

## The effect of the changing society on the Turkish proverbs

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### Abstract

Proverbs, the product of oral literature, establish strong links between past and future, ensuring the continuity of culture. However, changes in societies have caused a contradiction between the daily culture and traditional proverbs; therefore, proverbs go through a process of transformation, mostly in a humorous way. Individuals who do not find the appropriate proverbs for the new experiences have adapted the existing proverbs to the new life by changing the content and wisdom of proverbs through addicting, replacing or distracting the lexis. In other words, the transformed proverbs, which are then called as anti-proverbs, are created by changing the meaning and the structure of traditional proverbs in order to express new wisdom and innovations or to draw attention to the old and new. The development of technology, the increase within using social media, the exchange of traditional values in society, the rise of notions such as individualism, self-interest and the economic problems are some of the factors that play a significant role in the changing of proverbs. In this study, 1368 anti-proverbs collected from various sources such as books, newspapers, advertisement, television, social media, songs have been evaluated; however, 39 anti-proverbs derived from 28 proverbs have been analyzed based on each factor indicated in the study. The Turkish anti-proverbs reveal that there have been changes in the value of some notions such as knowledge, intellectuality, the sense of belonging, honesty, kindness and facts such as the increase in the events of violence, financial problems, the power and effect of social media, which have an immediate effect on the mentality and behavioral ethics of Turkish society.

**Key words:** Anti-proverb, proverb, culture, change, Turkish society.

## Değişen toplumun Türk atasözlerine etkisi

### Öz

Sözlü edebiyat ürünü olan atasözleri geçmiş ve gelecek arasında güçlü bağlantılar kurarak kültürün devamlılığını sağlar. Ancak, toplumsal yapıdaki değişiklikler, geleneksel atasözleri ve yaşanmakta olan kültür arasında bir tezat oluşturmakta ve bireylerin atasözlerini, çoğu zaman hicivli bir üslupla, dönüştürmelerine neden olmaktadır. Yaşanan yeni tecrübelerin geleneksel atasözlerinde karşılığını bulamayan bireyler, yeni atasözleri üretmek yerine bu değişmez yapıları kelime ekleme, değiştirme veya çıkarma yoluyla atasözlerinin anlamını ve mesajını değiştirerek yeni hayata adapte etmektedirler. Bir başka deyişle, anti-atasözü adı verilen atasözlerinin değiştirilmiş bu biçimleri, değişen fikir veya yenilikleri ifade etmek veya eski ve yeni arasındaki farklılığa dikkat çekmek için geleneksel atasözlerinin anlamı ve yapısı değiştirilerek oluşturulurlar. Teknolojinin hızla ilerlemesi, sosyal medya kullanımının artması, geleneksel değerlerin değişimi, bireyciliğin öne çıkması, kişisel çıkarların gözetilmesi ve ekonomik problemler atasözlerinin değişiminde önemli rol oynayan

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faktörlerden bazılarıdır. Bu çalışmada, kitap, gazete, reklam, televizyon, sosyal medya, şarkı gibi çeşitli kaynaklardan alınan 1368 anti-atasözü değerlendirilmiş fakat belirlenen faktörlere dayanılarak 28 atasözünden türeyen 39 anti-atasözü makalede analiz edilmiştir. İnceleme sonucu göstermiştir ki; bilgili olmak; çalışkan olmak; aidiyet duygusu; dürüstlük, yardımseverlik gibi kavramların yanı sıra şiddet olaylarının artması; ekonomik problemler, sağlık sorunlarının artması, sosyal medyanın gücü ve etkisinin artması gibi Türk toplumunun düşünce ve davranış yapısına doğrudan etki eden olgularda değişimler yaşanmaktadır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Anti-atasözü, atasözü, kültür, değişim, Türk toplumu.

