CHAPTER 13

Armed with patience, suffering an emotion

The conceptualization of life, morality, and emotion in Turkish

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This chapter examines the significance of two concepts for the target domains self and life in Turkish. More specifically, the Turkish words sabr 'patience' and çile 'suffering' are identified as source domains that structure not only emotion metaphors but also other target domains. We analyse conventionalized metaphorical expressions that employ these two source terms in data collected from Google searches and the two-million-word M(iddle) E(ast) T(chnical) U(niversity) corpus of Turkish. Data from contemporary dictionaries and the Turkish National Corpus at Mersin University are also examined. Taken together, these data reveal that sabr and çile are culturally salient concepts that serve to structure Turkish speakers' understanding of life, morality, and emotion.

Keywords: çile, corpus evidence, culturally salient concepts, sabr, self

1. Introduction

The cultural motivations for many conceptual metaphors have become the major theme for a number of recent studies. The problems discussed mostly centre around cross-linguistic variations in metaphorical expressions and their potential sources. While basic level conceptual metaphors are ultimately grounded in bodily experiences and are thus expected to be universally shared, cultures are observed to differ in their interpretation of source domain entities and events, as well as in the linguistic means that they utilize to verbalize their specific experiences (Gibbs 1999, Kövecses 2005, Maalej 2004, Yu 2007). The role of culture-specific experiential domains becomes more evident in the conceptualization of complex abstract concepts like life, time, ideas, and religion, to name but a few.

There are many cases in which a number of source domains may characterize a single target domain. However, what has not been made "an empirical and a theoretical issue" is the case in which a single source concept may apply to distinct target
domains (Kövecses 2000: 79). To address the problem, Kövecses proposes the notion “scope of metaphor”, and displays its working in the analysis of complex abstract systems. A complex abstract system is understood to be a non-physical domain with various constituents interacting with each other in complex ways. In such systems, even a single factor can produce significant changes within the system (Cameron and Deignan 2006). Religion is one such system. It is a “highly abstract domain quite removed from sensual experience” (Jäkel 2002), and one that is almost entirely dependent on metaphorical conceptualization, where metaphor is the “primary means by which the unknown can be conceptualized in terms of what is already known” (Charteris-Black 2004: 173).

In this chapter, we present the metaphorical mappings of two intricately connected concepts, çile ‘suffering’ and sabur ‘patience’, in Turkish. These culturally salient abstract concepts function as guiding principles of self-control in the spiritual domain and, when carried over to domains other than the spiritual, contribute to creating a complex metaphor network with significant entailments and implications. The analysis presented in this study aims to uncover the major components of this complex metaphor network by focusing on the source domains of çile and sabur in the construal of LIFE, MORALITY, and EMOTION in Turkish.

2. Background: The linguistic data

The linguistic evidence that illustrates the mapping of çile and sabur onto different target domains has been gathered from various sources. First, we examined reference works to identify phraseological units that contain figurative uses of the lexemes çile and sabur. To this end, we utilized the official dictionary of the Turkish Language Institute (Türkçe Sözlük 2005) and the Ötüken Turkish Dictionary (Çağbayır 2007). We also referred to the Dictionary of Proverbs and Idioms (Aksoy 1971), the Dictionary of Idioms (Sözer 2000), and Palal’s (2000) dictionary of idioms entitled İki Dirhem Bir Çekirdek. We should note that the reference works we used do not contain corpus evidence illustrating the contemporary uses of phraseological units in Turkish. In order to verify their currency and how these units in the language are used by contemporary speakers, we gathered independent corpus evidence for the occurrence of çile and sabur units from two different sources: the Middle East Technical University (METU) Turkish Corpus and WebCorp.¹ The METU Turkish Corpus is a corpus of contemporary written Turkish compiled by the Middle East Technical University (Say et al. 2002), which consists of two million words gathered from books and newspapers, and allows queries on various types of text produced between 1990 and 2000. WebCorp, created and maintained by the Research and Development Unit for English Studies in the School of English at Birmingham City University, is a suite of tools that allows access to the World

¹ http://www.webcorp.org.uk.
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Wide Web as a corpus. It works on web search engines such as Google, Alta Vista, Yahoo, and Metacrawler. Query results of the WebCorp returned from Google pages include forums, blogs, online newspapers, online lyrics, and special interest magazines devoted to religion, literature, and other fields of specialization. The corpus data reveal that while most uses of çile and sabr conform to the definitions given by the reference works, there are certain other figurative uses of these units as well. As shown by Deignan (2005), Koller (2006), or Semino (2006), the data derived from corpora such as this can help confirm the entrenchment of a conceptual metaphor.

Corpus-based data, particularly linguistic instantiations brought together from online lyrics, revealed that the çile and sabr source domains are pervasively mapped onto the target domain LIFE. This finding led us to elicit data on the construal of LIFE in Turkish to see whether modern and popular descriptions of life appeal to these mystical religious source domains as much as those observed in the corpus data. To this end, we carried out research among 150 Turkish college students (aged 18–25) at Mersin University in the academic year 2007. They were asked to give a written account of how they view life, and what life means to them. We discovered that those young Turkish students’ portrayals of life resonated with mystical religious conceptions of life and self. The same conceptual schemas informing the medieval metaphors of life and self found in the dictionaries of proverbs and idioms also exist in the contemporary descriptions of LIFE in Turkish. Such evidence underscores how deeply entrenched some linguistic and conceptual metaphors are in Turkish.

Thus, the Turkish examples used in this study are all naturally occurring contemporary utterances taken from the METU Turkish Corpus, WebCorp, and the data elicited from young native speakers of Turkish. They provide evidence for the conventionality of the mapping of çile and sabr onto a wide range of target domains.

