community.

[If at first, you do not succeed, try, try again] (p.173) According to the Online Cambridge dictionary, this traditional proverb means encouraging someone who has failed at something to try to do it again and used for telling someone not to stop trying if they do not achieve what they want the first time. Some of the transformed versions of this traditional proverb are as such: "*If at first you do not succeed, quit; If at first you do not*

*succeed, cheat; If at first, you do not succeed, you are average; If at first you do not succeed, cry, cry again; If at first you do not succeed, forget it; If at first you do not succeed, blame somebody.*” These are selected from 62 different versions of the traditional proverb, indicating that either someone should quit, forget, cry or blame someone else, which is the observable reaction of youth towards to their aims nowadays.

[Honesty is the best policy] (p.170) is an Anglo-American proverb that says that telling the truth is better than lying even when it is hard to do, so it is always crucial, to tell the truth. However, in the modern world, honesty has been replaced by dishonesty and is related to wealth and self-interest. Some of the anti-proverbs are *Dishonesty is the best policy; Honesty is still the best policy, but some people are satisfied with less than the best; Honesty is the best policy unless, of course, you are an excellent liar; Honesty is the best policy- when there is Money in it; Honesty is the best policy- for poor people.*

[Home is where the heart *is*] (p.169) is another traditional proverb that has been adapted to the modern world following the changes in the American society — knowing where home is not always a building that people live in but a place where they feel connected by friends and family members. Nonetheless, some of the modern versions are *Home is where the bar is; home is where the television is; home is where the computer is; home is where the house is; home is where the mortgage is.* Noticeable in the anti-proverbs the relationship with the families, friends and the sense of community has been replaced by technological devices such as a computer, internet; bar, house and property rather than the feelings.

[Silence is golden] (p. 269) is an Anglo-American proverb emphasizing silence as a valuable and a wise act. However, the creators utilize the proverb itself both to criticize and ridicule the idea as such: *Silence is golden, especially for the blackmailer; Silence is golden, maybe that is why it is so rare; Silence is golden, but then you cannot see my golden teeth.*

The proverb [Spare the rod, spoil the child] (p. 270) means if a parent refuses to discipline an unruly child, that child will grow accustomed to being spoiled. Today, parents behave in a less domineering manner than the previous generations and believe that if

someone does not punish a child when they do something wrong, they will not learn what is right is not acceptable anymore. Therefore, parents apply different ways to discipline their children instead of punishing them. The re-creations of the traditional proverb are: *Do not spare the rod, or you may someday find junior carrying one; spare the hot rod and save the child; spare the rod, and you will get struck by lightning; spare the rod and you will have no fish for dinner; spoil the rod, and spare the child.* However, some of the anti-proverbs derived from the traditional ones indicate that disciplining the women or wives has been put forward as: Spare the marcel and spoil the woman; spare the rod and spoil the wife.

[Save for a rainy day] (p. 266) This proverb has been used to suggest reserving something, especially money, to be utilized for unforeseen difficulty, suffering or need. However, today, individuals wish to acquire goods and services, similarly the idea of luxury consumption such as technology and the increasing importance of fashion, so they spend money in order to have perceived popularity, simply for purchasing rather than a necessity, and enabling a consumer culture. The anti-proverbs may be proof of this situation: *It is wise to save for a rainy day- raincoats and umbrellas are quite expensive; rainy days come to those who save up for them; save a boyfriend for a rainy day- and another in case it does not rain; save up your money, and then stay home when it rains; the man who cannot save for a rainy day should move to the desert; when you finally save enough for a rainy day, some of your relatives start sending in bad weather reports.*

The traditional proverb [Time heals all wounds] (p.308) means patience is a remedy for all the sorrow, so, after some time, negative feelings eventually fade away. However, individuals do not believe in time in the modern world and mock the proverb by taking the words' literal meaning. Still, sufficient material is kept to help recognize the original. Some of the Anglo-American anti-proverbs are as such: *Time heals all things except leaky faucets, time heals all non-fatal wounds, time is a great healer, but it is far from being a beauty specialist.*

Technology has created amazing tools and resources. Moreover, it has an impressive influence on most peoples' life in terms of communication, education, politics and so on, which are reflected in the following proverbs. *There is no place like home.com!* [There is no place like home] (p. 302), *In Gates we trust [In God we trust; all others pay cash], Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach him to use the Net and he won't bother you for weeks [Give a man a fish, and you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish, and you feed him for a lifetime], Don't byte off more than you can view [Don't bite off more than you can chew] (p.124), Too many clicks spoil the browse [Too many cooks spoil the broth] (p. 313).*

[Knowledge is power] (p.195) According to the dictionary of proverbs (Manser, 2002), those who know can control or influence those who do not. Knowledge truly empowers individuals, but sometimes people use knowledge for their self-interest, which has been reflected in the anti-proverbs as *Knowledge is power, but no matter how much you know, you still can't run your electric appliance with it; Knowledge is power, but only if a man knows what facts not to bother about; knowledge is power if you know it about the right people; Knowledge is power, with the right contacts, is more powerful.*

Issues relevant to law and lawyer, especially a lawyer's stereotypical traits, have also been reflected in the anti-proverbial structures. For example, [Ignorance of the law is no excuse] (p.180) is modified as *Ignorance of the law is no excuse and neither is the ignorance of the lawmakers; Ignorance of the law is no excuse, but it's better than no alibi at all; Ignorance of law prevents a lawyer from winning your case, but not from collecting his fee; Lawyers are the only persons in whom ignorance of the law is not punished.* Litovkina (2011) focused on how the theme of law and lawyer is reflected in Anglo-American anti-proverbs and concluded that it is preferable to observe the law and not be involved in any legal proceedings. After a legal case has been started, its outcome cannot be predicted. 'Law' is depicted as something fierce. People who are unaware that something is against the law can still be punished for doing it. There are many laws; there will undoubtedly be many offenders since individuals will unwittingly break the law.

This chapter focused on the Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs, concerned with revealing societal changes, understanding the mechanism between proverbs and social values; plus, examined the anti-proverbs used in social media discourse by which the users of social networking sites express themselves and communicate with others. The proverbs that have a communicative value have been transformed into anti-proverbs to reflect the recent changes again within society; that is to say, anti-proverbs demonstrate a society's new experiences and developments that reshape the discourse, even the traditional ones as proverbs. Therefore, the traditional proverbs, which were regarded as unchangeable truths once, do not remain the same forever. Accordingly, the changes in the various areas of life and the method of acquiring, plus transitions in the culture and society, have also led to proverbs being part of this change process. Besides, the social networking sites, which are regarded as one of the sources of these changes, have a tremendous effect on various aspects of daily life such as the way of communication, the relationships of individuals, daily habits, even the traditional values used by the members of society for centuries, that is, proverbs. However, the influence is reciprocated because the factors such as the economy, daily routines, and relationships influence the social networking sites, which are apparent in the users' posts. One of the outcomes of this mutual interaction between social media and social life is the creation of anti-proverbs.

Analyzing the Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs revealed that there have been changes in the value of some notions such as knowledge, intellectualism, the sense of belonging, honesty; the increase in the events of violence; financial problems, and the power and effect of social media. The perceptions and changed value systems of Turkish and American societies have prompted individuals to reproduce the proverbs to adapt the proverbs to the changes and new experiences. Overall, proverbs are important in conveying and reflecting the changes in society. The more conditions and social change, the more proverbs are remodified as proverbs and anti-proverbs. The notion that proverbs reflect the structure of the mind, aesthetics, communicative and behavioral norms of the society to which it belongs is debatable considering the variants of the proverbs. From this perspective, it is possible to determine that most objects can be perceived as a commodity

that can be bought and sold; social consciousness changes; individuals are desperate; values such as attitude, benevolence and patience lose their meaning, and mold words as a medium of communication which can be changed according to time and environment.



## CHAPTER 4

### **Turkish and Anglo-American Anti-Proverbs Regarding their Stylistic and Syntactic Perspective**

The aim of this section is to examine the Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs regarding their stylistic and syntactic perspective. A comparison has been made to ascertain the differences between traditional proverbs and anti-proverbs regarding certain structural features. The analysis of the examples of Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs has shown that the creators of anti-proverbs have not always remained faithful to the structure of original proverbs. Similarly, as with proverbs, anti-proverbs are used with poetic features such as rhyme, rhythm, repetition, pun and so on, allowing the listeners/readers of these proverb-like phrases to interpret them proverbially. In spite of all changes applied in the traditional proverbs, the anti-proverbs still remind the hearers/readers of the original versions due to the similar sounds and/or the main structure borrowed from the traditional one.

As Naciscione (2013) emphasizes, proverbs change in historical development, that is, change in their form and meaning over some time. Apart from the natural changes of proverbs, they are also deliberately changed by individuals with or without caring about the characteristic aspects of proverbs. This chapter discusses a linguistic view based on syntactic, semantic and stylistic aspects of proverbs as language units. The devices are examined based on the phonetic, stylistic and semantic perspective and seek answers for the questions: what are the stylistic devices that take part in the construction of anti-proverbs? What happens to the figurative meaning of the traditional proverbs following the transformation? This chapter also focuses on the syntactic evolution of the anti-proverbs.

#### **4.1. Stylistic Peculiarities of Anglo-American and Turkish Anti-proverbs**

Proverbs have survived over the centuries since they have an advisable and cautionary content, a judgment that has a general validity in the face of difficult situations, and a striking style. This style has engraved them into memories and thus prevented them

from being forgotten (Çobanoğlu, 2004; İçel, 2016; Gözpınar, 2014), so the proverbs continue their existence thanks to the figure of speeches and carefully selected vocabulary (Kaya, 2007: 110). Norrick (2014: 13) notes that both imagery and prosody help render a construction more memorable and increase its chances of becoming a standard formula. İçel (2016) states that “The factors of which the proverbs have been surviving for centuries are its contents of advice and warning de facto judgments against dilemmas and impressive styles. Usage of the indirect expressions and narrative arts (analogy, oxymoron, personification, metaphor and metonymy) are the strongest factors of this impressive style.” According to Norrick (2014: 13) metaphoricity (or imagery) is generally included among the required features of a proverb, and he adds that ‘metaphoricity is a matter of proverb use rather than an internal semantic property of proverbs themselves.’ Metaphorical proverbs are strategies for dealing with situations (Mieder, 2009). According to Özkul Çobanoğlu, the use of the figure of speeches is a requirement for the creation and execution of proverbs, especially in the oral culture environment (Çobanoğlu, 2004: 23).

Indeed, the indirect expression style and the use of the figure of speech are the most powerful elements of this impressive style. For example, for suggesting to be thrifty uttering the proverb *İşten artmaz, dişten artar* [There will not- remain (capital) from work, it will remain from teeth] is more effective than directly saying ‘Do not spend much, you should save some money’, since the indirect way of suggesting an issue makes the utterance more remarkable. Mieder (2004) is of the opinion that the preference for metaphorical proverbs lies in the fact that they can be employed in a figurative or indirect way due to the fact that oral folklore, in general, depends on indirection.

As Naciscione (2013) mentioned in her study, proverbs comply with stability and figuration from the perspective of semantics, and lists as the stability of use, structural-semantic stability, lexical stability, morphological stability, and syntactical stability, which have been introduced by Kunin (Kunin, 1964, cited in Naciscione, 2013). Naciscione (2013) adds stylistic stability and diachronic stability, the preservation of the same image and type of figurativeness in their meaning, and other stylistic properties both in the language system and in actual use stability across decades and centuries, respectively.

According to Naciscione (2013), proverbs are fully or partially figurative language units, and figurative meaning is a compulsory part of proverbs. Nevertheless, anti-proverbs do not always carry these features in the same way the proverbs do because they are generally used in their literal meaning. In other words, the proverbs mostly lose their characteristics from the perspective of stylistics when they are turned into anti-proverbs. For example, the traditional proverb *Ummadığın taş, baş yarar* [An unexpected stone can split the head] which figuratively says a seemingly insignificant person or thing often proves to be more important than all the rest (Yurtbaşı, 1993: 20). The proverb has been transformed by losing its figurative meaning, and the anti-proverb says *Ummadığı taş arkeolojik eser olabilir* [An unexpected stone may be an artifact.] The traditional proverb is full figurative, and metaphor has been used as a stylistic device because ‘an unexpected stone’ refers to the individuals who are not expected to be successful; however, the anti-proverb is fully literal and ‘an unexpected stone’ may be any stone that seems ordinary in nature.

Still, the creators of anti-proverbs benefit from the power of stylistic devices for several purposes, such as drawing the attention of the listeners/readers, making the anti-proverbs more memorable or just being remarkable. For example, the proverb *Her kuşun eti yenmez* [Every bird's flesh is not eaten] simply states that one can not defeat every person or thing thought to be easy to get, but they are not as easy as they seem. According to Özdemir (2001: 158), the proverb implies that not every person bends to others’ will. The figurative meaning is provided by the metaphor of ‘bird’ for people or things which are thought to be easy ‘to be eaten’ instead of ‘defeat.’ The very fact that the message of the proverb is expressed indirectly through a metaphor may also be taken literally, which means every bird’s flesh is not edible. As for the anti-proverb, which is *Her tweet’in eti yenmez* [Every tweet’s flesh is not eaten] has a figurative meaning due to the second part of the anti-proverb *eti yenmez* ‘is not eaten.’ This part is borrowed from the traditional proverb and keeps its metaphoric content. However, the expression ‘bird’ has a broader sense than ‘tweet’ that is not used by every section of Turkish society, e.g., individuals who are not interested in social networking sites, do not connect to the internet, old people, and

so on. Therefore, ‘Tweet’ makes the meaning of anti-proverb narrower. So, the metaphors used in the anti-proverbs are not expected to be meaningful for everybody. The narrowing of the meaning occurs in the Anglo-American anti-proverbs; for example, the anti-proverb *Lawyers help those who help themselves* derived from [God helps those who help themselves] (p.154), meaning ‘you must make an effort yourself if you want to succeed. In this anti-proverb, undoubtedly, the meaning narrows due to the replacement of ‘god’ with ‘lawyer’.

As noted above, there are many stylistic devices by means of which Turkish and Anglo-American modern anti-proverbs are formed. The examples illustrate this from Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs provided following the characteristic features of each stylistic device which mostly have a humorous effect on the individuals.

#### 4.1.1. Phonetic Mechanisms

*Alliteration* is a commonly used stylistic tool that is derived from Latin’s “*Latira*”, and means “letters of the alphabet” (Literary devices, n.d.). Alliteration is a term that describes a literary stylistic device that occurs when a series of words in a row or close together have the same first consonant sound (Yang, 2002: 152). Alliteration makes the phrase more attractive and is often used for emphasis. This technique plays a crucial role in the proverbial structures and, therefore, can be a great way to help generations remember them. Turkish and Anglo-American proverbs contain numerous examples of alliteration, as do Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs.

The anti-proverb *Kızını dövmeven damadını nasıl döver?* [How can someone who does not beat his daughter beat his son in law?] is derived from *Kızını dövmeven dizini döver* [He who does not beat his daughter will beat his knees.] The anti-proverb is alliterative because the same first letter ‘d’ of words occurs close together and produces alliteration in the proverb, while in the traditional proverb, there is an alliteration due to the sounds ‘d, n’. For more example in alliteration: *Para parayı zenginin cebine çeker* [Money draws money to the pocket of rich] with the alliteration of p and ç derived from *Para parayı çeker* [Money draws money]; *Sınava kopyasız girmek, savaşa silahsız girmek*

*gibidir* [Entering the exam without copy is like being at war unarmed] derived from *Komşu kızını almak kalaylı kaptan su içmek gibidir* [Marrying the neighbor's daughter is like drinking water from a newly tinned copper bowl]; *Quake'te kaybeden doom'da kazanır* [The one who loses in Quake wins in doom] derived from *Kumarda kazanan aşkta kaybeder* [The one who wins at gambling loses in love.]

As for the examples of Anglo-American anti-proverbs, *The only good grades are good grades*, and *The only good fish is a fresh fish* are derived from the traditional proverb [The only good Indian is a dead Indian?] (p.291). There is alliteration in these examples because in the former, most of the first sounds of the words start with 'g', and in the latter one, most of the words start with the sound 'f'. [Home is where the heart] (p.169) has been changed as *Home is where you hang your head* and the anti-proverb also consists and alliteration due to the repetition of 'h'.

**Assonance** occurs when two or more words close to one another, repeat the same vowel sound but starts with different consonant sounds (Midoul, 2012). Assonance is commonly used in proverbial structures in order to add rhythm. Turkish proverbs also contain many examples of assonance, which is strongly enabled by the rules of vowel harmony in Turkish, which dictate that only the front vowels (i,e,ü) follow front vowels, and only the back vowels (ı,a,u) (rounded vowels "ö", and "o" do not appear in non-primary syllable positions) follow back in native roots and in suffixes; this is followed by the conditions governing high and low vowels (Yurtbaşı, 1993: XIV) In the anti-proverb *Tereciye tereyi, zabıta sattırmaz* [Police does not let seller of cress sell the pepperweed] derived from *Tereciye tere satılmaz* [Pepperweed is not sold to someone who is pepperweed monger.] the repetition of the sound 'e' in different locations of the traditional proverb is assonance. In the anti-proverb, assonance occurs in the sounds 'e,a'. *Kusursuz dost arayan dostsuz kalır* [He who looks for a friend without fault, remains without a friend] is changed as *Revizesiz iş arayan işsiz kalır* [He who looks for a job without revision, remains without a job.] While the assonance occurs in the vowels of 'u' and 'o', in the anti-proverb, it is achieved with the repetition of 'e' and 'i'.

Assonance is seen in the following Anglo-American anti-proverbs *If you can't make a cake, get out of the kitchen*. It is derived from the traditional proverb [If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen] (p.178) due to the repetition of the vowel 'e,i'. *Moderation in all things...said the boy to his father who was about to give his son a spanking* derived from [Moderation in all things] (p.220).

**Rhyme/rhythm** is another fairly universal characteristic of proverbs (Yurtbaşı, 1993: XI), a repetition of the same or similar sounds occurring at the end of two or more words in a sentence. It is the main feature of Turkish and Anglo-American proverbs; usually, it occurs due to matching syntactic elements. In a rhyme in English, the vowel sounds in the stressed syllables match, while the preceding consonant sound does not match. The consonants after the stressed syllables must match as well. For example, words "gaining" and "straining" are rhyming words in English because they start with different consonant sounds, but the first stressed vowel is identical, as is the rest of the word.

The anti-proverbs *Gülme yatana, gelir başına*, [Don't laugh at the dead, it happens to you] and *Gülme komşuna, dayak yersin* [Don't laugh at your neighbour, you will be beaten] are derived from the proverb *Gülme komşuna, gelir başına* [Do not mock your neighbor's misfortune, you may soon meet the same fate]. The final syllables end with 'şuna' and 'şına' which are nearly the same; therefore, they rhyme. In the first anti-proverb, the second word of the first part in the traditional proverb has been replaced by another word that has a very similar ending to the original one, so the rhyme is preserved in the anti-proverb. However, the second anti-proverb has been generated by changing the second part entirely so that there are no stylistic devices in the new version. It is evident that there is no concern about referring to the original proverb; instead, the sentence sounds like a regular statement. Still, it should be noted that commencing the anti-proverb with the first half of the traditional proverb reminds the hearers/readers.

Another anti-proverb *Quarantine ile uslanmayı etmeli delete, delete ile uslanmanın hakkı formattır* [Who doesn't improve by Quarantine should be deleted, and who doesn't become wiser by deletions deserves formatting] derived from *Nush ile*

*uslanmayanı etmeli tekdir; tekdir ile uslanmayanın hakkı kötektir* [Who doesn't improve by admonishment should be reproved, and who doesn't become wiser by reproofs deserves a good flogging.] The traditional proverb is composed of two parts and contains assonance 'a,e,i' and rhyme due to the rhythmic ending of each part of the proverb 'tekdir' and 'kötektir'. The anti-proverb is created by changing some words of the proverb, therefore due to the different sounds of the replaced words, the rhyme is not preserved 'delete' and 'formattır'. However, the anti-proverb still benefits from the stylistic feature of assonance 'a,i' and consonant 'n,t'.

Rhyme /rhythm is observed in the examples such as *Half a loaf is better than no time off* derived from [Half a loaf is better than no bread] (p.157); *He gives twice that gives in a trice* derived from [He gives twice who gives quickly] (p.160); *No man can serve two masters; yes-men can serve hundreds* derived from [No man can serve two masters] (p.237). *People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw glasses* derived from [People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones] (p.258); *Right is might, but a good left never hurts in a flight* derived from [Might makes right] (p.217); *Necessity is the mother of invention, but to many, a necessity is the mother of tension* derived from [Necessity is the mother of invention] (p.231). These examples demonstrate that rhyme is predominantly frequent in the final syllables.