## Introduction

Proverbs have been guiding the traditions, culture, habits and social acceptance of society for centuries, demonstrating what is accepted and approved in that society and what is wrong and what is forbidden. Proverbs have a significant influence on the society because they are the products of memories, experiences, and beliefs of societies, also manifest the wisdom and spirit of the people (Mieder, 2004; Syzdykov, 2014). According to Aksoy (1988:15) proverbs express the prevailing thought, mischief, and attitude of the nation; they guide us. Onan (2011) acknowledges that "proverbs are literary products that reflect the way a nation perceives the world." In this regard, proverbs are accepted as an essential cultural bearer thanks to reflecting the moral and material culture, life experiences and cultural accumulation.

According to Syzdykov (2014), the primary purpose of proverbs is to give people's assessment of the objective reality of phenomena as an expression of the world. So what happens when the existing proverbs do not meet expectations of the recent experiences, realities, and values which have dramatically changed over the last two decades? Then individuals apply proverbs differently: by transforming, twisting, modifying –known as anti-proverbs- coined by Mieder in 1982 who defines as "deliberate proverb innovations (alterations, parodies, transformations, variations, wisecracks, fractured proverbs)" (Litovkina & Mieder, 2006:5). Ivanova (2015) has proposed the following statement for the nature of anti-proverb: "Anti-proverbs form an anti-proverbial picture of the world similar to proverbs forming the proverbial picture of the world." Besides, according to Ivanova (2015), this anti-proverbial picture consists of a more modern mentality and a more modern view of environs compared to the proverbial picture of the world. Anti-proverbs exist in all societies, and scholars have studied the anti-proverbs from different perspectives such as semantic, syntactic and stylistic peculiarities. Moreover, anti-proverbs have been analyzed on a cultural basis as well (Shavladze & Makharadze, 2017).

The anti-proverbial understanding of the world from a Turkish perspective can be explained by the reality that Turkey is an emerging society regarding its economy and development occurring over the last 25 years. Therefore, it is reflected in how traditional proverbs have become anti-proverbs because of the rapid movement from an agrarian society into a highly developed urban society throughout Turkey. The poorest rural areas have people of all ages using mobile phones and their computers, so much so that, rapid urbanization of Turkish society instead of sitting and drinking tea in tea house, they are sitting on their computers connecting to the rest of the world. Moreover, the change of the value of some notions such as knowledge, intellectuality, the sense of belonging, honesty; the increase in the events of violence; financial problems, the power, and effect of social media have altered the perceptions and value system of Turkish society. Accordingly, people transform and adapt the proverbs to new

perceptions. In her work, Seçkin (2017) notes that the consumption-oriented perception of life and lifestyle based on pragmatist philosophy have changed the proverbs. As for a concrete example, a user in the website (Uludag sozluk, 2015) clearly states it "Bir çok atasözü bugün artık haklılığını yitirmistir, yeni atasözlerine ihtiyacımız var" meaning "Many traditional Turkish proverbs have lost their relevance today, we need new proverbs."

Therefore, the essential aim of this article is to investigate the status of traditional proverbs following the financial, social or cultural changes experienced by Turkish people. The proverbs regarding their transformation have been studied by some Turkish scholars (Buğra, 2005; Bekiroğlu, 2014; Özezen, 2016; Gürçayır, 2008; Seçkin, 2017; Onan, 2011), however the studies are written in the Turkish language which is a restriction in terms of introducing the Turkish anti-proverbs to the world of Paremiology. Though, a study on Turkish anti-proverbs "Anti-proverb as a type of intertextual joke" has been conducted in the English language and investigated them from the intertextual perspective (Usta Tuzcu, 2018). Considering the semantic and structural changes in the traditional proverbs; this study has attempted to find out the changes occurring in the Turkish society; how the proverbs have been affected from these cultural changes, and why individuals transform the proverbs. In this sense, this paper looks at the financial, social and cultural aspects of the changes that have occurred, and continue to occur in traditional Turkish proverbs and the resulting anti-proverbs from the cultural perspective.