We discuss our findings as follows: In Section 3 we present the ontologies and relevant image schemas that underlie the figurative realizations of çile and sabr. The linguistic manifestations indicate that the Anatolian Sufi tradition still plays a crucial role as the socio-cultural basis for the proposed metaphors in Turkish. Section 4 displays the broad scope of the complex abstract concepts çile and sabr and their applicability to a wide range of circumstances. The following sections focus on different target domains, LIFE, MORALITY, and EMOTION respectively. Section 5 illustrates that the LIFE IS A PAINFULLY AND PATIENTLY PACED JOURNEY metaphor in Turkish encompasses the philosophical and spiritual aspects of the mystical tradition even if it has not been an active practice in contemporary society. Section 6 introduces the MORAL STRENGTH IS SABIR metaphor, and discusses the interaction between a highly complex and culturally established notion of sabr and çile. Section 7 displays how LOVE and ANGER are metaphorized through çile and sabr. This section shows that the LOVE IS SUFFERING metaphor identifies the distressing and compelling force of love as something desirable for a Turkish lover. ANGER IS AN OVERFLOW OF SABIR, on the other hand, conceptualizes cases of possessing less moral strength.
3. Ontologies of çile ‘suffering’ and sabr ‘patience’

3.1 A case of çile

In the early days of May 2008, a well-known columnist entitled an article that appeared in a national newspaper "Rakefin Çilesi", ‘The Suffering of Rakel’. The article was about the agonizing experiences of Rakel, the widow of the journalist and writer of Armenian extraction, Hrant Dink, who had been assassinated by a self-appointed fascist group approximately a year before. The article recited a series of painful events that Rakel had to live through following the murder of her husband. She had lost a loving life-time partner, the father of her children, and more recently, she had been offered official protection following relentless threats and insults she had had to face during and after every court meeting she attended. In addition, her son was forced to leave the country. The offer of official protection came from the same intelligence officer who had personally threatened the murdered journalist some time before the assassination.

3.2 A case of sabr

In another article that appeared on the economy pages of a national newspaper on January 24, 2007, the head of the Chamber of Commerce complains that, in the current situation, an entrepreneur has to possess “the patience of Job” to initiate a new business. He notes that one has to work through a multitude of transactions with at least 71 different official institutes, and has to secure at least 349 different approvals from various offices for his investment. To receive an official green light for the investment, the poor entrepreneur must possess much sabr ‘patience’, as he has to perform a series of activities, most of which have little or nothing to do with the business in question. This makes the process a painful experience, wasting time and money that would be better utilized elsewhere. The entrepreneur must possess sabr to endure the ordeal, and not give up his predestined road.

3.3 The origins of çile and sabr

Both çile and sabr are borrowed words in Turkish. They were borrowed into the language from as early as the 10th century, during the long migration of Turkish tribes as they gradually adopted Islam, their new faith. The effects of these borrowed terms have been far-reaching, both on the language and on the cultural model. “Rakel’in Çilesi” is a very fitting title. It provides an entry for proper understanding of the complex notion of çile, and its role in the culture. There are a number of other expressions in the language whose translation equivalents mean ‘ordeal’, ‘suffering’, and ‘torment’, which might express such painful experiences. However, none of these would provide the appropriate cognitive schema çile does. Equally complex is the notion of sabr; it
conflates, among others, meanings of ‘forbearance’, ‘endurance’, ‘fastness’, ‘fortitude’, ‘steadiness’, and ‘tolerance’. In the following pages, we translate çile as ‘suffering’ and sabur as ‘patience’, even though these renditions only partially capture the entailments of the concepts.

The official dictionary of the Turkish Language Institute gives the following definitions for çile:

(1) Çile (noun) Persian. 1. Suffering, trial, ordeal. 2. A dervish’s forty-day period of retirement and fasting.

The dictionary entry lists the ordinary, everyday use of the word as the primary meaning and the more technical term to do with religious practice as the secondary meaning. The word originally is a derivation, meaning ‘forty’ in the source language. In this sense, it refers to the institutionalized practice of the seclusion or retreat of Sufi ascetics from life for ‘forty’ days in a cell especially designed for this purpose inside a dervish lodge. The details and particular forms of ascetic practice may vary in different places and in different times, however, the fundamental aim is to gain self-discipline and, ultimately, spiritual enlightenment. Suffering in this sense is internal, purposeful, and even desirable.

The dictionary entry further lists a number of compounds with çile:

(2) a. çile çekmek (çile pull): ‘to undergo a severe trial, suffer an ordeal’
   b. çileden çıkmak (çile leave): ‘to become furious, blow one's stack’
   c. çileye girmek (çile enter): ‘to embark upon a period of suffering, for one's period of suffering to begin’
   d. çile doldurmak (çile fill): ‘to complete a period of suffering’
   e. çilesi dolmak (çile full): ‘for one's period of suffering to end’

In their original Sufi contexts, the compounds above stand for different phases of the ascetic practice. A candidate who proved himself a qualified individual was allowed to ‘enter’ or ‘undergo’ çile (çile çekmek, çileye girmek); those who successfully endured the forty-day practice of seclusion are the ones who fulfilled the requirement (çile doldurmak, çilesi dolmak, çileden çıkmak). In non-spiritual contexts, it is obvious that the ordinary person is not entering a specially designed cell to discipline the body and the soul for forty days.

The concordance data of çile retrieved from the METU Turkish Corpus and the WebCorp indicate that certain aspects of the mystical, religious sense of the term are transferred into everyday use. The location, duration and intensity of the suffering undergone are specified in most of the occurrences of çile:

(3) İstanbullu trafiekte 6 saatte yakın çile çekti.
   ‘People living in İstanbul suffered almost 6 hours in the traffic.’

(4) Şairler, aynınlar çok çile çekti.
   ‘Poets and intellectuals suffered a lot.’
The purpose of undergoing such pain is also stated:

(5) **Güvenliği, huzuru için yıllarca çok çile çekti.**

'She suffered a lot for her safety and peace of mind for years.'

