

A Pragmatic Analysis of *Maccaa* Oromo Marriage Proverbs: Horro
Guduru in Focus

By
Tajuddin Hashim

Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts in Socio-cultural Linguistics

Department of English Language and Literature
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DECLARATION, CONFIRMATION, APPROVAL AND EVALUATION

Research Title: A Pragmatic Analysis of *Maccaa* Oromo Marriage Proverbs: Horro Guduru in Focus

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, and that all the sources used for it are duly acknowledged.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Student	Signature	Date

Confirmation and Approval

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as thesis advisors.

Name of Principal Advisor	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____

Name of Co-advisor	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____

Thesis Evaluators:

_____	_____	_____
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_____	_____	_____

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_____	_____	_____
Name of Chairperson	Signature	Date

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GLOSSARY

Afaan Oromo terms	Meanings
<i>Abbaa Malkaa</i>	the father of well / water
<i>Buttaa/ jila</i>	a feast on every eight year of Gadaa presidential election
<i>Coqorsa</i>	a quitch grass standing for fertility, peace, stability, and historical continuity
<i>Gadaa</i>	an Oromo socio-political organization
<i>Harbuu</i>	a tree which is used to cover barely to germinate and symbolizes s reproduction
<i>Hiroo</i>	songs of lamentation by males
<i>Ininayyoo</i>	songs of lamentation by females
<i>Mararoo</i>	lamentation (a wedding song)
<i>Milkii</i>	omens
<i>Odaa</i>	a sycamore which is symbolized as a sacred tree
<i>Qaalluu</i>	a person on which spirit (ayyaana) descends on him or her
<i>Salgee</i>	qaalluu judges/qaalluu court, assembly of nine individuals
<i>Seera aada</i>	customary law
<i>Seera Waaqa</i>	the law of God
<i>Ulmaayii</i>	a tree that has a cultural value of representing a nice odor.
<i>Waaqa</i>	God
<i>Waaqeffannaa</i>	a belief in Waaqa
<i>Wareega</i>	solemn promise made to god/spirit, vow

KEY TO AFAAN OROMO PRONUNCIATION

Vowel graphemes	Vowel phonemes	examples	Gloss
a – short	/a/	lafa /lafɑ/	‘land’
aa – long	/aː/	laafaa /laːfaː/	‘soft’
e – short	/e/	eda /eda/	‘last night’
ee – long	/eː/	eelee /eːleː/	‘oven’
i – short	/i/	ilma /ilma/	‘son’
ii – long	/iː/	loomii /loːmiː/	‘lemon’
o – short	/o/	lola /lola/	‘fight’
oo – long	/oː/	lootuu /loːtuː/	‘lizard’
u – short	/u/	qullubbii /kʷullubbiː/	‘garlic’
uu – long	/uː/	lubbuu /lubbuː/	‘soul’

Consonant graphemes	Consonant phonemes	examples	Gloss	examples	Gloss
c	/tʃ/	caama/tʃaːma/	‘dry’	cabbii /tʃabbiː/	‘ice’
q	/kʷ/	qola /kʷola/	‘bark’	qufaa /kʷufaː/	‘cough’
x	/tʰ/	xiiqii /tʰiːkʰiː/	‘revenge’	xuruursuu /tʰuruːrsuː/	‘drip’
ph	/pʰ/	quruphee /kʷurupʰeː/	‘duiker’	hirpha /hirpʰa/	‘donation’
ch	/tʃ/	garaacha /garaːtʃa/	‘stomach’	gammachuu /gammattʃuː/	‘happy’
dh	/dʰ/	dhiiguu/ dʰiːguː/	‘bleed’	dhungoo /dʰungoː/	‘kiss’
ny	/ɲ/	nyaata/ ɲaːta/	‘food’	sanyii /sɒɲiː/	‘seed’
sh	/ʃ/	shan /ʃan/	‘five’	shaambooo /ʃaːmboː/	‘gourd’

Note that in this thesis, the *Afaan Oromo* vowel lengthening and consonant gemination are orthographically represent by doubling the vowel as in *laafaa*, ‘soft’ and by doubling of the consonants as in *cabbii* ‘ice’. In addition to *Afaan Oromo* graphemes (*Qubee*), words are also transcribed phonetically on the basis of International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to help the non-native speakers to read the *Afaan Oromo* versions of the text.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study is to analyze the pragmatic aspects of *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs using Searle's speech act theory in which speakers' intention is the core. This study employed a descriptive qualitative method in which the proverbs data were collected through interviews and observation. Twenty five proverbs were systematically identified and translated from *Afaan* Oromo to English language using a communicative translation approach. The analysis of the twenty five proverbs was based on eight contextualized themes: basic faith, omens, upbringing, morals or ethics, caution/advise, wisdom/foolishness, kinship and status. The study attempted to identify the types of the illocutionary acts, the illocutionary forces and the perlocutionary effects of the proverbs on the hearer in their real contexts. The study reveals that *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs are a combination of direct and indirect illocutionary acts which are mainly assertive illocutionary forces that are direct illocutionary acts and most of them are directive illocutionary forces that are indirect illocutionary acts. The study also shows that perlocutionary acts in the proverbs can be categorized into two: the psychological consequence (of persuading, invoking, convincing, frightening, bad omens, inspiring, good omens, humiliating, and pleasing,) and getting the hearer to do or realize something such as considering, reminding, causing, and character assessment. The study concluded that there are five types of illocutionary acts performed in *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs, namely, assertive, directive, commissive, expressive and declaration. Moreover, the study concluded that there are many illocutionary forces accomplished in *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs such as asserting, informing, criticizing, advising, warning, hoping, approving, confirming, praising, regretting, counseling, validating and complimenting. Furthermore, this study also concluded that there are two kinds of perlocutionary effects that *Macccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs can produce on the hearer. Finally, the results of this study would initiate researchers to conduct further applications of pragmatic speech act theories on Oromo proverbs like politeness strategies. The proverbs could also be studied from psychological, philosophical, sociological and anthropological perspectives to document the indigenous knowledge of the speech community related to *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to analyze the pragmatic aspects of *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru marriage proverbs. This introductory chapter comprises background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, limitation of the study, and the socio-cultural background of Horro Guduru Oromo. The chapter describes the study area, religious beliefs and the *Gadaa* System, the oral traditions, major heritage sites, and customary marriage system of the people. The chapter also presents the ethical consideration and organization of the study.

1.1. Background of the Study

Folklore reflects the society's norms, values, culture, and traditions which are fully expressed through language. It serves to communicate ideas, emotions, beliefs and appreciation of people's ways of life. Okepwho (1992) asserts that folklore is the tradition, customs, and beliefs of a society that have been transmitted from generation to generation orally. Dorson (1972) defines folklore by classifying it into four: verbal art (oral literature) that includes riddles, proverbs, folktales, etc; material culture which are traditional materials used by a society; folk arts such as drama, song and dance; and social folk customs which include the society's traditional belief, dressing style, and other ways of life. Folklore also reflects the attitudes, beliefs, modes of thinking and socio-cultural life of the people in the past as well as in the present times (Finnegan, 1970). Hence, folklore plays a crucial role in the ways in which proverbs are seen in the communicative functions of the society.

Proverbs like other folkloric forms are part of the society's verbal art (Dorson, 1972). They are used as a keeper and a carrier of a society's philosophy and its beginning (Mieder, 2004). This implies that proverbs have been used as a circulator of traditional wisdom, knowledge, and truths of the society. They summarize the society's experiences and observations into wisdom and effective in exercising social control. Proverbs are also appropriate criteria for assessing the nature and quality of good norms and behavior of others since they reflect the morals or ethics of the society. They are used to show respect of those who obey the accepted ethics and to criticize or warn those which are unnatural

(Bascom, 1965). Proverbs cherish the society's traditions, their cultural legacy, their wisdom and their ethics.

Finnegan (1976) asserts that proverbs occupy a valuable position in the culture of Africa societies as a means of interpreting and understanding social events. They are mirrors of a society's culture. Sumner (1995) also concludes that Oromo proverbs serve different functions: cognitive, expressive, educative, disruptive and cultural functions. They are vehicles of the society's culture in that they express truths, social norms, or moral concerns. Moreover, Eshete (2008) avers that the Oromo of the Gadaa period views proverbs as their cultural legacy that enables the society to gain their enjoyment in life. Thus, Oromo proverbs are bearers of the traditional wisdom and cultural artifacts of the society. This implies that Oromo people see their culture in proverbs. Hence, Oromo society pays great attention to proverbs in their speech. For instance, Oromo elders often begin and end their speech with proverbs so as to drive their messages home. The Oromo see proverbs in speech as, 'A speech without a proverb is like a stew without salt'. Sumner (1995) asserts that proverbs are depository of wisdom for Oromo.

Proverbs convey a wide variety of pragmatic functions, or speech acts such as to doubt, to promise, to warn, to give advice, to criticize, to threaten, to request, to admonish and many other communicative functions in different contexts. In communication, a context is important because it helps the hearer to understand the speaker's attention. Leech (1983) claims that context has a great influence and also effect in understanding the meaning of an utterance. Through the context, the speaker and the addressee share their background in understanding the utterances. Without context, the hearer will find difficulty of interpreting the meaning of the speaker's utterance. When there is no context, the communication between the speaker and the hearer will fail.

Oromo proverbs have been studied by various scholars from various perspectives, although, the concern of this study is on pragmatic oriented studies. In all cases, almost the study show that many researchers work with the collections and translations of the proverbs, explanations of their meanings at surface level, categorizations of the meanings of proverbs into themes, or generalized semantic category, descriptions of their functions in contexts from folkloristic perspective. For instance, Cerulli (1922) collected and documented oral songs, proverbs, and narratives from the *Maccaa* Oromo in the source language with their translations in English. Sumner (1995) dealt with the collection and philosophical

analysis of Oromo proverbs. Cotter (1996) compiled the proverbs and sayings of the Oromo people in Ethiopia. Rikitu (1992) worked on the collection and analysis of Oromo proverbs and sayings.

Therefore, *Maccaa* Oromo proverbs have pragmatic aspects which are worth of considerations. The pragmatic aspects which integrate in the verbal art of the *Maccaa* Oromo proverbs have not received enough attention so far. This study made an attempt to analyze the pragmatic aspects by taking of *Maccaa* Oromo proverbs. Specifically, the illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts that exhibit in the proverbs have gained no attention so far. Proverbs perform speech acts that value a pragmatic analysis, but there were no works that examined the pragmatic features found in them. This study, then, attempts to fill this knowledge gap in conducting a pragmatic analysis of *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru-Oromo marriage proverbs focusing particularly on the illocutionary acts, illocutionary forces and perlocutionary acts that are realized in these proverbs.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Proverbs are tools of communication in Oromo's day-to-day socio-cultural expressions in various speech occasions. Proverbs are the wisdom of Oromo (Sumner, 1995). This implies that in Oromo culture, proverbs are considered to be the representation of the society's collective wisdom. Proverbs have been taken as the living verbal document of Oromo (Eshete, 2008).

Many studies have been carried out on Oromo proverbs. To illustrate a few, Cotter (1996) and Rikitu (1992) have focused on the collections and translations of the Oromo proverbs. Besides, Sumner (1995) deals with the collection and philosophical analysis of Oromo proverbs. Moreover, Jeylan (2004) and Sena (2008) have studied how women are portrayed in Oromo folk-proverbs and analyzed the position of women in the traditional Oromo cultural practices from a gender point of view. Tadese (2004) studied the functional analysis of some Guji-Oromo proverbs. To understand the functions of Guji-Oromo proverbs, he examined proverbs in the socio-cultural contexts of *Ebbisaa* and *Gumi Ganda* into consideration. To the best of the current researcher's knowledge, the previous studies on Oromo proverbs haven't studied Oromo proverbs in its socio-cultural contexts to analyze the speech acts of the proverbs through a pragmatic theory. Hence, the present researcher carries out a pragmatic analysis of Horro Guduru-Oromo marriage proverbs. The researcher regards the use of contexts focusing on social events related to Oromo traditional marriage system. To study the pragmatic aspects, the socio-cultural

contexts in which the Horro Guduru Oromo uses the proverbs are so crucial. Therefore, this study seeks to fill this knowledge gap by collecting some of *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru- marriage proverbs and analyzing its pragmatic aspects that are exhibited in the proverbs like the types of illocutionary acts, the illocutionary forces and perlocutionary acts of these proverbs.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to analyze the pragmatic aspects of *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs with a particular focus on Horro Guduru Oromo society.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives to be achieved in this research are the following:

- Identifying the types of illocutionary acts found in the proverbs;
- Describing the illocutionary forces found in the proverbs and
- Finding out the perlocutionary effects of using the proverbs.

1.4. Research Questions

Specifically, this study addresses the following questions:

- What types of illocutionary acts are found in the proverbs?
- What are the illocutionary forces found in the proverbs?
- What are the perlocutionary effects of using the proverbs?

1.5. Significance of the Study

The results of the research are expected to add knowledge on the pragmatic features of *Maccaa* Oromo proverbs. This study also contributes its part in collecting, analyzing and documenting the proverbs. Moreover, the study provides other researchers and students of linguistics with current information about the pragmatic features of the proverbs. Furthermore, it is the belief of the researcher that such a study widens the scope of Oromo linguistics in African linguistics.

1.6. Scope of the Study

A pragmatic analysis of *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs with reference to Horro Guduru Oromo was the main focus of the study. The study was delimited geographically and conceptually. It was delimited geographically to two districts of Horro Guduru zone, namely *Horro* and *Horro Bulluq*. It would be impractical to go round all the zones where the *Maccaa* Oromo live in the time and with the budget allocated for carrying out this study. It was also delimited conceptually to collect Oromo marriage proverbs, and then restricted only to identify the types of illocutionary acts, to describe the illocutionary forces and find out the perlocutionary effects of using Oromo proverbs.

1.7. Limitation of the Study

The researcher met different problems in the course of the study. First, it was impossible to take ample time to repeatedly contact the elders in remote areas from the districts. These community members were not free to give necessary information for the researcher because of election in the country. Proverbs are performed at every ritual of marriage in Oromo culture, but the data used in this thesis does not address all as it is picked from only some of the occasions. Hence, part of the limitation for this study emits from this restriction of the scope. Time constraints were also a major problem the researcher faced.

1.8 Socio-Cultural Background of the Horro Guduru Oromo

Folkloric forms of the society such as folktales, proverbs, riddles, etc, emerge from the socio-cultural settings of the society's life. Folklore reflects the socio-cultural realities of the society's life at different times (Finnegan, 1970). In order to better comprehend proverbs, it is vital to have the knowledge of the socio-cultural settings of the Horro Guduru Oromo (the owner of the folklore, proverbs in focus). As knowledge of the socio-cultural realities of the society is supposed to promote the power of comprehending their proverbs, it is important to present the socio-cultural milieu of Horro Guduru-Oromo people. Therefore, to attain such a goal, the description of the study area and people, the religious beliefs and the *Gadaa* System, the traditional ways of life, the oral traditions, major heritage sites of the zone and the customary marriage system are discussed.

