A Pragmatic Study of Overstatement in Kurdish Proverbs

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Abstract
Language has been a communication tool from early human history up to date. It is by using this significant tool that events and traditions have remained from the forefathers of every nation. An instance of the remained treasures of history is the items of folklore, in essence, proverbs, which is the subject of the current study. Admittedly, proverbs of any language comprise numerous figures of speech. This paper entitled “A Pragmatic Study of Overstatement in Kurdish Proverbs” is an extract from an MA thesis which pragmatically investigates the trope of overstatement in Kurdish proverbs.

Introducing the two items related to the topic, namely, the proverb is an item of folklore inherited by the generations of every nation from their ancestors, which mostly gives a lesson. The trope, which in the current study is to be investigated inside the Kurdish proverbs, overstatement, is said to be, as the word itself suggests, an overly stated statement. Usually what is explained is given coloring and excessive importance or it is embellished more than its normal being. The study aims to investigate the aforementioned trope in some selected proverbs of the Kurdish language from a pragmatic perspective. This is to be conducted by adopting the eclectic model of Braim (2014). In light of the results, the trope was found to be present in seven proverbs from the data provided. The trope's most recurrent pragmatic forms and functions are seen to be adverbs and emphasis. Pragmatically, it is affirmed that overstatement has implicature in every analyzed instance during the analysis of the current study.

Keywords: Overstatement, Proverbs, Trope.
1. Introduction

People can use language as a vital tool to express what is in their minds. It can also be an important element for developing and interpreting any communicative process anytime, anywhere. When stating something, two meanings might be delivered, an explicit or an implicit one (Grice, 1975). Here, pragmatics is a prerequisite to help distinguish those meanings (Carston, 2009). There are people who prefer to be explicit, while others prefer to be the other way around. Some people seek to catch others’ attention through the utilization of humorous, metaphoric or sarcastic expressions like idioms, sayings or proverbs (Kövecses, 2002). Similarly, saying more, less, or the reverse of what one means is an important aspect of the adaptability of communication behavior. Leaving certain things unsaid and implying others can also be linked to behavioral norms (Valeria, 2014). This norm has been found in every language of the world from the past to the present nations. In linguistics, the manipulation of language in saying less or more is often delivered through figures of speech, which can be studied under pragmatics. This has undoubtedly been a characteristic of language from early folklore up to now.

Proverbs comprise various figures of speech, which characterizes them to have profound thinking, rich knowledge and perfect artistry. As Hashem & Muhi (2021) consider the use of such tropes to be for reinforcing and facilitating the pleasurable delivery of proverbs' didactic function. In fact, occasionally, proverbs can be considered as a member of the forms of figures of speech. For instance, according to Honeck (1997) metaphor, simile, idiom, metonymy, and oxymoron can be the main substitutes for proverbs. Despite the fact that sarcasm, irony, hyperbole, understatement, and rhetorical questions are preferred to be linguistic functions to linguistic forms, according to some scholars they are encompassed in the list of figurative speeches. Significantly, the figurative device of overstatement can be extensively found in proverbs of every language. Norrick (2004, p.1730) states “Any proverb containing absolute modifiers and adverbs like ‘no’, ‘never’, ‘all’ and ‘always’ is likely to involve overstatement.”

An overstatement, as the subject of the study, is defined as exaggerating, yet not in the service of untruth (Perrine, 1974) and showing things bigger than usual (Padillah, Firmawan &
Several linguists like Douglas (1931); Spitzbardt, 1963; Leech, 1983; Gibbs, 1994; Colston, 1997; Nemesi, 2004; Claridge, 2011 have discussed the question of whether overstatement and hyperbole are the same or not. To some, such as Douglas (1931), although the two are not equal, they both have a basal idea. Additionally, recent studies have proven this. For instance, Walton (2017) confirms overstatement and hyperbole to be the same. For this reason, hyperbole and exaggeration are used synonymously with overstatement throughout the current study.

2. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical Framework

2.1.1 Definitions & Historical Background of Proverbs

Due to its significance, the proverb is defined from various angles. Lots of linguists have come up with different definitions of proverbs from the field they tackle. Sharazuuri (1981), for example, has defined a proverb to be composed of some short Kurdish words combined together that have an ‘elevated’ meaning. In the same vein, Parsa (1387) gives a similar definition by asserting that proverbs are succinct, dramatic and regularly musical and became known sometimes for offering guidance. In addition, proverbs will be a tool to measure the precursors of society’s aptitude for thinking and speaking. With supreme pithiness, those precursors have expressed their matters and disputes carefully and critically and handed them down to their upcoming generations (Yosefi, 2012). Nevertheless, this definition is similar to the assertion of (Fattahi, 1364) who defines proverbs as succinct, convenient and eloquent words which have come out from the mouth of an orator or open-minded individual who has indeed portrayed other peoples’ inner conscience. According to Sharaza (1983), proverbs are generated by an individual. Then that very proverb would spread throughout society losing its owner.

In Kurdish literature, many paremiologists have collected Kurdish proverbs such as Misrobe Mashosta (1711); Yagizarav (1878); Serkis Arkoni (1838); Fon Lkok (1901); Hogomakas (1926); E Noel (1920); Ismail Haji Shawaysis (1933). Hence, proverbs, dating back centuries together with the theme they have carried, enrich a society’s culture. Ibrahim (1984) mentions the first collection of Kurdish proverbs in Iraq. It was done by Ismail Haji Shawaysis in Baghdad who collected 612 proverbs in a book. Kurdish people give paramount significance to proverbs in a way that even in a normal everyday conversation, they typically use a proverb. This is more proved in the quote of the famous linguist, Sajadi (1391), who stresses that Kurdish people are too committed and dedicated to their own language’s proverbs. Any urban or rural Kurd, literate or illiterate you encounter, any time they exude four utterances, in that instant brings forth a proverb among them. Kurdish proverbs are also an important and fundamental component of Kurdish folklore, and they are a great source for analyzing Kurdish people's attitudes toward various situations and spheres of life (Ali & Adulla, 2019). As Sharifi & Barwari (2020) affirms,
oral traditions are inextricably linked to Kurdish identity. To sum up, every nation has its own oral and written literature, it is to the latter that proverbs belong (Qadir, 2021). After a review of the literature on their definitions, an appropriate definition of proverbs can be drawn. Hence, a proverb is an ageless and anonymous item of folklore which has a figurative language. Ultimately, the word seems to be composed of the prefix ‘pro’ with the word ‘verb’, yet this is not interestingly the case.

