

المبالغة العددية في التعابير الكردية: منظور دلالي معرفي

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Numerical Hyperbole in Kurdish Idioms:
A Cognitive-Semantic Perspective

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المخلص

تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى استكشاف المبالغة العددية في التعابير الكردية من منظور دلالي معرفي. وباتباع استراتيجية قائمة على تحليل النصوص، تبحث الدراسة في دوافع وفهم الاستعارات المفاهيمية الكامنة في السياق الكردي. وتتسم الدراسة بطابع وصفي نوعي، حيث تم استخلاص التعابير الكردية من ثلاثة مصادر موثوقة ومعتمدة، مما يشكل قاعدة بيانات ثلاثية لضمان الموثوقية والمصداقية. صُمم الإطار التحليلي وفقاً لنظرية الاستعارة المفاهيمية، ونظرية MIPVU، وتحليل الخرائط المفاهيمية. يكشف تحليل معمق للمبالغة العددية في التعابير الكردية أن الأرقام تُستخدم كأدوات استعارية وليست عناصر حرفية قابلة للقياس الكمي. كما يُقدم سبعة استعارات مفاهيمية، منها: الشدة العاطفية كمية، والكمية القصوى/الحجم كمية، والقيود/الاستحالة عدد، والخبرة/المهارة الإنسانية كمية، والسمة/السلوك الإنساني كمية، والتفاعل/العلاقة الاجتماعية

كمية، والجهد/الكفاح الإنساني كمية. يدعم تحليل البيانات الكردية أيضًا المنظور المعرفي القائل بأن التعبيرات العددية مُحفزة ومُهيكلّة مفاهيميًا، وليست مجرد تمثيل للجوانب الكمية. ... لا تقتصر وظيفة اللغة على نقل المعنى الحرفي فحسب، بل تتعداه لتكون وسيلةً لتجسيد الأفكار المجردة من خلال اللغة المجازية. تعكس اللغة المجازية أطرًا معرفية أساسية، كاشفةً كيف يفسر متحدثو اللغة الواقع الخارجي. تُستخدم اللغة المجازية باستمرار، حتى في تفاعلاتنا اليومية، مما يُمكننا من فهم المفاهيم المجردة بسهولة ويساعدنا على تجاوز المعنى الحرفي. تُرسّخ التعبيرات الاصطلاحية، كشكل من أشكال اللغة المجازية، صلةً بين أفكارنا وتجاربنا والعالم الخارجي. وفيما يتعلق بالسياق الكردي، تُعتبر التعبيرات الاصطلاحية تعبيرات لغوية ثابتة ذات تفسيرات استثنائية ومجازية لا يُمكن استنتاجها أساسًا من مكوناتها الفردية.

Abstract

The present study seeks to explore numerical hyperbole in Kurdish idioms from a cognitive semantic perspective. Adopting a corpus-based strategy, the study examines the underlying conceptual metaphor motivations and understandings in Kurdish context. The nature of the study is qualitative-descriptive and Kurdish idioms are extracted from three reliable and authoritative resources, forming a triangulation dataset to ensure reliability and credibility. The analytical framework is designed according to conceptual metaphor theory, MIPVU and conceptual mapping analysis. A thorough analysis of numerical hyperbole in Kurdish idioms reveals that numbers serve as metaphorical tools rather than literal and quantifiable elements. It also presents seven conceptual metaphors, including EMOTIONAL INTENSITY IS QUANTITY, EXTREME QUANTITY/ MAGNITUDE IS QUANTITY, LIMITATION/ IMPOSSIBILITY IS NUMBER, HUMAN EXPERIENCE/SKILL IS QUANTITY, HUMAN TRAIT/BEHAVIOR IS QUANTITY, SOCIAL INTERACTION/ RELATIONSHIP IS QUANTITY, and HUMAN EFFORT/STRUGGLE IS QUANTITY. The analysis of Kurdish data further supports the cognitive perspective that numerical idioms are conceptually motivated and structured, rather than purely representing quantitative aspects.

Language serves not purely for conveying the literal meaning; it further acts as a medium for the conceptualization of abstract ideas through figurative language. Figurative language reflects key cognitive frameworks, uncovering how the speakers of a language interpret external reality. Figurative language is utilized continuously, even in our everyday interactions, enabling us to effortlessly comprehend abstract concepts and helping us go beyond the literal meaning. Idioms, as a form of figurative



language, establish a connection between our thoughts, experience and the external world. With respect to the Kurdish context, idioms are recognized as fixed linguistic expressions with the exceptional and figurative interpretations that basically cannot be inferred from their individual components.

1.Introduction:

Language serves not purely for conveying the literal meaning; it further acts as a medium for the conceptualization of abstract ideas through figurative language. Figurative language reflects key cognitive frameworks, uncovering how the speakers of a language interpret external reality. Figurative language is utilized continuously, even in our everyday interactions, enabling us to effortlessly comprehend abstract concepts and helping us go beyond the literal meaning. Idioms, as a form of figurative language, establish a connection between our thoughts, experience and the external world (Gibbs, 1994). With respect to the Kurdish context, idioms are recognized as fixed linguistic expressions with the exceptional and figurative interpretations that basically cannot be inferred from their individual components (Ahmed, 2022).

Humans have an inborn skill to count and comprehend numbers. People have been deeply connected to numbers for a considerable length of time and numbers have been broadly utilized as they have crucial functions in human social interactions and linguistic progress. Numbers do not merely stand for quantitative values, they also serve as abstract qualities (Zhang, 2007). They are recognized as symbols of human civilizational development. Numbers are regularly linked with counting and quantification. However, in a large number of languages, they acquire symbolic, cultural, religious, and metaphorical connotations and interpretations. They are frequently observed in idioms as they induce specific concepts rather than exact quantities. For example, number *one* is employed to represent *unity* or *uniqueness*, whereas *two* symbolizes *duality* and *opposition*. *Zero* regularly stands for *absence*, *emptiness*, and *a starting point*, while *hundred/thousand/million* signify *exaggeration*, *abundance* and *hyperbole*. Similarly, the numerical elements in the following English idioms, such as “at sixes and sevens” and “a stitch in time saves nine,” do not have literal meanings; they represent *confusion* and *urgency*, respectively. Under these circumstances, the numerical elements lose their literal interpretations and should be understood non-literally (Parvaresh & Ghafel, 2012).

When it comes to the Kurdish language, idioms occupy a highly significant role, uncovering the historical and cultural richness of the

region. Among these, idioms with numerical elements are noticeable for their frequency and communicative ability. They are strongly embedded in daily communication and interactions, frequently acting as a tool to show exaggeration, emphasis, or figurative meaning. Numbers in Kurdish idioms do not purely show quantitative aspects; they transfer cultural connotations that are strongly linked with speakers' intentions. One of the key features of number idioms in Kurdish is a high reliance on hyperbole, which refers to intentional exaggeration and serves as a conceptual strategy to intensify the meaning, along with acting as a rhetorical tool. Idiomatic expression such as "Hezar kun kewtote naw cergî." indicates how the number 'one thousand' is used hyperbolically to show the intensity of emotion. The example confirms how numerical elements are employed in Kurdish idioms as a powerful and effective means of communication to show exaggeration.

Accordingly, through the lens of conceptual metaphor theory, the current study narrows its focus to investigate number idioms in the Kurdish language that symbolize hyperbole, to display and uncover the cognitive frameworks that form their meanings and interpretations. The study also aims to address the following research questions: How is figurative meaning conveyed through Kurdish number idioms that adopt hyperbole? What are the fundamental conceptual frameworks that shape these idioms? By answering these questions, this study aims to explain why hyperbolic number idioms in Kurdish are so powerful and rich in meaning, both culturally and conceptually.

The significance of this study lies in situating it within the broader academic and scholarly contributions in the study of idioms, and more specifically, numerical idioms. Moreover, it positions Kurdish number idioms within a cognitive-linguistic model, providing understanding into how hyperbole and figurative language interact in the formation of meaning. The findings of the study also provide a foundation for practical implications for translation, pedagogy, and cross-linguistic comparison, demonstrating the critical role of cultural factors in the comprehension of figurative language.

2.Theoretical Framework

2.1The Interaction Between Conceptual Metaphor and Idiom

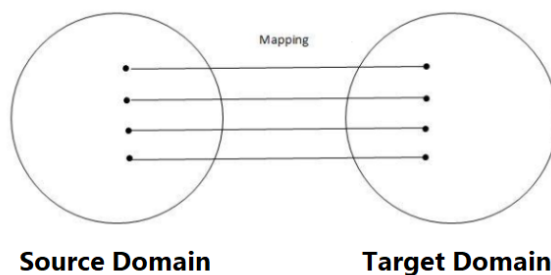
As a reaction or response to traditional approaches, cognitive linguistics emerged in the 1970s as a contemporary, creative, and interesting movement of linguistic thought to provide satisfactory interpretations in the study of language and mind (Evans, 2019; Evans & Green, 2006). This modern approach is widely recognized as part of a wider domain of



interdisciplinary study called cognitive science. Similarly, cognitive semantics initiated as a different school of linguistic perspective at the beginning of the 1980s (Zhang, 2004, p.73; Evans & Green, 2006). Traditionally, metaphor was adopted as a literary tool to beautify and adorn language, whereas contemporary cognitive science perceives metaphor beyond a linguistic feature. It is considered as an effective tool of human cognition (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Gibbs, 1994; Gibbs et al., 1997; Grady, 2007, p.188).