The experiencer of çile should 'bear', 'endure' or 'experience' suffering until it reaches an end. Çekmek 'to suffer', doldurmak 'to complete', katlanmak 'to bear', tahammül etmek 'to endure' are the verbs that co-occur with çile. In this regard, çile differs from a seemingly synonymous lexeme skinti meaning 'distress', 'difficulty', and 'annoyance'. The verbal collocates of skinti 'overcome', 'get out of', 'struggle', or 'eliminate', (examples (6) and (7)), which highlight that the one who experiences difficulty or distress would want to overcome it, are never used with the word çile in Turkish. The acts of the distressed agent experiencing skinti can be oriented towards finding a solution to the situation causing discomfort, unlike those of the agent undergoing çile.

(6) **Bu skintilər aşılır çünkü...**

'These difficulties are overcome because ...'

(7) **Aklma o an gelen fikir beni skintidan kurtardı.**

'The idea that I found instantly saved me from trouble/difficulty.'

Although çile mostly collocates with lexemes, such as acı 'pain', cema 'difficulty', zorluk 'hardship', which describe apparently undesirable and unpleasant situations, speakers of Turkish diverge from this semantic prosody, and they maintain a favourable evaluation of what çile depicts.² It appears that this is informed by the collective cognition or cultural memory shared by speakers of Turkish. When referring to hardships or pains in life, Turkish speakers prefer to use çile instead of any other lexical item that would convey a similar sense. Thus, the speaker establishes some form of resemblance between his or her pains, and the dervish's experiences during seclusion. By using çile, the speaker not only emphasizes the degree and length of a painful experience, but also transforms sufferings into a culturally exalted form. Thus, çile stands out as the most preferred lexeme in expressing almost all forms of painful experiences.

The same official dictionary of the Turkish Language Institute provides the following definition for sabur:

(8) **sabur -bri** (noun) Arabic. 1. The virtue of waiting patiently in silence in the face of states that bring pain, poverty, injustice and the like; a force of resistance. 2. Waiting for things that are likely to happen without displaying any act of impatience.

Sabur is one of the most frequently occurring lexemes in the Koran, meaning 'patience, endurance'. In the entry for sabur in the Encyclopedia of Islam, Wensinck (1995: 685)

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² Editors' note: Semantic prosody is "an aspect of expressive connotation" (Partington 1998: 66). In Louw's terms (1993: 157) "a consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates is referred to... as a semantic prosody."
notes that the significance of the concept cannot be conveyed by a single word in a Western European language. From the Koranic citations and later commentaries of sabur, Wensinck refers to a 13th century interpretation where four basic kinds of sabur are defined: *endurance* in laborious intellectual tasks, *endurance* in completing law-bound operations, *steadfastness* in refraining from forbidden acts, and *resignation* in calamity. The centrality of the concept and its importance for the believer remained the same in the centuries that followed.

As with all other borrowed nominals, sabur is verbalized in Turkish with a light verb etmek 'to do'. The verbal compounds in which sabur is the nominal component include the following:

(9) a. sabr etmek (v): 'to be patient'
    b. sabur vermek (v): 'to give patience'
    c. sabirim yiirmek (v): 'to lose patience'

The derived adjectives include sabr-li 'with, possessing sabur' and sabr-siz 'lacking sabur', without sabur and one of the most frequently occurring nominal compounds is sabur güçü 'the power of patience'.

The container image schema underlies the figurative uses of compounds with çile. With the verbs çıkmak 'leave', girmek 'enter', doldurmak 'complete', çile is conceptualized as a bounded space having an interior, a boundary, and an exterior. A person can encounter pain, distress, and hardship in various stages of life. Suffering begins when a person (in)voluntarily 'enters' (çileye girmek) or encounters any distressing circumstances and suffers patiently and 'completes' (çile doldurmak) the period of suffering in the container. The person experiencing çile may want to leave the container before the painful period ends. The expression çileden çıkmak meaning 'to become furious' describes how the experiencer acts impatiently and loses his or her temper.

The container image schema for çile may co-occur with the force image schema. "Where there is a container there can be forces internal to it", says Johnson (1987: 35). The Turkish compound çile çekmek 'to undergo a severe trial, suffer an ordeal' manifests this force schema. The prototypical meaning of çekmek 'to pull, to draw, to drag' in Turkish illustrates a physical effort to perform an action against a force. When çekmek occurs with çile, it means 'to bear', 'endure', 'put up with', and 'suffer'. All these senses of the compound maintain the psychological or physical pain experienced under an internal or external force. The abstract concept of çile is thus metaphorized as:

ÇILE (SUFFERING) IS A FORCE
ÇILE (SUFFERING) IS A CONTAINER

The force image schema is also at work with sabur. Through the expressions of 'the power of patience' or 'to be patient', 'to resist with patience', sabur is conceptualized as a counter-force against internal or external forces. Thus, the SABIR IS A COUNTERFORCE metaphor captures the force schematic entailments of sabur. Further details of this concept are discussed in the following pages in relation to the moral strength metaphor.
Counterforce schema:

a. sabr etmek (v): ‘to be patient’

b. sabr gücü (n + n compound): ‘power of patience’

Furthermore, a person is ‘with’ (sabr-li) or ‘without patience’ (sabr-siz); sabr can be ‘given’ or it can be ‘lost’. In all these cases, sabr is conceived as a possessed object, or SABIR IS A POSSESSED OBJECT.

Object schema:

a. sabir-li (adj): ‘one with patience’

b. sabir-siz (adj): ‘one without patience’

c. sabir vermek (v): ‘to give patience’.

d. sabirimi yitirmek (v): ‘to lose patience’.