To some Kurdish linguists, proverbs are listed under phraseology. Although proverbs might share the characteristic of phraseology with idioms, every idiomatic expression cannot be called a proverb (Ali, 1982). Qadir (2021) has observed that Kurdish proverbs have generally sentential forms; this distinguishes them from other literary genres and fixed expressions of the Kurdish language, especially idioms in word or phrasal forms. Hence, Proverbs are idiomatic terms, not idioms, yet are closely related to idioms (Can, 2011). Summing up, idioms differ from proverbs in the sense that they do not usually give instruction or a moral lesson. In an idiom like ‘It is raining cats and dogs.’ There is neither a lesson nor an instruction. Whereas, in ‘Don’t cry over spilt milk’ which is a proverb, there is obviously an instruction or a lesson given to the listeners.

2.1.1.1 Towards a Pragmatic Catalogue of Proverbs

Unless pragmatics embraces the complete perspective of ‘what’, ‘how’, ‘why’, and ‘where’ it could be, a proverb is usually blind (AL-Mutalabi, 2019). From a pragmatic perspective, “the use of proverbs … is a part of communicative speech that is supposed to follow Paul Grice's cooperative principles of quantity, quality, relation, and manner” (Grice, 1975, p.p45–46). Proverbs and pragmatics are so interrelated that in real-life narratives it is the context and the person that brings forth a proverb, and the opposite is also true. Therefore, utterances of proverbs have pragmatic functions, they are not just sequences of words but are used in real communicative situations as speech acts (Majeed & Ahmed, 2017). According to Khal (2007), every proverb has come from a different context. Thus, the features and the content of the proverb change according to the context they have originated. For instance, some Kurdish proverbs are found to have a sophisticated language style while others are found to have simple or a rural language. This is due to the fact that those with the sophisticated style originated from a context where literate people were found. However, the ones with simple language originated from a context where illiterate people lived. As it is proved by Majeed & Ahmed (2017) proverbs are dependent on context. Proverbs resemble pragmatics due to the fact that pragmatics is utilized as a weapon by speakers to hit their target, depending on the context. Similarly, proverbs can also be used both positively or negatively depending on the context (Qadir, 2021).

2.1.1.2 Classifications of Proverbs

Honeck (1997) asserts that in developing a taxonomy for proverbs, there will be many barriers. Yet, there have been lots of attempts at their categorizations. One of the types of classification is
categorizing proverbs by alphabetic order. This type of classification, according to Speake (2015), is a straight alphabetical sequence, beginning with all proverbs beginning with the letter ‘a’, and continuing in this rigid style until the letter ‘z’. However, according to the themes they contain, proverbs are categorized into different classes.

In Kurdish studies, an English author (Mansfield, 2014, p.228-233) discussing Kurds, classifies proverbs and categorizes them into God, Hospitality, Friendship, Character, Consequence and Justice, Destiny, Work and Effort, Words and the Tongue, Wisdom or Ignorance, Wealth and Fortune, Trouble or Evil, Patience, Men and Women, Parents, Hunger, Jealousy and Property, Kindness, Love and the Heart. Whereas other authors like Sharazuri (2010), Rashash (2010), and Khal (1971) have ordered the Kurdish proverbs in alphabetic style. In another work by Ibrahim (1984), proverbs are divided into three different categories: (1) historical; (2) social, economic & political, and (3) moral proverbs & philosophical beliefs. Meanwhile, in a different work by Ali (1980), two methods of categorization are applied in his book. In the first place, he puts forth the proverbs randomly together with the stories that the proverbs have originated or emerged. In the second part of his book, he categorizes the proverbs in alphabetic order.

There are many different categorizations of proverbs proposed by different linguists, yet the one applicable in the current study is chosen to be a universal one. Matti Kuusi, a Finnish folklorist, paremiologist, writer, professor, an academician at the University of Helsinki, and his daughter Outi Lauhakangas have categorized proverbs into 13 primary themes. If individuals want to compare them to their local proverbs, Kuusi claims that this classification can be termed universal proverb types, as reported in Mieder (2004, pp.16-17).
### Table (1) Various Classification Parameters of Proverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Linguists</th>
<th>Themes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alphabetic Order</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sharazuri (2010)</td>
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One of the key features of proverbs is that they contain figures of speech. Figurative language and proverbs are so relevant to each other that abundant tropes, including overstatement, are found in most of the proverbs. Hence, figures of speech tend to be used when someone gets away from the literal meaning by using an overstatement to make an emphasis.

After analyzing a collection of Kurdish proverbs and putting forth its characteristics, Ibrahim (1984) claims that the high artistic language of Kurdish proverbs has elevated to such a level that comprises significant tropes like simple tropes; Epithetic and Simile. There is also the other type of trope, complex/mixed tropes like Metaphor, Allegory, Hyperbole, Antithesis, Metonymy, and Synecdoche. For each trope, an instance is given in the book.