Within this cognitive field, conceptual metaphor theory (henceforth CMT) was introduced as a creative theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), which later opened the door to the modern theory of metaphor (Evans, 2019). According to this new viewpoint, metaphor can be labeled as the ability to comprehend one conceptual domain in reference to another conceptual domain (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p.5). For example, *Argument*, is understood as a *battle* in our everyday interactions with people. The idea can be represented by conceptual metaphor: ARGUMENT IS WAR. People frequently view *argument* as *war* in their regular communications when they say: “She *attacked every weak point* in my argument”. or “She has never *won* an argument” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003).

Conceptual metaphor involves a logical connection between a source and a target domain, known as *mappings*. Accordingly, the specific components of one conceptual domain are connected to components of another conceptual domain. The following figure obviously shows the mapping process:



As Boers (2014: 186) stated, “it could be argued that much of the evidence for conceptual metaphors actually came from the study of idioms”. According to traditional perspectives, idioms are recognized as predictable, unchangeable, and purely linguistic expressions totally detached from the conceptual systems. Diverging from these pre-

cognitive perspectives, cognitive linguistics recognizes idioms as being derived and established in our conceptual system (Gibbs, 1994; Kövecses, 2010). For example, Kövecses and Szabó (1996, p. 330) argued that “An idiom is not just an expression that has meaning that is somehow special in relation to the meanings of its constituent parts, but it arises from our more general knowledge of the world (embodied in our conceptual system)”. For instance, expressions like “spark off” (to start) or “spitting fire” (an aggressive way of speaking) are not connected by chance, yet they derive from our deeper conceptual knowledge.

Consequently, idioms are assumed to be motivated by cognitive frameworks such as metaphor, metonymy and conventional knowledge, forming a connection between the literal and non-literal interpretations. It further uncovers the conceptual nature of idioms and how they are rooted in human overall understanding of the real world and not purely linguistic (Kövecses, 2010). This form of analyzability of idioms may connect them to the metaphorical concepts or common conceptual metaphor structures they refer to. Recent studies demonstrated that people regularly rely on metaphors to understand and conceptualize idioms. For example, “spill the beans”, as an idiom, activates various metaphorical knowledge and mapping that is absent in a literal expression such as “reveal the secret”. The idiom can be understood through conceptual metaphors: THE MIND IS A CONTAINER and IDEAS ARE OBJECTS (Gibbs, 1994).

Number idioms transfer deep figurative cultural references. Chinese speakers, as an example, fail to comprehend and recognize the English idiom such as “the four hundred,” which metaphorically refers to ‘rich’ or ‘elite people’. Similarly, the English number idiom “in the seventh heaven” is rooted in religious belief and is used to signify happiness that cannot be easily understood by Chinese speakers. Idioms with cultural and universal origins can be effortlessly understood in any language due to their inherent clarity. For example, idioms such as “a cat has nine lives” or “one swallow does not make a summer” have identical and similar conceptualization in other languages, including Chinese. Hence, their literal meaning will be retained along with their deeper underlying interpretations and understandings (Hu, 2022). The theoretical background of the study strongly links the understandings from CMT and the examination of hyperbole, offering strategies to explore how number idioms in Kurdish convey exaggeration and abundance meanings while they reflect cultural values.

2.2 The Cognitive Relationships Between Metaphor and Hyperbole

There has been a long debate about how hyperbole and metaphor are related. Several scholars, including Sperber and Wilson (2008), strongly



claimed that metaphor and hyperbole involve similar cognitive and interpretive functions. Despite these similarities, later studies presented different viewpoints by claiming that the two figures inherently behave distinctively within the cognitive domain. Hyperbole is considered as a figure of speech that is widely used by language speakers. It is believed that metaphor and hyperbole are strongly connected, as both convey non-literal meanings and force the listener not to merely depend on the literal meaning of an expression. Despite this, they present distinct cognitive functions. Metaphor displays the conceptual mapping formed by numerical expressions, while hyperbole shows the exaggeration of quantity and intensity (Carston & Wearing, 2015).

Following Carston and Wearing (2015), the current study views these two as complementary cognitive strategies rather than as identical procedures. For example, the Kurdish idiom ‘Dîlî le ser hezar lê eda.’ literally means ‘His heart beats at (a rate of) a thousand.’ The idiom reveals the interaction between metaphor and hyperbole. The physical image of ‘heartbeat’ is mapped onto emotional anxiety through the means of metaphor, while the intensity of emotional distress is expressed by number ‘thousand’. It, consequently, confirms that both mechanisms of metaphorical mapping and hyperbolic exaggeration may occur in number idioms at the same time.

2.3 Previous Related Studies

Recently, a number of scholars and researchers have shown a tendency to examine idioms using cognitive models and structures. Along with corpus-based methods, CMT is recognized as a strong tool to explore how figurative language is formed in the mind. Recent findings strongly challenge the traditional viewpoints of idioms, claiming that human embodied experience plays a crucial role in the conceptualization of idioms. For example, the study conducted by Moloodi, Doostan and Bijankhan (2015) offers a good example of the fusion of corpus-based analysis and a conceptual model in the examination of Persian idioms including ‘anger’. In another study, Moloodi and Doostan (2017) used a corpus-based cognitive strategy to investigate the metaphorical conceptualization of ‘fear’ in Persian language. In Chinese context, Guo (2019) used idioms from pedagogical materials to teach first-year university students and explore their level of understanding. The researcher employed the metaphorical classification introduced by Lakoff and Johnson 1980. Similarly, Kovalyuk (2019) compared two cognitive models, namely CMT and conceptual blending theory, to examine their level of effectiveness in the formation and understanding of idioms.

When it comes to the Kurdish context, several studies have recently made attempts to explore idioms. Using the conceptual metaphor framework, Muhammad (2020) investigated the role of metaphor in the process of formation and cognition of the Kurdish language. Another fundamental contribution is the study by Jawad (2022). The researcher adopted the CMT model to undertake an investigation of Kurdish food idioms and their metaphorical roles in shaping the meaning. Adopting CMT as a framework, Karim and Fatah (2022) investigated the role of this cognitive model in teaching idioms and how it can improve Kurdish university students' level of understanding of idiomatic expressions. Azeez (2023) performed an analysis to examine Kurdish university students' challenges with English number idioms in speaking. Working within a qualitative descriptive method, Omer (2024) examined Kurdish idioms tied to the 'head' concept to reveal underlying cognitive and metaphorical patterns through the lens of CMT.

The findings of the aforementioned studies support the claim that metaphor is a fundamental part of the linguistic and conceptual structure. The findings further exposed that metaphors in Kurdish are systematically and conceptually shaped and are strongly linked to Kurdish culture. Moreover, as the review of the previous related studies indicated, several studies have recently made attempts to explore idioms within the Kurdish context. Unfortunately, from a cognitive standpoint, and more specifically, numerical idioms as a significant area have basically been left outside the scope of examination. Idioms, including numbers, show how language, culture, and thought are connected and blended together. It confirms that addressing this overlooked field is a necessity. Thus, the study seeks to explore number idioms in Kurdish language, and more specifically those numbers used as markers of hyperbole which are frequently used by Kurdish speakers in everyday interactions. The study further seeks to identify their cultural and unique conceptualizations along with examining the metaphorical functions of numbers.

3. Research Design

3.1 Overall Approach

The present study employs a qualitative approach and is primarily corpus-based. A cognitive-linguistic framework, more specifically CMT, was adopted to analyze the underlying conceptual structures of Kurdish hyperbolic number idioms. For the first time, this theory was introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), who linked metaphor to the conceptual system rather than being a merely linguistic or literary device. A



systematic design was used to analyze both Kurdish number idioms to determine universal cognitive and language-specific forms. Ultimately, the goal of this study is to examine how numbers in Kurdish idioms convey hyperbolic meanings rather than purely quantitative or literal interpretations.

3.2 Data Sources and Corpus Selection

The Kurdish data of the current study is primarily derived from Sorani sources, and other Kurdish regional dialects or varieties, such as Kurmanji, are not part of the analysis. Since Kurdish shows no evidence of a comprehensive and globally recognized corpus, the study adopts a triangulated method combining three complementary data sources to gather and extract the Kurdish data. Despite using corpus resources to collect data and verify idioms in context, the study is not a quantitative analysis by nature. In fact, the corpora are utilized as a source to identify authentic examples and explore the cognitive functions of numerical expressions. *Færhengê Kurdwatane* (2020) was used as a primary source to prepare the initial list of number idioms; the *AsoSoft Kurdish Text Corpus* (Sorani) and the *Sketch Engine Sorani corpora* were employed to provide further complementary evidence and contextual usage examples.

3.3 Data Collection and Selection Criteria

The present study pays particular attention to conventionalized Kurdish number idioms and leaves out the creative or non-recurring metaphorical practices. Based on this assumption, the process of idiom selection was designed according to the following inclusion criteria:

- 1) To create an initial list, each source was analyzed manually to identify expressions including cardinal numbers only. Therefore, expressions with ordinal numbers are not considered part of this analysis and therefore are left out of the list.
- 2) The numerical expressions were added to the list if they were verified in at least one of the selected sources.
- 3) The Kurdish expressions with numbers were also analyzed to check whether their numerical elements were used metaphorically and subsequently carried hyperbolic interpretations beyond their literal meaning or not.
- 4) Following a purposive sampling method, this study is limited to including only numerical hyperbole that serves as an exaggeration in Kurdish idioms. Thus, the numerical elements with purely literal meanings, non-hyperbolic use, and duplicates were removed from the final dataset.

Consequently, the final list of Kurdish data is designed by including 27 numerical idioms as candidate expressions that are aligned with these criteria. For each idiom, complete information is provided in the Analysis and Discussion section, for example, the idiom's literal meaning, figurative meaning, source domain, target domain, type of metaphor, conceptual mappings, example in context and analysis.

