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TURKISH ANTI-PROVERBS IN SOCIAL MEDIA DISCOURSE

*SOSYAL MEDYA SÖYLEMİNDE TÜRK ANTI-
ATASÖZLERİ*

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Abstract

Proverbs are considered to be a universal genre of tradition that reveals the life-world and cultural values of the people of a given society, as well as their attitudes towards their surroundings. Due to the characteristic of being succinct, individuals use proverbs to convey their attitudes, opinions, beliefs and such on social media. However, the proverbs may lose their traditional forms; they are twisted and changed in many ways: by replacing words, extending the traditional proverbs, eliciting or adding extra words to the original proverbs which means they have become the modified version of proverbs that are full of satire, irony, and humor and known as "anti-proverb" in the field of Paremiology. This article deals with the structural and semantic changes applied in traditional proverbs to convey the new opinions and moral regarding the power, function, and effects of social media. The primary data source of this article includes anti-proverbs used on social networking sites, Twitter and Facebook, which provide plentiful material for this kind of search. Out of 1368 anti-proverbs, 53 anti-proverbs have been determined as related to social media and social networking sites based on their lexis content. 11 anti-proverbs which have been derived from 9 traditional proverbs have been illustrated in this study. The selected anti-proverbs are based on especially the relationship of people in Turkish society; the power of social networking sites; the addiction to these sites. This study has revealed that the new content conveyed by the anti-proverbs expresses the relationship between people has become more virtual; the power of social media in reaching a vast amount of users in a short period and effectively is

vast; whatever is shared on social media remains there contrary to oral speech.

Key Words: Anti-Proverbs, Proverbs, Social Media, Modification, Turkish Society

Öz

Atasözleri, belirli bir toplumun yaşam dünyasını, kültürel değerlerini ve çevreye yönelik tutumlarını ortaya koyan evrensel bir gelenek türü olarak kabul edilir. Kısa ve öz olmaları nedeniyle, bireyler tutumlarını, görüşlerini, inançlarını vb. sosyal medyaya aktarmak için atasözlerini kullanırlar. Ancak, atasözleri geleneksel biçimlerini kaybedebilir; şöyle ki, atasözleri, sözcükleri farklı kelimelerle değiştirilerek, orijinal atasözlerine ek sözcükler eklenerek veya çıkartılarak farklı şekillerde çarpıtılıp değiştirilmektedir. Hiciv, ironi ve mizah dolu olan atasözlerinin değiştirilmiş bu hallerine Paremiyoloji alanında "Anti-atasözü" denmektedir. Bu makale, sosyal medyanın gücü, işlevi ve etkilerine ilişkin yeni görüş ve değerleri yansıtmak için geleneksel atasözlerine uygulanan yapısal ve anlamsal değişiklikleri ele almaktadır. Bu çalışmanın temel veri kaynağı, bu tür bir araştırma için çok sayıda örnek içeren sosyal paylaşım siteleri Twitter ve Facebook'ta kullanılan anti-atasözleridir. 1368 anti-atasözü arasından 53 anti-atasözü, sosyal medya ve sosyal paylaşım siteleri ile ilgili kelime içeriklerine dayanılarak belirlenmiş olup 9 geleneksel atasözünden türeyen 11 anti-atasözü bu çalışmada değerlendirilmiştir. Seçilen anti-atasözleri özellikle Türk toplumunda insan ilişkileri, sosyal ağ sitelerinin gücü ve sosyal medya bağımlılığına dayanmaktadır. Bu çalışma, anti-atasözleriyle aktarılan yeni içeriğin insanlar arasındaki ilişkilerin daha sanal hale geldiğininin, sosyal medyanın kısa sürede çok sayıda kullanıcıya ulaşmasında ve etkin biçimde kullanılmasındaki gücünün, sözlü konuşmanın aksine sosyal medyada paylaşılanların kalıcı olduğunun bir yansıması olduğunu ortaya koymuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Anti-Atasözleri, Atasözleri, Sosyal Medya, Değişim, Türk Toplumunu

1. Introduction

Proverbs belong to the realm of Paremiology, the study of proverbs that have been employed by nations for centuries. Tuğluk (2013) states that "Proverb is rigid, sententious, succinct and anonymous saying that is on the basis of rule, based on observations and experiences of years, involves wise thoughts and philosophical mysteries and also bears the trace of community's culture." Traditional wisdom has never been absent from Turkish daily speech and prevalent in daily conversations at home, school, and ceremonies and all other social events. Therefore, proverbs as spoken expressions in the daily speech of Turkish people are the central part of Turkish culture, which reflects all aspects of their lives. Individuals epitomize their way of thinking, their feelings, and their ideas through proverbs, in addition, they use the proverbs as a vehicle to describe and interpret the world, to solve their daily conflicts and sup-

port their arguments. For example, *Tatlı dil yılanı deliğinden çıkarır* - You can catch more flies with honey than with vinegar (English Equivalence) - Literal Translation – Pleasant words will lure a snake from his hole. This proverb means that individuals should use reasonable and kind words in order to be in a good relationship even with their enemies. This proverb has a characteristic of being a guide in social relations within a society.