## Methodology

This study focuses on the Turkish anti-proverbs from social transformation perspective. All the materials or examples used in this study have been obtained from various sources such as books, newspapers, advertisement, television, social media, songs. Though, there is just no guarantee that any of the URLs [uniform resource locators] listed at the end of this study will still exist by the time this article appears, since their existence may well be short term. The examples have been selected from 1368 anti-proverbs which have been derived from 423 traditional proverbs; however, 39 anti-proverbs derived from 28 proverbs have been analyzed and used in the study. In order to ensure that anti-proverbs are derived from traditional proverbs; the website of the Turkish Language Institution - the online dictionary of Turkish Proverbs and Idioms- (Türk dil kurumu, 2019) has been applied.

Moreover, as for the meaning of the traditional proverbs, the significant works of the Turkish scholars (Dağpınar, 1994; Dağpınar, 2017; Özdemir, 1981; Yurtbaşı, 1993; Yurtbaşı, 2007) have been utilized. The number of examples has been limited due to the restricted pages of the article; therefore, the examples have been chosen based on the changes in the various fields of life. The Turkish anti-proverbs and traditional proverbs have been indicated in *italic*, and the literal English translations have been put in 'quotes' and followed in order to make sure that any non-native readers of Turkish are able to understand the semantic and structural change between the traditional and anti-proverbs.

## Examples

In today's world, not knowing something or answering 'I do not know' is frequently regarded as a deficiency. Individuals act as if they know everything (Firat, 2008). An irrelevant answer in the society is preferred rather than the answer 'I do not know,' which is reflected in this anti-proverb as such *Bilmemek ayıp değil, Yeter ki çaktırma*. 'There is no shame in not knowing as long as you do not reveal that you do not know' derived from *Bilmemek ayıp değil, öğrenmemek ayıptır* 'There is no shame in not knowing; the shame lies in not finding out.' The proverb says a man cannot know everything, but he

can ask and learn. Another anti-proverb indicating this situation is *Bilmemek ayıp değil, önemli olan çaktırmamak*. 'Not knowing is not a shame; the important thing is not to show that you do not know.'

Moreover, the perception that knowledge and ability are not so essential in modern life, plus, being affluent is more significant than being intellectual is also reflected as follows: *Çok okuyan bilmez, çok kazanan bilir* 'The one reads a lot doesn't know a lot, the one who earns a lot knows' which is derived from *Çok okuyan değil, çok gezen bilir* 'Not he who reads more knows, but he who travels much knows.' In the proverb, it is said that who travels a lot knows much more than who reads a great deal. So, knowledge is measured by traveling. However, the anti-proverb says the more someone earns, the more someone knows. So, no matter how much someone travels, reads or lives; rich people know much more.

In the past, individuals mostly preferred to live where they were born, where their families live, even, they were living in the same house with their parents after they married. However, nowadays in the modern world, many individuals prefer to live in places where they profit from. The proverb *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "ah vatanım" demiş* 'They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "ah country"' conveys the idea that The 'nightingale' metaphorically refers to the human soul, and the 'golden cage' refers to wealth and money. In the variants of the proverb such as *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar, "Oh ne rahat" demiş* 'They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "so comfortable"'; *Bülbülü altın kafese koymuşlar. "24 ayar olsun" demiş* 'They put the nightingale into a golden cage, said "let it be 24 carats"'. As it is evident in the anti-proverbs, in Turkish society, it is not essential to living nearby home if the conditions are luxuries and comfortable enough. Moreover, the proverb emphasizes the moral values such as home, the sense of belonging; while the anti-proverb highlights the material elements such as money, golden, gemstone.

Another example that demonstrates a similar situation is *Ucuz etin yahnisi sürümden kazandırır!* 'Stew from cheap meat gains from demand' which has been derived from the proverb *Ucuz etin yahnisi yavan olur* 'Cheap meat yields dilute soup.' In these anti-proverbs, it is advisable that individuals should benefit from every situation even when it is the trick to sell a crow as a turkey. Moreover, it is apparent that instead of being thrifty and not consuming everything at once, everything has been seen as a thing that can be sold or bought (Seçkin, 2017). So, the anti-proverb conveys an encouraging message of being tricky and a liar who does not care about the relationship with others, and the value is to earn money — other anti-proverbs *Sakla samanı, inekler aç kalsın* 'Save the straw and let the cows be hungry'; *Sakla samanı bulamasınlar* 'Save the straw so that they don't find it' which are derived from *Sakla samanı, gelir zamanı* 'Save the straw, you will use it in due time' are also anti-proverbs in order to reflect the evil people who wish others to be in trouble or difficulty. Taking the first part of the traditional proverb literally, 'saving the straw' is not saved for needy times but leaving the cow without food or not let others find it as it is indicated in the anti-proverbs.