**Consonance** is a literary device in which a consonant sound is repeated in words close to each other (Midoul, 2012), occurring anywhere in words. Consonance is also very typical feature of proverbial structures in Turkish and Anglo-American proverbs. *Danışan dağı aşmış, danışmayan düz yolda şaşmış* [The one who took advice crossed the mountain, but the one who did not, got lost on the plane] changed as *Soran crackleri aşmış, sormayan torent'te şaşmış* [The one who took advice crossed the cracks, but the one who did not, got lost on torrent.] In the traditional proverb, 'd' is the alliteration and 'ş' is the consonant, whilst in the anti-proverb 's' is alliteration and 'ş' is the consonant.

Considering the Anglo-American anti-proverbs in consonance, there are a few examples: *Haste makes waste; waste makes want; want makes a poor boy a beggar* derived

from [Haste makes waste] (p.160). The repetition of 's' is the only consonance in the traditional proverb, but the anti-proverb serves the repetition of 'h, m, w, s, b'. Moreover, the repetition of the sounds 'a' and 'e' are examples for assonance. The anti-proverb *Travel broadens the mind and reduces the bank balance* derived from [Travel broadens the mind] (p.315) also contains consonance because of the repeated sound of 'b'.

**Homonymy** is the relation between two words that are spelt the same way but differ in meaning or the relation between two words that are pronounced the same way but differ in meaning ("Homonymy", 2016). Homonyms are quite common in the Turkish language, and it is used as a tool for creating the Turkish anti-proverbs. For example; *Ağlarsa kablosuz ağlar, gerisi yalan ağlar* [It is wireless networks who cry, others are just faking] is derived from *Ağlarsa anam ağlar, gerisi yalan ağlar* [If someone really cries for me, it is only my mother, others fake cry]. The traditional proverb literally says *Ağlarsa* 'if cries' *anam* 'my mother' *ağlar* 'cries', *gerisi* 'others' *yalan* 'pretending' *ağlar* 'cries'. A homonym is used in the creating the anti-proverb as it is seen in the literal translation: *Ağlarsa* 'if cries' *kablosuz* 'wireless' *ağlar* 'networks', *gerisi* 'others' *yalan* 'pretending' *ağlar* 'cries'. *Ağlar* is a verb (third-person singular) in the proverb, but *ağ* is also a noun which means 'network' and *lar* is the plural suffix, so *ağlar* is the plural form of a noun, which are completely different in meaning but written and pronounced the same way.

#### 4.1.2. Lexical Mechanisms

**Repetition** is a literary device that repeats the exact words a few times to emphasize the unity of power. A common technique used by orators; and, there exist examples of repetition in the anti-proverbs. Repetition is a good method to remember a line, being employed in order to emphasize the new wisdom of anti-proverb. However, there is confusion in the Anglo-American and Turkish terminology. In Anglo-American, there have been different types of repetition such as anaphora, cataphora, epistrophe, anadiplosis, and polyptoton, which have been mentioned separately. In Turkish, the consecutive repetition of the same word or phrase within a sentence occurs frequently, and the case is named as 'ikileme', which is translated by İmer, Kocaman and Özsoy (2013: 156) as



‘duplication’ in the English-Turkish bilingual dictionary of linguistics. In Turkish literature, there is a tendency to call all these cases above ‘repetition’. Various Turkish scholars have studied the term, e.g., Kocakaplan (2008: 147) and Aktaş (2002: 102) does not divide repetition into sub-categories, and Aktaş (2002) translates it as ‘anaphora that is only one of sub-categories of repetition in English literature. Uysal (2010: 198) evaluates repetition based on its usage, more specifically, if it is applied in order to increase the effectiveness of language, called as ‘Tekrir’ and if the repetition is done unnecessarily, called as ‘Tekrar’. This study analyzes the examples of Turkish anti-proverbs based on the types of repetition in English literature, which divides repetition into many categories.

*Duplication*, as noticed above, is a literary device that is the repetition of the exact words or phrases successively. For example, *Alma belleğin ahını, çıkar megabyte megabyte* [Do not be cursed by a memory card, it comes about megabyte *megabyte*] is derived from *Alma mazlumun ahını, çıkar aheste aheste* [Do not be cursed by an aggrieved person, it comes about slowly slowly]. In this example, both proverb and anti-proverb contain duplication at the end of the line to affect the hearers/readers. However, duplication is also used when there is not such a case in the traditional proverb. For example, *Aç ayı oynamaz* [A hungry bear won’t dance] is the traditional proverb, and obviously, there is duplication, but the anti-proverb says *Tok ayı şakır şakır oynar* [A full bear will dance by snapping his fingers by snapping his fingers.] Duplication is applied in the anti-proverb in order to draw the hearers/readers’ attention to the act of dancing and demonstrates that the reverse of the proverb is strongly true.

As for the Anglo-American proverbs and anti-proverbs, the use of repetition is not as common as in the corpus of Turkish paremiology. In the Anglo-American corpus of anti-proverbs, *If at first, you do not succeed, cry, cry again* can be given as an example of duplication, which is similar to the original version as [If at first, you do not succeed, try, try again] (p.173).

*Anaphora* is another mode of repetition and a rhetorical device in which words repeat at the beginning of successive phrases, clauses, and sentences to add rhythm to a

word and make it more pleasurable to read and easier to remember. From this perspective, anaphora is also commonly used in creating anti-proverbs to deliver an artistic effect on the hearers/readers and appeal to the emotions. Therefore, the hearers/readers' attention is drawn directly to the new wisdom of the anti-proverb. For example, the anti-proverbs *Kod var iş bitirir, kod var os yitirir* [There are codes which finish work and there are codes which cause a man to lose his head] and *Çar var iş bitirir, çar var iş yitirir* [There are czars which finish a work and there are czars which cause a man to lose his head] are derived from *Söz var iş bitirir, söz var baş yitirir* [There are words which finish a work and there are words which cause a man to lose his head.] These anti-proverbs are examples of anaphora because they maintain the anaphoric structure of the traditional proverb by replacing the initial parts of the proverb with the same words. However, it is not always the case. For example, *Büyük lokma ye büyük söz söyleme* [Eat big morsels but do not talk big] is a traditional proverb which has anaphoric usage.

Nevertheless, the anti-proverb *Büyük lokma ye, ancak doyorsun* [Eat big morsels, only then you can be full] does not contain anaphora since the second part has a different ending than the original one. In terms of examples from Anglo-American anti-proverbs, [In the union there is strength] (p.182) is changed as *In the union there is strength, and in the unions even the more strength*, therefore, the repetition of the first words at the beginning of both parts of anti-proverb makes it an anaphoric usage. *The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and the proof of the marriage is in the cheating* derived from [The proof of the pudding is in the eating] (p.292) is also a good example of anaphora.

*Epistrophe*, also known as “epiphora,” is the opposite of anaphora, which is the repetition of a word or phrase at the end of sentences. Epistrophe giving a unique rhythm to the text is applied in order to create an artistic effect on the hearers/readers so that they can easily understand and memorize the line. The traditional proverb *Evli evine, köylü köyüne; evi olmayan sıçan deliğine* [He who has a house must go to his house, a villager must go to his village and he who has nowhere to go ends up in a mouse-hole] has been transformed as *Evli evine, evi olmayan bbg evine* [He who has a house must go to his house, he who has nowhere to go ends up in BBG house.] The creator of the anti-proverb benefited from

epistrophe by repeating the same word ‘evine’ at the end of each part of the anti-proverb. Similarly, *Evli evine evil olmayan Eminevim’e* [He who has a house must go to his house, he who has nowhere to go ends up in Eminevim.] This is an advertisement of a company that sells houses and benefits from the power of epistrophe by repeating evine and Eminevime, which are nearly the same in sounds, to emphasize the point for consumers to join the company.

As for the Anglo-American anti-proverbs, the frequent creators use epistrophe to create catchy, rhythmic lyrics that will help the hearers/readers remember them or convey strong emotion. “*No man is a hero to his valet.*” *Heroes never have valets* derived from [No man is a hero to his valet] (p.237); *No noose, good noose* derived from [No news is good news] (p.238), and *There is no fool like an old fool who marries a young fool* derived from [There is no fool like an old fool] (p.301) are examples of epistrophe due to the repetition of the phrases at the end of successive parts. The traditional proverb [Life begins at forty] (p.199) does not include any epistrophe, but the anti-proverb has as such: *It may be true that life begins at forty, but everything else starts to wear out, fall out, or spread out.*

#### 4.1.3. Semantic Mechanisms

One of the narrative styles used in the proverbs is the *metaphor*. Metaphor is a figurative expression in which something is described in terms usually associated with something else (Mieder, 2004: 282). As Reznikov (2009: 118) puts it, ‘the metaphor is the understanding of one concept in terms of another, based on their similarity.’ According to Zarieva & Iliev (2016), its purpose is shifting the meaning of the sentence or proverb from literal to figurative.

Erdem (2010) notes that metaphoric relations in proverbs do not point to one concept as it acts in poems; plus, they are not completely arbitrary. For example, in the proverb *Balık baştan kokar* [Fish putrefies from the head], *fish* is used metaphorically, and it refers to societies or directors. However, it cannot be extended to work or plan. Moreover, this example is also an example of the assertion of Muallimoğlu, who states that “Animals constitute the main metaphorical feature of Turkish proverbs” (1998: 18). Also, proverbs

aim to express an idea through minimum words, and remembered easily. Due to the use of metaphors, the proverbs become more efficient because the language of the proverb is beyond the daily language. Moreover, using metaphors in the proverbs increases the value of power, and the figure of speech used in proverbs help the wisdom of the proverbs.

Metaphors function via a relationship between the signifier and the signified. In proverbs, however, the set of the signified that the signifier gestures is more extensive than in classic poems (Erdem, 2010). Therefore, using metaphors in proverbs expands the domain in which this succinct literary form of expression is used. Faycel (2012) states that “metaphors can resolve a significant amount of the figurative meaning in many proverbial utterances” (cited in Özbal et al., 2016). According to Erdem (2010), there are two major reasons for using metaphor in proverbs: one is “word economy”, and the other is “intensifying of the effect.” Mieder (2004) states, ‘Not all but most proverbs contain a metaphor among them such common texts as “A watched pot never boils”’ however, this is not the case for the anti-proverbs, which mostly do not consist of any figurative usage. For example, *Her yiğidin bir yoğurt yiyişi vardır* [Every brave man has a different eating manner of yoghurt] equals to ‘Different strokes for different folks’ in English Paremiology. The proverb has a figurative meaning in a way that there are many different methods to handle a case. The anti-proverb says *Her aslanın bir terbiyecisi yiyişi vardır* [Every lion has its own way of eating its handler] and has a literal meaning. It refers to the cases that the lions usually hurt their trainers. Accordingly, there exist anti-proverbs in the English language which have been derived from the same proverb [Different strokes for different folks] (p.122). The traditional proverb has a figurative meaning which means people have different interests and preferences (Mieder & Litovkina, 2006). The anti-proverb says *Different croaks for different folks*, which narrows that reference from general attitudes to the ways of death. Moreover, the figurative meaning is not maintained in the anti-proverb because it is used in the literal context.

Gözpınar (2014) notes that metaphors are universal but at the same time – nationally specific since they often reveal a unique national structure and have a nation-specific representation. This is similar in the point of anti-proverbs in Turkish and English cultures.

For example, the proverb *Dereyi geçerken at değiştirilmez* [Horse is not changed while passing the river] means it is not wise to make an attempt that may put work at risk, especially when it runs smoothly (Özdemir, 2001: 162). The message of the proverb is expressed indirectly through a metaphor ‘*dereyi geçerken*’ ‘while passing the river’ for running a business, doing an activity, carrying out work and ‘*at değiştirmek*’ ‘to change horse’ for changing the style of conducting the work. The anti-proverb is *Dereyi geçerken at, seçim günü sandığın önünden geçerken parti değiştirilmez* [Horse is not changed while passing the river, and the party is not changed while passing by the ballot box.] The metaphorical proverb is rephrased by way of extension. Nevertheless, the first part of the anti-proverb, which is the traditional proverb, retains the metaphoric character, and the expression in the extended part does not contain any figurative meaning but a literal meaning. Even though it is an anti-proverb today, it is possible to apply the anti-proverb metaphorically in order to refer to a situation similar to the proverb.

The English equivalence of this Turkish proverb, *Dereyi geçerken at değiştirilmez* ‘Horse is not changed while passing the river’ is [Do not change horses in midstream] (p.127). The traditional proverb conveys the message that does not change direction or tactics when you are in the middle of doing something (Mieder & Litovkina, 2006). The anti-proverb *One of the most important things to remember about infant care is: Never change diapers in midstream*. Structurally, the anti-proverb is similar to the proverb, and it reminds the listener/reader of the traditional proverb due to the words such as never change in midstream. Semantically, it is totally different, with the anti-proverb used literally, indicating that changing the diapers of a baby before they are done is not suggested. Therefore, in the context of anti-proverb, the expression loses its metaphorical meaning. As understood in the examples above, Turkish anti-proverbs and the Anglo-American anti-proverbs are different from the perspective of focus points. While the Turkish people focus on politics, which is always interesting and followed globally, the Anglo-American anti-proverb is based on daily domestic issue, changing diapers.

***Simile*** as a literary device is the introduction of an object, scene or action with which the one in question is professedly compared using the words “like” or “as” (Midoul, 2012)

and in Turkish “gibi”, which is accepted as a type of adverb (Karaağaç, 2009). The traditional Turkish proverb *Ana gibi yar, bağdat gibi diyar olmaz* [No lover like a mother, no country like Baghdad] is a simile that compares a lover to mother and country to country Baghdad in order to emphasize loyalty. However, the anti-proverb *Masa üstü gibi yar, lap top gibi diyar bulunmaz* [No lover like a desktop, and country like a laptop] created in a highly technological society, actually compares desktop and laptop to lover and country. Other examples from Turkish anti-proverb are as follows: *Media player gibi dostun olacağına winamp gibi düşmanın olsun* [It is better to have an enemy like Winamp rather than a friend like Media player] derived from *Deli dostun olacağına akıllı düşmanın olsun* [It is better to have a wise enemy than a foolish friend.] In this example, the simile is seen in the anti-proverb, although simile does not exist in the traditional proverb. *Debugging isteme benden buz gibi soğurum senden* [Do not ask debugging from me, I will feel strange from you **like** an ice] derived from *Para isteme benden buz gibi soğurum senden* [Do not ask Money from me, I will feel strange from you like an ice.] As for examples from Anglo-American anti-proverb consisting simile are as such: *A woman without God is like a frog without a bicycle* derived from [A woman without a man is like fish without a bicycle] (p.78).

**Personification** is one of the most commonly used and recognized literary devices, which is the practice of bringing inanimate things to life so that their nature and actions are understood in a better way (Coşkun, 2012: 74). Personification is a powerful and widely-used literary tool for the creators of anti-proverbs because it creates memorable images with language, allowing the hearers/readers to relate to something that is human or possesses human traits. Moreover, its use develops a new and creative perspective, illustrating one of the most characteristic nature of anti-proverbs.

*Kurt kocayınca köpeklerin maskarası olur* [Wolf becomes jester of a dog when it gets older], which means when a great person becomes old and powerless, worthless people make fun of him. The anti-proverb says *Kurt kocayınca, hayvanat bahçesinden emekli olur* [Wolf retires from the zoo when it gets older] in which wolf has been personified due to the act of retirement that is a human issue. Noting that the traditional proverb also has

personification because the wolf is mocked and dogs mock the wolf, which is also human behavior.

The traditional proverb *El elin eṣeḡini türkü çağıra çağıra arar* [One searches for someone else's donkey by singing songs], means the problems of others do not dishearten people. The transformed version in the modern world is *Beleş anti-virüs programı virüsü türkü çağıra çağıra ararmış* [Free anti-virus program searches for virus by singing songs.] The anti-virus program has been personified as it is not able to sing a song or search as humans are. Human characteristics are applied and create this metaphoric meaning. The traditional proverb does not contain any personification, though.

Personification is also applied in the Anglo-American anti-proverb. To illustrate, with an anti-proverb, *It's a wise horse that knows his own fodder* derived from [It's a wise child that knows its own father] (p.188), 'horse' is beautifully personified as to be wise is a characteristic of humankind. Another example comes from a traditional proverb that already has personification: [Let sleeping dogs lie] (p.198). While one anti-proverb consists of personification *Let sleeping ducks lie* – duck does not lie, another anti-proverb does not: *Let sleeping husband lie*. So, the personification is not maintained necessarily in the anti-proverbs. The anti-proverb *Smoke follows smokers* derived from [Smoke follows beauty] (p.270), in this example, the creator also personifies smoke which is not supposed to follow a smoker. One more example is *The early bird gets up to serve his wife breakfast in bed* derived from [The early bird catches the worm] (p.280). This example contains an artistic example of personification in that it labels the bird as a husband. The above examples of personification as a literary device help the hearers/readers relate human traits and characteristics with inanimate objects, phenomena and animals.

A ***pun*** is defined by the Cambridge dictionary (“Pun,” 2021) as “a humorous use of a word or phrase that has several meanings or that sounds like another word”. Vargha and Litovkina (2013) note ‘puns may give us much enjoyment and pleasure’; not surprisingly, there exist a large number of examples of punning in anti-proverbs. For example, the traditional proverb *İnanma dostuna saman doldurur postuna* [Do not thrust your friend, he

will skin you alive and stuff it with straw] (Yurtbaşı, 1996: 439) has been changed as *İnanma reklama zehir koyar sofrana* [Do not thrust advertisement, it will bring poison into your meal.] With the anti-proverb, *dostuna* has been replaced by *reklama*, and *postuna* has been replaced by *sofrana*, whose phonemic representations are similar. In other words, the replaced words are identical in sounds, so the new version immediately reminds the traditional one.

Another example is *Gülü seven dikenine katlanır* [Who loves the rose bears the thorn], and the anti-proverb is *Gülü seven dikenine saplanır* [Who loves the rose, stinks in to the thorn] The punning is demonstrated in the change of one single sound in the verb, which completely changes the whole meaning, and naturally, the message conveyed. The proverb says he who loves the pleasant things will accept the unpleasant parts of them. However, the anti-proverb means that he loves the pleasant things will be troubled into the unpleasant parts.

A pun is also popular in the Anglo-American anti-proverbs, for example, the anti-proverb *The vice of the people is the voice of the press* derived from [The voice of the people is the voice of God] (p.294). In this example, there is a play on words 'vise' and 'voice' depending on the sound similarity and creates a humorous effect on the hearers/readers due to the context. Another example for punning is *An expensive wife often makes a pensive husband* derived from [A good wife makes a good husband] (p.65). Pun exists in this example due to the words of 'expensive' and 'pensive'.

**Hyperbole** is a figure of speech that involves an obvious and deliberate exaggeration of ideas for the sake of emphasis. One of anti-proverbs' main characteristics is adding emphasis to a certain characteristic of something or allowing a more creative and humorous description. Hyperbole is ridiculous or extravagant, often for comic effect or relief and not meant to be taken literally. Some of the examples from Turkish anti-proverbs are *Damlaya damlaya holding olur* [There becomes a holding by drop by drop] derived from *Damlaya damlaya göl olur* [There becomes a lake by drop by drop]; *Bekleyen derviş beklemekten gebermiş* [Dervish who has patient dies for waiting] derived



from *Bekleyen derviş muradına ermiş* [Dervish who has patient attains his desire]; *Hazıra eşsek kadar terabaytlık sabit disk dayanmaz* [Hard disk of terabyte as big as a donkey won't endure on what lies ready] derived from *Hazıra dağlar dayanmaz* [Mountains won't endure on what lies ready]. The creators of these anti-proverbs use hyperbole in order to emphasize that saving money is profitable, waiting is exhausting, and one should produce instead of spending all the time, respectively.

In the Anglo-American corpus of anti-proverbs, some examples of hyperbole are: *A watched bowl never fills* derived from [A watched ball never boils] (p.78). Indeed, both the traditional and the transformed one consist of hyperbole because the creators exaggerate the time for boiling and filling and the anti-proverb has been effectively created to inspire the traditional one. [The hand that rocks the cradle rule the world] (p.285) has been transformed as *The hand that signs the cheque book rules the world* is also an example of exaggeration because no one can rule the world. Indeed, the exaggeration, in the sense that someone who has wealth or pays out money is taking advantage of a situation. The use of hyperbole can also be seen in the anti-proverb *Give him an inch and he will take a mile* derived from [Give him an inch, and he will take an ell] (p.153) because an inch is 2.5 cm and the yard is slightly less than a meter, so, likewise, the previous example, taking advantage of a situation has been conveyed through the use of hyperbole to create an amusing effect, or to emphasize the situation. In common sense, by using hyperbole, the creators of anti-proverbs make common human feelings remarkable and powerful to such an extent that they do not remain ordinary.