Hence, Kurdish proverbs are oriented with figurative language and richly encompass tropes just like the proverbs of other languages. Certain types of tropes are often used to evaluate some topics for the purpose of persuasion (Harris, 2008). Tropes are divided into Substitution and Destabilization (Huhmann and Albinsson, 2012). As only overstatement is necessary for the aim of the current study, leaving out rhetorical questions and the Destabilization trope, it will be
Overstatement is considered to be “a figure or trope of bold exaggeration” (Preminger, 1974, p.359). It is described as a trope utilized to emphasize an evaluation through exaggeration (Dynel, 2016). Overstatement dates back to the Greek and Roman eras. The phrase features throughout the historiography of rhetoric and can be traced back to Aristotle. Roman rhetoricians extensively researched it because they employed it in a variety of genres, including poetry, fairy tales, rhetoric, and advertising (Mccarthy & Carter, 2004). It is said to be the most significant device of rhetoric in the whole world of the devices of rhetoric (McGuigan, 2011). Walton (2017, p.1) defines overstatement as basically saying more than one implies. Norrick (1982) gives the definition of an overstatement as an exaggeration or a speech that goes beyond the boundaries of truth. However, overstatement is not considered to be a lie. Ferré (2014) believes, as a figure of speech, overstatement, is never supposed to be a lie although it is used in expressing an exaggerated proclamation that is not consistent with reality. This is because as Bhaya (1985) asserts, in contrast to overstatement, lying is never acceptable socially. From the researcher’s point of view, the contrast might lie in the purpose of their utilization. Lies are usually for deceiving intentions which are always negative, whereas overstatement might be used positively, such as for orientation purposes. Overstated statements are not strictly factual, but they are made to appear spectacular in order to stress a mood, effort, or reaction (Rezeki, 2021). Everyday instances, of which there are many, are: ‘I haven’t seen you for ages; ‘as old as the hills; ‘terrible weather, and so on (Cuddon, 2012, p.346). Taking all the presented definitions into account, an overstatement can be defined as a pragma-rhetoric device that carries meaning more than the literal meaning of the statement. Overstatement from the term itself can be taken as a
statement which is stated more than its normal being. Undoubtedly, everything in its normal being is better than it’s over being.

2.1.2.1 Towards a Pragmatic Catalogue of Overstatement

When it comes to pragmatics, it simply means taking meaning beyond the linguistic facts, in other words, pragmatics is concerned with the implied meaning of an utterance that can only be deduced from the context. It is argued that context is crucial in the perception of an overstatement. Claridge (2011) states the phenomenon of overstatement is both semantic and pragmatic in origin. As a result, it is interpreted either by extracting inferences entirely from the context or by relying on a situation-induced choice of one of the main interpretations of a polysemous word. Overstatement is a fundamentally pragmatic phenomenon because its appearance in discourse is determined by context. To Grice (1975) without wishing to jeopardize cooperation or mislead the listener, the speaker willfully disregards a maxim, and this is exploitation. Hence, pragmatically, Clark (1996) asserts that overstatement can be viewed as a breach of the quality maxim, resulting in conversational implicatures. From a pragmatic perspective, in overstatement what is said has a literal meaning that differs from the implied meaning (Recchia, Howe, Ross & Alexander, 2010). Overstatement necessarily seeks for a context to be understood and utilized better.

2.1.4.2 Forms of Overstatement

As McCarthy and Carter (2004) affirm that overstatement is infinitely creative in formation. Yet, to provide data fixed for analysis, a model should be adopted. Hence, this section will collect the forms of overstatement from the literature. According to Spitzbardt (1963), there are several forms of an overstatement: Numerical expressions, spatial extent expressions, intensifying and intense adjectives and adverbs, comparatives, and superlatives are among the lexico-grammatical repertoire for overstatement. Whereas, in contrast to the former classification, based on a corpus of data, McCarthy and Carter (2004) give a classification, in which overstatement is categorized in terms of lexical items into five groups. Namely, Expressions of numbers, Words referring to large amounts/quantities, Adjective modification of amount(s) and number(s) (adjective+ amounts of, etc.), Time expressions, and Size, degree and intensity.

Correspondingly, Ahmed (2015) claims that overstated expressions with the provided context can be realized primarily in a single word of an utterance or in phrases and clauses in the given context. According to Al-Dalawi & Al-Mahdawi (2019), whole sentences (declarative and conditional), negation-exception, and clausal overstatement are examples of overstated expressions at the sentence level. Also, Burgers, Lavalette, & Steen (2018) after an analysis indicate that overstatements are typically found in the adjective, adverb, and pronoun word
classes. Omer & Khalaf (2009) investigates that the majority of overstatement falls within the size, degree, and intensity categories. Heaps, loads, and other mass quantities are overstatement-prone. Also, overstatement frequently uses time phrases like ‘minutes’, ‘hours’, and ‘years’. The model adopted by Braim (2014) will be utilized to indicate the forms of the trope in the current analysis which will be presented in section (7.2).

Table (2) Different Classifications of the Forms of Overstatement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Works</th>
<th>Different Forms of Overstatement</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCarthy &amp; Carter (2004)</td>
<td>Expressions of number, Words referring to large amounts/quantities, Adjective modification of amount(s) and number(s) (adjective+ amounts of, etc.), Time expressions, Size, degree and intensity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omer &amp; Khalaf (2009)</td>
<td>size, degree, and intensity categories. Heaps, loads, and other mass quantities, time phrases like minutes, hours, and years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgers et al. (2018)</td>
<td>Adjective, adverb, and pronoun word classes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Dalawi &amp; Al-Mahdawi (2019)</td>
<td>Whole sentence (declarative and conditional), negation-exception, and clausal hyperbole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.4.3 Functions of an overstatement

Any device used for a pragmatic aspect performs some specific functions. As for overstatement, it is said to be a technique for stressing certain features of an utterance's literal meaning by using exaggeration to the extreme (Ruiz, 2009). Overstatement can be utilized for serious, sarcastic, or humorous effects (Abrams and Harpham, 2009). This is in line with the claim that overstatement is not meant to be taken literally, and when applied to mundane things, it results in mockery or satire (MacCarthy and Carter, 2004). As Henkemans (2013) demonstrates speakers may utilize overstatements to avoid committing themselves to an exact number or size specification. In addition, according to the functional analysis of Alattar (2017) overstatement has been determined to fulfil three communicative purposes, namely emphasis, evaluation, and ambiguity. Besides, another function of overstatement is taken from Cruse (2006) who points out that this
figure of speech employs exaggeration to increase impact or attract attention. One of the essential objectives of overstatement is humour (Roberts & Kreuz 1994; Omer & Khalaf, 2009). Undoubtedly, the significance of overstatement as a pragma-rhetoric device, shows that its functions might be, as its name suggests in an exaggerated form, too much to sum up all in a section like this. Hence, the most essential classification of its functions is taken from the thorough study of Mora (2006). The functions of overstatement are identified by Mora (2006, pp.203-222) as “Emphasis, Evaluation, Expression of surprise, Simplification, Interest intensification, Contrast of differences, Humour, Clarification, and Polite de-emphasis”. The table below illustrates all the distinct classifications of the trope’s functions:

Table (3) Different Classifications of the Functions of Overstatement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Works</th>
<th>Different Functions of Overstatement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roberts &amp; Kreuz (1994)</td>
<td>Humor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruse (2006)</td>
<td>Increasing impact or attracting attention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omer &amp; Khalaf (2009)</td>
<td>Humor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abrams &amp; Harpham (2009)</td>
<td>Serious, sarcastic, or humorous effect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henkemans (2013)</td>
<td>To avoid committing to an exact number or size specification</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 Related Studies on Proverbs

Regarding the Kurdish language, according to Qadir (2021), in terms of linguistics, there has been a dearth of research in the folklore genre, and the topic has been undervalued. Some of those previous studies on proverbs are presented in this section. For instance, Yosefi (2012) investigates Kurdish and Farsi proverbs based on cultural components and their species are given and classed based on the same components. The study demonstrates that Kurdish and Farsi proverbs have spoken of two categories of values and norms, and anti-values and abnormalities, the first is positive values, and the second is a negative one. The researcher shows the conceivability of the three individuals, social and combined functions on the basis of Malinowski's theory. He ends by stating that proverbs have practical moral connotations as a result of pooling language, thought, and practical experiences of predecessors and that they can be employed and utilized practically in the job, effort, and life scene.
Rezaei (2012) investigated the impact of proverbs on the audience, their phonetic structure, and message quality in "Rhetorical Function of Proverbs Based on Literary Genre." This study first explores the importance of proverbs in rhetoric before investigating their function(s) according to the literary genre from several viewpoints, such as audience role, word choice, and message quality. Proverbs in many forms enriched literary genres such as epic, lyric, and didactic writing. However, proverbs benefit epic literature's topic and meter better at the end of the story, when the compiler or author wishes to highlight the addressee and guidance. The results of the study revealed that proverbs can be found in the new literary forms of short stories and novels, which are written in prose and pay more attention to social themes.

Liu (2013) conducts a contrastive analysis of metaphorical meanings in English and Chinese proverbs. This research focuses on three primary areas: The same animal generates the same association and metaphorical meaning; the same animal generates different emotions and associations, and other animals generate the same association and metaphorical meaning. Overall, the study reveals that different animal images can convey the same metaphorical meanings, and the same animal images can convey different metaphorical meanings.

Another study conducted by Syzdykova (2014) focuses on learners' experiences as a resource for learning proverbs. The article's main purpose is to interpret English and Kazakh folk proverbs in order to artistically embody various aspects of life, social experience, and ethical, and aesthetic values. Furthermore, the researcher attempts to determine whether British and Kazakh proverbs with similar content express similar thoughts in different ways due to different historical conditions, reflecting the different social structures and lifestyles of their respective peoples. In conclusion, the researcher divides English and Kazakh proverbs into four categories while interpreting them.

Zhichao (2021) with the title “Analysis of Figures of Speech in Proverbs” provides a quick step-by-step study of some rhetorical forms seen in proverbs. Proverbial speech forms in Chinese and English are examined. Both English and Chinese proverbs share more than ten types of figures of speech. There are very few figures in one language that do not have a counterpart in the other but have similar expressions. Furthermore, the exact application of these figures of speech varies.

Andreas (2021) has recently used a research corpus of quotations from British politicians' speeches and interviews, as well as press texts from 2016 to 2020. This paper investigates hyperbolic formulations in Brexit-related applications of the proverb “You can't have your cake and eat it,” as well as related scenarios of national liberation, which appear to have strongly boosted emotionally charged public debates. The paper tries to find the use of hyperbole in metaphorical idioms and scenarios contribute to the emotionalization of public debates. The results show that the study of exaggeration as a technique of emotionalisation thus appears to be
most fruitful as part of discourse-historical research of the socio-pragmatic impacts of figurative (mostly metaphorical) language use, rather than as a standalone, one-off rhetorical occurrence.

In rich research on Kurdish proverbs, Qadir (2021) conducts a pragma-syntactic analysis through which he could fill some gaps in the Kurdish literature of proverbs. The study is divided into two parts, and the descriptive approach is used. The first section of the study focuses on proverbs, their characteristics, and their comparisons with other folklore genres. The second portion of the study is a practical section in which the forms of Kurdish proverbs and their sentence structure are discussed. Finally, the results, displayed that in terms of syntactic structure Kurdish proverbs encompass all types of sentence structure. Pragmatically speaking, all four types of pragmatic markers can generally be found in Kurdish proverbs.

Another study entitled "Semantic Deviation in Arabic and English Proverbs of Love," which is conducted by Hashem and Muhi in the same year (2021) uses proverbs of love as data for analysis. The paper investigates semantic deviations (such as simile, metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche) in two different languages' love proverbs. The authors discover that such stylistic devices increase the appeal of these proverbs to the audience and maximise the persuasive effect of their contents. Based on Leech’s (1969) semantic deviation model, this study examined 50 love proverbs (25 in each language) from a stylistic standpoint. The analysis revealed that a wide range of semantic deviations maximises persuasive effects and, ultimately, efficient transmission of cultural wisdom. Furthermore, such deviations were discovered to reinforce and facilitate the pleasurable delivery of proverbs' didactic function.

In view of the above literature review, to the researcher’s best knowledge, only a few studies have been conducted about the tropes in the proverb of the Kurdish language and almost no empirical study has been conducted with respect to a pragmatic analysis of the tropes in proverbs, particularly in Kurdish corpus. There have been lots of studies done concerning proverbs which are illustrated in the section above. However, none of them has made the same attempt to analyze the trope of overstatement in the proverbs of the Kurdish language as the current paper does. Collecting the previous studies regarding the proverbs of different nations is almost impossible to cover in a section of such research. Thus, only the studies that are related to the topic understudy were decided to be presented.

2.2.2 Related Studies on Overstatement

After a review of the literature on the linguistic device of overstatement, there have been the below studies found which were done. Muhammad (2013) has conducted a study entitled “Understatement and Overstatement in English and Kurdish: A Contrastive Study of English and Kurdish Literary Letters”. The study investigates the linguistic devices in literary letters at linguistic, rhetorical and pragmatic levels. As a case study, it attempts to compare the uses of
overstatement and understatement in eight English and Kurdish literary letters. After comparing the selected literary letters of both languages, the results show that overstatement is used more than understatement.

