



The mechanisms of intentional adaptation in the creation of anti-proverbs

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Abstract

The paper aims to underpin creative language use during the proverb transformations and to designate mechanisms that are employed in the creation of Turkish anti-proverbs based on the mechanisms of proverb alterations determined by Mieder and Litovkina (2006) in one of their prominent books in this field: “Old proverbs never die, they just diversify.” The study has shown that some Turkish anti-proverbs are created through mechanisms that are neither included among the mechanisms determined by Mieder and Litovkina (2006) nor meet any stylistic devices in Turkish literature. This paper also describes these types of applications through ‘*Intentional Adaptation*.’ In the paper, the structural-semantic analysis and the comparative methods are used. The former is used in order to identify the strategies in the formation of anti-proverbs and to characterize the contents of anti-proverbs based on intertextual allusions. The latter is employed to compare traditional Turkish proverbs and anti-proverbs from a stylistic perspective. A corpus of approximately 1800 Turkish anti-proverbs, which have been derived from 520 traditional proverbs, were collected from various sources such as books, magazines, newspapers, TV series, movies, social networking sites, songs, advertisements, and so on.

Keywords: Anti-proverbs, mechanism, stylistic, change, intentional adaptation.

Introduction

“People do not necessarily consider proverbs to be sacrosanct” (Mieder, 2004, p. 150); therefore, it is common to encounter the parodied, twisted, or fractured proverbs in daily surroundings. Anti-proverbs are structurally considered lexical or syntactical modified variants of the traditional

proverbs due to their similarity in form and sound. From the end of the twentieth century onwards, anti-proverbs have been continuously defined, in the words of Zaikauskienė (2012, p. 19), as “Smart, funny and inventive adaptation, improvisation and modification of proverbs.” Winick (1998, p.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, p. 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”. 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 the development of proverbial thought. (p. 25)

Like Naciscione’s approach, Mandzuik (2016) stresses that the prefix- anti refers to something ‘opposing, against’; therefore, he asserts that anti-proverbs express meanings that contradict the meanings of original proverbs. The term is explained by A. Litovkina & W. Mieder (2006) in the introduction of the second collection of Anglo-American anti-proverbs:

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. (p. 5)

Indeed, the genre of an anti-proverb is not a recently born one as Litovkina and Mieder (2006, p. 5) note proverb alterations are as old as proverbs themselves: they flourished in classical times and subsequent eras. 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, p. 28). Thus, proverbs’ characteristics, which are an advantage to ease the communicative function of proverbs, are applied to anti-proverbs to achieve a similar effect on recipients.

Individuals apply traditional proverbs in order to express their feelings, attitudes, emotions and so on, and change the meaning of original proverbs by using different words/phrases accordingly. Furthermore, the authors of anti-proverbs easily change the structure of traditional proverbs by adding some parts to or eliciting some parts from the original one. There are various ways of altering the proverbs, which have been studied for different languages by several scholars over the world. Valdaeva (2003) studied Anglo-American anti-proverbs from the syntactic and stylistic perspective and concluded that there exist a number of mechanisms such as alliteration, rhyme, Ellipsis, and so on. Litovkina and Mieder (2006), in their book, which is the core of this

article, gathered more than 5000 Anglo-American anti-proverbs along with their sources and established a number of mechanisms that are utilized in the creation of the anti-proverbs. Reznikov (2009) suggested a classification of Russian anti-proverbs into four major patterns based on their correlation between the syntax and semantic of the original proverbs and anti-proverbs: Similar form- same wisdom, similar form- new wisdom, an extension of the traditional proverb and finally, new form-new wisdom. Reznikov asserts that since Russian anti-proverbs and traditional proverbs do not have a deliberate and abrupt semantic gap and anti-proverbs are the product of folk creativity, quite a few of the modern anti-proverbs will survive. Vargha and Litovkina (2013) also studied the mechanisms of anti-proverbs in Hungarian anti-proverbs, and they mainly focused on punning and concluded that most of the examples in their corpus were purely phonetic, not semantic relations between words.

As for the Turkish anti-proverbs, there are many ways to apply them in creating them. As for the nature of the anti-proverbs, they are mostly corresponding with the realities of the modern age; therefore, it is inevitable to encounter the notions of popular life such as popular songs, TV series, social media, politics, books, and so on in Turkish anti-proverbs. Since all have an influence on individuals, it is common to observe that the authors of Turkish anti-proverbs apply intertextual references based on their interests and generate numerous anti-proverbs on different topics. Moreover, Turkish society and the Turkish language is exposed by the English language due to the terminology of social networking sites and computer games, the popularity of English songs and singers in Turkey, magazines, books and movies in the English language, and so on. Without a doubt, Turkish anti-proverbs host these modern-life experiences in a creative linguistic way since Turkish individuals tend to adapt foreign language into Turkish intentionally, which will be exemplified in the following sections. It must also be noted that an anti-proverb can be effective and interesting only if all efforts of intentional adaptation and intertextual attempts are recognized by the readers/hearers.