**Comparison** is a rhetorical or literary device, the act of considering two or more things with regard to some characteristics that are similar to or different from each other. Comparison occurs in proverbs frequently, so in anti-proverbs. The creators of anti-proverbs link their feelings about an object to something in the modern age to show similarities or differences between them. The anti-proverb *İnternetsiz bilgisayar, kuru ağaca benzer* [A computer without internet resembles a deadwood] is derived from *Mürüvvetsiz adam, suyu çekilmiş değirmene benzer* [An unkind man resembles a mill which shrinks.] Furthermore, the creator compares computers and trees based on their

effectiveness. A computer is much more effective when connected to the internet, and a tree produces fruit more effectively. Similarly, *Dil kılıçtan keskindir* [The tongue is sharper than the sword] has also been transformed in accordance with the modern-day, so the anti-proverb has become *Sosyal medya, kılıçtan keskindir* [The social media is sharper than the sword.] As in the traditional version, the creator of the anti-proverb also benefits from the power of comparison and compare social media and sword based on their power. As for the Anglo-American anti-proverbs, *One hand washes the other, and both wash the face* derived from [One hand washes the other] (p.249); *The best defence is a good offence, and the more offensive is better* derived from [The best defence is a good offence] (p.275); *The good die young, but the bad live on and run for office* derived from [The good die young] (p.283) are examples of comparison.

**Concordance (Tenasüb)** is a literary device that exists in Turkish literature and is translated as ‘concordance’ in this study. Concordance occurs when contextually related words are used together. For example, the anti-proverb *Sütten ağzı yanan yanık merhemi kullanır* [One who has once burnt his tongue while drinking milk will apply burn ointment] derived from *Süttesseñ ağzı yanan yoğurdu üfleyerek yer* [One who has once burnt his tongue while drinking milk will blow to yoghurt before eating it] has a concordance, because in the anti-proverb the words ‘to burn’ and ‘burn ointment’ are contextually related words. Similarly, *Ev alma, komşu al* [Do not buy a house, buy neighbor] has been transformed as *At alma seyis al* [Do not buy a horse, buy a stableman]. In the anti-proverb, the words ‘horse’ and ‘stableman’ are close to each other based on context. For one more example, *Yalancının mumu yatsıdan sonra jenarötöre bağlanır!* [A liar’s candle will hook up a generator after bed-time] is derived from *Yalancının mumu yatsıya kadar yanar* [A liar’s candle will burn until bed-time]. The traditional proverb does not contain any concordance; however, the anti-proverb has concordance due to the words ‘candle’ and ‘generator’ since they both belong to energy. In the Anglo-American anti-proverbs, concordance is used as illustrated in the example *Old scuba divers never die, they just get their depth certificate* derived from [Old soldiers never die, they just fade away] (p.247).

Using two conceptually similar concepts ‘scuba divers’ and ‘depth certificate’, in the same line, makes the anti-proverb an example of concordance.

Similar to the differences in the terminology of ‘repetition’ in Turkish and English literature, using contrastive words is also confusing while explaining contrastive words occurring in the Turkish language. In Turkish literature, (Aktaş, 2002; Coşkun, 2012; Saraç, 2004; Kocakaplan, 2008) using contrastive words is known as ‘*Tezat*’ (*contrast*), and according to Kocakaplan (2008: 188), *Tezat* occurs not when two opposite words are used together, but when two opposite ideas are used in the same sentence. For example, *Bin dost az, bir düşman çok* [A thousand friends are too few, one enemy is too many] or *Bin nasihatten bir musibet yeğdir* [One disaster teaches more than a thousand warnings] and as for Anglo-American proverbs, *One bird in the hand is better than two in the bush*.

In English literature, there exist different **types of contrast**, e.g., **oxymoron**, **antithesis**, **paradox**. The traditional proverb *İğneyi kendine çuvaldığı başkasına batır* [Jab needle to yourself, packing needle to the other people] turns into *Güzel itemi kendine kötüsünü başkasına düşür* [Drop the nice item to yourself, bad item to other people.] In this example, there is a contrast between nice and bad. *Zenginün gönlü oluncaya kadar fakirin canı çıkar* [Poor dies until the rich becomes satisfied] derived from *Göle su gelinceye kadar kurbağanın gözü patlar* [The frog’s eye explodes until the water reach the lake.] Contrast is employed in the anti-proverb in order to draw attention to the social situations, e.g., the social distinction in the society. There are also examples of contrast in the Anglo-American anti-proverbs such as *Gentlemen who prefer blondes usually marry brunettes* derived from [Gentlemen prefer blondes] (p.151); *If you can’t be good, be bad* derived from [If you can’t be good, be careful] (p.177); *Opposites attract ..but similarities endure* derived from [Opposites attract] (p.255). The words ‘blondes and brunettes’ and ‘good and bad’ are set as an example for contrast.

Parallelism is sequence of identical syntactic structures (Jesensek, 2014), the use of components in a sentence that is grammatically the same; or similar in their construction, sound, meaning, or meter. There is also a repetition of words and forms in parallelism to

give pattern and rhythm to a line in literature. Parallelism examples are found in Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs as seen in the examples: *Gün gelir devran döner, horoz döner, tavuk gomer* [The day comes, the fortune changes; rooster returns, chicken pecks] derived from *Sap döner, keser döner, gün gelir hesap döner* [Handle rotates, adze rotates, the day comes, reckoning rotates] meaning it was your time and it is our turn. *Bahçeye bak meyve olsun, yiyen sağlıklı olsun* [Take care of the garden so that it will produce fruits; then let whoever eats the fruit be healthy] derived from *Bağa bak üzüm olsun, yemeye yüzün olsun* [Take care of the vineyard so that it will have grapes; then you can eat them without embarrassment.] Here are some examples from Anglo-American anti-proverbs: *Easy glum, easy glow* derived from [Easy come, easy go] (p.137); *Love is blind, deaf, and speechless* derived from [Love is blind]; *Travel: Activity that broadens the mind, flattens the traveller, and lengthens conversation* derived from [Travel broadens the mind] (p.315); *Two wrongs don't make a right, and two things don't make a pair* derived from [Two wrongs don't make a right] (p.321); *For wine, woman and song* derived from [Wine, woman and song will get a man wrong] (p.337).

**Satire** is a literary work pertaining to human vices and follies, to ridicule or scorn (“satire,” 2021). Satire is employed in anti-proverbs in order to achieve a humorous, ironic or ridiculous impact on the listeners/readers and criticize or ridicule others’ faults or dishonesty, especially in the context of contemporary politics or social issues. Although satire is usually meant to be humorous, its main purpose is to draw attention to the problematic issues or people in the society, warn the public and possibly, encourage them to change their opinions regarding the corruption or conditions found in the society. Some examples of politically motivated satirical anti-proverbs are: *Bal tutan parmağını özelleştirir!* [He that handles honey, denationalize his finger!]; *Bal tutan parmağını, sözünü tutmayan politikacı avucunu yalar* [He who handles honey licks his finger, the politician who does not keep his promise licks his palm] derived from *Bal tutan parmağını yalar* [He that handles honey, licks his finger]; *Politikacıların ömrü laklakla geçer!* [The politicians spend all his life just clattering] derived from *Leyleğin ömrü laklakla geçer* [The stork spends all his life just clattering]; *Eski politikacılara rağbet olsaydı, sandıklara oy yağardı* [If

the old politics were in demand, vote would rain into the voting box] derived from *Köpeğin duası kabul olsaydı gökten kemik yağardı* [If the dog's prayer was accepted, the bone was falling from the sky]; *İyi politikacı ülkeyi vezir, kötüsü ülkeyi rezil eder* [A good politician makes his people proud, a bad one puts the country to shame] derived from *İyi evlat babayı vezir, kötü evlat rezil eder* [A good child makes his father proud, a bad one puts him to shame]; *Politikacının dediğini yap, yaptığını sakın yapma* [Do as the politician says, not as he does ever] derived from *Hocanın dediğini yap, yaptığını yapma* [Do as the priest says, not as he does.]

As for Anglo-American anti-proverbs belonging to satire: *Too many legislators spoil reform* derived from [Too many cooks spoil the broth] (p.313); *Absence makes the heart go wander* derived from [Absence makes the heart grow fonder] (p.81); *Expedience is the best teacher* derived from [Experience is the best teacher] (p.144); *Sound bites get more votes than actions* derived from [Action speaks louder than words] (p.83); *American symbol of democracy: "All men are created eagle"* derived from [All men are created equal] (p. 84); *A patient without health insurance keeps the doctor away* derived from [An apple a day keeps the doctor away] (p.92); *To the candidate running for re-election, all issues lead to the stream where horses must not be swapped in the middle of* derived from [Don't change horses in midstream] (p.127); *Figures don't lie, except political figures* derived from [Figures don't lie] (p.148).

#### 4.1.4. Syntactic Mechanisms

*Ellipsis* is defined as a form of substitution, where specific linguistic categories are replaced by a 'zero' form (Vujević, 2012). Ellipsis is one of the most common ways of creating anti-proverbs, which allows the listeners/readers to fill the gaps. This situation may also create humor in the listeners/readers who expect to hear the rest of the proverbs. For example, there is ellipsis in the anti-proverb *Bükemediğin bileği ısır* [Bite the wrist you can't bend] which is derived from *Bükemediğin eli öp, başına koy* [Kiss the hand which you can not wring.] The traditional proverb consists of two parts; while transforming the proverb, the second part has been omitted; plus, the verb of the first part has been replaced

by another word (to kiss- to bite). Another example, is an anti-proverb which is the name of a book. *Şiir küçüğün* [Poem for the younger] is derived from *Su küçüğün, söz büyüğün* [Water is for young and word is for the elder]. The anti-proverb borrows only the first part of the proverb but changes the words and therefore the meaning of the proverb. So the second part is omitted, and the writer employs ellipsis in order to name his book and draw attention to the book by using the power of the proverb. Ellipsis is also employed in the creation of Anglo-American anti-proverbs such as *Cough and the world cough with you, Work, and you work alone, and Boost, and you boost alone* derived from [Laugh and the world laughs with you; cry and you cry alone] (p.195).

*Narration* is another literary device used to create anti-proverbs, extending a traditional proverb by narratively adding logical sentences. Naciscione (2013) asserts that syntactically, proverbs never exceed sentence boundaries in their base form, but this is not always the case for anti-proverbs when considering the examples of narration. For example, *Bülbülün çektiği dil belâsidir* [What suffers the nightingale is trouble of tongue] is a traditional proverb but it is narrated while changing it to the modern world as *Bülbülün çektiği dili belasıdır, siyasetçi de aynen öyledir. Nefes alıp durmadan yerli yersiz konuşur.* [What suffers the nightingale is a trouble of tongue, just as a politician does, he speaks without stopping to consider whether or not it's appropriate]. Other examples, *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, 'ah vatanım' demiş; sinirlenmişler bülbülü vurmuşlar, 'eşsek hoşaftan ne anlar' demişler* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "ah country"; they got angry and shoot the nightingale] and *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "sadece altın mı? Elmas kafes beklerdim sizden harun bey" demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "Is it just golden? I would have expected a diamond cage Mr. Harun] which are derived from *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "ah vatanım" demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "Ah country"] Applying narration in the Anglo-American anti-proverbs is illustrated as, *Chickens always come home to roost, which is right and natural; but when they come home to cackle and crow, that is another matter* derived from [Chickens come home to roost] (p.114); *"Well, if it isn't one thing, it's another," said the girl when her nose began to bleed* derived from [If it isn't one thing, it's another] (p.175),

and *Who says a leopard never changes his spots? There was the leopard who was tired of one spot in his cage in the zoo, so he went to another* derived from [A leopard does not change his spots] (p.287); *An elephant, finding a turtle at the edge of his favorite watering hole, stepped on it and crushed it into the mud. When asked by the king of the beasts why he had done so, he replied, "Thirty years ago, when I was very small, that turtle bit my ankle. And, as you know elephants have turtle recall"* derived from [An elephant never forgets] (p.95).

Consequently, the anti-proverb mainly preserves the phonetic features of traditional proverbs, and all these phonetic devices are employed for the specific purpose of rendering a pleasing effect to an existing proverb or anti-proverb. Moreover, offering a mnemonic device, smoothing the progress of memorization. In the creating the anti-proverbs, individuals benefit from both alliteration, consonance, rhyme, assonance and homonymy as seen in the examples above.

#### **4.2. Structural Peculiarities of Anglo-American and Turkish Anti-proverbs**

This section focuses on the form verification of the traditional proverbs reflected in the anti-proverbs and aims to demonstrate the variations and changes that transpire when the proverb has been transformed into an anti-proverb. Meaning, traditional proverbs change in terms of meaningful perspective after transformation. Besides the content of the proverbs, ascertain that the sentence structure of the traditional proverbs also changes. Before the structure of anti-proverbs, it would be preferable to provide information concerning the structure of traditional proverbs. Based on the structural feature, Turkish proverbs are noticeably structurally shorter than Anglo-American proverbs because the Turkish language does not involve relative pronouns (who, whom, which, that, and whose). When paying attention to the English translation of the Turkish proverb *Kusursuz dost arayan dostsuz kalır* as in [He who looks for a friend without fault, remains without a friend] or *Yemeyenin malını yerler* [They eat the food of him who does not eat his own food], it will be obviously noticed that the translations are much longer than the Turkish version in terms of the number of lexis. This fact is also seen in the equivalence proverbs in Turkish

and Anglo-American Paremiology. For example, *Gülü seven, dikenine katlanır* [The one who loves a rose, should put up with the thorns] or *Armut dibine düşer* [The apple does not fall far from the tree.]

Norrick (2014: 13) states that “Prosody and regular patterning make proverbs both more memorable and more recognizable in context”; therefore, anti-proverbs have a correct structure as it has copied the proverb as it is. It makes the anti-proverbs interesting due to the fact that the replaced words are both familiar and humorous to the hearers/readers. Also, making the anti-proverbs remarkable because of their unusual and surprising new version. Noam Chomsky (1957) offers the famous sentence "Colorless green ideas sleep furiously," which is a sentence with no apparent meaning, but to a native speaker, it seems instinctively correct due to its correct grammatical structure. It also makes the anti-proverbs remarkable because of their unusual and surprising new version. In his first book, Noam Chomsky (1957) offers the famous sentence "Colorless green ideas sleep furiously," which is a sentence with no apparent meaning, but to a native speaker, it seems instinctively correct due to its correct grammatical structure. Thus, for Chomsky, the study of syntax is independent of semantics, and anti-proverbs may be specified as examples of this situation because most anti-proverbs are created only for fun and do not carry any wisdom of thought; but have correct grammatical structure. That is, anti-proverbs are syntactically well-formed, but some of them are semantically anomalous. To illustrate this situation: *Su uyur, kahve uyumaz, çünkü içinde kafein vardır* [Water sleeps, but the coffee never sleeps because it has caffeine in it] derived from *Su uyur, düşman uyumaz* [Water sleeps, but the enemy doesn't.] The traditional proverb means one should always be careful of an enemy. Nevertheless, the anti-proverb does not mean much in a proverbial sense.

The structure of Turkish proverbs has been studied by a few scholars such as Altun (2004), Uzun (2017), Tuğluk (2013), Burdurlu (1967) and Gümüştam (2011) from a syntactic perspective, and these scholars have classified the traditional Turkish proverbs in terms of their sentence structure. Likewise, the Anglo-American proverbs have been examined by scholars such as Dundes (1975), Litovkina & Mieder (2006), Shamsutdinova et al. (2017), and other scholars. Coinnigh (2015) investigates simple, compound, complex, and



compound-complex sentence structures of Anglo-American proverbs alongside with Italian, French, Spanish, Finnish and Arabic ones. Shamsutdinova et al. (2017) have examined Arabic, Anglo-American and Tatar animal proverbs with complex and compound sentence structures.

Coinningh (2015) notes that the syntactic structure is not changed in the anti-proverbs, but the examples below demonstrate that proverbs syntactically change as well. Below, the sentence types of the traditional proverbs have been examined in Anglo-American and Turkish anti-proverbs in order to establish if any changes in the type of the described sentence structure occur. From a syntactic perspective, proverbs are examined within four distinct types based on the number of the clauses and sub-clauses that contain, plus elliptic sentence structure: simple sentence structure, complex sentence structure (compound-complex, conditional complex, embedded, the compound sentence with 'ki'), compound sentence structure, coordinated sentence structure, and elliptical sentence structure. Following the brief explanation of each sentence structure type, examples from Turkish and Anglo-American are provided to illustrate the changes.

#### 4.2.1. Simple Sentence Structure

A simple sentence has only one clause (subject and predicate), which must be an independent clause and with no sub-clauses, and typically simple, declarative, non-oppositional, and stylistically unmarked (Coinningh, 2014: 113). A simple sentence appears in both affirmative and negative forms. The examples that demonstrate the transformation of traditional proverbs in the form of the simple sentence into other forms as such:

*Korkunun ecele faydası yoktur* [There is no use fearing the inevitable] transformed as *Korkunun ecele faydası yoktur ama çamaşırları pisletir* [There is no use fearing the inevitable, but it dirties the underwear]. The traditional proverb has a simple sentence structure; however, the extension to the traditional proverb connected to the proverb syntactically (by means of coordinating conjunction – but), turns the structure into a 'compound sentence structure' from a 'simple sentence structure.'

*Bugünün işini yarına bırakma* [Do not put off till tomorrow what you can do today] changed as *Yarın yapabileceğin bir şeyi asla bugünden yapma* [Never fulfill a task today, which you can do tomorrow], and *Bugünün işini yarına bırak* [Put off till tomorrow what you can do today]. From having a simple sentence structure, the traditional proverb becomes a 'compound-complex sentence structure' due to the dependent clause in the first anti-proverb. Similar sounds (işini, şeyi), common words (bugün, yarın) and the content evokes the hearers/readers into associating the anti-proverb to the traditional one. However, the second anti-proverb retains the same sentence structure type, but the status of the sentence changes from negative to affirmative (bırakma, bırak).

The proverb *Yanlış hesap Bağdat'tan döner* [Wrong calculation gets returned from Baghdad] changed as *Fikrin olsun, tek müşteri Bağdat'tan gelir* [You have an idea, then that the unique customer will come from Baghdad]. The proverb has a 'simple sentence structure' composed of subject + object + verb and has turned into a 'coordinated sentence structure' because the anti-proverb includes two sentences separated by a comma. Keeping the word combination (Bağdat'tan gelir/döner) reminds the listeners/readers of the original proverb.

The proverb *Acele işe şeytan karışır* [The demon involves in haste work], the anti-proverb *Acele iş yaparsan, işin hızlı biter* [If you hasten, your task finishes fast]. Containing a subject, object and a verb, the proverb has a 'simple sentence structure'; however, transforming the object into a conditional form (haste work/If you hasten) in the anti-proverb changes the syntax of the sentence and turns it into a 'conditional-complex sentence structure.'

The proverb *Yerin kulağı var* [The ground has ears] (It can hear every word) changed as *Yerin kulağı varsa kapıların da gözü vardır* [If the ground has ears, the doors have eyes, then.] Similar to the previous example, the traditional proverb is changed into a dependent clause – and converts the entire sentence into a 'conditional-complex sentence' (yerin kulağı varsa) by extending to the traditional proverb.

As for the examples from Anglo-American anti-proverb, the sentence structures of simple sentences have also been changed into other types of proverbs due to the extensions to the original one. For example, [Appearances are deceiving] (p.97), which is in 'Simple sentence' form has turned into a 'Compound Sentence Structure' since another sentence is joined to the original one by coordinating conjunction 'but' as in, *Appearances are deceiving, but it's better to have them deceive for us than against us*. Another example, [Business is business] (p.111) becomes a 'Compound Sentence Structure' due to the coordinating conjunction 'and' connecting two as in *Christmas is over, and Business is business*. [Money talks] (p.227), which is in the form of the simple sentence structure, has become a 'Complex Sentence' in the anti-proverb *Every father knows that money talks mostly in the mother tongue* because the anti-proverb consists of an independent clause and at least one dependent clause.

A further example indicating that a simple sentence structure changes into a 'Conditional-Complex Sentence Structure' in the new form of traditional proverbs is [Ignorance of law is no excuse] (p.180) gains a conditional feature in the anti-proverb *Ignorance of law is no excuse, unless you can afford to hire a good lawyer*. The transformation of the proverb [Marriage is a lottery] (p.215) as *Marriage is a lottery, and some people are not satisfied with their luck until they've tried it several times* results in a change in the syntactic form of the sentence and becomes 'Complex-compound Sentence Structure' due to two independents and one dependent clause, plus conjunction. Finally, [Ignorance is bliss] (p.179) transforms from simple sentence to conditional sentence in that structure *If ignorance is bliss, why aren't there more people happy?* Moreover, it must be noted that a declarative sentence has been turned into an interrogative sentence structure due to its question form. Indeed, it is interrogative in the form but declarative in meaning; that is, it is a rhetorical question and needs no answer.