The Turkish society forces individuals to lie in order to become successful, to rid themselves of troubles, for self-interest and so on. *Eğri otur, doğru konuş* the proverb says 'sit slouching, speak truly,' and figuratively says 'the way of your behaving, sitting, the dressing is not the business of others but no matter what, you are supposed to speak truly' (Aksoy, 1988). However, the anti-proverb *Doğru konuşmuyor ama hep eğri oturduğu için kafam karışıyor* 'S/he is not speaking truly, but I am confused because s/he sits slouching all the time'. This anti-proverb is different in a way; contrary to the other anti-proverbs, this one shows that there is a strong belief in traditional proverbs. On the other hand, another anti-proverb *Eğri oturalım, belimiz ağrısın* 'sit slouching, suffer from low back pain' ignores the part of 'speaking truly' and demonstrates the attitude of the society towards it. In addition, *Hayata*

*düşen yalana sarılır* (Demirci, 2004:1) 'The person who falls into the life embraces lies' derived from *Denize düşen yalana sarılır* 'A drowning man will clutch at a straw' is an anti-proverb that conveys the message that individuals embrace lies when they are born.

Being overweight is one of the most common problems people are facing right now. The way of shopping and cooking has altered due to attitudes towards food. In the past, it was typical for a family to have their meals at the same time every day, so the disciplined approach helped to keep people slimmer and healthier (Petty, 2017). In the modern day, due to several reasons such as limited time, laziness, skipping breakfast, snacking, several cups of coffee, buying expensive but unhealthy food, dining out at restaurants whose menus are full of fatty foods and oversized portions replaced the regular eating rule. All these changes caused people to gain weight, which is problematic as to how people want to see themselves in the mirror. The anti-proverbs illustrate the popular movement of 'diet.': *Sakla samanı inekler rejim yapsın* 'Save the straw, let the cows go on a diet' derived from *Sakla samanı, gelir zamanı* 'Save the straw, you will use it in due time' and *Besle kargayı şişmanlasın, sonra da rejime sokarsın* 'Let the crow be fat, then put it in the regime' derived from *Besle kargayı oysun gözünü* 'Feed the crow, and it will peck out your eyes'.

As it is understood from some Turkish anti-proverbs, the perception of aesthetics among Turkish people is still dominant in social life: *İnsan insanın imajmaker'idir!* 'The human is human's image maker' derived from *İnsan İnsanın şeytanıdır* 'The human is human's demon.' The attitude of the society towards beauty has been reflected in the following anti-proverb in a kind of humorous way: *Deveye demişler boynun eğri deve demiş* "I am tired of society's unrealistic beauty standards" "They told the camel that his neck was crooked, and he answered, "I am tired of the society's unrealistic beauty standards" derived from *Deveye "boynun eğri" demişler, "nerem doğru ki" demiş* "They told the camel that his neck was crooked, and he answered, "Is there any part of me that's straight." This anti-proverb is also interesting in a way that it continues in English language and points to another situation in Turkish society that Turkish people have used English words while speaking Turkish also creating anti-proverbs: *Her **error**da bir getlasterror vardır* 'There is getlasterror in every **error**' derived from *Her işte bir hayır vardır* 'There is benefit in every happening'; *Fazla **comment** göz çıkarmaz* 'Surplus **comment** does not pull the eyes out' derived from *Fazla mal göz çıkarmaz* 'Surplus property does not pull the eyes out'. In these examples, the English words used in Turkish sentences have been indicated in **bold** text in order to illustrate for non-native Turkish speakers.