Therefore, the purpose of this article was to investigate not Turkish proverbs but the Turkish anti-proverbs, because the initial reading of available literature suggested that little has been written on this subject. The principal authority on this field over the world is German-born Wolfgang Mieder in the world. Besides, the field of Turkish proverbs is rich for corpus and in-depth study from a social-cultural aspect to a linguistics, it is remarkable that there exist few studies on this subject, e.g., a study on Turkish anti-

proverbs "Anti-proverb as a type of intertextual joke" has been conducted in the English language (Usta Tuzcu, 2018). However, the existing ones (Buğra, 2005; Gürçayır, 2008; Onan, 2011; Seçkin, 2017) are written in the Turkish language which is a restriction in terms of introducing the Turkish anti-proverbs to the world of Paremiology.

Following the preliminary research, the questions then arose as to how and why are the proverbs used in Turkish social networking sites, and why do people change the proverbs? This paper looks at the aspects of the usage and changes that have occurred, and continue to occur, in traditional Turkish proverbs and the resulting anti-proverbs.

Based on the function, it is common to come across with proverbs in various media discourses such as a newspaper, a magazine article, a TV show episode, a favorite song or a poem. Konstantinova (2014) notes that in mass media, the structural feature and semantic value of proverbs allow them to apply in structuring a text composing of only proverbs. As Garcia (2015) asserts, proverbs are alive, and unmistakably, users in social media make use of them.

However, what needs to be taken into consideration is that proverbs that made life easier in the past leave their place nowadays to a world in which information is swiftly shared and the very information that existed the day before is contradicted by the progress that occurs the following day. For instance, the frequently updated versions of existing programs and applications; a rapid change in trends, the content of TV programs, or particularly Turkey's politic, economic and social agenda. In such a rapidly changing world, it is becoming gradually more challenging to sustain long-term existence and validity of experiences which are perceived in the traditional proverbs. Therefore, individuals are required to adapt the proverbs to the virtual environment which turn the proverbs into new lingu-

istic structures named as 'anti-proverbs.' Considering the social and economic changes in Turkey, especially with technology and social networks have had a tremendous influence on the creation of anti-proverbs. Undeniably, these two phenomena have become an important part of individuals' lives over the last decade. As Crystal (2004:224) states "given that the technological developments upon which they rely are constantly evolving, putting users under constant pressure to adapt their language to the demands of new contexts, and giving them fresh opportunities to interact in novel ways." Crystal (2004:224) also adds that "The readiness with which people do adapt language to meet the needs of new situations, which is at the heart of linguistic evolution." In this case, the anti-proverbs are regarded as part of this linguistic evolution.

According to Holmes (2013:343), "languages differ and concludes that the thought patterns of their speakers also differ. However, the only evidence we have that their thought patterns differ is the language they use", which is also seen in the 'anti-proverbs.' From this perspective, the thought patterns of social media users are affected by the properties of social media and technology, and accordingly, proverbs which are perceived as sacrosanct structures are extremely modified, twisted or transformed in social media in order to meet the new experiences derived from the changes. In other words, proverbs are altered by the relationships of people with new products such as technology, social media, and so on; the changing and transforming creativity and the need to use proverbs in the modern world.

Crystal (2004:7) notes that to change a critical element in any situation is to motivate a change in the language people use there, if they wish to behave conventionally – whether the change is from one region to another, from law court to the street, from home to pub, from one listener to many, or from face-to-

face to distant conversation. From this perspective, the creation of anti-proverbs can be considered as a change from real life to virtual life.

In Mieder's words "The traditional proverbs and their value system provide some basic structure, and if their worldview is not suitable for a particular situation, they are quickly changed into revealing and liberating anti-proverbs." This circumstance can be regarded as the reauthorization of the truths of these wise words in the virtual world as well (Gürçayır, 2008). This situation can also be seen as a way of showing that tradition applies to other areas and that the projections of the ancestors can be found in every age.

Indeed, the employment of proverbs in social media discourse arises with highly creative and innovative results, which is regarded as 'deautomatization' by Garcia (2015). In this regard, Konstantinova (2014) points out that media authors use these cultural and linguistic gems creatively by modifying them in order to attempt fresh news and different interpretations. As Mieder (2004) indicates, proverbs used as attention-getting headlines frequently utilized by journalists; anti-proverbs also function as a remarkable tool and are even applied as a headline of online newspapers as Donat (2018) used this anti-proverb "Tweet at, ızı kalsın" (Tweet and some will stick) for his online article. Additionally, applying anti-proverbs in social media discourse plays a crucial role in explaining the worldview of the users, their opinions and attitudes towards 'social media phenomenon,' which has been exemplified in the following sections.

2. Social Media

"The internet is part of our everyday lives, and who we are guides how we use it" (Correa, Hinsley, & De Zuniga, 2010). One of the main components of the internet -the social networking sites- provide a context where people across the world can communicate, exchange messages, share knowledge, and interact with each other regardless of the dis-

tance that separates them (Sawyer, 2011). However, the emergence of social networking sites has led to varieties in the language with characteristics closely related to the intentions, activities, and (to some extent) personalities of the users. As David Crystal (2004:226) says "we have already seen this happen with broadcasting technology: radio brought a new kind of language, which quickly yielded several sub-varieties (commentary, news, weather . . .); then television added a further dimension, which similarly evolved sub-varieties". There is little doubt that digital technology and social networking sites already have a significant impact on culture and language. In his book *Language and the Internet*, David Crystal (2004) comments:

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

From a linguistic perspective, the communication on social networking sites heavily relies on written language which is supposed to be short, precise, creative, stylistic and intriguing. For this purpose, the users of social media accounts use language freely, creatively, courageously, even carelessly sometimes. So, the main features of the verbal and written language of human interaction in real life profoundly alter on the way from oral to the virtual environment especially on social media discourse, which is experienced in social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. According to Crystal (2004:28), as a form of communication, the language of the internet is interesting because of the way it relies on characteristics belonging to both sides of the speech such as loosely structured, spontaneous, socially interactive and writing -such as repeatedly revisable. As Amedie (2015) says "This media outlet

accommodates a wide variety spontaneous, formal, informal, scholarly, unscholarly writing to flourish." The users also employ informal writing style and conversational nature including extensive use of non-standard tokens, emoticons, incomplete and ungrammatical sentences, and so on (Liu, Weng and Jiang 2012).