#### 4.2.2. Complex Sentence Structure

Complex sentences contain one clause and one or more sub-clauses; the sub-clauses may be adjectival, nominal, or adverbial (Coinningh, 2014: 114). A sub-clause is similar to

an independent clause or complete sentence, but it lacks one of the elements that would make it a complete sentence. Sub-clauses cannot stand alone as a sentence, but they can be added to an independent clause to form a complex sentence. Complex sentences are divided into four categories based on their structure: 'Compound-Complex Sentence,' 'Conditional Complex Sentence,' 'Embedded Sentence,' and 'Compound Sentence with 'ki''. To be noted, the last one deals with only the Turkish language structure because of the 'Compound Sentence with 'ki'', and this category will be excluded for the examples of Anglo-American anti-proverbs.

#### 4.2.2.1. Compound-Complex Sentences

A complex sentence consists of at least one independent clause, which includes verbals (participles, gerunds, infinitives). The examples that demonstrate the transformation of traditional proverbs, in the form of a compound complex sentence, into other forms as such:

*Görünen köy kılavuz istemez* [One does not need a guide when the village is in sight] is changed as *Görünen köy kılavuz istemez; yol, su, elektrik ister* [The village in sight does not require a guide; it requires a road, water, and electricity.] The traditional proverb has a 'compound-complex sentence structure' due to the verbal "görünen." Nevertheless, the anti-proverb indicates a 'coordinated sentence structure' since it includes two separate sentences which are created by adding an extra sentence to the traditional one.

*Gülü seven dikenine katlanır* [Who loves the rose bears the thorn] and the anti-proverb reads *Gülü seven dikenine, OY'u seven seçmenine katlanır* [Who loves the rose bears the thorn, who loves the vote bears who votes] Similar to the previous example, the proverb has turned into a 'coordinated sentence' by extending the traditional proverb by having only one verb. The extensions indicate parallel structuralism such as *dikenine*, *seçmenine*, and both words include similar sounds that remind the listener/readers of the traditional proverb.

*Denize düşen yılana sarılır* [One who falls into the sea grabs on the snake] and the anti-proverb *Denize düşen yüzme bilmiyorsa, ayvayı yer* [One who falls into the sea will be in trouble unless he knows how to swim]. In this example, the anti-proverb keeps only the first two words of the traditional proverb and is completely different from the traditional one in terms of their sentence structure, the number of words and content. In other words, the proverb and the anti-proverb have only the subject in common. Surprisingly, the transformed version reminds the traditional one to the listeners/readers. Regarding the sentence structure, due to the conditional situation, the sentence becomes a conditional sentence structure from a 'compound-complex sentence structure.'

*İşleyen demir pas tutmaz* [A rolling stone gathers no moss], the anti-proverb is *Dandik ağ, wins tutmaz* [A dull network does not hold wins.] İşleyen 'rolling' in the anti-proverb makes the sentence a Compound-Complex structure because it a verbal. Moreover, the anti-proverb *işleyen* has been substituted by *dandik* which is a noun. Therefore, replacing the verbal form with a noun form in the anti-proverb has changed the structure and turned the sentence into a 'simple sentence structure.'

*Son gülen iyi güler* [Who laughs last, laughs longest] and the anti-proverb is *Üzülme, son gülen sen olacaksın. Çünkü hep geç anlıyorsun* [Never mind, you will be the one who laughs last, because you catch it late.] The anti-proverb has been created by adding two more sentences to the traditional proverb – one at the beginning and one at the end, by the conjunction. The first sentence of the anti-proverb has a coordinated sentence structure due to two independent clauses connected by a 'comma.' The second sentence as a separate one begins with a conjunction 'because' and is a 'simple sentence structure.'

Examining the Anglo-American anti-proverbs in terms of the change of Complex sentences, it is observed that there exist a number of examples indicating that they have a different sentence structure, for example: [All things come to him who waits] (p.87) is changed as *All things come to him who waits, but not if he waits in the wrong place*, the sentence structure changes from a complex from to a Compound Sentence Structure due to the conjunction word 'but'. The proverb [It is better to give than to receive] (p.182) has

been used in a quotation mark as in the anti-proverb “*It is more blessed to give than to receive*” as the school boy said when the master flogged him so has resulted in Embedded Sentence Structure.

[Make hay while the sun shines] (p.210) is a complex sentence, and the anti-proverb *Many a man who makes hay while the sun shined would prefer to make love while the moon shines* also maintained in complex sentence structure but in a more complex way. The whole traditional proverb functions as a subject in the anti-proverb, but using ‘while’ as a subordinator makes it a complex sentence.

The traditional proverb [Men seldom make passes at girls who wear glasses] (p.217) also has a complex sentence structure due to the relative pronoun ‘who’ turns into a ‘Conditional-Complex Sentence Structure’ as in *Men seldom make passes at girls who wear glasses, unless they are contact lenses* due to the conditional form. Moreover, the same sentence structure is maintained in the anti-proverb. *When a man makes passes at girls who wear glasses, it’s probably due to their frames* since the sentences are connected with the conjunction ‘when’.

#### 4.2.2.2. Conditional-Complex Sentence Structure

Conditional sentences express real implications or imaginary situations and their consequences. A full conditional sentence contains two clauses: the dependent clause expressing the condition, the protasis; and the main clause expressing the consequence, the apodosis. In the Turkish language, the conditional is provided with the suffix ‘**se, sa**’. The examples that demonstrate the transformation of traditional proverbs in the form of the conditional complex sentence into other forms as such:

*Köpeğin duası kabul olsaydı gökten kemik yağardı* [If the dog's prayer was accepted, the bone was falling from the sky] and the anti-proverb is *Eski politikacılara rağbet olsaydı, sandıklara OY yağardı* [If the old politics were in demand, the vote would rain into the voting box.] The proverb has a conditional sentence structure and maintains the same structure as the anti-proverb since both use the same verbs in dependent and independent

clauses. Although the words, the verbs are the exception, are replaced by different words, the same form and structure are reminders of the original proverb.

*Herkes ne ederse kendine eder* [Whatever anyone does is for himself] and the anti-proverb *Self-modifying code eden, kendine eder* [Whoever does self-modifying code is for himself.] The second part of the traditional proverb is wholly preserved in the anti-proverb, which allows the listener/readers able to connect the proverb with the new version. Even so, the conditional situation in the first part has changed into a relative clause; therefore, changing the structure into a 'Compound-Complex sentence structure.'

As for the example of Anglo-American anti-proverbs, there are a large number of traditional proverbs which have conditional sentence form. Examples indicating the change in the sentence structure following the transformation of the traditional one as indicated below:

[If it isn't one thing, it's another] (p.175) is a conditional sentence, but in the anti-proverb, it is used with quotation marks, "*Well, if it isn't one thing it's another*" said the girl when her nose began to bleed, which turns it into an 'Embedded Sentence Structure'. Another example, [If at first you don't succeed, try, try again] (p.173). The sentence structure has been maintained in the anti-proverb *If at first you don't succeed, give up*, but the traditional one has also a coordinated sentence structure, while the anti-proverb is only a conditional-complex sentence. A further example, [If a thing is worth doing, it's worth doing well] (p.172) as a conditional sentence turns into a 'Complex Sentence' in the anti-proverb *Anything worth doing is worth hiring someone who knows how to do it right* due to the relative clause 'who'.

#### 4.2.2.3. Embedded Sentence Structure

This form of sentence structure includes another sentence, and this inside sentence can be the subject, object, or another element of the underlying sentence. In the Turkish proverbs corpus, provide examples in Embedded Sentence Structure; nevertheless, none of

the Anglo-American traditional proverbs is in Embedded sentence structure. All the same, the number of Anglo-American anti-proverbs which are in the form of the Embedded Sentence Structure is remarkable. *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, “ah vatanım” demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said “Ah country”] changed as *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, “bunun swarovski taşlısı yok mu” demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said: "Was there no cage with Swarovski?"] and *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar. “24 ayar olsun” demiş* [They put the nightingale in a golden cage, said: "let it be 24 carats".] The traditional proverb has an ‘embedded sentence structure.’ According to Hunutlu (2017: 167), when a sentence, which stands as an independent sentence, becomes a part of another sentence, it is referred to as an "embedded sentence." The proverb, "*ah vatanım*" is an elliptical sentence which implies "*ah vatanım neredesin?- Ah, the country where are you?*", but with the anti-proverb "*ah vatanım*" has been replaced with a proper sentence "*bunun swarovski taşlısı yok mu*" "Is not there a cage with Swarovski" or "*24 ayar olsun* - let it be 24 carats" which can stand alone but becomes part of the first section of the proverb *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar* [They put the nightingale in a golden cage]. This anti-proverb meets the requirements of the features of an embedded sentence.

Another example, *Deveye “boynun eğri” demişler, “nerem doğru ki” demiş* [They told the camel that his neck was crooked, and he answered, "Is there any part of me that's straight."], and the anti-proverb says *Deveye demişler boynun eğri, deve demiş "I am tired of the society's unrealistic beauty standards."* [They told the camel that his neck was crooked, and the camel said, "*I am tired of the society's unrealistic beauty standards.*"] The proverb has an ‘embedded sentence structure,’ which is also sustained in the anti-proverb. Interestingly, this anti-proverb continues in the English language. Moreover, in the proverb, both sections of the proverb have a canonical structure presenting a regular word order with verbs placed at the end of the sentences, but in the changed versions, the structures of word order in both sections are similar to ‘English language syntax.’ For example, the anti-proverb begins with "*deveye sormuşlar*" – “they told the camel that” and similarly the second part begins with “*deve demiş*”- “the camel said.” Yet, the sentence



structure has been sustained due to the quote that can stand as a sentence alone and part of a dependent clause.

#### 4.2.2.4. Compound Sentence with 'ki.'

These forms of sentences are structurally independent, semantically dependent clauses, but these sentences are in the position of dependent clauses in the sentence; because of functioning as a modifier of a part, or parts, of the dependent clauses (Hunutlu, 2017: 186). Noting that 'ki' is not always used in the sentences, but it is implied as demonstrated in the given example;

*Al malın iyisini, çekme kaygısını* [Buy the quality goods, and have no regrets] and the anti-proverb *Al programın orijinalini, çekme kaygısını* [Buy the original program, and have no regrets.] In the proverb, there is a hidden 'ki' in the first part of the proverb which can be demonstrated as "Malın iyisini al ki, çekme kaygısını." The structure and syntax are sustained in the anti-proverb, where words have been replaced in the new context (goods-program and quality-original).

The proverb *Ağzı torba değil ki büzesin* [People's mouths are not sacks with drawstrings] and the anti-proverb *Abur cubur gıda değil ki yiyesin* [Junk food is not a nutrient so that you eat.] The proverb has a compound sentence structure with 'ki,' and the anti-proverb has been created only by replacing the words in the proverb. Therefore, the features of syntax are applied to anti-proverb.

#### 4.2.3. Compound Sentence Structure

A compound sentence consists of at least two independent clauses joined by coordinating conjunctions. The coordinating conjunctions used to join independent clauses are "for, and, nor, but, or, yet, so." The examples that demonstrate the transformation of traditional proverbs in the form of the compound sentence into other forms as such:

*Sinek küçüktür ama mide bulandırır* [A fly is small, but it is enough to make you sick] and the anti-proverbs are *Sinek küçüktür ama boğa yılanı büyüktür* [A fly is small, but

a gopher snake is big] and *Bug küçüktür ama mide bulandırır* [A bug is small, but it is enough to make you sick.] The proverb has a 'Compound Sentence Structure,' and the two anti-proverbs retain the same structure patently. The structural function of connecting parts of a sentence and its semantic importance may convince the creators to retain the conjunction 'but' in anti-proverbs. Similar situations and explanations are relevant in the following example.

*Ya görüldüğün gibi ol, ya da olduğun gibi görün* [Either seems as you are or be as you seem] and the anti-proverb *Ya olduğun gibi görün ya da gözüme hiç görünme!* [Either seem as you are or get out of my sight!] Referring to the analysis of the previous that proverb retains the same sentence structure; noticeably, the anti-proverb also uses an 'imperative form' to convey the message, which is a warning.

As for Anglo-American anti-proverbs: [You can fool some of the people all the time, all the people some of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time] (p. 340). This proverb is in the form of 'Compound Sentence Structure,' but the anti-proverb *You can't fool all the people all the time* has a 'Simple Sentence Structure' because the creator of this anti-proverb has only used the first part of the proverb, which has a simple sentence feature.

[Hope for the best, but be prepared for the worst] (p.171) is also a compound sentence because of the coordinating conjunction 'but' the usage of this proverb in the anti-proverb "*But no matter, dear Pete*" as the man said of the sausages, "*Hope for the best, but be prepared for the worst*" forms an Embedded Sentence. Also, the proverb has the features of a compound sentence [It never rains, but it pours] (p.184), whilst the anti-proverb *It never pours when you have your umbrella with you* has a Complex Sentences Structure since it contains a conjunction 'when'.

#### 4.2.4. Coordinated Sentence Structure

A coordinated sentence consists of at least two independent clauses connected with a comma or semicolon. The examples that demonstrate the transformation of traditional proverbs in the form of the coordinated sentence into other forms as such:

*Su küçüğün, söz büyüğün* [Water is for young and word is for the elder] is changed as *Şu küçüğün, sürahi büyüğündür* [Water for the younger, pitcher for the elder] and *Şiir küçüğün* [Poem for the younger.] The first anti-proverb has a Coordinated Sentence Structure, and the second anti-proverb maintains the same structure, in which only one-word *söz* has been replaced by *sürahi*. However, the second one is a simple sentence because it consists of a subject and a verb, and *su* has been replaced by *şiir*.

*Su uyur, düşman uyumaz* [Water sleeps, but the enemy never sleeps] and the anti-proverb *Su uyur, kahve uyumaz çünkü içinde kafein vardır* [Water sleeps, but the coffee never sleeps because it has caffeine in it.] The first part of the anti-proverb borrows the same form of the original one, but with one difference: *düşman* has been replaced by *kahve*. However, adding another sentence with the conjunction “because” to the traditional proverb changes the structure from coordinated to compound sentence structure.

*Dağ dağa kavuşmaz, insan insana kavuşur* [Mountains do not meet, but the human does] the anti-proverb says *Node node'a kavusunca insan insana kavusur* [When nodes meet, human meet.] In this proverb, two separate sentences are juxtaposed, which creates a coordinated sentence structure. In the anti-proverb, the connected preposition (when) has altered the structure and combined the two sentences, meaning the first part of the proverb changes from an independent sentence into a dependent one. Therefore, the anti-proverb has a Compound-Complex sentence structure.

*Her inişin bir yokuşu, her yokuşun bir inişi vardır* [There is an uphill for every downhill and downhill for every uphill] and the anti-proverb *Her inputun bir outputu vardır* [There is output for every input.] The proverb has a ‘coordinated sentence structure’ with one common verb. Using some common words and form of the proverb (*her, bir, vardır*), the anti-proverb reminds the original one to the listeners/readers, although the

structure has changed to 'simple sentence structure.' In comparison, the words replaced by the words in the proverb have similar sounds (inişi, inputun; yokuşu, output).

There are similar examples in the Anglo-American anti-proverbs, for example, [Art's long, life is short] (p.98) changed as *Art's long, but a lot of artists are short*. The existence of 'but' makes the sentence 'Compound Sentence Structure'; [Home is home, be it ever so homely] (p.168) is changed as "*Home is home*" as *the Devil said when he found himself in the Court of Sessions* as Embedded Sentence Structure.

[Man proposes, God disposes] (p.212) as coordinated Sentence Structure maintains the sentence structure as *Man proposes, woman supposes, marriage composes and divorce exposes*. [See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil] (p.267) also turns a 'Conditional-Complex Sentence Structure' following the change *If you think no evil, see no evil, and hear no evil, the chances are that you'll never write a best-selling novel*.

#### 4.2.5. Elliptical Sentence Structure

The elliptical sentence is accepted only if it is recoverable and can be unambiguously specified. An elliptical or elided clause exists once it is either preceded or is followed by a non-elliptical sentence, plus the meaning is recoverable from the context. The elliptical structure should have only one clue-source related to the missing information. The interpretation of the elided sentence should be based on a single notion or criterion. Elliptical constructions are typically utilized in everyday conversation and arise out of the situation, and are sometimes referred to as reduced, contracted, deleted, or "abbreviated" constructions (Hakobyan, 2016).

*Kel başa şimşir tarak* [A bald head and boxwood comb do not go together] and anti-proverb says *Kel başa şimşir peruk yakışır* [A bald head and a boxwood wig go together.] The proverb has an elliptical sentence structure due to the missing verb item, understanding that the listeners/readers are aware of the context. That missing word in the proverb (verb) has been supplied by the creator based on the pattern or meaning of the anti-proverb; therefore the structure has been changed as a 'simple sentence' by adding a verb.

*Az veren candan, çok veren maldan* [One giving less is from the heart, one giving much from wealth!] and the anti-proverb *Az veren candan, çok veren enayiliğinden verir* [One giving less is from the heart, one giving much from foolishness!] In the traditional proverb, native Turkish speakers can easily presuppose that the missing words in the elliptical sentence is the verb and complete it as “verir” based on the clear context. The anti-proverb is a declarative sentence in the structure of ‘compound-complex.’

*Az laf, çok iş* [Less speech, more work] and the anti-proverb *Az iş, çok laf* [Less work, more speech.] Both proverb and anti-proverb have elliptical sentence structures. The nouns are swapped in order to have a humorous effect and convey a different message than an expected one.

As for the Anglo-American anti-proverbs, there exist examples of ‘Elliptical Sentence Structure’, likewise the previous sentence structure, changes with the existence of anti-proverbs. To illustrate, the proverb [Like will to like] (p.203) in elliptical Sentence Structure is changed as an Embedded Sentence Structure in the anti-proverb “*Like will to like,*” as the devil said to the coiller. [Neither a borrower nor a lender be] (p.232) is turned into a Complex Sentences Structure in the anti-proverb *A borrower is the thing to be, since one can file for bankruptcy.* Finally, the proverb [No pain, no gain] (p.239) gets a Complex Sentences Structure’ in the anti-proverb *Where the pain in gain lays mainly in the drain.*

### 4.3. Sentence Functions

According to Coinnigh (2014), sentences typically have four different functions: declarative (or indicative); interrogative; imperative; and exclamatory. Proverbs exhibit all these different functions, perhaps some may be more frequently used than others (Coinnigh (2014). The declarative sentence states a fact or an argument is written in the present tense and expresses a direct statement.

As occurs in the sentence types of a proverb, the creators of anti-proverbs feel free to change the function of the sentences. For example, *Kızını dövmeleyen dizini döver* [He who does not beat his daughter will beat his knees] the proverb which has a declarative

function turns into an exclamatory sentence as such: *Kızını dövmeyen karısıyla yetinir!* [He who does not beat his daughter will make do with his wife!] This anti-proverb contains the emotion of anger and a warning within the content. For instance, the proverb with a declarative function *Sakla samanı, gelir zamanı* [Save the straw, you will use it due time] is turned into an interrogative form, as in *Sarımsaklamasak da gelirse zamanı, niye sarımsaklayalım o zaman samanı?* [If it's turn will come even if we don't marinate it with garlic, then why should we marinate the straw with garlic?] Semantically this does not mean overmuch because the anti-proverb alludes with a rhyme in the Turkish language. Only functionally, the sentence is an interrogative sentence. Or the imperative sentence, *Dereyi görmeden paçayı sıvama* [Do not roll up your trousers before reaching the stream] changed as *Paçayı sıvamış insanın dereyi görme şansı daha fazladır* [The possibility of a person who rolls up his trousers to see the stream is higher] and *Onay mailini görmeden işim bitti deme!* [Do not say that I am done before seeing the confirmation mail]. The anti-proverbs are used in the declarative and imperative forms, respectively.

In Anglo-American anti-proverbs, the function of sentences is changed following the transformation. For example, the declarative sentence [A dog's bark is worse than his bite] (p.60) becomes an interrogative sentence in the anti-proverb *Why is a dog's tail like the heart of a tree?* Also, the imperative sentence [Don't cross the bridge till you come to it!] (p.128) is used in a declarative form *We can't cross a bridge until we come to it; but I always like to lay down a pontoon ahead of me.* The declarative sentence [Money can't buy happiness] (p.220) is used in an exclamatory sentence as in *Money can't buy happiness, but it certainly can sell it!* Finally, [Love me, love my dog] (p.208) is an imperative sentence but does not have any exclamation mark at the end of the sentence meaning –If you love me, you should accept everyone and everything I love, all my weakness and foibles (Litovkina & Mieder, 2006). As it is evident in the meaning, the sentence does not order, but it includes advice. However, the exclamation mark at the end of the anti-proverb *Love me, love my dog!* indicates that it is ordered to love both me and my surroundings.