Another change that can be observed in Turkish society, and has been reflected in the anti-proverbs is the tendency towards violence. Factors such as social pressure, marginalization, lack of education, sociocultural position, financial problems, stress, migration, and urbanization provoke people towards violence (Kılınç & Tuncer, 2016). Some of the examples are *Gülme komşuna dayak yersin* 'Don't laugh at your neighbor, you will be beaten' derived from *Gülme komşuna, gelir başına* 'Who laughs at other people's misfortunes may soon meet the same fate'; *Anasına bak, babasından dayak ye* 'Look at his mother, get beaten by his father' derived from *Anasına bak kızını al* 'Look at the mother, Marry the daughter'.

Modern Turkish families have been portrayed as emotionally interdependent, and it is suggested that the new child-rearing practices will produce an "autonomous-relational" rather than an independent or interdependent self in the child (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996: 89). This is reflected in the anti-proverb *Kızını dövmeyen, torununu erken sever* 'He who does not beat his daughter will love their grandchild earlier than expected' derived from *Kızını dövmeyen dizini döver* 'He who does not beat his daughter will beat

his knees.' According to the proverb, parents should educate their daughters; otherwise, the children will make mistakes that disappoint the parents, which is indicated in the second part of the proverb. However, the anti-proverb does not include any sorrow or regret which reflects one of the changes within the society concerning the education and relationships in the family.

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

The desire for consumption is also a remarkable fact in the changing society of Turkey, which is based on the sense of belonging in society – in other words, keeping up with fashion, using English words when speaking Turkish, buying expensive technological products when unable to afford them, sharing the best photos, tagging himself/herself in favorite places and so on are all based on the desire of belonging to a particular group in society. *Ak akçe her gün içindir* 'White akcha (Money, coins) for every day' derived from *Ak akçe kara gün içindir* 'White akcha (Money, coins) for a black (bad) day' The anti-proverb is a reflection of the rising consumerism in Turkish society, such as cars, property and foreign holidays. Therefore, the change in society illustrates that saving money does not mean much; money is valuable and meaningful when spent and consumed (Seçkin, 2017).

Furthermore, moral values such as social unity, sharing, association, solidarity give place to materials such as property and goods. For example, the proverb *Ev alma, komşu al* 'Do not buy a house, take for yourself a neighbor,' suggests that people should be more judicious in the choice of neighbors than of a house because one's neighbors matter more than one's house. However, the anti-proverb *Ev alma, evi olan kız al* 'Do not buy a house, marry a woman who has a house' indicates that, the notion of 'society' has been replaced by 'property.' Individualism is another point that should be taken into consideration in the new paremiological structure since being married to a woman is supposed to refer to the notions such as love, faithfulness, and commitment. However, in the anti-proverb, it is conveyed that a woman who has a house is the correct choice to marry. A further point to be discussed in this anti-proverb is the laziness and the free-riding situation. The first part "do not buy a house" refers to the attitude that buying a house requires working hard and accumulating a considerable amount of money in Turkey. Therefore, getting married to a woman who has a house seems an effortless way to own a house.

In Turkey, the unemployment rate is at 10.08% according to the Turkish Statistical Institute, 2018 (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, 2019). Many factors should be taken into consideration when the unemployment is evaluated, but the laziness of people is also an essential contribution to the results. According to Alper (2017), unemployment is not only due to the lack of jobs. The laziness of the new generation, unhappiness or desk work requests also have an impact on the unemployment figures. Laziness has been demonstrated in the anti-proverbs as *Az iş, çok laf* 'Less work, more words' derived

from *Az laf, çok iş* 'Less words more work'; *Yenilen pehlivan güneşe doymaz* 'The beaten wrestler is never satisfied with the sun' the derived from *Yenilen pehlivan güreşe doymaz* 'The beaten wrestler is never satisfied with wrestling', which refers to the people who give up working and prefer to rest when they fail at work instead of working hard.