As for Anglo-American anti-proverbs, Litovkina and Mieder (2006, p. 17) determine 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 Turkish anti-proverbs, which have been illustrated by examples, but there exist more than these mechanisms generated by creative anti-proverb authors as a result of their intentional adaptation of the English language and other popular life situations. These mechanisms are also handled in detail, with illustrated examples in the following sections.

Material Selection

The anti-proverbs discussed in this article were recorded by the author of this article and come from a corpus of approximately 1800 Turkish anti-proverbs, which have been derived from 520 traditional proverbs. This corpus has been collected from various sources such as books, magazines, newspapers, TV series, movies, social networking sites, songs, advertisements, and so on by the author of this article since 2017. To be noted, there is just no guarantee that any of the uniform resource locators (URLs) listed at the end of this study will still exist after this study is published since their existence may well be for a short term.

In this paper, 26 anti-proverbs derived from 24 traditional proverb were used, and they were presented with their sources at the end of this article. For the convenience of the readers, both Turkish anti-proverbs¹ and traditional Turkish proverbs² were 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.

Common mechanisms used in creating Turkish Anti-Proverbs

The most common mechanisms, which are mainly common in the Anglo-American anti-proverbs, and examples from Turkish anti-proverbs are illustrated below:

Replacing a single word: Simply replacing a single word, the substitution of one letter in a word for another or omission or addition of a letter are some of the ways of creating anti-proverbs. For example, the proverb *Gülme komşuna, gelir başına* [Do not mock your neighbour's misfortune, you may soon meet the same fate] is modified as *Gülme yatana gelir başına* [Do not laugh at the dead, you may soon meet the same fate]. The rhyme and the rhythmic pattern of the traditional proverb are remained due to the phonetic similarity between the replaced word 'komşuna' and the new word 'yatana'. The word 'yatana' refers to 'the dead', which makes the anti-proverbs have a narrower meaning. However, the metaphorical meaning is, to some extent, remains unaltered because both the original and the modified proverbs criticize mocking behaviour in an unpleasant situation. Another way of replacing a single word is achieved by changing, omitting or adding one letter in a word, for example, *Komşu komşunun, külüne muhtaçtır* [A person is in need of his/her neighbour's ash] is changed as *Komşu komşunun gülüne muhtaçtır* [A person is in need of his/her neighbour's rose]. The substitution of one sound in a word does not lead to a change in the meaning of the traditional proverb in this example and keeps the rhyme inside the proverbial phrase. From the semantic point of view, interpretation is changed in the referential level, from kül (ash) to gül (rose); still, the wisdom of the proverb remained unaltered; and, both the traditional and the modified proverb denote that even in the smallest of matters one neighbour can help another (Yurtbaşı, 1993, p.263).

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

¹ The Turkish anti-proverbs have been translated by the author of this article, and each translated item has been checked by an expert translator.

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

formula. For example, *Kodarsan run olur, kodmazsan bug olur*³ [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. Moreover, the author of the anti-proverb uses the same number of lexis and common verbs in both paremiological phrases to help hearers/readers recognize the source of the anti-proverb.

As for another example, *Görünen köy kılavuz istemez* [One does not need a guide when the village is in sight] is changed as *Trend topic olacak haber paylaşım istemez* [The news to be a Trend Topic does not need to be shared]. The replaced words in the anti-proverbs indicate that the content is changed based on social media terms. 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, as indicated in the example above. Similar to the previous example, using the common verb 'istememez (does not need)' and having a dependent clause in both paremiological structures help the readers/listeners understand the source of the anti-proverb immediately. From the semantic point of view, the traditional proverb figuratively means that if a situation is plain enough, it does not require any further explanation or guide. On the other hand, the anti-proverb has a narrower meaning and can be recognized by only a small part of society who identify the intertextual relations, namely, social media terminology.

Changing the first or second part of the proverb: Changing one part of a proverb is very frequent in creating anti-proverbs. For example, the anti-proverb *Kedi götünü görmüş, corona zannetmiş* [When the cat saw his own bottom he thought he got corona] is derived from *Kedi götünü görmüş, yaram var demiş* [When the cat saw his own bottom he thought he was injured]. Structurally analyzed, the first part of the traditional proverb is kept completely while the second part of the proverb is changed on the basis of lexis, except the tense (past perfect tense- 'miş') is remained. As observed in the replaced words, the content of the traditional proverb is changed based on the coronavirus disease.

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,

³ The English translation may not make sense to the readers because this anti-proverb does not have any meaning for Turkish readers as well. The creator of this anti-proverb applies wordplays relevant to technical terms and jargon, which does not exist in both the Turkish and English languages.

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.