3.4 Data Analysis

Each extracted expression was analyzed to determine its metaphorical use in the Kurdish context. This aspect was implemented using the Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU), refined by Steen et al. (2010), and it derives from the original Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) introduced by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). The main goal of this procedure is to first identify the figurative meaning of each expression in context. Second, determine its literal meaning. Third, compare both literal and figurative meanings to check whether the number carries metaphorical understandings or not. And fourth, analyze the metaphorical meanings using CMT.

Moreover, CMT acts as the analytical framework of this study, and each idiom went through some stages of analysis. The first stage was the identification of the idiom's literal and figurative meanings, along with providing a corpus example to check its figurative interpretation according to the context. Second, each idiom was analyzed to determine the presence of hyperbole. Third, the process of conceptual mappings along with source and target domains was constructed and established using the CMT framework. Numerical elements were recognized as source domains that map onto abstract target domains, such as intensity, quantity, or importance. This mapping illustrates how numerical elements in Kurdish idioms work as conceptual tools to express exaggeration.

3.5 Inter-Coder Reliability

The extracted idioms were examined by a second coder to guarantee the reliability and validity of the data. The 27 Kurdish expressions, including numbers, were evaluated by two coders independently. The second coder was a university lecturer with expertise in cognitive linguistics and tried to independently examine the idiom's idiomaticity, conventionality, and metaphor classification. Then, the results of both coders' analyses were compared with each other. When it comes to idiomaticity of expressions, the percentage analysis for both coders presented 100% agreement rate in all 27 instances, showing identical answers with no disagreement in all items. In contrast, for the conventionality aspect of idioms, Cohen's kappa was adopted to compare both coders' analyses. The findings of the comparison showed a moderate level of agreement between the two



coders ($\kappa = 0.51$). It confirms a kind of variation between the two coders' decisions regarding the conventionality features of the Kurdish expressions.

The second coder was asked to categorize each idiom according to the key types of conceptual metaphors proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), such as structural, orientational, or ontological. Cohen's kappa was adopted to calculate the consistency of metaphor classification. The analysis of idioms indicated a kappa value of nearly 0.63, representing significant agreement between the two coders. Finally, both coders discussed the cases of disagreement to resolve the issue and reach a final agreement on classifications according to the explanations and coding criteria applied in the present study.

4. Analysis and Discussion

This section presents the key findings from a cognitive-corpus analysis of Kurdish number idioms that express hyperbole. The section further aims at examining how the Kurdish language uses particular numerical elements to form abstract concepts. These idioms are gathered, categorized and analyzed in depth using the CMT framework. Finally, the extracted idioms were distributed over the following metaphorical categories:

4.1 EMOTIONAL INTENSITY IS QUANTITY

4.1.1 Idiom: *Dîlî le ser hezar/sed lê eda*.

Literal meaning: His heart beats at (a rate of) a thousand.

Figurative meaning: A person who is in a state of overwhelming emotion/bad feeling.

Conceptual Metaphor: INTENSITY OF ANXIETY IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY Target Domain: INTENSITY OF ANXIETY

Type: Ontological metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

a large quantity → an intense degree of emotion

a surge in the number → a rise in emotional intensity

The highest level of the number scale → the boundary of what can be emotionally tolerated

Analysis: In Kurdish culture, large numbers like 'thousand' or 'hundred' are frequently used as symbolic markers to show strong feelings and experiences, far beyond using as exact amounts. Unlike smaller numbers, these large round numbers are regularly employed to amplify emotion and function as hyperbole, whereas the metaphorical mapping reveals how an increase in quantity is conceptualized as an emotional experience. Thus, the numbers do not really refer to the heartbeat speed; instead, they

have symbolic roles displaying how feelings move beyond normal limitations and a situation that is too much to handle. The selection of 'heart' is not purely for showing it as a physical organ; rather, it represents a place for emotions and thoughts. The physical sensation of 'heart beating' is strongly connected to inner pressure and distress. Thus, numerical exaggeration will strengthen the emotional intensity in this idiom. The number provides the metaphorical weight of the idiom, not simply by using the verb 'beating'. The metaphor 'INTENSITY IS QUANTITY' treats emotional intensity as quantity; therefore, an increase in quantity leads to an increase in emotion. The speaker prefers to adopt 'one thousand' over 'one hundred' to indicate extreme emotional distress, which is the essential implication of the metaphor. The number in this idiom denotes the maximum level of intensity or fear and is the embodiment of highly emotional pressure. Therefore, when someone says 'his heart beats at a hundred or a thousand', it simply refers to extreme anxiety or emotional pressure that is far beyond a normal level.

4.1.2 Idiom: Hezar/Sed kun le cergiyaye.

Literal Meaning: There are a thousand holes in his liver.

Figurative Meaning: Someone whose life is full of difficulties from every direction.

Conceptual Metaphor: INTENSITY OF SUFFERING IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY Target Domain: INTENSITY OF SUFFERING

Type: Ontological metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

A large number → a high level of emotion

one problem → one occurrence of distress

an increase in the unit → a rise in the emotional distress

A thousand holes → the highest degree of pain and suffering

Analysis: This idiom is rooted in Kurdish physical experience with bodies and materials. When a material gets torn, it means it is full of holes, a situation that can also be applied to a human injured body, like the liver. When liver is filled with holes, it refers to the accumulation of inner suffering experiences. In Kurdish tradition, deep emotions or pains are linked to the liver or heart. It confirms a Kurdish cultural tendency to use physical damage to express emotional pain. Thus, in this idiom, number 'one thousand' or 'one hundred' have symbolic functions to express countless difficulties, pains, sufferings and problems that cannot easily be dealt with. They are rarely used in their literal sense in Kurdish idiomatic expressions. It is an exaggeration referring to numerous problems, accumulated difficulties and complicated life circumstances.



These large round numbers function as hyperbole and often intensify emotion; however, the metaphorical mapping exposes how a rise in quantity is understood as an emotional experience. Additionally, a reduction in the number leads to a decrease in emotional intensity. Thus, Kurdish speakers do not use a single hole, as it might signify one source of pain or problem. However, using ‘one thousand/hundred holes’ suggests no part is left untouched or without any damage. The number is not literal; rather, it metaphorically suggests a maximum level of difficulty, treating abstract concepts as quantifiable and scaled entities.

4.1.3 Idiom: *Sed kifnî zerd kird*.

Literal Meaning: It turned a hundred shrouds yellow.

Figurative meaning: A person who is extremely frightened and terrified.

Conceptual Metaphor: INTENSITY OF FEAR IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY **Target Domain:** INTENSITY OF FEAR

Type: Ontological metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

One hundred shrouds → Extreme level of fear

Increase in quantity → Increase in emotional intensity

Numerical reduction → Decrease in the level of fear

Analysis: This idiom stems from traditional Kurdish funeral and burial culture. In Kurdish culture, *kifn* (a burial shroud) refers to the final stage of a human life and its turning to yellow color is linked to fear, illness and death. Therefore, two culturally meaningful signs, such as the shroud as a sign of death and yellow as a sign of fear, are combined in “yellow shroud”. In Kurdish oral tradition, large numbers like ‘one hundred’ are used to convey the highest level of emotional experience, rather than simply functioning as a measurable quantity. Therefore, the combination of the shroud, the yellow color, and the number one hundred amplifies the intensity of fear to a level that cannot be tolerated. If we compare it with one thousand, which normally shows endless abundance or experiences, one hundred often expresses a very high but still possible level of intensity. It also enables someone to conceptualize ‘fear’ as something that can be counted and multiplied. Accordingly, the number ‘one thousand’ has a hyperbolic function that heightens the emotional intensity, while the metaphorical mapping clarifies how this increased amount is metaphorically understood as fear. The person is extremely frightened that it is described in a dramatic way. The person is so shocked and terrified that this emotional collapse causes him to lose control. The metaphor ‘INTENSITY OF FEAR IS QUANTITY’ deals with the abstract concept of emotional fear as a numerical element. It situates fear

on a scale where an increase in the numbers denotes stronger emotional distress and panic.

4.1.4 Idiom: Le ser hewit serîn cêî nabêtewe.

Literal Meaning: He doesn't settle even on seven pillows.

Figurative meaning: A person who is restless, anxious, or unable to relax.

Conceptual Metaphor: INTENSITY OF RESTLESSNESS IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY

Target Domain: INTENSITY OF RESTLESSNESS

Type: Ontological metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

One pillow → the minimum level of impatience

Increase in quantity → Increase in emotional distress

Seven pillows → Highest level of impatience

Analysis: The idiom has its roots in Kurdish domestic life and observation of human sleep behavior during rest and sleep, where 'bed' and 'pillow' are highly connected to emotional peace and comfort. The number 'seven' is traditionally recognized as a meaningful and influential number that regularly appears in Kurdish folklore, religious stories, and daily expressions. It is frequently used to indicate completeness, perfection, a complete cycle, or a substantial quantity, not simply as an actual count. For example, when speakers use 'seven days of the week' or 'seven stages of the heavens' in Islamic beliefs. In this idiom, number 'seven' is not adopted literally; instead, it forms a hyperbole marker to display exaggeration and abundance. While the number 'seven' acts as a hyperbolic device that increases the degree of emotional comfort, the process of metaphorical mapping shows how an increase in number is conceptualized as emotional peace. Adding 'pillow' to this number to form 'seven pillows' represents the highest level of comfort and peace. Therefore, it metaphorically symbolizes rest situations and physical comfort. In contrast to this, the entire idiom depicts a scenario where, despite having 'seven pillows' for maximum comfort, the person still cannot find peace or relaxation. The idiom contrasts the highest level of peace with failure to rest, restlessness and impatience, where even perfect comfort is insufficient. Culturally, the number 'seven' is utilized as it signifies more than enough. Thus, rather than using 'one' or 'two pillows', the speaker adopts 'seven pillows' to show the maximum level of restlessness.