1.8.1. Description of the Study Area and the Society

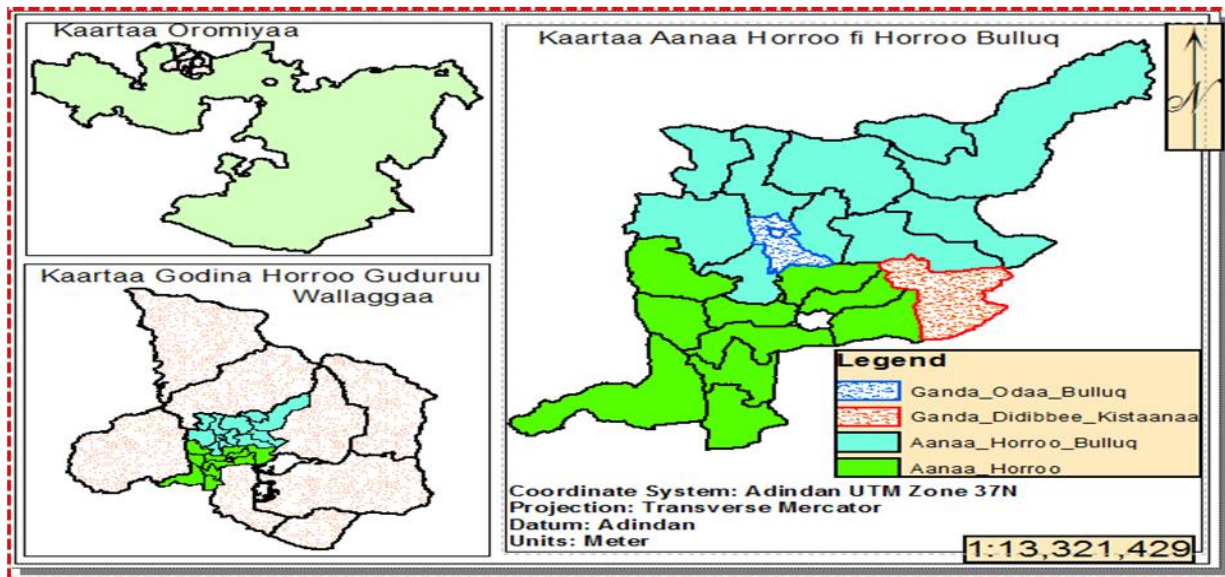
Oromo is the largest ethnic group in the Horn of Africa (Mohammed, 1990). They speak Afaan Oromo language which belongs to the East lowland Cushitic sub-family (Bender 1976; Tesema, 2006). They are one of the vastest nations in Africa which enjoys a homogenous culture and shares a common language, history and descent and once shared common political, religious and legal system called *Gadaa* system (Gada, 1988). The Oromo are divided into *Borana* and *Barentu* confederacies. The former includes the Sabbo and the Gona, the *Maccaa* and *Tuulama*, the *Rayya* and *Asaboo*, and the later includes the *Siko* and the *Mando* and the *Ittu* and *Humbana*. The *Maccaa* and *Tuulama* had one *Gadaa* center at *Oda Nabe* in *Duukam* and share a common *Caffee* and common laws (Mohammed, 1990). With further advancement, *Maccaa* Oromo eventually separated from *Tuulama* and set up their center at the hill of *Tute Bisil Osole*, known as *Oda Bisil* (Tesema, 2006). The separation of *Maccaa* from *Tuulama* had actually started with the formation of two confederations: the *Afre* (*Horro*, *Guduru*, *Liban* and *Caliya*) and the *Sadacha* (*Akako*, *Obo* and *Suba*). The *Maccaa* Oromo who left *Tute Bisil* settled in Horro Guduru and set up a new *Gadaa* Centre in Horro Guduru at *Odaa Bulluq* (Dereje, 2000). They entered into Horro Guduru by cavalry and infantry (*lafoo*) units armed with spears. Many Oromo clans in Horro Guduru trace their ancestors to *Jaawwii*, the descendants of *Maccaa*.

At present the *Maccaa* Oromo includes areas of the present zones of the Oromia Regional States such as Shewa zones (western Shewa and south western Shewa), Wallaga zones (Horro Guduru, East Wallaga, Qellem Wallaga and West Wallaga), Illu Aba Bor zones (Bunno Bedelle and Illu Aba Bor) and Jimma. Thus, in Horro Guduru zone, the people belong to the Borana Oromo of *Maccaa* Oromo.

Oral tradition indicates that *Maccaa* had twelve sons: *Jaawwii*, *Liiban*, *Galan*, *Donfaa*, *Jibaat*, *Abbo*, *Sooddo*, *Walal*, *Dallee*, *Abballan*, *Gundee*, and *Laaloo* (Cherinet, 1998). *Jaawwii* also had nine sons namely *Guduru*, *Horro*, *Amuru*, *Jimma*, *Gudaya*, *Gidda*, *Limmu*, *Eebantu* and *Iluu* (Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, 2015). *Horro* has fourteen sons: *Dagaa*, *Abboolee*, *Akaakoo*, *Ashayyaa*, *Abbillee*, *Amuumaa*, *Birbirsoo*, *Oborraa*, *Gaminnaa*, *Lukkuu*, *Barisoo*, *Uggaa*, *Ganjii* and *Siree* (Cherinet, 1998). *Guduru* has seven sons: *Maloolee*, *Looyyaa*, *Haamilee*, *Sirbaa*, *Illammuu* and *Handarsaa/Karruu* (ibid). Thus, *Horro Guduru* Oromo is said to be descendants of *Jaawwii*. It should be noted that the clan names are written according to elder-younger relationship in the *Maccaa* genealogy. Thus, *Jaawwii* is the eldest

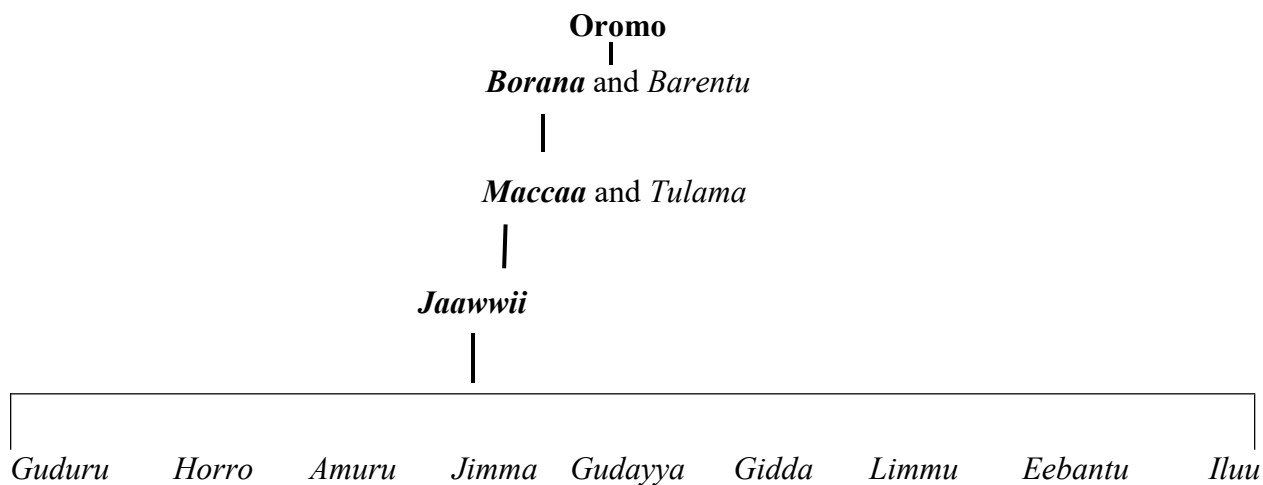
in the *Maccaa* family tree. Horro Guduru zone, a study area of this study, is dominantly inhabited by the *Jaawwii*.

Fig 1: Map of the Study Area



Horro Guduru was selected as a research site because the society who lives around *Odaa Bulluq* and its surroundings are still practicing their traditions. They have similar ways of life and dialect with the other *Maccaa* Oromo. The family of the nine *Jaawwii-Maccaa* is represented as follow:

Diagram: Genealogy of the *Maccaa* Oromo



(Source: *Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau*, 2015:40)

The research site is located in Oromia Regional States of Horro Guduru zone of two districts: *Horro* and *Horro Bulluq*. The administrative center of the Horro district is *Shaambo* town and that of *Horro Bulluq* is *Saqalaa* town which are located west of *Finfinne* at a distance of 314 and 329 km respectively. *Horro* and *Horro Bulluq* are among the twelve districts of the zone.

1.8.2. Horro Guduru Oromo Traditional Beliefs and the *Gadaa* System

Traditional belief is practiced mostly by elders among the Horro Guduru Oromo. According to informants, a few people in the area are still ritualizing the traditional belief that was indigenous belief of the Oromo society.¹ This traditional belief is said to be called *Waaqeffanna*², which is a belief in one *Waaqa*³, who is the creator of everything. The Oromo religious practice revolves around two concepts: *Waaqa* and *Ayyaana* (spirit). They are cores of Oromo religious beliefs.⁴ This *Waaqeffanna* would be performed at various places and time controlled by its own system. The *Qaalluu* (spiritual leader) and the *Abbaa Malkaa* (lineal chiefs of the area) lead the *Waaqeffanna* culture. The *Qaalluu* give instructions and directives of the place and the time of the implementation of the religious-ethics.⁵ The *Qaalluu* also operate as an agent that preserves and guards the customs and laws of the society. Horro Guduru traditional society believed that through praying, offering and sacrificing, the people would get in contact with *Waaqa*.

Informants in the area state that the different traditional ritual practices advocates the will of *Waaqa* and his giant agents (*Ayyaana*) in every aspects of Horro Guduru people ways of life.⁶ The society's ethical-moral standards of religious life and values are decreed in the *Gadaa* system (Gadaa, 1988). Thus, *Gadaa* system is a storehouse of Oromo ethical-moral standards of religious rituals. In Oromo

¹ Personal interview with Odaa, at Didibe Kistana, on April 23/2021, 3:00pm-5:00pm; with Malkaa., at Odaa Bulluq, on April 23/2021, 9:00am-11:00am

² *Waaqeffanna* is an indigenous religion of the Oromo that is centered on belief in one *Waaqa*, the creator of all things in the universe. An Oromo who is a follower of *Waaqeffanna* is *Waaqeffataa*. *Waaqeffataa* is a person who maintains the ancient religious and cultural practices.

³ *Waaqa* refers to God or divinity in the context of indigenous religion of Oromo.

⁴ Personal interviews with Ayyaana, at Odaa Bulluq, on April 25/2021,10:00am-11:00am; Malkaa, at Odaa Bulluq, on April 23/2021,9:00am-11:00am

⁵ Personal interview with Ayyaana , at the village of Odaa Bulluq, April 25, 2021, 10:00am-11:00am

⁶ Personal interviews with Odaa, at Didibe Kistana, on April 23/2021, 3:00pm-5:00pm; Malkaa, on April 23/2021 and Ayyaana, on April 25/2021, in the village of Odaa Bulluq.

culture, sacred scenes like *Odaa* (Sycamore) tree have *safuu*⁷ *Waaqa* (dignity and respect of God) so that they need to be praised and admired with miracle.⁸ The violation of *safuu Waaqa* as stated in the *Gadaa* system express disobedience to him and a spiritual offense against him.

Odaa Bulluq is one of the five major Oromo *Gadaa* center in Oromia located in Horro Guduru zone, Horro Bulluq district, in *Odaa Bulluq* village. As stated by informants, it is mostly used as a sacred ritual scene of Horro Guduru Oromo.⁹ Different ritual or ceremonies practices are practiced by the society under a shade of *Odaa* (sycamore) tree. For instance, the clans (The *Shane* of *Gadaa*) used to hold their assembly, celebrate *Buttaa* ceremony and elected *Gadaa* officials at *Caffee Bulluq* (*Bulluq* Assembly) even after they set up their own *Gadaa* center. Various responsibilities are given to the elected officials. The *Caffee*¹⁰ formulates laws every eight years under the new *Gadaa* officials.¹¹ It regularly made five doctrine laws: laws against murder, laws against liars, laws against theft, laws against adultery and laws against treason. Traditional courts systems are one of the cultural elements among the Horro Guduru Oromo. Conflict resolution, marriage contraction, inheritance, etc, are done through *jaarsummaa* (reconciliation). Thus, *Odaa* is the center of *Gadaa* system, where the different socio- cultural ceremonies like ritual ceremonies, marriage ceremonies, etc and act as an office of law making.

1.8.3. The Horro Guduru Oromo Traditional Ways of Life

In Oromo society, indigenous knowledge has been mainly transmitted from generation to generation through the institutions of family, religion and *Gadaa*.¹² The Horro Guduru Oromo interacts with each other in various social events. They interact mainly through social relations like neighborhood, occupation and blood based relations. Besides, they meet and help one another in different social events such as wedding ceremonies, funeral ceremonies, harvesting time, religious ceremonies and the like. Moreover, the society have attractive culture that are community based organizations such *koree*

⁷ the principles of right or wrong codes and ethical values which direct the society's way of life in relation to *Sadoo Gadaa* (*Gadaa system*), which is ruled by *Waaqa*.

⁸ Personal interviews with Odaa, at Didibe Kistana, April 23/2021, 3:00pm-5:00pm; Malkaa, at Odaa Bulluq, April 23/ 2021, 9:00am-11:00am

⁹ *ibid*

¹⁰ A plain of land covered with grass where important ceremonies are performed, where decisions are made and laws are formulated by an assembly of the council of the ruling *Gadaa* class; general assembly

¹¹ Personal interviews with Odaa, at Didibe Kistana, on April 23/2021; Malkaa, at Odaa Bulluq, on April 23/2021

¹² *ibid*

wal-gargaarsa (supportive committee), *afoosha*¹³, *jigii/daboo*¹⁴, *daadoo*¹⁵, *qaboo*¹⁶ and etc, for different social purposes. Furthermore, the people have the culture of eating and drinking in harmony, religious system, celebrating holidays in harmony.

1.8.4. Oral Traditions of the Society

Young Oromo people are expected to learn native knowledge that is necessary for social integration of the speech community via their folklore across generations. Specifically, in Maccaa Oromo society, young people learn the society's folk wisdom such as stories, folk tales, proverbs, and riddles that help acquiring the indigenous knowledge of society from their families, communities and religious. According to an informant, they learn the cultural, religious, social, political, philosophical and other cultural wealth of a society through their folklore by joining fourteen different age-grades of *Sadoo Gadaa* (*Gadaa* system).¹⁷ These fourteen *Gadaa*-grades include *daa'ima* (0-8 years), *Gaammee* (9-16 years), *Bandakorree* (17-24 years), *Raabaa/Qondaala* (25-32 years), *Horata/ Raabaa Doorii* (33-40 years), *Gadaa/Luba* (41-48 years), *Luba siree* (49-56 years), *Gameessa* (57-64 years), *Jaarsa Gumii* (65-72 years), *Jaarsa Eebbaa* (73-80 years), *Gadamoojjii* (81-88 years), *Raagaa* (89-96 years), *Jaarraa* (97-104 years), and *Raagessa raagaa* (105-112 years).¹⁸ Thus, age is a determinant factor to learn or to teach the oral traditions across generations. Both males and females have their own duties associated with their age-grades in the *Gadaa* system. Horro Guduru-Oromo proverbs, the focus of this study, are used to perform different socio-pragmatic functions in a social event like marriage ceremonies.