4. Çile and sabr: The targets

A target may be conceptualized via a number of different metaphors from various source domains. In other words, there are different source domains that map onto a single target, simply arising from the fact that our concepts are complicated by various aspects, and each of these aspects calls for a different source in their conceptualization. In the case of complex abstract systems, on the other hand, the opposite may hold: a single source domain may map onto a number of target domains. Kövecses (2000: 80) introduces the notion ‘scope of metaphor’ to account for how many and what kind of target domains a single source concept may apply to: “The scope of metaphor is simply the full range of cases, that is, all the possible target domains, to which a given specific source concept (such as war, building, fire) applies”.

Studies on the scope of metaphor have mostly focused on a particular complex metaphor and explored its source domain’s wide range of applications to different target domains. MacArthur (2005), for instance, has shown that the source of the conceptual metaphor CONTROL OF AN UNPREDICTABLE/UNDESIRABLE FORCE IS A RIDER’S CONTROL OF A HORSE maps onto internal (emotion or thought) or external (events or other people) processes, both in English and Spanish. Deignan (2008) has reanalysed the argument is war metaphor on the basis of central words or phrases from the domain of war. Her concordance data for the nominal attack show that attack is used in five different domains: war, personal violence, sport, illness, and argument. This indicates the wide range applicability of war as a source domain. Similarly, Kövecses (2000) has examined the source domain of building, which is mapped onto several targets such as theories, relationships, career, economic systems, and life. He proposes the complex systems are buildings metaphor as the central mapping emphasized in all these target domains. In a similar vein, Semino (2005) has explored the metaphorical construal of speech activity in English. She shows that a set of source domains motion, physical transfer, physical construction, and physical support,
which each constitutes a particular aspect of speech activity, can also be applied to a
number of different target domains.

The corpus data reveal that çile and sabr as source domains are mapped onto a
range of targets or circumstances. Çile may collocate with a number of different nouns
as in the following examples from the METU Turkish Corpus and the WebCorp:

(12) a. İstanbul'da trafik çilesi  
‘Traffic çile in Istanbul’

b. Eğitimde kayıt paraşı çilesi  
‘Registration fee çile in education’

c. Uçakta rötar çilesi sona eriyor  
‘Delay çile in air travel is about to end’

d. Emeklinin maaş kuyruğu çilesi  
‘A queue çile of senior citizens’

e. Hayatın tüm çilesi omuzlarmda  
‘All çile of life on the shoulders’

f. Aşk çilesini çekten bilir  
‘Only those who suffered know love çile’

These examples show that the çile source domain has as its scope any long-lasting,
unpredictable, (un)desirable pain or distressing situation that the experiencer would
be willing to forbear to attain a goal. The nouns co-occurring with çile depict a number
of situations (traffic, education, transportation, money, and the like) that one encoun-
ters in life. Although the specific targets are different from one another, we think that
these circumstances can be subsumed under the target domain of LIFE, which can then
be summarized as LIFE AS SUFFERING (ÇILE) in Turkish.

Sabr, on the other hand, is used to describe circumstances in LIFE in which one
endures the trials of life with moral strength. An unpleasant or difficult situation
may extend over time and this can be inferred in the noun compounds constructed
with sabr.

(13) a. Ramazan sabr ayı  
‘Ramadan, the month of sabr’

b. Sabr ödüllü  
‘reward of sabr’

c. Demokratik sabr  
‘democratic sabr’

d. Sabr tavsıyesi  
‘advice of sabr’

e. Sabr imtihamı  
‘a trial of sabr’

f. Sabr sınırlı  
‘the limit of sabr’
The 'limit' or 'end' of patience, and the 'month' of patience exemplify this aspect of the concept of sabr. The patience of a person can be tested by various circumstances and events through life ('test' of patience, 'democratic' patience). A person may need advice or guidance to be patient ('advice' of patience) in the face of life's pains and discomforts. If a person acts patiently under severe situations in life, one can be rewarded for being patient ('reward' of patience).

5. **LIFE: A patiently paced painful journey**

Cross-culturally and cross-linguistically, **LIFE** is conceptualized as a purposeful journey deriving from the event structure metaphor, i.e. long-term, purposeful activities are journeys (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). Religious texts interpret the journey metaphor more as a moral journey. For a believer, life is to obey the commandments of God and to follow the ultimate guide who directs one to the true path. In line with Charteris-Black's findings (2004: 208), the journey of a Sufi can also be captured in two metaphors:

**Spiritual life is a journey**

**Spiritual activity is travelling along a path towards a goal**

In a Sufi's journey, çile is a spiritual practice, which carries a Sufi to the ultimate destination: God. A Sufi embarks on this purposeful journey voluntarily. We propose the following set of correspondences for a Sufi's journey of life:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traveller</th>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Obstacles along the way</th>
<th>Distance covered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sufi</td>
<td>Unification with God</td>
<td>Self-discipline though suffering</td>
<td>Progress made in self-denial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Çile here conceptualizes difficulties and pains as something positive and desirable. The more one experiences such hardships, the more one moves towards the ultimate aim of unification with God. Thus, an expression, *Allah çileni artursun* 'May God increase your suffering' is in fact a blessing rather than a curse. Rumi explains the suffering practice of a Sufi:

(Someone asked) "What is Sufism?" the answer was, "To possess joy and ease in the heart at the time of affliction"... Do you know why the Dervishes suffer (practice) afflictions on earth? Because these corporeal sufferings give an everlasting life to the spirit. (Rumi [1983] Mesnevi III/ 3260–3265)

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3. Sufism was mainly represented by the poet Jalal Al-Din Rumi (1207–1273), founder of the Mevlevi order, in thirteenth-century Anatolia.
A Sufi’s pains and afflictions motivate the LIFE AS SUFFERING metaphor in Turkish. In the following conventionalized expressions, LIFE is conceived as a container that is full of çile (examples (14) and (15)), and living is viewed or even equated with a painful experience by Turkish speakers (examples (16) and (17)), as shown in the students’ writing.

(14) Çileli/çile dolu hayat/ömür/yıllar.
    'Life/lifetime/years full of pain and suffering.'

