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A contrastive study of hyperbole in Czech and English. A corpus-based study.

Kontrastivní studie hyperboly v češtině a angličtině. Korpusová studie.

DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

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ABSTRAKT

Cílem diplomové práce je srovnat užívání hyperboly či zveličování v běžném hovorovém jazyce v češtině a angličtině. Činí tak skrze porovnávání dvou vzorků čítajících 100 českých a 100 anglických příkladů hyperbol, které byly náhodně excerpovány z mluvené části Českého národního korpusu *ORALU2008* a z mluvené složky British National Corpus. Získané vzorky jsou podrobeny analýze z hlediska formálního (zastoupení výrazových prostředků), sémantického (zastoupení hyperbol kvantitativních a kvalitativních) a lexikálně-sémantického (sémantické pole představující zdroj nadsázky). Práce tímto testuje hypotézu hyperbolických univerzálií v češtině a angličtině. Rozbor je dále zaměřen na porovnání výskytu ustálených hyperbolických výrazů oproti kreativním hyperbolickým novotvarům. Výsledky zjištěné v obou složkách vzorku, české a anglické, jsou srovnány s cílem určit podobnosti a odlišnosti v užívání hyperbol či zveličování v těchto jazycích. V neposlední řadě si práce klade za cíl stanovit četnost výskytu hyperboly v obou jazycích.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to compare and contrast the use of hyperbole or exaggeration in spoken Czech and English language. The research is based on comparative approach to two samples accounting for 100 hyperbolic instances in Czech and 100 instances of hyperbole in English. The Czech sample has been randomly excerpted from the oral part of the Czech National Corpus *ORAL2008*, whereas the English sample has been randomly excerpted from the “spoken context-govern” and “spoken demographic” sections of The British National Corpus. The two samples are subject to analysis. Firstly, the formal realization of hyperbole is examined. Secondly, the occurrences are classified semantically (quantitative versus qualitative hyperbole) and, thirdly, the lexico-semantics is examined (hyperbolic source domains). By this, the present study tests the hypothesis of universal hyperbolic source domains by examining the situation in Czech and English. Finally, the occurrence of conventionalized instances of hyperbole as opposed to creative instances of hyperbolic non-usages is examined. Last but not least, it is the aim of this study to provide the overall frequency figures of *hyperbole* in both languages.

List of abbreviations

adj	Adjective
adv	Adverb
comp	Comparison
clausal	Clausal hyperbole
conv	Conventionalized hyperbole
crea	Creative hyperbole
Cul	"Cultural hyperbole" or hyperbole based on the argumentative scale
D	Downtoner
doc.id	Code identifying a text in a corpus
ECF	Extreme case formulation
H	Hearer
I	Intensifier
IDM	Idiom
L1	Mother tongue
num	Numerical hyperbole
NP	Noun phrase
OALD	Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary
P	Politeness
phrasal	Phrasal hyperbole
PR	Personal reinterpretation
qual	Qualitative hyperbole
quan	Quantitative hyperbole
rep	Repetition
S	Speaker
SSČ	Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost
super	Superlative
single	Single-word hyperbole
TEZ	Tezaurus jazyka českého

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1. Introduction to the topic

Due to its origin, *hyperbole* is often associated with literary language and theory as “a figure of speech which contains an exaggeration for emphasis” (Cuddon 1999: 316); however, this study pays heed to *hyperbole* as part and parcel of everyday conversation (e.g., Leech 1983: 146, McCarthy and Carter 2004: 150, Claridge 2011:1). As such it is a complex language phenomenon realized on the levels of morphology, syntax and stylistics, deeply embedded in semantics and especially pragmatics. Thus the understanding of *hyperbole* is here conceptualized within the Saussurean framework of the term *parole* (as opposed to *langue*).

If the figurative language requires more processing effort on the part of the hearer (Claridge 2011: 131) and if explicitness, clarity, speed and efficiency are the core objectives of communication, why is it then that *hyperbole* is employed in the spoken language at all? The main reasons are that *hyperbole* is highly subjective, it transports evaluative meaning, and most importantly, expresses speakers’ emotions (e.g., Claridge 2011: 78; Gibbs, Legitt and Turner 2005: 125). It can be postulated that transmitting emotions is an essential competence of a language (Daneš 1994) and as such it can be regarded as a language universal. It has been debated whether *hyperbole* can also be regarded as a language universal. Indeed, “it may be possible to find cross-linguistically common or even universal hyperbolic source domains” (Claridge 2011: 79). The present study tests this hypothesis by examining the situation in Czech and English.

Even though “over three quarters of instances attested in speech are conventional [hyperboles in English]” (Claridge 2011: 170), it has been shown that speakers can be very innovative in creating hyperbolic nonce-usages, both from the formal and semantic point of view (Claridge 2011: 98). These instances would have been lost, if the study was conducted as a quantitative corpus-based study targeting the presupposed hyperbolic domains. This is not the case. On the contrary, the aim of the study is to carry out a close analysis of spoken subcorpora in both Czech and English. The oral part of the Czech National Corpus *ORAL2008* is used to provide the data set aside for the examination of *hyperbole* in the Czech language and the spoken part of BNC is used for English. To be specific, after examining the two

subcorpora of spoken language, two samples, each containing one hundred instances of *hyperbole*, are created for each language, and all instances of the excerpted hyperboles are subject to analysis. Firstly, the formal realizations of *hyperbole* are examined and, secondly, the occurrences are classified semantically into relevant categories (*quantitative* versus *qualitative* and *conventional* as opposed to *creative*) according to a predetermined set of criteria. Finally, the overall frequency figures of *hyperbole* in both languages are provided. The results are compared and contrasted and lead towards a discussion of the functional tendencies regarding *hyperbole* in both spoken Czech and English.

A recent publication by Claudia Claridge, *Hyperbole in English: A Corpus-based Study of Exaggeration*, came out in 2011 and is exclusively focused on *hyperbole*. This thesis will draw on her findings, and will apply some of her methodology to the Czech sample of data, but most importantly, it will challenge her results in light of my research, especially in comparison with the Czech language. On the other hand, the account of *hyperbole* in the Czech scholarly literature is rather scarce. Even though *hyperbole* is listed in literary dictionaries (cf. Kaločová 1994, Vlašín 1984) and in the Czech language encyclopedia (Karlík *et al.* 2002, Šmilauer 1972) it has not been fully recognized as a relatively common language device in everyday conversation. There are indisputable achievements in mapping Czech phraseology (Čermák 2010, 2009, 2007), but Čermák's main concern is to give an exhaustive account of idioms, sayings and proverbs in general and *hyperbole* is not recognized as an autonomous figure of speech among the metaphoric instances listed. Indeed, most of the figurative instances of *hyperbole* are based on a metaphoric transfer but it is often neglected that many proverbs and sayings are hyperbolic in nature; as such they deserve more detailed attention. Still some kind of *hyperbole minimum* (a parallel to the term *paremiological minimum* used by Čermák in his article "The Paremiological Minimum of Czech") of the Czech hyperbole is missing and the examples given in both literary dictionaries and language encyclopedia are often repeated and insufficient. Therefore more research is needed and perhaps the findings of this study can lead to more focused, query-based corpus research in this area.

The present thesis is structured in the following way: Section 2 "Theoretical framework" provides an overview of the theoretical problems regarding *hyperbole* discussed in contemporary scholarly literature, placing Claridge's recent findings within a broader framework of both the Czech and the Anglophone linguistic traditions. In Section 3 "Method

and data,” the data acquisition and methodology adopted for the purpose of this study is described in more detail. Section 4 “Analysis” presents the analyzed data and a discussion based on the findings. These findings are summarized in Section 5 “Conclusion.”

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Disambiguating the term *hyperbole*

The research on *hyperbole* has been made more difficult by the fact that different terminology has been used by different authors and many seem to define the very term *hyperbole* differently. This chapter gives an account of the various terms used for the description of *hyperbole* and the related phenomena and seeks to resolve this issue. *Hyperbole* is a traditional term taken originally from classical rhetoric (e.g., Claridge 2011:1, Norrick 1982:168), “later associated with stylistics and literature” (Claridge 2011: 6). As such, the term is listed in dictionaries of rhetorical and literary terminology (see 2.1.1). On the other hand, “*overstatement* and even more so *exaggeration* are everyday terms with no clear affiliation to any domain or use” (ibid.). Claridge uses these three terms as non-technical synonyms.

Especially in the past, the difference between *hyperbole* as intentional exaggeration and *overstatement* as non-intentional and subconscious one was made prominent (Gibbs 1994); whereas these days researchers generally agree upon the fact that both *hyperbole* and *overstatement* are cases of deliberate and “purposeful exaggeration” (McCarthy and Carter 2004: 151). However, Norrick (2004) still perceives *overstatement* as a more general phenomenon than *hyperbole*. In his opinion, “*overstatement* more generally includes any extravagant statement of *amplification* or attenuation used to express emotion and not to be taken literally” (2004: 1728), and he rather restricts *hyperbole* to the domain of classical rhetoric (ibid.). As seen in the above definition, *amplification* is used nowadays to describe a certain quality of hyperbole whereas in Norrick (1982: 170) it is used in its original Latin version – *amplificatio* - as the synonym of *overstatement*.

To add to this terminological profusion, *extreme case formulation* (ECF, henceforth) (Pomerantz in Claridge 2011: 7) should also be taken into consideration on the subject of *hyperbole*. Indeed, it is the aim of Norrick (2004) to prove that ECFs are a sub-category of hyperbole and Claridge treats ECFs as one of the many realizations of hyperbole (2011:7). In this respect Claridge adopts the same approach as McCarthy and Carter (2004: 163): they list ECF as one of the criterion of hyperbole identification in speech. ECF, as seen in (1), is a label for language phenomena in context, for entities and events described by a speaker in the most extreme way possible. As such they clearly belong to the discussion of hyperbole.

(1) The line has **no end at all**. (Claridge 2011: 135)

To give a full account of the different terms used in the discussion of hyperbole, it is necessary to mention *intensification* too. Bolinger (1972: 20, 115, 149) sees *hyperbole* as part of a larger phenomenon of *intensification*. The means of realizing intensification in language are many and some of them, especially adjectival and adverb intensifiers, will be dealt with in Section 2.2.1.

On the whole, this section shows how different the terms in discussing *hyperbole* are, which, of course, does not give the full picture as not all the terms and definitions by different authors can be provided here. However, Figure 1 encapsulates the relations between the terms mentioned above and shows that for the purpose of this study the term *hyperbole* is adopted here as a unifying term for *overstatement*, *exaggeration* and also includes the cases of *ECFs*.

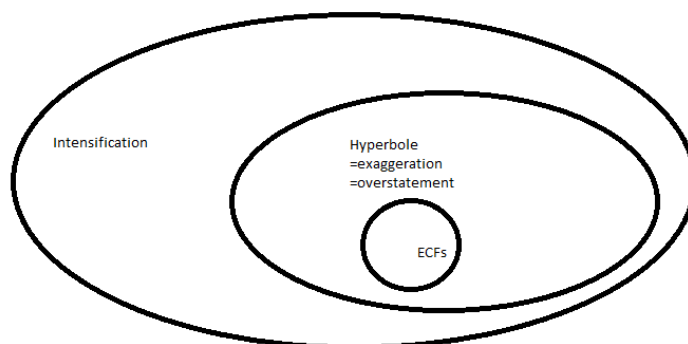


Figure 1: Understanding the term *hyperbole* in the context of the other terms used in the discussion of *hyperbole*

In the next section, the place of hyperbole in rhetoric, literary theory and stylistics in connection to linguistics will be described. The definition of hyperbole within the realm of linguistics comes in Section 2.1.2

2.1.1 *Hyperbole* across theories

The position of *hyperbole* in rhetoric, literary theory, stylistics and linguistics, respectively, is examined in this section. The origin of *hyperbole* as a rhetorical figure is undeniable and this heritage can be seen even nowadays in political speeches and debates. Claridge (2011: 225, 232) also investigates *hyperbole* in these less spontaneous and more formal types of language and argues that *hyperbole* can be seen as a genre-marker in this respect. Later, the term has become associated with literary theory and as such is attested in dictionaries. Kaločová (1994: 34), for example, defines *hyperbole* as a literary term as follows:

Mluvčí přehání, situaci zveličuje, nadsazuje. Řeč se jí značně obohacuje, zvyšuje se účinek prosloveného. Do jisté míry je užívání hyperboly i módní záležitost. Je výslednicí citového zaujetí pro jistou věc, okolnost, situaci. Výpověď značně dramatizuje.

[The speaker exaggerates, overstates a situation and amplifies. Through hyperbole, the speech gets richer, the impact of what has been said is bigger. To some extent, the use of hyperbole is the matter of vogue. It is a result of emotional involvement for a certain thing, circumstance or situation. It certainly dramatizes the utterance. – my translation]

It is not surprising that certain features of *hyperbole*, and the understanding of it, as a literary term are adopted for the linguistic definition and understanding of hyperbole. The definition by Kaločová (cf. Cuddon 1992: 316, Brukner and Filip 1997: 153) nicely points out certain issues in present-day discussion of *hyperbole*, namely (i) hyperbole as a product of language trends (Spitzbardt 1963: 279), (ii) emotional involvement (e.g., Daneš 1994: 261) and (iii) “dramaticity” or attractiveness for the hearer (e.g., Norrick 1982:168, Claridge 2011: 9).

Thirdly, *hyperbole* or overstatement as a stylistic device is mentioned for example by Spitzbardt (1963: 277) who sees hyperbole in the intersection between syntax and style. It is particularly through the combination of certain grammatical structures and lexical entities that overstatement emerges. He calls overstatement a “stylistic expedient” (ibid.) and as such he defines it as a “more or less grotesque expression the meaning of which is in conflict with

reality. In other words, what is said appears to be unreasonable, absurdly magnified, logically doubtful or improbable” (1963: 278). Note that his definition is almost identical with Claridge’s first point in the description of hyperbolic expression regarding context, as seen in Figure 3 (p. 10). The other comment on *hyperbole* with respect to stylistics can be found in Šmilauer (1972: 66): “...stylisticky je hyperbola prostředek velmi laciný, proto je třeba uchovávat v ní míru” [stylistically, hyperbole is a very cheap device and hence it should be handled with care. – my translation]. A parallel between this claim and the degree of conventionality of a hyperbolic expression can be drawn. Indeed, an overuse of a certain hyperbolic expression can possibly lead to a *cliché* and, consequently, be perceived as “cheap.” The issue of conventionality is described in more detail in Section 2.3.2.

On the whole, *hyperbole* features in several theories but separating the literary or poetical forms of hyperbole from the overstatements in everyday use may seem arbitrary as the phenomenon of hyperbole or overstatement is the same in nature in all these above domains. This section should rather point to the fact that, in the past, *hyperbole* was approached from different perspectives and it has been only recently that *hyperbole* entered the field of linguistic investigation (McCarthy and Carter 2004: 150). *Hyperbole* as a linguistic phenomenon is described in the next section.

2.1.2 Linguistic definition of hyperbole

It must be stressed right at the outset that there is no such thing as a uniform linguistic definition of *hyperbole*. This is caused by the fact that *hyperbole* is a cross-categorical phenomenon. With respect to its formal realization, *hyperbole* can be expressed through morphology (e.g., superlatives), syntax (e.g., comparisons) and lexicology (e.g., single-word hyperbole versus phrasal or propositional hyperbole). There is a whole chapter (2.2) devoted to formal realizations of hyperbole. Moreover, *hyperbole* extends into the realms of semantics and pragmatics. As regards semantics, the definition of hyperbole must be grounded in the understanding of the relations between an expression, its meaning and the extralinguistic reality, to put it very broadly. Regarding certain cases of hyperbole, figurative meaning comes into play too. Then, the transfer between the literal and the figurative meaning is crucial for *hyperbole* and must also be mentioned in the definition. As for pragmatics, the

context and contextual knowledge (Claridge 2011:6), and the point of view of both the speaker (S) and the hearer (H) are essential for the definition of hyperbole. Finally, *hyperbole* is also a phonological phenomenon as supra-segmental features, such as “accent, rhythm, intonation and speed” (Spitzbardt 1963: 281) play an important role in its realization. Moreover, *hyperbole* is accompanied by “secondary communicative forms of facial expression and gesticulation” (ibid., Gibbs *et al* 2005:127-128). In the main, Claridge places the phenomenon of hyperbole especially at the semantics-pragmatics interface. Before we proceed to her complex definition of hyperbole (Figure 3), it is necessary to introduce the concept of *gradability*

Defining hyperbole should start with *gradability* as “the notion of degree is basic to hyperbole” (Claridge 2011: 7). Claridge (2011:5) introduces a preliminary definition of hyperbole in the following figure:

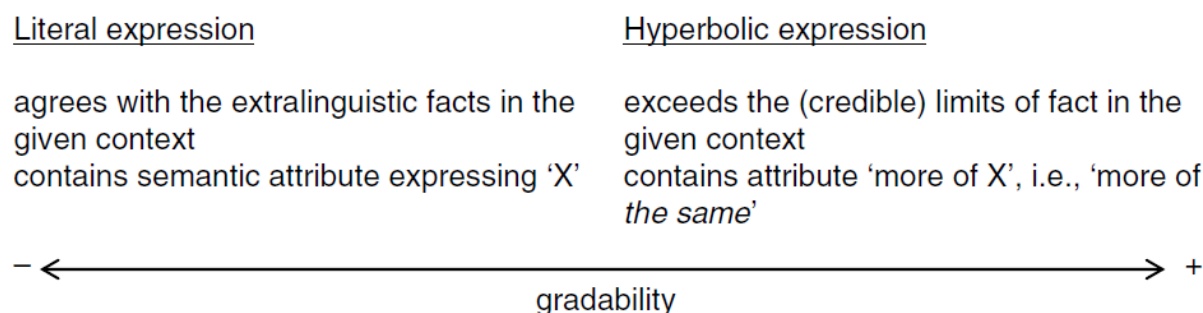


Figure 2: Claridge’s preliminary definition of hyperbole

According to Figure 2, the S does not use a literal expression; rather, the S opts for a hyperbolic expression linked to the literal one in terms of *gradability*. To give an example, all the members of the following set of expressions < *ten minutes, half an hour, an hour* > contain the semantic attribute expressing *time*. It is because all the expressions display a different degree of this semantic attribute and still operate on the same scale, that the phenomenon is called *gradability*. If an expression containing more of the attribute expressing *time* is used instead of the literal expression (i.e., one that agrees with the extralinguistic facts in the given context), it gives rise to a hyperbole. This is seen in the following example:

- (2) Čekám tu **hodinu.** = deset minut (Šmilauer 1972: 66) [I have been waiting here for **an hour.** = for *ten minutes* – my translation]

According to Claridge (2011:7), *gradability* can operate on three types of scale which may all play a role in the realization of hyperbole, namely (i) semantic scale, (ii) pragmatic scale and (iii) argumentative scale. As for (i), there are graded word fields such as <*some, many, most, all*> (Claridge 2011: 7) so that *gradability* is realized within the linguistic reality. Pragmatic scale (ii), on the other hand, is not “grounded in linguistic structure, but in speaker assumptions and expectations about the world leading to the (nonce) creation of a partially ordered set in a given context” (Claridge 2011: 8), as seen in the following example:

- (3) Susan: This place is turning into a **jungle.** (ibid.)