1.8.5. Horro Guduru Heritage Sites

There are many heritage sites found in *Horro Guduru Wallaga* zone. These are *Odaa Bulluq* (Bulluq Sycamore), *Cittuu Kokor* (Kokor Island), *Holqa Birbirsa Ganji*, (Birbirsa Ganji cave), *Haroo Finca'aa* (Fincha Lake), *Haroo Amartii Nashee* (Amartii Nashee Lake), *Bosona Caatoo* (Cato Forest), *Gooda Imbaaboo* (Imbabo Field), *Laga Abbaayyaa* (Mormor), and *Dhagaa Qeerroo* (An interview with *Takele Ganfure*, an expert in Horro Guduru Wallaga Zone of Cultural and Tourism Office, April 21, 2021).

¹³ A freewill self-help alliance often set up among households in a close village.

¹⁴ A freewill self-help alliance often held to help persons who need support from neighboring community.

¹⁵ A voluntary labor alliance usually organized by a group of people to help each other in agricultural activities

¹⁶ A labor cooperation often practiced during farming and harvesting times to help people in needs for two to three hours.

¹⁷ Personal interview with Qumbii, at Didibe Kistana, 27 April 2021, 2:30pm-3:30pm

¹⁸ *ibid*

Odaa Bulluq is the major *Gadaa* center for the *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru people. It is found at a distance of 15 km from *Shambo* zonal town. There are also other *Odaa* centers found in different districts of the zone. *Ejersa Qobbo* is found in Guduru district, just south of *Kombolcha* town. *Ejersa Yaa'ii*, later called *Odaa Jimma* (Jimma Ganati), *Odaa Tullu Qafe* (Abbay Choman), and *Odaa Nafuroo* (Amuru) are some of the *Odaa* centers in the zone (An interview with *Takele Ganfure*, April 21/2021).

Cittuu Kokor (Kokor Island) is a historical place found in the center of *Amarti* Lake. The lake was a man-made lake found north of *Fincaa'a* Lake. It is located between the two plateaus that makes great for a tourist attraction in the zone. *Kokor* has got the name of an island after *Amarti* Dam was constructed for generating hydroelectric power. It is sometimes named as *Dirre Kokor* (Kokor Field), and the area is covered by natural forest. *Kokor* was the seat of *Abiishee*, which was located about 20 km from *Dooyyo*. The centre of *Kokor* was a mountain known to be a strategic place for war. The island was used as a battle ground between *Abiishee Garbaa* (Horro king) and the *Gojjame* people (An interview with *Takele Ganfure*, April 21/2021).

Fincaa'a and *Amarti Nashe* lakes are found in Horro Guduru Wallaga zone between Horro and Abbay Choman districts. These lakes are man-made dam constructed in plain land by the Ethiopian government to generate hydroelectric power. They also serve for boat transportation, irrigation schemes and site of tourism (An interview with *Takele Ganfure*, April 21/2021).

1.8.6. Customary Marriage Practices among Horro Guduru Oromo

Marriage is one of the most important rituals in the Oromo culture under the *Gadaa* system. The three socio-cultural events Oromo view pivotal in life are birth, marriage, and death. These events either add to or take away from the family. Marriage is a system that establishes the marital bond between a boy and a girl in a society. In Horro Guduru Oromo, marriage can be arranged into two: formal and informal marriage system.¹⁹

Horro Guduru Oromo society practices six types of traditional marriage. These are: *naqata/rakoo* (betrothal), *abaabballi*, *butii*, *aseennaa*, *sabbatmarii*, and *dhaala*. All forms of the marriage practices are

¹⁹Interviews with Odaa, at Didibe Kistana, on April 23/2021, 3:00pm-5:00pm; Malkaa, at Odaa Bulluq, on April 23/2021, 9:00am-11:00am.

informal marriage except betrothal. The five forms of marriage are made due to various cases. Some are economic, others are social and still others are emotional.²⁰ Though some of these types of marriages have been considered by the society as being against customary law of the *Gadaa* system (*Seera Gadaa*), they are still partially practiced by the society.²¹

To begin with, *butii* (abduction) is a form of marriage in which the boy abducts the girl without her consent or out of her consciousness forcefully. *Abaabbalii* is another form of marriage which refers to self-selection for marriage without the knowledge of the girl's and the boy's parents. In *aseenna* form of marriage, the girl takes the lead instead of the boy due to the standard age of marriage sets for girls, problems of beauty or her family's social background. The three aforementioned forms of marriage are against the *Gadaa* laws of marriage system as they are made without the parents' agreement and blessings. Another form of marriage is *dhaala* (literally means inheritance). This is conducted between a woman and the brother of a dead husband to preserve the children of the dead man within the family to avoid abuse by the stepfather. *Sabbatmarii* is a type of marriage in which the boy attended by a group of men of different social classes arrives at the gate of the girl's parent without the knowledge of both the girl and her parents.²²

Naqata (betrothal) is the most common, culturally respected and accepted form of marriage in Horro Guduru people. It is mainly arranged by the families of both the bride and the groom through negotiation. It relatively demand high amount of bride price compared to other form of marriage. This type of marriage is still practiced in the society extensively. The entire betrothal form of marriage process in Horro Guduru land has four stages: *naqachuu* (betrothal), *fuudhuu* (marry), *misiraachoo* (congratulations of virginity) and *miinjee deebii* (returning of best men to the bride's home).²³

In the Horro Guduru people cultural marriage, the boy's parents have their own responsibility to search for a bride for their son. After the boy's parents prove that their son is matured enough to marry, they ask his interests to marry a girl. It is customary that girls are selected for marriage at different rituals such as wedding ceremonies, *sirba masqalaa* (holy fire songs), market, etc by the boys in the society.

²⁰ *ibid*

²¹ *ibid*

²² *ibid*

²³ Personal interview with Odaa, in the village of Didibe Kistana, on April 23, 2021, 3:00pm-5:00pm.

Then the boy tells the girl he has selected to his parents. The boy's parents try to investigate the socio-cultural background of the girl's parents whether they are equal in status or not. In Horro Guduru people, marriage within the same clan is prohibited and thus the society counts generation depth for marriage purpose.²⁴ Accordingly, in the society's marriage system to marry a girl from an ancestor of less than seventh up on the father's lineage and five on the mother's bloodline is *haraamuu* (literally means incest). If such kind of marriage takes place, it brings severe punishments from *Waaqa*. A child born to such a union would be *naafa* (lame), *jaamaa* (blind), *raata'aa* (birdbrain), and etc.²⁵

Having identified they are equal in status and have no blood tie, the boy's parents makes contact with the girl's parents through *jaarsummaa* (reconciliation). In the socio-cultural norms of the society, local elders are sent for *jaarsummaa* to the girl's parents only on limited days like Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday.²⁶ The society believes that these days are full and have a good fortune, but the other days are unlucky and they call it *cagginoo* (literally means ill-luck). Besides, when these elders leave for the boy's parents to set marriage contract, they sip *biqilli/farsoo* (local drinks made of barely) from a full *waancaa*²⁷. This situation is followed by the society to observe their *milkee* (literally means omens) and to remove any impediment in their speech they meet in marriage alliance.²⁸ Moreover, when the elders are on their journey to the girl's parents, they should observe the things they encounter on their path. This is because the things they meet may be a thing that reflects *milkee gaarii* (good omens) and *milkee badaa* (bad omens). For instance, if elders meet a fox on their way to the bride's home, they cancel their journey and turn back thinking that it is a bad fortune. However, if they meet with a woman with a jar full of water, it is a good fortune and they continue their journey to set a marriage negotiation. Then, the elders go to the girl's parent's home and ask if their daughter marry the son of the other parents. If parents have reached a consensus, the boy and the girl get engaged. The boy's parent then meet the entire wedding price and set a wedding day.

Next, both parents prepare food and drink for the wedding ceremonies to invite neighbors, relatives and guests after the betrothal is over. The families enjoy the wedding ceremonies of their children by preparing wedding festival such as *nyaata* (foods), *qundee/araqee* (home brewed alcohol, liquor)

²⁴ interviews with Ayyaana, 25 April and Malkaa, 23 April 2021, at Odaa Bulluq; Yuuba, at Didibe Kistana, 24 April 2021

²⁵ interviews with Ayyaana, 25 April and Malkaa, 23 April 2021, at Odaa Bulluq; Yuuba, 24 April 2021, at Didibe Kistana

²⁶ Interviews with Odaa, on 23 April 2021 and Yuuba, on 24 April 2021 in the Village of Didibe Kistana.

²⁷ A vessel made of horn of animals which is used for drinking purposes.

²⁸ Interviews with Odaa, on 23 April 2021 at Didibe Kistana; Yuuba, on 24 April 2021, at Didibe Kistana.

and *farsoo* (local beer). These preparations begin two or three weeks before the wedding day. The young girl's friends are invited to come to her house to practice traditional Oromo songs after dark fifteen or twenty days before marriage.²⁹ This is called *jala bultii* (literally means eve). The boys and girls of the community gather and sing at the bride's and the groom's house. The bridegroom's side practice *mararoo* (lamentation) to praise him and his relatives but degrades the bride and her relatives by their songs. The bride's side does the opposite. Males' lamentation song is said to be *hiroo* and females' song is *ininayyoo*. *Mararoo* is *hiroo* plus *ininayyoo* in the society's traditional marriage songs.³⁰

On the wedding day neighbors, relatives and other guests enjoy themselves eating the feast till the morning while the girls and the boys are practicing lamentation. That night if the girl is found virgin, the groom shoots the gun to declare her purity and the *miinjota* (literally means best men) take control of the stained scarf and start victorious to announce the decency of the girl. The best men spend five days with the couples at the groom's house and return to bride's parent's house for *misiraachoo*. This is a socio-cultural event full of joy and songs that is practiced by the best men and other friends to congratulate the girl's family on the proper upbringing of their daughter and on her virginity. Finally, after a month or two the bride family invites the couple with the best men to return home. This cultural practice among the Horro Guduru society in marriage is said to be *miinje deebii* (which means returning of the best men). For that day the groom prepares a goat that will be slaughtered at the bride's family. When the bride goes for *miinjee deebii*, the groom's mother prepares *qorii* (a roasted barely made of butter), *aragee* and *murata* (meat) etc, which the bride takes with her.³¹

Marriage is a speech event that reflects the socio-cultural values in a speech community through language. Speech pattern is actually said in coded language and not direct, the uses of proverbs conform to the tenets of the socio-cultural norms of the society. Specifically, local elders use proverbs in Horro Guduru marriage system to express different socio-pragmatic functions from its inception till the end. For instance, particularly elders use proverbs as one indirect and socially acceptable way of advising, warning, asking and even criticizing the behavior of others, impliedly in a marriage ceremony.

²⁹ Personal interview with Qumbii, at Didibe Kistana, on April 27/2021,2:30pm-3:30pm .

³⁰ *ibid*

³¹ Personal interview with Odaa, at Didibe Kistana, on 23 April 2021, 3:00pm -5:00pm

The meanings and functions of proverbs are rooted in the social and cultural contexts reflecting the society's everyday life (Meider, 2007). Thus, descriptions of the contexts in which proverbs are used by the Horro Guduru people is important to enable readers to comprehend the socio-cultural realities associated with the meanings and functions of the proverbs. In order to analyze the Horro Guduru-Oromo proverbs in their contexts, the socio-cultural occasions in which the proverbs are frequently performed is observable, traditional marriage ceremonies. To attain this goal, the socio-cultural occasions in which proverbs are performed frequently are identified. The participants, the special events or the occasions, and the ritual practices related to the performance of the proverbs are crucially important.

1.9. Ethical Consideration

The study was conducted by considering the ethics of the research. Hence, in the courses of primary data collection, every informant was informed the purpose of the study. I interviewed them, and conducted an observation only based on their informed consent. Besides, I kept the confidentiality of those informants involved in the study. The names of the consultants involved in the study were not revealed. Rather, the researcher used pseudonyms.

1.10. Organization of the Study

The thesis is organized into five chapters. The abstract outlines the overall findings and summary of the research so that readers can grasp the core theme of the thesis. The first chapter is an overview of the study. In this chapter the researcher has elaborated the introduction part that embraces background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, limitation of the study, the socio-cultural description of the study area and the people, ethical consideration and organization of the study. In chapter two, review of related literature which helped the researcher as solid ground on the pragmatic analysis of proverbs is to be provided. In this chapter, a review of empirical literature on proverbs ,and a conceptual review which comprises definitions of proverbs, functions of proverbs, contexts of proverb performance, pragmatics, speech act theories, and theoretical framework are presented on which data analysis is based. Chapter three deals with research methodology whereas chapter four is devoted to presentation of data analysis and discussions of findings. Last chapter includes summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section deals with a review of empirical literature to establish the knowledge gap that the study fills. The second section focuses on conceptual review that comprises: definitions of proverbs, functions of proverbs, contexts of proverb performance, pragmatics, and speech act theories on which data analysis is based. The third section is the theoretical framework of the study.

2.1. Review of Empirical Literature on Proverbs

This section reviews and presents works related to this study and to show the way this work differs from what has been done on similar issues so far. The works of various scholars and authors related to the current study are reviewed.

Abdul Jabbar (2008) analyzed the American English proverbs in conversational speech acts in spoken language using speech act theory. Abdul Jabbar focused on three levels of analysis: pragmatic, semantic, and structural level to get meanings of the speech act of advice in the proverbs. The study at hand differs from Abdul Jabbar's work in that it focuses on identifying the types of illocutionary acts, describing the illocutionary forces, and finding out the perlocutionary effects of using the *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru-Oromo marriage proverbs. Abdul Jabbar followed Wierzbek's model for data analysis but the current study employed Searle's speech act theory for the analysis of the proverbs. In this case, the current study was wide in scope as it deals with the types of illocutionary acts and the illocutionary forces as well as the perlocutionary acts. Abdul Jabbar used documents for data collection but this study employed in-depth interview and observation for data collection in its real contexts.

Alshorafat (2019) carried out a research entitled "A Speech Act Analysis of Bedouin Proverbs in Jordan", the researcher investigated Bedouin proverbs in Jordan using speech act theory. The researcher attempted to determine the illocutionary acts, the illocutionary forces and tried to explore the perlocutionary acts that the proverbs can accomplish in the selected contextualized proverbs. The article used educated informants as the data source but the present study used local elders as data source. The

current study differs from Alshorafat's work in that it tried to identify the syntactic forms of the proverbs, which helps to determine the meanings of the direct and indirect illocutionary forces of the proverbs. In this case, the direct illocutionary forces refer to the literal meanings of the proverbs as no context is considered for the interpretation of the proverbs. Besides, the current study used in-depth interview and observation as data gathering tools but Alshorafat used interviewing. The article and the present study have a similarity in that both studies used Searle's speech act theory in data analysis.

Sumner (1995) did a broad work with regard to Oromo Proverbs. In his book entitled "Oromo Wisdom Literature: Volume 1; Proverbs Collection and Analysis", he collected a number of proverbs from the entire region and tried to present Oromo proverbs as paying attention to the value given to proverbs of the Oromo, and functions of the proverbs. He categorized the proverbs on the basis of their themes using descriptive method. The current study carried out pragmatic studies on Oromo marriage proverbs in their real contexts using speech act theory. Sumner's work is similar with the present study in that he employed qualitative descriptive method.