4.2 EXTREME QUANTITY/MAGNITUDE IS QUANTITY

4.2.1 Idiom: Baran şest ekat.

Literal Meaning: It's raining sixty. Figurative meaning: It is raining heavily.

Conceptual Metaphor: EXTREME AMOUNT OF RAIN IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY Target Domain: EXTREME AMOUNT OF RAIN

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

sixty → strong rainfall

increasing number → increasing raining degree

doing sixty → acting with the highest power

Analysis: The idiom has its roots in Kurdish environmental life and exaggeration in describing natural phenomena. Culturally, rain and water have always been recognized as life and survival, as Kurdish people commonly depend on seasonal rainfall for farming and traditional livelihoods, although in certain situations they may also be linked to natural disasters such as floods or damage. Despite this, Kurdish speakers employed numerical elements such as 'sixty' as a symbolic marker of abundance and to intensify meaning. Thus, in this idiom, the number 'sixty' is adopted as a hyperbolic device to show the maximum degree of rain force, not representing literal meanings or quantity. While it expresses the highest level of intensity or extreme exaggeration in amount or power, metaphorical mapping illustrates how a growth in amount is understood as rainfall intensity. It also refers to acting at a level above normal. The metaphor 'DEGREE OF RAIN IS QUANTITY' treats natural force intensity as quantity. Consequently, a surge in quantity results in an increase in rainfall intensity. This number, culturally, provides a sense of 'beyond the normal level', and it maximizes the level of exaggeration in spoken language. So, Kurdish speakers, instead of saying 'it is raining heavily', they adopt "rain is doing sixty" to indicate that the rain is in an extreme degree.

4.2.2 Idiom: Hewit zeman

Literal Meaning: Seven ages or eras Figurative meaning: It's been a long time.

Metaphor: EXTREME AMOUNT OF TIME IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY Target Domain: EXTREME AMOUNT OF TIME

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

smaller number → shorter duration

larger number → Longer duration
seven ages → very long duration
several stages of life → historical depth

Analysis: Culturally, the idiom originates from Kurdish storytelling tradition and historical imagination, where long periods of time were commonly expressed through the means of symbolic expressions rather than exact time markers. The number ‘seven’ is culturally associated with completion, totality, perfection and magnitude as it is repeatedly employed in Kurdish traditional and religious stories. Kurdish speakers combine this number with age or time units to create a fixed symbolic number showing a long duration. In this idiom, the number ‘seven’ denotes a long period across numerous stages and it gives an understanding of “beyond normal duration perception”. Therefore, rather than simply counting precise years, number ‘seven’ represents an extremely large, unspecified duration of time. On one hand, this number is regularly employed as a hyperbolic device to create an exaggeration of the time scale; on the other hand, the process of mapping explains how this amplified amount is understood as an unspecified duration of time. In the Kurdish language, it is adopted to strengthen hyperbole in storytelling and it turns the regular time to look more huge, enormous, or vast. Consequently, ‘seven ages’ refers to a period of time stretching far beyond our normal and real-life experience. The expression is adopted to show that an action happened a very long time ago or continued so long that it gives a sense that entire eras passed.

4.2.3 Idiom: *Ĥewit pişt*

Literal Meaning: Seven backs

Figurative meaning: Seven generations, back-to-back

Metaphor: EXTREME GENERATIONAL DISTANCE IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY

Target Domain: EXTREME GENERATIONAL DISTANCE

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

smaller number of backs → minimum generational distance

larger number → Longer duration

seven backs → maximum generational distance

increase in the number → historical depth

Analysis: The idiom is rooted in Kurdish tribal society and genealogical culture, where *pişt* (back) and family lineage are considered of significant value. In Kurdish culture, the word *pişt* is metaphorically used as a unit of generations and ancestral chain, while ‘seven’ serves as a symbol of completeness, longevity and continuity. As a hyperbolic device, number



‘seven’ amplifies the level of historical depth, but metaphorical mapping describes how this enlarged number is interpreted as maximum generational distance. The reason for using ‘seven’ in this idiom is that in Kurdish culture this number signifies a large, complete, or boundless span. Accordingly, the combination of both creates ‘seven backs’ and refers to as far back as family memory can go or a long family lineage stretching far beyond immediate generations. Culturally, the expression is of important value as it is a way to know one’s roots. Due to the number’s traditional symbolic link with completeness and fullness, it shows the entire ancestry of a person and far-reaching historical roots, not merely seven specific generations. It does not basically and exactly refer to seven generations; rather, it is a symbolic way of saying that something is far beyond memory. It symbolizes deep ancestry, long lineage and family continuity across time. The metaphor ‘EXTREME GENERATIONAL DISTANCE IS QUANTITY’ treats generational distance as quantity; therefore, an increase in the quantity leads to an increase in historical depth.

4.2.4 Idiom: Be hezar pare nalê pare.

Literal Meaning: With a thousand pieces of money, he doesn’t call it money.

Figurative meaning: A person who is extremely rich. / Wealthy, prosperous.

Metaphor: MAXIMUM LEVEL OF PROSPERITY/SUCCESS IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY

Target Domain: MAXIMUM LEVEL OF PROSPERITY/SUCCESS

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

smaller number of coins → poverty/ lower social ranking

larger number → financially stronger/ more success

a thousand coins → extreme richness/ power/ survival

Analysis: The idiom stems from Kurdish economic life, bazaar culture, and social perception of wealth, where money is associated with survival, value, power, success and social status. The cultural significance of the number ‘one thousand’ is situated in using it to denote abundance and showing magnitude. In Kurdish culture, large round numbers like ‘one thousand’ are adopted to display quantities beyond the limits of our normal imagination. The number works as a hyperbolic strategy that expands the level of prosperity, peace and power, but the process of metaphorical mapping shows how this increased amount is viewed as richness, safety, and success. Thus, ‘thousand coins’ denotes a huge

number of resources or wealth far beyond normal boundaries. Traditionally, Kurdish speakers used this numerical idiom as a form of exaggeration to describe a person of high economic value and social standing. The form of numerical utilization is financial-standing symbolism and exaggeration of wealth. Therefore, the number does not offer a literal interpretation; rather, it metaphorically illustrates a scenario where a person is financially powerful and independent. The person is extremely rich that even large amounts of wealth and resources are something meaningless to concern, demonstrating financial richness and showing no concern for small amounts. The expression describes a situation in which money is not a noteworthy concern. Thus, the abstract concepts of financial richness, prosperity, success and social standing are conceptualized as quantity, so a rise in the number signifies an increase in a person's economic and social value.

4.3 LIMITATION / IMPOSSIBILITY IS QUANTITY

4.3.1 Idiom: Nabim be hezar parçewe.

Literal Meaning: I won't be broken into a thousand pieces.

Figurative meaning: Limited and restricted ability and capacity.

Metaphor: MAXIMUM HUMAN ABILITY IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY Target Domain: MAXIMUM HUMAN ABILITY

Type: Ontological metaphor (Body-as-object subtype)

Mappings: (source → target)

One piece → the highest level of ability to perform tasks

Smaller number → more ability to handle tasks

An increase in the number → increases the limitation of human ability

thousand pieces → maximum limitation of human ability

Analysis: The idiom has roots in craft/material-life observation in Kurdish daily and rural life, such as dealing with cloth, cutting, or physical objects. According to the basic fact in every culture, the human body is formed in one piece; thus, it is physically impossible to be in many pieces. When a cloth or a physical object is in pieces, it represents division or fragmentation. In this idiom, the number 'one thousand' is not used to show quantity; instead, it is adopted as a hyperbolic tool to convey exaggeration in human limitations. When this number is combined with 'pieces', it expresses the limitations of human ability to divide efforts to handle multitasking. Therefore, when someone says 'I won't be broken into a thousand pieces', the person simply implies impossibility and an overload of responsibility, as he/she fails to split his/her attention or efforts into many parts to carry out several tasks





simultaneously. Here, the metaphor 'MAXIMUM HUMAN ABILITY IS QUANTITY' treats the limitation of human ability as a quantity. Accordingly, an increase in the number leads to an upsurge in the limitations of human capacity. The expression 'one thousand pieces' implies unrealistic expectations of multitasking, a person full of stress, pressure and needs for prioritization to perform tasks properly and effectively. The person wants to show their natural limits, inability, or impossibility to be in multiple places at once.

4.3.2 Idiom: *Be hezar lêfe danapoşirêt*.

Literal Meaning: It cannot be covered with a thousand wrappers.

Figurative meaning: It is impossible to hide it. / Truth is stronger than concealment.

Metaphor: MAXIMUM EFFORT TO HIDE IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY Target Domain: MAXIMUM EFFORT TO HIDE

Type: Ontological metaphor (Visibility/Covering subtype)

Mappings: (source → target)

smaller number → less effort to hide the truth

Increase in the number → increase in the effort of hiding

thousand blankets → maximum effort to hide the truth

Analysis: The idiom originated in rural Kurdish household life, where people normally used a blanket or cloth to cover and hide something. In Kurdish tradition, *lêfe* (blanket) was a tool to protect goods or hide dirt or shame, whereas 'one thousand', as a large symbolic number, had a hyperbolic function to show exaggeration in efforts, not merely to convey literal meaning as a quantity. In Kurdish culture, attempts to cover an object are compared with efforts to conceal a reality. Therefore, when someone says 'thousand blankets', the person basically wants to refer to the highest level of actions to cover, hide and protect a truth. An increase in the number of blankets to an impossible level denotes extreme efforts at concealment, while a drop to a lower number leads to less effort to hide the truth. In Kurdish culture, this expression is gradually used as a metaphor for concealing a reality. Kurdish speakers knew that some things cannot be hidden even if a person uses his/her greatest effort to cover them, exactly like some very obvious facts that no efforts of concealment can protect them. The idiom, finally, describes a situation where a person uses extreme efforts to conceal the truth, but it ends in failure. So, the type of numerical use suggests that major events or highly visible truths cannot be concealed easily. The metaphor 'MAXIMUM EFFORT TO HIDE IS QUANTITY' treats the highest degree of attempts

as quantity; subsequently, increasing the number results in an increase in the effort of concealment.