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] is derived from *Aç ayı oynamaz* [A hungry bear won't dance]. This anti-proverb was created by a sports fan of a football team (Galatasaray) in Turkey in order to criticize the footballers on his Facebook account. Taking the literal meaning of the original proverb into account, a new phrase *yedek kulübesinde oturur* is added to the traditional proverb. As for another example, *Ağanın eli tutulmaz* [Agha's hand is not held] is modified as *Ağamın eli tutulmaz, dizisi tutulur* [My Agha's hand is not held, but Tv series about him is]. This anti-proverb is from a book by Cihan Demirci (2004, p.89), who criticizes the increasing number of Tv series about Aghas who have great mansions and servants with a lot of illegal events. Therefore, this anti-proverb is a satirical version of the traditional proverb, which figuratively denotes the generous character of Aghas. However, it is extended by a literal phrase which violates the figurative meaning of the traditional proverb. According to Valdaeva (2013), the unpredictable words added to the traditional proverb as its continuation is called “defeated expectancy”, and all anti-proverbs are based on it.

Adding a 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 because the authors of anti-proverbs interpret the proverbs literally. For example, *Görmemişin oğlu olmuş, hala kör* [An uncouth has a baby boy, the person is still blind] is derived from *Görmemişin oğlu olmuş* [An uncouth has a baby boy]. The traditional proverb figuratively means an ignorant person cannot handle good fortune (Yurtbaşı, 2007, p.112). This example requires more explanation for non-native Turkish readers. In the traditional proverb, the word ‘*Görmemiş* (an uncouth)’ refers to people who are uncouth/unrefined; however, this homonymic word is also used for people who are blind. The former meaning is more figurative than the latter one. Accordingly, in the anti-proverb, the readers are unexpectedly directed to the literal meaning of this word based on the extension ‘*hala kör* (still blind)’. To illustrate more, another example is *Görünen köy kılavuz istemez; yol ister, su ister, elektrik ister* [The village in sight does not require a guide; it requires a road, water, and electricity] derived from *Görünen köy kılavuz istemez* [One does not need a guide when the village is in sight]. Similar to the previous example, the meaning of the traditional proverb is literalized. Metaphorically, the original proverb suggests that it is unnecessary to explain or give guidance on some well-known facts. The extension added to the original proverb is based on the lexical element of one semantic group: village, road, water, electricity, and creates humour due to its unexpected appearance.

Punning: Using identical graphemes and phonemic representation such as polysemous, homonymous words is also a common technique in creating anti-proverbs. As Naciscione (2013, p. 21) asserts, “Proverbs easily lend themselves to punning since they are figurative and cohesive combinations of words.” To illustrate, the Turkish proverb *Gülü seven dikenine katlanır* [Who

loves the rose bears the thorn] is modified as *Gülü seven dikenine saplanır* [Who loves the rose, stinks into the thorn]. The traditional proverb means that he who wants the pleasant things will accept the unpleasant side of them (Yurtbaşı, 1996, p.168). The word ‘katlanır’ is substituted by a similar-sounding word ‘saplanır’ which results in a change in the meaning of the anti-proverb; so, he who wants the pleasant things will be hindered by the unpleasant side of them. Moreover, the replaced word, which is built with the help of this phonetic stylistic device, results in an unexpected consequence, or a different perspective, and humour on the proverb meaning. Vargha & Litovkina (2013, p. 17) states that “The authors of anti-proverbs often try to find a word phonologically similar to one in the original proverb”, which is observed in the example: *Azıcık aşım, ağrısız başım* [Little food and a head without worry]. The proverb is modified as *Azıcık hash'im agrısız bash'im* [Little hash and a bash without worry]. The anti-proverb is also created by the substitution of some words in the traditional proverb based on the phonetic similarity. In the anti-proverb, the replaced words, *hash* and *bash* belong to the terminology relevant to computers and require specific knowledge to be recognized and comprehended by the readers/hearers. According to a website on technology, *Bash (Bourne Again Shell)*⁴ is the free version of the Bourne shell distributed with Linux and GNU operating systems, and *hash* is the process of transforming any given key or a string of characters into another. Punning is achieved due to the common sounds of ‘sh’ in *bash* and *hash* in the anti-proverb, and in *aşım* and *başım* in the proverb. From the semantic point of view, the figurative meaning of the words ‘aş’ and ‘baş’ has been narrowed the specific terms since the original proverb figuratively means that people may be happy with what they have.

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 proverb *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, “ah vatanım” demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, it said "ah country"] is modified as *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, “eşek yine eşektir” demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, it said "donkey is a donkey"] and *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, “nerem doğru ki” demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, it said "Is there any part of me that’s straight?"]. These anti-proverbs are melted with the traditional proverbs *Eşeğe altın semer vursalar, eşek yine eşektir* [You can put lipstick on a pig, but it’s still a pig] 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. The anti-proverbs are created by contamination of two proverbs. From the syntactic point of view, the overall syntactic pattern of the original proverb remains unchanged, though there is not any semantic or phonetic similarity between the original and the replaced words: “*ah vatanım” demiş*’, “*eşek yine eşektir” demiş*’ and “*nerem doğru ki” demiş*.’

