Metaphors we grow old by: A study of *gocalıq* (old age) metaphors in Azerbaijani Turkish poetry

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Abstract

The present study attempts to probe into the reflection of aging in Azerbaijani Turkish poetry using Lakoff & Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). The corpus of the study contains Azerbaijani Turkish poems of Shahriar (1906-1988) as well as seven other poets. A total of 50 Turkish verses on old age were recruited for this study. As an initial step, conceptual metaphors were extracted from the corpus. Then, conceptual mappings involved in each metaphor were provided. Finally, source domains in old age metaphors were obtained. The results of the paper reveal that old age is expressed through nine salient metaphors in Azerbaijani Turkish poetry. Moreover, some metaphors are shared between cultures, especially metaphors related to deterioration which are based on bodily experiences, while other metaphors are more based on the Azerbaijani culture of the poets and highly influenced by customs, traditions, religion, and economy. Also, physical deterioration rather than mental deterioration is an ideal source domain, since it is clearly delineated and people believe that they know it well.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor; Azerbaijani Turkish poetry; old age; cross-linguistic; versified translation of poetry

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1. Introduction

Old age reflects itself in various disciplines such as physiology, psychology, sociology, literature and art, among which poetry is the most conspicuous because poetry is life itself, and like life, it encompasses aging. 'Youth and I are house-mates still' by Coleridge, 'I look into my glass, And view my wasting skin' by Hardy, and 'That time of year thou mayst in me behold, When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang' by Shakespeare (Perrine, 1977) are some of the examples of this kind. One of the common literary devices used in these poems to depict aging is metaphor. However, what is metaphor?

Metaphor is related to cognitive abilities or functions. Cognitive abilities are skills of mind. Some skills like abstract thinking, critical thinking, logical reasoning and literacy are examples of cognitive abilities. They can range from fundamental processes like perception to more sophisticated ones, such as problem solving and metacognition (Kiely 2014). One of the cognitive abilities or cognitive functions is language and one of the most intriguing issues in cognitive analysis of language is that of metaphor. Metaphor was believed to be just a literary device (a literary device that asserts one object is another) before Lakoff's Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), but it is defined as one of the basic cognitive mechanisms that structure the way we formulate and understand abstract concepts by cognitive linguists (Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999). Moreover, the critical notion of imagery, according to Freeman (2021), can be redefined by studying poetry from conceptual metaphor perspective since in the light of recent studies in metaphor, there is now considerable concern about conceptual metaphor and its effect on literary studies. Also, many literary scholars, working within the CMT framework, demonstrate how conceptual metaphors provide important meaning structures upon which more elaborate, sometimes indeterminate, literary interpretations may be understood (Gibbs, 2017: 131).

Since the publication of Lakoff's seminal work (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), metaphors have become one of the most commonly discussed topics in cognitive linguistics. An intriguing but neglected area in conceptual metaphor studies is the exploration of how old age is conceptualized in poetry. Aging is a

universal experience that every person, including poets, must contend with, and some of the most powerful poems address this theme (Baldwin 2023). As poets age, their considerations of aging vary. Azerbaijani Turkish poetry has witnessed some significant poetic pieces considering aging. This study aims to provide a deeper understanding of aging metaphors in Azerbaijani Turkish poetry. It aims to shed light on how aging, as a universal consideration, has been conceptualized in some of the most powerful poetic works in Turkic literature. This paper applies CMT to study Azerbaijani Turkish poems about aging, aiming to uncover metaphoric conceptions to poets' lives and experiences of the world. More specifically, this paper aims to shed light on metaphorical studies in an attempt to consider the interactions of metaphorical expressions, culture, and embodiment. To achieve this aim, the following research questions will be addressed: 1. What are the source domains in the metaphorical expressions for old age in Azerbaijani Turkish poetry? 2. Are these metaphors culture-specific or universal?

2. Review of Literature

A few studies have been published on old age in Turkish and Persian poetry. Yalameha & Rajabi (2017) considered the reflection of *old assistants*' types and samples in *Saeb Tabrizi's* poetry. They found that different types of *old assistants* have been employed in *Saeb Tabrizi's* Diwan such as *Pire Moghan*, *Pire Meykadeh*, *Pire Kharabat*, *Pire Meyforoosh*, etc. The concept of o*ld assistants* is used to understand the relationship between *Saeb's* poetry and mysticism. Mozafari & Parnosh (2016) highlighted that both *Ibn Mutazz* and *Saadi* describe youth as a period of frivolity, pleasure and luxury, strength and exuberance. Old age, on the other hand, is a period of physical weakness, frailty, and loss of physical power as well as a time of piety, rejection of pleasures, increased prudence, and knowledge, ultimately ending in death. According to Rahimi & Safabakhsh (2012), old age and youth have been beautifully depicted in *Nezami Ganjavi's* poems through the color element. White, black, and red are examples of colors used to describe the younger generation, either directly or indirectly, while old age is depicted through yellow and white. Kooshan & Zyaee (2012) in

a comparative study considered the adaptation of *Peer* (Old) in *Khajeh Hafez's* Diwan with *Hakim Fuzuli's* Persian and Azerbaijani Turkish Diwans. They proved that *Shiraz's* Diwan contains no definite evidence of dependence on a spiritual guide. However, there is evidence in his thoughts showing that he believes in wishing to have a spiritual guide in seeking the reason for path. *Hakim Fuzuli's* Farsi and Azerbaijani Turkish Diwans emphasize the necessity of having a spiritual guide. This is identified by the praises of the innocent Imams. In his poems, *Fuzuli* portrays the guide of life as being greater than an angel.

Some studies have also been published on old age in English. Holyk (2021) studied *Somewhere towards the end* by Diana Athill to extract old age metaphors in English literary discourse. She found that literary discursive models of old age conceptualization describe the new reality of old age not only as a biological phenomenon but also as a social construct. Najim Al Khafaji (2007) found that for a skeptic Christian poet like Yeats, old age is a mysterious and dreadful experience and his attitudes towards it are simultaneously ambivalent. For Yeats, old age is both 'an age of frustration and uncertainty' and 'an age of wisdom leading to fame and immortality'. For poets, old age is sometimes neither an age of loss nor gain. Martha Clark (1980) suggested that in American poetry, although a great number of poems equate growing old with diminishment, some poems indicate a striving for continued struggle, change, growth, and self-realization in old age.