4.3.3 Idiom: **Be hezar aw pak nabête.**

Literal Meaning: It cannot be cleaned with a thousand waters.

Figurative meaning: Someone or something with excessive guilt or dirt.

Metaphor: MAXIMUM EFFORT TO CLEAN IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY

Target Domain: MAXIMUM EFFORT TO CLEAN

Type: Ontological metaphor (Purity/Cleanliness subtype)

Mappings: (source → target)

smaller number → less effort to purify/clean

Increase in the number → increase in the effort of cleaning

thousand waters → maximum effort to clean

Analysis: The idiom has roots in Islamic purification traditions where ‘water’ is considered the most universally sacred purifying element both physically and spiritually. In Kurdish culture, removing guilt or fault is conceptualized through the use of water to clean or wash dirt. While number ‘one thousand’, as a large round number, acts as a marker of hyperbole to exaggerate the degree of attempts, the process of conceptual mapping exposes how this enlarged numerical element is recognized as the extreme level of effort. The combination of this number with ‘water’ creates ‘thousand waters’ and denotes a person’s countless attempts and extreme efforts to clean, purify and correct something or someone. Adopting smaller numerical elements suggests less cleaning effort, whereas a greater quantity indicates the greatest possible effort. In contrast to the numerical function of ‘thousand’, the entire idiom indicates that even with the highest possible attempts, it is impossible to purify moral guilt or clear dirt. Accordingly, it highlights deep corruption or stain in which something or someone is so severely broken or discredited that no degree of determination can make it clean or acceptable again.

4.3.4 Idiom: **Be sê bazîş pêy naga.**

Literal Meaning: Despite three jumps, he is unable to reach it.

Figurative meaning: Even after numerous tries, the person fails to achieve a goal.

Metaphor: MAXIMUM EFFORT TO ACHIEVE IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY

Target Domain: MAXIMUM EFFORT TO ACHIEVE

Type: Structural metaphor





Mappings: (source → target)

one jump → minimum effort to achieve goals
 smaller number → less effort to succeed/ reaching the goal
 increase in the number → increase in the effort of succeeding
 three jumps → repeated efforts to follow goals

Analysis: This idiom is derived from Kurdish observing physical movements and crossing rough lands in the mountains. In traditional Kurdish rural life, people often had to cross rough lands to perform their daily actions, for example, chasing an animal or crossing a waterway. Thus, *baz* (jump) refers to effort or attempt, whereas the number ‘three’, as a small symbolic number, is used to show completeness on a human scale and denotes that an action is done to its predictable limit. The number ‘three’ does not basically represent an actual quantity; rather, it serves as a hyperbolic tool to exaggerate in efforts and attempts. Metaphorical mapping also clearly explains how this numerical element is understood as sufficient efforts and repeated attempts. So, in the Kurdish language, using number ‘one’ instead of ‘three’ shows minimal effort or tries, and an increase in the number leads to a surge in persistence. The idiom, finally, shows that even with repeated attempts (three jumps), the goal still remains unachievable. It gives a sense of completeness in efforts and finally demonstrates the impossibility or extreme difficulty of reaching beyond human ability and power. It also expresses the fact that success is culturally connected to persistence, but there are still certain circumstances that are beyond the normal human ability. The idiom symbolizes struggle and persistence, but it finally results in failure or the impossibility of attaining the goal. The metaphor ‘MAXIMUM EFFORT TO SUCCEED IS QUANTITY’ reveals how the concepts of completeness and effort are understood through the use of numbers.

4.4 HUMAN EXPERIENCE / SKILL IS QUANTITY

4.4.1 Idiom: Her danêkî be sed sal hatwe.

Literal Meaning: Each tooth takes a hundred years to grow.

Figurative meaning: a person with a lot of experience, knowledge and craftiness.

Metaphor: HUMAN EXPERIENCE/SKILL IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY Target Domain: HUMAN EXPERIENCE/SKILL

Type: Ontological metaphor (Body–Age subtype)

Mappings: (source → target)

smaller number → signs of immaturity

increase in the number → gaining experience

hundred years → extreme wisdom and knowledge

Analysis: The idiom is derived from the Kurdish body-based metaphor of age and experience, in which teeth are known as a symbol of growth, age and stages of life in Kurdish folk idioms. It is based on observations of human beings with the phenomenon of ageing in the real life of Kurds. In this idiom, the number 'one hundred' is culturally significant as it metaphorically denotes accumulated experience, intelligence, craftiness and wisdom. The form of numerical use is hyperbolic age metaphor and character evaluation, not simply a numerical value. Although human teeth normally begin to emerge as a person grows older, the idiom creates a link between one hundred years and each tooth to form an exaggerated image of human wisdom. Kurdish speakers frequently say 'one hundred years' to express accumulated life experience and to describe a person who has gained knowledge through many years or an extremely long life. The use of this number further shows a traditional Kurdish belief that intelligence and skill can be acquired through a long time of experience, not simply by formal education. People who have passed through many trials are not easily deceived. The idiom creates a scenario where someone knows how to deal with critical situations skillfully and this cleverness is the result of accumulated experience throughout the life stages. The metaphor 'HUMAN EXPERIENCE/ SKILL IS QUANTITY' treats abstract concepts of human skill and wisdom as something which can be counted and measured. Therefore, an increase in the number of years leads to a rise in a person's experience and intelligence.

4.4.2 Idiom: Çil gez lejêr 'erza aw ebînê.

Literal Meaning: He can see water even forty spans under the ground.

Figurative meaning: A person with deep understanding, knowledge and survival skills.

Metaphor: HUMAN EXPERIENCE/SKILL IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY **Target Domain:** HUMAN EXPERIENCE/SKILL

Type: Ontological metaphor (Perception/Knowledge subtype)

Mappings: (source → target)

smaller number → signs of lack of skill/perception

rise in the number → achieving more experience/knowledge

forty spans → extreme intelligence and experience

Analysis: This idiom stems from Kurdish rural knowledge of land, water, and survival in a mountainous/agricultural environment. In Kurdish rural life, water is viewed as an important resource for survival. Therefore, a



person with the ability to read lands and detect water underground is recognized as an experienced and skilled person. In this idiom, Kurdish speakers used 'forty spans under the ground' not simply to refer to the very depth of the underground; instead, it describes a person who is so skillful and knowledgeable that can effortlessly detect even the most unseen facts that ordinary people fail to perceive at all. Generally speaking, number 'forty' is culturally and symbolically significant as it appears repeatedly in Kurdish everyday expressions, traditional and religious stories. It has been employed repeatedly in the Islamic tradition by important religious figures or prophets to show spiritual readiness, maturity, or transformation. Subsequently, these religious associations have influenced the Kurdish people's understanding of this number and leading it to take on a conventional form and, finally, to signify completion, perfection, and unusual achievement. It confirms that this number is a hyperbolic device, often used for non-literal meanings and to show exaggeration in depth or distance. This purely highlights a person's ability to detect hidden truths along with heightened perception and understanding beyond normal human power. The metaphor 'HUMAN EXPERIENCE/SKILL IS QUANTITY' treats the abstract concepts of skill, talent, intelligence and perception as quantities that can be placed on degrees and scales. Consequently, metaphorical mapping illustrates how this increased number is conceptualized as human experience and skill.

4.4.3 Idiom: No mîwan be hêlkeyek be rê dekat.

Literal Meaning: With one egg, the person serves nine guests.

Figurative meaning: A very skilled, talented, and gifted person.

Metaphor: HUMAN TALENT/SKILL IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY Target Domain: HUMAN TALENT/SKILL

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

smaller number → signs of lack of skill/talent

growth in the number → attaining more skill/competence

nine guests → extreme talent and skill

Analysis: The idiom stems from Kurdish household and hospitality culture and the real experience of scarcity in rural life. In Kurdish tradition, preparing food for guests and hospitality were considered skills, especially for women. Hêlke (egg) is viewed as a small and limited resource for serving many people in Kurdish culture. However, the idiom uses 'one egg' to signify scarcity in contrast with 'nine guests' to show a

socially heavy burden of hospitality. Therefore, when someone uses this idiom, the person simply wants to portray a woman's abilities and skills to handle social responsibilities despite a heavy burden. The number 'nine', as a form of hyperbole and non-literal use, shows exaggeration in the number of people or guests; however, the process of mapping exhibits how an increase in number is visualized as a challenging situation. Number 'nine' is culturally significant since Kurdish speakers commonly use it as a symbolic number to refer to a large group or quantity that goes beyond normal expectations. The idiom is utilized to praise a woman's skill, while using 'nine' strengthens this admiration by showing it as a large group of people. Unlike other numerical elements, number 'nine' acts basically as a symbol of substantial quantity that stays within the scope of everyday social experience. The number magnifies the situation, not purely an amount beyond human imagination. Accordingly, the idiom exhibits a very demanding and complicated situation, yet the person is so skillful, talented and gifted that can manage even more difficult and challenging situations. The idiom demonstrates the proficiency and efficiency of someone who can manage and serve a large number of guests even with very limited resources. Ultimately, what is obvious in this idiom is that human personal traits and efficiencies as abstract concepts are conceptualized through the means of numerical and concrete elements.