## CONCLUSION

Rather than language determining what is perceived, which is the hypothesis of Whorf, it may be the physical and sociology-cultural environment which determines the language. Holmes (2013: 348), “language provides a means of encoding a community’s knowledge, beliefs and values, i.e. its culture”. Considering the fact that language is a dynamic phenomenon open to change in every aspect (phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, topological and even orthographic) but at the same time is an area of individual freedom; the creation of anti-proverbs is part and a result of this freedom. When the need arises, in our contemporary world, the traditional proverbs as a reliable tool for persuasion are called upon, Winick, “to fulfill its old function in new ways” (1998: 216).

With anti-proverbs, new and dynamic structures are obtained by taking the basic profiles of the ready-made structures in the mind. In other words, the structure of the traditional proverbs is deconstructed based on the individuals’ thoughts and feelings. Unlike proverbs, most of the anti-proverbs are short lived and are used in the language as occasionalisms. Where most of the anti-proverbs are created, used once only by their creators, but if failing to gain popularity, and are not used in mass media or different types of art (music, literature), they disappear. Besides, the creators of anti-proverbs are mostly restricted to the younger population.

Nonetheless, Anti-proverbs entertain the readers or listeners; satirizing or criticizing reality. The intensity of the themes used in Anglo-American anti-proverbs is different from the ones of Turkish anti-proverbs. For example, the themes that the Anglo-American anti-proverbs are altered are mostly *sexuality, woman, professions and occupations, money, love, marriage, divorce, friendship, education and learning, alcohol and drugs, children and parents, taxes, God and religion, telephone, cars and computers* (Mieder & Litovkina, 2006: 26). As for Turkish anti-proverbs, the themes are mostly relevant to *social media, taxes, alcohol, money, profession - computer operator, social media specialist, coder; children, especially daughters, violence, technology, computer games, features relevant to computers such as virus, software programs, code, bug*, and so on. Anti-proverbs may contain elements

not only of funniness, but also of offensiveness, hostility, and aggression directed toward various social groups, including women, homosexuals, people of different professions, and so on. Moreover, there are many obscene anti-proverbs in Turkish anti-proverbs, but have not been used in this study.

Analysis of intertextual references demonstrates that the anti-proverbs in this study included allusions from different sources such as movie, TV show, technology, and so on. Due to the fact that some intertextual references require background, technical information in order to be recognized, finding out the original source might be difficult without any previous knowledge, and if the viewer cannot recognize the references, anti-proverbs will most likely appear pointless. In order to understand the numerous stylistic devices in the anti-proverbs, it is essential to know the specific terms. For example, there exist a large number of anti-proverbs having the term 'Corona (virus)'. Today (2021), the whole world knows what the word means and how it is used in the context. However, especially the terms relevant to computers and technology seem pointless to many readers / listeners of anti-proverbs will have no comprehension of the terms.

In general, intertextual references are used in anti-proverbs appearing in unexpected, unconventional and surprising ways, which have a humorous effect and one of the remarkable features of anti-proverbs. Accordingly, the humour depends on the listeners'/hearers' competence in pursuing intertextual echoes in the text. Meaning, the listeners/readers enjoy humor by recognizing similarities and differences between intertextual references and anti-proverbs, which are mostly based on deliberate resemblances in sounds, and not in meanings. Therefore, a lack of resemblance between the original text and the anti-proverb may cause the transformation to be humourless. The examples of anti-proverbs were examined based on the theories of humor which was divided into three main categories: Superiority Theory; Relief Theory; and Incongruity Theory. The categories overlapped in some anti-proverbs.

Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs were examined from a lingua cultural perspectives as well. The analysis demonstrates that the proverbs which have a



communicative value have been transformed into anti-proverbs in order to reflect recent changes within society. Therefore, the anti-proverbial understanding of the world differs greatly from proverbial understanding of the world. Thus, anti-proverbs demonstrate a society's new experiences and developments that reshape the discourse. It is perceptibly seen from the analysis that the traditional proverbs, which were regarded as unchangeable truths once, do not remain the same forever, just like everything in the modern world. Accordingly, the changes in the various fields of life and the methods of acquiring, plus transferring the culture have led the proverbs to be part of this process of change. Namely, the perceptions and changed value system of Turkish and Anglo-American societies have prompted individuals to reproduce the proverbs to adapt the proverbs to the changes and new experiences. Analysis of Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs also revealed that there have been changes in the value of some notions such as knowledge, intellectuality, sense of belonging, honesty; the increase in the events of violence; financial problems, and the power and effect of social media. Overall, the notion that proverbs reflect the structure of the mind, aesthetics, communicative and behavioral norms of the society to which it belongs is debatable considering the variants of the proverbs.

This thesis also advances the literature on the uses of proverbs in social media discourse and contributes to the understanding of how and why the traditional proverbs are changed in social media, how social networking sites influence the individuals lives so that they change the proverbs. The later nineteenth century is the age of modernity as an achieved reality, where science and technology, including networks of mass communication and transportation, reshape human perceptions. Thusly, this study established that the anti-proverbs relevant to social media and related terms are not authentic materials, or from a sociological perspective. The new content conveyed by the anti-proverbs expresses the relationship between people has become more virtual; the power of social media in reaching a vast number of users over a short period, approximately since the 1990s, and is vast. Whatever is shared on social media remains there contrary to oral speech. Finally, considering the messages conveyed by proverbs, it is difficult to use

any traditional proverb to reflect these situations. Therefore, proverbs are adapting themselves to the new world.

Furthermore, the thesis focused on the differences and similarities of the structure of traditional proverbs and anti-proverbs created in Turkish and Anglo-American societies. The analysis of the examples of anti-proverbs in both societies have demonstrate that the creators of anti-proverbs have not always remained faithful to the structure of original proverbs, changing the syntax based on the methods such as one-word replacement; extension of the traditional proverb; changing the verb from positive to negative (vice versa); the same structure with different meaning; one sound replacement; adding word/s into the traditional proverbs and so on. In spite of this, anti-proverbs maintain the same structure of the traditional proverbs from which they are derived, but some of the anti-proverbs retain only some parts of the traditional proverbs, which causes a change in the type of sentence structure, but changes applied in the traditional proverbs, anti-proverbs still remind the listeners/readers of the original versions due to the similar sounds as well as the main structure, borrowed from the traditional one.

Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs have also been examined stylistically, and discovered that while proverbs are fully or partially figurative language units, and figurative meaning is a compulsory part of proverbs, anti-proverbs do not always carry these features in the same form that proverbs do. In other words, the proverbs mostly lose their characteristics from the perspective of stylistics when they are turned into anti-proverbs. Also, considering that the basic characteristic of stylistic usage is the figurative meaning, most of the anti-proverbs are created by abandoning their figurative attitude, and used in their literal meaning. Still, the creators of anti-proverbs benefit from the power of stylistic devices for several purposes such as drawing attention of the hearers/readers, making the anti-proverbs more memorable or just being remarkable. The examples from Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs indicated that the characteristic features of each stylistic device which mostly have a humorous effect on the individuals are common in these paremiological structures as well. The stylistics devices have been examined in three main categories and their sub-categories as such: phonetic mechanisms (alliteration, assonance,

rhyme/rhythm, consonance, homonymy), lexical mechanisms (repetition, duplication, anaphora, epistrophe), semantic mechanisms (metaphor, personification, pun, hyperbole, comparison, concordance, contrast, parallelism, satire), and syntactic mechanisms (ellipsis and narration).

## RECOMMENDATION

This thesis established a corpus of anti-proverbs created in Turkish culture by following the example of Wolfgang Mieder, and used the examples for Anglo-American anti-proverbs from the book of Mieder and Litovkina [T. Litovkina & Mieder, 2006.] There are current collections of anti-proverbs in other languages (e.g., French, Hungarian, English, German, and Russian, but Turkish anti-proverbs are not yet represented in scholarship, especially in English language in order to be understood by non-Turkish speaking scholars. This thesis also consists of research conducting cross-cultural studies of topics most frequently treated in Turkish and Anglo-American anti-proverbs. The strategies used in the creation of anti-proverbs, as well as their topics, are comparable both in Anglo-American and in Turkish. The processes of creativity involved in coining and performing anti-proverbs and the functions of anti-proverbs were analyzed in the thesis.

The thesis poses many other possibilities for future research. Some of the tasks such as concentrating on different languages and different cultural backgrounds, or involving broader and more interdisciplinary research projects, e.g., sociological, psychological, textual, educational require scholarly teamwork. Besides, modern paremiologists and paremiographers must not only collect and publish traditional and new proverbs, but also collect and publish their transformations and discover their functions and interpret their meanings in the modern world and its communicative processes.

Thus, an important task for the future is to conduct further sociology-linguistics surveys the main goals of which would be exploring popular views on anti-proverbs and their functions in contemporary societies, statistical analysis applied to the various populations and sub-groups that use anti-proverbs in each country separately. For example, a research based on the age group of the users of social networking sites who alter the traditional proverb in order to ascertain the interrelation between linguistic factors and psychological aspects would be an interesting one. Therefore, a comparative expertise at assessing cultural differences, and the folklorist's focus on ways in which proverbs live in everyday oral discourse. It would be interesting to do comparative analysis and to

investigate how the cultures correspond, and how they differ, in humor perception.  
Increasingly important to the study of literature, drama and other "high art" forms.

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## APPENDIX

### THE CORPUS OF TURKISH ANTI-PROVERBS

1- *Gülü seven dikenine katlanır* [One who loves roses bears its thorn]

- **Ref 1:** *Windows'u seven maviye katlanır* [One who loves Windows bears its blue screen]

- **Ref 2:** *Gülü seven dikenine saplanır* [Who loves the rose, stinks in to the thorn] 2
- **Ref 3:** *Gülü seven dikenine, oy'u seven seçmenine katlanır* [Who loves the rose bears the thorn, who loves the vote bears who votes]
- **Ref 4:** *Warrioru sewen pot sıkıntısına katlanır* [One who loves the warrior bears pot problem]
- **Ref 5:** *Gülü seven dikenine epilasyon yaptırır!* [One who loves roses they remove its hair]
- 2- **İt iti sırmaz** [Dog does not bite a dog]
  - Ref 6:** *Orc orc u ısırılmaz* [Orc does not bite an Orc]
- 3- **Alma mazlumun ahını, çıkar aheste aheste** [Do not be cursed by an aggrieved person, it comes about slowly]
  - **Ref 7:** *Alma Bill amcanın ahını, her an koparabilir messenger'I* [Do not be cursed by uncle Bill, your messenger may disconnect at any time]
  - **Ref 8:** *Alma belleğin ahını, çıkar megabayt megabayt* [Do not be cursed by a memory card, it comes about megabyte megabyte]
- 4- **Körle yatan şaşu kalkar** [One who lies down with the blind, gets up squint eyed.]
  - **Ref 10:** *Coronalıyla yatan coronalı kalkar* [One who lies down with someone who is covid19 infected, gets up covid19 infected]
- 5- **Marifet iltifata tabidir** [Ingenuity requires compliment]
  - **Ref 5:** *Her misyon komisyona tabiidir!* [Every mission requires commission]
- 6- **Kedi uzanamadığı ciğere murdar dermiş** [When a cat can't get to the liver, says it is dirty]
  - **Ref 5:** *Kedi uzanamadığı ciğer hakkında şok açıklamalar yapar!* [When a cat can't get to the liver, makes shocking statements]
- 7- **Gülme komşuna, gelir başına** [Do not mock your neighbor's misfortune, you may soon meet the same fate]
  - **Ref 2:** *Gülme komşuna, dişlerin çürük* [Don't laugh at your neighbor, your teeth are decayed] 2
  - **Ref 4:** *Gülme yatana, gelir başına,* [Don't laugh at the dead, it happens to you]
  - **Ref 11:** *Gülme komşuna, dayak yersin* [Don't laugh at your neighbor, you will be beaten]2
- 8- **Yanlış hesap Bağdat'tan döner** [Wrong calculation gets returned from Baghdad]



- **Ref 2:** *Yanlış hesap matematik hocasından geri döner* [Wrong calculation gets returned from Math teacher]

- **Ref9:** *Fikrin olsun tek müşteri bağdat'tan gelir* [You have an idea, then the unique customer will come from Baghdad] 2

**9- Üzüm üzümüne baka baka kararır** [Grapes become black upon seeing one another]

- **Ref 12:** *Üzüm yüzüme baka baka kararır* [Grapes become black upon seeing my face]
- **Ref 14:** *Facebook hesabı birbirine baka baka paylaşır* [Facebook accounts share upon seeing each other]
- **Ref 5:** *Üzüm üzümüne baka baka solarium!* [Grape solarium upon seeing one another!] 2
- **Ref 2:** *Öğrenci öğrenciye bakarak five alır* [A student gets a score of 5 by copying from another student]
- **Ref 13:** *Coronalı coronaya dokuna dokuna ölür* [Someone with corona dies by touching to someone who has corona]

**10- Bakarsan bağ, bakmazsan dağ olur** [If you look after it, it will become a vineyard; if you do not, it will become a mountain]

- **Ref 15:** *Kodarsan run olur, kodmazsan bug olur* [If you code, it will run, if you don't, it will become a bug]
- **Ref 16:** *Meyve yersen sağlıklı, yemezsen hasta olursun* [If you eat fruit, you will be healthy, if you don't, you will be sick]
- **Ref 11:** *Bakarsan bağ olur, bakmazsan bakma!* [If you look after it, it will become a vineyard; if you don't, don't look after!]

**11- Ummadığın taş baş yarar** [An unexpected stone can split the head]

- **Ref 15:** *Ummadık gulp, bash yarar* 'An unexpected gulp can split the bash'
- **Ref 2:** *Ummadığı taş arkeolojik eser olabilir* [An unexpected stone may be an artifact]

**12- Görünen köy kılavuz istemez** [One does not need a guide when the village is in sight]

- **Ref 14:** *Trend topic olacak haber paylaşım istemez* [The news to be a Trend Topic does not need to be shared]
- **Ref 11:** *Görünen köy istemez; yol ister, elektrik kılavuz ister* [The village in sight does not require a guide; it requires road, water, and electricity]

- **Ref 17:** *Görünen köy, uzakta değildir* [The village in sight is not too far]

**13-Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "ah vatanım" demiş** [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "ah country"]

- **Ref 18:** *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, 'ah vatanım' demiş; sinirlenmişler bülbülü vurmuşlar, 'eşek hoşaftan ne anlar' demişler* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "ah country"; they got angry and shoot the nightingale then they said "a donkey wouldn't appreciate the taste"]
- **Ref 18:** *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "sadece altın mı? Elmas kafes beklerdim sizden harun bey" demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "Is it just golden? I would have expected a diamond cage Mr. Harun"]
- **Ref 18:** *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "bunun swarovski taşlısı yok mu" demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said: "Was there no cage with Swarovski?"]
- **Ref 18:** *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar. "24 ayar olsun" demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said: "let it be 24 carats"]
- **Ref 18:** *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, eşek yine eşek demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "donkey is a donkey"]
- **Ref 18:** *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, nerem doğru kı demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "Is there any part of me that's straight?"]
- **Ref 18:** *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, devamında ise "o zaman vatanına git o halde" demişler. O da vatanına gitmiş fakat vatanında enfeksiyon kapıp ölmüş. Çünkü kafes daha güvenli bir yermiş* - [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, then said "now go to your hometown." The nightingale went to his hometown and died of an infection. Because the cage was a safer place]
- **Ref 8:** *Pc'ye mac vermişler, ah windowsum demiş* [They gave Mac to Pc, said 'ah Windows]
- **Ref 18:** *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, bülbül yine bülbül* [They put the nightingale in a golden cage, but it is still a nightingale]
- **Ref 2:** *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "Oh ne rahat" demiş* [They put the nightingale in a golden cage, said "so comfortable"]

**14-Sakla samanı, gelir zamanı** [Save the straw, you will use it due time]

- **Ref 19:** *Sarımsaklamasak da gelirse zamanı, niye sarımsaklayalım o zaman samanı?* [If it's turn will come even if we don't maronate it with garlic, then why should we maronate the straw with garlic?]
- **Ref 20:** *Sakla samanı altından su yürütürsün* [Save the straw so that you can run water under it]
- **Ref 21:** *Sakla samanı oysun gözünü* [Save the straw, then it pecks your eye out]
- **Ref 11:** *Sakla samanı gelir zam-anı* [Save the straw, raise on its price will come]
- **Ref 14:** *Sakla paylaşımı, gelir trend topic zamanı* [Save the sharing; there will be time to become a trending topic]
- **Ref 2:** *Sakla samanı, inekler aç kalsın* [Save the straw and let the cows starve]
- **Ref 22:** *Sakla samanı bulamasınlar* [Save the straw so that they don't find it]
- **Ref 23:** *Sakla samanı ders çalışırken yersin* [Save the straw you can eat while studying]
- **Ref 22:** *Sakla samanı inekler rejim yapsın* [Save the straw, let the cows go on a diet]
- **Ref 11:** *Sakla samanı çürüsün* [Save the straw, let it decay]

**15- Tavşan dağa küsmüş dağın haberi olmamış** [The hare (rabbit) was offended with the mountain, but the mountain did not notice]

- **Ref 1:** *Üye admine küsmüş adminin haberi olmamış* [The member was offended with the admin, but the admin did not notice]

**16- Kedi götünü görmüş, yaram Var Demiş** [When the cat saw his own bottom he thought he was injured]

- **Ref 10:** *Kedi götünü görmüş, corona zannetmiş* [When the cat saw his own bottom he thought he got corona]

**17- Çıkmadık candan umut kesilmez** [There will not be abandoned hope from the life which not finished]

- **Ref 24:** *Kırılmadık harddiskten umut kesilmez* [There will not be abandoned hope from the harddisk which not broken]

**18- Acele işe şeytan karışır** [The demon involves in haste work]

- **Ref 15:** *Acele koda syntax error karışır* [The syntax error takes a hand in a code hastily written]

- Ref 2: *Acele iş yaparsan, işin hızlı biter* [If you hasten, your task finishes fast]
- Ref 16: *Sağlıksız işe mikrop bulaşır* [Microbe involves in an unhealthy work]

19- *Ev alma komşu al* [Don't buy a house, take for yourself a neighbor]

- Ref 16: *Gdo'lu alma organik al* [Don't buy a food with GMO, buy organic food]
- Ref 2: *Ev alma, araba al* [Do not buy a house, buy a car]
- Ref 14: *At alma seyis al* [Do not buy a horse, buy a stableman]

20- *Damlaya damlaya göl olur* [There becomes a lake by drop by drop]

- Ref 25: *Zamlaya zamlaya kriz olur* [There becomes a crisis by raise by raise]
- Ref 15: *Tıklaya tıklaya fare bozulur* [The mouse will be broken by click by click]
- Ref 22: *Damlaya damlaya göl olur, ona da vergi koyarlar* [There becomes a lake by drop by drop, and they lay a tax on it] 2
- Ref 2: *Damlaya damlaya, cepte para kalmaz* [There's no money in the pocket by dropping]
- Ref 11: *Damlaya damlaya bir şey olmaz, üstelik etrafı da ıslatır* [Nothing becomes by dropping; moreover, it wets the surround]
- Ref 11: *Damlaya damlaya holding olur* [There becomes a holding by drop by drop]
- Ref 19: *Saklaya saklaya cöplük olduk* [We have become dump by dropping]

21- *Deveye "boynun eğri" demişler, "nerem doğru ki?" demiş* [They told the camel that his neck was crooked, and he answered, "Is there any part of me that's straight?"]

- Ref 26: *Deveye demişler boynun eğri, deve demiş "I am tired of the society's unrealistic beauty standards."* [They told the camel that his neck was crooked, and the camel said "I am tired of the society's unrealistic beauty standards."] 2
- Ref 27: *Deveye sormuşlar, "neren doğru?"*, *deve demiş özgüvenim özgüvenim* [They asked the camel that "Which part of you is straight?", he answered, "my self-confidence, my self-confidence"]

22- *Bakarsan bağ, bakmazsan dağ olur* [if you look after it, it will become a vineyard; if you do not, it will become a mountain]

- Ref 11: *Bakarsan bağ olur, bakmazsan bakma!* [if you look after it, it will become a vineyard; if you don't, don't look after!]