A recent review of the literature on conceptual metaphor in Azerbaijani Turkish found that Shahiditabar and Pourghasemian (2021) considered conceptual metaphors of 'separation' in Azerbaijani Turkish poetry. The results of the paper showed that separation is expressed through eleven salient metaphors in Azerbaijani Turkish: 1. SEPARATION IS HUMAN/ANIMATE, 2. SEPARATION IS PAIN, 3. SEPARATION IS NATURAL FORCE, 4. SEPARATION IS FIRE, 5. SEPARATION IS THING/TOOL, 6. SEPARATION IS FALL, 7. SEPARATION IS OPPRESSION, 8. SEPARATION IS DEATH, 9. SEPARATION IS TRAVEL, 10. SEPARATION IS PLACE/CONTAINER, and 11. SEPARATION IS RESURRECTION. In their analysis they showed that

Azerbaijani Turkish metaphors are touched by cultural and environmental influences and some conceptual metaphors are based on recurring bodily experiences as it is seen in SEPARATION IS HUMAN/ANIMATE metaphors. Aside from the mentioned work, some works deal with the Turkish language spoken in Turkey (see Adıgüzel, 2020; Can & Can, 2010; Özçalkan, 2003).

This paper is organized as follows: after the introductory sections, i.e., introduction and review of literature, the second section, methodology, gives a brief overview of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). The third section deals with the corpus of the study. In the fourth section, the results of the study are presented. The discussion is presented in the final section.

3. Methodology

From a cognitive point of view, metaphor is seen in the ordinary usage of language. Cognitive linguists believe that everyday language is pervasively metaphorical and the metaphor profoundly 'structures the ways human beings perceive, what they know, and how they think' (Abrams 2009:191). In other words, metaphors are considered to be fundamental to both language and thought. Metaphorical expressions indicate underlying conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphors pair an abstract concept, such as 'old age' in this study, with a concrete or physical concept, like 'loser champion', to form metaphors such as OLD AGE IS LOSER CHAMPION. Another example of this is when we talk about life or love in terms of journey, or about arguments in terms of war (Kövecses, 2010: 4). Different conceptual metaphors are often invoked by poets to support a particular point of view. The selection of such metaphors tends to be directed subconsciously in the mind of the person employing them. A key terms in understanding metaphor is mapping. Metaphor is a mapping or projection across different conceptual domains. Mapping describes the mental organization of information in conceptual domains. To understand a metaphor, a part of the conceptual structure of the source domain is mapped onto the target domain. Take this poem by Shahriar (*Old age arrived, took the fort,/ It pushed you into the cage like a blind bird!*) as an example. In this poem, we have the OLD AGE IS INVADER metaphor. Invader is the source domain, and old age

is the target domain. Through mapping, Invader (source domain) maps onto and describes aspects of Old age (target domain).

Culture and the human body occupy crucial roles in understanding conceptual metaphors. Metaphors are employed by creative writers and poets, and because literature is a part of culture, metaphor and culture can be seen as intimately linked (Kövecses, 2005: 1). The human body is also an ideal source domain in conceptualization since it is clearly delineated and we know it well (Kövecses, 2010: 18).

According to Kövecses, culture can be thought of as a set of shared understanding of the world (Kövecses, 2005). He lists six reasons why culture and metaphor are interrelated. First, cultural models for abstract domains are metaphorically constituted. Second, conceptual metaphors are often expressed in language- a major component of culture. Third, conceptual metaphors may be realized in cultural practice. Fourth, when conceptual metaphors are expressed in the form of metaphorical linguistic expressions in discourse, they may serve culturally distinct social-cultural functions. Fifth, the conventional metaphorical system of a culture preserves and lends stability to a particular culture. Sixth, *creativity* in figurative thought can provide cultures with the potential of change and new experience (Kövecses, 2005: 284). For instance, in Chinese culture, THE MIND IS THE HEART metaphor shows Chinese reasoning in art, music, literature, politics, and medicine while THE MIND IS THE BRAIN metaphor in English leads to alternative reasoning about the causes of human thought and action, which is also evident in a wide range of cultural artifacts and beliefs (Gibbs, 2017).

The human body, including its physiological, structural, motor and perceptual is universal and this universal body is the basis of many conceptual metaphors. The metaphors that emerge from it are potentially universal as well (Kövecses, 2005: 285). When speaking metaphorically, people have access to readily available sociocultural ideas that are related to bodily experiences, even if they have not previously experienced these in a directly embodied manner (Gibbs, 2017). According to Gibbs (2006), embodiment refers not only to neural events but also to cognitive unconscious and to phenomenological experience.

3.1. Corpus

Azerbaijani Turkish poems of *Mohammad Hossein Shahriar* (Şəhriyar, 2005) are chosen as the main corpus of the current study. The main reason for choosing his poerty as the corpus is that he is one of the most outstanding and prolific poets of the Turkic world and old age is one of the most important poetic themes of his poetry. In some cases, some poems from, *Mirza Alakbar Sabir* (2004), *Seyid Azim Shirvani* (Şirvani, 2007), *Ashig Alasgar* (Ələsgər, 1991), *Aliagha Vahid* (Vahid, 2008) and *Khasta Qasim* (Namazov, 2004) are also used. In addition to these works, two poems performed by Azerbaijani Ashiks, one from *Ashig Shamshir* and another from *Javad* are also used. Sonnet 73 of *Shakespeare* (2017) as well as some examples from *Somewhere towards the end* by *Athill* (2009) and a Persian poem from *Vahshi Bafqi* (Bafqi, 2022) are also used in the corpus to draw cross-cultural comparisons.

3.2. Procedure

A total of 50 Turkish verses on old age, an English sonnet by Shakespeare and a Persian poem by Vahshi Bafqi were recruited for this study. At the beginning of the study, all conceptual metaphors were extracted from the corpus. Once conceptual metaphors were extracted, we then provided conceptual mapping involved in each metaphor. Finally, source domains in old age metaphors were obtained. As mentioned, a conceptual metaphor refers to the understanding of an idea or simply a conceptual domain in terms of another. For example, we understand the idea of OLD AGE in terms of WAR in '*Forts are ruined, the soldier is killed, his trench is empty! / Survivors have less flesh on the body; they are skinny!*' through mapping. A mapping is how a source domain (WAR in the above-given poem) tracks onto and describes aspects of the target domain (OLD AGE in the mentioned poem.)