Amensisa (2020) in his article entitled "Oromo Proverbs: The Analysis of Context, Value, and Syntax", investigated the Oromo proverbs in the act of conversations under close scrutiny of context, value, and syntax. He conducted his study through ethnographic approach by employing exploratory research design to generate data from culture as an issue of unit of analysis in Munessa District of Arsi Zone, in the Oromia Regional State. Observation, interview and field notes were used as data gathering tools in his work. He concluded that contexts and values are embedded in proverbs though their linguistic analysis entirely relies on scholarly accomplishment. In his study, he explicated three paradoxical natures of proverbs such as brevity, acculturation, and social control. He also categorized the linguistic structure of Oromo Proverbs into: simple, compound, complex, and compound-complex sentences. On the contrary, the current study focused on the pragmatic analysis of the Horro Guduru-Oromo marriage proverbs using speech act theory. The present study also attempted to identify the illocutionary acts, describe the illocutionary forces, and find out the perlocutionary effects of the proverbs. Moreover, this study is different in using in-depth interview and observation as data gathering tools. Amensisa's work is similar to this study in dealing the proverbs in their contexts.

Rikitu (1992) conducted a research entitled “Oromo Oral Treasure for a New Generation.” focusing on the collection and translation of Oromo proverbs into English. His work is similar to Cotter’s work of 1996. He compiled the proverbs and sayings of the Oromo people in Ethiopia. Both researchers focused on the collections and translations of Oromo proverbs. However, the current study differs from Rikitu’s and Cotter’s work in its intention. That is, the study in hand dealt with the pragmatic analysis of Horro Guduru-Oromo marriage proverbs. The present study is similar to them in collecting and translating the Oromo proverbs.

The only work that is close to the present study is reviewed here. Tadesse (2004), conducted his MA thesis on “A Contextual Study of Guji Oromo Proverbs: Functions in Focus” with the aim to discover the contextual functions of Guji Oromo proverbs by examining their socio-cultural realities and showing how the proverbs characterize the life of the people. Tadesse (2004) studied the proverbs from the folkloristic perspective point of view and presents proverbs as it maintains the society culture through contextual approach theory. In data analysis, he started with description of contexts followed by interpretation of meaning and then description of functions of proverbs. He used contexts in two types of occasions such as cultural contexts in *Ebbisaa* and social contexts in *Gumi Ganda*. His findings reveal that Guji proverbs in *Ebbisaa* magnify the reflective functions of proverbs. In the context of this occasion, proverbs are used as means of enumerating and activating the socio-cultural elements like *aadaa*, *safuu* and *seeraa* of the Guji society. In *Gumi Ganda*, corrective and reinforcing functions of the proverbs are manifested. Tadesse used observation and interview for data collection. However, the present study is different from Tadesse’s work of 2004 in different ways. To begin with, the current researcher carried out a research entitled ‘A Pragmatic Analysis of *Maccaa* Oromo Marriage Proverbs: Horro Guduru in Focus’ with the aim to analyze the pragmatic aspects of the proverbs within the real milieu. The researcher analyzed the proverbs from a pragmatic perspective and it represents them as speech acts. In data analysis, the present study describes, interprets and explains the proverbs through speech act theory based on certain pragmatic concepts such as illocutionary acts, perlocutionary effects, contexts, and syntactic forms of illocutionary forces. The present study uses social contexts in marriage events. Moreover, this study identifies the types of illocutionary acts as assertive, directives, commissive, expressive and declaration relying on the functions of the proverbs. Furthermore, the current study describes the illocutionary forces, and finds out the perlocutionary effects of using the proverbs. This

study employed in-depth interview and observation for data collection. Tadesse's study was similar with the current study in that both studies focus on the contextual functions of proverbs in their real contexts. Many of the above studies have studied proverbs from different perspectives. Thus, this study basically differs from those already studied in that it focuses on pragmatic analysis of *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru marriage proverbs. The current study is also different from the aforementioned studies in methodological framework.

2.2 Review of Conceptual Literature

This section reviews concepts and terminologies that are related to the present study. It discusses the definition and functions of proverbs, pragmatics, and speech act theory.

2.2.1. Definitions of Proverbs

Proverbs are often used to convey many meanings, associated with people's age of real life experiences (Mieder, 1993). As a result, it has been the subject of a vast number of opinions, studies, and analyses for so long. The different meanings that proverbs can convey and the various functions they serve in real life makes difficult to give a concise definitions for proverbs.

Lutfi (2007) asserts that proverbs are not just orders of words but they are used in real communication as speech acts: they convey a doubt, promise, warning, advice, and make people do something or not. Whiting (1994) also defines proverbs from the angles of the speech acts they function such as warn, admonish, guide and the like. Moreover, Norick (1985) notes proverbs have standard interpretations that coincide with its literal or figurative meaning. Hence, proverbs have two different levels of comprehension – literal and implied. Furthermore, Mollanazar (2001: 53) defines the proverbs as "a unit of meaning in a specific context through which the speaker and hearer arrives at the same meaning."

Thus, no one definition can be marked comprehensive and complete. This is because it has been difficult to include all important aspects of proverbs in a single definition. Mieder (1993) describes that a statement is qualified as a proverb when it attains traditionality, currency and age. However, it is hard to say that a statement itself has age or currency within a group of the community when we describe proverbs related to its structure, style, form and so on. This needs external research work to prove the

traditionality of proverbs, and this shows that the exact definitions attempt will in any case becomes deficient.

In general, the researcher believes that the definitions provided by the preceding scholars in the above paragraph fits for the purpose of the current study. This research therefore defines proverbs as the speech acts performed with language in various social events to accomplish different socio-pragmatic functions in a society.

2.2.2. Functions of Proverbs

Proverbs are used in a wide range of situations. Proverbs can bear many communicative, or pragmatic, social and also other functions in communications. Mieder (2004) points out that proverbs are speech entities that can be used in every aspect of discussions such as poetry, wise saying, debates, and daily lives of all cultures to address situations in discourse. He also explains proverbs have been observed to occur in all occasions when language is used for communication as a tool. Finnegan (1976) explains the functions of proverbs as: proverbs add beauty to everyday conversation and used for different pragmatic or communicative functions such as warning, advising, etc in African contexts. It is also integral part of life and language and depicts philosophies of the society. Mieder (1994) asserts that people use proverbs in their speech to make their arguments stronger, express general statement, influence other people, explain our own weaknesses, question certain behavioral patterns, and satirize social ills.

Moreover, Miruka (1994) identifies four different functions of proverbs. These are aesthetic, reflective, normative and summative functions. He identifies that proverbs aesthetically assist communication to be more enticing and persuasive. To clarify this point, Bascom (1965) states that proverbs are used to add colour and beauty to ordinary conversation. People can get attentions from others when they use proverbs in their speeches. The reflexive function of proverbs refers to the ability of proverbs to summarize a people's philosophy of life. Proverbs are historically significant as they become reservoirs of traditions passes on from generation to generation (Miruka, 1994 and Meider, 2004). Miruka adds that proverbs function as didactic devices because they give normative functions. Bascom (1965) also asserts that proverbs serve as tools to preserve the socio-cultural realities of a society can be stated as didactic function. This presupposes that a certain standard way of behaviour is desirable and should be maintained. The summative function of proverbs deals mainly with the embedded meanings in them.

Proverbs are condensation of larger issues, sometimes, containing historical significance in terms of real life situations. As veiled expressions, they need to be carefully explained in order that their hidden meaning is understood, particularly by strangers.

2.2.3. Contexts of Proverb Performance

In the study of folklore in general and proverbs in particular contexts are crucially important. Proverbs are considered indispensable sentential utterances that are used in different contexts. In every culture, proverbs are context-dependent for use in communication in a society. Description of contexts in which proverbs are used enable others understand the meaning and function of proverbs that are rooted in sociocultural contexts. Mieder (2007) asserts the functions and meanings of proverbs can only be determined when they are used in natural context as proverbs refer to social situations. Only in specific situations, the intended meaning of the proverb will be revealed.

Osisanwo (2003) classifies contexts into four: linguistic, situational, psychological and socio-cultural. A situational context refers to the immediate environment of the utterance such as the participants, the scene as well as time the speech act is performed. A linguistic context refers to the choice of words or synthetic types for coding the message. A psychological context refers to the state of mind of each of the interlocutors, whether it expresses sadness, joy, anger, happiness, etc. A socio-cultural context refers to the social and cultural setting within which a language is used. Adequate interpretation is necessary for a speech act that is socio-culturally based. A social context involves the relations of proverbs to social matters such as advising, ridiculing, disapproving etc (Bascom, 1965). In such context, the investigation of who used the proverb and why he used it seems important. Cultural context involves the relationships between proverbs and other aspects of culture (ibid). In such context, proverbs are mirrors of culture. Bascom (1965) clarifies that without context proverbs remain dead.

Besides, in the study of African oral literature specifically proverbs, contexts are crucially important (Finnegan, 1970). The researcher of this study confirms Finnegan's assertions in that there is an Oromo proverb that indicates proverbs are context dependent. This proverb reads, 'Jabbiin bifa kormaati, mammaaksi bifa dubbiiti' roughly means "As a calf resembles the bull, a proverb entails the issue."

2.2.4. Pragmatics

Language is used in daily life to interact with each other. It needs to be understood by people since it can reveal people's thoughts and ideas. When someone says, "I am hungry", his/her words can be interpreted in many ways. The hearer can interpret it as a sign that the speaker is merely hungry. However, it also can be interpreted that the speaker wants someone to get him/her food. Hence, the hearer also needs context or situational background to interpret a speaker's intention.

To understand people's intention, he/she cannot only depend on the structure of language but he/she should deal with the context. Leech (1983) defines pragmatics as the study of meaning in relation to speech situations which enables the speaker use language to achieve a particular effect on the mind of the hearer. According to Yule (1996), pragmatics is defined as the study of intended speaker meaning in relation to context. Davis (1991) asserts that pragmatics has domain such as speakers' communicative intentions, the use of language, and the strategies that hearers employ to determine what these intentions and acts are, so that they can understand what the speaker intends to communicate. Verschueren (1999:7) defines pragmatics as the cognitive, social and cultural view on linguistic phenomena in relation to their usage in form of behavior.

The researcher of this study observes some common features in the above definitions that will help him understand better pragmatics in relation to proverbs. The first feature is language use in actual speech situations. Tadesse (2004) asserts that proverbs involve the use of language in actual speech occasions. The second one is the context of the speech which involves the setting, the participants, the language, the socio-cultural setting, and the psychological state of the interlocutors. The third is the speaker's intention which is very important to the interpretation of proverbs. What a speaker wants to achieve with a particular utterance will determine the kinds of proverb he will choose. The fourth is the participants in a conversation or discourse situation. The roles of the participants in the communicative process are very important. The fifth is shared knowledge, culture, or conventions of participants in communication. These features are very important in the interpretation and understanding of proverbs.

2.2.5. Speech Act Theory

Austin has been widely praised as the father of pragmatics due to his immense contribution to pragmatics in his work *How to do things with words* (1962). He proposed the theory of speech acts

which is based on conception that we perform certain actions when we speak. Speech act theory is introduced as a reaction to many earlier linguistic theories which neglected language as action. It is based on the belief that when people say something they do something. Austin (1962) defines speech acts as the types of actions we perform with language in communicating social acts like requesting, questioning, baptizing, marrying, and so on.

Austin (1962) starts his work by classifying utterances into two: performatives and constatives. Constatives refer to utterances that state verifiable or falsifiable proposition but performatives refer to utterances that do not have truth and falsity but rather perform actions. Through this, Austin proves that saying equals doing. For instance, “It is raining” is subject to being true or false (constative) while “I hereby pronounced you husband and wife” constitutes actions performed by the speaker (performative). Austin also explains the felicity conditions which specify the truth and falsity of an utterance. These are necessary contextual conditions that license and distinguish different speech acts. Some speech acts require certain forms of ritual or ceremony before they can be judged to be felicitous. For instance, only certain people are qualified to declare war, solemnize marriage, or announce elections’ results. In situations such as apologizing or vowing, the speaker must be sincere and external circumstances must be present. Felicity conditions are divided into three kinds: preparatory condition, condition for execution and sincerity condition. When the conditions are met, the utterance becomes felicitous but when the conditions are not met, the utterance becomes infelicitous.

Then, Austin (1962) classifies acts employed in performatives into three: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary. Locutionary acts are the exact utterance of the speaker and their semantic meaning, or literal meaning. It is the act of producing sounds and words with their referential meaning. Illocutionary acts are the meaning one wish to communicate or the force of the utterance. They are conventional social acts recognized as such by both speaker and hearer such as accusing, complaining, naming, and the like. Perlocutionary acts are the effect of speaker’s the utterance on the listener, that is, the change in the mind or behavior of the listener because of producing locutions and illocutions.

Besides, Austin (1962) classifies an illocutionary acts into five: verdictives, exercitives, commissives, behabitives and expositives. He notes that verdictives are typified by the giving of a verdict by a jury, arbitrator, or umpire. They may be an estimate, reckoning, appraisal, convict, diagnose, and the like.

Exercitives contains acts which involve the exercising of power, right, or influence (e.g, appointing, advising, warning, etc). Comissives are acts which commit the speaker to a certain course of action (e.g, promise, undertake, contract, etc). Behabitives are acts which concern attitude and social behaviors such as apologizing, congratulating, commending, and cursing and so on. Expositives are acts that make plain how utterances fit into the course of an argument. They include phrases like, 'I reply', 'I assume' and 'I postulate'

Austin's (1962) speech acts theory was developed and elaborated by Searle (1969). Searle is one of Austin's students, who improve a speech act theory as theory which is made up of constitutive rules that performs an illocutionary act with certain illocutionary content. To systemize Austin's work, Searle (1969, 1979) proposed a typology of speech acts based on felicitous conditions (the social and cultural criteria that have to be existed for the act to have the desired effect) which became very influential. He suggests four necessary conditions to perform the illocutionary acts successfully and to determine the illocutionary acts. These conditions are: propositional content conditions that concern the propositional act (i.e., sense-reference meaning); preparatory conditions which tell what the speaker will imply in the performance of the illocutionary acts; sincerity conditions that concern speakers' intentions, beliefs, and desires, and essential conditions which convey what the action consists in essentially.

Then, Searle (1979) further develops the taxonomy to systematize Austin's theory of speech acts. He selects three dimensions of the illocutionary acts as the chief criteria to differentiate speech acts: the speaker's communicative intention; the direction of fit between the world and words, and the psychological state of the mind expressed by the speaker. He classifies functions of language into five general categories of illocutionary acts: representatives (assertives), directives, comissives, expressives, and declarations.

1. Representatives- the speaker expresses a belief that the propositional content is true; making the words fit the world. We tell people how things are. Verbs like affirm, claim, conclude, deny, report, inform, describe, predict, assert are used in such cases.
2. Directives- the speaker tries to get the hearer to do something; making the world fit the words via the addressee. Verbs like ask, challenge, command, insist, request, pray, invite, urge, warn, suggest, beg, advise, permit, and others.