In (3), the S refers to *potted plants* in her apartment as *jungle*. Hence, a possible scale for the amount of greenery can be described as *potted plants – garden – park – fields – forest – jungle* (ibid.). This supports the assumption that *hyperbole* is subjective in nature. The only explanation Claridge (2010: 9) gives of (iii) argumentative scale is that “[they] usually involve knowledge of facts and relationships in the world, argumentative scales are also of a pragmatic type”, which does not necessarily prove that it is a separate category from (ii). The rationale might be that a common contextual knowledge (perhaps cultural) is needed to decipher such a type of hyperbole. Indeed, Claridge (2010: 9) gives an example of a German TV advertisement for a nose spray. The advertisement works on the basis of hyperbole and it would not make sense without the knowledge of the “Three Little Pigs” story known to L1 German, L1 English and L1 Czech Ss. If categories (ii) and (iii) are collapsed, the domain for *gradability* is either linguistic or extralinguistic as seen at the top of the following figure:

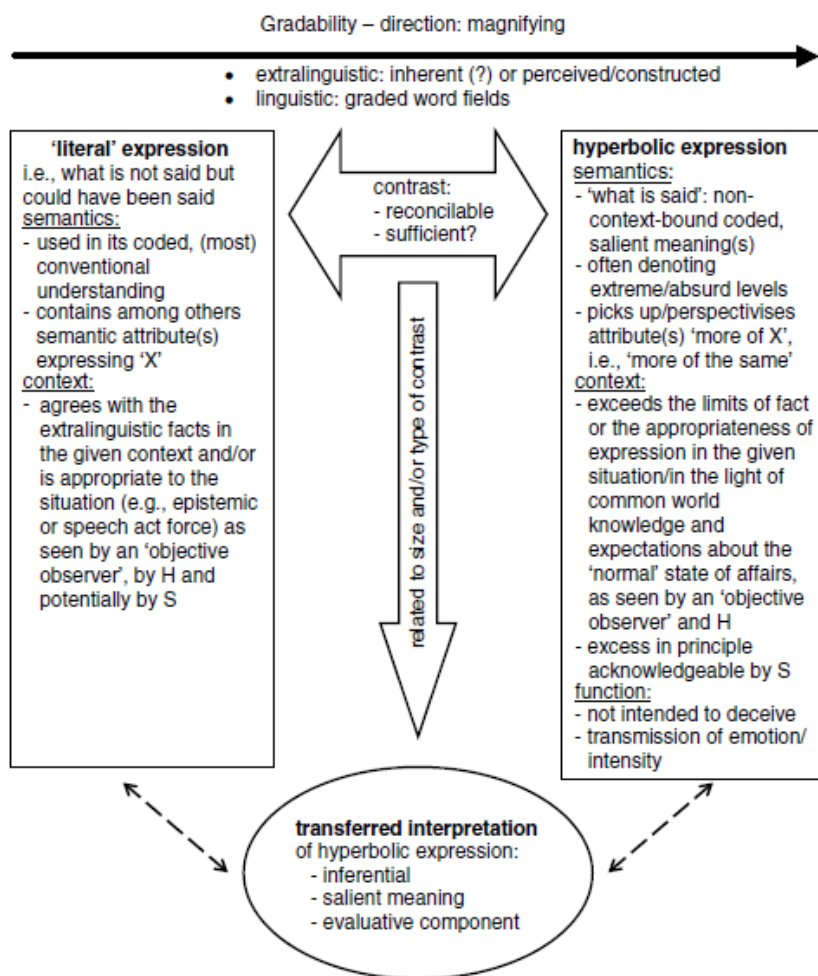


Figure 3: Claridge's (2011: 38) definition of hyperbole revised

For a successful hyperbole, i.e. hyperbole that is recognized by the H, the contrast between the literal and hyperbolic expression must be reconcilable (this is provided by the phenomenon of *gradability*) and sufficient, as seen in the arrow in the upper part of the diagram. The question mark signals that for the S it is only a matter of choice how prominent contrast he or she wants to convey and thus, there are also instances of hyperboles that fail in conversations, possibly because of insufficient contrast. This contrast between two expressions, the literal and the hyperbolic one, placed on a *gradability* scale can be made prominent in two ways, namely in the *size* and *type* of contrast, seen as an arrow pointing down in Figure 3. Even though it is not stated explicitly in Claridge (2011), the size of contrast defines a *qualitative* hyperbole and the type of contrast designates *quantitative* hyperbole.

Let us come back to examples (2) and (3). In (2) *I have been waiting here for **an hour***, the contrast between the literal and the hyperbolic expression is domain-preserving and based on *quantity*. This type of hyperbole is also sometimes referred to as *basic* (Claridge 2011:41). On the other hand, in (3) *This place is turning into a **jungle***, it is not only *quantity* of the greenery but also *quality* that establishes the hyperbolic contrast. From this respect, there is a figurative transfer between the literal and the hyperbolic expression; consequently, the hyperbole is denoted as *composite* or *metaphorical* (ibid.). These two types of hyperbole do not correlate with the degree scale mentioned above, i.e., *quantitative* hyperboles do not always operate on the semantic scale and *qualitative* on pragmatic (and argumentative) one. This is seen once again in (2), in which a *quantitative* hyperbole functions within the pragmatic scale.

Claridge (2011:41) acknowledges both possible aspects of hyperbole, *quantity* as more prominent than *quality*, and despite stating that “other differences [between the literal and the hyperbolic expression] can also be relevant in an individual instance of overstatement” (2011:8), she does not indicate which in particular. One such type of hyperbole is pointed out by Šmilauer (1972: 66) and he refers to it as “přepínání účinku” [overstating the effect – my translation], as seen below,

(4) **Lže, až se mu od úst práší.** (ibid.)

Example (4) can be literally translated into English as *He is lying to such an extent that there is dust whirling up from his mouth*, in which the effect of lying is exaggerated in a metaphorical expression meaning literally that he is lying *very much*. The question arises whether the distinction between *quantitative* and/or *qualitative* contrast is sufficient, or whether (4) is not more of an issue of a semantic domain of the hyperbolic expression.

To summarize this chapter, it is shown that *hyperbole* is a cross-categorical phenomenon but it is especially the interconnection between semantics and pragmatics in which *hyperbole* is grounded. It is stated that the core trait of hyperbole is *gradability*. *Gradability* can operate on three different types of scale, within which the contrast between the literal and the hyperbolic expression emerges. Only sufficient contrast can give rise to a potential hyperbole. This is in sum Claridge’s revised definition of hyperbole as presented in Figure 3. However, there are some critical remarks to be made; especially the need for a distinction between *quantitative* and *qualitative* hyperbole is pointed out and it is worked into

Claridge's diagram. Not all the aspects of the definition of hyperbole in Figure 3 are commented on adequately. There is more to say especially about the S's and H's point of view and attitudinal or emotional components of hyperbole. Undoubtedly, these aspects of hyperbole are important, yet it is not the objective of this thesis to comment on these areas in more detail.

2.1.3 On the term *hyperbole*: conclusion

The term *hyperbole* is adopted for the purpose of this study as an umbrella term for *overstatement* and *exaggeration* and includes cases of *ECFs*. In Section 2.1.1, it is shown that the term *hyperbole* is referred to in rhetoric, literary theory, stylistics and linguistics. Each theoretical area approaches *hyperbole* from its inherent perspective but depicts some common features of *hyperbole*. These features are summarized, and elaborated on, in the linguistic definition of hyperbole provided by Claridge in Figure 3. However, this definition gives guidelines on how *hyperbole* works in spoken language and does not provide a clear cut demarcation for the term *hyperbole*. Here, a problem of practicality arises, especially for the data analysis in this thesis. As a result, more aspects of *hyperbole* are commented on in addition, namely formal realization of hyperbole, semantics and pragmatics. The motivation for presenting more of the theoretical framework here is that the discussion will yield the criteria for the analysis of hyperbolic occurrences in the English and Czech sample. Hence the topic of formal realization of hyperbole will be examined in the next section.

2.2 Formal realization of hyperbole

The discussion of formal realization of hyperbole starts with the claim by Norrick (1982: 169-170) that "overstatement can occur in any major syntactic category", namely as a noun, verb, adjective, adverb, quantifier and number. Firstly, the adjectival and adverbial realizations of hyperbole are treated separately in Section 2.2.1 as it is rather difficult to distinguish them from instances of intensification. In Section 2.2.2, an alternative approach to Norrick's is presented to describe hyperbole formally. The rationale is that hyperbole does not always occur as a "lexical overstatement" as Norrick (1982: 169) claims. Rather, except from single-

word hyperbole, there are also phrasal and clausal realizations of hyperbole. This fact makes the matter of a formal taxonomy of hyperboles more complex.

2.2.1 Hyperbole versus intensification

Following Bolinger's (1972: 20, 115, 149) claim that *hyperbole* is part of a larger intensification phenomenon, it can be postulated that some instances of intensification can also be hyperbolic. Instances such as *perfect, terribly, hopeless, completely* (ibid.) are in the spotlight of the discussion in this chapter; they all can operate either as intensifying adjectives or adverbs. Regarding intensifying adjectives, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 429) distinguish two subcategories, namely *emphasizers* and *amplifiers*. Only the latter is relevant here as "amplifiers scale upwards from an assumed norm, and are central adjectives if they are inherent and denote a high or extreme degree" (ibid.). They can be paraphrased as a copula, as seen below:

(5) **a complete** victory – The victory was **complete**.¹ (ibid.)

With regard to intensifying adverbs, i.e., the degree scale seen as applying to a predicate, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 589) subdivide intensifiers into amplifiers (maximisers and boosters) and downtoners (approximators, compromisers, diminishers and minimizers). The latter, downtoners, are not the subject matter of this thesis even though overstatement and understatement are often treated together (e.g., Spitzbartd 1963) and Claridge (2010: 11) argues that even diminishers and minimizers "can be hyperbolic in suitable contexts." For maximizers and boosters see examples of (6) and (7) respectively,

(6) They **utterly** detested him. (Quirk *et al.* 1985 : 591)

(7) They annoy me **a great deal**. (ibid.)

Even though maximizers and boosters are presented as separate categories, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 591) acknowledge that the distinction between them is not a "fast one." It is especially in the end position that maximizers are more likely to convey their absolute meaning of extreme degree. However, "speakers vary in the extent to which they give a seriously hyperbolic

¹ As opposed to attributive amplifiers, such as *a complete fool* – **The fool is complete* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 429).

reading to the maximizer” (ibid.). In other words, the possible hyperbolic understanding of intensifying adverbs is implied by Quirk *et.al.* Similarly, McCarthy and Carter (2004: 157) present, for instance, the adverb *completely* as an example of ECF and, consequently, as an example of a hyperbole. In addition, Bolinger (1972: 265) comments on boosters as being “by definition hyperbolic.” As opposed to (6) and (7), the following example is an instance of a hyperbole,

(8) I’d got a **gigantic** love bite around my neck! (Claridge 2011:86)

Another aspect of intensifiers must be introduced at this stage. Šmilauer (1972:66) points out that “hyperbolická adjektiva a adverbia ztrácejí svůj vlastní obsah a znamenají prostě *velmi*.” [hyperbolic adjectives and adverbs lose their semantic content, and they simply mean *very* – my translation]. This comment introduces a diachronic point of view into the discussion, more specifically the issue of semantic shift. Šmilauer’s claim touches upon the phenomenon of semantic bleaching which is not only the matter of intensifiers, Claridge (2011:50) mentions especially *incredibly*, but also some metaphorical or qualitative instances of hyperbole. To summarize, the leading grammarians do not exclude the possibility that intensifying adjectives and adverbs can still be understood hyperbolically. Moreover, it seems that adverbial intensifiers are more plausible for the hyperbolic interpretation than adjectival ones. Nevertheless, the context is essential to resolve the matter.

2.2.2 Single-word, phrasal and clausal hyperbole

Apart from looking at the realization of hyperbole from the perspective of purely syntactic categories, as seen in 2.1.2 with the adjectival and adverbial intensifiers, an alternative approach can be introduced. Claridge provides a classification drawing on Spitzbardt (1963: 278-280), yet hers is based on empirical data. Thus, the most common realisation of hyperbole, more than two thirds (cf. Claridge 2011: 48, Table 3.1), is the type in which the exaggerated content is found exclusively in one word of the utterance. Thus the label *single-word hyperbole* is applied. If such hyperbole is substituted, “the overstatement would completely disappear” (Claridge 2011: 48). See the example below:

(9) [...] will you wait just a **second**² I’ll come with you, [...]. (Claridge 2011: 49)

² A *second* here might seem as an understatement operating on the scale < a second – 10 minutes – one hour> but, pragmatically, the ability of being ready *soon* is obviously exaggerated.

Similarly, ECFs (*all, every, everything, nobody, always, never, ever* etc.) very often belong to this category according to Claridge (2011: 51), who calls them *universal descriptors* as “they all make a strictly speaking absolute claim and have potentially universal scope.” Further subcategorization of “words of hyperbolic nature” is provided by Spitzbardt (1963:279). Namely into nouns (*ages*), adjectives (*colossal*), adverbs (*astronomically*) and verbs (*die*)³. Secondly, a *phrasal hyperbole* (10) is a combination of words and senses that produces the overall hyperbolic meaning.

- (10) [I] keep off drink after a friend describes me as having a liver **of the size of New Hampshire**. (Claridge 2011: 52)

Finally, an example of *clausal hyperbole* follows,

- (11) **I was the only kid who only had to walk past the bakery to gain weight.**
(Claridge 2011:56)

Moreover, it must be noted that whole texts and even whole discourses can be regarded as instances of *hyperbole* (Claridge 2011: 44). Apart from the classification of hyperbole according to its scope into *single-word, phrasal* and *clausal*, formal domains through which a hyperbole is likely to be realized are discussed in the following section.

2.2.3 Prominent formal domains of hyperbole

There are also prominent formal domains through which hyperbole is often realized. According to Claridge (2010: 58-66), there are the following categories: (i) numerical hyperbole, (ii) superlatives, (iii) comparisons and (iv) repetition. Moreover, Spitzbardt (1963: 279) also mentions the emphatic genitive (*‘Double Century’ is the sherry of all sherries*) and emphatic plural (*all sands of the desert*) but Claridge (2011:48) argues that these are highly dependent on genre and are not common in every-day speech. Concerning (i), it very often appears as a single-word hyperbole and is a kind of “prototypical hyperbole” often given as an example in both English and Czech literature on hyperbole (e.g., Kaločová 1994). McCarthy and Carter (2004:179) list the following expressions, *dozens, zillions, millions, hundreds, thousands, billions of* and *a dozen, million, thousand, hundred, billion*, as a hyperbole-prone numerals. Especially *million* is prominent, as it is said to be the most frequent numerical

³ Examples in the brackets are taken from Spitzbardt (1963:279).

hyperbole in English, followed by the plural form *millions* (Claridge 2011: 60). On the other hand, the Czech numeral *sto* (a *hundred* in English) and its (multiple) variants are often listed as an example of Czech hyperbole. Two such examples are

- (12) Určitě vám už rodiče **stokrát** řkali, že se máte učit. [Your parents must have told you **hundred times** that you should study. – my translation] (Kaločová 1994: 34)
- (13) [...] na kytaru hrajete už **sto let** a ještě nic neumíte. [you've played guitar for a **hundred** years and still can't play anything – my translation] (Kaločová 1994: 34)

The question arises whether a numerical hyperbole can be considered a language universal and which numerical expressions in particular are the most frequent in different languages. Furthermore, some instances of numerical hyperbole in English have become conventionalized. For example *a thousand* or *thousands (of)* are attested in *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2005: 1598) as “a large amount.” The same hyperbolic sense is listed in case of *a hundred* or *hundreds (of)* (OALD 2005: 761). Finally, *a million* or *millions (of)* can mean “a very large amount” (OALD 2005: 970). All the attested instances of numerical hyperbole are labelled in the dictionary as informal. On the other hand, numerical hyperbole can also be very creative, as seen in (14).

- (14) We go via Truro. **The 15,000 roundabouts**, you know. (Claridge 2011: 58)

Even though (ii) superlatives are mentioned by both Spitzbardt (1963: 279) and Claridge (2011: 62-64) as possible formal realizations of hyperbole, further comments on this type of hyperbole is needed. It is usually the co-occurrence of a superlative and other modifying elements from which the hyperbole emerges, as seen in (15):

- (15) **The most weird day** I've ever seen in my entire adult life. (Claridge 2011: 63)

Two factors play a role here. Firstly, “superlatives are relative to the set being compared” (Claridge 2011: 62; Rusiecki 1985: 140; Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1161f.) Secondly, it seems that there must be some manoeuvring grounding, especially in terms of a temporal frame, for the superlative to operate, i.e., the post-modification in the above example. However, this grounding can be very universal. Two expressions are mentioned by Claridge (2011: 63) as examples: *of everything* and *ever*. These are clearly examples of ECFs and it can be argued that they alone give rise to the hyperbole and not the superlative. On the other hand, the use of the adjective in its superlative form does affect in the creation of hyperbole: it adds

an evaluative element into the utterance and is perceived as the most extreme one on the adjective scale. Thus instead of the neutral sentence *It was a weird day*, (15) can be regarded as its hyperbolic variant if the literal meaning conveyed by the S really is just *a weird day*.

(iii) Hyperbolic comparisons contain explicit comparative particles, such as *like*, *as* and *than* and can be often taken as examples of *simile*. Instead of using a temporal adverb *usually* or *as a rule*, the S opts for a hyperbolic comparison in the following example:

- (16) I never phone at the most expensive time of day, I avoid mornings **like the plague** if I can. (Claridge 2011: 64)

It is the juxtaposition of *mornings* and *plague* being compared that create an incongruous result and is one of the forces that give rise to a hyperbole. Comparisons very often appear as idioms. As such they are conventionalized and lose their hyperbolic force to some extent. However, there are also instances in which the speaker takes an established expression, an idiom, proverb or saying, and alters it creatively for the purpose of his or her point. The adjustment of such an expression to a particular context is essential. This is a phenomenon referred to as “personal reinterpretation” by Čermák (2010: 61), albeit regarding proverbs only. These transformed nonce-usages are then more forceful than the original version (Claridge 2011: 65).

Among the prominent formal domains suitable for hyperbole, (iv) repetition is the most disputable. What is meant by repetition is “the re-occurrence of the same item or phrase in strict sequence without interruption by other material” (Claridge 2011: 67). It is a means to achieve “more of X” by simply repeating the same X several times (*ibid*). However, this condition alone does not fulfil the definition of hyperbole. Firstly, the repetition must be deliberate, to distinguish it from the unintentional repetition as a common feature of spoken language. Moreover, there usually are other contextual markers building up for the hyperbole. This is, more specifically, seen in (17), in which a simile *like bullets* co-appears (Claridge 2011: 68)⁴:

- | | | |
|------|--------|--|
| (17) | Peggy | stewing beef, you don't like stewing beef |
| | Arthur | I do, but you've got to sacrifice it so, until it's tender |
| | Peggy | aye, ney |
| | June | not in pressure cooker you haven't |
| | Arthur | otherwise it ends up like bullets |

⁴ The square brackets [] mark what may have been partially obscured by overlap in the conversation.

June	well you don't have to have any but I don't see why I should do without [because you don't want any]
Arthur	[and chewing it and chewing it]
Peggy	[normally tender]
Arthur	and chewing it and chewing it and chewing it and chewing it
June	I'm gonna get myself some
Arthur	it's not going anywhere.

In the above example the phrase consisting of the coordinator_{and} - V_{chew} - Od_{it} repeats six times in total. It is the repetition of the progressive form of the verb *chew* that gives rise to the hyperbole as it contains the semantically most significant information within the phrase. On the whole, repetition can be seen as an instance of iconicity in language: the more repeated material the more intensity and emotional involvement. As such, repetition is mentioned as a legitimate instance of hyperbole (Norrick 1982: 169). The core question, however, still remains: how much material is needed to provide the sufficient contrast between the literal, what is perceived by the H as appropriate in the given context, and the expression perceived hyperbolically, i.e., as an extreme case.

All in all, the prominent formal domains of hyperbole (i) – (iv) are pointed out first by Spitzbardt (1963) and then empirically investigated by Claridge (2011). According to her, only 1.3% of all hyperbolic occurrences account for (iv) repetition, and 3.4% for (iii) comparisons in a subcorpus extracted from the spoken part of the *BNC* (Claridge 2011: 48). The categories (i) and (ii) are treated within the *single-word* category (cf. Table 3.1, *ibid.*).