4. Results

After studying the corpus, 50 metaphors regarding old age are extracted. The results of the paper show that OLD AGE is expressed through 9 salient metaphors in Azerbaijani Turkish poetry. It is shown in Table 1:

Table 1.

Conceptual Metaphors of OLD AGE in Azerbaijani Turkish poetry

Metaphor	Frequency	Percentage
OLD AGE IS AUTUMN/WINTER	14	28%
OLD AGE IS HUMAN	14	28%
OLD AGE IS DETERIORATION	6	12%
OLD AGE IS NIGHT	4	8%
OLD AGE IS DEAD/WOUNDED SOLDIER/WAR	4	8%
OLD AGE IS WITHERING	2	4%
OLD AGE IS INVADER	2	4%
OLD AGE IS BLAND	2	4%
OLD AGE IS THING OF LITTLE VALUE	2	4%
Total	50	100%

In this section of the paper, Azerbaijani Turkish poems written in both Perso-Arabic as well as Latin scripts with translations are presented:

Table 2.

Shahriar's poem on OLD AGE IS AUTUMN

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
İnsan xəzanıdır, tökülür can xəzəl kimi,	انسان خـزانی‌دیر، تؤکولور جـان خزل کیمی!
Saz tək xəzəl yağanda sızıldar xəzan səsi.	سازتك خزل یاغاندا سیزیلدار خزان سسی!

Autumn has fallen on man! Flesh tearing down flying in winnowing autumn wind. Leaves are falling down like strings of a broken Qopuz singing elegies.

Aging is characterized in terms of fall leaves, as in (2). Leaves are dry and brown when they fall. Dryness and brown color symbolize death and sadness. What is conceivable in (2) is that aging is thought about in terms of 'fall leaves' and falling of leaves could be perceived as singing elegies. In (3), old age is thought about in terms of autumn, which withers rival's blossoms.

Table 3.

Vahid's poem on OLD AGE IS AUTUMN

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Naz elə, gül, bizim ellərdə də güllər gülsün,	ناز ائله! گول! بیزیم ائللرده ده گوللر گولسون!
Solsun əğyarin açılmış gülü dönsün xəzələ.	سولسون اغیارین آچیلمیش گولو دؤنسون خزله!

Oh, my beloved! Play hard to get! Then, flowers bloom all through it.

May rival's blossoms wither in the garden! May turn them into fall!

   For Seyed Azim Shirvani, old age is chilly:

Table 4.

Seyed Azim Shirvani's poem on OLD AGE IS WINTER

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Yetişdi əlliyə yaşım, tökər su çəşm-i-xunpaşim,	یئتیشدی اللی یه یاشیم، توکر سو چشم خونپاشیم،
Ağardı bərf tək başım, dönüb bir zəmhərir oldum.	آغاردی برف تک باشیم، دونوب بیر زمهریر اولدوم

I aged 50; I am crying bloody tears,

My hair turned white like snow; I got chilly!

   For Shahriar, old age is winter/autumn and he is a pale wheat crop:

Table 5.

Shahriar's poem on OLD AGE IS WINTER

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Qışın qərə-qeyidi alıb mənim canımı,	قیشین قره قئیدی آلیب منیم جانیمی
Xortdan deyib qocalıq, kəsib mənim yanımı.	خورتدان دئیب قوجالیق ، کسیب منیم یانیمی
Payızlamış zəmiyəm, vəryan mənə nə gərək,	پاییزلامیش زمییم، وریان منه نه گرک!؟
Dönərgə döndərəcək döndükcə vəryanımı.	دؤنرگه دؤندرهجک ، دؤندیکجه وریانیمی!

Winter concern has taken my life!

It has changed into the bogeyman and does not leave me alone!

I am a pale wheat crop; I need no waterway!

Destination will turn my waterway while turning!

The long-running winter/autumn seems to cover the poet's life. His condition worsens as the coldness deepens because his life crops are not cool-weather crops. They wither in autumn and winter. Autumn is conceptualized as despondency and sadness in this poem. Moreover, autumn metaphor is seen in Russian poetry as maturity, despondency and sadness (Hayrutdinova, Wang, & Zhang, 2021) or autumn is seen as 'savage' in Ukrainian poetry (Kravets, Siuta, Struhanets, & Struhanets, 2021). In English poetry, 'That time of year thou mayst in me behold' as one of the most widely anthologized sonnets by William Shakespeare (2017) has been drawn to the topic of old age:

That time of year thou mayst in me behold
When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang (Shakespeare)

In this sonnet, Shakespeare addresses youth and declares that when yellow leaves, or none, or few, hang upon the trees you can see in him (the poet) a reflection of autumnal and wintery time of the year. However, in Persian poetry, Vahshi Bafqi provides a similar conceptualization of old age:

Table 6.

Vahshi Bafqi's poem on OLD AGE IS AUTUMN

English translation	Persian poem
When the old age made Zulaikha decrepit,	زلیخا را چو پیری ناتوان کرد
Floral garden changed into autumn!	گلش را دست فرسود خزان کرد

It can be argued that autumn metaphors are shared between cultures. In other words, the correlation between autumn metaphors defining old age in Azerbaijani Turkish, English, Persian, Russian and Ukrainian poetry and cultural experiences show that autumn as a source domain is shared between the mentioned cultures and cannot therefore be regarded as culturally specific.

4.1. OLD AGE IS HUMAN

Old age is conceptualized as human in Shamshir's poetry:

Table 7.