(15) Hayat budur İşte. Acı, dert, çile dolu.
    'Here is life. It is full of pain, grief, and suffering.'

(16) Hayatta çekmediğim çile kalmadı.
    'There is no pain left that I haven’t suffered/undergone in life.'

(17) Hayat bir teselli, acı, ızdırap.
    'Life is consolation, suffering and agony.'

Although the specific types of pain and suffering that an individual goes through may be of various kinds, they are all encapsulated by the super-ordinate term çile. In this way, what is ordinary and may apply to all people becomes sublime and mystical. Consequently, the ordinary person conceives herself/himself as a Sufi who purposefully undergoes pain. However, there is a difference between a Sufi’s and an ordinary person’s experience of suffering. Unlike the voluntary suffering of a Sufi, the ordinary person calls pains çile, but at the same time expresses discomfort, as illustrated in the lines of a very popular song in Turkish:

(18) Bitsin artık bu çile
    Çekemem bile bile.
    Sen ne söylersen söyle
    Bu hayat geçmez böyle.
    'Let this suffering end immediately
    I cannot endure it consciously anymore
    Whatever you said to me
    This life cannot continue like this.'

A life full of suffering and pain requires strength to endure them. In other words, one has to face the consequences of undesirable situations and be able to withstand them. The force one needs is patience, as maintained by one blog writer (example (19)). For a college student, a test of life demands a power of patience (example (20)):

(19) Hayat benim için sabır ve direnişir.
    'For me, life is patience and resistance.'

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‘Life deals a blow to us. It teaches new things in each blow, and it tests what it has taught repeatedly. *Life tests one’s patience and the power of being.*’

These metaphorical expressions show that Turkish speakers conceive LIFE as PATIENCE. As for the metaphorical basis of LIFE AS SUFFERING and LIFE AS PATIENCE metaphors, we also maintain that common sense knowledge of the metaphoric source domains does not arise from “first-hand experience” but it is “the product of cultural mediation” (MacArthur 2005: 89). In Kövecses’ terms (2002: 75), the source acts as the root of the target, and it constitutes the cultural root of the target. In our case, the medieval Anatolian Sufi tradition constitutes the cultural root for the manifestation of these LIFE metaphors in Turkish.

Based on the SUFFERING and PATIENCE metaphors of LIFE, we can ask how Turkish speakers view the modern journey of LIFE. In the idealized cognitive model of a Turkish speaker, a person’s journey in this world is more a predestined journey rather than a purposefully planned one. God determines whatever the person experiences, be it pleasant or unpleasant. The individual has little power to exert over the course of the journey: ‘Whatever happens, one should endure’ or ‘Whatever God does, He does well’ are frequently used expressions that reflect the fatalistic attitude of Turkish speakers towards life. So, as an answer to our question ‘How do you view life?’ one of our students wrote:

Hayat tesadüflere dayanır. İnsanın üzerinde pek kontrolü olmadığı bir kavramdır.

‘Life is totally coincidental and no one can control it.’

The unwanted experiences inflicted upon the person all stem from the divine testing the individual’s faith. A good servant will be rewarded in the afterlife; the physical world is transient and mortal. It has little importance for an ordinary person. This can be seen in the answers of the students to the question, what does life mean to you?

Benim için hayat kavramı fani olmayı ifade ediyor.

‘For me, life means being mortal.’

İnsan hayatı gelip geçici; birgün varsun diğer gün yoksun.

‘Human life is transient. You are alive one day; you are not the next.’

The journey of LIFE will end and those who can endure the trials will reach the ultimate destination, that is, heaven in the afterlife. Sabr ‘patience’ is the force that is required during the journey to keep one on the right track towards the destination. A student wrote the following, which is representative of the general conception of the journey of life in Turkey:

Grady (1999: 91) explicates such cases in terms of the metaphor generic is specific.
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‘Life is a path full of hardships and impediments. You are tested in every minute of life. To me, life is withstanding difficulties, being patient and making the right decisions at the right time.’

Overall, we think that the metaphor LIFE IS A PAINFULLY AND PATIENTLY PACED JOURNEY captures the Turkish speaker’s construal of LIFE. This metaphor also acts as a master metaphor. It entails the essential components, suffering and patience, in the conceptualization of LIFE. This metaphor is characterized by the following mappings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sufferers</th>
<th>People leading a life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heaven in the Afterlife</td>
<td>Purpose of life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulties of trials along the way</td>
<td>Difficulties in life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance covered towards a place in heaven</td>
<td>Progress made in life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. MORAL STRENGTH: All you need

Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 290) argue that “our cognitive unconscious is populated with an extensive system of metaphoric mappings for conceptualizing, reasoning about, and communicating our moral ideas. Virtually all of our abstract moral concepts are structured metaphorically”. In their analysis, morality is construed as human well-being and metaphors conceptualizing abstract moral ideas are grounded “in the nature of our bodies and social interactions”. The source domains for morality, including a list of “elementary aspects of human well-being”, are health, strength, balance, protection, nurturance, and the like.

In the moral metaphor system based on well-being, an increase in well-being is conceptualized as a ‘gain’ and a decrease of well-being as a ‘loss’ or a ‘cost’. Thus, the combination of WELL-BEING IS HEALTH with other metaphors and with various ‘moral accounting schemas’ derives from the Moral Accounting Metaphor (Johnson 1996).

It is possible to find in Turkish the exact counterparts of many of the moral conceptual metaphors identified in English. As in English, conceptual metaphors of morality are grounded in these accounting schemas. This situation is to be expected, as Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 325) predict that moral concepts are grounded in basic experiential morality, and thus they are likely to be “stable across cultures and over large stretches of time”. However, they also indicate that different cultures may emphasize and develop the basic moral metaphors in different ways. In this regard, it is worth noting that potential differences can be expected to arise from the cultural antecedents of the divide between collectivist cultures as opposed to individualistic cultures.