2.2.4 Conclusion: the formal realization of hyperbole

To conclude chapter 2.2, it describes the debate regarding the distinction between intensifying and hyperbolic adjectives and adverbs is described. Unless the occurrences of intensifying adjectives or adverbs in the data display a clear contextual marking of their hyperbolic use or they appear in combination with other features of hyperbole (e.g., repetition), they will be excluded from the analysis. As far as the distinction between *single-word*, *phrasal* and *clausal hyperbole* is concerned, this categorization is adopted as a starting point of the data analysis. Then the single-word hyperboles are classified according to their syntactic function into nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. All the instances of hyperbole are examined as to whether they belong to one of the prominent hyperbolic domains introduced in 2.2.3. In this chapter, a closer look on hyperbole is taken from the formal point of view. However, in the distinction between *single-word*, *phrasal* and *clausal hyperbole*, the semantic aspect comes in

play too, of course. To be more specific, it is a core question for the data analysis whether a hyperbolic occurrence is realized by the semantics of a single word, whether the hyperbolic meaning resides in the semantics of a multi-word expression or whether the hyperbole emerges only if the meaning of the whole clause is considered. Moreover, the semantic aspect is crucial for distinguishing between a qualitative versus quantitative and conventionalized versus creative hyperbole. The following chapter examines the issue of hyperbole and semantics in more detail.

2.3 Hyperbole and semantics

So far, the semantics of hyperbole has been discussed in relation to Figure 3 (p. 9) in which the relation between the literal meaning (what is not said) and the hyperbolic meaning is described. The transfer between these two can, but does not have to, be metaphorical. This chapter examines the issue of conventionality, polysemy, and relation of hyperbole to other tropes in more detail.

2.3.1 Conventionalization and polysemy

Claridge (2011: 100) defines conventional hyperboles as “well-established, repeatedly used expressions, which are polysemous with both a literal and a hyperbolic meaning, for example *thousand* is *exactly 1,000* and *extremely numerous*.” On the other hand, creative hyperbolic instances are “nonce usages and formal and semantic neologisms” (Claridge 2011: 98). Thus, they will usually only occur once in a given corpus, unless they are repeated by the very same speaker or unless they are so successful as to catch on with other speakers immediately. This newly coined hyperbole not only conflicts with extralinguistic context but also with all established meanings of the lexeme. Moreover, Claridge (2011: 99) points out the connection between the stage of conventionality and processing effort on the part of the H: the understanding of creative hyperbole needs comparatively more processing effort; the H needs to make use of contextual knowledge and inferential thinking. As a result, such uses can have a greater effect on the H, but, presumably, they can also lead to misunderstandings. Hence, conventionalization can be described as a process through which a creative instance of hyperbole becomes conventionalized. This process gives rise to polysemy in language and can lead to a cliché that is defined by Čermák (2010: 292) as follows:

Klišé je (v určitém kontextu) každý nadužívaný, a proto i otřelý, opotřebovaný výraz (lexém), který už proto i část svého významu ztratil, resp. oslabil. Je to ovšem pojem subjektivní [...] V širším smyslu jsou klišé součástí ustálených stereotypů, které do promluvy vstupují jako prefabrikované, hotové výrazy [...] Textové pojmenování se však může od předpokládaného a obvyklého standardu lišit i svou intenzitou, může být formálně (ne však sémanticky) úmyslně silnější než obvyklé – hyperbola [...]

Cliché is (in a certain context) every overused, and hence well-worn, hackneyed expression (lexeme) that has lost part of its meaning, or the meaning of which has been weakened. This denomination is very subjective [...] In the broader sense, clichés are part of fixed stereotypes that enter an utterance as prefabricated, ready-made expressions [...] The textual denomination can differ from the presumed and usual expression by its intensity; it can be formally (yet not semantically) stronger – hyperbole [...] –my translation

Regarding the above quote, several additional comments are needed. Subjectivity is a core quality of hyperbole in general, and, in case of hyperbolic cliché, the subjectivity comes in play both on the part of the S (Does he or she use a given expression as a cliché?) and on the part of the H (Does he or she perceive the used expression as a cliché?). One such example of a ready-made expression mentioned by Claridge (2011: 63) is the following relative clause: [...] *I've ever seen in my life*. It is by its overuse that this expression has lost its once hyperbolic potential. The distinction between conventional and creative hyperbole is adopted in the analysis, and all the instances of hyperbole in the English and Czech sample are examined in this respect.

2.3.2. Hyperbole and other tropes in interaction

In this section, it will be shown that the distinction between hyperbole and some other tropes is not always clear-cut in spoken language and that certain hyperbolic occurrences can be interpreted also as instances of metaphor, litotes or irony. Firstly, the close relation between certain types of hyperbole, i.e., qualitative hyperbole, and metaphor is to be mentioned. Claridge (2011: 41) points out that there are cases of qualitative hyperboles that “(some) people only recognise as metaphors, perhaps rather outrageous and extravagant metaphors, but not really strictly speaking as hyperbole.” Secondly, the close relation between hyperbole or exaggeration and litotes has been firstly pointed out by Spitzbardt (1963) and has also been mentioned in this thesis (see note 2, p. 14). Thirdly, Gibbs (1994) sees hyperbole just as one form of irony, alongside jocularity, teasing, sarcasm, understatement and rhetorical questions implying a humorous or critical assertion. More importantly, Gibbs (1994) is concerned with addressees' reactions to irony, such as laughter or reciprocation of an ironic utterance. This is nicely seen in the Czech sample as laughter is marked in the oral part of the Czech National

Corpus *ORAL2008* as (*smích*). The accurate tagging of *ORAL2008* in this respect has been very helpful in the excerption of the Czech sample.

On the whole, there are instances in both the Czech and the English sample which touch upon the fuzzy line between hyperbole and metaphor, hyperbole and litotes, and hyperbole and irony. These specific instances are fully explained in Section 4: Analysis. Hyperbole in interaction is mentioned here very briefly. On one hand, the interactive nature of hyperbole is indisputable; on the other hand, it rather belongs to the realm of pragmatics⁵ than semantics and, most importantly, it is not the aim of this thesis to examine hyperbole especially in the dynamics of interpersonal communication.

2.4 Conclusion: theoretical framework

Firstly, the theoretical framework disambiguates the term hyperbole and demarcates the understanding of this term for the purpose of this study. It shows how the term hyperbole is understood in the context of other terms used in the discussion of hyperbole in the literature and across theories. The view on *hyperbole* as a common feature of spoken language is stressed. Secondly, extensive definition of hyperbole is provided based mainly on Claridge (2011) which depicts *hyperbole* as a complex cross-categorical phenomenon placed principally at the semantics-pragmatics interface. Thirdly, formal realizations of hyperbole are discussed in detail. In this section, the distinction between hyperbole and other types of intensification is made, prominent formal domains of hyperbole are introduced and a formal classification of hyperbolic occurrences is adopted for the purpose of this study. Finally, conventionalization of hyperbole as a process that gives rise to polysemy in a language is described. Moreover, the topics of hyperbole in interaction and hyperbole within the framework of pragmatic theory are touched upon.

3. The aim of the study, its method and data

⁵ A further remark concerning pragmatics is needed here: hyperbole, similarly to irony, metaphor and litotes, flouts the Gricean maxim of Quality. Grice (1989:34) is aware of this fact and, in relation to hyperbole, he states the following example: *Every nice girl loves a sailor* which obviously flouts the second part of the Quality maxim, namely *Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence*. However, Grice does not elaborate on this drawback in his theory. This drawback has often been pointed out by other scholars, for example Wilson and Sperber (1981:155-162).

The aim of this study is to compare and contrast the use of hyperbole or exaggeration in spoken language in Czech and in English. More specifically, this comparison targets certain aspects of hyperbole. Firstly, formal realization of hyperbole in both languages is examined. Secondly, the semantics of *hyperbole* is examined: whether the hyperbolic instances are purely quantitative or whether the hyperbolic meaning operates on the basis of figurative transfer (qualitative hyperbole) too. Thirdly, the aspect of conventionality is examined. This study also tests the hypothesis that there are “cross-linguistically common or even universal hyperbolic source domains” (Claridge 2011: 79) by examining the situation in Czech and English. Finally, this study will provide frequency figures of hyperbolic occurrences in both languages.

The oral part of the Czech National Corpus *ORAL2008* is used to provide the data for the examination of *hyperbole* in the Czech language. *ORAL 2008* has been accessed through the corpus manager software *Bonito*. The transcribed authentic conversations have been selected randomly; they have been read through in search of *hyperboles* until a sample of one hundred instances of hyperbole was excerpted. Thus, the sample subject to analysis has been gathered from ten transcribed conversations, each labelled with a unique document identity number in *ORAL 2008*. The transcribed conversations out of which the sample has been selected are labelled with the following document identity numbers: 03A030N, 04A026N, 04A028N, 04A044N, 05A005N, 05A009N, 05A017N, 05A022N, 02A014N and 07B002N. Together, they create a text of 53,492 words. See Table 6 in Appendix A for word counts in the individual conversations, i.e., in the individual documents.

The British National Corpus (BNC) accessible via the webpage www.korpus.cz/corpora is used to provide the data for the examination of hyperbole in English. To be more specific, a spoken subcorpus containing only the text types “spoken context-govern” and “spoken demographic” has been created. In this subcorpus, transcribed conversations have been selected randomly; they, too, have been read through in search of *hyperboles* until a sample of one hundred instances of *hyperbole* was excerpted. Eleven transcribed conversations labelled D97, FLP, FLM, F7F, F7G, FYO, FLL, FLK, FLH, FLG, D91 were needed to gather the sample. In other words, 71,372-word text has been read

through to gather the sample. See Table 7 in Appendix A for word counts in the individual conversations (or documents).

The two samples, English and Czech, have been copied into two tables, and they are presented as Appendix B: sample for English (ENG) and in Appendix C: sample for Czech (CZK). Consequently, the instances are analyzed one by one. Firstly, the formal realization of *hyperbole* is examined. In both tables (appendices), there are columns labeled according to the following formal categories: single-word, phrasal and clausal hyperbole. If an occurrence applies to a category, symbol “1” is entered into the relevant column; if it does not, symbol “0” is assigned. The criterion for single-word hyperbole is based on Claridge (2011: 48): “exaggerated content is found exclusively in one word of the utterance; if this word is substituted, the overstatement would completely disappear.” In phrasal hyperbole, it is the particular combination of words and senses that produces the overall hyperbolic meaning. Regarding clausal hyperbole, the whole clause (or clauses) is needed to give rise to the hyperbolic interpretation of an expression. All single-word instances of hyperbole are consequently assigned to one of the following word class categories (again represented in columns): noun, verb, adjective (adj), adverb (adv) and pronoun (pron).⁶ Next four columns to the right concern the prominent formal domains of hyperbole; namely, numerical hyperbole (num), superlative (super), comparison (comp) and repetition (rep). Again, the symbols “1”, meaning applies, and “0”, i.e., does not apply, are used for tagging the occurrences. One further comment on the repetition category is needed here: only the *same* lexical items repeated X times, through which *hyperbole* arises, are classified as instances of hyperbolic repetition as opposed to enumerating lists of contextual synonyms. Thus example (18) is classified as a repetition, whereas (19) is not, in the analysis.

(18) You put these people on oxygen therapy **for days and days and days**, they come off and say can I have a cigarette? (ENG #30)

(19) Erm , women don't just want to write about **knitting**, erm **baking** which Yeah one journalist, one famous Scottish journalist told me when I wo, when I, when I had ambitions to be a journalists. (ENG # 76)

⁶ The slash symbol in these five columns in Appendix B: Sample for English (ENG) and in Appendix C: Sample for Czech (CZK) means that the word class analysis has not been carried out as the instance has been previously classified as phrasal or clausal hyperbole.

Secondly, all occurrences are classified semantically. If a hyperbolic expression does not leave the domain of the corresponding literal expression, it is classified as *quantitative* (quan). If there is a figurative transfer between the hyperbolic and the corresponding literal expression, the occurrence is classified as *qualitative* (qual). The other semantic division concerns the issue of conventionality. An occurrence is classified as conventional (conv) if its sense, either hyperbolic in nature or in the context, is attested in standard printed dictionaries⁷ or if the occurrence is clearly an alternation of the attested expression. This phenomenon is referred to as “personal reinterpretation” by Čermák (2010: 61). On the other hand, according to Claridge (2011: 98), creative hyperboles (crea) are “nonce usages and formal and semantic neologisms.” Thus, the criterion is that they occur only once in the particular sense in the given corpus, unless they are repeated by the very same speaker or unless they are so successful as to catch on with other speakers immediately.⁸ Thus, there are instance in the analysis that do not belong to either category, as seen in the following example:

(20) [...] the church is purpose-built for weddings and a lot of hotels aren't, so you get the girl with the ball gown, spent hundreds on it, and she's squeezed up sometimes and **nobody** can see her! (ENG #17)

The negative pronoun *nobody* is an instance of extreme case formulation (ECF) and as such it can sometimes be interpreted hyperbolically but this sense is not attested in standard dictionaries. As opposed to categories *conventional* versus *creative*, the categories *quantitative* versus *qualitative* are mutually exclusive, for the purpose of this study. Finally, there is one last column in the tables in Appendix B and C reserved for comments. A set of abbreviations (see also List of abbreviations) is applied if an occurrence displays other noteworthy features. They are the following: a downtoner (D) modulating *hyperbole*, *hyperbole* used for the politeness (P) purposes, an instance of extreme case formulation (ECF),

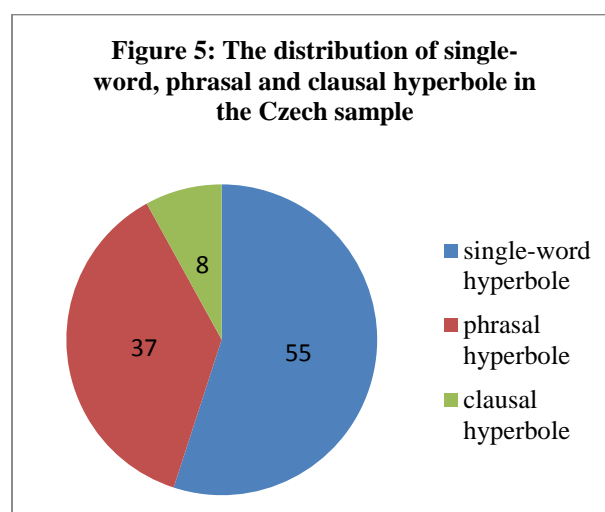
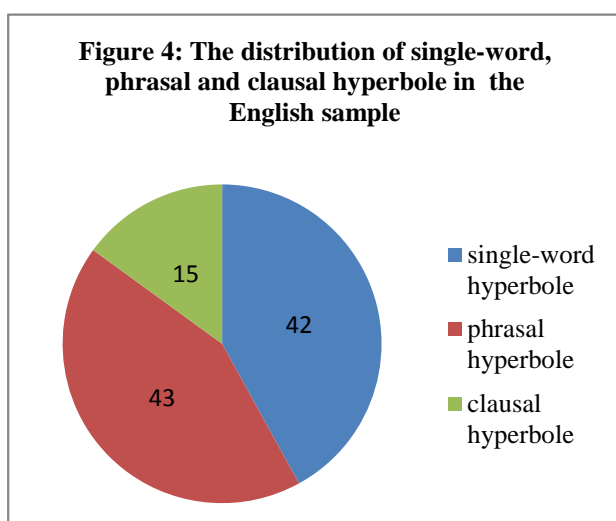
⁷ For the purpose of this study namely, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (OALD), *Dictionary of Idioms* (DI) for the occurrences in the English sample and *Slovník České Frazeologie a Idiomatiky (LEDA 1-5)*, *Slovník České Frazeologie a Idiomatiky. Výrazy slovesné. A-P (A-P)* and *Slovník České Frazeologie a Idiomatiky. Výrazy slovesné R-Ž (R-Ž)*, *Tezaurus jazyka českého: slovník českých slov a frází souznačných, blízkých a příbuzných* (TEZ) and *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* (SSČ) for the occurrences in the Czech sample.

⁸ These are the criteria for distinguishing between conventionalized and creative instances of hyperbole adopted for the purpose of this study. However, they might seem rather tentative in the light of the following facts: the two subcorpora are rather small hence the occurrence of the putative instances of creative hyperboles might be higher and dictionaries are not necessarily the most reliable sources of information as colloquial usage tends to be underrepresented in them.

the phenomenon of “personal reinterpretation” (PR), hyperbole based on cultural knowledge (Cul) and, finally, intensification (I).

4. Analysis and discussion of the findings

This section presents the results of the data analysis and discussion based on the findings. Let us first focus on the formal realization of hyperbole in Czech and in English. To be more specific, the distribution of a single-word, phrasal and clausal hyperbole in both languages is presented in the two following figures:



It is rather surprising that, in the English sample, there are only forty-two instances of single-word hyperbole out of one hundred occurrences of hyperbole. In other words, single-word hyperbole accounts for 42% of the sample in English. This figure differs significantly from Claridge (2011:48); her results show 75,3% of single-word hyperbole in BNC. Moreover, she excludes *Comparison* and *Repetition* as separate categories along with the single-word, phrasal and clausal hyperbole.⁹ In Czech, the occurrence of single-word hyperbole is by 13% more frequent; this category accounts for 55% of the sample and it forms the most frequent category. As seen in Figures 4 and 5, phrasal hyperbole occurs forty-three times in the English sample, whereas, in the Czech sample, it occurs thirty-

⁹ Cf. Claridge (2011:48) Table 3.1 Formal Realizations of Hyperbole

seven times. As a result, the frequency of occurrence of phrasal hyperbole is quite similar in both languages; however, it is only in English that this category is the most frequent of all categories. The last category, clausal hyperbole, occurs fifteen times in the English sample and eight times in the Czech sample. This three-fold distinction of hyperbole is based on the formal realizations of hyperbole; the difference between the categories can be seen in the following examples (21) - (23):

- (21) otec: pro **tyrana** tam mám napsáno.
dcera: Ježíš kde?
otec: No na toms mě napsala, pro **tyrana**.
dcera: Kde sem ti to napsala? (CZK #59)

The example above captures a scrap of conversation between a father and his daughter while they are bringing up memories from the past. The father remembers his daughter superscribing a note for him with the expression *for tyrant*. By designating her own father *tyrant*, the daughter uses a hyperbole realized within one word. It is very unlikely that the father behaved tyrant-like in the literal sense judging from the fact that both the father and the daughter are open about this topic and the tone of the conversation is rather jocular. On the other hand, the hyperbole in the following example is realized through an idiom:

- (22) [...] to je ten šampus, no, **vyrazil mu dech**. (CZK #5)

The speaker in the above example is telling a story and suddenly changes the subject matter of the conversation and comments on the other interlocutor *that a bottle of champagne has taken his breath away*. This expression *to take somebody's breath away* is an idiom (OALD 2005: 182) that is realized by the same metaphor, and means the same in Czech and in English, i.e., something is very surprising. As a multi-word expression consisting of the full verb, the personal pronoun and the noun, the idiom is hence classified as phrasal hyperbole since the impact of the surprise is exaggerated. Phrasal hyperboles will be further discussed in connection with the conventional type of hyperbole in 4.4. Finally, some instances of hyperbole need the whole clause for their realization, as seen below:

- (23) Je strašně důležitý, aby to dítě vědělo, že tady má někoho, **že když mu takhle bude koukat malíček, že ho za něj chytíš a nenecháš ho potopit**. (CZK #63)

The example (23) comes from the same data source as (21) and can be translated as follows: *It is very important for the child to know that there is always someone for him; if there is only his little finger showing above the water, someone will grab it and not him sink.* The speaker, here, creates an extended metaphor that is hyperbolic at the same time. The trouble a child might get into is represented by *water* and the amount of trouble is exaggerated by the mental image created by the metaphor suggesting that the child gets saved just in time. The image of the little finger is very prominent within this extended metaphor (especially in Czech as it forms the rheme of the second object clause) and can be interpreted as an understatement too: it is this little that is left above the water from the whole child (it emphasizes the degree of attention). A parallel can be drawn here with example (9) in Theoretical part, Section 2.2.2 (p. 16). The observation that overstatement and understatement can go hand in hand has already been made by Spitzbardt (1963). Even if it is the amount of trouble or the immediacy of the danger of drowning that is exaggerated, both clauses, in bold in (23), are needed for the understanding of the metaphor.