Shamshir's poem on OLD AGE IS HUMAN

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Gizlənmişdim cavanlıq bağına,	گیزلنمیشدیم جوانلیقین باغینا،
Onda məni gəldi gördü qacalıq.	اوندا منی گلدی گؤردو قوجالیق!
Cavanlıq tərlanı uçdu əlimdən,	جوانلیق ترلانی اوچدو الیمدن،
Mənə verdi qəmi-dərdi qocalıq.	منه وئردی غمی-دردی قوجالیق!
Harayıma çatan dostum olmadı,	هاراییما چاتان دوستوم اولمادی،
Qaçmağa var idi qəsdim, olmadı,	قاچماغا واریدی قصدیم، اولمادی،
Qapını bacanı basdım olmadı,	قاپینی باجانی باسدیم، اولمادی!
Açıb pəncərədən girdi qocalıq.	آچیب پنجرهدن گیردی قوجالیق!
İştaham kəsilib naz-o-nemətdən,	اشتهام کسیلیب ناز و نعمتدن،
Dolmadan kababdan pilovdan ətdən,	دولمادان، کاباب‌دان، پلودان، أتدن،
Gözəllər yanında düşdüm hörmətdən,	گؤزللر یانین‌دا دوشدوم حرمتدن،
Başıma yüz kələk qurdu qocalıq.	باشیما یوز کلک قوردو قوجالیق!
Qaçdım çaylara kimi axabilmədim,	قاچدیم چایلارا کیمی، آخا بیلمهدیم!
Güləşdim, mən onu yıxa bilmədim,	گولهشدیم، من اونو ییخا بیلمهدیم!
Çalışdım əlindən çıxabilmədim,	چالیشدیم الیندن چیخا بیلمهدیم!
Ağır yükdü yaman zordu qocalıq.	آغیر یوکدو، یامان زوردو، قوجالیق!
Şəmşir! Yeməsən də, durmaq olmur ac,	شمشیر! یئمهسنده، دورماق اولمور آج!
Həkim verə dişdən olmadı əlac,	حکیم وئره دیش‌دن، اولمادی علاج!
Ölməsəm bəsimdi tapanda umac,	اؤلمهسم بسیمدی تاپاندا اوماج!
Tikə boğazəmı cırdı qocalıq.	تیکه بوغازیمی جیردی قوجالیق!

I entered the Youth Garden stage,

Where I was seen by Old Age!

The Youth Bird flew away! Left me in cage!

Giving me great sorrow and sharp pain!

I appealed for help. None gave me a hand, therefore!

I wanted to run for Her but failed for sure!

Shutting Old Age out from the youth within, I closed the door!
Alas! Old Age entered from the window pane!

For blessing and wealth, I've lost my lust!
For dolma, kebab, rice, meat and crust.
With the angel-faced Beloveds, my face, I lost!
Old Age played a hundred tricks on me to wane!

I ran to the rivers but could not flow around,
Grappled with Him, could not wrestle Him to the ground,
Tried to escape the clutches of Old Age, did not bound,
Old Age is a heavy burden, a nasty bull for a thane!

Shamshir! If you skip your morning meal, you won't endure,
False teeth prescribed by the doctor did not cure,
If I survive, 'umac' will suffice, it doth secure,
Oh, Old Age! Morsel tore my throat again!

This poem consists of five stanzas. Old age is conceptualized as HUMAN in five lines of the poem. Old age left the poet in cage in the first stanza. In the second line, old age sees the poet and in the fourth line, gives great sorrow and sharp pain to him. In the second stanza, old age enters from the window and in the third stanza, old age is a cunning person who played a hundred tricks on the poet. That is, old age is a big bully in this stanza who tricks the poet and in the fourth stanza, he runs to the rivers and grapples with old age but cannot defeat him. In other words, old age sees the poet, gives great sorrow, opens the window, plays tricks and finally grapples with the poet like HUMAN. But in the last stanza, the poet experiences a loss of appetite (*Shamshir*! If you skip your morning meal, you won't endure). The reason behind the poet's decreased appetite is his loss of teeth as a sign of physical deterioration. The physician prescribes the poet false teeth in the next lines but they are not helpful and he just affords *umac* (a kind of Azerbaijani soup made from flour) which symbolizes a small meal. In this stanza, one of the effects of old age is shown as deterioration and the deterioration of the poet's health is depicted as the

process in which his physical health becomes worse progressively over time.

Another example of OLD IS IS HUMAN deals with OLD AGE IS LOSER CHAMPION metaphor by Shahriar. In this poem, like the third stanza of Shamshir's poem, the poet wrestles with time. Wrestling metaphors in Azerbaijani Turkish emerge within the social and cultural contexts in which they function and not simply from purely conceptual metaphors. In the following metaphor, both culture and embodiment play crucial roles.

Table 8.

Shahriar's poem on OLD AGE IS LOSER CHAMPION

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Sanki zaman güləşdi, məni güpsədi yerə, Şerim, yazım olub yıxılan pəhləvan səsi.	سانکی زمان گولشدی منی گوپسدی یئره شعریم یازیم اولوب ییخیلان پهلـــوان سسی

Time seemed to grapple with me and wrestled me to the ground!
My poem is like a loser champion's voice!

Güləş also known as *Kurash* refers to 'folk wrestling' practiced in most Turkic regions including Azerbaijan. Aside from being a sport, *güləş* is also used as a traditional part of marriage ceremonies in Azerbaijan. A crowd of well-wishers gather outside the groom's house. The groom, mostly with his groomsmen standing in line on the roof of his house, throws apples to his bride and the crowd of well-wishers. And some of the well-wishers wrestle with each other in front of the groom as a tradition. Shahrior depicts this ceremony in 'Heydar Babaya Salam':

Table 9.

Shahriar's Heydar Babaya Salam

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Heydərbaba, kəndin toyun tutanda, Qız-gəlinlər həna, piltə satanda, Bəy gəlinə damnan alma atanda, Mənim də o qızlarında gözüm var, Aşıqların sazlarıda sözüm var.	حیدربابا، کندین تویون تو تاندا قیز-گلینلر ، حنا-پیلته ساتاندا بَی گلینه دامنان آلما آتاندا منیمده او قیزلاریندا گؤزوم وار! عاشیقلارین سازلاریندا سؤزوم وار!

Heydar Baba! When the village wedding ceremony is held!
Girls and newly-wed women sell henna and wick!
Groom throws the apple to bride from the roof!
I am also in love with your girls!
My words are in your ashiks' music!

Güləş is also used in Azerbaijani narratives to show the power of the protagonist. For instance, in Məlikməmməd nağılı 'Fairy tale of Malikmammad' (Nemət, 2017), the hero wrestled with the dragon for 40 days! Bearing these traditional, social and historical contexts in mind, the metaphoric use of "old age" in (8) is a culture-specific manifestation of the loser champion metaphor. Moreover, based on the Embodiment Hypothesis (see Johnson, 1987; Kövecses, 2005), 'wresting of the poet with time' metaphor proves the correspondence between his bodily experience and the poet's mental image schemata. That is, the poet uses this metaphor to create and comprehend his cultural embodied experience.