4.4.4 idiom: Ejđîhay (mar) ĥewit sere.

Literal Meaning: A dragon/snake with seven heads.

Figurative meaning: A very powerful, dangerous and crafty person who is extremely difficult to defeat.

Metaphor: HUMAN BRAVERY/POWER IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY Target Domain: HUMAN
BRAVERY/POWER

Type: Ontological metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

Reduction in the number → losing power and fewer threats

increase in the number → increasing power/ threats

seven heads → maximum level of bravery and power

Analysis: This idiom derives from ancient Kurdish mythological storytelling, where people frequently used dragon/snake legends. In Kurdish traditional stories, Ejđîha/ mar (dragon/snake) is regularly employed to show power, threat and danger. Number 'seven' is recognized as a sacred number due to its religious associations and repeated utilization in folklore, myths, and religious narratives. Due to



these associations, this number usually indicates that something has reached an exceptional or complete level beyond usual human experience. The number traditionally shows perfection or fullness, for example, 'seven days of the week' or 'seven heavens'. Therefore, using number 'seven' in this idiom reflects completeness or the intensity of danger. This number functions as a hyperbolic device to exaggerate danger and threat, but conceptual mapping clarifies how a rise in number is understood as the highest degree of risk and danger. The idiom describes a person (an enemy) who is already powerful, yet the addition of 'seven heads' multiplies their danger, which is far greater than that of a normal person. Subsequently, the abstract concepts of danger and threat are understood by using numbers. Here, 'seven heads' represents various sources of risk and encountering numerous dangers at once, where each 'head' stands for a different source or form of hazard and threat.

4.5 HUMAN TRAIT/BEHAVIOR IS QUANTITY

4.5.1 Idiom: Ser eka be hezar kuna.

Literal Meaning: He sticks his head into a thousand holes.

Figurative meaning: A person who wants to interfere in many affairs or businesses.

Metaphor: HUMAN BEHAVIOR/CURIOSITY IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY Target Domain: HUMAN
BEHAVIOR/CURIOSITY

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

One hole → minimum chance to interfere

smaller number → small openings to be unconcern/ disinterest

increase in the number → showing more desire to interfere

thousand holes → extreme ways for attention/curiosity

Analysis: The idiom originated from human practical experience with holes as a sign of access points for information and body metaphor where 'head' is visualized as curiosity and nosiness. The idiom describes a person who wants to know every detail and cannot overlook what is happening around. It portrays a person who is overly curious and very interested in interfering in countless matters. This human behavior is not acceptable in traditional Kurdish society, since they value respecting someone's privacy and knowing your boundaries of involvement in other people's affairs. The type of number use is not literal; rather, it shows hyperbole and exaggerates in curiosity. In the Kurdish context, using 'one thousand holes' provides metaphorical understandings of maximum nosiness and attention to everything. This idiom proves how Kurdish

speakers use *kun* (hole) as a small opening to see and spy from all possible angles and *ser* (head) to express awareness and attention. When number 'one thousand' combines with 'hole' to form 'one thousand heads', the whole expression denotes having many directions and openings of attention. In the Kurdish context, this number is culturally significant as it is used to represent limitlessness, endless possibilities, and excessive involvement. It is regularly adopted to describe a situation that goes beyond normal human behavior or experience. Ultimately, human character and behavior are understood through the lens of numerical elements. Thus, an increase in the number leads to more interest in interfering in other people's affairs.

4.5.2 Idiom: Hezar ziman le naw demiyaye.

Literal Meaning: There are a thousand tongues in his mouth.

Figurative meaning: A person who lies a lot and changes his story constantly.

Metaphor: HUMAN BEHAVIOR/INCONSISTENCY IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY Target Domain: HUMAN
BEHAVIOR/INCONSISTENCY

Type: Ontological metaphor (Body + Quantity subtype)

Mappings: (source → target)

One tongue → showing honesty/consistency

increase in the number → multiple false versions of the truth

thousand tongues → excessive speech/lying/ dishonesty/inconsistency

Analysis: The idiom stems from Islamic literary and ethical tradition, where controlling the tongue is considered a major virtue. In Kurdish culture, *ziman* (tongue) is highly linked to speech and used to show how reliable a person is. Controlling your tongue is considered a key behavioral aspect in Kurdish society. Therefore, using many tongues or 'one thousand tongues' in one mouth in Kurdish expressions basically shows inconsistency and constantly changing speeches. The expression shows dishonesty through linking the tongue to truthfulness. The number 'one thousand' is culturally important as it metaphorically shows a countless quantity or a trait beyond normal human behavior. Kurdish speakers regularly employ 'one thousand tongues' in their daily interactions to show extreme multiplicity of speech, endless talking, or various ways of explaining things that normally lead to lies or tricks. This large number is a hyperbolic form that intensifies the lack of honesty and verbal skills used in a negative way, whereas metaphorical mapping portrays how this enlarged number is understood as an inconsistency and dishonesty. The idiom is creating a scenario where a person who talks too



much and may sometimes lie or deceive other people around by repeatedly changing words and twisting the truth. The metaphor 'HUMAN BEHAVIOR IS QUANTITY' treats human character and behavior as a quantity that can be counted. An increase in the number results in a rise in the various ways of changing talks and lies.

4.5.3 Idiom: Aṣay ḥewit gund bû, hewlî yekêkî tirî eda.

Literal Meaning: He was the lord of seven villages, trying to get another one.

Idiomatic meaning: A greedy person who is never satisfied and seeks more.

Metaphor: HUMAN GREED/AMBITION IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY **Target Domain:** HUMAN GREED/AMBITION

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

seven villages → possessing large wealth/power

increase in the number → having more power/wealth

One more village → showing greed/ambition to possess more

Seeking an extra village → growing desire and ambition

Analysis: This idiom traces back to Kurdish tribal structure and the social reality of Kurdish 'aṣas' in controlling lands. In traditional Kurdish society, aṣa (lord) was used to show power, control, wealth and high social status. Therefore, when someone has control over seven villages, the person is basically very powerful and rich. Because of its religious associations in Kurdish context, number 'seven' in this idiom indicates completeness or that something is in its ideal state. The idiom shows that despite having control over 'seven' (a lot) villages, the person still wants more. Consequently, it describes a person's greed and dissatisfaction through the application of the numbers 'seven' and 'one'. Here, number 'seven' has a hyperbolic function to denote exaggeration in wealth and power, while conceptual mapping explains how these abstract concepts are understood through the use of an increased number. The expression 'seven villages' symbolizes already possessing large wealth and power. In contrast to the numerical function of 'seven', number 'one' signifies seeking more territories, ownership and control. The central aspect of the idiom is the contrast between 'seven' and 'one'. Accordingly, the idiom criticizes greed and describes a situation in which a person already has sufficient success, yet is still not satisfied, emphasizing unnecessary desire and the absence of contentment. The metaphor 'HUMAN

GREED/AMBITION IS QUANTITY' clearly shows how numerical elements can be adopted to conceptualize human ambition and greed.

4.6 SOCIAL INTERACTION/ RELATIONSHIP IS QUANTITY

4.6.1 Idiom: Hezar u yek kelîmey le gelda wit.

Literal Meaning: He / She said a thousand and one words with him/her.

Figurative meaning: A situation where someone talks endlessly to persuade someone else but achieves nothing.

Metaphor: ENDLESS PERSUASION ATTEMPT IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY

Target Domain: ENDLESS PERSUASION ATTEMPT

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

the smallest possible amount → minimum efforts of persuasion

Reduction in the number → fewer attempts to persuade

increase in the number → increasing efforts to convince

thousand and one words → maximum quantity of persuasion attempts

Analysis: the idiom has roots in Kurdish oral storytelling traditions and it is culturally linked with 'One Thousand and One Nights' as a never-ending narration. In the Kurdish language, *Kelîme* (word) is not merely used to refer to talking; rather, it represents countable words. In Kurdish culture, numbers 'one thousand' and 'one hundred' are mostly utilized to show exaggeration or a quantity beyond normal limits. However, in certain circumstances, number 'one thousand and one' is adopted as a rare form of hyperbole to strengthen the quantity and express countless or limitless amounts. The metaphorical mapping process clearly reveals how an increase in the amount is understood as a maximum persuasive effort. As a result, the combination of 'one thousand and one' and 'kelîme' (word) creates a pattern showing a person's maximum effort of persuasion. This exceptional and unusual use of this number is basically rooted in traditional Kurdish stories. Therefore, Kurdish speakers regularly relied on this number to strengthen the quantity and show that an action is done beyond normal measures. Finally, the entire numerical idiom describes someone who engaged in countless conversations and repeated arguments to convince another person, yet it ends in failure and frustration. The person resorts to endless talks, but more talking does not guarantee agreement and results in an exhaustive discussion. The expression 'one thousand and one words' forms a metaphorical understanding to symbolize excessive speech, frustration in communication, and ineffective argument. The type of numerical use in





this idiom demonstrates that abstract concepts, such as persuasive attempts or frustration, are understood through the means of numerical elements.

4.6.2 Idiom: Hezar qisem bo bikeyt.

Literal Meaning: If you make a thousand speeches for me.

Figurative meaning: Fruitless and aimless effort to convince someone.