Braim (2014) tackles the topic related to the current paper. The study looks at the two opposing tropes of hyperbole and litotes in political speeches to see how often they are in terms of forms, uses, and functions. It also seeks to determine which of these tropes is more or less common in the selected English texts, as well as to explain the pragmatic rationale behind their use. Both qualitative and quantitative methods are used in the analysis. The examination of the collected data demonstrated that hyperbole appears more frequently in political texts than in litotes that hyperbolic forms and functions exceed their litotic counterparts, and that hyperbole techniques are common in political discourse. Politicians are likely to pursue their own interests.

In 2015, overstatement as a trope is investigated in some selected English political speeches by Abdullah in a study entitled “Overstatement in Selected English Political Speeches: A Pragmatic Study.” The investigation is done aiming at finding the pragmatic purposes of the usage of overstatement as a pragmatic device in political speeches. The data used in the study is analyzed using the nine communicative functions of the trope by Cano (2004) classification. Moreover, the selection of the used data is a random selection of well-known American and British political figures. The results of the study demonstrate that overstatement is a paramount device utilized by political figures. The functions of the trope are found to be persuasion of the audience and imposing their own beliefs using a variety of ways.

In a more recent study, another research on literary letters was conducted by Majed (2017). According to the study, overstatement and understatement were used extensively in literary genres and they cannot be taken into account literally as they mean more or less than the words. In the study, the writers investigate the two devices in terms of the pragmatic level. The sample texts were taken from literary letters written by romantic and modernist figures in English. Throughout the study, the researcher attempts to find out the pragmatic functions of overstatement and understatement. The result of the study reveals that to be polite to their lovers, the writers use overstatement and understatement. In addition, the letter writers make use of the two devices most frequently for stating, claiming, praising and blaming.

All in all, research on Kurdish proverbs is too limited (Khall, 1971, p.8; Qadir, 2021, p.17). In spite of their significance, proverbs are not investigated profoundly and no one has so far done a pragmatic analysis of the tropes that Kurdish proverbs comprise (Ibrahim, 1984). Besides, there is a need for further studies on the understudied linguistic devices of overstatement based on the claim of several linguists like Ahmed,2015, p.12; Aljadaan, 2016, p.27; Mora, 2004, 2006, 2009, p.15; Kreuz et al. 1996, p.91; Ritter, 2010, p.1; Al-Dalawi, Al-Mahdawi,2019; and Christodoulidou, 2011,p.143, no serious attention has been paid to the study of an overstatement.
Despite its significance, only the definition of overstatement is taken into account, ignoring its classification and functions. As Mora (2006, p.288) indicates “Even though they are ubiquitous features in everyday speech, not a great amount of empirical research exists into figures in naturally occurring conversation”. In the same vein, Cartson & Wearing (2015) confirm this by stating that despite the fact that in everyday conversations overstatement is very commonly used by people, it has not yet studied sufficiently. In their recent research, Burgers, Konijn, & Steen (2016, pp.163-178.) have affirmed this by stating that overstatement, “is a trope that, to date, has received less empirical attention in comparison to tropes like metaphor and irony”. Most of the empirical work on overstatement has involved comparisons of frequency and use in different cultures leaving the Kurdish language out. Yet, this paper confines itself to an exploration of the linguistic device of overstatement in Kurdish proverbs.

The present study will differ from the earlier studies, which have not tackled the existing Kurdish proverbs tropes yet. In terms of pragmatics, it is worth noting that this work is the first attempt to analyze overstatement in a corpus compiled from the entire major categories of proverbs in the Kurdish language. Besides, the theory applied in the current study is apparently distinct from the previous related studies.

3 **Aims**

This study aims to search for the trope of overstatement in Kurdish proverbs to see the frequency of its forms, uses, and functions. It also seeks to determine which forms and functions of the trope are more or less common in the selected Kurdish proverbs and to explain the pragmatic functions behind their use.

4 **Research Questions**

1. How is the overstatement trope represented in Kurdish proverbs?
2. How often is the trope used in terms of forms and functions?
3. Are all the forms and functions of the trope understudy found in the proverbs?
4. Which forms and functions of the trope are more or less common in the selected Kurdish proverbs?

5 **Scope of the Study**

This study is limited to the pragmatic analysis of overstatement in Kurdish proverbs. The study leaves out all the other kinds of tropes found in the provided dataset. There will be only five categories out of the thirteen categories of proverbs chosen.
6 Significance of the Study
The value of the study lies in the fact that it adds to the works on Kurdish literature on proverbs, which is said to be scarce. It will also be a good source for students of English and Kurdish language. That is because it comprises a translation of the Kurdish proverbs. The paper is vital in understanding the implied meaning of the trope understudy so as to avoid misunderstanding the proverbs. One genuine benefit of employing figurative language is believed to outweigh the increased risk of misunderstanding that occurs when speakers communicate indirectly (Colston & O'Brien, 2000). The current study will be an important helper to make people aware of proverbs that are likely to have not cared for much nowadays. Some people have no idea how rich their culture is with their artistic proverbs, or even new generations do not understand most of their countries’ old sayings. The current study will attempt to flourish the new generations’ conceptions of proverbs and remind them of the reliability of proverbs to be used. As Yosefi (2012) declares, proverbs have a high degree of adaptability to geographical and temporal environments, and this is a critical aspect of their long-term viability. Besides, the paper will be a good reference for future researchers who want to work in the field.

7 Methodology
7.1 The Data
Regarding the data, the sources of “Kurdish Proverbs”, 2nd edition of Sharazuri (2010); “Some Kurdish Proverbs,” by MacKenzie (1970), and Pendi Berawirdkari (‘Comparative Proverbs’) of Sharaza, K. (1983)] are selected as reliable data to investigate the trope and answer the research questions. In the adopted model of the current work, proverbs are universally classified into thirteen categories. However, in the provided dataset, only five categories out of the thirteen are chosen for the analysis.