3. Commissives- we commit ourselves to doing a certain action; making the world fit the words via the speaker. Verbs such as guarantee, pledge, promise, swear, vow, offer, and others.
4. Expressives - express our feelings and attitudes. It employs such verbs as apologize, deplore, thank, dislike, like, condole, sorrow, congratulate, and others. The speaker is neither trying to get the world to match the words nor the words to match the world; rather the truth of the expressed proposition is presupposed.
5. Declarations- the speaker bring about changes in the world through utterances such as I resign, I marry, I bless, I curse, I name, I baptize and I declare to mention a few. They do attempt to get the language match the world. They are acts which are inseparable from the actual events and happenings.

To sum up, when we talk about speech acts, we have to take into account the different categorizations of verbal acts proposed by linguistic philosophers and speech act theorists. For instance, Searle (1969, 1979) elaborated on the different types of speech acts. For example, there are acts like assertive, directive, commissive, declaration or performative and expressive. Another classification of speech acts talks about locution, illocution and perlocution. In addition to these categories, there are two broad classes of speech acts: direct and indirect (For details see 2.3 below).

2.3. Theoretical Framework of the Study

Speech act theory is one of the most important theories that falls under a branch of linguistics called pragmatics. Pragmatics has been defined by many scholars. Levinson (1983) defines pragmatics as the study of the relations between language and context that are encoded in the structure of a language. Leech (1983) describes pragmatics as the study of meaning in relation to speech situations. From Levinson and Leech's definition, it is clear that pragmatics studies how language is used in situational contexts. The definitions also describe how the same utterance means different meanings in different situations. Mey (2001) argues that communication in society occurs mainly by means of language. That is, pragmatics deals with the study of human language uses' condition, which has a close relationship with the context of society. From this definition, it can be said that pragmatics studies the aspects of relationship between language and context i.e, how language is used by participants in social context and their effects on other participants. Therefore, this research defines pragmatics as it studies the actual use of language and the effect it has on the users of the language in situational contexts. It studies the

way in which language is used to express what is meant in particular situations, specifically when the actual words used appear to mean something different. Thus, Oromo proverbs can perform different socio-pragmatic functions in different contexts (see Chapter 4: data presentation and analysis).

Pragmatics and socio-cultural phenomenon are relevant to the present study. Analyzing a proverb constitutes a very important aspect of language use. Language is a means that establish and sustain relations between members of a community. Language as it relates to proverbs is a social form of behavior. Proverbs are tools used to describe and express social, cultural and other events and pragmatics is used to interpret proverbs in situational contexts. Through the help of pragmatics, proverbs are used to achieve specific goals.

Speech act theory was first proposed by John Austin (1962) and then elaborated by John Searle (1979, 1969). Both Austin and Searle believed that language can be used not only to say things but also to perform actions. Austin (1962) divides speech acts into three different categories: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. Locutionary act is the act of saying, producing meaningful sounds, words with certain reference. It refers to the formal and literal meaning of an utterance. Illocutionary act refers to what the utterance implies, or the intended meaning. Proverbs are used in utterance to convey meaningful information in context. Perlocutionary act results from a language user's utterance and a product of the hearer's interpretation. According to Searle (1979, 1969), the perlocutionary acts include the act of persuading, amusing, embarrassing, boring, intimating, or inspiring the addressee. A proverb is a speech act whose work is to educate, warn, praise, console, etc. Mieder (1994) points out that the listener's ability to perceive the message of the proverbs entirely determines the success of a proverb performance. This implies that proverbs make up a speech act which may trigger different perlocutionary effects in the hearer.

As has been discussed above, Austin (1962) also classifies the illocutionary acts into five main classes: verdictives, exercitives, commissives, behabitives and expositives. Searle (1979) claims the appropriate conditions by Austin are only accounted for ritual and ceremonial speech acts, such as pronouncing a couple husband and wife. He (1979) criticizes the classifications of Austin because he said they were based on overlapping criteria. Besides, Searle (1979) says that Austin did not clarify the difference between speech act verbs and actual speech acts. He also noted that some verbs can be found in more

than one class, mentioning the verb 'to describe', which is included by Austin (1962) in the two classes of 'verdictives' and 'expositives'. As a result, Searle (1979) criticized Austin's taxonomy and proposed an alternative taxonomy of illocutionary acts into five (see: Cross reference section 2.2.5).

Searle (1979) also categorizes speech acts into two: direct and indirect. Direct speech acts occurs when there is a direct match between the sentence type (form) and its illocutionary force. 'The dog barks.' is a direct speech act. A sentence like 'Could you pass the sugar?' is a question used to make a request addressed to the hearer that should make him passes the sugar to the speaker. This is an indirect speech act. Searle states in an indirect speech there is an indirect relationship between the form and the function of the utterance. The hearer has to read between the lines and then infer the speaker's true intention behind the utterance. Searle adds that indirect speech acts are often subject to social and/or linguistic convention, which has to be learned in a society. According to Searle (1979), it is essential to understand the speaker's intention to capture the meaning of an utterance. Without the speaker's intention, it is impossible to understand the words as a speech act. The illocutionary speech act is communicatively successful only if the speaker's illocutionary intention is recognized by the hearer.

Besides, Searle (1979) align sentence types to illocutionary forces, or functions. For instance, interrogative sentences align with questions; imperatives align with requests, and declaratives align with the act of assertions. This implies that there is a form-force correlation especially between the three grammatical moods of interrogative, imperative and declarative on the one hand, and the illocutionary forces or functions associated with them (question, request and statement) on the other. Therefore, this research defines speech acts as the communicative acts performed with the use of language so as to bring about a change of affairs in the world. Proverbs are used as communicative acts such as warning, rebuking, praising, congratulating, informing, and judging in order to bring about a change of affairs in the world in a context. This research shows how proverbs are used to perform acts in words. Proverbs are used to interpret situations and events.

To sum up, the researcher adopts Searle's (1979) speech act theory as a theoretical framework for this study because he is found useful. Searle (1979) is also the most convincing classification since it describes illocutionary acts according to their communicative purposes in society. Pragmatic concepts

such as contexts, the types of illocutionary acts, the perlocutionary acts, and syntactic forms of illocutionary forces will be used in this study.

Proverbs are context-dependent for use in human communication in any society. Thus, the interpretation of contexts such as linguistic, situational, psychological and socio-cultural will help the researcher to describe the proverbs in its real contexts. Contexts give the implied meanings of the proverbs and their functions since proverbs are context-dependent. The concept of illocutionary acts is central to the concept of a speech act (Searle, 1979). Illocutionary acts are acts that an utterance performs such as warning, advising and condemning. Proverbs are used to correct, warn, praise, condemn, etc. Each proverb is classified into the types of illocutionary acts like assertive, directives, commissive, expressive and declarative based on language usage of the proverbs. Perlocutionary act is the effect an utterance has on the hearer (Searle, 1979). Proverbs can have the effects of convincing, enlightening, persuading or getting someone to do or realize something whether intended or not. The forms of the proverbs can be identified as: declarative, interrogative and imperative based on sentence types. It is in line with these assertions that the present study explores a pragmatic analysis of *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru marriage proverbs.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides the description of research methodology that comprises study design, population of the study, sampling techniques, methods of data collection, procedures of data collection, and data analysis procedures.

3.1. Study Design

This study presents a pragmatic analysis of *Maccaa* Oromo proverbs, Horro Guduru in focus. The researcher adopted a qualitative research design to provide an in-depth understanding of social phenomenon in its natural context and gave a clear description of it. Creswell (1994) asserts qualitative research purposefully select informants (people, documents or visual materials) that will be the best answers to the research questions. Descriptive method is used to get certain information about proverbs by describing, interpreting and explaining them in their real contexts. The data was analyzed descriptively. This is because cultural values and beliefs can be discussed at length by description.

3.2. Population of the Study

The sources of the data were local elders of *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru people, Oromia Regional State. From these sources, primary data were gathered through interviews and observations.

3.3. Sampling Techniques

The researcher employed purposive and snowball sampling techniques to conduct this study. The researcher selected the *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru people purposively. The data collection took place in Horro Guduru zone of two districts, namely *Horro* and *Horro Bulluq*. *Horro* and *Horro Bulluq* districts, which are located west of the Oromia capital, *Finfinne*, were selected due to their potential advantage to the research topic under study for data collection. Thus, the consultants were from two villages: *Odaa Bulluq*, which is found in *Horro Bulluq* district, and *Didibe Kistana*, which is found in Horro district. The consultants of this study were local elders, who were purposively selected based on the researcher's judgment call. Snowball sampling techniques was used to select the individual consultants.

3.4. Methods of Data Collection

In this thesis, two data gathering techniques were used. Primary data were collected from the field using in-depth interview and field observation. Through in-depth interview sixty-eight proverbs were recorded and fourteen proverbs were composed using field observation. By these methods of data collection more than eighty-two marriage proverbs that contribute to this study were secured from the society.

3.4.1. In-depth Interview

One of the data collecting instruments in qualitative study is an in-depth interview. The interview was used for investigating contexts in which the proverbs were used. During interviewing, the researcher used two techniques to aid the memories of the informants to elicit the proverbs. These were the use of already collected proverbs and asked them to elicit other proverbs having similar meanings and the use of key words (e.g. asking about proverbs that deal with marriage related issues like faith, omens, status, upbringing, and morals or ethics, etc).

The interview was carried out with nine local elders (*jaarsolii*), who were selected through snowball sampling techniques, with the help of the local people on the basis of their deep knowledge about the society's oral tradition and socio-cultural practices. The elders from Horro district of *Didibe Kistana* village were: Yuuba, Bosona, Odaa, Roobaa and Qumbii; Malkaa, Aliitoo, Aagaa and Ayyaana were from Horro Bulluq district of *Odaa Bulluq* village. The elders should also have ample experiences to provide important information about the society's culture to an external person.

Then, the elders were interviewed about the proverbs often used in the socio-cultural contexts of marriage speech events. They provided detailed information on the traditional values of the proverbs on such events in its contexts. Such interviews enabled the researcher to ask further questions beyond what has already been planned. The proverbs and their contexts provided by the elders were recorded on audio recorder or were written on notebook. The interviewees told proverbs with their contexts by virtue of their age and experience. They were interviewed to provide sixty-eight proverbs together with their contexts in its real social events. The in-depth interview was used as the main method of data collection in this study.

3.4.2. Observation

A pragmatic study of proverbs claims a researcher to closely observe the day-to-day socio-cultural life of a society under study. The researcher observed the socio-cultural realities of the Oromo society by going down into remote villages. Observing the socio-cultural practices of the society helps the researcher to understand the communicative functions of proverbs in its real contexts. The researcher employed observation to collect some original data in its actual processes of marriage rituals.

The major activities performed during the fieldwork were selection of districts and villages. The researcher made contact with members of the community to identify the scenes where marriage rituals happened in order to observe the ceremonies and to collect proverbs in its natural contexts. During the fieldwork of this study, the researcher observed three marriage ceremonies: two marriage contract, *miinjee deebii* (the returning of the best men) and a wedding day. Fourteen proverbs were collected in different marriage ceremonies. The recordings of proverbs were done on notebook that includes writing of the proverbs and their contextual use.

3.5. Procedures of Data Collection

The researcher visited places where people came together for marriage occasions mainly wedding ceremonies and observed the contexts in which the proverbs were quoted. The researcher also carried out an in-depth interview with the consultants to discuss the uses of proverbs in its contexts. Next, information that was collected from the local elders through in-depth interview was recorded using audio recorder or written on notebook for later analysis.

3.6. Data Analysis Procedures: Transcription, Translation and Classification

The data collected through in-depth interview was first transcribed from audio recorder to written form followed by the selection, translation and classification of the data. This was done immediately after each in-depth interview. The transcription of the data was done in such a way that all data believed to contribute to the study was transcribed on a notebook together with their explanations and the context in which they were used. After the recorded items were transcribed, the next step was the translation of the

data collected from *Afaan Oromo* to the target language (English). Translating the proverbs into the target language (English) had given the researcher one of the hardest time in the entire research undertaking for which equivalent English terms could not be found. This is because proverbs use value laden terms for the expression of the society's views, beliefs, understanding, philosophy etc.

It is said that there is no perfect translation; every translation technique has its own merits and demerits. However, the researcher employed communicative translation approach to translate the proverbs selected for analysis. Newmark (1982) points out that the most appropriate approach to the translation of metaphorical and cultural texts is the communicative translation approach. He stated that the use of such approach helps researchers to make the text in the target language smoother, lighter and communicable to the reader. He further explained that this approach gives the translator right to make correction, substitute clumsy words, remove obscurities, avoid repetitions, and clarify cultural terms. Therefore, this approach helped the researcher to translate the data collected in such a way that readers of English can understand the translated text. It also helped the researcher to maintain the original messages of the proverbs. However, the present researcher used the word in the source language (Oromo words) with explanatory notes where it is believed that there is no equivalence between the source language and the target language. This is because there are highly metaphorical proverbs with cultural elements and local jargons that were found to be difficult to be translated accurately.

After the process of translation was over, twenty five proverbs were identified and categorized according to their contextual themes and the analysis was made qualitatively. Proverbs that are almost similar in their themes and context are excluded during the analysis. Then proverbs were described, interpreted and explained in their real contexts based on certain pragmatic concepts. Being a pragmatic study, this research adopts Searle's (1979) speech act theory as its tool of analysis. The pragmatic concepts that the researcher used for data analysis comprises: contexts, illocutionary acts (assertive, directive, commissive, expressive and declaration), perlocutionary acts, and syntactic forms of illocutionary forces.

To achieve the intended objective of the research, the researcher used some pragmatic concepts for data analysis for this study. The analysis of each proverb was based on the description, interpretation and explanation of pragmatic concepts such as the linguistic, situational, psychological and socio-cultural

contexts. The description, interpretation and explanation of the proverbs in such contexts gave the implied meanings, or illocutionary forces and functions of the proverbs. The description of proverbs in different contexts also helped the researcher to identify the types of illocutionary acts as assertive, directive, commissive, expressive, and declaration. Moreover, the description of proverbs in its contexts helped the researcher to find out the perlocutionary effects of the proverbs on the hearer. The speaker's intention was also very important to the interpretation of proverbs to know the intended meanings of the proverbs. It helped the researcher in the interpretation and explanation of the proverbs. Syntactic forms of illocutionary forces helped the researcher to identify the forms of the proverbs as: declarative, interrogative and imperative. Finally, based on the discussions and analyses that were made using the proverbs chosen, conclusions were made on *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru marriage proverbs.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

In chapter three, the methodology for this study was discussed. This chapter deals with a pragmatic analysis of *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru Oromo marriage proverbs. In this chapter, the data is presented and discussed. This was done through the following format: first, the data is presented in *Afaan* Oromo. Second, the data is transcribed phonetically on the basis of International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to help non-speakers to read the text. Third, the data is translated into the target language, English language. The type of translation employed is communicative translation approach. Twenty five marriage proverbs are presented under the following themes: basic faith, omens, upbringing, morals/ethics, caution/advise, wisdom/foolishness, kinship and status (see also Osisanwo, 2003). Sample proverbs from each of the eight themes are analyzed as representative of others.

Searle's (1979) speech act theory was used in the analysis of the data. The proverbs were analyzed sequentially using John Searle's speech act theory. Pragmatic concepts such as direct or indirect illocutionary acts (like assertive, directive, commissive, expressive and declarative), contexts, perlocutionary effect, and syntactic forms of illocutionary forces of the proverbs were used in data analysis of this study. Each proverb was analyzed pragmatically by stating both the direct and indirect illocutionary acts it performs. The analysis followed descriptions, interpretations and explanations of the meanings and functions of each proverb in contexts descriptively in detail.