A basic schema of reward and punishment, which uses the metaphor of moral accounting, applies in the complex abstract system of religion. In the context of the
reward-punishment schema, there is a person who has authority over the other and reward is conceptualized as ‘reciprocation’ and punishment as ‘retribution’ by the authority (Lakoff 1996). In the domain of religion, this is illustrated in the Old Testament in the punishment of Adam and Eve by the authority. Metaphorically, eating the fruit is conceptualized as giving in to temptation, a violation of the debt-payment principle.

On the other hand, there is the reward. A wealth of expressions captures rewards by God to those who obey the authority and live a moral life. Reward is commonly for those who are ‘patient’. In the Koran, a very high value is laid upon sabr:

(25) ‘I have rewarded them this day for their patient endurance; they are, indeed, the ones who have achieved bliss’ (23: 112).

The high value of the concept in the Koran is evident from the fact that even the Prophet is warned to be patient:

(26) ‘And, O Prophet, endure thou with patience; and verily thy patience is possible only with the help of Allah’ (16: 128).

Charteris-Black (2004) notes some major differences between the Koran and the Bible. The Koran appears to be a more heavily didactic text than the Bible and hence less dependent on metaphor. It sets a number of guiding principles for acceptable and unacceptable behaviour, and offers instructions for both spiritual and social practices. The faithful must focus more on the life to be followed rather than the one they are living. Very frequently in the text, rewards and punishments are reiterated for those who follow the guidelines and for those who do not. However, as indicated by Charteris-Black, whether the rewards and punishments would be interpreted as metaphoric or just literal descriptions of the afterlife is debatable.

While the Koran itself is less ‘metaphoric’ and more ‘didactic’, the commentaries appearing in the centuries following its compilation brought very different interpretations of the practices cited in the text. In simple terms, the differences of interpretation are most often introduced by a particular cultural conceptualization of the guiding principles as different social groups came to adopt Islam. Originally shamanistic in their Asian homeland, the Turkish tribes’ contact with Islam came through the mediation of Persian culture, which itself imposed its own interpretations on Islamic conceptualizations. The Turkish conceptualization of this new faith has resulted in a number of different mystical interpretations, such as the Mevlevi Order and the Bektashi Order, among many others. This means that the majority of the conceptual metaphors, instantiated in idioms and conventional expressions currently used in the language, are grounded in the specific cultural and historical experiences of the Turkish people. Thus, while the major text of the dominant faith is less metaphorical, the cultural interpretation of the social practices is metaphorical, as the new faith is conceptualized via what is already in the culture.

A number of very commonly occurring conventional expressions (Aksoy 1971, Pala 2000) mention the rewards waiting for those who are patient or act patiently:
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(27) *Allah sabırlı kulunu sever.*

'God loves his patient servant.'

(28) *Sabır acıdır, meyvesi tatlıdır.*

'Patience is bitter, but its fruit is sweet.'

(29) *Sabırla koruk helva olur, dut yaprığı atlas.*

'With patience sour grapes turn into sweetmeat, mulberry leaves into satin.'

(30) *Sabreden derviş, muradına ermiş.*

'A dervish that can stay obtains.'

(31) *Sabreyle işine, hayır gelsin başına.*

'Do your works in patience, a reward will come to you.'

(32) *Sabrın sonu selamettir.*

'Patience leads to salvation.'

The ultimate moral authority in monotheistic religions is God. In the reward-punishment schema (reciprocation-retribution), the authority will decide who is to be punished and who is to be rewarded. A moral life is the one in which one obeys God’s commandments and follows His will. This sounds simple but is hard to accomplish for a ‘weak’ creature like a human being. There is the devil, who constantly tries to move humans away from the path of God. Furthermore, there are also ‘temptations of the flesh.’ One needs moral strength to face these relentless assaults and, in this view, moral strength is not something that humans possess by birth but have to build up through hard work.

Reward comes to those who act with *sabır* or possess enough *sabır* to obey God’s commandment and pursue the path of God patiently. The intricate relationship between *sabır* and *çile* becomes more evident in the conceptualization of moral strength. Simply put, moral strength is *sabır*, and the process of building of moral strength is possible only through experiences of *çile*.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1999), strength of will is an essential condition for moral action. Moral strength lies at the very centre of the moral system and relates not only to strength in maintaining an upright and balanced moral posture, but also to strength required in resisting and overcoming the forces of evil. As suggested in the folk conceptualization, “No pain, no gain”, moral strength is also built up through self-discipline and self-denial. This is exactly what the *çile* practice of the Sufi was designed to achieve. The seclusion, retreat, pains, and sufferings one has to endure in order to muster enough moral strength are conceptualized as achievements rather than punishment.

The correspondences of the moral strength metaphor are thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MORAL STRENGTH IS SABIR</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Being Patient</td>
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<tr>
<td>Being Impatient</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forces of Trial</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moral Virtue (<em>Sabır</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Moral strength is conceptualized as sabr. Here, sabr is the strength that a believer should possess to withstand both external and internal destabilizing forces, as advised by the Koran:

(33) “O my dear son, observe Prayer and enjoin good and forbid evil and endure patiently whatever may befall thee. Surely, this is of those matters which require high resolve”.
(34) “And for the sake of thy Lord do thou endure trials patiently”.
(35) “So be patient with admirable patience”.
(36) “...and who patiently endure whatever befalls them, and who observe Prayer and spend out of what we have bestowed upon them”.

Enduring patiently the forces of external and internal evil, a faithful follower who resists these forces occasionally demands support from God when he feels weak:

(37) Tanrı'ya sabr gücünü ver.
   'My God, bestow upon me the power of endurance.'
(38) Tanrı'ya dayanma gücünü ver.
   'My God, bestow upon me power of resistance.'