Another example of OLD AGE IS HUMAN refers to Alasgar's poem. Alasgar, an aging poet, conceptualizes old age as a deteriorated traveler using Azrael instead of Ajal and writes:

Table 10.

Alasgar's poem on OLD AGE IS HUMAN

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Səksanı-doqsanı keçibdir yaşım,	سکسانی-دوخسانی کئچیبدیر یاشیم
Gör deyə titrəyir bəlalı başım,	گؤر دئیه تیتره‌ییر بلالی باشیم
Əzrail həmdəmim, məzar yoldaşım,	عزرائیل همدمیم، مزار یولداشیم
Daha köç təblin çal qoca bəxtim.	داها کوچ طبلین چال قوجا بختیم

I've lived to the ripe old age of 80 or 90!
My Old Age behaves like nothing has happened!
I traveled in the company of Azrael and the Grave.
My Old Luck! Sound the death knell to pass the Gate!

In this poem, OLD AGE IS HUMAN who sounds the death knell. Azrael is the angel of death in Islamic teachings and he is said to hold a scroll concerning the fate of people. The poet travels in the company of Azrael which keeps in mind the religion-specific metaphor based on the mentioned source domain. As far as this poem on sounding the death knell by old age is concerned, this metaphors arise from religious teachings of the poet and it is culture-specific.

4.2. OLD AGE IS DETERIORATION

The definitions of old age are not consistent from the viewpoints of biology, demography, and sociology. It is accepted that old age is usually referred to as deterioration. The distinguishing characteristics of old age are both physical and mental (Salokangas & Joukamaa, 1991). Certain kinds of memory, certain aspects and skills and muscular strength tend to diminish with age. In addition to Shamshir's poem which showed how morsel tore the poet's throat, which was one of the 'effects' of old age as deterioration, some direct examples of deterioration/diminishment metaphors include Shahriar and Sabir's poems:

Table 11.

Shahriar's poem on OLD AGE IS DETERIORATION

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
İnsan qocalmış olsa, qulaqlar ağırlaşar,	انسان قوجالمیش اولسا، قولاغلار آغیرلاشار
Sanki yazıq qulaqda guruldur zaman səsi.	سانکی یازیق قولاغدا گورولدور زمان سسی

When you are quite old, you are increasingly hard of hearing,
Like as time has caused a great furor in the poor ear!

Table 12.

Shahriar's second poem on OLD AGE IS DETERIORATION

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Hünər olsa ruh cavandır, hələ-hələ düşgün olmaz,	هنر اولسا روح جواندیر، هله-هله دوشگون اولماز
Ondakı gördün düşübsən, bu nəfir bədən düşübdü.	اوندا که گؤردون دوشوبسن، بو نفیر بدن دوشوبدو!

Sprit is young with art; It will not be diminished by time.
If you are diminished, it's the flesh, not spirit!

Table 13.

Sabir's poem on OLD AGE IS DETERIORATION

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Əfsus qocaldım ağacım düşdü əlimdən Səd heyf cavanlıq,	افسوس قوجالدیم آغاجیم دوشدو الیمدن، صد حیف جوانلیق!
Zəf eylədi aciz məni qaldım əməlimdən, Çəkdim nə ziyanlıq!	ضعف ائلەدی عاجز منی قالدیم عملیمدن، چکدیم نه زیانلیق!

What a pity I got old and my stick fell down,
Much to my regret that I lost my youth,
Weakness brought disgrace on me.
I'm at a loss to know what to do!

In a case (an Azerbaijani ashik music), the poet used to be prejudiced against the elderly and then became old himself, his anti-elderly prejudice turned inward, causing depression.

Table 14.

Javad's poem on OLD AGE IS DETERIORATION

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Vəqtim vardı qocalığa gülərdim, Başım çekməmişdi hardan bilərdim!?	وقتیم واردی قوجالیقا گولردیم باشیم چکمەمیشدی هاردان بیلردیم!؟

I used to laugh at old age!
I had never experienced it! How on earth did I know I would grow old one day?

It can be argued that deterioration metaphors show how the poets create and comprehend their embodied experience. Deterioration as a bodily experience corresponds with the poet's mental image schemata while creating

the metaphors presented in this part. It is worth mentioning that old age as a bodily experience in English evokes these metaphors: OLD AGE IS DECLINE, OLD AGE IS A DISEASE, OLD AGE IS PHYSICAL/MENTAL HARM (Holyk, 2021: 79). It can be said that physical and mental deterioration of old age is shared between cultures.

4.3. OLD AGE IS NIGHT

In our data, there are some verses that vindicate the idea of night as source domain which is realted to death. Death as Kövecses declares can be viewed as departure, night, darkness, and cold (Kövecses, 2010: 26). In (15), for instance, death is metaphorically defined as *Ajal*, who is knocking at the door. It seems that OLD AGE IS NIGHT, as Kövecses declares, is more likely to be a metaphor here.

Table 15.

Shahriar's poem on OLD AGE IS NIGHT

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Bu qaranlıq gecələrdə qapımız pis döyülür,	بو قارانلیق گئجەلرده قاپیمیز پیس دؤیولور
Nə bilim, bəlkə əcəldir, dayanıb can apara.	نه بیلیم، بلکه اجل‌دیر، دایانیب، جان آپارا!

Our door is being hammered on in these dark nights,
Mabey, Death is at the door! Waiting for stealing our flesh!

In another poem, regarding OLD AGE IS NIGHT, Shahriar is miserable when *Ajal* enters his house and the sun sets and it gets dark:

Table 16.

Shahriar's second poem on OLD AGE IS NIGHT

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Adıbatmış əcəl gələndə bizə,	آدی باتمیش اجل گلنده بیزه
Mən ayım çıxdı, gün də batmışdı.	من آییم چیخدی، گونده باتمیش‌دی!

When the cursed Death came to our house,
I was miserable! The sun set!

This poem of Shahriar was written when he was old and alone. His wife died young and his daughter married. Ajal is the 'time of death' in Islamic teachings. The poet is not satisfied with Ajal and calls him as 'cursed'. When Ajal arrives, Azrael meets the person to take his/her soul according to Islam.