Metaphor: ENDLESS PERSUASION ATTEMPT IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY

Target Domain: ENDLESS PERSUASION ATTEMPT

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

the smallest possible amount → minimum number of tries of persuasion

Reduction in the number → fewer attempts to persuade

increase in the number → increasing efforts to convince

thousand speeches → maximum quantity of persuasion attempts

Analysis: This idiom stems from Kurdish everyday persuasion and argument culture in family discussions or village disputes. In Kurdish culture, *qise* (speech/talk) is normally observed as a strategy for convincing someone. Therefore, a large symbolic number like ‘one thousand’ is adopted in this idiom to display the limits of persuasion. This number is culturally significant due to its symbolic representation as an immeasurably large quantity. The use of this number to strengthen the amount reveals its metaphorical role in expressing persistence and repetition in the Kurdish context. This large number works as a hyperbolic strategy to exaggerate the persuasion attempts, whereas conceptual mapping exposes how this enlarged number is recognized as an effort to convince. Thus, the idiom constructs a situation in which even endless talk, explanations and strong promises will not alter the person’s decisions and perspectives. It also reflects stubborn refusal and resistance, where these abstract concepts are conceptualized through the means of numerical elements. Any form of addition in quantity leads to excessive effort to convince the other person. It doesn’t matter how much persuasion or how strong the assurances are; they are not enough to change the person’s final decision. The person is so firm or stubborn that even limitless assurances or influences cannot alter his/her decision or belief.

4.6.3 Idiom: Le bîstî her tom pêwîstî.

Literal Meaning: You are the only person I need out of twenty.

Figurative meaning: A loyal person who is truly supportive in times of hardship.

Metaphor: HUMAN RELIABILITY/ UNIQUENESS IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY

Target Domain: HUMAN RELIABILITY/UNIQUENESS

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

twenty people → several available potential supporters

One individual among twenty → The only reliable and supportive person

Larger quantity → more reliability of the selected individual

Analysis: The idiom originates from Kurdish social and relational culture, where survival required close relationships or trusted individuals. The number 'twenty' is not adopted for a literal purpose; instead, it serves as a contrastive quantity marker. As a hyperbolic device, it establishes a large group of people or many available potential supporters against a single loyal and uniquely valuable person. This number is culturally significant since it does not refer to the exact number twenty; instead, it is symbolically associated with wholeness, totality or a large social circle. In traditional Kurdish society, individuals were normally surrounded by large social groups such as families, neighbors, and members of tribes. As a result, people expected to be supported by many members in hard times, not only one person. This demonstrates the significant role of the number twenty in reinforcing the contrast. Accordingly, the idiom describes a person's emotional dependence and highest trust by revealing that among countless people 'twenty', only one person is really trustworthy and relied upon in times of hardship. The metaphorical analysis of the idiom reveals that Kurdish people normally understand human reliability and trust by resorting to numerical elements. Accordingly, an increase in the quantity results in more reliability of a person on a specific person who is a unique supporter and helper.

4.6.4 Idiom: Le cêy hewit biraye.

Literal Meaning: He / She is in place of the seven brothers.

Figurative meaning: A person who is a reliable and honest supporter.

Metaphor: HUMAN RELIABILITY/ UNIQUENESS IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY

Target Domain: HUMAN RELIABILITY/UNIQUENESS

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

seven brothers → maximum level of support/protection/loyalty

reduction in number → lower level of support/reliability



Larger quantity → more strength/support/protection

Analysis: The idiom stems from Kurdish tribal and family-centered social structure where brother is recognized as a powerful and reliable supporter. In traditional Kurdish society, family ties were crucial for safety and protection; therefore, *bira* (brother) is commonly used to express loyalty, reliability and support. The idiom describes someone who provides strong protection and support for another person. Since the family bond is viewed as a trusted social relationship in Kurdish culture, the idiom employs the number 'seven' instead of 'one' or 'two' to metaphorically mean very powerful, perfect, and dependable support. Because of its religious associations, this number is culturally significant as it is currently employed as a conventional form in everyday communications to show completeness, sufficiency, and the fullness of social support. The idiom uses 'seven' as a great collective to act as a strong protector or helper where the powers of multiple brothers are combined to give an extreme level of support and protection. This number, as a form of hyperbole, also intensifies the idea that the person is not merely helpful, but entirely reliable, equal to multiple brothers. Consequently, metaphorical mapping shows how this number as a concrete form is used to metaphorically conceptualize the abstract concepts of loyalty, protection and reliability.

4.7 HUMAN EFFORT/ STRUGGLE IS NUMBER

4.7.1 Idiom: Be hezar hal.

Literal Meaning: With a thousand states/conditions.

Idiomatic Meaning: A situation where a person achieves something with great struggle and hardship.

Metaphor: HUMAN STRUGGLE/ HARDSHIP IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY

Target Domain: HUMAN STRUGGLE/ HARDSHIP

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

thousand conditions → maximum level of struggle and effort

reduction in quantity → lower level of attempts/ efforts

increase in number → showing more attempts/efforts

Analysis: The idiom originates from Kurdish emotional and experiential language, where Kurdish speakers multiply 'hal', meaning 'condition', to express struggle and hardship. This number's cultural significance comes from its symbolic connection with limitlessness. It is conventionally employed to express an amount far beyond our real-life experience or imagination. In traditional Kurdish society, people had to deal with

limited resources and social and economic difficulties. Therefore, this idiom is frequently used to describe a situation in which someone goes through extreme difficulties and complications to achieve something. The idiom also shows success after hardship, along with effort and persistence. The person has to endure numerous obstacles and achieve something under risky circumstances. Accordingly, the number 'one thousand' is not literal; rather, it works as a hyperbolic device to exaggerate the amount of hardship and struggle, though the metaphorical mapping demonstrates how this large number is conceptualized as human struggle. Thus, the metaphor 'HUMAN STRUGGLE/ HARDSHIP IS QUANTITY' confirms how human persistence and difficulties are observed as numerical elements that can be measured and counted. An increase in quantity leads to an upsurge in human difficulties, and a numerical reduction yields a decrease in human struggles.

4.7.2 Idiom: *Weku pişîleye sed serban ekat sikî pê têr nakirêt.*

Literal Meaning: He is like a cat that climbs a hundred rooftops and still can't fill its belly.

Figurative Meaning: A person with high effort and low income.

Metaphor: HUMAN EFFORT/ OPPORTUNITY IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY **Target Domain:** HUMAN EFFORT/ OPPORTUNITY

Type: Structural metaphor

Mappings: (source → target)

hundred roofs → maximum level of opportunities and efforts

reduction in quantity → lower level of chances/ efforts

increase in number → more opportunities/efforts

Analysis: This idiom derives from Kurdish rural life and daily observation of domestic animals, such as a cat that moves across rooftops to find food but whose hunger is not satisfied. Here, *pişîle* (cat) is used to express restless searching. It also describes a person who uses every opportunity for himself/herself, even if it's not fair. As a large symbolic number, 'one hundred' is culturally significant as it represents repeated and continuous attempts that are beyond normal experience. Unlike 'one thousand', which expresses an uncountable quantity, Kurdish speakers show a tendency to use 'one hundred' rather than 'one thousand' to show that the number of repeated actions is very large, but it is still imaginable. The hyperbolic function of this number is to form an exaggeration in a person's restless searching, while the process of metaphorical mapping describes the use of an increased number to understand limitless efforts. Consequently, the idiom describes countless attempts or opportunities of



a person with no success, wasted efforts, ineffective behavior, and lack of concentration. When someone says ‘one hundred roofs’, the expression metaphorically shows a person’s extreme efforts and struggles. Through the use of numerical form, the idiom describes a person who makes scattered attempts to go everywhere and try to do many things, but still ends up with no fulfilment or achievement, similar to a cat that explores many roofs, yet remains hungry. Finally, the idiom confirms how abstract ideas such as efforts and struggles are understood with the help of numerical elements.

4.7.3 Idiom: Çiwar pîney keyt nagate behar.

Literal Meaning: Even four patches cannot take him to spring.

Figurative Meaning: A person who is so beaten, exhausted and unable to endure.

Metaphor: HUMAN SURVIVAL / ENDURANCE IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY Target Domain: HUMAN SURVIVAL / ENDURANCE

Type: Ontological metaphor (State + Repair/Restoration subtype)

Mappings: (source → target)

four patches → maximum effort to heal and recover

one patch → minor repair

reduction in number → lower level of attempts to heal someone

numeral increase → more efforts to heal someone

Analysis: The idiom has roots in Kurdish real experiences of repairing clothes during winter. In traditional rural life, Kurdish people often used patches for worn clothes. It was a strategy to extend their usefulness and preserve something that is already worn out. In this idiom, number ‘four’ is linked to a limited but still manageable amount. While this number acts as a hyperbolic strategy to exaggerate efforts to heal someone, the conceptual mapping process explains how this amplified number is comprehended as a maximum effort to recover. In Kurdish culture, the number may also be linked to four-legged objects that people in traditional life frequently used for daily activities. This proves that number ‘four’ also symbolizes stability, balance and a complete structure. Therefore, ‘four patches’ refers to complete recovery rather than a single tiny repair. Using ‘four patches’ shows that a person has done everything available to prolong another person's life who has become so weak, old, or ill, but it ends in failure. The idiom makes a clear comparison between a dying person and an old piece of cloth. The message of the idiom is that some circumstances are impossible to reverse; it doesn’t matter how much effort is devoted.

4.7.4 Idiom: *Ĥewit car be aw şorawetewe.*

Literal Meaning: Washed seven times with water.