The Turkish language is a significant part of Turkish culture, which has been recently influenced by the language of countries that produce technology. In the Turkish language, symbols, images, photos have been used more than ever, which caused language corruption and deterioration. Moreover, some factors such as the limited characters especially on twitter which limits the characters to 140 words; lack of knowledge, ignorance or lack of attention of users; eagerness to post a message in a short time lead the users of social networking sites to be hasty. Therefore, the users make mistakes in the language use such as not using punctuation marks; not beginning with capital letter for proper nouns or a new sentence; not separating conjunction 'de, da, ki- these Turkish conjunctions have to be written separately, not attached to the word, (these are also enclitic conjunction) and so on.

Besides, the new generation has created a new jargon such as 'likelamak, favlamak, stalklamak, trollemek, hashtaglemek, mentionlamak, retweetlemek' which are regarded as the language of the internet. As it is known, 'to like, fav, to stalk, to troll, hashtag, to mention, to retweet' are English words, some of which are the noun and some are verbal forms. Considering that Turkish is an agglutinative language where a series of suffixes are added to the stem word, the Turkish suffix 'la-mak- le-mek' has been added to these English words (by considering them all as noun form) in order to turn them into verbal infinitive form. The Turkish language's phonological process of vowel harmony

which ensures a smooth flow is taken into consideration; therefore, the suffixes have been preferred based on the pronunciation of the English words, not Turkish sound system. For example, 'like' is an English verb and pronounced as /laɪk/; therefore, the suffix 'la' has been added to put the word a verb (order) and 'mak' to put it into an infinitive form. If it had been taken as a Turkish word, it would have been 'likelemek' due to the final sound 'e.' As a result, 'like-la-mak' can be regarded as a 'hybrid word' combined with English and Turkish language patterns. The most important aspect is that these words have turned into Turkish words used by Turkish society by finishing these words with Turkish endings. Moreover, the Turkish equivalences of English words such as 'retweet, troll someone and add to favorite' are respectively provided as 'retweetle, birini trollemek, and favlamak' in one of the most common online English-Turkish dictionary 'Tureng dictionary.' Obviously, none of the Turkish equivalences in these examples are Turkish and not expected to be understood by the older generation.

In addition, the younger generation in Turkish society prefer uploading photos and using emoticons instead of writing proper sentences in order to express themselves. Plus, omitting the vowel sounds from the words is a prevalent attitude observed in the discourse of social media. Some of the examples to vowel omitting as such: kib- kendine iyi bak (take care of yourself); k.b. - kusura bakma (excuse me); s.a. -selamun aleykum (peace be with you); aeo -Allaha emanet ol (God bless you); mrb - merhaba (hello); g.t - geri takip (follow back); h.g - hoşgeldiniz (welcome). These examples are all Turkish words. Also, Turkish words are abbreviated by using numbers which are homophones of the replaced words, e.g., 1şey- bir şey (something); kah6- kahvaltı (breakfast). Letters which resembles emoticons are also replaced words, for example, X: Sir vermem (I do not tell the

secret); S- Kafası karışmış (confused); I – ilgisiz (uninterested). Additionally, there are some English words used by Turkish society in the same manner, e.g., DM (direct message); TT (trend topic); U (you); bro (brother). The English language is not only used in this form in daily speech of Turkish people, words such as ‘okay, bye, thank you, and hello’ are frequently utilized instead of their Turkish equivalence.

It is undeniable that social media which accommodates a wide variety of spontaneous, formal, informal texts also plays a vital role in impacting the culture as well as trends, music, movie, literature, and even proverbs, as Furedi (2014) states “the internet is transforming human life towards a more enlightened and creative existence”. Furthermore, social media discourse frequently employs proverbs since the proverbs are one of the preferred linguistic patterns for conveying attitudes, opinions, beliefs and such, pragmatically speaking, the usage of proverbs are based on the goals and intentions of the users. As a result, social networking sites have become the platform encouraging the users to share not just usage but play with the proverbs. Gürçayır (2008) evaluated this situation as man’s changing and transforming creativity as well as the necessity of experience transmitted in proverbs.

According to Garcia (2015), social networking sites are implemented for remembering and explaining the traditional proverbs as well as gathering anti-proverbs. There exist fan pages on Facebook, hashtags, and accounts on Twitter devoted to collecting proverbs and anti-proverbs. For example, “<https://twitter.com/smatasozleri>” consists anti-proverbs which are created by replacing some words of traditional proverbs with words related to social media. *Sosyal medyadan kuvvet doğar* which means social media makes strength; the traditional version is *birlikten kuvvet doğar* literal translation in English is *Union makes strength*; English equivalence is *Many hands make light work*. As presented in

this example, anti-proverbs are used to emphasize the power and position of social media in society. Moreover, anti-proverbs are used to give a message to the friends of the creators as such: *Ak akçe kara @..¹. içindir*. The traditional one says *Ak akçe kara gün içindir* which means save for a rainy day, still, tagging a user into the anti-proverb aims to convey the message directly (personally) to the user (@...).