4.4. OLD AGE IS DEAD/WOUNDED SOLDIER/WAR

Table 17.

Shahriar's poem on OLD AGE IS WOUNDED SOLDIER

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Anama söyləyin: Oğlun yıxılıb səngərdə,	آناما سؤیله‌یین اوغلون ییخیلیب سنگرده،
Tellərin bas yarama, qoyma, məni qan apara.	تئللرین باس یاراما قویما منی قان آپارا!

I have fallen in the trench; Let my mother know!
Put your hair on my wound to ward off bleeding!

The use of a wounded/dead soldier as a source domain is not pervasive when conceptualizing old age in the studied poems. The context of the soldier is associated with war, attack, bleeding, etc. These features of the soldier are consistent with old age in Shahriar's poetry. In the same vein, the same source domain for conceptualizing old age is used when Shahriar visited his homeland after 35 years at the end of his life with regret:

Table 18.

Shahriar's poem on OLD AGE IS DEAD SOLDIER

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Qələlər darbadağın, sərbaz ölüb, səngəri boş,	قلعه‌لر داربا‌داغین، سرباز اؤلوب، سنگری بوش!
Dirilərdən də dəxi yağ əriyibdir, dəri boş.	دیری‌لردنده، داخی یاغ اری‌ییب‌دیر، دری بوش!
Şəhriyar kəndə gəlib, kənd uşağının yeri boş,	شهریار کنده گلیب، کند اوشاغینین یئری بوش!
Biz görənlər hamı getmiş, hamı itmiş-batmış,	بیز گؤرنلر هامی گئتمیش، هامی ایتمیش، باتمیش،
Hamısı işləyib, axırda yorulmuş, yatmış.	هامیسی ایشله‌ییب، آخیردا یورولموش، یاتمیش!

Forts are ruined, the soldier is killed, his trench is empty!
Survivors have less flesh on the body; they are skinny!

Shahriar is back home. Village children! You are all missed out!
Villagers who saw us all have gone, lost, missed!
All have been overworked! Exhausted, Slept!

In this stanza, in addition to OLD AGE IS WOUNDED SOLDIER, other metaphors such as OLD AGE IS DESTROYED CASTLE as well as OLD AGE IS SKINNY PERSON are seen. These metaphors all associate with OLD AGE IS DETERIORATION. By employing these metaphors, the poet allows us to think about his complex and abstract feelings regarding old age in terms of comparatively simple and concrete concepts. An intriguing point is that the first two lines of the poem are not conceptual metaphors since they depict a war scene. In the next lines, by naming village children the poet feels nostalgic about his childhood friends. With this image shift the poet employs the above-mentioned conceptual metaphors. It can be argued that metaphors help the poet think and write about abstract and complex phenomena by simplifying them, highlighting certain aspects and deemphasizing others since they are notable for the emotional valence that they can convey (see Flusberga, Matlockb & Thibodeauc, 2018).

Another point regarding the mentioned metaphors is the key concept of war and its cultural significance. The wounded soldier, destroyed castle and skinny person metaphors in shahrir's poetry evoke OLD AGE IS WAR metaphor in Azerbaijani Turkish. The same metaphor exists in English. AGING IS WAR/BATTLE in English, as far as Holyk is concerned:

It might be the result of the conceptual network of BATTLE, which is commonly projected against the LIFE domain and characterizes the concept of HUMAN LIFE in general, and OLD AGE as its particular stage, especially in terms of mental conflict.

(Holyk, 2021: 14):

It seems reasonable to conjecture that war metaphors which are shared between Azerbaijani and English reveal metaphor variation. In English, terms as 'wartime' in '*I was his wartime fling, or folly...*' or 'frontier' in *'The last man in my life as a sexual being, who accompanied me over the frontier between*

late middle-age and being old, was Sam' (ibid., 14-15) and in Azerbaijani Turkish, terms like 'soldier' or 'trench' in '*Forts are ruined, the soldier is killed, his trench is empty!*' show that even though both languages and cultures share the same metaphor, different metaphorical patterns are revealed in the cultures.

4.5. OLD AGE IS WITHERING

Khasta Qasim, a mystic, ashik and philosopher in the Afsharid dynasty (17th century), conceptualizes old age as withering:

Table 19.

Khasta Qasim's poem on OLD AGE IS WITHERING

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Gəl bir səndən xəbər alım,	گل بیر سندن خبر آلیم
Süleymandan qalan dünya.	سلیماندان قالان دونیا
Əzəli gül kimi açıb,	ازلی گول کیمی آچیب
Axırında solan dünya.	آخیریندان سولان دونیا
De görüm nəyə talıbsan,	دئ گؤروم نه یه طالیب سان؟
Dərsini kimdən alıbsan?	درسینی کیمدن آلیب سان؟
Neçə min yol boşalıbsan.	نئچه مین یول بوشالیب سان؟
Neçə min yol dolan dünya.	نئچه مین یول دولان دونیا
Xəstə Qasım qalıb naçar,	بو دنیا فانی دیر فانی!
Bu sirri bəs kimlər açar?	بو دنیادا قالان هانی؟
Gələn qonar, qonan köçər,	داود اوغلو سلیمانی،
Hey salarsan talan dünya.	تخت اوستوندن سالان دنیا!
	خسته قاسیم قالیب ناچار
	بو سرّی بس کیملر آچار؟
	گله ن قونار، قونان کؤچه ر
	هئی سالیرسان تالان دونیا

Thou, a Solomon's kingship relic
I wanna 'answer of this question' pick:

Why blossom so fast and wither sick?
World bestowed us His crown!

Let me know what thou want?
Who taught the world 'the man hunt'?
Thousands of times filled! But can't!
Emptied again its children's bone!

This world is mortal; Mortal
Nobody has remained in the portal.
Solomon, son of David? Not immortal!
By this world lost His throne!

Khasta Qasim gives up the Fate.
Who lets me in on the secret? Wait!
We'll all pass the Gate soon or late.
May this world be a plundered zone!