**23- Sütten ağzı yanan yoğurdu üfleyerek yer** [One who has once burnt his tongue while drinking milk will blow to yoghurt before eating it]

- **Ref 2:** *Sütten ağzı yanan, yanık merhemi kullanır* [One who has once burnt his tongue while drinking milk will apply burn ointment]

**24- Düşenin dostu olmaz, hele bir düş de gör** [The person who falls does not have any friends, you will understand when you fall]

- **Ref 11:** *Düşenin dostu olmaz, pazarlamacısı olur* [The person who falls does not have any friends, but a marketer]

**25- Aç ayı oynamaz** [A hungry bear won't dance]

- **Ref 2:** *Aç ayı oynamaz, yedek kulübesinde oturur* [A hungry bear won't dance, but sits at the bench]
- **Ref 11:** *Tok ayı şakır şakır oynar* [A full bear will dance by snapping his fingers by snapping his fingers]
- **Ref 16:** *İyi beslenmeyen çocuk oyun oynayamaz* [A child who is not nourished properly can't play games]

**26- Bugünün işini yarına bırakma** [Do not put off till tomorrow what you can do today]

- **Ref 15:** *Bugünün comment'ini yarına bırakma* [Don't put off today's comment till tomorrow]
- **Ref 14:** *Bugünün @... sini @... a bırakma* [Do not put off today's @... to @...]
- **Ref 11:** *Bugün başından atabileceğin işi yarına bırakma* [Never put off today's work which you can avoid till tomorrow]
- **Ref 28:** *Yarın yapabileceğin bir şeyi asla bugünden yapma* [Never fulfill a task today, which you can do tomorrow']
- **Ref 29-** *Bugünün işini yarına bırak* [Put off till tomorrow what you can do today] 2

**27- Ölenle ölmmez** [Do not die with the dead]

- **Ref 2:** *Ölenle ölmmez, mirasına konulur* [Do not die, but take his inheritance]

**28- Denize düşen yılanı sarılır** [One who falls into the sea grabs on the snake]

- **Ref 30:** *Hayata düşen yılanı sarılır* [One who falls into the life grabs on to lies] 2

- **Ref 30:** *sh 142- İktidara düşen, çıkarına sarılır* [One who falls into the Government in power grabs on to self-interests]
- **Ref 16:** *Sağlığı bozulan meyveye sarılır* [One whose health deteriorates grabs on to fruits]
- **Ref 15:** *Denize düşen, yüzmeye bilmiyorsa ayvayı yer* [One who falls into the sea will be in trouble unless he knows how to swim] 2
- **Ref 11:** *Denize düşen, varile sarılır* [One who falls into the sea grabs on to barrels] 2
- **Ref 5:** *Denize düşen koli basili'ne sarılır* [One who falls into the sea grabs on to parcels]
- **29- Ateş düştüğü yeri yakar** [An ember burns where it falls]
- **Ref 11:** *Ateş düştüğü yeri yakar, sonra da yangın çıkar* [An ember burns where it falls, then starts a fire]
- **Ref 31:** *Korona düştüğü yeri yakar* [The corona burns the place where it falls]
- **30- Korkunun ecele faydası yoktur** [There is no use of fear of death]
- **Ref 28:** *Korkunun ecele faydası yoktur, sadece iç çamaşırları kirletir* [There is no use of fear of death; it only dirties the underwear]
- **Ref 2:** *Korkunun ecele faydası yoktur ama çamaşırları pisletir* [There is no use fearing the inevitable, but it dirties the underwear]
- **31- Komşunun tavuğu komşuya kaz, karısı kız görünür** [A neighbor's hen looks as big as a goose and his wife as young as a girl to our neighbours]
- **Ref 31:** *Komşunun gripi komşuya korona görünür* [A neighbor's flu looks as corona to other neighbors]
- **32- Mart kapıdan baktırır, kazma kürek yaktırır** [March makes you look out through the door and then makes you burn the handles of your pickaxes and shovels]
- **Ref 31:** *Mart kapıdan baktırır, korona camdan baktırır* [March makes you look out through the door and Corona makes you look out through the window]
- **Ref 13:** *Mart kapıdan baktırdı korona Boğazdan götürdü* [March (month) made someone looked from the door and corona killed from the throat]
- **33- Koyunun bulunmadığı yerde, keçiye Abdurrahman Çelebi derler** [Where there are no sheep, goats are called as 'Aburrahman Çelebi']

- **Ref 8:** *Ebolanın olmadığı yerde coronaya abdurrahman çelebi derler* [Where there is no Ebola (virus), corona (virus) is called as ‘Aburrahman Çelebi’]

**34- Çok gezen çok bilir** [He that travels much knows much] **Çok okuyan değil, çok gezen bilir** [Not he who reads more knows, but he who travels much knows] (syn)

- **Ref 13:** *Çok gezen korona olur* [He who travels much catches corona (virus)]
- **Ref 10:** *Çok gezen mi korona olur çok okuyan mı?* [Who catches corona (virus) one who travels much or who reads much?]
- **Ref 11:** *Çok okuyan bilmez, çok kazanan bilir* [He who read much does not know, but he who earns does] 3
- **Ref 31:** *Çok okuyan değil çok gezen korona olur* [He who travels a lot catches coronavirus and not he who reads a lot]

**35- Ak akçe kara gün içindir** [Save the penny for a rainy day]

- **Ref 31:** *Ak akçe koronali günler içindir* [Save the penny for a Covid-19 day]
- **Ref 14:** *Ak akçe kara @... içindir* [Save the penny for a black (bad) @]
- **Ref 11:** *Ak akçe kumar içindir* [Save the penny for a gambling day]
- **Ref 11:** *Ak akçe zamlar içindir* [Save the penny for price raise]
- **Ref 2:** *Ak akçe her gün içindir* [Save the penny for every day]2
- **Ref 2:** *Ak akçe kara gün gelene kadar değerini yitirir* [Silver money loses the value until the day comes]
- **Ref 22:** *Ak akçe, tedavülden kalktı amca, ama dolar, avro, tl kabul ediyoruz* [Silver money is out of circulation, uncle, but we accept dollars, Euro, Turkish lira]

**36- Anasına bak, kızını al, kenarına bak bezini al** [Look at the mother, marry the daughter; examine the selvage, then buy the cloth]

- **Ref 15:** *Coderine bak codu include et* [Look at the coder, include the code]
- **Ref 8:** *Versiyonuna bak programini al* [Look at the version and buy the program]
- **Ref 2:** *Anasına bak, babasından dayak ye* [Look at his mother, get beaten by his father]

**37- Kızını dövmeyen dizini döver** [He who does not beat his daughter will beat his knees]

- **Ref 2:** *Kızını dövmeyen damadını nasıl döver?* [How can someone who does not beat his daughter beat his son in law?]

- **Ref 5:** *Kızını dövmeyen karısıyla yetinir!* [He who does not beat his daughter will make do with his wife!] 2
- **Ref 28:** *Kızını dövmeyen, torununu erken sever* [He who does not beat his daughter will love their grandchild earlier than expected]
- **38- Tencere yuvarlanmış kapağını bulmuş** [The pot rolled and found its lid]
- **Ref 32:** kemal sunal filmleri *Tencere yuvarlanmış, seninki benden kara* [The pot rolled, "Yours is blacker than me"]
- **Ref 11:** *Tencere yuvarlanmış yemekler dökülmüs* [The pot rolled and the dishes are poured out]
- **39- Bülbülün çektiği dili belası** [What suffers the nighthale is trouble of tongue]
- **Ref 11:** *Bülbülün çektiği piyango biletine bir şey çıkmaz* [The lottery ticket picked by the nighthale does not win anything] 2
- **Ref 3:** *Bülbülün çektiği dili belasıdır, siyasetçi de aynen öyledir. Nefes alıp durmadan yerli yersiz konuşur* [What suffers the nighthale is a trouble of tongue, just as a politician does, he speaks without stopping to consider whether or not it's appropriate] 2
- **40- Besle kargayı, oysun gözünü** [Feed the crow, and it will peck out your eyes]
- **Ref 8:** *Hackle siteyi, gelir şifresi* [Hack the website, get the passport]
- **Ref 2:** *Besle kargayı şişmanlasın, sonra da rejime sokarsın* [Let the crow be fat, then put it in the regime] 2
- **Ref 2:** *Besle kargayı büyüyünce tavuk diye satarsın* [Feed the crow, you will sell it when it grows]
- **Ref 11:** *Besle karıyı, taksın boynuzu* [Feed the wife then she cheats]
- **41- Söz gümüşse sükut altındır** [Speech is silver, but silence is golden]
- **Ref 11:** *Söz gümüşse, sözlüğü olan köşeyi döner* [If a word is a silver, the person having a dictionary becomes rich]
- **Ref 33:** *Söz gümüşse, sosyal medya altındır* [Speech is silver, but social media is golden]
- **42- Az laf, çok iş** [Less speech More work]
- *Umudumuz şaban Az iş, çok laf* [Less work, more speech] 3
- **43- Her yiğidin gönlünde bir aslan yatar** [There lies a lion in every brave man's heart]



- **Ref 11:** *Her aslanın midesinde bir yiğit yatar* [There lies a brave man in every lion's tummy]  
**44- Her yiğidin bir yoğurt yiyişi vardır** [Every brave man has his own way of eating yoghurt]
- **Ref 11:** *Her aslanın bir terbiyecisi yiyişi vardır* [Every lion has its own way of eating its handlers] 2
- **Ref 2:** *Her yiğidin bir rüşvet yiyişi vardır* [Each brave man has his own way of taking bribe]  
**45- Köprüyü geçene kadar ayyıya dayı derler** [They call the bear "uncle" until they have crossed the bridge]
- **Ref 3:** *Politikacı köprüyü geçene kadar seçmene dayı der* [The politician calls the voters "uncle" until he crosses the bridge]  
**46- Akılsız başın cezasını ayaklar çeker** [A foolish head makes for weary feet]
- **Ref 11:** *Akılsız başın zahmetini bütçeler çeker* [The trouble of mindless head makes for budgets]
- **Ref 5:** *Akılsız başın cezasını tetikçi çeker!* [Shooter serves the sentence which belongs to the mindless mind]  
**47- Evdeki hesap çarşıya uymaz** [The math at home does not meet in market]
- **Ref 2:** *Evdeki hesap, enflasyona uymaz* [The math at home does not fit in inflation] 2  
**48- Az veren candan, çok veren maldan** [[One giving less is from the heart, one giving much from wealth!](#)]
- **Ref 11:** *Az veren candan, çok veren enayiliğinden verir* [[One giving less is from the heart, one giving much from foolishness!](#)]  
**49- Dereyi görmeden paçayı sıvama** [Do not roll up your trousers before reaching the stream]
- **Ref 34:** *Paçayı sıvamış insanın dereyi görme şansı daha fazladır* [The possibility of a person who rolls up his trousers to see the stream is higher]
- **Ref 9:** *Onay mailini görmeden işim bitti deme!* [Do not say that I am done before seeing the confirmation mail!]  
**50- Kel başa şimşir tarak** [A bald head and boxwood comb do not go together]
- **Ref 2:** *Kel başa şimşir peruk yakışır* [A bald head and a boxwood wig go together]

**51- Her inişin bir yokuşu, her yokuşun bir inişi vardır** [There is an uphill for every downhill and downhill for every uphill]

- Ref 15: *Her inputun bir outputu vardır* [There is output for every input]

**52- Dağ dağa kavuşmaz, insan insana kavuşur** [Mountains do not meet, but the human does]

- Ref 15: *Node node'a kavusunca insan insana kavusur* [When nodes meet, human meet]

**53- Su uyur, düşman uyumaz** [Water sleeps, but the enemy never sleeps]

- Ref 22: *Su uyur, kahve uyumaz çünkü içinde kafein vardır* [Water sleeps, but the coffee never sleeps because it has caffeine in it] 2

- Ref 31: *Su uyur, korona uyumaz* [Water sleeps but the corona never sleeps]

**54- Su küçüğün söz büyüğün** [Water is for young and word is for the elder]

- Ref 11: *Su küçüğün, sürahi büyüğündür* [Water is for young and pitcher is for elder] 2

- Ref 30: *Şiir küçüğün* [Poem for the younger] 2

- Ref 35: Rafadan tayfa- çizgi film) *Su küçüğün, köprü büyüğün* [Water is for young and bridge is for the elder]

**55- Ya görüdüğün gibi ol, ya da olduğun gibi görün** [[Either seem as you are or be as you seem](#)]

- Ref 28: *Ya olduğun gibi görün ya da gözüme hiç görünme!* [Either seem as you are or get out of my sight!]

**56- Sinek küçüktür ama mide bulandırır** [[A fly is small, but it is enough to make you sick](#)]

- Ref 2: *Sinek küçüktür ama boğa yılanı büyüktür* [A fly is small, but a gopher snake is big]

- Ref 15: *Bug küçüktür ama mide bulandırır* [[A bug is small, but it is enough to make you sick](#)]

- Ref 36: *Sinek küçüktür ama besleyicidir* [[A fly is small, but it is nutritious](#)]

**57- Ağız torba değil ki büzesin** [People's mouths are not sacks with drawstrings]

- Ref 16: *Abur cubur gıda değil ki yiyesin* [Junk food is not a nutrient so that you eat]

**58- Al malın iyisini, çekme kaygısını** [Buy the quality goods, and have no regrets]

- Ref 37: *Al programın orijinalini, çekme kaygısını* [Buy the original program, and have no regrets]

**59- Köpeğin duası kabul olsaydı gökten kemik yağardı** [If the dog's prayer was accepted, the bone was falling from the sky]

- **Ref 3: Eski politikacılara rağbet olsaydı, sandıklara oy yağardı** [If the old politics were in demand, vote would rain into the voting box] 3

**60- Son gülen iyi güler** [Who laughs last, laughs longest]

- **Ref 25: Üzülme, son gülen sen olacaksın. Çünkü hep geç anlıyorsun** [Never mind, you will be the one who laughs last, because you catch it late] 2

**61- İşleyen demir pas tutmaz** [A rolling stone gathers no moss]

- **Ref 8: Dandik ağ, wins tutmaz** [A dull network does not hold wins]

**62- Yerin kulağı var** [The ground has ears]

- **Ref 38: Korkma ben varım kitaptan Yerin kulağı varsa kapıların da gözü vardır** [If the ground has ears, the doors have eyes, then]

**63- Bükemediğin eli öp, başına koy** [Kiss the hand which you can not wring]

- **Ref 11: Bükemediğin bileği ısır** [Bite the wrist you can't bend]

**64- Hocanın dediğini yap, yaptığını yapma** [Do as the priest says, not as he does.]

- **Ref 3: Politikacının dediğini yap, yaptığını sakın yapma** [Do as the politician says, not as he does ever]

**65- İyi evlat babayı vezir, kötü evlat rezil eder** [A good child makes his father proud, a bad one puts him to shame]

- **Ref 3: İyi politikacı ülkeyi vezir, kötüsü ülkeyi rezil eder** [A good politician makes his people proud, a bad one puts the country to shame]

**67- Bal tutan parmağını, sözünü tutmayan politikacı avucunu yalar** [He who handles honey licks his finger, the politician who does not keep his promise licks his palm] 2

- **Ref 2: Bal tutan parmağını yalar** [He that handles honey, licks his finger]
- **Ref 5: Bal tutan parmağını özelleştirir!** [He that handles honey, denationalize his finger!]

**68- Bağa bak üzüm olsun, yemeye yüzün olsun** [Take care of the vineyard so that it will have grapes; then you can eat them without embarrassment]

- **Ref 16: Bahçeye bak meyve olsun, yiyen sağlıklı olsun** [Take care of the garden so that it will produce fruits; then let whoever eats the fruit be healthy]

**69- Sap döner, keser döner, gün gelir hesap döner** [Handle rotates, adze rotates, the day comes, reckoning rotates]

- **Ref 39:** *Gün gelir devran döner, horoz döner, tavuk gomer* [The day comes, the fortune changes; rooster returns, chicken pecks]

**70- Göle su gelinceye kadar kurbağanın gözü patlar** [The frog's eye explodes until the water reach the lake]

- **Ref 20:** *Zenginin gönlü oluncaya kadar fakirin canı çıkar* [Poor dies until the rich becomes satisfied]

**71- İğneyi kendine çuvaldızı başkasına batır** [Jab needle to yourself, packing needle to the other people]

- **Ref 4:** *Güzel itemi kendine kötüsünü başkasına düşür* [Drop the nice item to yourself, bad item to other people]

**72- Yalancının mumu yatsıya kadar yanar** [A liar 's candle will burn until bed-time]

- **Ref 5:** *Yalancının mumu yatsıdan sonra jenarötöre bağlanır!* [A liar's candle will hook up a generator after bed-time]

**73- Dil kılıçtan keskindir** [The tongue is sharper than the sword]

- **Ref 33:** *Sosyal medya, kılıçtan keskindir* [The social media is sharper than the sword] 2

**74- Mürüvvetsiz adam, suyu çekilmiş değirmene benzer** [An unkind man resembles a mill which shrinks]

- **Ref 8:** *İnternetsiz bilgisayar, kuru ağaca benzer* [A computer without internet resembles a deadwood]

**75- Hazıra dağlar dayanmaz** [Mountains won 't endure on what lies ready]

- **Ref 8:** *Hazıra eşsek kadar terabaytlık sabit disk dayanmaz* [Hard disk of terabyte as big as a donkey won 't endure on what lies ready]

**76- Bekleyen derviş muradına ermiş** [Dervish who has patient attains his desire]

- **Ref 40:** *Bekleyen derviş beklediği kişiyi gebertmiş* [The dervish who waits long kills the person who makes him wait]

- **Ref 15:** *Bekleyen derviş beklemekten gebermiş* [Dervish who has patient dies for waiting]

**77- İnanma dostuna saman doldurur postuna** [Do not thrust your friend, he will skin you alive and stuff it with straw]

- **Ref 16:** *İnanma reklama zehir koyar sofrana* [Do not thrust advertisement, it will bring poison into your meal]

**78- El elin eşeğini türkü çağıra çağıra arar** [One searches for someone else's donkey by singing songs]

- **Ref 8:** *Beleş anti-virüs programı virüsü türkü çağıra çağıra ararmış* [Free anti-virus program searches for virus by singing songs]

**79- Kurt kocayınca köpeklerin maskarası olur** [Wolf becomes jester of dog when it got older]

- **Ref 11:** *Kurt kocayınca, hayvanat bahçesinden emekli olur* [Wolf retires from the zoo when it gets older]
- **Ref 1:** *Dos kocamış; windowsun maskarası olur* [Dos has become jester of windows because it gets older]

**80- Para isteme benden buz gibi soğurum senden** [Do not ask Money from me, I will feel strange from you like an ice]

- **Ref 15:** *Debugging isteme benden buz gibi soğurum senden* [Do not ask debugging from me, I will feel strange from you like an ice]

**81- Deli dostun olacağına akıllı düşmanın olsun** [It is better to have a wise enemy than a foolish friend]

- **Ref 8:** *Media player gibi dostun olacağına winamp gibi düşmanın olsun* [It is better to have an enemy like Winamp rather than a friend like Media player]

**82- Ana gibi yar, bağdat gibi diyar olmaz** [No lover like a mother, no country like Baghdad]

- **Ref 7:** *Masa üstü gibi yar, lap top gibi diyar bulunmaz* [No lover like a desktop, and country like a laptop]
- **Ref 16:** *Alkol bütün kötülüklerin anasıdır ama ana gibi yar olmaz* [Alcohol is the mother of all evils but no friend like a mother]

**83- Dereyi geçerken at değiştirilmez** [Horse is not changed while passing the river]

- **Ref 3:** *Dereyi geçerken at, seçim günü sandığın önünden geçerken parti değiştirilmez* [Horse is not changed while passing the river, and the party is not changed while passing by the ballot box]

**84- Evli evine, köylü köyüne; evi olmayan sıçan deliğine** [He who has a house must go to his house, a villager must go to his village and he who has nowhere to go ends up in a mouse-hole]

- **Ref 30:** *Evli evine, evi olmayan bbg evine* [He who has a house must go to his house, he who has nowhere to go ends up in BBG house]
- **Ref 41:** *Evli evine evil olmayan Eminevim'e* [He who has a house must go to his house, he who has nowhere to go ends up in Eminevim]

**85- Büyük lokma ye büyük söz söyleme** [Eat big morsels but do not talk big]

- **Ref 11:** *Büyük lokma ye, ancak doyersın* [Eat big morsels, only then you can be full]

**86- Söz var iş bitirir, söz var baş yitirir** [There are words which finish a work and there are words which cause a man to lose his head]

- **Ref 15:** *Kod var iş bitirir, kod var os yitirir* [There are codes which finish a work and there are codes which cause a man to lose his head]
- **Ref 6:** *Çar var iş bitirir, çar var iş yitirir* [There are czars which finish a work and there are czars which cause a man to lose his head]