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



¹. The user names belonging to personal accounts have been concealed and replaced by three dots in order to be ethical.

3. Cultural, Structural and Semantic Effects of Social Networks on Anti-proverbs

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

However, it should be noted that anti-proverbs were not generated in social media or social networking sites, the anti-proverbs date back to the birth of proverbs. However, anti-proverbs are significantly different from the traditional proverbs in terms of their semantic value. Still, by retaining the structure in order not to lose the traditional traces of the original proverbs completely, the new linguistics elements are derived from the proverbs.

It should be acknowledged that social media has a tremendous effect on the increasing number of anti-proverbs, their content and even on their structures. Most of the anti-proverbs that have been collected by the author of this study over two years are obtained from social media, which can be explained by its interactive feature. As Dursunoğlu & Kömür (2018) note individuals have the opportunity to discuss and evaluate any information; therefore, they can give feedback by

supporting by criticizing. This study focuses on the Turkish anti-proverbs which contain the terms or lexis belonging to the discourse of social networking sites and examines the proverbs' structural and semantic transformation. What is meant by the social media discourse are the posts, messages, tweets, comments or any written, visual or audial material shared in social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and so on. All the materials or examples used in this study have been obtained from Twitter and Facebook, and where they are obtained from has been indicated following the references. 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. The material has been collected for approximately two years from various sources such as books, magazines, TV series, Social networking sites, songs, movies, newspapers, advertisement. 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) (http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_atasozleri&view=atasozleri) has been applied.

Out of 1368 anti-proverbs, 53 anti-proverbs have been determined as related to social media and social networking sites based on their lexis content. 11 anti-proverbs which have been derived from 9 traditional proverbs have been illustrated in this study. The selected anti-proverbs are based on especially the relationship of people in Turkish society; the power of social networking sites; the addiction to these sites. Meanings and usages of proverbs have been analyzed to point out similarities or differences between

traditional proverbs and anti-proverbs concerning situations in which they are used; moreover, the examples illustrate how social media has immediate linguistic consequences as Crystal puts it “The internet is providing unprecedented opportunities for personal creativity.

In order to save space, some words have been abbreviated as such: Literal translation- LT; English equivalence- EE; Proverb- P, and Anti-proverb- AP. Turkish proverbs and anti-proverbs are also italicized. Due to the restricted length of the article format, the number of examples has been limited; however, similar examples of anti-proverbs are introduced at the end of the article in table 1.

Table 1 includes the proverb and anti-proverb which have been generated by the replacement of lexis with the terms belonging to social networking sites. The proverbs and anti-proverbs are both in their original language (Turkish) and their literal translations are provided in English to demonstrate the semantic and syntactic changes. Considering that every anti-proverb consists of a message that conveys the change in the perception of the notions, the second column of the table includes the emphasized thought of the anti-proverbs. For example, P-1 *Korku dağları bekletir* – ‘Fear waits for the mountains’ refers to the situation that, in the past, when people made mistakes, they were hiding in the mountains to avoid the consequences in public and were exposed to the difficult conditions of the mountains, so people were afraid of these difficulties. However, nowadays, the situation is different as it is reflected in the anti-proverbs *Sosyal medya dağları bekletir* ‘Social media waits for the mountains’ which refers to the situation that people are addicted to the internet and social media. In the mountains, mostly there is not a connection to the internet, that is why people do not go to the mountains. Moreover, in table 1, the anti-proverbs indicate the change in the relationships; the addiction to social networking sites,

even the need to have more than one account; the power of social media; tagging other users to link them to the anti-proverbs directly; and finally, the new profession, the social media specialist is presented. Some of the examples of relevant social networking sites are illustrated below as:

Bana arkadaşını söyle, sana kim olduğun söyleyeyim. (LT) Tell me who your friend is, and I will tell you who you are. (EE1) A man is known by the company he keeps. (EE2) Tell me with whom thou goest and I’ll tell thee what thou doest. (AP) *Bana sosyal medya ajansını söyle, sana kim olduğun söyleyeyim.* (LT) Tell me who your social media agency is, and I will tell you who you are. (AP) *Bana beğendiklerini, takip ettiklerini felan söyle sana kim olduğun söyleyeyim.* (LT) Tell me who your favs and follows and such are, and I will tell you who you are. (AP) *Facebook arkadaşını söyle, sana kim olduğun söyleyeyim.* (LT) Tell me who your facebook friend is, and I will tell you who you are. Previously, friendship was much stronger and much more tangible in real life compared to today’s fake friendship on social media. Friends meant somebody to talk to, someone to depend on, and someone to enjoy. Before, people had a minimal number of friends. Friends hung out together, they physically spent time by doing different sort of activities (social, educational, emotional and so on) and after some time, and they often resembled each other, because they behaved similarly. The proverb “Tell me who your friend is, and I will tell you who you are” is based on the situation. However, the number of our friends is increasing each day thanks to social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Although we have thousands of friends, there might be fewer true and reliable friends comparing to the past. Today, the word “friend” has been replaced by *social media agency, your favs, your followers* and *your Facebook friend* as indicated in anti-proverbs. The notion of friendship in the anti-proverbs reflects what friendship is like in today’s society. Also, the change in the

traditional proverb causes a loss in its deep meaning and value.