4.2. Data Presentation and Analysis

1. Basic Faith

Proverbs under this category are used to teach people the belief of *Horro Guduru* speech community in marriage contract. It indicates that the ritual practice of the society's marriage system is related to the *Gadaa* system and their belief in *Waaqa*.

DATA 1

Oromo: Halkanii fi salgan yoo laate. /halkani: fi salgan jo: la:te/

English: If the marriage is dreamt as a good omen and elders of the marriage welcome

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: Assertive (asserting);
- b) Indirect: Commissive (hoping)

➤ Contexts:

This proverb explains that Oromo society has its own traditional religious beliefs in deciding marriage agreement. According to the informants, in the Horro Guduru Oromo culture, it is deemed that it is not easy for parents to decide marriage contract of their children. That is good omens must be seen by both parents to make marriage alliance. Parents foreshadow their omens through their traditional religious beliefs.³² The word *halkan* (literally means night) has connotative implication that refers to *abjuu* (omen) and the word *salgan* is derived from the word *salgee* (literally means assembly of nine elders, or *qaalluu* judges) refers to the ritual practices of Oromo marriage system through *jaarsummaa*. The word *salgan* also reflects nine assembly of the Oromo *Gadaa* system.³³ From the informants' ideas, the researcher noted that the situations of *halkan* and *salgan* determine marriage negotiation between parents of the bridegroom and the bride in Oromo traditional marriage. This implies that the society considers their omens and the roles of *qaalluu* message in deciding the marriage contract.

As stated by another informant, the proverb indicates that the Oromo society believes in the message of *qaalluu* (religious expert) to arrange marriage agreement.³⁴ From the informant's ideas, the researcher realized that both parents pray for *Waaqa* to receive message from *qaalluu*. The bride's father quoted this proverb during marriage contract at his house in response to the inquiry of the elders who were sent by the bridegroom's father. Quoting this proverb the bride's father reacted to the elders that it is *Waaqa* who fulfill their inquiry of marriage alliance to give hope to *Waaqa*. From the informant's ideas, the researcher discerns that *Waaqa* determines the society's marriage contract. The society gives great respect and honor in their marriage system to *waaqa*.

³² Personal interviews with Bosona, at Didibe Kistana, on April 24/2021; Qumbii, at Didibe Kistana, on April 27/2021

³³ Personal interview with Bosona, at Didibe Kistana, on April 24/2021, 8:00-9:30 am

³⁴ Personal interview with Malkaa, at Odaa Bulluq, on April 23/ 2021, 9:00 am-11:00 am

The same informant added parents' of the bride and the bridegroom starts to observe their *milkee* (omens) through their religious beliefs. To observe their omen, parents prepare *biqila garbuu* (literally means a sprout made of barely) to make *farsoo* (local beer).³⁵ When parents prepare *biqila*, they usually cover the *biqila* with *baala harbuu* (leaves of ficus trees), *baala qobboo* (leaves of a ricinu trees) or *baala bakkannisaa* (leaves of a corton trees). Ficus leaves are wet and have milk which represents reproduction in the society's socio-cultural milieu. From the informant's ideas, the researcher observed that a good sprout of barely indicates a good omens and the marriage is successful but if it doesn't produce buds it is bad. Similarly, if the sprout doesn't grow well, parents cancel marriage negotiation as it is a bad omen. However, if the sprouts grow good, parents think that it is *milkee gaarii* (good omen) and continue marriage contract to accomplish the marriage process through local elders. Having observed their omens as good, they say '*Halkanii fi salgan nu kennera.*' Everything is right; our omen is good; there is no obstacle and impediment in the marriage process. Finally, elders decide and go to girl's parent's home early in the morning by holding *coqorsaa*³⁶ (quitch-grass), *ulmaayii*³⁷ and money. From this, the researcher realized that these cultural plants are used by elders to beg the parents to give their daughter for marriage in Oromo religious ritual. They are also presented to the revered divinity on every occasion of religious rituals.

The researcher observed that the society obeys the rules of Almighty *Waaqa* to arrange marriage contract and to express their fear they have for *Waaqa*. This indicates that the society feels *Waaqa* has the power to bring good or bad effect on the life of the society. That is, omens and elders have a direct influence over marriage contract between parents in Horro Guduru Oromo society.

The speaker wants to consider the hearer to careful observe or realize the omen in the marriage process (good omens); it is considered as a speech act of hoping. The form of this proverb is declarative and it belongs to the act of commissive.

³⁵ Interviews with Bosona on April 24/2021, Odaa on April 23/2021 and Qumbii on April 27/ 2021 at Didibe Kistana

³⁶ It is a kind of running grass with deep roots that spread over the ground. It shoots new branches and roots here and there; connected with each other and with the mother plant through common roots. *Coqorsaa* is used in many social and religious ritual events and serves as a symbol of life, fertility, healthy, peace, connectedness, continuity and reproduction of Maccaa Oromo.

³⁷ It is a kind of tree with a cultural value of representing a wish that the couples would have a nice odor between them after they got married.

DATA 2

Oromo: Niitiin dhirsaaf kenna waaqi. /ni:ti:n d̥ɪrsa:f kenna: wa:k`i/.

English: A wife is a gift of God for her husband.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: Assertive (asserting);
- b) Indirect: Expressive (praising)

➤ Contexts:

Marriage is obligatory for perpetuating of generation in many societies. This proverb has an implication that the Horro Guduru Oromo society believes in *Waaqa*'s marriage. This implies that *Waaqa* binds husband and wife together; *Waaqa* intends marriage to be. According to an informant, in Horro Guduru Oromo, cultural marriage is a customary religious ritual that is practised by observing their own omens and visions in association with *Waaqa*.³⁸ This implies that this proverb reflects that cultural marriage in the traditional Oromo society has a firm connection with *Waaqa*. From the place observed by the researcher, in Horro Guduru Oromo, cultural marriage is a customary religious ritual that is determined by *Waaqa*. This proverb reflects that marriage advocates the will of *Waaqa* that maintains the religious life between the couples. In Horro Guduru Oromo society, marriage contract among parents of the couples happens when only *Waaqa* involves in it. This proverb was quoted on the day of marriage contract after blessing time was over by *jaarsa eebbaa* (blesser) at the bride's home to announce their betrothal engagement or, formality of their agreement in a village called *Odaa Bulluq*. The elder was praising *Waaqa* that the bride and the bride groom become husband and wife from this time onwards. This implies that it is *Waaqa* that bestows a wife for a husband according to the Oromo religious views. *Waaqa* decides the fruitfulness of marriage. The proverb conveys that both partners (the bride's parents and the bridegroom's parents) have a mental understanding that they give much respect and honor to the almighty *Waaqa* in their marriage decision. Thus, Horro Guduru Oromo society believes in *Waaqa*'s marriage. Once *Waaqa* holds them together, it is hard for anybody to separate them.

The speaker invokes the hearer that a wife is a gift for her husband in Oromo religious rituals. *Waaqa* is the greatest binding force in Oromo marriage system. The proverb is used to praise how marriage

³⁸ Personal interview with Bosona, at Didibe Kistana, on April 24/2021, 8:00 a.m -9:30 a.m

system in Oromo society is attached to *Waaqa*. The form of this proverb is declarative and it belongs to the speech acts of expressive.

DATA 3

Oromo: Haadha manaafi abbaa manaa laga tokkoo waraabu.

/ha:da mana:fi ʔabba: mana: laga tokko: wara:bu/

English: The wife and the husband are drawn from a source.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (asserting);
- b) Indirect: declaration (confirming)

➤ Contexts:

This proverb projects that *laga* (literally means river) is the main source for different activities, which plays indispensable role in the life of the Horro Guduru Oromo. In Oromo culture, river is considered as a source of life and fertility and as a sacred ritual. According to the informants, the proverb is used by elders when they are discussing the behavior of the bride and the bridegroom in marriage system. It is *Waaqa* who brings them to live together.³⁹ This proverb was used by an old man to express the resemblances of the traits of the bridegroom and the bride to the bride's father at the bride's home during marriage alliance for confirmation in a small village called *Odaa Bulluq*; it is *Waaqa* who make an association between a wife and a husband bringing them from the same source. It is the belief or faith of the Horro Guduru society that *Waaqa* creates a wife and a husband from the same source. Within the tenet of Oromo socio-cultural milieu, a wife who possess good moral values, good ethics of the society marries a good husband and vice versa.⁴⁰ From the informant's ideas, the researcher observed that this proverb confirms a wife is the replica of her husband in the society. The proverb also conveys personality growth either to admire or detest the behavior of the bride or the bridegroom that the societies take into account in their strong religious feelings.

The speaker wants to convince the bride's parents to give their daughter for marriage contract. The traits of our son and your daughter are the same. They can be a wife and a husband as they have good

³⁹Interviews with Bosona, at Didibe Kistana, on April 24/2021; Aagaa, at Odaa Bulluq, on April 25/2021, 2:00-3:00 am

⁴⁰ Personal interview with Bosona, at Didibe Kistana, on April 24/2021, 8:00-9:30 am

dispositions. The form of this proverb is declarative, it has the function of confirming and it belongs to the speech act of declaration.

2. Omens

Proverbs under this category are used to teach people the influence of fortune related to omens in marriage contract. Good omens encourage the success of marriage and bad omens do the opposite in the society.

DATA 4

Oromo: Qalaamaa gaariin cidhoo gaarii dhalti. / k`ala:ma: ga:ri:n f`do: ga: ri: dal`ti/

English: A good filly gives birth to a good colt.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (asserting);
- b) Indirect: commissive (hoping)

➤ Contexts:

This proverb has an implication that observing once own omens determines the success or failure of marriage system in Horro Guduru society. As recorded by informants, omens have direct influences in Horro Guduru society's marriage practices.⁴¹ *Milkii* (literally means omens) is a sign of prediction in the future whether the society's planning in marriage contract is successful or unsuccessful. Omens can be divided into two: bad omens and good omens.⁴² Some of these are seen and some cannot. For instance, meeting up with a spinster cleaning ash, duiker crossing the road, and etc are bad omens; the presence of a horse particularly a filly on the wedding day, meeting up with swarms of bees, raining on the wedding day, and etc are good omens in the marriage of the society. From the consultants' ideas, the researcher asserted that the proverb reflects the belief and the religious-ethics of the society that they depend on their omens to predict the success or failure of marriage of their children.

The *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru society observes their omen from the inception of marriage contract they make until the wedding day of the marriage system.⁴³ On the wedding day, the society observes omens on their trip till the bride departs her parent's home and reaches the bridegroom's home. The society has highly interested to arrange marriage for their sons to see their children until they live on

⁴¹ Interview with Odaa, on April 23/2021, Yuuba and Bosona, on April 24/2021, at Didibe Kistana; Malkaa, on April 23 and Aliitoo, on April 26/2021, at Odaa Bulluq

⁴² ibid

⁴³ Personal interview with Odaa, at Didibe Kistana, on April 23/2021, 3:00-5:00 pm

the earth and become grandfather and forefather. To realize their wishes the society carefully observes their omens at the end of the wedding day or ceremonies when the bride leaves her parents' home. In the society's cultural marriage and religious beliefs, it is a good omen to transport the bride just as she leaves her parents' home on a filly in the society.⁴⁴ It is believed that the bride couldn't be fruitless or barren as a filly never becomes sterile. As a result, the society particularly elders usually bless the bride's parents who prepare a filly for transporting their daughter to the bridegroom home. This proverb is used by an elderly man at the bride parents' home to the bridegroom's companion on the wedding day to hope that the marriage is successful in the fertility of both the bride and the bridegroom as the use of a filly for transporting the bride symbolizes fertility in the society's religious rituals at *Didibe Kistana*. As the bridegroom's best men and his companion heard the proverb, they became delighted and proud of the bride's family. Thus, the proverb affects the psyche of both parents causing feelings of pleasure and enjoyment in according to the society's wedding ceremonies. That is, it informs the society and the effects of omens in the marriage system in the future. Omens determine the Oromo marriage system.

The speaker often uses the proverb to remind the hearer to careful observe their omen in the marriage process (good omens); it is considered as a speech act of hoping. The form of this proverb is declarative and it belongs to acts of commissive.

DATA 5

Oromo: Gaafa naa ta'uu didu saalli gabaatti na ka'e. /ga:fa na: taʔu: didu sa:lɪ ɡab:tti na kaʔe/

English: An unexpected erection in the market bears to failure.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (criticizing);
- b) Indirect: expressive (regretting).

➤ Contexts:

This proverb implies that the Oromo traditional society uses this proverb when they meet with a bad fortune. The word *saalli* (literally means penis) is a reproductive organ. As reported by one informant, this proverb is usually used by one of the elder man who is regretting to express the feelings of his penis that it erected for him in the market.⁴⁵ In Oromo socio-cultural milieu, the erection of penis in market is

⁴⁴ ibid

⁴⁵ Personal interview with Aagaa, 25 April 2021 in the village of Odaa Bulluq, 8:00-9:00 am

something which is very odd. It is extremely a bad fortune that in the Oromo cultural norms everything has its own appropriate place to happen. The penis is erected in market for arousing the feeling of shame to the person as it doesn't erect for that person in a right place. This proverb is used by one of the elder who were sent for marriage inquiry at the bridegroom's parent's home to express the bad fortune they met on their way to the bride's home in canceling their journey and returned to the bridegroom's home in a small village called *Didibe Kistana*. From the consultant's ideas, the researcher affirmed that the proverb is used as tools for criticizing deviant behaviors. That is, one of the elder used the proverb to comment on behaviors that are inconsistent with the socio-cultural ethics and norms of the society related to omens. The proverb was used by one of the elder to regret about the conditions he met on his way unexpectedly that breaks the norms of the Oromo society. The erection of penis in market place shows a bad omen and at the same time violates the norms of the society. The proverb negates the feelings of the bridegroom's parents morally bad as the local elders they sent meet with unpleasant situations for the marriage inquiry of their son. From the proverb, the researcher reaffirmed that, the society has to follow their omens in the marriage system otherwise they get unfavorable. Observing our own omens is a determinant factor in the traditional Oromo marriage system.

The speaker often uses the proverb to fright the hearer to observe their omens in the marriage process (bad omens). The form of this proverb is declarative and its pragmatic function is regretting, and the act is expressive.