7.2 The Adopted Model
The current study uses Braim's (2014) framework to examine overstatement in Kurdish proverbs. The model adopted in this study is an eclectic one in which Braim’s (2014) study has adapted a model taken from Spitzbardt (1965), Galperin (1977), Leech (1983), McCarthy and Carter (2004), Mora (2006), Sert (2008), Claridge (2011), and Muhammad (2013). Moreover, for the classification of proverbs Matti Kuusi’s framework is used which is adopted (Lauhakangas, 2001). Such a framework can be extended to Kurdish proverbs as well which is why it is used in the current analysis. As a whole, the adopted model for the present study is composed of the forms and functions of overstatement for analysis as explained in the table below:
Table (4) Braim’s Eclectic Model (Braim, 2014, pp. 49-50):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overstatement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Forms</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Functions</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single word NOUNS:</th>
<th>Phrasal</th>
<th>Clausal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expressions of number, words referring to large amounts and quantities, Time Expressions, Nouns of hyperbolic nature, Emphatic plural, Emphatic genitive</td>
<td>Noun phrase, Adjective phrase, Verb phrase, Prepositional phrase</td>
<td>Simile, Metaphor, and Repetition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3 Procedure

The following steps are taken in answering the enquiries of the study. In the first place, sufficient literature is provided for comprehending the terms under study as they are all considered confusing. The second step is choosing the Kurdish proverbs from the provided data. In this step, the proverbs are put under each category they belong to. To put it another way, for the analysis of each proverb, it is first to be put under its category according to Matti Kuusi’s classification adopted (Lauhakangas, 2001). Only five of those categories among thirteen are set for the dataset. First, a thorough search for the trope is done in the proverbs of the language. The first linguistic concept necessary for understanding overstatement is a theory of conversational cooperation articulated by H.P. Grice in his 1975 article "Logic and Conversation " (Martin, 1990). An overstatement flouts the first maxim of quality: “Do not say..."
what you believe to be false” (Grice, 1989, p. 46). Thus, Gricean theory of implicature is to be used. After the quest, using a pragmatic model, the devices are analyzed in the dataset.

8 Result and Discussion

This section presents an analysis of the forms and functions of the trope, and overstatement in the selected proverbs from Kurdish language categories. As it was claimed that Matti Kuusi’s classification can be termed universal proverb types, Matti Kuusi’s profound expertise in the vast body of proverb material, made it possible for him to combine the cultural and formal views in his classification (Lauhakangas, 2001). The same classification will be used in the analysis to categorise the language’s proverbs. Hence, this section selects a proverb for each category of Kurdish proverbs to be analyzed from a pragmatic perspective.

8.1 Analysis of Forms and Functions of Overstatement in Kurdish Proverbs

This section puts forth an analysis of the forms and functions of overstatement trope in some Kurdish proverbs based on the selected proverb categorization. Among the thirteen different categories of proverbs which were chosen as the model of the study, (1) Practical knowledge of nature, (2) Faith and Basic attitudes, (3) The world and Human life, (4) Sense of proportion, (5) Social life, (6) Social interaction, (7) Communication, (8) Social position, categories were not found in the search. The five categories found to carry the trope in the search were:

- Basic observations and socio-logic
- Concepts of morality
- Agreements and norms
- Coping and Learning
- Time and Sense of time

- Basic observations and socio-logic
  1. be ziman-î şirin (or, qisa-î xo ş) mar le kun (d) -ê t-e der. (Mackenzie, 1970)

  ‘By means of a pleasant tongue (words), a snake will come out of its hole.’

The “test of physical impossibility or high unlikeness will be of considerable assistance in dealing with a large number of utterances” (McCarthy and Carter 2004, p.152). This is well proven in the provided proverb. It is highly unlikely to have a snake obey an instruction by a human being regardless of whether it uses sweet words or not. There is quite excessive form of overstatement found in this example as Mora (2006, p.107) asserts “the degree of inflation depends on the semantic divergence between mentioned and referent situation within a disambiguating context”.

[61]
Here, in the proverb, the degree of inflation by the overstatement is vastly high. This is because there is “non-veridicality” (Kreuz and Roberts, 1995). In other words, having something like this is quite out of imagination. No one can ever talk to a snake let go of taking it out by means of nice words. The form of the overstatement used in the proverb is a clausal one; after reading the whole clause, the trope is recognized. The function of the used trope is to emphasize the importance of the role of words in changing things. The emphasis lies on the point that even a snake would be taken out of its hole by using pleasant words. For instance, though too stubborn, someone might be softened by using pleasant words. This proverb is in line with the speech act theory of Austin (1962) who believed words do not act just for stating but for performing acts too. There is also an expression of surprise by the trope used. When a person is changed with the use of words, the proverb would be used to express surprise. The overstatement acts as interest intensification by using an acceptable and highly unlikely situation. However, the overstatement used is still acceptable by the hearer as Fontanier (1969) believes that “there is also something of a joint acceptance of a distortion of reality between addresser and addressee.” Clarification might be another function of the trope, which works to clarify the possibility of changing impossible things by using pleasant words.

- **Concepts of Morality**

2. Ga be kilk a-gr-ê (sharazuri, 2010, p.81)

   Ox with tail IND-take.PRS.3SG

   ‘Takes an ox’s tail with his hand’

The proverb contains a sentential overstatement. According to McCarthy and Carter overstated utterances often describe entities and events in the most extreme way possible (2004). Here, the image is depicted in the hearer’s mind in a very impossible manner. In real life, no one can ever take an ox by its tail, more surprisingly with one’s own hand. An ox is usually known to be a very harsh and angry animal. An ox can never be played with let go of taking its tail with hand. This is never factual in life. This is claimed by Claridge (2011) that the difference between how things are in real life and the overstated utterance is related to how strongly the emotion is expressed. Here in the proverb, there is a very strong emotion expressed in looking at the way a man can take an ox by his own hand. The emotion is aroused more extensively when imagining taking the ox with its tail, not taking the whole but that small appendix of the large trunk of the animal. Swartz (1976, pp. 107-8) has claimed, with regard to the criterion of acceptability, overstatement “is more acceptable than at least other kinds of distortion of reality”. If not, the proverb would never be considered to be acceptable. The form of the overstatement is clausal, as the whole sentence takes part in forming the overstatement. The overstatement works as an intensification.
of interest as it is proclaimed shortly before. Besides, the used trope can also function for clarification purposes in the provided proverb.