**87- Ağlarsa anam ağlar, başkası yalan ağlar** [If someone really cries for me, it is only my mother, others fake cry]

**88- Ağlarsa anam ağlar, gerisi yalan ağlar** [If someone really cries for me, it is only my mother, others fake cry]

- **Ref 11:** *Ağlarsa anam ağlar, gerisi PLAY-BACK yapar* [It is my mother who cries, others play back]
- **Ref 42:** *Ağlarsa anam ağlar o da zaten yalandan ağlar* [It is my mother who cries, but she is just faking]
- **Ref 42:** *Ağlarsa kablosuz ağlar gerisi yalan ağlar* [It is wireless networks who cry, others are just faking] 2

• **Ref 42:** *Ağlarsa kablosuz ağlar gerisi yerel ağlar* [It is wireless networks who cry, others are local area networks]

• **Ref 42:** *Ağlarsa anam ağlar bir de kablosuz ağlar* [It is my mother and wireless networks who cry]

**89-** *Danışan dağı aşmış, danışmayan düz yolda şaşmış* ‘[The one who took advice crossed the mountain, but the one who did not, got lost on the plane]

• **Ref 8:** *Soran crackleri aşmış, sormayan torrent’te şaşmış* [The one who took advice crossed the cracks, but the one who did not, got lost on torrent]

**90-** *Nush ile uslanmayı etmeli tekdir; tekdir ile uslanmanın hakkı kötüdür* [Who doesn't improve by admonishment should be reproved; and who doesn't become wiser by reproofs deserves a good flogging]

• **Ref 8:** *Quarantine ile uslanmayı etmeli delete, delete ile uslanmanın hakkı formattır* [Who doesn't improve by Quarantine should be deleted; and who doesn't become wiser by deletions deserves formatting]

**91-** *Kusursuz dost arayan dostsuz kalır* [He who looks for a friend without fault, remains without a friend]

• **Ref 9:** *Revizesiz iş arayan işsiz kalır* [He who looks for a job without revision, remains without a job] 2

**92-** *Tereciye tere satılmaz* [Pepperweed is not sold to someone who is pepperweed monger]

• **Ref 2:** *Tereciye tereyi, zabita sattırmaz* [Police does not let seller of cress sell the pepperweed]

**93-** *Kumarda kaybeden aşkta kazanır* [The one who loses at gambling wins with love]

• **Ref 15:** *Quake’te kaybeden doom’da kazanır* [The one who loses in Quake wins in doom]

• **Ref 11:** *Kumarda kazanan aşkta kaybeder* [The one who wins at gambling loses in love]

• **Ref 11:** *Kumarda kaybeden evine don, gömlek gider* [The one who loses at gambling turns back home with his underwears] 2

**94-** *Komşu kızı almak kalaylı kaptan su içmek gibidir* [Marrying the neighbor’s daughter is like drinking water from a newly tinned copper bowl]

- **Ref 43:** *Sınava kopyasız girmek, savaşa silahsız girmek gibidir* [Entering the exam without copy is like being at war unarmed] 2

**95- Para parayı çeker** [Money draws money]

- **Ref 2:** *Para parayı zenginin cebine çeker* [Money draws money to the pocket of rich] 2

**96- Her kuşun eti yenmez** [Every bird's flesh is not eaten.]

- **Ref 14:** *Her tweet'in eti yenmez* [Every tweet's flesh is not eaten]

**97- Bana arkadaşını söyle, sana kim olduğumu söyleyeyim** [Tell me who your friend is, and I will tell you who you are]

- **Ref 12:** *Bana beğendiklerini, takip ettiklerini felan söyle sana kim olduğumu söyleyeyim* [Tell me who your favs and follows and such are, and I will tell you who you are]

- **Ref 33:** *Facebook arkadaşını söyle, sana kim olduğumu söyleyeyim* [Tell me who your Facebook friend is, and I will tell you who you are]

**98- Aşağı köyde bir yalan söyledim, Yukarı köye çıkana kadar ben de inandım** [I told a lie in the down village, I believed in it until I arrive in the upper village]

- **Ref 33:** *Facebook'ta bir yalan paylaştım google'da arattım, ben de inandım* [I shared a lie on Facebook, searched it on Google, I believed in it as well]

**99- Sabrın sonu selamettir** [The end of patience is salvation]

- **Ref 33:** *Sosyal medyanın sonu selâmettir* [The end of social media is salvation]

**100- Akıl yaşta değil baştadır** [Intelligence is not in age, it is in the head]

- **Ref 51:** *Akıl yaşta değil Google'dadır* [Intelligence is not in age, it is in Google]

**101- Yuvayı yapan dişi kuştur** [It is hen which makes the nest]

- **Ref 33:** *Yuvayı yapan sosyal medya uzmanıdır* [It is social media specialist who makes the nest]

**102- Birlikten kuvvet doğar** [The union is the strength]

- **Ref 33:** *Sosyal medyadan kuvvet doğar* [Social media makes strength]

**102- İyilik yap denize at halik bilmezse malik bilir** [Do a good thing, throw it into the sea, although fish does not understand, god knows]

- **Ref 2:** *İyilik yap, suya at, islansın* [Do a good thing, throw it into the sea, let it get wet]

**103- İyiler cinnete gider** [Good people go to madness]



- Ref 30: *Cihan demirci kitabı İyiler cennete gider* [Good people go to heaven]

**104- Parayı veren düdüğü çalar** [Whoever pays money, that is who calls the tune]

- Ref 2: *Parayı veren bir daha nah geri alır* [Whoever pays money, that is who will never take it back]

**105- Borç yiğidin kamçısıdır** [Debt is brave's whip]

- Ref 2: *Borç yiğidin karın ağrısıdır* [Debt is brave's stomach-ache]
- Ref 44: *Zamlar memurun stres topudur* [Rise is the stress balls of officers]
- Ref 15: *Bug coderin kamçısıdır* [Bug is coder's whip]
- Ref 44: *Zamlar memurun stres topudur* [Raise is the officer's stress ball]

**106- Komşu komşunun, külüne muhtaçtır** [A person is in need of his/her neighbor's ash]

- Ref 22: *Komşu komşunun wifisine muhtaçtır* [A person is in need of his/her neighbor's Wi-Fi]

**107- Sofrada elini, mecliste dilini kısa tut** [At the table, keep your hand short; at a social gathering, your tongue]

- Ref 3: *Politikacı sofrada elini, konuşurken gevezeliğe gerek kalmadan dilini kısa tutmalı* [A politician should keep his hand short at the table and his tongue without the need for babbling while speaking]

**108- Tatlı dil yılanı deliğinden çıkarır** [Good words take the snake out from its hole]

- Ref 11: *Tatlı söz yılanı vız gelir* [Soft words do not matter a whit to a snake]

**109- Tebdil-i mekanda ferahlık vardır** [There is release in the position change]

- Ref 11: *Tebdil-i mekanda torpil ve kadrolaşma vardır!* [There are torpedo and staffing in the position change that is]

**110- Adaletin kestiği parmaz acımaz** [The sword of justice has no scabbard]

- Ref 2: *Adaletin kestiği parmağa yazık olur* [It's a shame about the finger cut by justice]
- Ref 11: *Adaletin kestiği parmak kanar* [The finger cut by justice bleeds] 2

**111- Zorla güzellik olmaz** [No good/beauty can be achieved by force]

- Ref 11: *Zorla güzellik, güzellik salonunda olur* [Beauty by force can be achieved in beauty salon]

**112- Güneş girmeyen eve doktor girer** [Doctor enters home which sun doesn't]

- Ref 5: *Solaryum girmeyen eve doktor girer* [Doctor enters home which solarium doesn't]

113- *Dost başa, düşman ayağa bakar* [Friends look at the head and enemy looks at the feet]

- Ref 5: *Dost başa düşman imaj'a bakar* [Friends look at the head and enemy looks at the image]

114- *Kırk yıllık Yani, olur mu Kani* [Forty years of life cannot be possible]

- Ref 11: *Kırk yıllık kâni estetik ameliyatla olabilir yani!* [Forty years of life can be possible with cosmetic surgery]

115- *İnsan İnsanın şeytanıdır* [The human is human's demon]

- Ref 5: *İnsan insanın imajmaker'idir!* [The human is human's image maker]

116- *Bir elin nesi var iki elin sesi var!* [What does one hand have, two hands have voice!]

- Ref 5: *Bir elin nesi var iki elin kelepçesi var!* [What does one hand have, two hands have handcuffs]

117- *Öfke ile kalkan zararlı oturur* [He who gets up in anger sits down with a loss]

- Ref 5: *Öfkeyle kalkan reality show oturur!* [The one who stands up with anger sits with reality show]

118- *Eceli gelen köpek cami duvarına işer* [The dog which is soon to death of time pees on the mosque wall]

- Ref 11: *Eceli gelen yiğit cadde ortasından yürür* [The valiant whose death comes walks in the middle of street]

119- *Bükemediğin eli öp, başına koy* [Kiss the wrist and put it on your head if you can't bend]

- Ref 11: *Bükemediğin bileği ısır* [Bite the wrist you can't bend]

120- *Eğri otur, doğru konuş* [Sit slouching, speak truly]

- Ref 2: *Eğri oturalım, belimiz ağrısın* [Sit slouching, suffer from low back pain]
- Ref 34: *Doğru konuşmuyor ama hep eğri oturduğu için kafam karışıyor* [S/he is not speaking truly, but I am confused because s/he sits slouching all the time]

121- *Ucuz etin yahnisi yavan olur* [Cheap meat yields dilute soup]

- Ref 5: *Ucuz etin yahnisi sürümden kazandırır!* [Stew from cheap meat gains from demand]

122- *Ekmek aslanın ağzında* [The bread is in the lion's mouth]

- **Ref 45:** *Eskiden ekmek aslanın ağzındaydı. Şimdi aslan da aç* [The bread used to be in the lion's mouth. Now the lion is hungry, too] 2

- **Ref 46:** *Mutluluk aslanın ağzında* [Happiness is in the lion's mouth]

**123- Ayağını yorganına göre uzat** [Stretch your legs according to the size of your quilt]

- **Ref 4:** *Ayağını parana göre uzat* [Stretch your legs according to the amount of your money]
- **Ref 11:** *Ayağını ganyana göre uzat* [Stretch your legs according to the winning horse]

**124- Yenilen pehlivan güreşe doymaz** [The beaten wrestler does not have enough of wrestling]

- **Ref 47:** *Yenilen pehlivan güneşe doymaz* [The beaten wrestler is never satisfied with the sun]

**125- Aslan yattığı yerden belli olur** [A lion may be learned where it lives]

- **Ref 36:** *Aslan hemen belli olur* [A lion immediately manifests itself]

**126- Kardeşim olsun da kanlım olsun** [Let there be a brother of mine even though it is an enemy of mine]

- **Ref 7:** *İnternetin olsun bir milyon borcun olsun* [Let there be internet even though you have a million debt]
- **Ref 15:** *Bill gates gibi baban olsun tonla derdin tasan olsun!* [If you have a father like Bill Gates, it is not important whether you have many problems!]

**127- Kaz gelecek yerden tavuk esirgenmez** [There will not be spared chicken from a place which can come goose]

- **Ref 11:** *Para gelecek yerden sanat esirgenmez* [There will not be spared art from a place which can come money]

**128- Sürüden ayrılanı kurt kapar** [Wolves will devour a lamb/sheep away from the herd]

- **Ref 30:** *Sürüden ayrılan kişilik kapar* [Personality grabs the person who leaves the flock]
- **Ref 30:** *Kurtlardan teklif geldi. Sürüden ayrılıyorum* [Wolves made a suggestion. I am leaving the herd]

**129- Pilavdan dönenin kaşığı kırılınsın** [Let the spoon be broken of the person who waives from rice dish]

- **Ref 11:** *Pilavdan dönenin, kuru fasülyede gözü vardır* [Someone who refuses rice has eyes on white beans] 2

**130- *Derdini söylemeyen derman bulamaz*** [Anyone who does not tell his/her trouble, can not find a cure]

- **Ref 48:** *Derdini söylemeyen iyi yapar. Bir de onun derdiyle uğraşamayız!* [The person who does not tell his/her problem does well. We cannot deal with his/her problem!]
- **Ref 33:** *Derdini google'da aratmayan derdine derman bulamaz* [Anyone who does not Google her problem can not find a cure]
- **Ref 49:** *Nick'ini söylemeyen chat arkadaşı bulamaz* [Someone who does not say his/her nickname cannot find any chatmate]

**131- *Bilmemek ayıp değil, öğrenmemek ayıptır*** [There is no shame in not knowing; the shame lies in not learning]

- **Ref 50:** *Bilmemek ayıp değil, Yeter ki çaktırma* [There is no shame in not knowing as long as you do not reveal that you do not know]
- **Ref 20:** *Bilmemek ayıp değil, önemli olan çaktırmamak* [Not knowing is not a shame; the important thing is not to show that you do not know]
- **Ref 51:** *Bilirsen söz söyle ibret alsınlar, yok bilmezsen başını salla rapçı sansınlar!* [If you know, say it and let them draw a lesson from it; If you do not know, shake your head and let them think you are a rapper]
- **Ref 14:** *Fakirlik ayıp değil, @... tembellik ayıp* [There is no shame in not being poor, @... the shame lies in being lazy] 2

**132- *Dost acı söyler*** [It takes a friend to tell the bitter truth]

- **Ref 8:** *Dos acı söyler* [It takes Dos to tell the bitter truth]

**133- *Nerede çokluk, orada bokluk*** [Where there is multitude, there is muckiness]

- **Ref 10:** *Nerede çokluk, orada corona* [Where there is multitude, there is Corona (virus)]

**134- *Eşeğe altın semer vursalar, eşek yine eşektir*** [If they put a golden saddle on a donkey, it is still a donkey]

- **Ref 52:** *Eşeğe altın semer vurmuşlar, "ah vatanım" demiş* [If they put a golden saddle on a donkey, (The donkey) said: "ah country."]

**135- *Bozacının şahidi şıracı*** [The fermented millet drink seller's witness is the grape seller]

- **Ref 10:** *Corona'nın şahidi ebola'dır* [Corona's witness is Ebola]

**136- İki gönül bir olunca samanlık seyran olur** [When two hearts are united, hayloft becomes promenade]

- **Ref 15:** *İki coder bir olunca stackoverflow seyran olur* [When two coders are together, a stakeoverflow becomes promenade]
- **Ref 16:** *Meyve sebze bir olunca vitaminler bol olur* [When fruits and vegetables are united, vitamins will be abundant]

**137- Kuzguna yavrusu şahin görünür** [A black raven is a phoenix in the eyes of his parents]

- **Ref 4:** *Kuzguna civcivi lwl 60 görünür* [A black raven is a lwl 60 in the eyes of the chicks]

**138- Bir Korkak Bir Orduyu Bozar** [One coward can spoil an army]

- **Ref 53:** *Bir coronalı bir orduyu öldürür* [One who gets corona(virus) kills an army]

**139- Karamanın Koyunu Sonra Çıkar Oyunu** [It is a sheep from Karaman, its trick will come out later]

- **Ref 31:** *Coronanın koyunu sonra çıkar oyunu* [It is a sheep from Corona, its trick will come out later]

**140- Eli Boşa “ağa Uyur” Derler; Eli Doluya “ağa Buyur” Derler** [To the guest who brings no present they say “the master is asleep”, but to the one with a present they say “welcome sir”]

- **Ref 31:** *Zengine Covid-19 derler, fakire de Korona derler* [To the rich they say “He has covid-19”, to the poor they say “He has corona”]

**141- Abanın kadri yağmurda bilinir** [The value of a coat becomes clear when it rains]

- **Ref 13:** *Kolonyanın kadri koronada bilinir* [The value of cologne becomes clear when one has corona]

**142- Tek kanatla kuş uçmaz** [A bird does not fly with only one wing]

- **Ref 33:** *Tek sosyal ağ ile sosyal medya uçmaz* [Social media does not fly with only one social network]

**143- Sadık dost akrabadan yeğdir** [A true friend is better than relatives]

- **Ref 33:** *Sadık sosyal medya uzmanı, akrabadan yeğdir* [A real social media specialist is better than relatives]

**144- Tilki tilkiliğini anlatıncaya kadar post elden gider** [By the time the fox has proved he's a fox he'll have no skin left]

- **Ref 33:** *Sosyal medyacı sosyal medya uzmanlığını bildirinceye kadar sosyal medya elden gider* [By the time a social media user has proved he's a social media specialist he'll have no social media account left]

**145- İyi olacak hastanın doktor ayağına gelirmiş** [The doctor comes himself to the patient that will recover]

- **Ref 33:** *İyi olacak şirketin ayağına sosyal medya uzmanı gelir* [The social media specialist comes himself to the company that will recover]
- **Ref 54:** *Çukur dizisi- Davası açılacak müvekkilin avukatı ayağına gelirmiş* [The lawyer comes himself to the client whose case will be claimed]

**146- Su içene yılan bile dokunmaz** [Even a snake will not touch one who drinks water]

- **Ref 16:** *Sağlıklı beslenene mikrop bile dokunmaz* [Even a microbe will not touch one who eats properly]

**147- Garip kuşun yuvasını, allah yapar** [God helps poor people to have a house]

- **Ref 2:** *Garip kuşun yuvasını, belediye yıkar* [The houses of poor people are destroyed by the municipality]

**148- Can çıkmayınca huy çıkmaz** [Habits do not expire until the soul expires]

- **Ref 2:** *Can çıkmadan, mirasçılar evden çıkmaz* [Inheritors do not leave home until the soul expires]

**149- At ölür meydan kalır, yiğit ölür şan kalır** [Horse leaves barn behind warrior leaves a glory behind]

- **Ref 2:** *At ölür meydan kalır, yiğit ölür miras kalır* [Horse leaves barn behind warrior leaves a heritage behind]

**150- Ava giden avlanır** [One who goes to hunt, becomes hunted]

- **Ref 55:** *Hacke giden hacklenir* [One who goes to hack, becomes hacked]

**151- Fukaranın düşkünü, beyaz giyer kış günü** [Suffering poor person wears white suit in a rainy day]

- Ref 5: *Caddenin düşkünü, barbour giyer kış günü* [A person who loves street wears Barbour in a rainy day]

152- *“Kaza geliyorum” demez* [Accident does not say “I am coming.”]

- Ref 5: *“Kal geliyorum” demez* [Petrified with astonishment doesn't say “I am coming.”]