Word-order reversal: Word-order reversal is also observed in Turkish anti-proverbs, which conveys a doubt in its accuracy and make a humorous statement of it. Similar to other stylistic ways employed in the creation of anti-proverbs, word-order reversal also makes the anti-proverbs sound more interesting and effective. For example, one of the popular traditional proverb in Turkish society *Söz gümüşse, sükut altındır* [Speech is silver, but silence is golden] is modified as *Söz altın ise gümüş sükuttur* [Speech is golden, but silence is silver]. In this example, the

⁴ Tech Target Contributor. (2005). Bash (Bourne Again Shell). Retrieved October, 5, 2021, from <https://searchdatacenter.techtarget.com/definition/bash-Bourne-Again-Shell>

words 'gümüş (silver)' and 'altın (gold)' change places and the meaning of the proverb. Mainly, the confusing effect of the change in the word order draws the attention of the hearers/readers due to the unexpected result in the meaning. The traditional proverb figuratively means speaking can be helpful and useful, but silence is better since speaking can lead to too much trouble for the speakers. Therefore, silence is more valuable (golden-silver resemblance) than speaking. The traditional proverb suggests being quiet when it is not necessary to talk. However, the message conveyed by the anti-proverb contradicts the traditional proverb and denotes the superiority of speech over silence.

Mechanisms specific to Turkish Anti-Proverbs

The Turkish anti-proverbs were analyzed to observe if they are modified in the same ways as Anglo-American anti-proverbs are. The analysis showed that each mechanism suggested by Mieder and Litovkina (2006, p. 17) is applied to traditional proverbs to modify them in accordance with modern-life situations. As indicated in the analysis above, Turkish anti-proverbs are created under the influence of social media, popular lines/cues from TV series or popular life situations, and they are not randomly selected. To put it differently, there are some semantic or phonetic connections between the chosen words and the traditional proverbs and/or the creators' perception of life. In the corpus, there also exist a large number of Turkish anti-proverbs, which cannot be explained with any of the above-mentioned mechanisms. In the corpus, some anti-proverbs are created stylistically, but they do not meet any stylistic device in Turkish or English literature. This present work describes these sorts 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 adapting since traditional well-known Turkish proverbs result in the modern anti-proverb following the adaptation.

Below, examples of Turkish anti-proverbs which display different mechanisms of altering the proverbs are shown:

Changing verbs from positive to negative, or vice versa: The opposite meaning of proverbs is obtained by changing the verb from positive to negative or from negative to positive; for example, the traditional proverb *Bugünün işini yarına bırakma* [Do not put off till tomorrow what you can do today] is changed as *Bugünün işini yarına bırak* [Put off till tomorrow what you can do today]. The negative statement is substituted for an affirmative one due to the negative form of the verb. The proverb suggests that a job that needs to be done should not be neglected and should be done on time. Nevertheless, in the context of the new utterance, the meaning is changed in the opposite way and suggests not to finish a job that needs to be done today.

Narrative telling is also common in Turkish anti-proverbs. To illustrate: the traditional proverb *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "ah vatanım" demiş* [They put the nightingale in a golden cage, it said "ah country"] is modified as *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]. In this example, the structure of the traditional proverb is maintained, but only a few words in the second part of the traditional proverb are kept in the anti-proverb. Moreover, two more sentences are added to the anti-proverb, which sounds like a part of a story. From a semantic point of view, the wisdom of the original proverb is ignored and 'the love of country' in the traditional proverb turns into 'an ill country which also makes people ill.'

Adding more words within the proverb: The wisdom of the traditional proverb is also changed by adding words into the traditional one without taking any words or phrases out of it. For instance, the proverb *Gülü seven dikenine katlanır* [One who loves the rose bears the thorn] is modified as *Gülü seven dikenine, oy'u seven seçmenine katlanır* [Who loves the rose bears the thorn, who loves the vote bears the voter]. As it is observed in the anti-proverb, the number of lexis is higher than the traditional one due to the embedded words within the proverb, so the size of the original proverb is changed. However, the phonetic similarity between the words 'dikenine' and 'seçmenine' creates a rhyme due to the ending sounds. From the semantic point of view, the context of the anti-proverb is narrowed to the politicians, although the traditional one has a more general meaning.