Despite the fact that life and death are not mentioned in this poem, LIFE/DEATH IS JOURNEY metaphor guides us in making sense of Khasta Qasim's poem. The interpretations of *life and death are journeys* and *old age is deterioration* are reinforced by supporting metaphors employed by the poet, many of which conventional in everyday conceptual system. The line "*Who taught the world the man hunt?*" evokes the LIFE IS HUNTER metaphor; the words/phrases "withering, eliminating, losing throne and passing through the Gate" evoke the conventional metaphor LIFE IS DETERIORATION; OLD AGE IS WITHERING; DEATH IS PASSING. According to the poet, this mortal world is like a flower. It first begins to blossom and then withers. It is the mother who gives birth to her children and then eliminates them. It also caused Solomon King to lose his throne since here is the Gate to pass through. Old age is withering, eliminating, losing throne and passing through the Gate. They are all deterioration according to Khasta Qasim. In some intriguing cases, the poet's

poetic intelligence does not deteriorate with age despite the examples of old age as deterioration or withering metaphors:

Table 20.

Alasgar's poem on OLD AGE IS WITHERING/ DETERIORATION

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Məni qoca gördü ürbəndin açdı,	منی قوجا گؤردو روبندین آشدی
Ala gözlərinə gözüm sataşdı,	آلا گؤزلرینه گؤزوم ساتاشدی
Huş başımdan getdi xəyalım çaşdı,	هوش باشیمدان گئتدی خیالیم چاشدی
Murğ-i ruhum asimanlar dolanır.	مرغ-روحوم آسمانلار دولانیر

She found me decrepit and lifted up her veil,
Her beautiful eyes caught mine.
I went bananas; She just freaked me out,
My Spirit Bird flies high into the sky!

Rubənd or *yaşmaq* is an Azerbaijani type of veil or hijab worn by Azerbaijani Muslim women to cover their faces in public or in front of a non-mahram, especially in the time of the poet, that represents Islamic female dress. In the Azerbaijani cultural context of Alasgar, females needed to observe the hijab in front of a non-mahram. Lifting *yaşmaq* by a young female in front of an elderly (who was non-mahram) was uncommon since he might seem enthusiastic about her beauty which was Haram (something which is sacred or prohibited) based on the religious teachings of the poet. However, by lifting the veil, her lovely eyes caught the poet's eyes despite being old and the poet went bananas and his Spirit Bird flew high into her sky. What we see in the poem is the physical appearance of the poet. He looks old and the young lady lifts up her veil. Despite his physical deterioration, the poet's mental ability is high and he pursues his romantic passion. That is, for *Alasgar*, love does not seem to experience physiological barriers. In the same vein, when *Shahriar* faces betrayal his hair turns grey and becomes old:

Table 21.

Shahriar's poem on OLD AGE IS WITHERING

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Gəlməz, tanıram bəxtimi, indi ağarar sübh,	گلمز! تانیرام بختیمی، ایندی آغارار صبح!
Qaş böylə ağardıqca, daha baş da ağarı.	قاش بؤیله آغاردیقجا داها باش‌دا آغاری!

She won't come at the break of dawn. I know my luck!

As dawn is breaking, my hair turns gray!

4.6. OLD AGE IS INVADER

In one case, the poet was overwhelmed by feelings of depression and conceptualized old age as an invader. The depressed mood of the poet was the result of living alone after his wife's death (*Your wife? She has died for ten years!*) and having a lack of emotional support.

Table 22.

Shahriar's poem on OLD AGE IS INVADER

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
İçərim sanki öz səsimlə deyir:	ایچه‌ریم سانکی اوز سسیمله دئیر:
-Sən ölübkən, qəbirdə xortdamısan!	سن أولوبکن، قبیرده خوتدامیسان
Nə xanım? Arvadın on ildi ölüb!	نه خانیم؟ آروادین اون ایلدی اؤلوب!
Arvadın öldü, qızların köçdü,	آروادین اؤلدو، قیزلارین کؤچدو،
Qocalıq gəldi, qələni aldı.	قوجالیق گلدی، قلعه‌نی آلدی!
Səni kor quş kimi basıb qəfəsə!	سنی کور قوش کیمی، باسیب قفسه!

My inside is murmuring to myself:

You have died! You are in the grave!

Your wife? She has died for ten years!

Your spouse died, your daughters wed and left you alone!

Old age arrived, took the fort,

It pushed you in the cage like a blind bird!

This metaphor is grounded on the cruel identity of the invader, whose

incredibly enormous power is supposed to attack the weaker people. The poet cannot repel the invader. Old age can also be seen as a wild animal, whose incredibly enormous power is supposed to imprison the poet. Accordingly, meaning in this stanza is conveyed through mental deterioration and invasion metaphors simultaneously to the readers of the poem.

4.7. OLD AGE IS BLAND

Table 23.

Shahriar's poem on OLD AGE IS BLAND

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Qırx ildi dustağam, qala bilməz o yağlı səs,	قیرخ ایلدی دوستاغام، قالا بیلمز او یاغلی سس
Yağsızsa da, qəbul elə məndən yavan səsi.	یاغسیزسادا، قبول ائله مندن یاوان سسی

I am imprisoned for forty years; My melodious voice could not survive.
If you find my voice a little bland, accept it!

Poem (23) was written when Shariar was seventy. At first glance, the metaphor mentioned cannot be immediately understood from the poem. However, it should be noted that Shahriar uses *yağlı* (which means 'greasy, rich, well-to-do, effective, a great deal': see Behzadi, 1999: 1098) to represent youth. For instance, he visited his homeland after 35 years at the end of his life, filled with regret. He remembered his childhood friends-some of whom had died, while those he saw were old and very skinny. To conceptualize old age, he uses 'people who are not *yağlı*' and writes 'Dirilərdən də daxi yağ əriyibdir, dəri boş' (which literally translates to 'but the oil of the survivors (who escaped from death)'s body has been melted and their skin is empty'; *Survivors have less flesh on their bodies; they are skinny!*).

In the same vein, in this poem, he uses *yavan,* which is the opposite of *yağlı*, to describe old age. In Turkish, *yavan* means bread without any yogurt (Behzadi, 1999). Poor people eat *yavan çörək* (just bread), whereas the rich have *yağlı çörək* (literally 'greasy bread', pragmatically means delicious and/or enormous meal). In one of his poems, Shahriar, refers to the financial problems of his people and addresses the baker:

Table 24.