Analyzing the traditional proverbs and its transformed versions structurally, the second part of the anti-proverbs remains the same as it is in the original version, while some words in the first part have been replaced by the words relevant to social media, e.g., from *friend* to *social media agency, fans and follow, Facebook friend*. In other words, there is a replacement, also an addition (as such in AP3) and a repetition of words (söyle [tell], söyleyeyim). Nevertheless, the similarity in structure and syntax is preserved, so the anti-proverbs remind any native speaker of the traditional proverbs.

Gözden irak olan, gönülden de irak olur. (EE) Out of sight, out of mind. (AP) *Facebook'tan irak olan, gönülden de irak olur.* (LT) Out of Facebook, out of mind. If one is far away, one also gets far away from the heart; the proverb expresses the feeling that by being far away, one risks losing the love and affection of a person and it says long absent/seldom seen soon forgotten. In the past, people used to see each other physically such as meeting somewhere, going to the cinema or doing any activities together. Though today, people prefer to contact with each other on social media, sending an invitation by using the social media tools, celebrating their special events such as birthday, wedding, birth or even express their condolences through social media. People follow their friends, notice their sharing and know about how they are. Even so, when the users do not share photos, videos or do not post anything, his/her friends may not think about that person as often as they did before. Therefore, it can be supposed that Facebook and other social networking sites have a tremendous effect on the relationships of people. Structurally, the first part of the proverb has been changed by replacing the word 'Gözden (sight)' with 'Facebook'tan.' The second part is the same as the original

proverb. There is also a repetition 'irak – far away' has been repeated in both parts.

Derdini söylemeyen, derman bulamaz. (LT) someone who does not mention his/her problems cannot find any solution. (EE1) The squeaky wheel gets the grease. (EE2) A trouble shared is a trouble halved. (AP) *Derdini google'da aratmayan derdine derman bulamaz.* (LT) Someone who does not google his/her problems cannot find any solution. The proverb means that if someone does not tell his/her problems to others, no one will be aware of what his/her problem is and will not help him/her. Again, people were formerly speaking to each other and trying to solve solutions/problems by discussing the issues. However, currently, when someone has any problems which may be educational, psychological, economical and so on, the first thing is mostly to google it and find out others' experiences who share them on forums on the internet or on social media instead of pouring out his/her problems to friends or family members. It is evident from the anti-proverb that social relationships, dialog, face to face sharing, conversations have been replaced by social media and the popular search engine 'Google.'

Mal bulunur, can bulunmaz. (LT) Goods can be found; the spirit cannot (be found). (AP) *Sosyal medya uzmanı bulunur, can bulunmaz.* (LT) Social media specialist can be found; the spirit cannot (be found). The traditional proverbs mean that if a person loses his/her goods, she/he can have it again by working. Goods and property can be obtained again. However, when someone dies, it is not possible to bring the person back to life. In this respect, people should know the value of their life, not to risk it. It should be remembered that a healthy person can have any good. In anti-proverb, 'social media specialist' has been replaced by the word 'goods.' Nowadays, companies have begun to invest time, effort, and money in social media marketing and

social media specialists in order to be more active, popular, effective and more importantly, professional on social media. This situation has given way to plenty of social media marketing opportunities and a boom in the number of social media specialists. Responding to messages, reaching out to influencers, creating strategic partnerships, deleting spam comments, participating in a group conversation or messaging a person who uses a certain hashtag are some of the duties expected to be fulfilled by social media specialists. While the traditional proverb contains a more general word 'goods,' 'social media specialist' used in the anti-proverb narrows the meaning and does not refer to any other goods, it can also be said that social media specialist is seen as a property that can be bought, used and sold. Structurally, there is replacement and repetition (*bulunur, bulunmaz*). Another example that focuses on the social media specialist: *İyi olacak hastanın hekim ayağına gelir.* (LT) The doctor comes himself to the patient that will recover. (AP) *İyi olacak şirketin ayağına sosyal medya uzmanı gelir.* (LT) The social media specialist comes himself to the company that will recover. This anti-proverb also mentions the role and effectiveness of social media specialist.

Söz gümüşse, sükut altındır. (LT) Speech is silver; silence is golden. (AP) *Söz gümüşse, sosyal medya altındır.* (LT) Speech is silver; social media is golden. Speaking can be helpful and useful, but silence is better than that, because, speaking can lead to much trouble for the speakers. So silence is more valuable than speaking. The traditional proverb advice is to be quiet when it is not necessary to talk. The anti-proverb says speaking is nice, but social media is more valuable than speaking. When speaking, it is reached to only hearers around the speaker, however, whatever is shared through social media, and it goes far beyond the country and reaches a large number of people over the world. This anti-proverb places emphasis on the power of social media on behalf of the communication.

This anti-proverb is also a reflection of the change in society in terms of the interaction and relationships of individuals who even prefer to celebrate the birthdays of their friends on social media rather than phoning them. Besides, social media gives an opportunity to the users to convey their feelings, ideas, emotions, attitudes and so on not only with text but also videos, photos, links, emoticons, and so on. Structurally, there is replacement (*sükut -silence- social media*) and a comparison (*silver- golden*).