When he is out of sabr, he demands it:

(39) Tanrı'ya sabr ver.
   'My God, provide me power of endurance.'

Resisting the forces of evil is possible with sabr:

(40) Sabırla direndi.
   'He resisted with patience.'
(41) Sabırla katlandı.
   'He bowed with patience.'
(42) Sabretti.
   'He remained patient.'

However, in the Turkish cultural model, the destabilizing force may not necessarily be evil. The forces exerted on a person may come from God. Since the simple purpose of this life is a trial and the trial may come in the form of hardships and difficulties, conceptualized as çile, sabr is needed by the believer to endure trials. No individual has been as tested to the extreme as Job was. Job knew that the source of his ordeal was the will of God and he waited patiently. As an example to be followed, Job and other divine personae occur in conventionalized expressions in Turkish:

(43) Eyyüp sabrı
   'The patience of Job'
(44) Peygamber sabrı
   'The patience of the Prophet'
Pained by loss of his sons, Job maintains his moral posture and patiently accepts his trials. One very common expression of condolence in Turkish is:

(46) *Allah kalanlara sabr versin.*

'May God give *patience* to the survivors.'

7. **LESS STRENGTH, MORE EMOTION**

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) argue that much of the moral strength metaphor has to do with internal evils. A person should strengthen his willpower to resist the demands of internal evils. One should have full control over the self, and thus one would need enough power to control the body, which is conceptualized as the seat of passion and desire. In this context, *ANGER* is conceptualized as one of those internal evils since it threatens one's self-control.

Applying force dynamics to morality, Kövecses (2006) identifies two forces: evil as a physical force acting on a person, and moral strength resisting the force of evil. In the source domain, there is a physical force with a tendency for action to produce an effect, and there is the human body with a force towards inaction, towards remaining as before. In the domain of morality, these two forces (internal or external evil and the self) interact: the evil forces the self into action and the self tends to resist and maintain control. The self undergoes a change in emotion although the self withstands a change in morality. Thus, less moral strength is giving in to evil.

In a comparative study on conceptual metaphors in English and Spanish, Soriano (2003: 304) refers to a special case of opponent/controller metaphor, namely *ANGER IS DEVIL*. A special type of possession metaphor, *DIABOLIC POSSESSION* is productive in Spanish. Turkish is equally rich in such fully conventionalized anger metaphors, where giving into evil forces (opponent/controller or social superior) is explicitly expressed in expressions like the following:

(47) *Cinlenmek/cini tutmak*

'To behave like demons'

(48) *Cin ifrit olmak*

'To become like a *demon*'

(ifrit: a malicious demon in Middle Eastern mythology)

(49) *Cinleri ayağa kalkmak*

'His demons all stood up.'

(50) *Cinleri başına toplanmak/üşüşmek*

'Demons gathering on one's top'
In Turkish conceptual metaphors, when one is possessed by the demons, the emphasis is more on the intensity of anger, with no implication of other evil forces. Possessed by demons, one is very angry and under the control of Satan, even losing faith:

(51) *Dinden imandan çıkmak*
   'With no faith'
(52) *Sen şeytana uyma!*
   'Don’t obey Satan!'

A number of the principal metaphors of anger in Turkish conceptualize the emotion via loss of self-control and loss of possession. In this context, the possessed item, which is lost, is *sabır* and consequently one is out of *çiile*:

(53) a. *Çileden çıkım.*
    'I was furious:'
   b. *Beni çileden çıkardı.*
    'He made me furious.'
(54) a. *Sabırı taştı.*
    'I was out of patience.'
 b. *Sabırı taşırды.*
   'He made me very angry.'

*Çile* and *sabır* here both express loss of control and, more specifically, conceptualize an emotional state. It is possible for both expressions to conceptualize another emotion, although in the majority of cases the emotion is anger.

Within the confines of the Dervish lodge, leaving the cell before finishing the institutionally dictated duration (i.e. 40 days), and the act of ending the process as such, is called *çiile kırmak*, literally, 'breaking the *çiile*. This is generally a disgrace for those who end the process and they are required to start it all over again. Outside the domain of the Sufi, the disgraceful act of leaving the cell (i.e. not patiently enduring the hardships in an exercise of self-discipline) is carried over to ordinary life. Here, lack of moral strength results in giving in to the forces of (internal or external) evil. The causative form above (53 b), *çiileden çıkar*, implies an external evil, while *çiileden çıkım* (53 a) relates more to an internal evil.

In a very common metaphorical expression in Turkish, where the anger is a liquid, the container is a *pithos*, a huge earthen pot used to store fluids, wine, vinegar, etc. (Aksan 2006). *Sabır* is associated with anger in at least two other forms of container: *sabır küpü* 'a jar of patience' and *sabır taşı* 'a stone of patience', or in one variety, *sabır çanıg* 'a bowl of patience'. The content in all cases is fluid, in compliance with general as well as culture specific conceptualizations:

(55) *Hepimiz sabır küpü olduk.*
   'We all became patience jars.'
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(56) \textit{Sabır taşı çatıd}.  
‘The patience stone cracked open [i.e., fluid started to leak out].’

(57) \textit{Sabır çanaği taşmış}.  
‘Her bowl of patience has overflowed.’

In these metaphorical expressions, the person is understood to be under pressure from offending events and is enduring patiently. ‘Full to the brim,’ in the Turkish case, is where the liquid eventually overflows. It is understood that there is no single offending event but many, and that these have been going on for some considerable time. The cultural code advises the person to \textit{endure patiently} up to the very last possible moment. The final event or confrontation adds the very last drop. Given that the volume of a drop is a tiny amount compared to the rest of the liquid in the container collected over time, we understand that the person has been suffering internally with each drop of fluid added to the container.