Combination with Idioms: This group of proverb modifications is contamination of proverbs with idioms, which are also popular in everyday conversation in Turkish society, so it is inevitable to encounter the idioms in Turkish anti-proverbs. For example, the traditional proverb *Sakla samanı, gelir zamanı* [Save the straw, there will come time for it] is modified as *Sakla samanı altından su yürütürsün* [Save the straw so that you can move water under it]. The author of the anti-proverb applies the idiom *Saman altından su yürütmek*, which literally says 'Conduct water underneath the water' and figuratively says 'doing something secretly', and its English equivalence is 'Play one's cards close to one's chest.' Keeping the first two words of the original proverb and continuing with an idiom results in a syntactic, stylistic and semantic change in the new utterance. For example, the proverb suggests not to throw away even the most worthless thing, put it aside in case it may be needed one day, although the anti-proverb draws attention to doing some works secretly and illegally, which has a negative connotation. From a stylistic point of view, the continuation of the proverb with an idiom causes a deviation from a stylistic feature to a neutral sentence structure. Still, the substitution of the stylistic part of the traditional proverb, the absence of the expected parts of the sentence and the unusual position of an idiom in the sentence might make the anti-proverb interesting and effective for the readers/hearer.

Moreover, uttering declarative sentences by using some parts of the traditional proverbs is another way of creating Turkish anti-proverbs. In other words, some of the words are kept in the anti-proverb, but the syntactic, 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, the proverb *Son gülen iyi güler* [Who laughs last, laughs longest] is changed as *Üzülme son gülen sen olacaksın. Çünkü hep geç anlıyorsun* [Never mind, you will be the one who laughs last, because you catch it late]. In the anti-proverb, only "son gülen (who laughs last)" is borrowed during the transformation; still, a native Turkish speaker can easily recognize the source text. The author utilizes the first part of the proverb and explains his/her ideas about the interlocutor. The syntactic pattern is not sustained since it consists of two sentences that are built without any stylistic device.

Besides these mechanisms, Turkish society, as mentioned above, is exposed to different situations, which are reflected in the anti-proverbs. One of these situations is the considerable influence of the English language on Turkish society. Turkish people adapt English words in their lives in different ways; for example, they use English words in everyday speech, on their social media accounts as their nicknames, even as the brands of a local shop. While using the English words, individuals adapt the English words into Turkish by adding Turkish prefixes or suffixes to them, so they act like hybrid words. In one of the previous studies (Usta Tuzcu, 2019), it was attempted to indicate the adaptation of English lexis into the Turkish language by harmonizing the patterns of both languages, e.g.; 'likelamak, stalklamak, trollemek, hashtaglemek, mentionlamak, retweetlemek'. Turkish anti-proverbs also have English words embedded in a Turkish sentence as such: *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]. The traditional proverb denotes someone who, after doing a favor to a person, does something behind his back without giving back the favor. It is also expressed as betrayal or betrayal against the good. The anti-proverb uses the syntactic structure of the proverb in order to benefit from its power to draw attention and replace some words in the original proverb. While doing that, the author uses the English word 'to hack' in the Turkish anti-proverb without translating it into Turkish. Moreover, the author behaves the English word 'Hack' as a Turkish word and add the suffix 'le' to the verb in order to make the word act like a Turkish verb. Similar to the traditional proverb, the anti-proverb is also in an imperative form. Although all the words are substituted by other words, a Turkish hearer/listener can easily recognize the original proverb from which the new utterance is sourced. From the semantic point of view, the anti-proverb is used in its literal meaning and suggests doing an illegal act, namely, hacking a website and stealing someone's password.

Another Turkish anti-proverb that uses English words due to their phonetic similarity to the Turkish words is illustrated as *Havlayan coder codermaz* [The dog that codes, does not code]. The anti-proverb is derived from *Havlayan köpek ısırmaz* [The dog that barks does not bite]. The words 'coder' and 'to code' used in the anti-proverb are English words; they are both computer terms. This anti-proverb was obtained from one of the very popular website⁵ in Turkey. This anti-proverb utilizes the syntactic structure of the proverb and starts with the same word '*havlayan* (A dog that barks)' in the traditional one in order to ensure that the readers/hearers can recognize the source text. The second word '*coder*' as an English word is used for a computer programmer and used in the Turkish text without being translated. The third word '*codermaz*', which is the verb of the sentence, is a hybrid word combining the English and Turkish elements; to illustrate more, *coder* has already been explained above, '*maz*' is a suffix used for negative form of present simple tense in Turkish. It must be taken into consideration that the word '*codermaz*' is not randomly selected for this anti-proverb. This word is phonetically nearly the same as the word '*kudurmaz* (a verb used when a dog becomes a bloody one)'; however, there is no semantic relationship between these words. This is a stylistic usage of a language (acting like not foreign) by harmonizing with another language in its grammar rules and phonetics.

⁵ This website (<https://eksisozluk.com/coder-atasozleri--88459?p=1>) is called eksisozluk, which is an online collaborative hypertext dictionary based on the concept of Web sites that can be contributed by several members 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 such as *bug*, *code*, *coder*, and other computational terms under the title of *coder atasözleri*.