On the whole, the fact that in English, hyperbole is most frequently (43%) formally realized as a phrasal hyperbole might suggest that it is often realized through fixed expressions or idioms. This hypothesis will be further examined in 4.4. In the next section, the single-word hyperbole is examined in more detail.

4.1 Single-word hyperbole

If a hyperbolic occurrence is classified as a single-word category, its word class is further examined. The results of the analysis show that *hyperbole* in English and in Czech belongs to one of the following word class categories: noun, adjective, pronoun, numeral, verb and adverb. The results are shown in Table 1 and 2:

Table 1: Formal realization of single-word hyperbole in the English sample

Word class	English sample	
	Absolute figures	% within the single-word category
Verb	12	28.7
Noun	9	21.4
Adjective	9	21.4
Adverb	5	11.9
Numeral	4	9.5
Pronoun	3	7.1
Total	42	100.0

Table 2: Formal realization of single-word hyperbole in the Czech sample

Word class	Czech sample	
	Absolute figures	% within the single-word category
Verb	29	52.4
Noun	8	14.6
Pronoun	8	14.6
Adjective	5	9.2
Numeral	4	7.4
Adverb	1	1.8
Total	55	100.0

The most frequent word class through which the single-word hyperbole is realized both in English and in Czech is the verb category. To be more specific, 28.7% English and 52.4% Czech single-word hyperboles respectively are realized as verbs. This result is in contrary to Claridge’s findings (2011: 49), who claims that, as single-word hyperbole, “nouns and adjectives are most commonly used (overall, 28.6 per cent and 27.4 per cent, respectively).” In the data examined for the purposes of this study, the category of nouns ranks second in terms of frequency: 21.4% in English and 14.6% in Czech. Adjectival realizations of the single-word hyperbole are equally frequent as hyperbolic nouns in English accounting also for 21.4% of the sample, and they are the fourth most frequent category in Czech accounting only for 9.2% of the sample. It is quite surprising that pronominal realizations are as frequent as nominal realizations of single-word hyperbole in Czech. Pronouns are more commonly used as the source of single-word hyperbole (14.6%) than adjectives (9.2%), numerals (7.4%) or adverbs (1.8%) in Czech. On the other hand, in English, pronouns are the least prominent single-word hyperbole source, but still accounts for 7.1% of the sample. The finding that

numerals are a rather minor source of single-word hyperbole both in English (9.5%) and in Czech (7.4%) might be rather misleading. It must be borne in mind that these figures only refer to *single-word hyperbole*. Numerals also contribute to the hyperbolic interpretation of instances classified as phrasal hyperboles. The numerical hyperboles, both single-word and phrasal, will be treated separately in the section *Prominent formal domains for hyperbole*. Now, the word classes that give rise to single-word hyperboles are discussed in more detail one by one.

4.1.1 Noun

In the English sample, the following nouns give rise to single-word hyperbole: *a bomb* (ENG #9), *the leap* (ENG #21), *the evil* (ENG #36), *pearls* (ENG #48), *show* (ENG #57), *crackers* (ENG #62), *doormat* (ENG #79), *shot* (ENG #90), and *miracle* (ENG #93). It is noteworthy that three of these nine instances are further pre-modified by the adjective (*whole*), the intensifying adjective (*absolute*) or the intensifying expletive (*bloody*). One such instance is exemplified below:

(24) Yes, if we didn't have pupil comment, we would miss some absolute pearls like Mr [XY] is a lying git! (ENG #48)

In the above example, the conventionalized metaphoric sense of the noun *pearl* as a “thing that is very highly valued” (OALD 2005: 1115) gives rise to hyperbole as the qualities (rarity and value) of the literal expression (e.g., *remark*) are exaggerated. The hyperbolic interpretation is further reinforced by the modifying adjective *absolute*. The polysemous noun *pearl* has the potential of being used hyperbolically whereas other instances of hyperbole gain their hyperbolic interpretation only in context, as seen in the following example:

(25) Speaker 1 I disagree, I think I would still like to put Yep spelling grammar punctuation.
Speaker 2 Yeah but whatever. but these... Is that not all part of literacy?
Speaker 3 Yeah. If, you see if you put down literacy the the whole **show's** in there. (ENG #57)

In (25), three interlocutors are discussing how detailed the categories for students' evaluation should be; whether an umbrella category *literacy* is descriptive enough or the individual constituents, i.e. spelling, grammar, punctuation, etc., should be listed. The literal meaning of

the noun *show* is a vague signifié *stuff, thing* or *business*; none of these expressions (signifiants) correspond to conventionalized senses of the noun *show* (OALD 2005:1410-11). By using the noun *show* Speaker 3 exaggerates the quality of importance, possibly in a mocking way, as the lexeme *show* contains the meaning of a spectacle too. The question of sincerity of the Speaker 3 arises; the ironic interpretation is plausible here too as the co-occurrence of hyperbole and irony is quite common, for example McCarthy and Carter (2004: 156) see hyperbole as “just one form of irony.”

In the Czech sample, the following nouns give rise to single-word hyperboles: *Převalského* (CZK #21), *Konopiště* (CZK #45), *tyrana* (CZK #59), the colloquial noun *prd* (CZK #69), *vandrák* (CZK #86), *depresí* (CZK #88), *prkno* (CZK #89) and *schizofrenik* (CZK #98). It is noteworthy that two (*Převalského* and *Konopiště*) out of the eight occurrences are instances of proper nouns. For understanding the hyperbolic interpretation the S has attempted to convey, the common cultural knowledge is necessary on the part of the H too. This is seen in the example below:

(26) to já tam nechci postavit výstavní sídlo, jako staví Pét'a. Jo, to je **Konopiště**. To já nechci stavět. Já chci postavit normální chaloupku. (CZK #45)
 [I don't want to build a lavish mansion, the same as Peter's building up. Yes, that's a **Konopiště**. I don't want to build that. I want to build a regular cottage. - my translation]

In the above example, by calling Peter's house *Konopiště*, the residence of Francis Ferdinand, archduke of Austria-Este, the splendiddness of the house is exaggerated. Yet, for deciphering the hyperbolic meaning, one has to know that *Konopiště* is a pseudo-gothic chateau. Similar instances of cultural hyperboles realized by proper nouns are not attested in the English sample. On the other hand, the further pre-modification of single-word hyperboles to achieve even greater effect seems to be more frequent in English than in Czech. In the Czech sample, there is only one occurrence of the intensifying adjective preceding a single-word noun hyperbole, namely *strašnou* (CZK #88).

4.1.2 Adjective

There are only nine instances of single-word hyperbole realized as an adjective in the English sample. Namely, *awful* is attested three times (ENG #11, #37, #52), and *nerve-wracking* (ENG #25), *the grizzliest* (ENG#32), *draconian* (ENG #34), *airy-fairy* (ENG #38), *eternal*

(ENG #78) and the adjective with the participle form *sold* (ENG #41) are attested once. The intensifying adjective *awful* should be examined in more detail here, and hence it is exemplified below:

(27) There's an **awful** lot of information that I've put in there [...] (ENG #52)

All instances of the adjective *awful* in the sample are part of noun phrases with the following structure: indefinite article *an* - intensifier *awful* – quantifier *lot of* – head of the NP. As such the adjective *awful* intensifies an already *large number of something* and, consequently, it is semantically redundant.¹⁰ Thus the hyperbolic interpretation is plausible. On the other hand, *awful* is a conventionalized hyperbolic item in English and its hyperbolic strength has been worn out in line with Samuels' (1972: 53) remark that “the selection of a stronger [...] form than the hearer believes the context to warrant will in time produce a devaluation.”

In the Czech sample, there are only five instances of single-word hyperbole realized as adjectives. They are the following: *neuvěřitelný* (CZK #54), *nesnesitelná* (CZK #57), *vyhladovělá* (CZK #82), *vařícím* (CZK #83) and *slepá* (CZK #91). The conventionalized hyperbolic adjectives *neuvěřitelný* [unbelievable - my translation] and *nesnesitelná* [unbearable - my translation] are classified as hyperbolic instances as there are other factors in play reinforcing their strength; namely repeating the adjective *neuvěřitelný* three times and pre-modifying the latter by the intensifier *úplně* [totally- my translation]. On the whole, the results of the analysis suggest that single-word adjectival hyperbole is a rarer phenomenon in Czech than in English.

4.1.3 Pronoun

The category of pronominal single-word hyperbole is the least frequent in English, accounting for only three occurrences; however, it is the second most frequent category in the Czech sample (together with the noun category) accounting for eight occurrences. Despite the fact that the absolute figures of occurrence of pronominal single-word hyperbole are rather low in both languages, this category points to an interesting phenomenon regarding hyperbole. Let us

¹⁰ One sense of *awful* attested in the OALD (2005: 92) is an informal expression used to emphasize something, especially that there is *a large amount or too much of something* – my emphasis.

start with enlisting the occurrences. Firstly, in English, there is the negative quantifier *nobody* (ENG #17) and the universal quantifiers *all* (ENG #68) and *everybody* (ENG #71). Secondly, in Czech, there are the negative quantifiers *nikdy* (CZK #3) and *nic* (CZK #25, #38 and #87), and the universal quantifiers *všem* (CZK #20), *všemu* (CZK #52), *všechno* (CZK #81) and *všichni* (CZK #90). They are all instances of so called ‘universal descriptors’¹¹ (Claridge 2011: 51) as they “make a strictly speaking absolute claim and have potentially universal scope. As long as no restriction of their scope is explicitly provided in the context, they are all prone to taking on hyperbolic interpretation,” as seen in the following example:

(28) I think that Hogmanay is very important, not the the Hogmanay that we have now where **everybody** gathers round a TV but it was very much erm like a I always think Hogmanay at my granny's. (ENG #71)

In its literal sense, (28) is very unlikely. The speaker describes some overall tendencies or stereotypes of celebrating the national holidays in Scotland these days using the universal quantifier *everybody* to reinforce his or her point. It is not only pronouns but also adverbs such as *always*, *never* and *ever* (Claridge 2011: 51) that can be regarded as “universal descriptors.” Single-word hyperbolic adverbs will be discussed in Section 4.1.6. Hyperbole realized by pronouns is not often mentioned in literature; Spitzbardt (1963: 179), for example, only lists nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs as “words of hyperbolic nature.” The opposite has been shown above regarding the Czech sample: pronouns are more commonly used as the source of single-word hyperbole (14.6%) than adjectives (9.2%), numerals (7.4%) or adverbs (1.8%). The rationale why pronouns are not taken as a hyperbolic source domain proper might be that they, and “universal descriptors” in general, touch on the grey area between hyperbole and vagueness or imprecision.

4.1.4 Numeral

In English, the most basic category for numerical hyperbole is the single-word category as it is in this category that they occur more relatively frequently (four occurrences) than in other categories (one occurrence as part of phrasal hyperbole). On the other hand, in Czech, instances of numerical hyperbole are equally distributed into the single-word category (four occurrences) and the phrasal category (four occurrences). Here, only the instances of single-word numerical hyperbole will be discussed. In English, *hundred* in its hyperbolic sense is

¹¹ Also referred to as “Extreme case formulations” (EFCs), the term taken from Pomerantz (1986).

attested once as a singular (ENG #23) and once as the plural form *hundreds* (ENG #16). In a similar way, there is one occurrence of a *thousand* (ENG #88) and *thousands* (ENG #55) as a single-word hyperbole in the sample. In Czech, *milion/milión* in its hyperbolic sense is attested three times (CZK #79, #93 and #100) and there is one occurrence of context-dependant numerical hyperbole as seen below:

(29) jenomže ta silnice vedla tak **třicet** nebo, jako vedla silnice z Akaděmgorodku do Novosibirsku, tak tam moh jet. To bylo asi sedumdesát kilometrů. (CZK #22)

In the above example, the S exaggerates the lack of infrastructure in Russia by saying that his colleague could use his car only on thirty-kilometre-long asphalt road and then the S corrects himself to say that the road was actually approximately seventy kilometres long. On the whole, it seems that numbers expressing smaller amounts are enough to exaggerate in English (*hundred* and *thousand*) whereas for Czech speakers the numeral *million* is needed to convey the sufficient hyperbolic meaning. This finding is in contrary to what has been presupposed in Theoretical part (p. 17), and what is based on literature; namely Claridge (2011: 60) claims *a million* to be the most frequent numerical hyperbole in English, and the Czech numeral *sto* (a *hundred* in English) is often listed as an example of Czech hyperbole, as in Kaločová (1994: 34). However, the findings of this study in this respect might not be conclusive due to a rather small set of data examined.

4.1.5 Verb

The most frequent word class through which the single-word hyperbole is realized both in English and in Czech is the verb category. In English, there are the following twelve occurrences of this phenomenon: *marches on* (ENG #4), *bombarded* (ENG #8), *blow up* (ENG #35), *flushed* (ENG #49), *juggle* (ENG #73), *brainwashed* (ENG #69), *fight* (ENG #82), *chewing on* (ENG #86), *slave* (ENG #92), *kick* (ENG #96), *killed* (ENG #98) and *ironed out* (ENG #100). Most of them (except for *chewing on*) give rise to hyperbole through metaphorical transfer and most of them (nine out of twelve) are conventionalized. Below, the example of conventionalized verbal hyperbole is shown:

(30) I think we've I think we've covered that. Right. I think we've **flushed** that one haven't we? (ENG #49)

The deictic pronouns *that* and *that one* (deictic pronoun combined with nominal preform) both refer to an issue discussed at a meeting. The second sentence hedged with *I think* in (30) literally means the same as the first one, but repeats the same meaning in a metaphorical way through which the image becomes more forceful: the speed, and perhaps efficiency, with which the issued has been dealt with at the meeting is exaggerated. The meaning of the verb *flush* in this context is *to remove* or *dispose of* (OALD 2005: 596). Both the quantitative/qualitative (metaphorical) distinction regarding hyperbole and the issue of conventionality will be discussed in more detail in Sections 4.3 and 4.4 respectively.

It is remarkable that single-word hyperbole realized by verbs forms 29% of the whole sample in Czech. Within the single-word category, verbal hyperbole represents 52.4%. This is a major difference compared to the English sample, in which the occurrence of nominal single-word hyperbole (nine instances) and verbal single-word hyperbole (twelve instances) is more or less similar. Similarly to English, the quantitative hyperbole realized by a verb is rather rare in Czech (three instances¹² out of twenty nine¹³) and so are creative instances of verbal hyperbole, including only the following two: *onanovat* (CZK #46) and *vobtěžovat* (CZK #6). The latter is exemplified below:

(31) slečno! [...] moh bych eště **vobtěžovat** jedním? Děkuji. (CZK #6) [Miss! Could I **bother** you with ordering one more? Thank you. – my translation]

The example (31) shows how hyperbole can be used as a politeness device. The context for the above example is that the S is ordering one more beer. Through the semantics of the verb he uses to make his request, the S exaggerates the effort the waitress has to make to fulfil it. In the framework of Brown and Levinson's (1978) Politeness Theory, (31) is an example of Negative politeness as the S's utterance is oriented towards the H's negative face and emphasizes the avoidance of imposition on the H. In a broader sense, (31) can be regarded as cultural hyperbole too; it refers to the poor customer service in catering as a leftover from the communist times in the Czech Republic. Back then, ordering in a restaurant was felt as the act

¹² Namely, *neexistovalo* (CZK #11), *nevylezla by* (CZK #55) and *vyžaduju* (CZK #71).

¹³ Namely, *vobtěžovat* (CZK #6), *letim* (CZK #8), *letí* (CZK #10), *neexistovalo* (CZK #11), *dotáhnul* (CZK #16), *zmrzneš* (CZK #17), *zmrzla* (CZK #18), *nezmrzla* (CZK #19), *sežerou* (CZK #24), *zmrzneš* (CZK #27), *proletěl* (CZK #28), *sázel* (CZK #36), *chcípnu* (CZK #40), *sežrat* (CZK #41), *onanovat* (CZK #46), *šlapu* (CZK #48), *vobživne* (CZK #51), *nevylezla by* (CZK #55), *vylít* (CZK #61), *hoděj* (CZK #65), *skáču* (CZK #68), *nezahyneš* (CZK #70), *vyžaduju* (CZK #71), *umírala* (CZK #72), *přisaje* (CZK #75), *poskakovat* (CZK #76), *přežijem* (CZK #80), *picnout* (CZK #84) and *zazářili* (CZK #84).

of “bothering” the waiter or waitress. Nevertheless, the way the verb is used in (31) is not in its conventionalized sense.¹⁴

The use of verbal hyperbole in Czech displays another interesting feature that will be further explored here. In Czech, as opposed to English, the morphological category of aspect can contribute to the hyperbolic meaning of a verb, as seen below:

(32) [...] vůbec se nerozmejšlim, **skáču** do kalhot a jedu, rozumíš mi. (CZK#68)

It is not only the use of metaphorical *skákat do kalhot* - *jump into one's trousers* instead of the normal *put on one's trousers* that gives rise to hyperbole in (32) but also the use of the imperfective *skákat* instead of the perfective *skočit*. The imperfective variant prolongs the activity of jumping in this context and thus adds a quantitative component to the hyperbolic sense. This phenomenon is seen in other three instances of verbal single-word hyperbole in the Czech sample.¹⁵ The imperfective aspect is connected to iterativeness as seen in clausal hyperbole, illustrated in (33).

(33) [...] ty tam **pořád prozváníš**, tak já tam jako **běham ti votvírat**, asi dvakrát sem ti tam běžela otevřít a jako byla sem pak nesoustředěná na hru. [you're constantly giving me missed calls, so I keep running there to open the door for you, I ran to open the door twice, and then I couldn't really focus on the game. – my translation]

The hyperbole arises not only through using the verb *run* instead of *go*, which exaggerates the speed, but also through exaggerating the frequency of the attempts to open the door for the other interlocutor. This repeated activity, *iterativeness*, is realized morphologically in Czech, through the category of aspect.¹⁶ On the whole, the potential of certain imperfective verbs to give rise to hyperbole in Czech could be examined in more detail, especially via query-based corpus research. Not to mention that this means of formal realization of hyperbole is

¹⁴ In *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (1989: 430), one sense of the entry *obtěžovati* reads as follows: (ve zdvořilém vyjadřování) *obtěžujte se k nám přijďte, pojedte*. However, this is not the meaning in the context of (31).

¹⁵ Namely, *sázel* (CZK #36), *umírala* (CZK #72) and *poskakovat* (CZK #76).

¹⁶ Note that, in (33) in the third clause, the S corrects himself or herself and gives correct information on how many times he or she actually went to open the door. This phenomenon affirms the hyperbolic interpretation.

completely missing in English due to the absence of this morphological category in the English verb.¹⁷

4.1.6 Adverb

Regarding the formal realization of single-word hyperbole, the adverb category is a rather minor one accounting for five occurrences in the English sample and only one occurrence in the Czech sample, which makes it the least frequent category in Czech. In the English sample, there are two occurrences of the conventional intensifier *dead* (ENG #2 and #42), two instances of ECFs *always* (ENG #32) and *forever* (ENG #54), and the conventional¹⁸ hyperbolic adverb *constantly* (ENG #15). In the Czech sample, only the colloquial adverb *furt* (CZK #33) is attested.¹⁹ Claridge (2011: 43) claims that the use of *dead* as an intensifier, seen in (34), is “especially common.” The literal sense of *dead* in this use is *very* and Claridge (ibid.) further notes that “*dead* as the end of life represents a final point, a sort of completion and thus forms a metaphorical synonym to *completely/totally/utterly*, etc.”