Çamur at, izi kalsın. (LT) Throw dirt enough, and some will stick. (AP) *Tweet at, izi kalsın.* (LT) Tweet and some will stick. According to the traditional proverb, when a person dishes on someone, there will be some people who do not believe that person while there will be some people who will think the wrong things about this person. A reputation that is attacked continuously cannot remain undamaged. If false accusations or defamatory remarks are repeated often enough, people will begin to believe them. 'throw dirt enough' has been said for oral speech, but in anti-proverb, this word 'dirt' has been replaced by 'tweet' which is one of the most popular communication tools recently. Therefore, tweeting is more powerful and effective since it reaches more people and unlike speech, tweet remains on the internet and can be accessed anytime and anywhere. So, this proverb somehow has been adapted to modern life with this updated version- anti-proverb. *Söz uçar, yazı kalır.* (LT) Spoken words fly away, written words remain. (AP) *Fav uçar, screenshot'ı kalır.* (LT) Fav flies away, screenshot remains. This example also conveys a similar message of "Tweet and some will stick" indicating that no matter what and when something is shared on the internet, it stays there even if it is deleted.

Bilmemek ayıp değil, sormamak ayıp. (LT) It is not shameful not to know; it is shameful not to ask. (AP) *Fakirlik ayıp değil, @... tembellik ayıp.* (LT) Poverty is not shameful, @... laziness is. The traditional proverb says it

is not disgraceful to ask, it is disgraceful not to know. This proverb is used to encourage people to be inquisitive. In social media, using tags is essential for active engagement with users of social networking sites, since it allows social media users to assign a piece of content to a specific person with a social profile when they mention them in a post or comment. In this anti-proverb, the verb of both sides of traditional proverb has been preserved, but the new content words have replaced the subjects. 'Not to know' has been replaced by 'poverty' and 'not to ask' has been replaced by 'laziness,' which reflects an economic problem of society and shows a social detection. In Turkey, people suffer from poverty which is a recurring problem. In addition, finding jobs and earning money enough to afford any needs of a family is not easy, which is also a problem in Turkey. In order to demonstrate this situation and convey the message that 'poverty is not shameful and people should try to find a job and work instead of being lazy,' which is regarded as a shame this anti-proverb has been created by a social media user. Besides, the creator added a word into the anti-proverb which is a tag '@...' who is most probably someone that is an acquaintance and also another social media user for the aim of giving message directly to that user.

4. Conclusion

Proverbs which nourish on factors forming society and have a folkloric value are one of the components that reflect the changes in society. The social networking sites, which are regarded as one of the sources of these changes, have a tremendous effect on various aspects of daily life such as the way of communication, the relationships of individuals, daily habits, even the traditional values used by the members of society for centuries, that is, proverbs. However, the influence is reciprocated because the factors such as the economy, daily routines, the relationships influence the social networking sites which are

apparent in the posts of the users. One of the outcomes of this mutual interaction between social media and social life is the creation of some linguistic items, so-called anti-proverb.

Overall, this paper advances the literature on the uses of proverbs in social media discourse and contributes to the understanding of why how and why the traditional proverbs are changed, how social networking sites influence the individuals lives so that they change the proverbs. In particular, this study focuses on anti-proverbs used in social media discourse by which the users of social networking sites express themselves and communicate with others. This study has taken this line of research a step further in some ways. First, the anti-proverbs were collected from a large number of sources such as books, magazines, movies, TV series, social networking sites, songs without any restrictions. Second, the anti-proverbs were selected based on the content of social network regarding, especially Facebook and Twitter. Then, the anti-proverbs were analyzed from a sociological and linguistic perspective.

In general, this study established that the anti-proverbs relevant to social media and related terms are not authentic materials but are the recreation of traditional proverbs by replacement, addition, extension and so on. Unlike proverbs, the anti-proverbs are not utilized by everyone in the Turkish society (more generally used by young generation) in everyday situations; anti-proverbs are generally used once. From a sociological perspective, the new content conveyed by the anti-proverbs expresses the relationship between people has become more virtual; the power of social media in reaching a vast amount of users in a short period and effectively is vast; whatever is shared on social media remains there contrary to oral speech. Considering the messages conveyed by proverbs, it is difficult to use any traditional proverb to reflect these situations. Therefore, proverbs are adapting

themselves to the new world.

Research needs to continue with a detailed investigation based on the age group of the users of social networking sites who alter the traditional proverbs, which could be a psycholinguistics study in order to ascertain the interrelation between linguistic factors and psychological aspects.

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Table 1. Turkish Proverbs and Anti-proverbs with the Emphasized Thought