Idiomatic Meaning: Extremely pure/ A deep spiritual purity

Metaphor: MORAL PURITY/PERFECTION IS QUANTITY

Source Domain: QUANTITY Target Domain: MORAL
PURITY/PERFECTION

Type: Ontological metaphor (Process/Action subtype)

Mappings: (source → target)

seven times → maximum effort of purification/ correction

decrease in number → lower level of attempts to improve something

increase in number → increase in effort to correct something

Analysis: This idiom has roots in Kurdish daily washing practices in rural life, with religious influence, in which water is recognized as a symbol of purification and correction. This Kurdish idiom clearly demonstrates how the number ‘seven’ has religious associations representing completeness or perfection. Kurdish people regularly use this number as a conventional form in everyday communications due to their daily contact with the number seven and its frequent appearance in religious stories and narratives. Therefore, its combination with *car* (times) forms ‘seven times’ and indicates making efforts to correct or improve something. As a hyperbolic marker, the number ‘seven’ emphasizes repetition to the highest degree, completion through repetition, elimination of all impurities, and thoroughness in action. This number is not literal, but represents the number of times required to clean it perfectly or beyond normal effort. Additionally, the metaphorical mapping uncovers how countless attempts are understood through the use of an increased number. Therefore, Kurdish speakers use ‘seven times’ instead of ‘many times’ to emphasize that maximum effort has been made to remove and eliminate dirt/problem. In the Kurdish context, using this expression in everyday interactions often metaphorically suggests moral purity, perfection and correction rather than physical cleanness. Consequently, the number ‘seven’, as an intensity marker, is used to conceptualize purification and perfection as something which can be measured, scaled and counted.

A Summary of Key Findings

The thorough analysis of all 27 Kurdish number idioms that act as hyperbole presents the following dominant findings:

1. The idioms presented seven conceptual metaphors. They share a parallel source domain (QUANTITY), while offering variations in target domains, including EMOTIONAL INTENSITY, EXTREME





QUANTITY/ MAGNITUDE, LIMITATIONS/ IMPOSSIBILITY, HUMAN EXPERIENCE/ SKILL, HUMAN TRAIT/ BEHAVIOR, SOCIAL INTERACTION/ RELATIONSHIP, and HUMAN EFFORT/STRUGGLE.

2.All idioms use numerical elements to convey figurative interpretations, not purely for literal meanings or counting.

3.Concerning the types of metaphor, the structural form is identified as the dominant type, whereas ontological and orientational metaphors rarely appear in idioms.

4.The metaphorical understandings of number idioms are strongly connected to the Kurdish traditional and cultural values, including funeral and burial culture, domestic, rural, economic and environmental life, storytelling and religious tradition, tribal society, and genealogical culture.

5.Most idioms use large round numbers such as 'one thousand' or 'one hundred' to act as a hyperbolic device and to show exaggeration in human emotion, suffering, fear, prosperity, limitation, effort, experience/skill, curiosity, behavior, and struggle.

6.In rare circumstances, numbers such as 'one thousand and one', 'sixty', 'twenty', and 'nine' are employed to express exaggeration in quantity. Numbers 'one thousand and one' and 'sixty' denote the maximum or extreme levels of amounts beyond ordinary limitations but still imaginable. However, 'twenty' and 'nine' frequently signify large groups of people or populations.

7.Numbers such as 'seven', 'three', and 'forty' are recognized as sacred numbers due to their religious associations and repeated employment in folklore, myths, and religious narratives. They metaphorically indicate completeness, sufficiency, and perfection in the Kurdish context.

8.While hyperbole works as a distinct cognitive strategy to increase the quantity, conceptual metaphor displays how an increased number is understood as an abstract concept.

Conclusion

Idioms are recognized as fixed expressions whose actual meaning cannot simply be detected by combining their individual parts. Numerical elements are frequently utilized in idiomatic expressions to provide figurative interpretations and understanding beyond quantifiable and measurable entities. When it comes to the Kurdish language, a large number of studies have endeavored to examine idioms, while the exploration of numerical idioms, and more specifically numerical hyperbole, as a significant area of language, has been largely

understudied and remained unexplored. Using a corpus-based mechanism, the current study adopts CMT as a theoretical and analytical framework to identify the underlying conceptual motivations and the cognitive functions of idioms with numerical hyperbole in the Kurdish context. The cognitive-semantic analysis of the Kurdish data reveals that numbers rarely signify exact quantities in idioms. Numerical idioms with hyperbolic use are regularly adopted to express emotional intensity, extreme impossibility/uncertainty, maximum quantity/magnitude, human trait/ skill, social relationships/interactions, and human efforts/struggles. The most explicitly identified conceptual metaphors are EMOTIONAL INTENSITY IS QUANTITY, EXTREME QUANTITY/ MAGNITUDE IS QUANTITY, LIMITATION/ IMPOSSIBILITY IS NUMBER, HUMAN EXPERIENCE/SKILL IS QUANTITY, HUMAN TRAIT/BEHAVIOR IS QUANTITY, SOCIAL INTERACTION/ RELATIONSHIP IS QUANTITY, and HUMAN EFFORT/STRUGGLE IS QUANTITY. The study findings support the claim that idioms are conceptually motivated and numbers act as cognitive strategies rather than being purely quantitative elements. It also demonstrates that cognitive understanding of numbers contributes to the formation of figurative meaning and improves understanding of Kurdish idioms.

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Numerical Hyperbole in Kurdish Idioms: A Cognitive-Semantic Perspective



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Numerical Hyperbole in Kurdish Idioms: A Cognitive-Semantic Perspective



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Appendix

The following table provides an overview of the Kurdish number idioms that serve as hyperbole in this study. The table also lists all 27 idioms, the numbers that occur in each of them, their figurative meanings, and their target domains. These idioms are built on a similar source domain (QUANTITY), and the seven groups exhibit variations of the same metaphor, not unrelated ones.

No.	Kurdish Number Idiom	Numerical Element	Figurative Meaning	Target Domain
1	<i>Diî le ser hezar/sed lê eda.</i>	1000 / 100	A state of overwhelming emotion/bad feeling.	EMOTIONAL INTENSITY
2	<i>Hezar/Sed kun le cergiyaye.</i>	1000 / 100	Full of difficulties from every direction.	INTENSITY OF SUFFERING
3	<i>Sed kifnê zerd kird.</i>	100	Extremely frightened and terrified.	INTENSITY OF FEAR
4	<i>Le ser hewit serîn cê nabêwe.</i>	7	Restless, anxious, or unable to relax.	INTENSITY OF RESTLESSNESS
5	<i>Baran şest ekat.</i>	60	Raining heavily.	EXTREME AMOUNT OF RAIN
6	<i>Hewit zeman</i>	7	It's been a long time.	EXTREME AMOUNT OF TIME
7	<i>Hewit pişt</i>	7	Seven generations, back-to-back	EXTREME GENERATIONAL DISTANCE
8	<i>Be hezar pare nalê pare.</i>	1000	Extremely rich, Wealthy, prosperous.	MAXIMUM LEVEL OF PROSPERITY/SUCCESS
9	<i>Nabim be hezar parçewe.</i>	1000	Limited and restricted ability and capacity.	MAXIMUM HUMAN ABILITY
10	<i>Be hezar lêfe danapoşirêt.</i>	1000	Impossible to hide the truth.	MAXIMUM EFFORT TO HIDE
11	<i>Be hezar aw pak nabêwe.</i>	1000	Someone or something with excessive guilt or dirt.	MAXIMUM EFFORT TO CLEAN
12	<i>Be sê bazîş pêy naga.</i>	3	Even after numerous tries, the person fails to achieve a goal.	MAXIMUM EFFORT TO ACHIEVE
13	<i>Her danêkî be sed sal hatwe.</i>	100	A person with a lot of experience, knowledge and craftiness.	HUMAN EXPERIENCE/SKILL
14	<i>Çil gez lejêr 'erza aw ebînê.</i>	40	Deep understanding, knowledge and survival skills.	HUMAN EXPERIENCE/SKILL
15	<i>No mîwan be hêlkeyek beê</i>	9 (+ 1)	A very skilled, talented, and gifted	HUMAN TALENT/SKILL



Numerical Hyperbole in Kurdish Idioms: A Cognitive-Semantic Perspective



	<i>dekat.</i>		<i>person.</i>	
16	<i>Ejdîhay (mar) hewit sere.</i>	7	A very powerful, dangerous and crafty person.	HUMAN BRAVERY/POWER
17	<i>Ser eka be hezar kuna.</i>	1000	A person who wants to interfere in many affairs or businesses.	HUMAN BEHAVIOR/ CURIOSITY
18	<i>Hezar ziman le naw demiyaye.</i>	1000	A person who changes his story constantly.	HUMAN BEHAVIOR/INCONSISTENCY
19	<i>Axay hewit gund bû, hewlî yekêkî tirê eda.</i>	7 (+ 1)	A greedy person who is never satisfied and seeks more.	HUMAN GREED/AMBITION
20	<i>Hezar u yek kelîmey le gelda wit.</i>	1001	Talking endlessly to persuade someone but achieving nothing.	ENDLESS PERSUASION ATTEMPT
21	<i>Hezar qisem bo bikeyt.</i>	1000	Fruitless and aimless effort to convince someone.	ENDLESS PERSUASION ATTEMPT
22	<i>Le bîstî her tom pêwîstî.</i>	20	Truly supportive person in times of hardship.	HUMAN RELIABILITY/ UNIQUENESS
23	<i>Le cêy hewit biraye.</i>	7	A reliable and honest supporter.	HUMAN RELIABILITY/ UNIQUENESS
24	<i>Be hezar hâl.</i>	1000	A person achieves something with great struggle and hardship.	HUMAN STRUGGLE/ HARDSHIP
25	<i>Weku pişîleye sed serban ekat sikî pê têr nakirêt.</i>	100	A person with high effort and low income.	HUMAN EFFORT/ OPPORTUNITY
26	<i>Çiwar pîney keyt nagate behar.</i>	4	So beaten, exhausted and unable to endure.	HUMAN SURVIVAL / ENDURANCE
27	<i>Hewit car be aw şorawetewe.</i>	7	Extremely pure/ A deep spiritual purity.	MORAL PURITY/PERFECTION