(34) [...] now I 'm **dead** against these for a number of reasons. (ENG #2)

4.1.7 Single- word hyperbole: Conclusion

The above analysis leads to the rather surprising finding that the verb is the most frequent formal realization of single-word hyperbole both in Czech and in English. Moreover, verbal single-word hyperbole is attested in 29 occurrences in the Czech sample, which represents 29% of all hyperbolic instances. The category of verb is followed by the category of noun in terms of frequency in both languages: nine occurrences in English and eight occurrences in

¹⁷ However, the missing category of aspect in the English verb is compensated by the elaborate tense system in English, especially through the difference between simple, continuous and perfect verb forms, as seen in Dušková (2006:241-242).

¹⁸ Attested in the hyperbolic sense in the OALD (2005: 326).

¹⁹ A further remark is necessary here concerning the instance CZK #47 in which the adverb *znovu* occurs, exemplified as (41). However, the hyperbolic meaning arises through repeating the lexeme three times in a row. Standing alone, the adverb does not have the hyperbolic potential. As a result, it cannot be classified as a single-word hyperbole realized as an adverb. This classification contrasts with the English *forever* (ENG #54) that is hyperbolic on its own as it is the case of an extreme expression with no limit as a point of reference. The expression *forever* is also employed in repetition, which is adequately marked (symbol “1” assigned to both “adverb” and “repetition” column) in the Appendix B: Sample for English (ENG).

Czech. In English, the adjectival single-word hyperbole is as frequent as single-word hyperbole realized by a noun. In Czech, the pronominal single-word hyperbole is as frequent as single-word hyperbole realized by a noun. The scarce occurrence (five in total) of single-word adjectival hyperbole in Czech is quite surprising. The remaining categories, namely the categories of numeral and adverb, are rather minor in both languages. However, one of the conclusions to be drawn from the observations on the category of pronoun and adverb is that these word classes give rise to so called universal descriptors. Regarding single-word hyperbole, there are five occurrences of this phenomenon in English (three pronouns and two adverbs) and eight occurrences in Czech (pronouns only). These figures are not complete for the whole sample as some instances of universal descriptors sometimes contribute to hyperbole realized as both phrasal (CZK #12, CZK # 15, CZK #42 and CZK #43 only) and clausal constructions. The latter is the case of the following instances: ENG #12, ENG #20, ENG #50, ENG #66, ENG #89 and CZK #7, CZK #62. It must be noted that the phenomenon of universal descriptors or ECFs is rather problematic as there is a fuzzy line between *hyperbole* and vagueness or imprecision.

4.2 Prominent formal domains of hyperbole

In this section, the findings concerning the four prominent formal domains of hyperbole will be presented. Numerical hyperbole and superlatives are mentioned by Spitzbardt (1963: 278-9) as two out of seven of “the most usual of means to express an overstatement.” However, as Claridge (2011: 46) points out “his [Spitzbardt’s] classification is apparently not based on a corpus or on any extensive textual basis” and thus remains rather intuitive or hypothetical. Claridge (2011: 47) mentions comparison and repetition as two additional prominent formal domains of hyperbole. These four domains have been examined in both samples and assorted regardless of the former classification into single-word, phrasal and clausal hyperbole.

Firstly, even though numerical hyperbole is often quoted in literature, for example in Kaločová (1994: 34), and is regarded as a prototypical instance of hyperbole, its occurrence in both the English and Czech sample is rather scarce. To be more specific, there are five occurrences in English, four of which have already been mentioned in Section 4.1.4. The last one is exemplified below:

(35) I hunt regularly Mhm. because I breed racehorses, I also am a farmer so I **wear two hats.** (ENG #85)

In the literal sense, wearing two hats at the same time seems very unlikely. What is meant here is that the speaker has two *roles*, which is another sense of *hat* attested in OALD (2005: 712). The numeral two is thus not hyperbolic on its own but contributes to the phrasal metaphor. Overall, numerical hyperbole forms only 5% of the English sample. In the Czech sample, there are eight instances of numerical hyperbole (i.e., 8%), out of which four have been discussed above (Section 4.1.4). One instance of phrasal numerical hyperbole is seen below:

(36) [...] ty jo, si dám no, ale vopiju se a...No, tak co? Vopiju se **jednou za sto** let.
Hmm. (CZK #50)

In the phrase *jednou za sto let* - *once in a hundred years*, both the multiplier *once* and the cardinal numeral *hundred* are equally important for the hyperbolic interpretation of the whole phrase.

Secondly, there are four instances of the superlative (i.e., 4%) that contributes to the rise of hyperbole in the English sample. They can refer to both positive (37) and negative (38) experience as seen below:

(37) [...] you're made to feel **the most special person on the earth.** (ENG #24)

(38) [...] when I phoned people a couple of days in was that it's been **the worst two days of my life!** (ENG #28)

In (37) the superlative is post-modified by an all-encompassing spatial prepositional phrase and in (38) the superlative is post-modified by an indefinite temporal prepositional phrase. These modifications are common companions to hyperbolic superlatives. In the Czech sample, there is only one occurrence of hyperbolic superlative, exemplified in (39). Here, the superlative is not only pre-modified by the intensifier *vopravdu* (really) but is also given an explicit universal scope (*ze všech*).

(39) [...] to je ruské slovo, a *ťurma* znamená vězení. Ale takový to vopravdu **nejhorší ze všech.** (CZK #15) [it is a Russian word, and *ťurma* means jail, but really **the worst of all.** – my translation]

Thirdly, hyperbolic comparison is attested five times in the English sample, always preceded by an explicit comparative particle. Namely, *like* (ENG #14, ENG #22, ENG 94), *than* (ENG #20) and *as...as* (ENG #67). In the Czech sample, there are only two occurrences of hyperbolic comparison, both (CZK #29 and #86) realized by the colloquial comparative particle *jak*.

Finally, repetition is attested three times in the English sample. In English, two such instances are hyperbolic on their own (ENG #54 and #55). As a result, repetition here has an emphatic and emotive function only. It is only in the case of one instance in the sample that the hyperbole is realized purely by the means of repetition, as seen below:

(40) You put these people on oxygen therapy **for days and days and days**, they come off and say can I have a cigarette? (ENG #30)

In Czech, there are also three instances of repetition in the sample. The repetition of the hyperbolic adjective *neuvěřitelný* (CZK # 56) has already been mentioned in Section 4.1.2. One out of the two hyperboles realized exclusively through the repetition is exemplified here (see also note 8):

(41) No samozřejmě to zčerná ten lak, kterej na tom je, ten zčerná. To bys musela brousit **a znovu a znovu, znovu** to to natírat. (CZK #47) [of course, it's gonna become black, the varnish that's on it, goes black. You would have to sand it and paint it again, again and again. – my translation]

The repetition of *znovu- again* three times does not mean that the interlocutor would have to paint something exactly three times. It is repeated to exaggerate the nuisance of painting and re-painting, possibly a few times.

Table 3 summarizes the prominent formal domains of hyperbole in absolute figures and in percentages in both samples.

Table 3: Prominent formal domains of hyperbole in the English and Czech sample

Prominent formal domains of hyperbole	English sample		Czech sample	
	Absolute figures	% in the whole sample	Absolute figures	% in the whole sample
Numerical	5	5	8	8
Superlative	4	4	1	1
Comparison	5	5	2	2
Repetition	3	3	3	3
Total	17	17	14	14

Even though the four prominent formal domains examined above are seem prompt for hyperbole in literature, for example, in Claridge (2011: 58-71), the empirical data shows that hyperbole realized through these formal domains is not very frequent. To be more specific, the four domains form 17% of the English sample and 14% of the Czech sample. Especially the frequency of numerical hyperbole in English is rather disappointing, accounting for 5% in the sample only. In the Czech sample, the numerical hyperbole takes up 8%. The category of the superlative and comparison is negligible in Czech, whereas in the English sample, comparison is as frequent as numerical hyperbole. Hyperbole realized through repetition occurs with the same frequency in both samples, accounting for 3%.

4.3 Quantitative versus qualitative hyperbole

The English sample yields fifty-nine instances of qualitative²⁰ and forty-one instances of quantitative hyperbole, whereas in the Czech sample, there are fifty-one occurrences of qualitative and forty-nine occurrences of quantitative hyperbole, as seen in the following figure:

Figure 4: Qualitative and quantitative hyperbole in the English and Czech sample

Type of hyperbole	#of occurrences in the English sample	#of occurrences in the Czech sample
Qualitative	59	51
Quantitative	41	49
Total	100	100

These figures are rather surprising as hyperbole is first and foremost associated with magnifying power and hence with quantity. This is not to say that qualitative hyperbole does not contain the aspect of *gradability* introduced in Theoretical part (p. 7), rather, for its realization, metaphoric transfer comes into play too. The high occurrence of qualitative hyperbole is closely connected with high occurrence of conventionalized hyperbole which is metaphoric in nature. Moreover, Claridge (2011: 41) points out that there are cases of qualitative hyperbole that “(some) people only recognise as metaphors, perhaps rather outrageous and extravagant metaphors, but not really strictly speaking as hyperbole.” On the

²⁰ Also called domain-switching or metaphorical hyperbole (Claridge 2011: 41).

other hand, the frequency of quantitative hyperbole is linked to the frequency of numerical hyperbole which is rather infrequent in the two samples as shown above, to the occurrence of ECFs that are extreme points on the same scale, and to the majority of the attested cases of intensification: seven²¹ out of eleven instances of intensification in the English sample and three²² out of four instances in the Czech sample are classified as quantitative hyperbole. Another means of realizing quantitative hyperbole is seen in the extensive example (42) in which the S lists twenty-two adjectives serving as synonyms of *poor* regarding the evaluation of students' skills. However, the items of the list clearly occupy extreme positions to the "left" on the scale <..., poor, average, excellent>. Based on such a scale, the hyperbole here is based on a linguistic contrast within the lexicon. Furthermore, the accumulation of this amount of adjectives expressing very strong negative evaluation contributes to the hyperbolic interpretation; hence (42) is an instance of a clausal-hyperbole.

(42) Well jus just to lighten the mood for a moment and to go along with high-falooting words here are some Ha! high-falooting words for weak , oh **poor** rather , poor here we go, **atrocious, abominable, execrable** Oh, **execrable**, yeah I like that! there are better one's **That's crap!** there are better ones to come. **Unredeemable, flagrant, egregious, abysmal, lamentable, excruciating, deplorable, disreputable** is nice. **Unsavoury, louche, diabolic Louche?** Listen, listen, listen, listen. What's this? **Flagitious!** God, that sounds rude! That's **heinous, illiquidous** Ooh ah! **navarious, pernicious**, and finally **odious** and **obnoxious!** Oh well! Ah yeah! Can we settle for odious stroke obnoxious and then move up the. I'd love to thank you for bringing a little bit of light in. (ENG #63)

Regarding qualitative hyperbole, Claridge (2011: 42) argues the following point:

The advantage of metaphorical hyperbole can be found in the fact that such examples can also have a greater effect on the audience, often because more than one semantic attribute plays a role, a fully rounded picture/concept is evoked and/or the surprise value is greater. Thus, the hyperbolic effect is achieved in a more striking way.

However, this claim is valid only for instances of qualitative hyperboles, the meaning of which has not been bleached, as seen below:

(43) Anne has said that, that giving them th th **the grisliest** facts doesn't really impress them. (ENG #31)

The intended meaning in the above example of the superlative is *the scariest* and the hyperbolic meaning possibly arises through evoking the image of the grizzly bear, and hence

²¹ Namely ENG #11, ENG #25, ENG #37, ENG #52, ENG #63, ENG #65, ENG #83.

²² Namely CZK #56, CZK #57, CZK #95.

can be interpreted metaphorically. This example is classified as both qualitative and creative hyperbole, which is a combination that is rather rare in both samples. Namely, there are twelve occurrences²³ in the English sample and only nine occurrences²⁴ in the Czech sample. These instances show the frequency with which the Ss deliberately use the most creative language possible regarding hyperbole. The topic of creative hyperbole is further discussed in the next section, especially in contrast to conventionalized instances of hyperbole.

4.4 Conventionalized versus creative hyperbole

Claridge (2011: 170) claims that as many as two thirds of hyperbolic instances attested in speech are conventionalized.²⁵ Given that dictionaries are not necessarily the most reliable sources of information (as colloquial usage tends to be underrepresented in them) my estimates are somewhat tentative and the actual proportion could be higher. The English sample analysed for the purpose of this study yields fifty-six instances of conventionalized hyperbole²⁶ that are listed in Table 8 in Appendix A. The table shows that twenty-eight instances of conventionalized hyperbole are listed as a “sub-sense” of a polysemous word, for example, *to bombard somebody* (ENG #8); eighteen instances of conventionalized hyperbole are listed as idioms²⁷, for example *get/let somebody off the hook* (ENG #5 and #7) and eleven instances of conventionalized hyperbole are listed as separate entries, for example the adjective *draconian* (ENG #34). Regarding conventionalized hyperboles, it sometimes happens in speech that the S rephrases an established idiom; this phenomenon is referred to as “personal reinterpretation” by Čermák (2010: 61). In these cases, the H needs to know the meaning and the use of the original conventionalized form in order to understand the

²³ ENG #31, ENG #33, ENG #35, ENG #36, ENG #39, ENG #40, ENG #41, ENG #57, ENG #77, ENG #79, ENG #94, ENG #96

²⁴ Namely the following instances: CZK #6, CZK #45, CZK #46, CZK #53, CZK #63, CZK #68, CZK #75, CZK #78 and CZK #89. Moreover, four (CZK #45, CZK #46, CZK #53, CZK #63) out of these nine instances were uttered by the same S (doc.id=05A009N) and hence the combination of qualitative and creative hyperbole can be regarded as a personal speech characteristics of the S. However, it is not the aim of this study to examine this phenomenon in much detail.

²⁵ Note that Claridge (2011) adopts different criteria for distinguishing between conventionalized and creative hyperbole.

²⁶ See the criteria for classifying an instance as a conventional hyperbole in Section 3 “The aim of the study, its method and data, page 23.

²⁷ Marked as IDM, i.e., idiom(s) section of an entry, in the OALD.

remodelling. This phenomenon is attested four times in the English sample,²⁸ and one such example follows:

(44) Perhaps it was, in fact, one or two of them said, you know we like **ripping the piss** out of Mr [XY]! (ENG #44)

The idiom *to take the piss out of somebody or something* meaning “to make fun of somebody especially by copying them or laughing at them for reasons they do not understand” is attested as informal in the OALD (2011: 1145). By substituting the verb *rip* for the conventional *take*, the S even increases the exaggeration. It is noteworthy that conventionalized hyperbole is never realized as a clausal hyperbole in the English sample.

Creative hyperbole, on the other hand, is attested twenty-eight times in the English sample and thus is a fairly common feature of spoken language, despite the fact that decoding creative uses certainly need greater effort on the part of both the S and the H. They are also based on a greater degree of intentionality. Creative hyperbole can occur as clausal hyperbole or single-word hyperboles as seen respectively in (42) and (43) above, and also as phrasal hyperbole, as seen in the following example employing a comparison:

(45) Here I want to say the thing that's happening at the moment in my difficult life that I'd hold onto **like a drowning man with a log**. (ENG #94)

Regarding the Czech sample, accounting for forty-nine occurrences, conventionalized hyperbole is slightly less frequent than in the English sample. All instances of conventionalized hyperbole in the Czech sample are listed in Table 9 in Appendix A, in which they are further classified mostly according to the type of their attestation into idioms, sayings, similes, senses and full entries.²⁹ This classification of conventionalized hyperboles in Czech is more complex than the one applied to the English sample; the rationale is the different practice in the Czech and English lexicographic tradition. The Table 9 in Appendix A shows that twenty-three instances of conventionalized hyperbole are listed as a “sub-sense” of a

²⁸ Namely the following instances: ENG #44, ENG #59, ENG #61 and ENG #75.

²⁹ The guideline, yet not to be taken one hundred per cent valid, is the following: conventional instances of hyperbole attested in *Slovník české frazeologie a idiomatiky. Výrazy slovesné. A-P (A-P) and R-Ž (R-Ž)*, *Slovník české frazeologie a idiomatiky 2. Výrazy neslovesné (LEDA 2)* and *Slovník české frazeologie a idiomatiky 3. Výrazy slovesné (LEDA 3)* are marked as IDMs; in *Slovník české frazeologie a idiomatiky 4. Výrazy větné (LEDA 4)* as sayings; in *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost (SSČ)* as senses in case of a polysemous word, one sense of which is hyperbolic, or as separate entries; in *Slovník české frazeologie a idiomatiky 1. Přirovnání (LEDA 1)* as similes; and, finally, in *Tezaurus jazyka českého: slovník českých slov a frází souznačných, blízkých a příbuzných (TEZ)* as synonyms.

polysemous word, for example, *letim* and *letí* (CZK #8 and #10); fourteen instances of conventionalized hyperbole are listed as IDMs, for example *jsem na roztrhání* (CZK #26), nine instances of conventionalized hyperbole are listed as separate entries, for example the adjective *nesnesitelná* (ENG #57), two instances as a simile, for example *spim jak zabitej* (CZK #29) and one instance as a saying that is exemplified below as (46). On the other hand, there are twenty-six occurrences of creative hyperbole in the Czech sample.

Regarding both the classification of conventionalized hyperbole and the frequency of occurrence of creative hyperbole, the Czech sample displays very similar features to the English sample. Moreover, the phenomenon of “personal reinterpretation,”³⁰ is also attested in the Czech sample. To be more specific, it occurs twice and one such instance is exemplified below:

(46) rodič je vod toho, aby těm dětem vycházel v ústrety. To není, že jim bude ustupovat a mazat, **foukal jim na všechno**, ale vycházel v ústrety. (CZK #62)

Here, the IDM *pofoukat někomu bolístku/bebíčko* meaning “to calm somebody down, to restore his or her balance and self-confidence” is remodelled by the substitution of the nouns *bolístku* or *bebíčko* for the universal descriptor *všechno* that can be regarded as an instance of ECF. This example nicely shows the tendency of some Ss of today’s spoken language who often opt for more general, universal signifiants instead of using an existing signifiant in a given language describing the extralinguistic reality more adequately. This phenomenon is sometimes seen as a “corruption of language.”

Similarly to the English sample, creative hyperbole is also realized by single-word, phrasal and clausal hyperbole in the Czech sample. There is, however, one slight difference to the English sample: one instance of conventionalized hyperbole is realized as clausal hyperbole in the Czech sample (47) as opposed to the zero occurrence of this combination in the English sample.

(47) [...] jednu noc sme tam pak hráli nějaký člověče nebo něco sme hráli. Člověče, napij se sme hráli, no. Jo? **To byla naše smrt.** (CZK #1)

The above example is classified as both clausal and conventional due to the attestation in *Slovník české frazeologie a idiomatiky 4. Výrazy větné* (2009: 826). There is an English translation equivalent marked as both IDM and informal in the OALD (2005:392) which is the following: *be the death of sb.* For more discussion on language universals see the next section (4.5).

³⁰ Namely in CZK #23 and CZK #62.

On the whole, the frequency of occurrence of conventionalized hyperbole (and qualitative hyperbole) partly explains the high occurrence of phrasal hyperbole in both samples, and vice versa. Only twelve instances of phrasal hyperbole (out of forty-three) are not of the conventional type in the English sample, and nineteen instances of phrasal hyperboles (out of thirty-seven) are not of the conventional type in the Czech sample. The ratio here is less conclusive than the one regarding the English sample. This might be due to the fact that some instances of phrasal hyperbole like *dostat infarkt* (CZK #31), *ani na kousek se od vás nehnu* (CZK #37), *jednou za sto let* (CZK #50), *jí nečuchne ani k prdeli* (CZK #53), *byla úplně na kaši* (CZK #54) *utíráš ten zadek* (CZK # 64) and *je ve vatě* (CZK #96) have not been found attested in standard printed dictionaries listed in the bibliography even though the author, as a native speaker of Czech, would consider them conventionalized. However, the methodology of introspection is not adopted for the purpose of this study.