Unemployment and laziness lead the way for people to gamble. Unfortunately, gambling is also an increasing habit in Turkey, which can be seen in the anti-proverbs as such: *Ak akçe kumar içindir* 'White akcha (Money, coins) for gambling' derived from *Ak akçe kara gün içindir* 'White akcha (Money, coins) for a black (bad) day'; *Kumarda kaybeden, evine don gömlek gider* 'The one who loses at gambling turns back home with his underwear' derived from *Kumarda kaybeden aşka kazanır* 'The one who loses at gambling wins in love'.

Turkey has in recent years been experiencing economic difficulties (Focus economics, 2019), which are reflected in the anti-proverbs. *Sakla samanı gelir zam anı* 'Save the straw, raise time will come' derived from *Sakla samanı, gelir zamanı* 'Save the straw, you will use it in due time' illustrates the economic crisis in society regarding price rises. Reproducing the anti-proverb has been carried out by dividing the last word into two parts, each of which is a unique word- zam (increase) anı (time). The proverb *Ekmek aslanın ağzında* 'The bread is in the lion's mouth' metaphorically says earning money and finding a job in order to afford things is very difficult, and literally, Aslan (lion) is a dangerous animal in order to approach and take the bread from it. However, the anti-proverb *Eskiden ekmek aslanın ağzındaydı. Şimdi aslan da aç* 'The bread used to be in the lion's mouth. Now the lion is hungry, too.' means in the past one could afford things if s/he works in a job, however, today it has become much more difficult to make one's living even if s/he works, indicating the financial difficulties of Turkish society.

The traditional proverbs emphasize the importance of concise sayings in society. In other words, silence and less speaking are more acceptable than speaking. According to Hofstede's model (Hofstede, 2011), members of individualist cultures prefer predominantly verbal communication and express their feelings verbally. Conversely, oral communication in collectivist cultures is often supported and reinforced by nonverbal elements. In some cases, it is preferable to be silent instead of taking oral action. *Tath söz yulana vız gelir* 'A kind word is a matter of indifference for a snake' derived from *Tath dil yılanı deliğinden çıkarır* 'A kind word will be able to take the snake out of his hole'; *Söz gümüşse, sözlüğü olan köşeyi döner* 'If a word is a silver, the person having a dictionary becomes rich' derived from *Söz gümüşse, sükut altındır* 'Speech is silver, but silence is golden'. From the anti-proverbs, it can be said that Turkish society has turned from a collectivist into an individualist approach.

People are becoming more and more individualized in Turkish society (Seçkin, 2017). The individualism expresses itself in the anti-proverb *Sürüden ayrılan kişilik kapar* (Demirci, 2004:132) 'Personality grabs the person who leaves the flock' which is derived from the traditional proverb *Sürüden ayrılanı kurt kapar* 'Wolves will devour a lamb/sheep away from the herd.' The proverb conveys the idea that a person who insists on going on it alone is headed for trouble; that is to say, the person who leaves a community of his / her friends and does the work by himself/herself remains unsupervised and unsupported; suffers great damages. Sorensen and Oyserman (2009) note that individuals feel tangible and real and group members are obligated to and interdependent with each other. The proverb emphasizes the benefit of collectivism as well. However, in the anti-proverb, it has been underlined that individuals can gain a personality only if they leave the community; otherwise, they will resemble the others.

Wi-fi has revolutionized the way people live compared to past, for example, individuals have access to various online sources fast and efficiently, do online shopping from next door market, play online games or spend time on entertaining sites or social media through the internet. According to the Turkish Statistical Institute, 97,3% of the individuals in the 16-74 age group of Turkish people is regular internet users (Turkish statistical institute, 2019). Moreover, considering the time spending on the internet, it can be said that neighborhood, social life, collectivism has dramatically been influenced, and the shared entity between neighbors is not 'support' but 'wi-fi.' For example, the anti-proverb *Komşu komşunun, wifisine muhtaçtır* 'A person is in need of his/her neighbor's Wi-Fi' derived from *Komşu komşunun külüne muhtaçtır* 'A person is in need of his/her neighbor's ash' illustrates the relations among neighbors.