Furthermore, in the modern-day of using social media and technology, there is an increase in using hashtags, tags, or other terms relevant to media. Similar to the factors above, these items are presented in Turkish anti-proverbs as well. This is shown in the example *DM'nin gelişimi bellidir* [The coming of DM is evident with 'mention']. This anti-proverb is transformed from the traditional proverb *Perşembenin gelişimi çarşambadan bellidir* [The coming of Thursday is apparent with Wednesday]. The traditional proverb figuratively denotes that how a thing will end is evident from its current situation. In this anti-proverb, some words in the original proverbs were substituted in the new utterance, which resulted in a change in the context of the proverb. Syntactically, the anti-proverb imitates the proverb; so, it is easier to recognize the source text despite the changed words. Semantically, the figurative meaning of the traditional proverb is lost since the words in the anti-proverb are used in their literal meaning. As for the lexis level, the terms such as DM (the abbreviation of 'direct message') and 'mention', which are the terms belonging to social media, are used in the anti-proverb. The anti-proverb means that one can know if s/he will get a direct message by looking at the tags relevant to him/her. To be noted, the replaced words make the meaning and the usage of anti-proverb narrower due to the restricted usage of these terms, in that they are only used in social media, not other spheres of life. On the other hand, the traditional proverb may be used in any type of situation.

Another key aspect to emphasize is the stylistic usage of popular lines/cues from popular soap operas or songs embedded in Turkish anti-proverbs. For better understanding, the proverb *Acele giden ecele gider* [One who makes haste goes to death] is transformed as *Acele giden oha falan olur yane* [One who makes haste will be shocked]. The traditional proverb means that those who do their job fast in order to get results faster may face some undesired consequences. The anti-proverb borrows the subject (the first part) of the proverb and continues with the phrase '*Oha falan olur yane* (will be shocked)' is a popular line from a popular TV series (Avrupa Yakası, 2004 -2009⁶). The substituted part is neither phonetically nor semantically similar to the second part of the traditional proverb; however, it only aims to attract the readers' / hearers' attention. This example also shows how TV series affect the language of individuals.

Another stylistic usage of language in Turkish anti-proverbs that must 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, the proverb *Geçti Bor'un pazarı, sür eşeği Niğde'ye* [It is too late for the bazaar of Bor, ride the donkey to Nigde] is modified as *Geçti mango indirimi sür porsche'yi converse'e* [It is too late for a discount of Mango, drive the Porsche to Converse]. The traditional proverb figuratively means that when an opportunity is gone, at least it is necessary to evaluate the next opportunity. However, the anti-proverb does not have any metaphoric meaning; it also does not have any wisdom in it. This anti-proverb is created by borrowing the structure of the traditional proverb, and all the words are substituted with different words except the word '*sür* (ride/drive)'. The native Turkish speakers may recognize the traditional proverb when they hear or read the anti-proverb due to its popular syntactic pattern. The anti-proverbs are comprised of brands such as *Mango*, *Porsche*, *Converse*, which indicates the interest of the author of this anti-proverb. However, the traditional proverb literally mentions bazaar, which

⁶ Birsal G. (Narrator). (2004). *Avrupa Yakası* [Tv Series]. In Ç. Sinan (Executive Producer). İstanbul, Turkey: Plato Film.

does not sell expensive products, unlike the brands mentioned. The word 'sür (ride/drive)' is also ironic because, in the anti-proverb, a Porsche is driven, while in the traditional proverb, there is a donkey, which is ridden to other bazaars. This example is a demonstration of the characteristics of the traditionality and modernity of the proverbs and anti-proverbs.

Conclusion

This paper focused on the mechanisms which are utilized by Turkish individuals while changing the traditional proverbs. The authors of anti-proverbs use the syntax, the linguistic structure and the size of the traditional proverbs, but replace some words based on the new context. Still, this is not the case all the time; and, the creators change the syntax by extending or omitting the original proverbs. Moreover, the creators keep some words or phrases as they are in order to ensure that the readers/hearers recognize the source text. On the semantic level, the figurative meaning of traditional proverbs is mostly ignored and violated by the unpredictable and irrelevant words due to the changed contexts. That is why, 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 Turkish 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. Furthermore, 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. As for the mechanisms, the analysis of the examples in the corpus of Turkish anti-proverbs has shown that all mechanisms established by Mieder and Litovkina (2006) are utilized in the creation of the anti-proverbs; however, there exist some anti-proverbs which are generated through various creative linguistic ways. For example, influenced by the English language, Turkish individuals adapt the English language into Turkish and finally in anti-proverbs. Moreover, with the modern-day of using social media and technology, there is an increase in using hashtags, tags, or other terms relevant to media, the usage of popular lines/cues from popular soap operas or songs, the desired life conditions. These English words are utilized in order to suit the particular context, create a satirical or humorous impact on the listeners/hearers. Since individuals adapt all these situations into proverbs intentionally, this study presents these stylistic usages as “*Intentional Adaptation*”. These sort of modifications seem an increasingly common rhetorical and stylistic device in written texts; however, hearers / listeners need to overcome some certain vocabulary or content in order to analyze and interpret the meaning intended. For future studies, to gather statistical analysis, a further sociolinguistic survey may be applied to the various populations and sub-groups that use anti-proverbs for the purpose of exploring popular views on anti-proverbs and their functions.