It has been shown above that the two samples display surprisingly similar features regarding the phenomenon of conventionality. Firstly, the frequency of occurrence of both conventionalized and creative type of hyperbole is fairly similar in both samples. Secondly, the further classification of conventional hyperbole according to the type of attestation yields similar results in both samples. Thirdly, the phenomenon of “personal reinterpretation” is attested in both samples and, finally, creative instances of hyperbole are formally realized by single-word, phrasal and clausal hyperbole in both samples. The occurrence of creative and conventionalized hyperbole in the English and Czech sample with the type of attestation of the conventional instances is summarized in the following table:

Table 5: The occurrence of creative and conventionalized hyperbole in the English and Czech sample with the location of the conventional instances in dictionary

Creative versus conventional hyperbole		# of occurrences in the English sample	# of occurrences in the Czech sample
Creative instances		28	26
Conventional instances		56	49
Type of attestation of the conventional instances	Sense	27	23
	IDM	18	14
	Entry	11	9
	Simile	/	2
	Saying	/	1

4.5 Hyperbole as a language universal: common hyperbolic source domains in Czech and in English

One of the aims of this study is to find out whether there are some common semantic source domains for hyperbole in English and in Czech. The attestation of numerical hyperbole has already been mentioned in Section 4.1.4, albeit with differences regarding the use of individual expressions: the data shows that English prefers the numerals *hundred(s)* and *thousand(s)* and Czech favours the numeral *million* for hyperbole. Semantic fields of “dying and killing” are also prone to hyperbole (Claridge 2011:77) and their possible occurrence is examined in both languages. Indeed, in the English sample, there are the intensifier *dead* attested two times (ENG #2 and ENG #42), the degree adverbial realized by the prepositional phrase *to death* (ENG #95) and the verb *kill* (#98) in their hyperbolic senses. Furthermore, there are also two instances, in which *dying* is mentioned indirectly. Nevertheless, they can still be regarded as belonging to the same semantic domain (as opposed to semantic field). Namely, the clausal hyperbole *I'm still standing up just about* (ENG #99) and the comparative *like a drowning man to a log* (ENG #94).

In the Czech sample, there are twelve instances that can be regarded as members of the “dying and killing” semantic domain. They are the following: the clausal hyperbole *To byla naše smrt* (CZK #1), the phrasal-hyperbole *byli [...] bez života* (CZK #9), verbs with the root *zmrz* attested four times (CZK #17, #18, #19 and #27), the conventionalized comparison or simile *spim jak zabitej* (CZK #29), the phrasal hyperbole *dostat infarkt* (CZK #31), the adverbial of degree *do konce života [...] až do smrti* (CZK #34), the vulgarism *chcípnul* (CZK #40) and the colloquial conventionalized verb *picnout* (CZK #84), the phrasal conventionalized hyperbole *mele z posledního* (CZK #58), the imperfective verb *umírala* (CZK #72) and the archaic verb in its negative form *nezahyneš* (CZK #70). The phrasal hyperbole in the following example can also be regarded as belonging to this group:

- (48) **Já už nebudu nic potřebovat.** Maminko! (smích) (CZK #87)
[I won't need anything anymore. Mum! (laughter) – my translation]

The sentence in bold in (48) is a litotes with the literal meaning *I'm going to die soon*. However, real *dying* is not the case regarding the context of CZK #87 and thus the occurrence can be interpreted as an instance of hyperbole too. This example again corroborates the co-

occurrence of overstatement and understatement, as already mentioned in relation to (23). Marginally, apart from the twelve expressions mentioned above, the idiomatic expression *vyrazit někomu něčím dech* attested two times in the Czech sample (CZK #5 and CZK #97) can also be seen, at least, as originating from the “dying and killing” semantic domain.

I also suggest two other common hyperbolic source domains for English and Czech. Firstly, the “existential domain,” as a counterpart-domain for “dying and killing”, emerging from the urgent human need to hold onto life, is a good candidate. The semantic source domain for this category is represented by the lexeme *life*. With two attestations in the English sample, namely *for the life of me* (ENG #72) and *saved my life* (ENG #97), and with the two verbs, namely *vobživne* (CZK #51) and *přežijem* (CZK #80) attested in the Czech sample, this semantic source domain is, however, not so frequent as the “dying and killing” domain. Secondly, I suggest a common hyperbolic source domain of “mental illness”. The phenomenon of referring hyperbolically to a person as being mentally ill is attested twice in the Czech sample, namely the following expressions: *depresí* (CZK #88) and *schizofrenik* (CZK #98), and three times in the English sample, the conventional expression *drove me crackers* (ENG #62), the clausal hyperbole *No one’s, no one’s gonna do anything crazier than that!* (ENG #20) and possibly the adjective *nerve-wracking* (ENG #25). The hyperbolic source domains labelled above as “existential field” and “mental illness” are attested in both languages, and to the best of my knowledge, they are not mentioned in the literature on hyperbole. The question, however, remains if their occurrence in both languages is statistically significant. To corroborate this, the examination of a larger set of data in both languages would be necessary. Finally, it is relevant to mention here that there is another major semantic domain prompt for hyperbole in English that is labelled the “military domain” for the purpose of this study. However, this semantic domain seems not to be prominent in the Czech sample at all. In English, it encompasses the following expressions: *time marches on* (ENG #4), *bombarded with* (ENG #8), *a bomb* (ENG #9), *join forces* (ENG #26), *fight* (ENG #82) and *shot* (ENG #90).

On the whole, the hypothesis that the semantic fields of “dying and killing” are prone to hyperbole is corroborated in this section. Six instances of hyperbole attested in the English sample and twelve instances of hyperbole attested in the Czech sample are listed above as belonging to this semantic domain. Two other common semantic source domains for

hyperbole in English and in Czech are suggested above, namely “existential domain” and “mental illness.” However, their possible universal nature is open to further research.

4.6 The frequency of hyperbolic occurrences

Last but not least, the overall frequency of hyperbolic occurrences in spoken language regarding English and Czech should be mentioned. Czech transcribed conversations of 53,492 were examined in search for hyperbolic occurrences until a sample of one hundred instances of hyperbole was excerpted. Thus, in Czech spoken context, hyperbole was found with a frequency of one hyperbole per 535 words on average. In English, the use of hyperbole is slightly less common. To be more specific, a 71,372-word text has been read through to gather the sample of one hundred hyperbolic occurrences. This fact establishes the frequency of hyperbole in spoken English with an average of one hyperbole per 714 words.³¹

5. Conclusion

This study compares and contrasts the use of hyperbole or exaggeration in spoken language in Czech and in English. The comparison of the Czech and the English sample, each containing one hundred instances of *hyperbole*, shows that the phenomenon of exaggeration is more frequent in Czech than in English. In Czech, hyperbole occurs with an average of one hyperbole per 535 words, whereas the frequency of hyperbole in spoken English is one hyperbole per 714 words on average. Taking “the speed of normal speech, in which six syllables a second, making three or more words, is fairly standard” (Aitchison 2004:8), into consideration, hyperbole is then a truly common feature of everyday conversation.

Formally, hyperbole is inherent most of all in single words (55%) in the Czech sample, while, in English, it is primarily realized by phrasal hyperbole (43%). This finding can be partly explained by the higher occurrence of qualitative hyperbole in English (59%) as

³¹ Cf. with Claridge (2011: 263) who concludes that “hyperbole has been found to be used with *moderate* frequency in spoken conversational context, with an average of one hyperbole per every thousand words.” [my emphasis]

opposed to its occurrence in the Czech sample (51%). Qualitative hyperbole is based on the metaphorical transfer between the literal and the hyperbolic meaning and often has the form of an idiom or other multi-word expression in language. As a result, qualitative hyperbole is likely to be realized formally as phrasal hyperbole.

The single-word category through which hyperbole arises has been examined in more detail in both languages. It is rather surprising that the verbal realization of single-word hyperbole ranks first in terms of frequency in both languages. It takes up 29% of all hyperbolic occurrences in the Czech sample and 12% of all hyperbolic occurrences in the English sample. Moreover, it has been found out that the morphological category of aspect plays a role in hyperbolic interpretation of Czech verbs. To be more specific, the imperfective aspect signals *iterativeness* and thus contributes to hyperbolic interpretation. This phenomenon has not been attested in the English sample at all. Nominal single-word hyperbole ranks second together with adjectival single-word hyperbole in the English sample. Similarly, nominal single-word hyperbole ranks second together with pronominal single-word hyperbole in the Czech sample.

The findings of this study also show, contrary to popular myth, that numerical hyperbole is much less frequent. It only accounts for 5% in the English sample and for 8% in the Czech sample. The same can be said about the “four prominent formal domains of hyperbole” in general. The figures regarding the use of the superlative, comparison and repetition as sources of hyperbole are rather inconclusive in both languages. A parallel between the low figures representing the occurrence of all “four prominent formal domains of hyperbole” (accounting for 17% in the English sample and 14% in the Czech sample) and the occurrence of ECFs can be drawn. It has been shown that hyperbole can be formally realized by rather subtle categories (especially pronouns) that are not often mentioned in literature as hyperbolic source domains. However, ECFs are still not sometimes recognized as hyperbole proper because they boarder on the grey area between hyperbole and vagueness or imprecision. In this respect, Norrick (2004: 1738) states that “hyperbole in general, and ECF in particular, suggest endless avenues for future research.”

The findings of this study also dispel the myth that hyperbole is typically quantitative. The ratio of quantitative hyperbole to qualitative in the Czech sample is 49% to 51%. What is

more, qualitative hyperbole is even more frequent (59%) than quantitative (41%) in the English sample.

Regarding the issue of conventionality, accounting for 56% of the sample, conventionalized hyperbole is slightly more frequent in English as opposed to 49% of all occurrences in the Czech sample. Moreover, it has been shown that the ratio of hyperbolic “sub-senses” of polysemous words to IDMs and to separate entries within the conventionalized occurrences of hyperbole is almost identical in both samples. The data also shows that the proportion of creative hyperbole in both samples is very similar. Namely, there are twenty-eight instances in which the Ss use creative hyperbole in conversations in the English sample, and twenty-six instances of this phenomenon in the Czech sample. The phenomenon of “personal reinterpretation” is also attested in the two samples: four times in English and twice in Czech. This balance might suggest that English speakers are more creative than the Czech ones. This suggestion is further supported by the fact that the combination of qualitative and creative hyperbole occurs more frequently in the English sample (thirteen times) than in the Czech sample (namely nine times). On the whole, it is rather striking to what extent the two samples display similar features in terms of conventionality.

Three conclusions can be drawn from the examination of common hyperbolic source domains in both samples. Firstly, the inclination of the semantic field of “dying and killing” to being used in hyperbole (Claridge 2011:77) has been corroborated in the data: six occurrences in the English sample and twelve occurrences in the Czech sample belong to this semantic domain. Secondly, I also propose two other common semantic domains, namely the “existential domain” and the domain of “mental illness” as sources of hyperbole in both languages. Finally, the “military” domain as a hyperbole source is prominent in the English sample; however, this domain is not attested in the Czech sample.

Other related phenomena regarding hyperbole have been touched upon in the analysis. For example, the occurrence of cultural hyperbole or a hyperbole based on argumentative scales (Claridge 2011) and the use of hyperbole as a politeness device have been found exclusively in the Czech sample. On the other hand, the single-word nominal hyperboles are more often pre-modified by an intensifying adjective in English than in Czech. These findings

are, however, based on very few occurrences in the two samples and suggest a promising area for further research.

To conclude, analysis of the samples shows that spoken language is rather rich in the use of hyperbole both in Czech and English. Although the samples were relatively small, their analysis yielded some interesting results partly confirming the findings of the previous studies, partly supplementing them (new semantic source categories, the ratio of hyperbole types, etc.) or even disproving some of the traditional claims about hyperbole. Naturally, the findings of this study are somewhat tentative and would require confirmation by more specific and extensive query-based corpus research than the present study could be based on. Last but not least, the study has re-opened some of the theoretical problems concerning the definition of hyperbole and its distinction from related phenomena. Although every effort was made to include only relevant data, the samples inevitably reflect the uncertainties surrounding the notion of hyperbole and its precise scope.

1. Úvod

Pojem hyperbola je často, hlavně kvůli svému původu, spojován s literární teorií. Avšak tato práce chápe hyperbolu či nadsázku jako každodenní součást komunikace, tedy jako jazykový akt, který vyjadřuje postoje a emoce mluvčího. Jde o komplexní jazykový fenomén realizovaný na všech jazykových úrovních: morfologii, syntaxi, stylistice a především pak lexiko-sémantice a pragmatice. Z tohoto důvodu je obtížné hyperbolu jako pojem uchopit a zkoumat. Tato studie si klade za cíl porovnat užití hyperboly či nadsázky v českém a anglickém mluveném jazyce.

2. Teoretická východiska

2.1 Definice hyperboly

Hyperbole se neustále potýká s problémem své definice a s vymezením pole své působnosti. Není neobvyklé, že každý autor zabývající se hyperbolou ji definuje jinak a pohlíží na ni z jiného úhlu pohledu. Tato část představuje některé tyto přístupy jak anglo-amerických tak českých lingvistů a dochází k závěru, že hyperbola je součástí obecnější tendence intenzifikace v jazyce a, naopak, že její součástí jsou příklady tzv. extrémních formulací (ECFs).

2.1.1 Hyperbola napříč teoriemi

Pojem hyperboly se objevuje v rétorice, literární teorii a stylistice. Pohled na hyperbolu z každé této oblasti se přirozeně odráží i v její lingvistické definici. To proto, že zkoumání hyperboly z lingvistického hlediska je oproti výše zmíněným oblastem docela nedávný trend.

2.1.2. Hyperbola v lingvistice

Hyperbola je založená na „stupňovatelnosti“ (Claridge: 2011). To znamená, že místo nepřikrášleného výrazu, který odpovídá mimo-jazykové realitě, mluvčí užije hyperboly, která jasně přesahuje limity daného faktu v daném kontextu. Hyperbolický

výraz obsahuje více sémantického atributu než „normální“ avšak nikdy nevyslovený výraz. Pokud jde o přepínání účinku ve stejné rovině či na stejné škále, jde o hyperbolu kvalitativní, ale pokud je transfer mezi „normálním“ a hyperbolickým výrazem založen na metafoře, jde o hyperbolu kvantitativní. V obou případech působí hyperbolický výraz přehnaně, logicky nepravděpodobně, a je v konfliktu s mimojazykovou realitou. Hyperbola je jazykový jev, který probíhá pouze v interakci. Záleží na mluvčím, jak velký kontrast mezi „normálním“ (nevysloveným) a hyperbolickým výrazem použije a dále pak na posluchači, zda bude vyslovený výraz vnímat jako hyperbolický. Jsou zde samozřejmě i další faktory, které do vztahu mezi mluvčím a posluchačem vstupují. Například kulturní znalost či supra-segmentální rysy jako je intonace či rychlost projevu. Tento popis hyperboly je založen především na Claridgové (2011), dále pak na Šmilauerovi (1972) a Spitzbardtovi (1963).

2.2 Formální realizace hyperboly

Diskuze o formální realizaci hyperboly je založena na Norrickovu (1982) tvrzení v angličtině, že zveličování se může vyskytnout v každé hlavní syntaktické kategorii, jmenovitě jako podstatné jméno, sloveso, přídavné jméno, příslovce či číslovka.

2.2.1 Hyperbola a jiné způsoby intenzifikace

Tato kapitola sleduje dělení intenzifikujících adjektiv a adverbíí v přední anglické gramatice *Comprehensive Grammar of the English language*, jejíž autoři nevyklučují hyperbolickou interpretaci především některých intenzifikujících adverbíí (maximisers and boosters). Rozdíly mezi hyperbolickou a nehyperbolickou interpretací je ilustrován na příkladech. Kontext je rozhodujícím faktorem pro klasifikaci.

2.2.2. Jednoslovné, víceslovné a větné hyperboly

Claridgová (2011) zavádí tříčlennou formální klasifikaci hyperbolických výrazů na jednoslovné, víceslovné a větné. Rozdíl mezi jednotlivými skupinami je ilustrován na

příkladech a jsou uvedena kritéria pro jejich rozlišení. Hyperbola může být samozřejmě realizována i většími jazykovými jednotkami než větami. Například v případě některých humoristických žánrů jde o celé texty. To však není případ získaných vzorků pro účel této práce.

2.2.3 Přední pole působnosti hyperboly

Přední formální pole působnosti hyperboly v angličtině vychází z Spitzbardtovy (1963) hypotézy založené pouze na introspekci. To je hlavní námitka Claridgové (2011), která tvrdí, že Spitzbardtova navrhovaná klasifikace není podložena empirickým výzkumem. Proto z jeho klasifikace přebírá pouze čtyři domény, o kterých tvrdí, že jsou nejvíce časté v mluveném jazyce. Jmenovitě jde o numerickou hyperbolu, superlativ přídavných jmen, přirovnání a opakování. Zaprvé, numerická hyperbola je často citována jako „prototypický příklad“ hyperboly, například Kaločovou (1994) či McCarthym a Carterem (2004). Vystává otázka, zda je může být numerická hyperbola považována za jazykovou univerzálii. Nejčastější hyperbolická číslovka v angličtině je *milión* (Claridge 2011: 60) a nejčastěji citovaná číslovka jako příklad hyperboly v české odborné literatuře je *sto*, například v Kaločové (1994: 34). Zadruhé, pokud jde o superlativ přídavných jmen, je samozřejmě relativní ve vztahu k ostatním jednotkám podrobeným porovnání. Superlativ se většinou jen podílí na vzniku hyperboly a není její přímou příčinnou. Zatřetí, přirovnání explicitně obsahuje výrazy *like*, *as* a *than* v angličtině a *jako* nebo kolokviální *jak* v češtině. Příklady hyperbol založené na přirovnání jsou většinou případy kvantitativních hyperbol. Začtvrté, opakování je nejvíce problematické z hlediska jeho vymezení.

2.2.4 Závěr: formální realizace hyperboly

Tato diplomová práce přejímá tříčlennou klasifikaci založenou na Claridgové (2011) jako výchozí bod analýzy. Také přední pole působnosti hyperboly jsou zkoumány v obou vzorcích.

2.5 Hyperbola a sémantika

2.5.1 Konvenčnost a polysémie

Zde je popsán rozdíl mezi konvenční hyperbolou jako výrazem, který je zavedený, opakovaně používaný a polysémií s nehyperbolickým výrazem, od kterého je odvozen (např. *tisíc*) a kreativní hyperbolou, což je příklad formálního či sémantického novotvaru. Claridgeová (Claridge 2011: 98) dále poukazuje na souvislost mezi stádiem konvenčnosti hyperboly a úsilím, které musí lidský mozek vynaložit ke zpracování lingvistického inputu. Kreativní hyperbole tak vyžaduje větší úsilí od posluchače, má na něj větší efekt a snáze vede k nedorozumění. Tím, že se hyperbola stává konvenční se zvyšuje polysémie v daném jazyce a tento proces může vést až ke vzniku klišé.

2.5.2 Hyperbola a další tropy v jazykové interakci

Některé případy hyperboly v mluveném jazyce úzce hraničí s užitím dalších tropů, především ironie, metafory a litotes. Jedním z důvodů jistě je, že je hyperbola velmi subjektivní výrazový prostředek. V tomto ohledu Claridge (2011: 41) uvádí, že někteří posluchači mohou klasifikovat hyperbolu pouze jako metaforu, snad jako absurdní a přemrštěnou metaforu, ale ne jako hyperbolu v pravém slova smyslu. Gibbs (1994) vidí podobný problém v rozlišení mezi hyperbolou a ironií, především pokud jde o humorný nebo kritický tón konverzace.

3. Záměr, metoda a data

Cílem diplomové práce je srovnat užívání hyperboly či zveličování v běžném hovorovém jazyce v češtině a angličtině. A to z hlediska formálního (zastoupení výrazových prostředků), sémantického (zastoupení hyperbol kvantitativních a kvalitativních) a lexikálně-sémantického (sémantické pole představující zdroj nadsázky). Práce dále testuje hypotézu hyperbolických univerzálií v češtině a angličtině a porovnává výskyty ustálených hyperbolických výrazů oproti kreativním hyperbolickým novotvarům. V neposlední řadě si práce klade za cíl stanovit četnost výskytu hyperboly v obou jazycích.