<p>(P-1) Korku dağları bekletir. Fear waits for the mountains.</p> <p>(AP-1) Sosyal medya dağları bekletir. Social media waits for the mountains.</p>	Addiction to the Social media
<p>(P-2) Sabrın sonu selamettir. The end of patience is safety. (AP-2) Sosyal medyanın sonu selâmettir. The end of social media is safety.</p>	The feeling of peace derived from having a social media account.
<p>(P-3) Su uyur, düşman uyumaz. Water sleeps but an enemy will not. (AP-3) Jack uyur, followerlar uyumaz. Jack sleeps but followers will not.</p>	The unceasingly follow to others' posts
<p>(P-4) Tek kanatla kuş uçmaz. A bird does not faly with only one wing. (AP-4) Tek sosyal ağ ile sosyal medya uçmaz. Social media does not fly with only one social network.</p>	The need to have more than one social network account.
<p>(P-5) Dokuz at bir kaziğa bağlanmaz. Nine horses cannot be tied to one stake. (Ap-5) Dokuz fake hesap birbirine bağlanmaz. Nine fake accounts cannot be tied to each other.</p>	Fake accounts have been generated for various purposes, especially for stalking.
<p>(P-6) İki karpuz bir koltuğa sığmaz. One cannot carry two watermelons under one armpit. (AP-6) İki account, bir koltuğa sığmaz. One cannot carry two accounts under one armpit.</p>	Two different accounts are difficult to be managed.
<p>(P-7) Kılavuzu karga olanın burnu pislikten çıkmaz. The nose of he who takes guidance from a crow will never be free from dung. (AP-7) Admini çok olanın burnu follower'dan çıkmazmış. The nose of he who has much admin will never be free from followers.</p>	Too many admins or followers are not desired.
<p>(P-8) Bana arkadaşını söyle, sana kim olduğunu söyleyeyim. Tell me who your friend is, and I will tell you who you are. (AP-8) Bana sosyal medya ajansını söyle, sana kim olduğunu söyleyeyim. Tell me who your social media agency is, and I will tell you who you are. (AP-9) Bana beğendiklerini, takip ettiklerini felan söyle sana kim olduğunu söyleyeyim. Tell me who your favs and follows and such are, and I will tell you who you are.</p>	The influence of social media on the Notion of friendship.

<p>(AP-10) Facebook arkadaşını söyle, sana kim olduğunu söyleyeyim Tell me who your Facebook friend is, and I will tell you who you are.</p>	
<p>(P-9) Hayır dile eşine/komşuna, hayır gele başına. Desire the welfare of others that you too may prosper. (Ap-11) Hayır dile sosyal medyaya, hayır gele başına. Desire the welfare of social media that you too may prosper.</p>	Social media has impact on individuals' lives.
<p>(P-10) Perşembenin gelişi çarşambadan bellidir. The coming of Thursday is apparent with Wednesday. (AP-12) DM'nin gelişi mention'dan bellidir. The coming of DM is evident with 'mention.'</p>	Some public posts lead a way to private talk on social networks.
<p>(P-11) Açma sırrını dostuna dostun açar sırrını dostuna. Don't tell your secret to your friend, he will tell it to his friend. (AP-13) Açma paylaşımını arkadaşına, arkadaşın açar paylaşımını herkese. Don't share your posts with your friend, your friend will let his sharing be a public post.</p>	A modern way of suggestion of not to share the post or secrets.
<p>(P-12) Gözden irak olan gönülden de irak olur. Away from the eyes, away from the heart. (AP-14) Facebook'tan irak olan gönülden de irak olur Away from Facebook, away from the heart.</p>	It emphasizes how relationships are bound to the connections on networks.
<p>(P-13) Komşunun tavuğu komşuya kaz, kârısı kız görünür. A neighbor's hen looks as big as a goose and his wife as young as a girl. (AP-15) Facebook'taki arkadaşının tavuk paylaşımı, takipteki arkadaşına kaz gelir. A hen shared by a friend on Facebook looks like a goose to the friend who follows.</p>	The posts shared on social networks are envied by others.
<p>(P-14) Derdini söylemeyen/saklayan derman bulamaz. He that keeps his worries to himself can find no remedy. (AP-16) Derdini google'da aratmayan derdine derman bulamaz. He that does not search his worries on google can find no remedy.</p>	Friends or family members have been replaced by the search engine 'Google' in the modern age.
<p>(P-15) Sadık dost akrabadan yeğdir.</p>	The superiority of social media specialist

<p>A true friend is better than relatives. (AP-17) Sadık sosyal medya uzmanı, akrabadan yeğdir. A real social media specialist is better than relatives.</p>	<p>over the relatives.</p>
<p>(P-16) Hamala semeri yük değildir. A porter does not count his backpack as a load. (AP-18) Sosyal medya uzmanına semeri yük değildir. A social media specialist does not count his backpack as a load.</p>	<p>A new profession: Social media specialist.</p>
<p>(P-17) Hak gelince batıl gider. When the truth comes, the falsehood must disappear. (AP-19) Sosyal medya uzmanı gelince, batıl gider. When social media specialist comes, the falsehood must disappear.</p>	<p>A new profession: Social media specialist.</p>
<p>(P-18) Mayasız yoğurt tutmaz/çalınmaz. Yogurt would not ferment without yeast. (AP-20) Sosyal medya uzmansız yoğurt çalınmaz. Yogurt would not ferment without social media specialist.</p>	<p>A new profession: Social media specialist.</p>
<p>(P-19) Maşa varken elini ateşe sokma. While you have the tongs, do not put your hands in the fire. (AP-21) Sosyal medya uzmanı varken, elini ateşe sokma. While you have the social media specialist, do not put your hands in the fire.</p>	<p>A new profession: Social media specialist.</p>
<p>(P-20) Mal bulunur, can bulunmaz. Property can be found but no one's life. (AP-22) Sosyal medya uzmanı bulunur, can bulunmaz. Social media specialist can be found but no one's life.</p>	<p>Social media specialist is more valuable than the property.</p>
<p>(P-21) Yuvayı yapan dişi kuştur. The hen bird makes the nest. (AP-23) Yuvayı yapan sosyal medya uzmanıdır. The social media specialist makes the nest.</p>	<p>Social media specialist is more effective than the wife.</p>
<p>(P-22) İyi olacak hastanın hekim ayağına gelir. If the patient's destiny is to recover, the doctor will appear. (AP-24) İyi olacak şirketin ayağına sosyal medya uzmanı gelir. If the company's destiny is to recover, the social media specialist will appear.</p>	<p>Social media specialist solves the problems of companies.</p>
<p>(P-23) Ben sporcunun zeki, çevik ve ahlak-</p>	<p>The characteristics of social media specia-</p>