**Agreements and Norms**

3. zik-êk-î têr le hezar zik-î birsi çak-tir-e. (Mackenzie, 1970)
   belly-INDEF-EZ full than thousand belly -EZ hungry good- er- be.PRS.3SG
   ‘A full belly is better than a thousand empty bellies.’

The provided proverb comprises overstatements in the form of adjectives. When only one belly is said to be better than a thousand one, there is a scale of overstatement depicted in the listener’s perception. In other words, it is usually not ordinary to have only one thing being better than a thousand. According to Popa-Wyatt (2020), the goal of overstatement is to make the desired attribute more important. The key to this is exaggerating the difference between what one says and how one would typically anticipate things to turn out. In the given example, likewise, obviously, one thing can never be better than a thousand, so the overstatement used here is made through the exaggeration of the difference between reality and expectation. The overstatement utilized is in the form of adjectives. The forms of adjectives as it is known are single and compound (comparative/ superlative) forms (Marf, 2001). According to Al-Dalawi and Al-Mahdawi (2019), the adjectives found in their analysis were both sub-categories, single adjectives and comparative/ superlative forms. In this existing example, there are three single adjectives, namely, ‘full’, ‘thousand’ and ‘empty’, with ‘better’ as a comparative one. Moreover, the function of the overstatement utilized in the provided proverb, to take it as the whole sentential overstatement, not the lexical forms, is emphasised by evaluation. As it is claimed, overstatement inherently carries evaluation by emphasizing a specific aspect (Carston & Wearing 2015). There is an evaluation of a full belly to be better than a thousand empty ones, to show emphasis and the importance of the contrast. Of course, overstatement can be clearly caught in the proverb in the sense that Prawiro (2019) indicates that in overstatement, we may assume something with overthinking, and feeling.

**Coping and Learning**

4. Be sebirgirtin hemu ştêk-t pê=de-krê. (Mackenzie, 1970)
   With patience-NOML all things=2SG.CL to=2SG.CL IND-do.PRS-3SG
   ‘With patience all is done.’ (Sharaza, 1983, p.137)

Kurdish people have suffered a lot throughout history. Kurdish communities have been subjected to efforts of annihilation, integration, and assimilation by the powers that rule over them with no recognized political status. In order to aid the development of national sovereignty, these projects have frequently used various forms of violence, ranging from the physical and embodied to the
epistemic and symbolic (Schäfers, 2021). They have faced difficulties in their life, yet they have tried well to cope with all those sufferings. This might be traced back to the religion they possess. In Islam, patience is greatly praised. In the Holy Quran there is a verse “Peace on you for the patience you observed. So, how excellent is the ultimate abode” (Quran 13:22-224; A’la Mawdudi, 2013). They have always practised patience. This is the reason for the emergence of the proverb presented. Overstatement is used in the instance in the form of an adverb of modifier, which is ‘all’. There is an exaggeration in the point that everything can be done with patience. The function that the trope carries is interest intensification and the purpose of emphasis. It is emphasized that every single thing can be performed when patience is adopted.

From thousand water=3SG.CL ford.PST-PERF-be.PRS.3SG,ankle=3SG.CL PREV=3SG.CL wet NEG beocme.PST-PERF-be.PRS.3SG

‘He has forded a thousand waters, his ankle has not become wet.’

In real life, one can never pass water without getting wet. In the proverb above, there is an obvious impossibility of the idea that one can ford a thousand waters, yet not have his ankle wet. The implied meaning of the proverb is that he is experienced in a way that he has forded a thousand waters without getting his ankle wet. This is never possible as no one can go into the water with his feet, without having his ankles wet. Here, similar to what Mora (2006, p.133) asserts about overstatement, there is “the idea of disproportion between the utterance and the reality of the situation.” There is of course an overstatement used in the proverb above in utilizing the adjectival phrase ‘thousand waters’ as it shows the opposite of reality. The quantity of thousand waters contains some vagueness, which makes the exaggeration, as Channell (1994,p. 89) has proved, “a special category of approximation is to use an exact number, with a vague reading, to exaggerate the quantity concerned”. The overstatement is used in the form of an extreme adjective by using quantifiers. For the function of the used overstatement, it can be considered as an evaluation. The proverb implies that the person is so much experienced. Therefore, the used overstatement here has evaluated the way the person is experienced. To show how much the person is experienced, an overstatement is used for the sake of emphasis. Claridge (2011,p.79) proves that overstatement is useful in a way that it will function as an emphasis together with conveying emotions. Here, there is also an arousing of the hearer’s emotion when the proverb is uttered. Nonetheless, the expression of surprise is also another function of the trope being used here. This is because the impossibility of the event makes the proverb be expressed in a surprising manner.
6. **Time and Sense of time**

   le hewt asman-a estêra-y(e)k=î ni-(y)e. (Mackenzie,1970)

   In seven heaven-star-INDEF=3SG.CL NEG exist-be.PRS.3SG

   ‘In (all) seven heavens he has no star.’

No sky exists with no stars. A definition of the trope given by Mora (2006, p.108) is “whereby the quantity or quality of an objective fact is, whether purposely or inadvertently, subjectively inflated or deflated in varying degrees but always to excess in an utterance which listeners do not normally interpret literally or perceive as a lie.” provides a very good explanation for this instance of overstatement in the above proverb. In this proverb there is an excess overstatement because the hearer will neither take the meaning in a literal sense nor as a lie. Those exaggerated utterances present a contrast between the state of affairs depicted in the utterance and the real state of affairs, between the semantic or ‘utterance meaning’ of the comments (Dascal,1987). Meanwhile, here, in the proverb there is a range of ultimate exaggeration. In the whole universe, there is no sky that does not contain millions of stars, let go of not having a single star in seven skies. The implied meaning of the proverb is that a person is such unlucky that has luck in nothing. To Mora (2006) overstatement may respond either to an exalting-condemning or else maximising- minimising end. In this example, there is a contrast of scales by the use of ‘all’ and ‘no’, minimizing the number of stars by the use of ‘no’ and maximizing the number of skies by the use of ‘all’ the seven skies which are both overstated expressions. The function of the trope is to emphasize on how unfortunate one is. In addition, the expression of surprise may also be another function of the trope used in the example together with interest intensification by the side of the hearer. In case this proverb is uttered in a situation where a person faces lots of opportunities and loses all one by one, humour will be the function of the used trope.