Toto srovnání je založeno na analýze dvou vzorků čítajících 100 českých a 100 anglických příkladů hyperbol, které byly náhodně excerpovány z mluvené části Českého národního korpusu *ORALU2008* a z mluvené složky *British National Corpus*.

4. Výzkum a interpretace výsledků

Výsledky formální analýzy ukázaly, že v anglickém vzorku je většina hyperbolických výrazů realizována jako víceslovné hyperboly, zatímco v českém vzorku se nejčastěji vyskytuje jednoslovná hyperbola. Tento výsledek naznačuje, že případy hyperboly v anglickém vzorku jsou častěji realizovány jako ustálené výrazy nebo idiomy. Větné hyperboly byly zastoupeny nejméně v obou vzorcích.

4.1 Jednoslovná hyperbola

Každý případ jednoslovné hyperboly byl dále klasifikován podle slovního druhu. Výsledky ukázaly, že kromě předpokládaných kategorií (podstatné jméno, přídavné jméno, číslovka, sloveso a adverbium) se hyperbola také vyskytuje jako zájmeno.

4.1.1 Podstatné jméno

V anglickém vzorku je zaznamenáno devět případů nominální hyperboly, zatímco v českém osm. Z analýzy je také patrné, že anglická jednoslovná nominální hyperbola je častěji pre-modifikována, zato v češtině je zaznamenán častější výskyt vlastních jmen, kde úspěšné dekodování hyperboly závisí na kulturní znalosti.

4.1.2 Přídavné jméno

Výsledky analýzy stanovují devět výskytů jednoslovné hyperboly realizované jako přídavné jméno v anglickém vzorku a pouze pět výskytů v českém vzorku. Do analýzy anglického vzorku je také zahrnut intenzifikátor *awfully*, protože se vždy vyskytuje v kombinaci s kvantifikátorem a tudíž je sémanticky redundantní, proto je v tomto případě hyperbolická interpretace možná.

4.1.3 Zájmeno

Ačkoli je jednoslovná hyperbola realizovaná zájmenem nejméně častá v anglickém vzorku (3 výskyty) je druhou nejčastější formální realizací (spolu s podstatným jménem) v češtině, čítající osm výskytů.

4.1.4 Číslovka

Tento slovní druh jako formální realizace jednoslovné hyperboly je zastoupen v obou vzorkách stejnou měrou (čtyři výskyty).

4.1.5 Sloveso

Výsledky analýzy ukazují, že jednoslovná verbální hyperbola tvoří 12% anglického a dokonce 29% českého vzorku. Tím je sloveso nejfrekventovanějším slovním druhem pro realizaci jednoslovné hyperboly v obou vzorkách navzdory hypotéze. Většinou se jedná o případy konvenční hyperboly, ale český vzorek vykazuje v tomto ohledu zajímavá zjištění: verbální hyperbola v češtině může sloužit ke zdvořilému vyjadřování a dále pak kategorie vidu přispívá k hyperbolické interpretaci verbálních jednoslovných hyperbol.

4.1.6 Příslovce

Výskyt příslovečných jednoslovných hyperbol je v obou vzorkách zanedbatelný.

4.1.7 Jednoslovná hyperbola: závěr

Nejpřekvapivější výsledky formální analýzy přinesla kategorie slovesa, která je mnohem častější než se předpokládalo. Také výskyt jednoslovných hyperbol realizovaných zájmenem byl v takovém rozsahu spíše nečekaný. Zájmena spolu s příslovci dávají vzniku tzv. extrémním formulacím (ECFs).

4.2 Přední pole působnosti

Empirický výzkum ukazuje, že, ač jsou numerická hyperbola, superlativ přídavných jmen, přirovnání a opakování často uváděny v odborné literatuře jako přední formální domény pro realizaci hyperboly, jejich výskyt není příliš častý. Konkrétně tyto domény souhrnně tvoří 17% anglického vzorku a 14% českého vzorku.

4.3 Kvalitativní versus kvantitativní hyperbola

Výsledky v tomto ohledu také nabourávají všeobecný předpoklad, že hyperbola je ze své podstaty kvantitativní. Právě naopak, anglický vzorek obsahuje padesát-devět dokladů a český padesát-jeden doklad kvalitativní hyperboly, což tvoří většinu v obou vzorkách.

4.4 Konvenční versus kreativní hyperbola

Výsledky analýzy poukazují téměř shodné rysy anglického a českého vzorku stran klasifikace na konvenční a kreativní hyperbolu. A to nejen v absolutních číslech výskytů obou jevů, ale i pokud jde o další klasifikaci konvenčních hyperbol podle typu uvedení v běžných slovnících. V obou vzorcích je také zaznamenán výskyt tzv. „personal reinterpretation.“

4.5 Hyperbola jako jazyková univerzálie

Vyhodnocení výsledků analýzy potvrzuje hypotézu hyperbolických jazykových univerzálií v anglickém a českém vzorku. To se týká nejen výskytu numerických hyperbol ale i výskytu společné sémantické domény „umírání a zabíjení.“ Šest dokladů hyperboly v anglickém vzorku a dvanáct v českém patří do této sémantické skupiny. Autorka dále navrhuje dvě další společné sémantické domény, jmenovitě „existenční doménu“ a doménu „psychické nemoci.“

4.6. Četnost hyperbolických výskytů

Díky provedené analýze bylo možné stanovit četnost hyperbolických výskytů v obou vzorcích. Hyperbola se v českém vzorku průměrně vyskytuje s frekvencí jednoho hyperbolického výskytu na 535 slov. V anglickém vzorku není hyperbola tak častým jevem, vyskytuje se s frekvencí jednoho hyperbolického výskytu na 714 slov.

5. Závěr

Výsledky analýzy obou vzorků ukazují, že mluvený jazyk je vcelku bohatý na užití hyperboly jak v češtině tak v angličtině. Ač nebyly zkoumané vzorky velkého rozsahu, analýza poukazuje na některé zajímavé výsledky, které částečně potvrzují výsledky dřívějších studií v této oblasti, částečně je doplňují (nové společné sémantické domény jako jazykové univerzálie, poměry kvalitativní versus kvantitativní a kreativní versus konvenční hyperboly v obou vzorcích atd.) a dokonce vyvracejí některá tradiční tvrzení stran hyperboly. V neposlední řadě tato studie znovu otevřela teoretické problémy týkající se snahy hyperbolu přesně definovat a odlišit ji od příbuzných jevů.

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Appendix A

Table 6: Word count in the individual documents serving as data for selecting the English sample

Document ID	Word Count
D97	16333
FLP	4940
FLM	4982
F7F	15742
F7G	5676
FYO	3728
FLL	4904
FLK	5270
FLH	4861
FLG	4936
D91	4164*
Total	71 372

*out of 16709 (the size of the whole document); 4164 words have been sufficient to complete the selection of the sample of one hundred occurrences

Table 7: Word count in the individual documents serving as data for selecting the Czech sample

Document ID	Word Count
03A030N	10401
04A026N	4083
04A028N	175
04A044N	2083
05A005N	444
05A009N	12738
05A017N	988
05A022N	14474
02A014N	4621
07B002N	3485
Total	53 492

Table 8: The list of conventional hyperbole in the English sample

#	Item # in the sample	Expression in the data	Tokens	Dictionary form	Hyperbolic meaning	Location in dictionary	Source Page
1	1	hot seat	1	to be in the hot seat	have to take responsibility for important or difficult decisions and actions	Separate entry	OALD 755
2	2,42	dead	2	Dead	completely, exactly, very (inf)	Sense	OALD 390
3	5,7	off the hook	2	Get (sb) off the hook/let (sb) off the hook	to free yourself or sb else from a difficult situation or a punishment	IDM	OALD 749
4	6	losing sight of	1	Lose sight of sb/st	to stop considering st	IDM	OALD 1418
5	8	bombarded with	1	to bombard sb/st (with)	to attack sb with a lot of questions, criticism etc. or by giving them too much information	Sense	OALD 163
6	9	a bomb	1	Bomb	a lot of money (inf)	Sense	OALD 163
7	10	a double edge	1	double-edged	having two different parts of uses, often parts that contrast with each other	Separate Entry	OALD 457
8	11,37, 52	awful	3	Awful	used to emphasize sth, especially that there is a large amount or too much of sth	Sense	OALD 92
9	13	the flood gates open	1	open the flood gates	start st that will be difficult to stop (figurative)	Sense	OALD 593
10	14	like hot cakes	1	go/sell like hot cakes	To sell quickly or in great numbers	IDM	OALD 754
11	15	constantly	1	Constantly	all the time, repeatedly	Separate entry	OALD 326
12	16,23	hundred(s)	2	a hundred hundreds (of)	a large amount (usually informal)	Sense	OALD 761
13	19	in a terrible mess	1	Mess	a situation that is full of problems	Sense	OALD 961
14	21	make the leap	1	leap (noun)	a sudden large change	Sense	OALD 874
15	25	nerve wracking	1	nerve-(w)racking	Making you feel very nervous and worried	Separate entry	OALD 1022

16	26	join forces	1	join/combine forces (with sb)	To work together in order to achieve a shared aim	IDM	OALD 605
17	34	draconian measures	1	Draconian	extremely cruel and severe. From Draco, a legislator in Ancient Athens who gave severe punishments for crimes, especially the punishment of being killed	Separate entry	OALD 461
18	38	airy-fairy	1	airy-fairy	not clear or practical (informal, disapproving)	Separate entry	OALD 35
19	43	gone a bit round the houses	1	go all round the houses	do st or to ask a question in a very complicated way instead of in a simple, direct way	IDM	OALD 756
20	44	ripping the piss out of sb.	1	to take the piss out of sb/st.	to make fun of sb, especially by copying them or laughing at them for reasons they do not understand (inf)	IDM	OALD 1145
21	45	different ball game	1	a (whole) different/new ball game	a completely different kind of situation (inf)	IDM	OALD 104
22	48	pearls	1	Pearl	a thing that is very highly valued	Sense	OALD 1115
23	49	flushed	1	flush	to remove, dispose of	Sense	OALD 596
24	51	at the end of the day	1	at the end of the day	used to introduce the most informal fact after everything has been considered	IDM	OALD 502
25	58	any axe to grind	1	have the axe to grind	to have private reasons for being involved in st or for arguing for a particular cause	IDM	OALD 92
26	59	beat with a stick	1	a rod/stick to beat sb with	a fact, an argument, etc. that is used in order to blame or punish sb	IDM	OALD 120
27	60	forced into a corner	1	to force sb into a corner	a difficult situation	Sense	OALD 341
28	61	jump through loops	1	jump through hoops	to do st difficult or complicated in order to achieve st	IDM	OALD 837
29	62	drive sb crackers	1	Crackers	crazy (inf)	Separate entry	OALD 356
30	65	no end	1	no end of	a lot of st (inf)	IDM	OALD

				sth			503
31	70	brain washed	1	brain wash	To force sb to accept your ideas or beliefs, for example by repeating the same thing many times or by preventing the person from thinking clearly	Separate entry	OALD 176
32	72	for the life of me	1	for the life of you	however hard you try	IDM	OALD 887
33	73	juggle	1	Juggle	to try to deal with two or more important jobs or activities at the same time [...]	Sense	OALD 836
34	75	no parents on my back	1	Be on sb's back	to keep asking or telling sb to do st that they do not want to do, in a way that they find annoying (inf)	IDM	OALD 95
35	78	eternal	1	Eternal	happening often and seeming never to stop	Sense	OALD 520
36	81	throw it out of the window altogether	1	go out (of) the window	to disappear completely	Separate entry	DI 423
37	81	all Jack the Lad	1	Jack the Lad	a young man who is very confident in a rude and noisy way, and enjoys going out with male friends, drinking alcohol and trying to attract women	Separate entry	OALD 826
38	82	fight	1	Fight	to try hard to stop, deal with or oppose sth bad	Sense	OALD 570
39	84	cloud cuckoo land	1	cloud cuckoo land	if sb is living in CCL, they do not understand what the situation is really like, but think the situation is much better than it is	Separate entry	OALD 281
40	85	wear two hats	1	to wear two hats	a position or role (inf)	Sense	OALD 712
41	87	turning the abortion argument on its head	1	to turn st on its head	to make people think in sth in a completely different way	IDM	OALD 717
42	55,88	thousand(s)	2	a thousand thousands (of)	a large number (usually inf)	Sense	OALD 1598
43	90	have a first	1	Shot	a remark	sense	OALD

		shot					1408
44	91	slippery slope	1	the/a slippery slope	a course of action that is difficult to stop once it has begun, and can lead to a serious problem or disaster	IDM	OALD 1439
45	92	strive and slave	1	Slave	to work very hard	Sense	OALD 1435
46	93	miracle	1	Miracle	a lucky thing that happens that you did not expect or think was possible	Sense	OALD 975
47	94	to death	1	to death	extremely, very much	IDM	OALD 392
48	97	saved my life	1	save sb's life	help sb a lot	Sense	OALD 1349
49	98	killed	1	Kill	To make sb/sth die (inf)	Sense	OALD 846
50	100	ironed out	1	iron st out	to get rid of any problems or difficulties that are affecting st	Sense	OALD 821
Total:			56				

Table 9: The list of conventional hyperbole in the Czech sample

#	Item # in the sample	Expression in the data	Tok ens	Dictionary form	Hyperbolic meaning	Location in dictionary	Source Page
1	1	to byla naše smrt	1	to bude moje/má smrt	to je nepříjemně namáhavé[...], to mě šokuje a deprimuje	saying	LEDA 4 826
2	4	ztratil řeč	1	ztratit řeč	(být velmi překvapený) zcela náhle zmlknout, přestat mluvit a nemocť pokračovat	IDM	LEDA 3 707
3	5, 97	vyrazil mu dech, vyrazilo dech	2	vyrazit někomu (něčím) dech	ohromit, krajně překvapit a zarazit někoho	IDM	LEDA 3 116
4	8,10	letím, letí	2	Letět	rychle běžet, utíkat, (expresivně)	sense	SSČ 163
5	9	bez života	1	bez života	bez známek	Sense	TEZ

					života, Synonym for <i>smrt</i>		198
6	17,18,1 9,27	zmrzneš, zmrzla, nezmrzla	4	Zmrznout	zuhnout mrazem	sense	SSČ 544
7	23	svítěj mu oči	1	svítit očima/voči ma	projevovat spokojenost n. radostný zájem	IDM	LEDA 3 509
8	24,41	sežerou, sežrat	2	Sežrat	zhrub.(o lidech) <i>sníst</i> , přeneseně, hovorově, expresivně <i>spotřebovat</i>	sense	SSČ 384
9	26	jsem na roztrhání	1	být/bejt na roztrhání	[...]momentálně přetížený požadavky, úkoly	IDM	R-Ž 35
10	28	proletěl	1	proletět, prolétnout	rychle projet, proběhnout	sense	SSČ 311
11	29	spim jak zabitej	1	spát jak zabitý	ležet nepohnutě a velmi tvrdě spát	simile	LEDA 1 401
12	32	byl podělanej strachy	1	bejt podělanej	[...]přehnaně a nemístně se (někoho, něčeho) bát	IDM	LEDA 3 567
13	33	furt	1	Furt	obecně česky (neu)stále, pořád	Separate entry	SSČ 86
14	34	do konce života [...] do smrti	1	(až) do smrti	Expresivní, kolokviální, důrazný	Separate entry	LEDA 2 325
15	36	Sázel	1	Sázet		Separate entry	SSČ 378
16	40	chcípnul	1	chcípat, chcípnout	zhrub.(o lidech) <i>umírat</i>	Separate entry	SSČ 107
17	44	mám plný zuby	1	mít něčeho/něk oho plné/plný zuby	[...]být něčím/někým už krajně znechucený	IDM	LEDA3 957
18	51	vobživne	1	obživnout, oživnout	Stát se živějším, rušnějším	sense	SSČ 257
19	56	až neuvěřitelný	1	neuvěřitelný	kterému nelze (pro mimořádnost) ani uvěřit	Separate entry	SSČ 220
20	57	nesnesitelná	1	nesnesitelný	kt. není možno snášet, snést	Separate entry	SSČ 218
21	58	mele	1	mele	hovor. být u	IDM	SSČ

		z posledních o		z posledních o	konce se silami		183
22	59	tyrana	1	Tyran	expresivně kdo někoho týrá, trýzní	Sense	SSČ 462
23	60	nehne prstem	1	nehnout (pro něco/někoh o) (ani)prstem	Vůbec pro někoho, něco nic neudělat	IDM	LEDA3 627
24	61	vylít	1	vyletět, vylétnout, hovor –lít-	expresivně prudce reagovat (i slovy)	Sense	SSČ 512
25	62	foukal jim na všechno	1	pofoukat někomu bolístku/beb íčko	utěšit, ukonejšit, politovat někoho a vrátit mu klid a sebedůvěru	IDM	A-P 59
26	66	necháš na sobě štípat polínka	1	Dát/nechat na sobě dříví štípat	Být dobromyslný,[...] dát se zneužívat	IDM	A-P 169
27	69	prd	1	Prd	nic	Sense	TEZ 25
28	70	nezahyneš	1	Zahynout	zemřít	Sense	SSČ 538
29	72	umírala	1	Umřít		Separate entry	SSČ 470
30	73	vod rána do večera v jednou kuse	1	od rána do večera; v jednom kuse	nepřetržitě celý den; trvale bez jakéhokoli přerušování a přestávky	IDM	LEDA 2 294 and LEDA 2 160
31	74	je jedno velký klíště	1	být jako klíště	[...]držet se těsně u někoho, hledat v něm oporu n. záštitu	simile	LEDA 1 155
32	76	poskakovat	1	poskočit, poskakovat	poskočit (si) radostí	Sense	SSČ 295
33	77	dostane pod kůži	1	dostat se někomu na/pod kůži		IDM	LEDA 3 333
34	79,93,1 00	milión	3	Milion	expresivně velké množství, velký počet	Sense	SSČ 179
35	80	přežijem	1	Přežít	Přečkat	Sense	SSČ 331
36	84	picnout	1	Já se picnu!	trápí n. irituje mě to [...] jsem tím znechucený	Sense	LEDA 4 675
37	85	mít	1	mít plno	mít spoustu věcí	IDM	LEDA

		hroznejch krámů		krámů	[...] starších a obvykle nepotřebných		3 311
38	86	vandrák	1	Vandrák	zprav.hanlivě <i>tulák</i>	Separate entry	SSČ 483
39	88	depresí	1	Deprese	sklíčenost, skleslost	Separate entry	SSČ 56
40	91	slepá	1	Slepý	neschopný vidět	Sense	SSČ 393
41	94	zazářili	1	vyniknout	synonym for <i>vyniknout</i>	Sense	TEZ 457
Total:			49				