DATA 6

Oromo: Milkii gadheen kurupheetti nama fida. /milki: gaḍe:n k`urup`e:`ti nama fida/

English: A bad omens brings you to a duiker.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (asserting);
- b) Indirect: directive (warning)

➤ Contexts:

In Oromo culture, *milki*⁴⁶ plays a vital role in predicting the success or failure of marriage in the future. From the place observed by the researcher, in the society's culture, there are wild animals, domestic animals, human, birds etc that are regarded as *milki gaarii* (good fortune) or *milki badaa* (bad fortune). For instance, *quruphee* (literally means duiker) is a wild animal that is barren or gives birth to only one young and has connotative implication that refers to *adda gogduu* (misfortune); the sound of *hurunguu* (owl) is also observed. Owl is a kind of bird that is traditionally wise and has a connotative implication of either evil or reproductive.⁴⁷ As stated by one of the informants, observing our own omens decide the marriage contract that is made between parents of the children that is connected to the society's religious rituals and socio-cultural norms.⁴⁸ Thus, the bride's and the bridegroom's parents began to see their omens after the bridegroom's parents sent *jaarsummaa* to the bride's home. When local elders and the bridegroom's father go to the bride's home, they carefully observe their omens on their trip. For example, the local elders together with the bridegroom's father will not be happy if they face the duiker on their travel. When they met with a duiker, they even changed the program by canceling their journey. This is because a duiker is a fruitless animal or gives birth to only one young in Oromo culture which represents a bad fortune. This proverb was used by one of the elders at the groom's house who were sent to the bride's parents to marriage inquiry and cancelled their journey because of their trip was crossed by a duiker before reaching the girl's parents. Hence, the proverb is used to warn such actions that are inconsistent to the socio-cultural norms that the society upholds negative. In the society's culture, the proverb encodes that omens affect the society's feelings in marriage negotiation. That is, the society must give attention to their omens to avoid bad consequences psychologically. The proverb has strong implication in causing the marriage contract to an end. From this the researcher concluded that it is through the indigenous knowledge that the Oromo people make the spirit communication to rethink and reverse the bad luck before making a decision to take or not to take some action.

The speaker often uses the proverb to frighten the hearer to carefully observe their omen in the marriage process (bad omens). The form of this proverb is declaration; it functions as warning which is directive.

⁴⁶ Omens are folk beliefs that are signs of future events. They are inquiries of *Waaqa*. They are gifts and tether of *Waaqa* that relies on psychological concepts; the society observes omens starting from the morning [interviews with Odaa and Malkaa].

⁴⁷ Personal interview with Yuuba, at the village of Didibe Kistana, on April 24/2021, 10:30-11:30 am

⁴⁸ interviews with Odaa, on April 23; Yuuba and Bosona, on April 24, 2021 in the village of Didibe Kistana; Malkaa, on April 23 and Aliitoo, on April 26, 2021 in the village of Odaa Bulluq

3. Upbringing

The proverbs under this category discuss the direct influence of mothers' characters on the behavior of their daughters in the society. Mothers play a pivotal role in caring, teaching or socializing of their children, particularly daughters.

DATA 7

Oromo: Haadha ilaalii, intala fuudhi. /ha:da ila:li: intala fu:di/

English: Inquiry the mother; marry the daughter.

- Illocutionary acts:
 - a) Direct: directive (warning);
 - b) Indirect: expressive (counseling, advising)
- Contexts:

This proverb describes that in the society's marriage system, mother's personality is set as a one of the preliminary criteria in deciding marriage proposal in the society's culture. This proverb is usually used by the groom's parents, his relatives, and elders when they discuss character assessment of the girl's mother. According to the informants, mothers are regarded as primary caregiver, or a nursery who gives direct care in the new environment for her children.⁴⁹ Other informants affirmed that mothers teaches and trains about the society's cultural antecedence, societal values, code of ethics and norms that are consistent in the society. The same informants asserted that mothers have the responsibility of holding the misbehavior of their children when they are deviating from the society's socio-cultural norms.⁵⁰ As she is a mother, she must correct the ill-acts and wrongdoings of her children. This proverb reflects that good mother maintains the ethical-moral standards and religious rituals of the society. The other informants confirmed that in Oromo culture, a mother who maintains the society's norms produces good daughters.⁵¹ From the consultants' ideas, the researcher asserted that good girls are honored for marriage in the society's marriage system. The proverb advises or warns the youth who is in need of marrying a girl to consider the traits of her mother. This implies that a young man is usually required to carefully watch her mother's behavior and deeds to marry a girl. The proverb reflects that the traits or dispositions of a mother influence the characters of her daughter in the society's marriage system. This proverb explains that a girl who has a good mother is raised with good behavior. Thus, the selection of

⁴⁹ Interviews with Malkaa, on April 23/2021 and Aliitoo, on April 26/2021, at Odaa Bulluq

⁵⁰ Interviews with Odaa, 23 April 2021 ; Bosona, 24 April 2021 and Yuuba, 24 April 2021, in Didibe Kistana.

⁵¹ Interviews with Malkaa, Odaa Bulluq, 23 April 2021; Aliitoo, 26 April 2021, Odaa Bulluq.

marriage negotiation is usually ordained by watching the behavior of the bride's mother in Horro Guduru Oromo society. As a result, the behavior of a mother has a direct influence on the behavior of the daughter in the society's marriage. Mother's trait pays either good or bad towards the marriage life of her daughter. That is, if a mother has a bad behavior in the society, her daughter is not inquired for marriage contract.

The speaker gets the hearer to assess the mother's character in the marriage process. The form of this proverb is imperative, its' pragmatic functions are counseling and warning which belongs to the speech acts of expressive and directive respectively.

DATA 8

Oromo: Kan haati burree qabdu ilmoon kalawwee hin dhabdu.

/kan ha:ti bu`re: k`abdu ilmo:n kala`we: hin d`abdu/

English: A daughter never lacks the white spot her mother possesses.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (informing);
- b) Indirect: directive (advising)

➤ Contexts:

The proverb describes that mother's dispositions has an effect on the development of her daughter. The word *burree* (literally means spot) has a connotative implication of *calaqqisuu* (which means reflection) that refers to reproaching, or disapproving on character. According to one informant, a mother is regarded as adorers and caretakers of life for her children.⁵² The proverb is used by the bridegroom's parents, his relatives, and the bridegroom itself at their house. They talk about the behavior of the girl's mother before they send local elders to the bride's home to select a girl for marriage contract. If a mother is well mannered, all her daughters will have good behavior; if she is ill mannered, the daughters will have bad behavior.⁵³ From the consultants' ideas, the researcher observed that the proverb explicates the direct connections that exist between a mother and a daughter's behavior in the society's culture. This indicates that a daughter imitates their behavior after their same-sex parent. Within the belief of Horro Guduru society, a mother is depicted as trainers of their daughter. This proverb explains

⁵² Personal interview with Bosona, 24 April 2021 in the village of Didibe Kistana, at 8:00-9:30 am

⁵³ Personal interview with Aliitoo, 26 April 2021 in the village of Odaa Bulluq, 9:00-10:30 am

that if one's mother did not attract someone who is looking for marriage, the daughter also cannot attract anyone else who is in need of a marriage inquiry. The proverb considers the daughter is the mirror image of her mother. The proverb advises the youth who wants to marry a girl to contemplate the dispositions of her mother. The proverb explains the psychological impacts that the mother's behavior has on the behavior of her daughter in socialization and marriage system. Good behaviors are respected and honored in the society's cultural marriage but deviant behaviors are condemned.

The speaker often uses the proverb to remind the hearer to careful watch mother's behavior in the marriage process (character assessment). The form of this proverb is declarative, the pragmatic function of the proverb is advising and it is the act of directive.

DATA 9

Oromo: Niitiin misir baddee sareen buchul baddee. /ni:ti:n misir badde: sare:n buʃul badde:/
English: A wife is misbehaved at the honeymoon and a dog at puppy.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (asserting)
- b) Indirect: directive (advising, warning)

➤ Contexts:

This proverb has an implication that managing something early results in a good behavior. As recorded by the consultants, in the society's marriage system, *misir* (honeymoon) refers to a period of time usually five days the married couples remain in isolation in a small room behind a curtain with her best men, only visited by the groom's mother.⁵⁴ No one is permitted to visit the bride without offering cents. They added that the couples stay in this room until they return to the bride's house for *misiraachoo* (literally means congratulation). It is in this room that the bridegroom deflowers the girl. In the society, if the bride is found virgin, she is congratulated by the groom's parents and relatives as well as the participants of the wedding through traditional songs. Similar consultants noted in the socio-cultural milieu, the room depicts the place where the bridegroom started to handle the bride from the very beginning to socialize his wife to be obedient for him.

⁵⁴ Personal interviews with Bosona, 24 April 2021 in the village of Didibe Kistana, at 8:00-9:30 am ; Aliitoo, 26 April 2021 in the village of Odaa Bulluq, 9:00-10:30 am

From the consultants point, the researcher explained that a bridegroom is expected to train his wife from the very beginning of their relationship. The proverb is usually applied to warn or advise people to be systematic in managing the bride to achieve impressive results. This proverb was used by the bridegroom's mother in their home to warn the bridegroom to manage his wife carefully from the beginning of the honeymoon. The proverb is metaphorical; there is a comparison between the bride at honeymoon and the puppy. The bride and the puppy should be managed prematurely to get meaningful behavior in the society's socio-cultural milieu. This implies that it is difficult to handle the behavior of the bride and the puppy in state of being delayed. Psychologically, the proverb reflects the belief that a husband has a special right over his wife. This proverb stimulates the bridegroom to be motivated and encouraged to manage his wife in the early honeymoon. The proverb also reveals how the society bestows the role of managing family to a bridegroom rather than the bride.

The speaker wants to remind the hearer (the bridegroom) to manage his wife in marriage starting from the honeymoon. Thus, in Horro Guduru Oromo society the proverb is used to advise and warn the bridegroom on how to socialize his wife and to handle her to be obedient and fit for marriage. The form of the proverb is declarative and it is the speech act of directive.

4. Morals/Ethics

The proverbs in this category are used to teach the society about morals or ethics. The proverbs discourage unethical or immoral behavior. Specifically, the proverbs provide an advice in the form of warning for girls to keep their chastity, or state of being morally pure. In Horro Guduru Oromo marriage system, girls should avoid practicing polygamy either before marriage or after marriage to fit to the socio-cultural norms of the society. Thus, elders are responsible for instilling virtues/decency in the young.

DATA 10

Oromo: Gara laafettiin obboleetti obboleessaaf ulfoofti.

/gara la:fetti:n ?obbole:tti ?obbole:ssa:f ?ulfo:fti/

English: A warmhearted sister conceives from her brother.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (criticizing);
- b) Indirect: directive (advising, warning)

➤ Contexts:

The proverb describes that sister of any body does not make sexual intercourse with her brother because it is forbidden to make it and marry once own sisters in the society's socio-cultural milieu. According to the informants, in the society's culture, it is insulting, or disrespectful for girls to marry without virgin.⁵⁵ This implies that if she does it, she deviates from the cultural norms of the society and wounds her pride and self-respect, or becomes mortified. From the consultants' ideas, the researcher affirmed that the proverb is contempt that premarital intercourse is discouraged for the girls in the Oromo marriage system. The proverb is usually used by a mother at home to warn her daughter abstaining from all sexual intercourse before marriage. That is, it encodes the disapproval which premarital sexual relation arouses in the Oromo culture. With the proverb, somebody may comment, or criticize that a kindly girl is foolishly hot and risks pregnancy before she is married openly. The proverb also indicates the belief in the society that due to their own foolishness, girls themselves risk their dignity.

Other informants⁵⁶ illustrated that in Oromo socio-cultural milieu, marriage follows *seera rakoo*⁵⁷. This means that the bride is required to be with her virgin according to *Gadaa* ceremonious marriage law. The present researcher also observed that to marry with virginity is regarded as a state of being moral, which is ruled by *Seera Safuu*⁵⁸ and ruled by *Waaqa* in Horro Guduru Oromo socio-cultural milieu. The proverb conveys a psychological effect that it encodes the doubt the society has, concerning the self-control of girls. This explicates the proverb degrades, or describes girls as they are weak. Besides, the loss of virginity before marriage means the loss of once own self-respect or dignity because of the violation of the mores and norms of the society.

⁵⁵ Interviews with Aagaa, at Odaa Bulluq, on April 25/2021, 8:00-9:00 am; Aliitoo, at Odaa Bulluq, 26 April 2021, 9:00-10:30 am.

⁵⁶ Interviews with Malkaa, at Odaa Bulluq, on April 23/2021,9:00-11:00 am ; Bosona, at Didibe Kistana, April 24 2021,8:00-9:30 am

⁵⁷ A form of marriage system in Oromo that is arranged by the boy's parent who takes the first initiative for marriage engagement based on marriage laws of the *Gadaa* System by sending elders to the girl's parent and ask them to give their daughter to the son for marriage.

⁵⁸ This law is ruled by *Waaqa* that the Oromo establish through the *Gadaa system* which constitutes the ethical and moral codes upon which human action is to be founded to keep *safuu* in the society. *Seera safuu* teaches Oromo to differentiate bad from good and wrong from right in every aspects of the society's life.

The speaker (a mother) wants to cause the hearer (a girl) to refrain from sexual intercourse before actual marriage. Thus, the proverb is used to advise or warn girls to be more conscious to keep their virginity till marriage. The form of this proverb is declarative and it belongs to the speech acts of directive.

DATA 11

Oromo: Gadheen dhirsa, niitii hamatti. /gafɛ:n dɪrsa ni:ti: hamatti/

English: A bad husband back bites his wife.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (criticizing);
- b) Indirect: directive (advising, warning);

➤ Contexts:

From the place observed by the researcher, a husband and a wife are expected to do things in accordance with the socio-cultural norms of the society. If they tend to deviate from the norm, they are usually marked as bad and seen oddly by the society. The proverb is usually used by an old man in a context to criticize a husband when he deviates from the mores and norms of the society in hateful saying about his wife to other person at the bride's house during the returning of the best men in *Odaa Bulluq* village. That means a husband should accept the advice of their elders and comply with the norms of the society. In the socio-cultural milieu of the society, it is strictly forbidden to back bite not only own wife but also people in general. From the proverb, the researcher confirms that backbiting makes individuals to deviate from the socio-cultural norms of the society. The proverb depicts that a husband becomes the focus of back talk and laughingstock if they do not conform to social expectations of the society. Thus, the researcher realized that not only a husband but also the society itself is supposed to be ruled by their religious-ethics (*Waaqa*) and *Gadaa* laws, or laws against immoral action and social laws. The proverb has a psychological consequence of causing a husband to suffer a sheer enjoyment and live according to the norm of the society. Failure to accept advice and deviating from the socio-cultural norms results in degrading them in moral or intellectual character and making them feel ashamed of their personality.

The speaker often uses the proverb to humiliate the hearer not to backbite someone. Backbiting is destructive to one's self-respect or dignity in marriage and in every aspects of the society's life. The

proverb has two illocutionary forces: advising and warning. The form of this proverb is declarative and it belongs to the acts of directive.

DATA 12

Oromo: Maqaan baduu mannaa mataan baduu wayya. /mak`a:n badu: manna: mata:n badu: wajja/

English: A person who lost his life is better than a person whose name is spoiled.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (criticizing)
- b) Indirect: directive (warning, advising)

➤ Contexts:

Maqaa (literally means *name*) among the society signifies the respectable and good quality of individuals' traits.⁵⁹ *Maqaa* is given to people whose different aspects of life are flourishing in the socio-cultural norms of the society. Any behavior that exceeds the established norms of the people is taken as abnormal behavior that results in the spoilage of one's name.⁶⁰ The persons whose names are impaired with its character are discouraged by every member of the society and are considered as ineffective. According to an informant, this proverb is usually used by the society to ridicule a misbehaving person and correct his or her socially unacceptable behavior.⁶¹ The same informant added that the proverb reflects the disapproval of bad names in the socio-cultural norms of the society. It compares bad names to death and encloses that death is better than bad names. From the informant's ideas, the researcher realized that the proverb is used by the society to make an immoral person timid and reinforces him/her to obey the socio-cultural line of the society. It is often used by the society in the contexts of reproaching of unaccepted behavior in the society.