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Appendix

Turkish Anti-proverbs Corpus

1- Traditional Proverb (TP): *Gülme komşuna, gelir başına* [Do not mock your neighbour's misfortune, you may soon meet the same fate]

Anti-proverb (AP): *Gülme yatana gelir başına* [Do not laugh at the dead, you may soon meet the same fate]

Erdemmc60. (2017). Ko atasözleri [Online forum comment]. Retrieved March 18, 2018, from <https://www.frntr.com/knight-online/867292-ko-atasozleri-d-cok-komik-5.html>

2- TP: *Komşu komşunun, külüne muhtaçtır* [A person is in need of his/her neighbour's ash]

AP: *Komşu komşunun gülüne muhtaçtır* [A person is in need of his/her neighbour's rose]

Atasözlerini değiştirip komik hale getirmek. (2015). Uludağ sözlük [Online forum comment]. Retrieved April 24, 2018 from <https://www.uludagsozluk.com/k/atas%C3%B6zlerini-de%C4%9Fi%C5%9Ftirip-komik-hale-getirmek/>

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

AP: *Kodarsan run olur, kodmazsan bug olur* [If you code, it will run, if you don't, it will become a bug]

Coder Atasözleri. (2000). Eksi Sözlük [Online forum comment]. Retrieved May 6, 2019, from <https://eksisozluk.com/coder-atasozleri--88459?p=1>

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

AP: *Trend topic olacak haber paylaşım istemez* [The news to be a Trend Topic does not need to be shared]

Sosyal medya atasözleri. (2016). Retrieved November 22, 2019, from <https://twitter.com/search?q=sosyalmedya%20atas%C3%B6zleri&src=typd>

5- TP: *Kedi götünü görmüş, yaram var demiş* [When the cat saw his own bottom he thought he was injured]

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

Atasözlerini corona ile değiştir. (2020). Eksi sözlük [Online forum comment]. Retrieved February 3, 2021) from <https://eksisozluk.com/atasozlerini-corona-ile-degistir--6409713>

6- TP: *Su uyur düşman uyumaz* [Water sleeps but the enemy never sleeps]

AP: *Su uyur, korona uyumaz* [Water sleeps but the corona never sleeps]

3 Hilal. (2020). Koronalı atasözleri [Facebook Post]. Retrieved July 29, 2021, from <https://www.facebook.com/3hilal/posts/3324268424269931/>

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

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

Öğretmenler. (2020). Koronalı Atasözleri [Facebook status update]. Retrieved July 29, 2021, from <https://www.facebook.com/ogretmenlr/posts/2580123208917330>

8- TP: *Aç ayı oynamaz* [A hungry bear won't dance]

AP: *Aç ayı oynamaz, yedek kulübesinde oturur* [A hungry bear won't dance, but sits at the bench]

Yiğit. V.S (2011). Aç ayı oynamaz yedek kulübesinde oturur [Facebook Post]. Retrieved May 20, 2019 from <https://www.facebook.com/legend.ultraslan.1905/posts/219252038130554/>

9- TP: *Ağanın eli tutulmaz* [Agha's hand is not held]

AP: *Ağamın eli tutulmaz, dizisi tutulur* [My Agha's hand is not held, but Tv series about him is]

Demirci, C. (2004). *Hayata düşen yalana sarılır*. İstanbul: Bileşim Yayınları.

10- TP: *Görmemişin oğlu olmuş* [An uncouth has a baby boy]

AP: *Görmemişin oğlu olmuş, hala kör* [An uncouth has a baby boy, the person is still blind]

BY Sincanlım. (2012). Kızını dövmeyen torununu erken sever oğlunu dövmeyen mezara erken girer [Facebook Post]. Retrieved September 3, 2018 from https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=379651925395092&id=168744749819145

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

AP: *Görünen köy kılavuz istemez; yol ister, su ister, elektrik ister* [The village in sight does not require a guide; it requires a road, water, and electricity]

Gmszadam. (n.d.). Değiştirilmiş atasözleri [Tweet]. Retrieved October 22, 2019 from <https://twitter.com/Gmszadam/status/982681028052553729>

12- TP: *Gülü seven dikenine katlanır* [Who loves the rose bears the thorn]

AP: *Gülü seven dikenine saplanır* [Who loves the rose, stinks into the thorn]

BY Sincanlım. (2012). Kızını dövmeyen torununu erken sever oğlunu dövmeyen mezara erken girer [Facebook Post]. Retrieved September 3, 2018 from https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=379651925395092&id=168744749819145

AP: *Gülü seven dikenine, oy'u seven seçmenine katlanır* [Who loves the rose bears the thorn, who loves the vote bears the voter]