Appendix B: sample for English (ENG)

doc.id	#	s	p	c	n	v	a	a	p	n	s	c	r	q	q	c	c	com	
		i	h	l	o	e	d	d	r	u	u	o	e	u	u	o	r	ment	
		n	r	a	a	r	j	v	o	m	p	m	p	a	a	n	e		
		g	a	s	s	b			n		r			n	n	v	a		
		e	s	a	a						e								
			l	l							r								
D95	1	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		Any more comments about the local government unit ? Chris is in the hot seat .
	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	I	these here foreign lavatories they 've got around the town , now I 'm dead against these for a number of reasons . . For a number of reasons .The first and foremost , [...]
	3	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		Though we 've got to pursue with leisure , well I think as part of this front line review we 've got to , you know , throw everything up in the air . Yeah .
	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		Right , time marches on we 've got five minutes before this meeting closes , so if you 've got another question ,
	5	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		, I 'll take one more question for Chris and then she ' s off the hook . Any more questions ?
	6	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		With still not losing sight of the idea of having a cafe , bar , coffee for people ,
	7	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		Right , am I let off the hook now ? Yeah , you' re off the hook . Thank you very much , thank you Chris . . I 'm sure the , I 'm sure
	8	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		sometimes you do have a sense of feeling quite bombarded with requests for work , but the main , I mean
	9	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		that is that a lot of the pamphlets that you are handed out here , generate from 's office , copying and things like that , all very helpful , which would cost us a bomb outside , and we get them free , so you know ,
	10	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		That 's right . I agree . As a way of income generating . Do n't know , it 's dodgy that . But eh . It 's a double edge . . You do n't want to give people who are using the service as well . Because it also brings us in money . Er , I think that 's very dodgy .
	11	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	I	twelve year olds to thirteen year old and what not . But I mean they are there to provide advice and we do get an awful lot of case work . Mm .
	12	0	0	1	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	ECF	We 've all been young . I mean that 's what we 're doing on the Council for , but . We 've been there .We 've, we 've all been tearaways . But, if I can . Ssh. If I can I 'll be .Quite please .
	13	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		saying that any time you ask someone to sign [a petition] the flood gates open with what they thought about the position of pensioners , in fact we 've probably got a lot more

	31	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	I	Anne has said that , that giving them th th the grizzliest facts doesn't really impress them .
	32	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	ECF	As far as the children are concerned, I would say that children, always break the rules ! If it's there. If there's a tree they will climb it, forbidden fruits always taste the sweetest .
	33	0	0	1	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		As far as the children are concerned, I would say that children , always break the rules ! If it's there. If there's a tree they will climb it , forbidden fruits always taste the sweetest .
	34	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	I	I don't think anyone here has suggested the, the draconian measures which you stand to But that's what 's happening !
	35	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		Yes ? I feel you can't smoke because you 're gonna blow up beds in my hospital ward . Mm mm . Right !
	36	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		And amongst this hundred, forty nine say yes , fifty one have never touched the evil or the enjoyable weed depending on your viewpoint .
F7F	37	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	I	But the big problem at present is that that form tutors get loads of information sent to them and then they have to summarise it , and an awful lot of what has been done by the subjects It's wasted,
	38	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		Because I think it gives us er it's got a lot of common things in, it gives us a baseline to work on Mhm . as opposed to be airy-fairy !
	39	0	0	1	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		which is gon na be the first thing need have anything to do with the child at all there is ample place Oh if you think within Shoot that man! Jesus Christ! Well in the sense that they 've been involved in it .
	40	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		Alan, I 'm sorry if I 'm sort of trying to put you at the end and continue and I I don't intend it like that . I don't mind
	41	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	Cul	Everybody accepts there should be a staff comment on . Er , okay and it's solid ! Fair enough
	42	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	I	get dead clear about what it is we 're go actually gonna vote on Right. because it's we 've gone a bi On the a bit round the houses .
	43	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		get dead clear about what it is we 're go actually gonna vote on Right. because it's we 've gone a bi On the a bit round the houses .
	44	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	Ref	Perhaps it was , in fact , one or two of them said , you know we like ripping the piss out of Mr ! I think you 've also got ta look at it from the kid 's point of view
	45	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		It's not a process wi , that's not a valid comparison in the sense that in No ? fifth , in fifth year and year eleven it's a different ball game altogether .
	46	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		That's what But I have to put back to you that the onus then falls on you and head's of departments to ensure that that space is used properly .
	47	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	ECF	I don't have to look too far back in there when we started this whole process , four or five years of throwing it all up in the air to say that I felt every pupil could comment in some way , something that they had enjoyed

48	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	I	Yes , if we did n't have pupil comment we would miss some <u>absolute pearls</u> like Mr is a lying git ! And , you know only I couldn't live without that ! What was that word ? Git ! You 've convinced me Andrew !
49	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		I I I think we've I think we 've covered that . Right . I think we've flushed that one haven't we ? Well I think so Well there you are ! I mean I don't know how you It's hard work this isn't it ? I need some tea!
50	0	0	1	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	ECF	Anyone need a cup of tea I I think on the ! It's only half past two ! We 've only been here three quarters of an hour ! Well we 've got ten pages to do , we 're only half way through the first page man !
51	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0		because at the end of the day it's it's very important that it reflects the way we work in school , not the way I perceive I we work in in school because you 're the people at the chalk first .
52	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	I	There's an awful lot of information that I 've put in there which I 've photocopied and much reduced from the official documents
53	0	0	1	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1		the official documents Mm . which gives a great deal more information about the attainment targets than the er , two or three words But ha they have got headings though have n't they ? Yeah they have . I could have put the headings on as you have Mhm. and to take the whole bloody lot out ! Ha ! Right Oh !
54	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	EFC	you you , absolutely , we 'd go on forever and ever and ever and er , therefore , I I , I withdraw all of that stuff
55	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	I	Yes , but it will be it will be this bit of it that you know , the bit that comes Right . from the from the boards that we 'll get , cos there 'll be thousands and thousands of <u>bloody</u> numbers ! Oh ! That , that you 're gonna send out to parents	
56	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0			there will be several formats that we can agree on at a later date . Nice and big . wallpaper Paul ? Yep . Lovely jubbly ! Thank you very much , we 've knocked that on the head.
57	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1			I disagree , I think I would still like to put Yep . spelling grammar punctuation Yeah but whatever. but these Is that not all part of literacy ? Yeah . If , you see if you put down literacy the the whole show 's in there
58	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0			I mean , a you sit outside it I medium of learning ! any axe to grind? , it's not English subject area I 'm talking about .
59	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	Ref		I also think we 're being beaten with a with a with a stick here for three R's er ,
60	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0			if we 're forced into the corner of having to use an ignorant white hall idiots er Inadequately educated . inadequately educated persons er , view of what it is to be well educated
61	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	Ref		everybody that's going to read it may not understand the intricacies of it all as professionals we 're giving more than a passing nod , so that was something else , er er and something more involved than English teacher than making them jump through

	75	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	Ref	I've got another couple of years and then I'll be able to do what I like , when I like , with no parents on my back !
	76	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	Erm , women don't just want to write about knitting, erm baking which Yeah . one journalist , one famous Scottish journalist told me when I wo , when I , when I had ambitions to be a journalists ,
	77	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	I don't think I've ever come up against sexism , except from in the classroom when the teacher to , the economics teacher tries to wind us up by saying women would should be chained to the kitchen sink !	
	78	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	Erm , my mother calls me the eternal student because I tell her that there's absolutely no way I 'm gonna look for full time employment !
	79	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	somebody famous once said erm , I 'm called a feminist because I say things that is , to distinguish myself from a doormat .	
	80	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	I think it [feminism] is as much that the word is a philosophy , but I don't think we should throw it out of the window altogether , like I say , it's a foundation , it's our our foundation stone .	
	81	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	ECF	I mean , you still the situation of a Friday when men go down to the pub and you know they 're all Jack the Lad!
	82	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	And job situation maybe is that , but I think we should stay here and fight , and demand that we have the industries up here so that people from Scotland can stay and better , better theirselves here rather than move away .	
FLH	83	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	I	I think you 've got to be realistic about this whole issue , that er , obviously seeing the poor furry little bunny suffering for cosmetics ! Mhm . Yes ! I agree , that is wrong ! But , if a test on a chimpanzee would save my child 's life I 'm afraid I 'd go for the test on the chimpanzee
	84	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	So do you think people who would like to ban the use of animals in research are in, are in cloud cuckoo land do you ?	
	85	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	I hunt regularly Mhm . because I breed racehorses , I also am a farmer so I wear two hats	
	86	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	only twenty one are vegetarians and seventy nine people love animals but they also enjoy chewing on them from time to time .	
FLG	87	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	You know , you 're sort of turning the abortion argument on it 's head , that er in an abortion you can say it's my body , I have a right to decide	
	88	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	D	Adoption was out of the question in this country I think in Grampian region there was four babies for Mm. adoption , and <u>possibly</u> a thousand people wanting those four babies !
	89	0	0	1	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	ECF	Now , my view is it's <u>entirely</u> wrong it's cheating , it's doing everything wrong ! Nature intended us to be as we are , and we should n't tamper with reproduction .
	90	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	Jennifer , you raised the question , so you can have first shot I 'd like to but I 'd like to	

																			hear other views on this as well .
	91	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		enough discussion and consideration of what will happen . Now, I don't subscribe to the slippery slope view Mhm . that you know what , we 're go going to be overwhelmed by these erm changes in , in technology
D91	92	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	I	But they do come back loads of them and we send them off everywhere into dance into acting into trade shows we 've got a terrific act on here all you people who strive and slave towards making this playhouse work we 're a bloody miracle .
	93	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		[...] we've got a terrific act on here all you people who strive and slave towards making this playhouse work we 're a bloody miracle .
	94	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1		Listening to all this tonight reading that article in The Star which I personally disliked intensely Here here I want to say the thing that's happening at the moment in my difficult life that I 'd hold onto like a drowning man with a log .
	95	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		But don't lets knock it to death don't lets kick it this place saved my life I almost killed myself trying to fulfil those that we 've been talking about .
	96	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		But don't lets knock it to death don't lets kick it this place saved my life I almost killed myself trying to fulfil those that we 've been talking about .
	97	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		But don't lets knock it to death don't lets kick it this place saved my life I almost killed myself trying to fulfil those that we've been talking about .
	98	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	D	But don't lets knock it to death don't lets kick it this place saved my life I <u>almost</u> killed myself trying to fulfil those that we 've been talking about .
	99	0	0	1	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1		I've done over fifty of them [shows] I ' m still standing up just about.
	100	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		it can be ironed out because running a theatre is to do with team spirit and that team spirit get 's conveyed to the public .
Total		4	4	1	9	1	9	5	3	5	4	5	3	4	5	5	2		
		2	3	5		2								1	9	6	8		

04A044N	40	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		já nechápu, jak tam můžeš žít, nahoře, Já bych tam chcípnu .no to víš, tak jsem zvyklej, no.
05A005N	41	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		to jednou řekneš, že je frigida a vona ti to dává taklhe sežrat , jo?
05A009N	42	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	ECF	jenže ty seš ohnivá, ty se postavíš z očí do očí a a seš schopná rozdrtit, rozmlátit všechno .
	43	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	ECF	to mám vyzkoušený na sobě, to mám vyzkoušený. To funguje tohleto, to funguje všude na každým .hmm asi jo.to je normální. určitě.
	44	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		jenom to prostě navazuje na to, co jsme se bavili předtím, že někdy prostě toho mám plný zuby .
	45	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	Cul	to já tam nechci postavit výstavní sídlo, jako staví Pěťa. Jo.to je Konopiště . To já nechci stavět. Já chci postavit normální chaloupku.
	46	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		Pájo, já ti to řeknu jinak. Já musím nějak onanovat v tomhleto směru.protože musíš mít nějak...ty to řekneš dycky tak trefně, hezky...musíš mít nějaký cíl, ke kterému se upneš....
	47	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1		zčerná to, fakt? No samozřejmě to zčerná ten lak, kterej na tom je, ten zčerná. To bys musela brousit a znovu a znovu, znovu to to natírat, no jo.
	48	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		ale jako já si teď ka říkám, jestli tead máme po ní chtít víc, víš? Jestli máme po ní chtít víc?určitě. To já třeba po ní šlápu , jo?
	49	0	0	1	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1		tak vidíš, že něco dělá. Dělá. já neříkám, že ne.já neříkám, že ne. Pozor, já neříkám, že ne.
	50	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0		ty jo, si dám no, ale vopiju se a...no, tak co? Vopiju se jednou za sto let .hmm
	51	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		že prostě já jako vočekávám, že teda, že když se vidíme a nějak,...že vobživne....že vobživne a že trošku, a vono ne
	52	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	ECF	já fakt nevím, ja už prostě, když jsem viděla čtyři a půl, tak já už sem začala věřit všemu , jo---
	53	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		vona teďka pocítila ten handicap velikej, jo, protože vona když tam vidí, kdo má školu, a že jí nečuchne ani k prdeli , jak se říká, protože vona ty zkušenosti má životní
	54	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		já jsem se jí dovolala asi po pěti dnech a ségra byla úplně na kaši sa říkala, že prostě jí to všechno sere a že vůbec nemá náladu do ničeho.
	55	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	ECF	že vůbec nemá náladu do ničeho a že prostě eee by, by se šla zahrabat nejradši do,...hmm...postele a nevylezla by nebo něco v tom smyslu.
	56	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	I	vona vo tobě mluví velice dobře a s takovou láskou, jo, to je až neuvěřitelný, až neuvěřitelný, až neuvěřitelný , já nevím.
	57	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	I	hmm...protože byla úplně nesnesitelná , protože se zaprví rozešla s tím přítelem...a to se nediv, no.
	58	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		a vyhoví si třeba i na úkor nějaký radosti, kterou by moh prožít...hmm...ale cejtí, že prostě mele z posledního , tak si to

	59	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		teď sem zrovna, pro tyrana tam mám napsáno. Ježíš kde? No na toms mě napsala, pro tyrana. Kde sem ti to napsala?
	60	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		tak to těžce nesla a nesla to tak těžce, že se na vás naprdla, že prostě pro vás nehne prstem . Aha.
	61	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		taky sem se k němu vždycky úplně košér nechovalm jako nejlíp, jo. Taky sem na něj někdy vylít , byl sem takovej nedůtklivej.
	62	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	PR	rodič je vod toho, aby těm dětem vycházel v ústrety. To není, že jim bude ustupovat a mazat, foukal jim na všechno , ale vycházel v ústrety
	63	0	0	1	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		je strašně důležitý, aby to dítě vědělo, že tady má někoho, že když mu takhle bude koukat malíček, že ho za něj chytíš a nenecháš ho potopit .
	64	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		Jiřo, vždyť to je tvoje chyba, to je tvoje chyba, že tý Zuzance požádá utíráš ten zadek , proč to děláš
	65	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		voni berou tu babičku jako samozřejmost...bohužel...i v těch dvaasedmdesáti letech...bohužel. Oni jí tam hoděj dítě a vykašlou se na <u>všechno</u> , rozumíš jo,
	66	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		musíš znát svojí cenu. Jakmile nacháš na sobě štípat polínka ten člověk si tě pak neváží, ten člověk...
	67	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1		když mi zavolá v půl třetí ráno , brácha já potřebuju, vůbec se nerozmyslím
	68	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		<u>vůbec</u> se nerozmejšlim, skáču do kalhot a jedu, rozumíš mi.hmm
05A017N	69	1	0	0	1	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		já jsem byl jenom tady v Holešovicích. No, tam prd maj. Ale ne, to já jsem nemyslel, že by to tam měli papírově
	70	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		takže jako...človičku, človičku, doufám, že to, že mi tady nezahyneš , než se vrátím z domova.opustíš-li mne nezahynu. Opustíš-li mne zahyneš
	71	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	vyžaduju (smích), vyžaduju pravidelnou informaci o tvém zdravotním a psychickém...ano, že nebudu zvracet,...stavu...tak ti napíšu.hmm.
	72	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		pokud máš pocit, že bys tady beze mě umírala ...to právě nemám.jenom abys mě jako veselil.
	73	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		když člověk jako nemá dobrou náladu, tak se mu vůbec nechce někam jako poskočit si nebo se rozeběhnout. Spíš je takovej staženej, že jo. Jenom by vobčas se najed nebo jed vod rána do večera v jenom kuse , to už je jedno
	74	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		kontakt s těma nejbižšíma je strašně důležitěj...třeba máma...no...máma je jedno velký klíště . Ta se na mě...
	75	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		...ta se na mě přisaje a už saje a už to jede, jo, to jede a já...v jakym smyslu, jako tu energii saje nebo...ne, ten kontakt, že má se mnou.jojojo. Kontakt, že mě cejtí.
	76	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		a vona se raduje, vona začne poskakovat , já to mam radost, povedlo se mi to a to. No, takže já to chápu...
05A022N	77	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		kdyby to bylo po roce, tak už jsme spolu nebyli, po těch devetadvaceti letech prostě to je, to se ti dostane pod kůži .
	78	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		já to chápu samozřejmě, že člověk jako mladej člověk má dobrý nálady a špatný

																			nálady. má slunečnej den v duši a méně slunečnej.
02A014N	79	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	tak ty už máš prázdniny? No, takový relativní.no, ještě musím napsat asi milión písemnej prací a tak.
	80	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		tak na tvý zdraví brzo.ano a na tvý taky.no ano. A ať to pře přežijem .tak, správně.
	81	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	ECF	to tajdleta tam neměli, co já jsem chtěla koupit, ---koupila tohleto. No a tak mi taky doporučili, a tak jsem si říkala:"no, tak je třeba vyzkoušet všechno ."
	82	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Cul	taky si to snědla. no, snědla, ale horko těžko teda. Musela jsem trochu dojíždět. no eště že sem tak vyhladovělá z tý Prahy. (smích)
	83	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1		a na dalším vařícím talíři úplně jako horký, že se to jako škvíří, je prostě v takový dobrý vomáčeče kuřecí maso, takovym žlutým jako počmáraný.jako sýrem ňákym.
	84	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		no a tamten si myslel, nic se neděje, vodešel vod toho, to já bych se <u>musela</u> picnout teda. ten, co vodešel. to je, to je strašná zodpovědnost, že jo.
	85	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	I	rozhodně, no, no jo, tak my sme ji tam chtěli vodvíst. No jo, já budu mít hroznejch krámů . No jo, to je pravda.
	86	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0		a kabát potřebuješ novej.ně dyť je dobrej. dyť je hroznej.seš v tom jak vandrák . To já vždycky.
	87	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	ECF	ten je můj, tak bude tvůj. Já už nebudu nic potřebovat. Maminko! (smích). Tepláky akorát (smích)vod Vietnamců. Tepláky a bačkory.
	88	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0		no a eště nás sestěhovali do těch nejhorších pokojů, aby ty lepší mohli dávat turistům. Takže my sme tam dva dny seděli se <u>strašnou</u> deprezí .
	89	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1		ježiš. na tý posteli se nedá spát, to je prkno . A nechčeš si tam vzít molitan?
	90	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	ECF	tak si hoi tam vem prosim tě. To je povlíknotej takovej molitan. My se dycky ráno potkáváme na chotbě všichni shrbený (smích).to je straš*...
	91	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0		ale von je NP podobnej.aspoň tady, no já nemám brejle, ale sem slepá . No tydlety všechny znám.
	92	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1		tady sem jede ráda. To vona taky, to víš, to je flákando grando , vid' a a ---
07B002N	93	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0		eště nějaký nádobí.ale to asi nepotřebujemena co nádobí, toho tam máme všeho milion . To nový jak jsme dostali. Jaký?
	94	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		víš co třeba když tam přijede nějaká návštěva, tak abychom jako zazářili . Zazářili .Frajeři tady vytáhnou polivkovou mísu.s žirafama. Hmm.
	95	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	I	uvidíme, no,jako pokud tam bude nějaká zábava výjimečně extrémní , tak tam můžeme i zůstat, ale pokud tam bude spruzenej NN...
	96	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		jak dělá toho hasiče, tak je asi celkem ve vatě , tak jako nemusí nějak přemejšlet, jestli mu ty peníze vrátí, nebo ne.
	97	0	1	0	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		to v životě už pro ní nic neudělám, když se takhle chová.to mi docela vyrazilo dech .
	98	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1		s Nj bych asi nešel do společnosti, bych se styděl. Ten schizofrenik , ten je tady s váma? Ano, ten je tady se mnou.
	99	0	0	1	/	/	/	/	/	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Cul	ale už bych asi neměl jíst dneska. To je fakt hrozný. Dyť celej tejdén nejíme , tak si

																				to můžem dovolit.
	100	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0			siestu nebo takovou tu velkou...mňam...a eš*eště milion věcí jsem sněd. No, já taky,
Total		5	3		2					8	8	1	2	3	4	5	4	2		
		5	7	8	8	9	5	1	8	8	1	2	3	9	1	9	6			