<p>lisını severim. I like the sportsman who is smart, healthy and well-behaved. (AP-25) Ben sosyal medya uzmanının zeki, çevik ve ahlaklısını severim. I like the social media specialist who is smart, healthy and well-behaved.</p>	list are emphasized.
<p>(P-24) Av avlayanın, kemer bağlayanın. The prey belongs to the person who shoots it and a belt to the person who wears it. (Ap-26) Av, avlayanın; Sosyal medya, uzmanın. The prey belongs to the person who shoots it and social media to the person who is specialist.</p>	Social media specialist is also emphasized.
<p>(P-25) Deli dostun olacağına akıllı düşmanın olsun. It is better to have a wise enemy than a foolish friend. (AP-27) Profesyonel yönetilmeyen hesabın olacağına, akıllı rakibin olsun. It is better to have a wise competitor than an account which is not managed professionally.</p>	The accounts on social networks are useful in business.
<p>(P-26) Mal canın yongasıdır. The property is the chip of one's soul. (AP-28) Sosyal ağlardaki hesaplar canın yongasıdır. The accounts on social networks are the chip off one's soul.</p>	The accounts on social networks are as valuable as the property.
<p>(P-27) Dil kılıçtan keskindir. The tongue is sharper than the sword. (AP-29) Sosyal medya, kılıçtan keskindir. The social media is sharper than the sword.</p>	The sharings on social media has tremendous effects.
<p>(P-28) Alma mazlumun ahını, çıkar aheste aheste. Don't provoke the curse of the oppressed; it will take effect sooner or later. (AP-30) Alma sosyal medyacının ahını, çıkar aheste aheste. Don't provoke the curse of the social media user; it will take effect sooner or later.</p>	Social media is a platform to take revenge.
<p>(P-29) Çamur at, izi kalsın. Throw dirt, and some will stick. (AP-31) Tweet at, izi kalsın. Tweet and some will stick.</p>	The tweet is enough to attack someone with false accusations or defamatory.
<p>(P-30) Her kuşun eti yenmez, kuş var ki et yedirirler. Not every bird is edible; there are those who feed to flesh. (AP-32) Her Tweet'in eti yenmez. Not every Tweet is edible.</p>	Some posts may be insignificant.

<p>(P-31) Damlaya damlaya göl olur. Drop by drop the lake is formed. (AP-33) Paylaşa paylaşa Trend Topic olur. Share by share Trend Topic is generated.</p>	<p>Some popular issues have become a trending topic on Twitter.</p>
<p>(P-32) Görünen köy kılavuz istemez. One does not need a guide to a village that is in sight. (AP-34) Trend topic olacak haber paylaşım istemez. The news to be a Trend Topic does not need to be shared.</p>	<p>Some news becomes a trending topic without any need to be promoted because they are interesting.</p>
<p>(P-33) Sakla samanı, gelir zamanı. Save the straw you will use it in due time. (AP-35) Sakla paylaşımı, gelir trend topic zamanı. Save the sharing; there will be time to become a trending topic.</p>	<p>The saving on social media.</p>
<p>(P-34) Ak akçe kara gün içindir. Save the penny for a rainy day (AP-36) Ak akçe kara @... içindir. Save the penny for @...</p>	<p>Conveying a message through tagging other users.</p>
<p>(P-35) Atı alan Üsküdar'ı geçti. The one who stole the horse has already passed Scutari. (AP-37) Atı alan @... geçti The one who stole the horse has already passed @...</p>	<p>Conveying a message through tagging other users.</p>
<p>(P-36) Bugünün işini yarına bırakma. Never leave today's work till tomorrow. (AP-38) Bugünün @... @...a bırakma Never leave today's @... to @....</p>	<p>Conveying a message through tagging other users.</p>
<p>(P-37) Üzüm üzümüne baka baka kararır. Grapes become black upon seeing one another. (AP-39) Üzüm @.... e baka baka kararır. Grapes become black upon seeing @... (AP-40) Facebook hesabı birbirine baka baka paylaşır Facebook accounts share upon seeing each other.</p>	<p>Social media users share each others' posts.</p>
<p>(P-38) Battı balık, yan gider. Sink fish goes drift. (AP-41) Battı @... yan gider Sink @... goes drift.</p>	<p>Conveying a message through tagging other users.</p>
<p>(P-39) Deliye her gün bayram. To a fool, every day is a festival. (AP-42) @...ye her gün bayram To @..., every day is a festival.</p>	<p>Conveying a message through tagging other users.</p>
<p>(P-40) Ev alma, Komşu al. Don't take a house, take for yourself a neighbor. (AP-43) Ev alma @... al</p>	<p>Conveying a message through tagging other users.</p>



Don't take a house, take @...	
(P-41) Yavuz hırsız ev sahibini bastırır. Smart thief overcomes the landlord. (AP-44) Yavuz hırsız @_polisi ni bastırır Smart thief overcomes the @... police.	Conveying a message through tagging other users.