Following Lakoff and Johnson (1999), in the Turkish cultural model, the physical object self is understood as the controller of Container:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{The physical object self is control of a container}
  \item A Person \rightarrow The Subject
  \item A Container (Pithos, Stone, Bowl) \rightarrow The Self
  \item Control of Container (Pithos, Stone, Bowl) \rightarrow Control of Self by Subject
  \item Noncontrol of Container (Pithos, Stone, Bowl) \rightarrow Noncontrol of Self by Subject
\end{itemize}

The loss of a once possessed object in an anger context is again construed via \textit{Sabır}:

(58) \textit{Sabırı yitirdım}.  
‘I have lost my patience.’

(59) \textit{Sonunda sabırı tükenirdi}.  
‘In the end, my patience exhausted.’

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{Self control is Sabır possession}
  \item A Person \rightarrow The Subject
  \item A Physical Object \rightarrow The Self
  \item Sabır (patience) Possession \rightarrow Control of Self by Subject
  \item Loss of Sabır (patience) \rightarrow Noncontrol of Self by Subject
\end{itemize}

Experiencing a romantic relationship is also viewed as suffering in Turkish. Turkish speakers see \textit{love} as a compelling force, whose intensity is measured by the amount of pain it inflicts on the lover. In an article on love metaphors in Turkish and English, Aksan and Kantar (2008) demonstrate that the Turkish subject prefers not to resist the physically and psychologically distressing force of love and accepts it as a natural part of experiencing a romantic relationship. In the same study, a corpus of Turkish love metaphors consisting of 920 metaphoric expressions was compiled. Among these metaphorical expressions, the source domain of pain/suffering dominated the database.
with 148 samples. Expressions like çile çekmek ‘to suffer greatly’, dert/izdırıp çekmek ‘to worry, to feel sorrow’, perişan olmak ‘to become miserable’, or kan ağlamak ‘to shed bitter tears’ are typical in the Turkish conceptualization of love:

(60) Aşk yaşayanların çilesi.
‘Love is the suffering/pain of people living on this earth.’

(61) Aşk acının sana zevk vermesidir.
‘Love is taking pleasure in pain.’

(62) Aşk öyle bir acıdırdı ki dert sahibi arzu eder.
‘Love is such a severe pain that one who suffers desires more of it.’

The model of divine love in the Anatolian Sufi tradition acts as a model for romantic love. Parallel to a Sufi’s experiences of pain and suffering to reach divine love, the Turkish lover is willing to undergo emotional pain and long-lasting suffering to reach the beloved. In other words, love in Turkish culture is conceived as something unattainable and painful, yet pleasant. Most metaphors of divine love used in Sufi poetry also appear in contemporary data to refer to romantic love. For instance, a recent popular love song titled Çile portrays love and life through the suffering metaphor:

(63) Bilemem başı sonu nerede  
Akarım nehir gibi yine de  
Yaşamak inadına ve ille de  
Cana vivrunca  
Çile  
Tutamam yeri toz tanesiyim  
Bir garip dünya biçaresiyim  
Bir kulun deli divanesiyim  
Aşka gelince  
Çile  
Ne rahat bir soluk aldım  
Ne huzur buldum  
Yine de sevdim bu acı dünyayı  
Gitmedim, durdum  
Çile  
‘I know not where it starts and where it ends  
I still keep flowing like a river  
Being alive despite and in spite of everything  
When it hits you to the core of life  
Çile (Suffering)  
I cannot settle on the ground, I am a speck of dust  
I am homeless and left destitute by this world  
I am a lunatic, crazed for a man  
When I am in love
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\[
\text{\c{c}ile (Suffering)}
\]

I never took a sigh of relief
Nor did I find peace here
But I still love this bitter world
I never left this place, I stayed here
\text{\c{c}ile' (Suffering)} (Aksu 2005)

We should note that suffering for love is included in the “nonprototypical love model” (Kövecses 1988: 74–75) in English. Unrequited love or partially returned love causes suffering, an unpleasant experience that is expressed through the \text{LOVE IS A DISEASE} metaphor in English: for example, “I suffer terribly from unrequited love” or “She was sick with love” (Kövecses 1988). On the other hand, suffering is an essential component of the prototypical love model identified in a love story of Arabic origin, Laila and Majnun in Turkish. The two lovers in this story cannot unite because their families do not approve of their relationship. As a result, Majnun suffers deeply and becomes insane. He wanders aimlessly in a desert and reaches divine love through earthly love.

As has been shown, the culturally salient, complex abstract concepts of \text{\c{c}ile and sabur} structure equally complex target domains of \text{LIFE, MORALITY, and EMOTION}. They interact with each other in complicated ways and this interaction results in an intricate web of metaphorical entailments. The resulting metaphors can be summarized as in Figure 1.

8. Conclusion

In complex abstract systems, a single source domain may map onto various target domains. Abstract concepts from the spiritual domain have existed in the cultural subconscious of people for many centuries and have a lasting impact on conceptual metaphors. The philosophical, spiritual, and practical aspects of the \text{Anatolian Sufi tradition}, as we have argued in this chapter, helped shape metaphorical schemas of thinking about \text{LIFE, MORALITY, and EMOTION} in Turkish.

Both \text{\c{c}ile ‘suffering’ and sabur ‘patience’} originate in religious contexts and are borrowed into Turkish with religious overtones. They have eventually replaced their native counterparts and, as they became more deeply entrenched in the culture, they came to conflate a number of other closely related concepts. As indicated in this study, these concepts are still very active, and are in use in constructing metaphorical expressions. The spread of these entrenched metaphors can be found in the corpus data and are linguistically manifested in young Turkish students’ portrayals of life.
To Live Morally

MORAL STRENGTH IS SABIR (PATIENCE)

Less Moral Strength

EMOTION

EMOTION IS LOSS OF SELF CONTROL
ANGER IS AN OVERFLOW OF SABIR (PATIENCE)

LOVE IS ÇILE ÇEKMEK

THE SELF

Self-Control
Self-Discipline
Self-Denial

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