Individuals have become so individualistic that they do not want to listen to their friends' problems and try to help them emotionally, financially or in another way. Furthermore, the internet is replacing the family or friend who is supposed to be with the person in need. *Ağlarsa anam ağlar gerisi sosyal ağlar* 'It is my mother who cries, others are social network' and *Ağlarsa kablosuz ağlar gerisi yalan ağlar* 'It is wireless networks who cry, others are just faking' derived from *Ağlarsa anam ağlar gerisi yalan ağlar* 'Your mother alone will wail on you, others fake cry'. This anti-proverbs mean that the real tears are shed by mothers and the rest weep crocodile tears and that these crocodile tears are shared through social networks. These variants of anti-proverbs highlight the position of wireless networks and how efficient and vital they are in modern life. It should also be taken into consideration from the variants that there is a tendency towards individualism and the sense of loneliness in the social life of Turkish people. This cultural and social change is also felt in the change of the anti-proverb *Derdini google'da aratmayan derdine derman bulamaz* 'The person who does not Google something cannot find a remedy for his/her problem' derived from *Derdini söylemeyen derman bulamaz* 'The person who does not share his/her problem, s/he cannot find a solution'.

Individualism is a reflection of the pragmatism that brings the interests of individuals forward. In this understanding, things that are of their benefit are always ahead of what is to the benefit of society (Altıntaş, 2012). Çevikoğlu (2009) states that "Nowadays, self-interest and self-reflection in human relations are the most valid forms of behavior and almost the underlying philosophy of life. This change has been reflected in the anti-proverbs such as *Pilavdan dönenin, kuru fasülyede gözü vardır* 'If a person who quits rice, it means s/he has his/her eyes on white beans' derived from *Pilavdan dönenin kaşığı kırılırsın* 'If you return of the rice, your spoon will be broken'; *Kurtlardan teklif geldi. Sürüden ayrılıyorum* 'Wolves made a suggestion. I am leaving the flock' derived from *Sürüden ayrılanı kurt kapar* 'Wolves will devour a lamb/sheep away from the herd.'

Finally, social media has become so significant in Turkish society that individuals have changed their attitudes towards society, which have been reflected in the anti-proverbs as such: *Söz gümüşse, sosyal medya altındır* 'Speech is silver, but social media is golden' derived from *Söz gümüşse, sükut altındır* 'Speech is silver, but silence is golden'; *Sosyal medya, kılıçtan keskindir* 'The social media is sharper than the sword' derived from *Dil kılıçtan keskindir* 'The tongue is sharper than the sword' What is shared on social media is more valuable than words uttered; *Sosyal medyadan kuvvet doğar* 'Social media is the strength' derived from *Birlikten kuvvet doğar* 'The union is the strength' Social media is regarded as more potent than coming together physically.

## Conclusion

This paper has focused on the Turkish anti-proverbs, concerning the changes in society and understanding the mechanism between proverbs and social values. The proverbs which have a communicative value have been transformed into anti-proverbs in order to reflect the recent changes within society, that is to say, anti-proverbs demonstrate a society's new experiences and developments that reshape the discourse even the traditional ones. It is observed that the traditional proverbs, which were regarded as unchangeable truths once, do not remain the same forever, just like everything in the modern world. Accordingly, the changes in the various field of life and the method of acquiring, plus transferring the culture from generation to generation has led the proverbs to be part of this process of change. Analyzing 1368 anti-proverbs, which are derived from 423 traditional proverbs revealed that there have been changes in the value of some notions such as knowledge, intellectuality, the sense of belonging, honesty; the increase in the events of violence; financial problems, and the power and effect of social media. The perceptions and changed value system of Turkish society have prompted individuals to reproduce the proverbs to adapt the proverbs to the recently emerging facts and new circumstances.

Overall, proverbs are important in conveying and reflecting the changes in society. The more conditions and society change, the more proverbs are remodified as proverbs and anti-proverbs. Under the light of this fact, research needs to continue to be explored in the field of sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics which may include surveys and interviews with whom play with proverbs in order to find out the deep reasons for all these changes.

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