7. **Jin koł eke=î mał-e (Rasull,1984, p.80)**

   Woman foundation-EZ home-be.PRS.3SG

   ‘Women are the foundations of the home.’

Nouns are used as indicators of an overstatement. Moreover, the focus is on using single nouns more than on emphatic plural or numeral forms (Al-Dalawi and Al-Mahdawi,2019). Similarly, the proverb above contains the noun ‘foundation’ (‘kołeke’), which is the source of the overstatement here. Hence, the form of the overstatement is a noun ‘foundation’. As Wallender (2022, p.1) states, “Every house is built on a foundation.” Without a foundation, a house can never be anchored. Likewise, a home without women can never be supported. Foundations may serve three basic goals, bearing the weight of the house, holding the house in place and helping waterproof the house (Alexander, 2020). These three services of house foundations can well be found in housewives, respectively. Exactly like house foundations, women bear the house by
supporting, holding the house works in place and protecting her house from enemies diffusing like water does. The Conversational Implicature (e.g. Grice 1975, Brown and Levinson, 1987) can take the idea of disproportion between the utterance and the reality of the situation (Mora, 2006, p.102). There is a sense of veridicality in the statement. It is true that women are extremely important members of the household, yet good foundations exist, and so do bad ones. Therefore, it is not always true to put the wife as the foundation of homes. The reason for this is that sometimes men or fathers can do better than a woman can. There are live examples of men who have sacrificed everything in their lives only to provide sustenance for their children for a living. So, there are substitutes for women at homes opposite to foundations of houses that can never be replaced by something else. After the analysis, there is a need to summarize the important results of the analysis in table form to attain simplicity in answering the queries presented at the beginning of the study.

Table (9) Summary Results of the forms and functions of overstatement found in the Kurdish proverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kurdish Proverbs</th>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>Functions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Be ziman-î şirin (or, qisa-î xo ş) mar le kun (d) –ê t-e der. ‘By means of a pleasant tongue (words) a snake will come out of its hole.’</td>
<td>Clausal</td>
<td>Emphasis/ Expression of surprise/ Interest Intensification/ Clarification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Ga be kilk a-gr-ê. ‘ Takes an ox’s tail with his hand.’</td>
<td>Clausal</td>
<td>Interest intensification / Clarification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 zik-êk-î têr le hezar zik-î birsi çak-tîr-e. ‘A full belly is better than a thousand empty bellies.’</td>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>Evaluation/ Emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Be sebirgirtin hemu ştêk-t pê=de-krê. ‘With patience all is done.’</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>Interest Intensification/ Emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Le hezar aw =î da-û-e., quî-e-pe=î ter ne=buw-a. ‘He has forded a thousand waters; his ankle has not become wet.’</td>
<td>Quantifiers</td>
<td>Evaluation/ Emphasis/ Expression of Surprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Le hewt asman-a estêra-ye(k)=î ni-(ye). ‘In (all) seven heavens he has no star.’</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>Expression of surprise/ Interest Intensification/ Humour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Jin koł eke=î mał-e. ‘Women are the foundation of home.’</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Emphasis / Clarification/ Evaluation/ Interest Intensification/ Expression of Surprise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9 Conclusions

The drawn conclusions from the study are:

1. In search of the trope of overstatement in Kurdish proverbs, the trope was found to be present in a good range despite the limited selection of the data provided.

2. Based on the selected data, Kurdish proverbs comprise other tropes besides the trope understudy.

3. Among the data provided, the most recurrent form of the trope was highlighted to be adverb and clausal.

4. The most recurrent function of the trope was found to be an emphasis on the selected data.

5. No instances of some functions and forms of the trope were found, such as simplification, Polite de-emphasis and contrast of difference, for the former and Verbs, Phrasal forms, Simile, Metaphor, and Repetition, for the latter.

6. Kurdish people, similar to other nations, are subject to the utilization of overstatement as investigated from the analyzed proverbs.

7. Proverb and overstatement, both topics understudy, were said to be problematic in the sense that they were seen to be confusable with their related tropes. However, in the current study, this confusion is solved by putting forth the similarities and differences between the two aforementioned items with their tropes.

Recommendations

Despite the fact that the trope is seen mostly in everyday conversations among Kurdish native speakers, no empirical studies have been done on the trope in discourses. As it is observed that overstatement is used vastly in Kurdish proverbs compared to the small provided dataset, it is recommended that this trope be added to the education curricula of Language Departments. Devoting a particular subject to the figures of speech, in general, is emphasized. This will facilitate learning of the trope and result in a better understanding of figurative language, which is of paramount significance these days.

Suggestions for Further Studies

Other studies should look at those proverbs that comprise both tropes together. Proverbs in poetic style should also be investigated for further studies in the field, as they are more likely to comprise figurative devices than others. Due to the extensive use of social media, particularly, the norms of famous Kurdish celebrities nowadays, much attention has been given to their speeches. However, no studies have been done on the use of the overstatement trope in the speeches of those celebrities so far. Hence, the researcher suggests that there is a need for research on overstatement in the speeches of famous social figures. Nonetheless, it will be of prodigious use if future studies shed light on the pragmatic functions of overstatement in the speeches of the customers and sellers of online marketing.
پوخته

شیکردن‌هودی پرآگماتیکی به‌زیاده‌هود باسکردن له پهن‌ئی پیشینانی کوردی‌دا

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پورتەبەتەرە، بەزەوە بەسکردن لە پەنبه‌لایەن‌کەی بەکردنی کاردی‌دا، بەوونه‌وە، بوەکەی بەرەوردی بەزەوە بەسکردن لە پەنبه‌لایەن‌کەی بەکردنی کاردی‌دا. 

بەشەرەکەی بەزەوە بەسکردن لە پەنبه‌لایەن‌کەی بەکردنی کاردی‌دا. 

بەشەرەکەی بەزەوە بەسکردن لە پەنبه‌لایەن‌کەی بەکردنی کاردی‌دا.
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