Bağırsakçı. S. (2014). Politikada atasözü uygulamaları. *İskenderun Gazetesi*. Retrieved April 20, 2020, from <http://www.iskenderungazetesi.com/politikada-atasozu-uyarlamalari/>

13- TP: *Azıcık aşım, ağrısız başım* [Little food and a head without worry]

AP: *Azıcık hash'im agrısız bash'im* [Little hash and a bash without worry]

Coder Atasözleri. (2000). Eksi Sözlük [Online forum comment]. Retrieved May 6, 2019, from <https://eksisozluk.com/coder-atasozleri--88459?p=1>

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

AP: *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "eşek yine eşektir" demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, it said "donkey is a donkey"]

Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar. (2006). Uludağ sözlük [Online forum comment]. Retrieved December 14, 2017, from <https://www.uludagsozluk.com/k/b%C3%BCIb%C3%BCI%C3%BC-alt%C4%B1n-kafese-koymu%C5%9Flar/>

AP: *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]

Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar. (2006). Uludağ sözlük [Online forum comment]. Retrieved December 14, 2017, from <https://www.uludagsozluk.com/k/b%C3%BCIb%C3%BCI%C3%BC-alt%C4%B1n-kafese-koymu%C5%9Flar/>

15- TP: *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"]

AP: *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "nerem doğru ki" demiş* [They put the nightingale into a golden cage, it said "Is there any part of me that's straight?"]

Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar. (2006). Uludağ sözlük [Online forum comment]. Retrieved December 14, 2017, from <https://www.uludagsozluk.com/k/b%C3%BCIb%C3%BCI%C3%BC-alt%C4%B1n-kafese-koymu%C5%9Flar/>

16- TP: *Söz gümüşse, sükut altındır* [Speech is silver, but silence is golden]

AP: *Söz altın ise gümüş sükuttur* [Speech is golden, but silence is silver]

SM Atasözleri. (2012). Sosyal medya atasözleri. Retrieved March 8, 2017, from <https://twitter.com/smatasozleri>

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

AP: *Bugünün işini yarına bırak* [Put off till tomorrow what you can do today]

Bugünün işini yarına bırak. (2007). Eksi sözlük [Online forum comment]. Retrieved October 15, 2018, from <https://eksisozluk.com/bugunun-isini-yarina-birak--1654074>

18- TP: Sakla samanı, gelir zamanı [Save the straw, there will come time for it]

AP: Sakla samanı altından su yürütürsün [Save the straw so that you can move water under it]

Her insan bir filozoftur. (n.d.). Retrieved May 19, 2020, from <http://bnuran.tripod.com/soz.htm>

19- TP: Son gülen iyi güler [Who laughs last, laughs longest]

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

Komik atasözleri (değiştirilmiş). (n.d.). Metal damage. Retrieved September 2, 2018, from <http://metaldamage0.tr.gg/Komik-AtaS.oe.zleri-k1-De&%23287%3Bi&%23351%3Btirilmi&%23351%3B-k2-.htm>

20- TP: Besle kargayı, oysun gözünü [Feed the crow, and it will peck out your eyes]

AP: Hackle siteyi, gelir şifresi [Hack the website, get the passport]

Bilgisayar atasözleri. (2002). Eksi sözlük [Online forum comment]. Retrieved February 26, 2018, from <https://eksisozluk.com/bilgisayar-atasozleri--448583>

21- TP: Havlayan köpek ısırılmaz [The dog that barks does not bite]

AP: Havlayan coder codermaz [The dog that codes, does not code]

Coder Atasözleri. (2000). Eksi Sözlük [Online forum comment]. Retrieved April May 6, 2019, from <https://eksisozluk.com/coder-atasozleri--88459?p=1>

22- TP: Perşembenin gelişi çarşambadan bellidir [The coming of Thursday is apparent with Wednesday]

AP: DM'nin gelişi mention'dan bellidir [The coming of DM is evident with 'mention]

Sosyal medya atasözleri. (2016). Retrieved November 22, 2019, from <https://twitter.com/search?q=sosyalmedya%20atas%C3%B6zleri&src=typd>

23- TP: Acele giden ecele gider [One who makes haste goes to death]

AP: Acele giden oha falan olur yane [One who makes haste will be shocked]

Notusta. (n.d.). Atasözleri komik. Retrieved October 7, 2020, from <https://www.notusta.com/atasozleri-komik-433/>

24- TP: Geçti Bor'un pazarı, sür eşiği Niğde'ye [It is too late for the bazaar of Bor, ride the donkey to Nigde]

AP: Geçti mango indirimi sür porsche'yi converse'e [It is too late for a discount of Mango, drive the Porsche to Converse]

Notusta. (n.d.). Atasözleri komik. Retrieved October 7, 2020, from <https://www.notusta.com/atasozleri-komik-433/>