Shahriar's poem on financial problems of his people

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Kasıbın qisməti yox yağlı pilov döşləməyə,	كاسيبين قيسمتى يوخ ياغلى پيلوو دؤشلەمەيه
Bu yavan səngəyi bir qoy sahalıb sellənsin.	بو ياوان سنگكى بيرقوى ساحاليب سئللنسين

The poor are not that lucky to have the greasy pilaf!
Bake this bland sangak well in large amounts then!

Pilaf is a rice dish that symbolizes, at least when paired with a greasy, large meal in Azerbaijan which was very common during Charshanba (Çərşənbə) festival. In contrast to Pilaf, sangak (a type of bread) when collocates with *yavan* (bland) symbolizes a small meal that represents the staple food of the poor. In this poem (24), the voice of the poet is seen as *yavan* (bland) which shows OLD AGE IS YAVAN BREAD. A 'bland voice' can be interpreted in relation to the LIFE IS ANORMOUS MEAL metaphor, which in this specific context gives rise to the specific instantiation OLD AGE IS SMALL MEAL. It can be argued that this source-to-target domain mapping in conceptual metaphor is based on socio-economic factors.

4.8. OLD AGE IS THING OF LITTLE VALUE

Sometimes, old age is conceptualized in terms of a low-quality shop where bargain hunters buy used goods at cheap prices-a metaphor that is not religion-oriented. This metaphor is seen in the following poem:

Table 25.

Shahriar's poem on OLD AGE IS THING OF LITTLE VALUE

Latin script	Perso-Arabic script
Qoca əcəl malıdır	قوجا اجل مالى‌دير
Köhnəni simsar alı.	كهنەنى سيمسار آلى

An elderly is the client of death,
Second-hand goods are bought by junk shops.

In this poem, old age is represented as something of little value. It's buyer is death. Old age is compared to used goods sold at cheap prices. Junkers buy and sell it. In other words, OLD AGE IS THING OF LITTLE VALUE.

4.9. DEATH IS A JUNKER.

Despite being culturally specific, death is also a religious term in Western civilization (Uberman, 2016: 172). The linguistic manifestation of OLD AGE IS DEATH in English employs euphemistic expressions, such as *this sooner-rather-than-later inevitable event*, *the end*, *sign off* or even *to be gone* (Holyk, 2021: 16). Similarly, *Ajal* is a euphemistic term employed by poets in Azerbaijani culture to conceptualize old age.

The conclusion to be drawn is that old age metaphors using death as the source domain are culture-specific. Moreover, death is a religious concept in both Azerbaijani and English cultures.

5. Discussion

The evidence from this study suggests that poets in Azerbaijani Turkish tend to write about old age metaphorically, using a variety of source domains to elucidate the target domain. Examples of these source domains include *loser champion, autumn, winter, bland, deterioration, invader, soldier, destroyed castle, skinny person, and withering* all of which are grounded on human experiences. Some of these metaphors are culture-specific, while others are universal.

There is a tradition-specific metaphor based on specific source domains, such as OLD AGE IS LOSER CHAMPION. In contrast, some metaphors arise from socio-economic factors, as seen in OLD AGE IS BLAND, while others arise from religious teachings, such as OLD AGE IS HUMAN who sounds the death knell. But why is OLD AGE IS LOSER CHAMPION culture-specific? The answer lies in two factors. First, it is related to a Turkish proverb. Second, it relates to a traditional and cultural activity.

There are some proverbs about wrestling in Turkish. A proverb is considered to be a conventional saying, transmitted orally, and reflective of

cultural values (Dinh Te. 1962). While some dictionaries fail to distinguish between proverbs and other prefabricated expressions (Akbarian 2013), proverbs are deeply 'part of the language and culture'. They are described as 'traditional' (smith 1985) and 'folklore items' (Gramley and Pätzold 1992: 77), requiring considerable cultural sensitivity to grasp their full meaning (Yankah 2001: 201-202). In Azerbaijani culture, proverbs are called *Atalar sözü* (which means 'the sayings of the ancestors'). One such proverbs regarding wrestling is 'iki güləşənin biri yıxılar' (literally, 'one of the two wrestlers loses').

From a traditional perspective, *güləş* (wrestling) refers to 'folk wrestling' practiced in most Turkic regions including Azerbaijan. Beyond its connection to proverbs in Turkish, the LOSER CHAMPION metaphor also draws on wrestling and *pahlavani* martial art in Azerbaijan. In the discussed poem, the poet metaphorically wrestles (güləşdi) with time and is likened to a *yıxılan pəhləvan* (a defeated pahlavan or champion). It should be noted that *pahlavan*, an integral part of *pahlavani* martial arts or zourkhaneh rituals, refers to the traditional system of athletics in Iran, originated during the Safavid era. This tradition has since spread to the Azerbaijan Republic, Afghanistan, and Iraq (Iranica 2023). In this specific example, the metaphor is touched by cultural influences of the poet.

In the same vein, the DEATH ANNOUNCER metaphor refers to Israfil, the angel in Islamic tradition who blows the trumpet to signal the Day of Judgment or death. Moreover, some verses in the data suggest metaphors of deterioration or death as the source domain, based on the biological nature of the old age. These metaphors are universal since the human body is universal, and the metaphors derived from it are potentially universal as well (Kövecses, 2005: 285). They are not related to any specific culture, as all humans who age experience it. Thus, these metaphors are not culture-specific.

The findings of this study prove that some metaphors are shared across cultures, especially metaphors related to deterioration which are based on bodily experiences. On the other hand, other metaphors are more based on the Azerbaijani culture of the poets and highly influenced by customs, traditions, religion, and economy. The evidence provided here show that some

metaphors obtained from the study are touched by cultural influences while other metaphors are not. The findings also suggest that despite examples of old age as deterioration metaphor, in some intriguing cases the poet's poetic intelligence does not deteriorate with age. That is, despite the poet's physical deterioration, his mental ability is high and he pursues his romantic passion.

One motivation for physical rather than mental deterioration metaphors in describing old age, may be because they are imbued with human life cycle rooting. As we age, our bodies start to wear out. Treating old age as physical deterioration helps the reader to understand the poem easier since physical deterioration is concrete and through conceptual metaphors may provide a primary basis for understanding the abstract concept of old age. That is, physical deterioration rather than mental deterioration is an ideal source domain, since it is clearly delineated and people believe that they know it well.

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