153- *Acele giden ecele gider* [One who makes haste, goes to death]

- Ref 5: *Acele giden oha falan olur yane* [One who makes haste, will be shocked]

154- *Perşembenin gelişi çarşambadan bellidir* [The coming of Thursday is apparent with Wednesday]

- Ref 14: *DM'nin gelişi mention'dan bellidir* [The coming of DM is apparent with 'mention']  
2

- Ref 8: *Longhorn nun gelişi xp den bellidir* [The coming of Longhorn is apparent with xp]

- Ref 15: *Bug'in gelisi warning'den bellidir* [The coming of bug is apparent with warning]

155- *Haydan gelen huya gider* [Whatever comes from god, goes to god]

- Ref 8: *Highdan gelen low'a gider* [Whatever comes from high, goes to low]

156- *Çiftçiye yağmur, yolcuya kurak, cümlelerin muradını verecek hak* [Rain to the farmer, dry to the passenger, god will attend the everyone's desire]

- Ref 3: *Çiftçiye yağmur bereketi, politikacıya da oy bereketi gereklidir* [Farmers need rain blessings and politicians vote blessings]

157- *Say beni, sayayım seni* [Respect me, I will respect you]

- Ref 51: *Love beni loveyim seni* [Love me, I will love you]

158- *Havlayan köpek ısırılmaz* [The dog that barks does not bite]

- Ref 15: *Havlayan coder codermaz* [The Coder that barks doesn't get coddled]

159- *Abdal düğünden, çocuk oyundan usanmaz* [A beggar never gets enough of wedding feasts even as a child never gets enough of playing]

- Ref 22: *Abdal düğünden, çocuk oyundan, yazar anketten usanmaz* [A beggar never gets enough of wedding feasts, a child never gets enough of playing and a writer never gets enough of survey]

160- *Ağanın eli tutulmaz* [Agha's hand is not held]

- Ref 30: *Ağanın eli tutulmaz, dizisi tutulur* [Agha's hand is not held, but his Tv series is]

**161- Yol sormakla bulunur** [The way is found by asking]

- **Ref 55:** *Yol sormakla, keyword aramakla bulunur* [The way is found by asking, the keyword by searching]

**162- Sora sora bağdat bulunur** [There will be found baghdad by asking consecutively]

- **Ref 1:** *Sora sora crack bulunur* [There will be found crack by asking consecutively]

**163- Hayır dile eşine/komşuna, hayır gele başına** [Wish the welfare of others that you too may prosper]

- **Ref 33:** *Hayır dile sosyal medyaya, hayır gele başına* [Wish the welfare of social media that you too may prosper]

**164- Çamur at, izi kalsın** [Throw dirt enough, and some will stick]

- **Ref 56:** *Tweet at, izi kalsın* [Tweet and some will stick]

**165- Maşa varken elini ateşe sokma** [Do not put your hand in the fire when a poker is available]

- **Ref 33:** *Sosyal medya uzmanı varken, elini ateşe sokma* [Do not put your hand in the fire when a social media specialist is available]



## THE CORPUS OF ANGLO-AMERICAN ANTI-PROVERBS

### 1- He who laughs last, laughs best

- He who laughs last, thinks slowest
- *He who laughs last doesn't get the job*

### 2- Curiosity thrilled the cat

- *Curiosity killed the cat*

### 3- Heir today, gone tomorrow

- *Here today, gone tomorrow*

### 4- Home is where the heart is (p.169)

- *Home is where you hang your @*
- *Home is where the bar is*
- *Home is where the television is;*
- *Home is where the computer is;*
- *Home is where the house is;*
- *Home is where the mortgage is.*
- *Home is where you hang your head*

### 5- If you lie down with dogs, you 'll get up with fleas (p.178)

- *If you lie down with dogs, you must be cicciolina*

### 6- Speak well of the dead (p. 271)

- *Why should you never abuse flat beer? Because it is not right to speak ill of – the dead? ("De malt-nis nil isi bonum," you know)*

### 7- All that glitters is not gold

- *All that glitters is not Herbert Gold*

### 8- All the World's a stage (p.86)

- *All the World's a stage" and railroad crossings furnish some of the exists*

### 9- Everybody's business is nobody's business (p. 143)

- *Everybody's business is my business, too*

### 10- Behind every great man there is a woman (p. 103)

- *Behind every great man there is an asshole*

11- **Behind every great man, there is a woman** (p. 103)

- *Underneath every successful man, there is a woman*

12- **Opportunity knocks but once** (p.253)

- *If the knock at the door is loud and long, it isn't opportunity. It is relatives*

13- **Gentlemen prefer blondes** (p.151)

- *Blondes prefer gentlemen with money*
- *Gentlemen who prefer blondes usually marry brunettes*

14- **Man proposes, God disposes** (p.212)

- *Man proposes and the girl weighs his pocketbook and decides*
- *Man proposes – but not always marriage*
- *Man proposes, woman supposes, marriage composes and divorce exposes*

15- **Live and Learn** (p. 203)

- *Live and lean*

16- **The pen is mightier than the sword** (p. 291)

- *The pen is mightier than the sword*

17- **A soft answer turneth away wrath** (p.76)

- *A soft drink turneth away company*

18- **Great oaks from little acorns grow** (p.156)

- *Great aches from little corns grow*

19- **If at first you do not succeed, try, try again** (p.173)

- *If at first you don't succeed, blame it on your wife*
- *If at first you do not succeed, cry, cry again*
- *If at first you don't succeed, give up*
- *If at first you do not succeed, quit*
- *If at first you do not succeed, cheat*
- *If at first, you do not succeed, you are average*
- *If at first you do not succeed, cry, cry again*
- *If at first you do not succeed, forget it*
- *If at first you do not succeed, blame somebody*

**20- An apple a day keeps the doctor away (p.92)**

- *An apple a day keeps the doctor away, and an onion a day keeps everyone away*
- *A patient without health insurance keeps the doctor away*

**21- Half the world doesn't know how the other half lives (p.157)**

- *Half the world doesn't know how the other half lives, but it has its suspicious*

**22- Where there's smoke, there's fire (p.335)**

- *Where there is smoke, there's pollution*

**23- Where there's a will, there's a way (p.333)**

- *Where there is a will, there is an inheritance tax*
- *Where there is a will – there is a delay*
- *Where there is a will, there is a wait*
- *Where there is a will, there is a won't*

**24- Don't put all your eggs in one basket (p.131)**

- *Don't put all your eggs in one basket – try an incubator*
- *Don't put all your money into one stock*

**25- A friend in need is a friend indeed (p.64)**

- *A friend in need is a friend indeed*

**26- A miss is as good as a mile (p. 71)**

- *A miss is as good as a male*
- *A kiss is as good as a smile*

**27- Every little helps (p. 141)**

- *“Every little help,” said Mr. Little and took the six little Littles out to help him saw a pile of wood*

**28- A penny saved is a penny earned**

**29- A rolling stone gathers no moss (p.73)**

- *A penny saved gathers no moss*

**30- Necessity is the mother of invention**

- *Necessity is the mother of invention, but to many a necessity is the mother of tension*

**31- Politics make strange bedfellows (p.260)**

- *Necessity is the mother of strange bedfellows*
- *Politics makes strange bedfellows – rich*

**32- A good man is hard to find (p. 65)**

- *A hard man is good to find*

**33- Let sleeping dogs lie (p. 198)**

- *Let lying dogs sleep*
- *Let sleeping ducks lie*
- *Let sleeping husband lie*

**34- Money can't buy happiness (p.220)**

- *Happiness can't buy money*
- *Money can't buy happiness, but it certainly can sell it!*

**35- There is no fool like and old fool (p. 301)**

- *Asked why he was still using a bent stick for hoeing, the happy hooker replied, "There is no tool like an old tool."*

**36- There is no fool like an old fool (p.301)**

- *There is no fool like an old fool who marries a young fool*
- *There is no fool like an old fool they say in Texas, "There is no pool like an oil pool!"*

**37- A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush**

- *One orgasm in the bush is worth two in the hand*

**38- Silence is golden (p.269)**

- *The only golden thing that some women dislike is silence*
- *Silence is golden, especially for the blackmailer*
- *Silence is golden, maybe that is why it is so rare*
- *Silence is golden, but then you cannot see my golden teeth*

**39- Spare the rod, spoil the child (p.270)**

- *Do not spare the rod, or you may someday find junior carrying one*
- *Spare the hot rod and save the child*
- *Spare the rod, and you will get struck by lightning*

- *Spare the rod and you will have no fish for dinner*

- *Spoil the rod and spare the child*

40- **Early to bed, early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise** (p.133)I

- If you must rise early, be sure you are a bird and not a worm

41- **Crime doesn't pay** (p. 120)

- *Crime pays – be a lawyer*

42- **Ignorance of the law is no excuse** (p. 180)

- *Ignorance of the law does not prevent the losing lawyer from collecting his bill*

- *Ignorance of the law is no excuse and neither is the ignorance of the lawmakers*

- *Ignorance of the law is no excuse, but it's better than no alibi at all*

- *Ignorance of law prevents a lawyer from winning your case, but not from collecting his fee*

- *Lawyers are the only persons in whom ignorance of the law is not punished*

- *Ignorance of law is no excuse, unless you can afford to hire a good lawyer*

43- **Ignorance is bliss** (p.179)

- *If ignorance is bliss, why aren't there more people happy?*

44- **Advice is cheap** (p. 82)

- *Advice is cheap...except when you consult a doctor or lawyer or tax accountant*

45- **What can't be cured must be endured** (p. 326)

- *What can't be cured supports the doctor*

46- **A woman place is in the home** (p. 79)

- *The male was made to lie and roam, but woman's place is in the home*

47- **The way to a man's heart is through his stomach** (p. 294)

- *The way to a woman's heart is through his wallet*

- *The way to a man's heart is through his stomach, but the way to a woman's heart is a buy-path*

48- **A man's home is his castle** (p. 70)

- *A man's castle is his home, and his wife has the keys to all the rooms*

- *A man's home is his tax deduction*

**49-Love is blind** (p. 205)

- *Love is blind, but your mother in law isn't*
- *Love is blind, deaf, and speechless*

**50- All work and no play make Jack a dull boy** (p. 88)

- *All work and no play make Jack a rich man*

**51- Love laughs at locksmiths** (p. 207)

- *Love may laugh at locksmiths, but he always has a profound respect for money bags*

**52-Variety is the spice of life** (p. 323)

- *Variety is the spice of love*

**53- Faint heart never won fair lady** (p. 145)

- *Faint heart never won fair lady – but a full purse can always pull the trick*

**54- Make love, not war** (p. 210)

- *Make love, not war ...get married and do both*

**55-Love makes the world go round** (p.207)

- *Love makes the world go round, divorce makes it wobble*

**56- Marriages are made in heaven** (p.215)

- *Divorces are made in heaven*

**57- You cannot eat your cake and have it too** (p.344)

- *You cannot use your friends and have them too*

**58- What you don't know can't hurt you** (p.327)

- *What a wife doesn't know doesn't hurt her, but it does give her friends something to talk about*
- *What you don't know you can learn*

**59- A fool and his money are soon parted** (p. 61)

- *A fool and his money sooner and later wind up in college*

**60- A little knowledge is a dangerous thing** (p.66)

- *Don't become a dropout: a little learning is a dangerous thing*

**61- All road leads to Rome** (p. 85)

- *All road lead to rum*

- *To a romantic girl, all roads lead to Romeo*

**62- Never put off till tomorrow what you can do today** (p. 234)

- *An alcoholic is a man who never puts off till tomorrow the drinking he can do today*

**63- Out of mouths of babes** (p.256)

- *Out of mouths of babes come remarks their parents should never have uttered in the first place*

**64- Moderation in all things** (p.220)

- *Moderation in all things...said the boy to his father who was about to give his son a spanking*

**65- Charity begins at home** (p. 113)

- *Charity begins at home and ends on the income tax return*

**66- Money isn't everything** (p. 224)

- *Money isn't everything- in fact, with taxes and the high cost of living, it's nothing*

**67- Love thy neighbor as yourself** (p. 209)

- *Love thy neighbor, but make sure her husband is away*

**68- Silence gives consent** (p.269)

- *"Silence gives consent," as the man said when he kissed the dumb woman*

**69- Home, sweet home**

- *A birdhouse was named home, tweet home.*

**70- No man is an island**

- *No family is an island*

**71- Life is not a spectator sport**

- *Child care is not a spectator sport*

**72- No pain, no gain** (p.239)

- *Where the pain in gain lays mainly in the drain*
- *Without pain, you gain*

**73- Never put off for tomorrow what you can do today** (p.234)

- *Never do today what you can put off for tomorrow*

**74- Hard work never killed anybody** (p.159)

- *Hard work never killed anybody but who wants to be his first victim?*

**75- Honesty is the best policy (p.170)**

- *Dishonesty is the best policy*
- *Honesty is still the best policy, but some people are satisfied with less than the best*
- *Honesty is the best policy, unless of course, you are excellent liar*
- *Honesty is the best policy- when there is Money in it*
- *Honesty is the best policy- for poor people*

**76- Experience is the best teacher**

- *Expedience is the best teacher*

**77- Save for a rainy day (p. 266)**

- *It is wise to save for a rainy day- raincoats and umbrellas are quite expensive*
- *Rainy days come to those who save up for them*
- *Save a boyfriend for a rainy day- and another in case it does not rain*
- *Save up your money, and then stay home when it rains*
- *The man who cannot save for a rainy day should move to the desert*
- *When you finally save enough for a rainy day, some of your relatives start sending in bad weather reports*

**78- Time heals all wounds (p.308)**

- *Time heals all things except leaky faucets*
- *Time heals all non-fatal wounds*
- *Time is a great healer, but it is far from being a beauty specialist*

**79- There is no place like home (p.302),**

- *There is no place like home.com!*

**80- In God we trust; all others pay cash**

- *In Gates we trust*

**81- Give a man a fish, and you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish, and you feed him for a lifetime**

- *Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach him to use the Net and he won't bother you for weeks*



82- **Don't bite off more than you can chew** (p.124)

- *Don't bite off more than you can chew*

83- **Too many cooks spoil the broth** (p.313)

- *Too many clicks spoil the browse*
- *Too many legislators spoil reform*

84- **Knowledge is power** (p.195)

- *Knowledge is power, but no matter how much you know, you still can't run your electric appliance with it*
- *Knowledge is power, but only if a man knows what facts not to bother about*
- *Knowledge is power if you know it about the right people*
- *Knowledge is power, with the right contacts, is more powerful*

85- **God helps those who help themselves** (p.154)

- *Lawyers help those who help themselves*

86- **The only good Indian is a dead Indian?** (p.291)

- *The only good grades are good grades and The only good fish is a fresh fish*

87- **I-f you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen** (p.178)

- *If you can't make a cake, get out of the kitchen.* It is the traditional proverb

88- **Half a loaf is better than no bread** (p.157)

- *Half a loaf is better than no time off*

89- **He gives twice who gives quickly** (p.160)

- *He gives twice that gives in a trice*

90- **No man can serve two masters** (p.237)

- *No man can serve two masters; yes-men can serve hundreds*

91- **People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones** (p.258)

- *People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw glasses*

92- **Might makes right** (p.217)

- *Right is might, but a good left never hurts in a flight*

93- **Haste makes waste** (p.160)

- *Haste makes waste; waste makes want; want makes a poor boy a beggar*

- *It's a poor rule that won't work both ways. Another good rule that won't work both ways is the saying that health makes wealth.*

- Health makes wealth

94- **Travel broadens the mind** (p.315)

- *Travel broadens the mind and reduces the bank balance*
- *Travel: Activity that broadens the mind, flattens the traveler, and lengthens conversation*

95- **In the union there is strength** (p.182)

- *In the union there is strength, and in the unions even the more strength*

96- **The proof of the pudding is in the eating** (p.292)

- *The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and the proof of the marriage is in the cheating*

97- **No man is a hero to his valet** (p.237)

- *"No man is a hero to his valet." Heroes never have valets.*

98- **No news is good news** (p.238)

- *No noose, good noose*

99- **Life begins at forty** (p.199)

- *It may be true that life begins at forty, but everything else starts to wear out, fall out, or spread out*

100- **Different strokes for different folks** (p.122)

- *Different croaks for different folks*

101- **Do not change horses in midstream** (p.127)

- *One of the most important things to remember about infant care is: Never change diapers in midstream*
- *To the candidate running for re-election, all issues lead to the stream where horses must not be swapped in the middle of*

102- **A woman without a man is like fish without a bicycle** (p.78)

- *A woman without God is like a frog without a bicycle*

103- **It's a wise child that knows its own father** (p.188)

- *It's a wise horse that knows his own fodder*
- 104- **Smoke follows beauty** (p.270)
- *Smoke follows smokers*
- 105- **The early bird catches the worm** (p.280)
- *The early bird gets up to serve his wife breakfast in bed*
- 106- **The voice of the people is the voice of God** (p.294)
- *The voice of the people is the voice of the press*
- 107- **A good wife makes a good husband** (p.65)
- *An expensive wife often makes a pensive husband*
- 108- **A watched ball never boils** (p.78)
- *A watched bowl never fills*
- 109- **The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world** (p.285)
- *The hand that signs the cheque book rules the world*
- 110- **Give him an inch and he will take an ell** (p.153)
- *Give him an inch and he will take a mile*
- 111- **One hand washes the other** (p.249)
- *One hand washes the other, and both wash the face*
- 112- **The best defence is a good offence** (p.275)
- *The best defence is a good offence, and the more offensive is better*
- 113- **The good die young** (p.283)
- *The good die young but the bad live on and run for office*
- 114- **Old soldiers never die, they just fade away** (p.247)
- *Old scuba divers never die, they just get their depth certificate*
- 115- **If you can't be good, be careful** (p.177)
- *If you can't be good, be bad*
- 116- **Opposites attract** (p.255)
- *Opposites attract ..but similarities endure*
- 117- **Easy come, easy go** (p.137)
- *Easy glum, easy glow*

- 118- **Two wrongs don't make a right** (p.321)
- *Two wrongs don't make a right, and two things don't make a pair*
- 119- **Wine, woman and song will get a man wrong** (p.337)
- *For wine, woman and song*
- 120- **Absence makes the heart grow fonder** (p.81)
- *Absence makes the heart go wander*
- 121- **Action speaks louder than words** (p.83)
- *Sound bites get more votes than actions*
- 122- **All men are created equal** (p. 84)
- *American symbol of democracy: "All men are created equal"*
- 123- **Figures don't lie** (p.148)
- *Figures don't lie, except political figures*
- 124- **Laugh and the world laughs with you; cry and you cry alone** (p.195)
- *Cough and the world cough with you, Work and you work alone, and Boost and you boost alone*
- 125- **Chickens come home to roost** (p.114)
- *Chickens always come home to roost, which is right and natural; but when they come home to cackle and crow, that is another matter*
- 126- **If it isn't one thing, it's another** (p.175)
- *"Well, if it isn't one thing, it's another," said the girl when her nose began to bleed*
- 127- **A leopard does not change his spots** (p.287)
- *Who says a leopard never changes his spots? There was the leopard who was tired of one spot in his cage in the zoo, so he went to another*
- 128- **An elephant never forgets** (p. 95)
- *An elephant, finding a turtle at the edge of his favorite watering hole, stepped on it and crushed it into the mud. When asked by the king of the beasts why he had done so, he replied, "Thirty years ago, when I was very small, that turtle bit my ankle. And, as you know elephants have turtle recall"*
- 129- **Bussiness is bussiness** (p.111)

- *Christmas is over and Bussiness is bussiness*
- 130- **Money talks** (p.227)
- *Every father knows that money talks mostly in the mother tongue*
- 131- **Marriage is a lottery** (p.215)
- *Marriage is a lottery, and some people are not satisfied with their luck until they've tried it several times*
- 132- **All things come to him who waits** (p.87)
- *All things come to him who waits, but not if he waits in the wrong place*
- 133- **It is better to give than to receive** (p.182)
- *"It is more blessed to give than to receive" as the school boy said when the master flogged him*
- 134- **Make hay while the sun shines** (p.210)
- *A man who makes hay while the sun shined would prefer to make love while the moon shines*
- 135- **Men seldom make passes at girls who wear glasses** (p.217)
- *Men seldom make passes at girls who wear glasses, unless they are contact lenses*
- 136- **If it isn't one thing, it's another** (p.175)
- *When a man makes passes at girls who wear glasses, it's probably due to their frames*  
*"Well, if it isn't one thing it's another" said the girl when her nose began to bleed*
- 137- **If a thing is worth doing, it's worth doing well** (p.172)
- *Anything worth doing is worth hiring someone who knows how to do it right due*
- 138- **You can fool some of the people all the time, all the people some of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time** (p. 340)
- *You can't fool all the people all the time*
- 139- **Hope for the best, but be prepared for the worst** (p.171)
- *"But no matter, dear Pete" as the man said of the sausages, "Hope for the best, but be prepared for the worst"*
- 140- **It never rains, but it pours** (p.184)
- *It never pours when you have your umbrella with you*

- 141-      **Art's long, life is short** (p.98)
- *Art's long, but a lot of artists are short*
- 142-      **Home is home, be it ever so homely** (p.168)
- *"Home is home" as the Devil said when he found himself in the Court of Sessions*
- 143-      **See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil** (p.267)
- *If you think no evil, see no evil, and hear no evil, the chances are that you'll never write a best-selling novel*
- 144-      **Like will to like** (p.203)
- *"Like will to like," as the devil said to the coiller*
- 145-      **Neither a borrower nor a lender be** (p.232)
- *A borrower is the thing to be, since one can file for bankruptcy*
- 146-      **A dog's bark is worse than his bit** (p.60)
- *Why is a dog's tail like the heart of a tree?*
- 147-      **Don't cross the bridge till you come to it!** (p.128)
- *We can't cross a bridge until we come to it; but I always like to lay down a pontoon ahead of me*
- 148-      **Love me, love my dog** (p.208)
- *Love me, love my dog!*
- 149-      **When the going gets thogh, the tough get going** (p.332)
- *When the going gets weird, the weird turns pro*
- 150-      **A chain is no stronger than its weakest link** (p.59)
- *A gene is no stronger than its weakest chromosome*
- 151-      **Don't cut off your nose to spite your face** (p. 129)
- *Don't pierce your nipples to spite your parents*
- 152-      **Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me** (p.149)
- *Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, you're dead*
- 153-      **Feed a cold and starve a fewer** (p.147)
- *Feed a cold, feed a fewer*
- 154-      **As a man lives, so shall he die; as a tree falls, shall it lie** (p.98)

- *As a man needs, so shall he lie; as a tree falls, shall it lie*
- 155-      **You can't get blood out of a turnip** (p.343)
- *You can't get blood out of a turnip, but you can wring the devil out of the top*
- 156-      **You never miss the water till the well runs dry** (p.348)
- *You will never miss the water while the champagne runs dry*
- 157-      **Appearances are deceiving** (p.97)
- *Appearances are deceiving, but it is better to have them deceive for us than against us*
- 158-      **April showers bring may flowers** (p.97)
- *April showers bring may flowers...and May showers bring flooded basements*
- 159-      **You can't teach an old dog new tricks**
- *You can't teach a mouse old clicks*
- 160-      **The female of the species is more deadly than the male**
- *The e-mail of the species is more deadly than the mail*
- 161-      **A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step**
- *A journey of a thousand sites begins with a single click*