In Oromo society a boy and a girl must keep their *qarree* (literally means virgin) before marriage that is considered as bravery in the *Gadaa* society.⁶² This clarifies that in Horro Guduru Oromo society, a girl is warned to keep her virginity or *qarree* (*durbummaa*) before marriage otherwise her name is spoiled.

⁵⁹ Interview with Malkaa, on April 23/2021 in the village of Odaa Bulluq, 9:00 am-11:00 am

⁶⁰ Interviews with Odaa, on April 23/2021, 3:00 pm-5:00 pm; Yuuba, at 8:00 am -9:30 am and Bosona, at 10:30am-11:30am, at Didibe Kistana, on April 24/2021

⁶¹ Personal interview with Ayyaana, 25 April 2021 in the village of Odaa Bulluq, 10:00am-11:00am

⁶² Interviews with Malkaa, on April 23/2021 in the village of Odaa Bulluq, 9:00 am-11:00 am ; Odaa, on April 23/2021, in Didibe Kistana, at 3:00 pm-5:00 pm

From the place observed by the researcher, an old man from Horro Guduru Oromo quoted this proverb at the bridegroom's home when he saw the bride who started to serve foods and drinks to the people attending the wedding ceremony on the wedding day without shaving her *qarree* at the village of *Didibe Kistana*. In the cultural marriage of the society, it is not allowed for the bride to leave a small house prepared for the couples for five consecutive days until *mana aseennaa*⁶³. If she leaves the small house, the bride has no virgin. From this situation, the researcher confirms that the proverb is used to warn other girls to avoid sexual intercourse before marriage and urge them to maintain their morality, or respect in keeping their virgin on the wedding day. This indicates virginity of girls reflect the bravery of the bride, parents and her relatives in the society. The proverb also teaches young girls to keep their purity as great value is given to virginity of girls upon marriage in the society's socio-cultural milieu.

Psychologically, the proverb encodes the societal norms that every girl must have virgin upon marriage. That is virginity of a girl gives a genuine respect and honor to the bride, bride's parents and her relatives in the society. If particularly a girl tend to deviate from such norms i.e. lacks virgin during marriage, they are usually treated badly, or discriminated by the society, or sometimes the bridegroom sends the bride to her parents on donkey's back. This is a tragedy for the bride's parents that show disrespect in Horro Guduru Oromo society. From this the researcher concluded that to be virgin is regarded as honesty in marriage success which is considered as a girl's moral fiber and her families honor in the cultural marriage of the Oromo society.

The speaker humiliates the hearer (the bride) to avoid sexual intercourse before marriage which destructs the respect and dignity of the bride and their parents. Thus the proverb is used to advise parents to provide protection to their daughter and warns girls to keep their virgin. The form of this proverb is declarative and it belongs to the speech acts of directive.

5. Caution/ Advice

The category of these proverbs gives advice in manner of warning regarding traditional Oromo marriage system.

⁶³ It is an occasion that the bride introduces herself to the groom's family and enters into the big house of the groom's parents. It happens on the fifth day of the wedding day.

DATA 13

Oromo: Hidhii Waaqni abaare osoo hin dhungatamiin dullooma.

/hidi: Wa:knni ʔaba:re ʔoso: hin dʔungatam:n dullo:ma/

English: An unblest lip by *Waaqa* gets old without being kissed.

Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (informing);
- b) Indirect: directive (advising, warning)

➤ Contexts:

According to the *Gadaa* system, each male and female performs different activities through their age grades in Oromo society. One of the informants asserted that of the age grades *bandakorree*⁶⁴, is the most important cycle of the *Gadaa* age grades which determines the marriage of both sexes in the Oromo marriage system.⁶⁵ In the socio-cultural context of the society, *Bandakorree* is the age limits in the *Gadaa* system which ranges from 17-24, in which both the male and female youths practices *qabdoos taa'u*⁶⁶. At this age set, performing sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden in accordance with the *Gadaa* system of the society. This is because marriage system of the Oromo society is ruled by *Waaqa* as marriage is a complete half one's religion and marriage laws of the *Gadaa* system, which strictly forbids premarital sexual intercourse. In the Horro Guduru Oromo traditional society, either a male or a female who doesn't involve in *qabdoos taa'u* will not be asked for marriage. The proverb informs that if girls or boys do the right thing or follow the legal ways, they cannot face trouble in their marriage. The proverb advises both girls and boys to respect the norms, and warns those who deviate that they will suffer the consequences. This proverb is usually applied to criticize girls or boys who are unsystematic in their age time to stick themselves to the norms of the society. The proverb was used by a man who was warning his son who hadn't have *qabdoos* (literally means friend) or not so as to engage him in a formal marriage system. In the socio-cultural norms of Horro Guduru Oromo society, at this age both sexes practice *taabore*⁶⁷ songs using different types of traditional musical instruments. A female whistles *faaggaa*⁶⁸ to

⁶⁴ the age set (17-24 years) in the *Gadaa* cycle which is a period of excitement and military training. They engage in agriculture, utilization of property, family management and social life by observing the culture and law of the society.

⁶⁵ Personal interview with Qumbii, at Didibe Kistana, April 27/2021, 2:30pm-3:30pm

⁶⁶ a condition that is practiced by girls and boys to express their love kissing their lips over during *bandakorree* age-grades.

⁶⁷ A festival usually celebrated for the transition from *bandakorree* to *raabaa* (25-32 years); puberty festival

⁶⁸ A musical instrument, which is made of bamboo (*leemana*) trees, is used by girls to whistle and announce the presence of *taabore* songs in the area.

announce and call her *addooyee/haxee*⁶⁹ for singing *taabore* songs together, and a male whistles *ulullee*⁷⁰ to call his *saakuma*⁷¹.

The proverb also conveys about psychological consequence that the roles of ages in both girls and boys have in the marriage process in the society. That is, it teaches boys and girls to respect the socio-cultural norms of the society to practice *qabdo taa'u* otherwise they are not asked for marriage. They are disrespectful in the society. Thus, the researcher observed that the practice of *qabdo taa'u* during the age set system (*bandakorree*) is a determinant factor in the marriage system of the society.

The speaker often uses the proverb to remind the hearer to use his/her age set system and practice *qabdo taa'u* to participate in marriage which refers to *fuudhaa*⁷² and *heerumaa*⁷³. The proverb has the pragmatic functions of advising and warning. The form of this proverb is declarative and it belongs to the speech acts of directive.

DATA 14

Oromo: Gaa'ila Waaqni abaare osoo *ininayyoo* hin dhaammatiin heerumama.

/ga:`ila Wa:k`ni ʔaba:re ʔoso: ʔininajjo: hin da:mmati:n he:rumama/

English: An unblessed marriage by *Waaqa* gets married without ritualizing *ininayyoo*.

Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (informing);
- b) Indirect: directive (advising, warning)

➤ Contexts:

This proverb has an implication that practising the wedding song of *ininayyoo*⁷⁴ (literally means girls' song of lamentation) is prestigious for the Oromo society and the girls as the songs reflect the society's

⁶⁹ symbols of intimate girl friends in peer groups who love one another and share secret to at girlhood to keep their chastity; catalyst

⁷⁰ a musical instrument

⁷¹ Symbols of intimate boy friends in peer groups who love one another and share secret to at boyhood

⁷² Refers to a boy engaged to a girl.

⁷³ Refers to a girl engaged to a boy.

⁷⁴ *Maccaa* Oromo nuptial songs girls perform to express their identity and culture which makes a wedding ceremony unforgettable in the society.

identity. The proverb that reads as ‘*Gaa’ila waaqni abaare osoo hiroo*⁷⁵ *hin dhahatiin mana bahama*’ which roughly means ‘An unblessed marriage by *Waaqa* gets married without ritualizing *hiroo*’ is equally important for boys. As recorded by an informant *gaa’ila* (literally means marriage) refers to a sacred religious ritual and socio-cultural values that is practised to maintain the society’s *Gadaa* laws.⁷⁶ This implies that marriage has a deep socio-cultural meaning through which the Oromo people establishes family, kinship system and perpetuates the existence of its generations. The same informant also explained that *ininayyoo* as a wedding song that is practised at the home of the bride. It is a song full of joy and sorrow. The bride feels highly excited as she attains the important phase of married recognition. Conversely, she is hatred and worried because she wants to depart her parents for marital life. In Horro Guduru Oromo society, the song gives the bride the best chance to express her inner feelings in appreciating, praising, respecting and recognizing of people in the society.

The same informant defined *ininayyoo* as a wedding song that takes place when delivering the bride ceremonially to the bridegroom closes to happen at the home of her parents. As stated by this informant, *ininayyoo* emotionally reacts to the departure of the bride with a feeling of sadness. The bride criticizes her parents for giving her away with the wedding girls and peers. He added that *ininayyoo* also express fears and frustrations expecting her with the new bridegroom’s family in the future. It advises the bride how she could manage living with husband and new family. The society use this proverb to advise girls to practise the song of *ininayyoo* to respect the socio-cultural norms of the society before marriage. This proverb was usually cited by an elder who was warning a girl who didn’t follow legal forms of Oromo marriage system to get married without ritualizing *ininayyoo*. This implies that the marriage that doesn’t practise *ininayyoo* is the cursed one in the society’s socio-cultural milieu. From this the researcher realized that *ininayyoo* is a highly respected wedding song which is practiced only in legal forms of marriage that follows *seeraa rakoo*⁷⁷. It marks an important stage in wedding ceremony of cultural marriage in betrothal engagement of the society.

The proverb explains the girls who get married without practising *ininayyoo* are cursed by parents of the bride because it usually takes place without the knowledge of parents and families. Thus, it frightens

⁷⁵ *Maccaa* Oromo nuptial songs boys sing to make a wedding ceremony memorable. *Ininayyoo* plus *hiroo* equals *Mararoo* (literally means lamentation).

⁷⁶ Personal interview with Qumbii, at Didibe Kistana, April 27/2021,2:30pm-3:30pm

⁷⁷ *Gadaa* marriage law

girls not to practise informal marriage and sexual intercourse as it is disrespectful in the society. Marriage should be arranged by the parents of the bride and bridegroom to be legal and keep the morals or ethics of the society. This is proved by the Oromo proverb which says, ‘*Intalli marii malee heerumte marii malee baati*’ which means ‘A girl married without assent divorces her home without assent.’

The speaker often uses the proverb to strike the hearer (girls) with fear. The hearer will suffer the consequences of being cursed because of not practising *ininayyoo* in Oromo traditional marriage system. Here the speaker indirectly means that if girls don’t practise the song of *ininayyoo* before leaving parents’ home for marriage, they will eventually face a bad consequence particularly curse. The proverb has two illocutionary forces: advising and warning. The form of this proverb is declarative and the act is directive.

DATA 15

Oromo: Durbi qarree fi warajoon tokko. /durbi k`arre: fi waradzo:n tokko/

English: A virgin girl and a *sacred animal* are alike.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (asserting, informing)
- b) Indirect: directive (advising)

➤ Contexts:

In this proverb, *durba qarree*⁷⁸, who is the unmarried girl devoted to *Waaqa*, without which the success of marriage is unthinkable in the Oromo society is likened to *warajoo*⁷⁹. The analogy is set between a virgin girl and a sacred animal to communicate the care orientation Oromo girls are assumed to take until marriage. As stated by one of my informants, in the Oromo ceremonious marriage of the *Gadaa* system the bride is required to be virgin to keep up the mores and norms of religious life and to have *safuu Waaqa* (dignity and respect of God).⁸⁰ Virginity is also a sign of decency in the cultural marriage system of the Oromo society as required by the *Gadaa* system. Similarly, *warajoo* is a traditional Oromo religious ritual in the sacred home of *Qaalluu* (Oromo religious expert) and the dedication of sacrificial

⁷⁸ Young unmarried virgin girl (opposite to the male *Qeerroo*). Virginity has special connotation for girls.

⁷⁹ In Oromo traditional society, *warajoo* refers to animals like bulls, hens, sheep, etc that the people use the animals for sacrificial dedication for *Waaqa*. They are taken as *irreessa or dhibaayyuu* (literally means libation).

⁸⁰ Personal interview with Qumbii, Didibe Kistana, 27 April 2021, 2:30pm-3:30pm

animals like sheep, hens, and bulls to the forest deity that deserves *safuu Waaqa*.⁸¹ Thus, in the Oromo socio-cultural milieu, sacred animals have also *safuu Waaqa* just like a virgin girl. This proverb is usually used by elders when they want to talk about a girl who comes with virginity on a wedding day to express her strength and bravery at the bridegroom's house. Here the elders use the proverb to advise girls to keep their virgin until their wedding day. From the informant's ideas, the researcher observed that a virgin girl and a sacred animal is a socially accepted behavior that gives high respect and dignity for the socio-cultural norms of the society on the special rituals of that day.

The same informant quoted that if the bride comes with virginity, the new family respects and gives her proper place. The bridegroom's family degrades and disrespects her at their home if she comes with no virgin. This explicates that loss of virginity is a sign of indecency in the socio-cultural norms of the society. This implies that a girl who has lost her virgin before marriage also violates the religious beliefs of the society in *Waaqa*. Sometimes the impurity of the bride may result in the ending of the social relations between the bridegroom's and the bride's parents. That means, it results in marriage divorce. Thus, from the ideas of the informant, the researcher realized that a virgin girl and a sacred animal in the proverb refer to a socio-cultural, philosophical and religious construction of the society on a special ritual day.

There is a song sung that reacts to the declaration of virginity of the bride in Horro Guduru Oromo society which we call it *Ansoosillee* (bridal praise). The song proves the prior virginity of the bride and the successful deflowering of the groom. Psychologically, it shows happy ending of the marriage.

The speaker convinces the hearer (girls) to keep their virginity until formal marriage is arranged by parents. Just like marriage of virgin girls, sacred animals need a special ceremony. The proverb is used to advise girls to keep their purity, or chastity before marriage. The form of this proverb is declarative and it is directive.

6. WISDOM/ FOOLISHNESS

The proverbs under this category teach the society's wisdom or accepted/unaccepted beliefs in the Oromo marriage system.

⁸¹ ibid

DATA 16

Oromo: Duuti qoricha hinqabdu, yoo qabaatte fuudhanii dhalchuu qofa.

/du:ti k`oriʃa hin k`abdu, jo: k`aba:tte fu:ʃani: ɗalʃu: k`ofa/

English: Death has no medicine if it has the only thing is to have a child in marriage.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (asserting, criticizing);
- b) Indirect: directive (advising)

➤ Contexts:

The proverb justifies that the only means through which the society wins death is to give birth to children through marriage system. The proverb reflects that marriage has an effect on death. This implies that it is through marriage that our descendants have been replacing the present generations. According to one informant, marriage is a religious ritual which is highly respected and regards the socio-cultural norms of the Oromo society.⁸² It is the ceremony in which two people are married to each other to produce children.⁸³ A girl or a woman who gives birth to a child is almighty admired by *Waaqa* among the society.⁸⁴ This informant supported his ideas with another Oromo proverb to express the importance of giving birth to children in the marriage system of the society which says ‘*Nama Waaqni eebbise ganamaan ilmoo godhata*, literally means ‘A person blessed by *Waaqa* fathers a child early.’ From the informants’ ideas, the researcher realized that the proverb reflects the Oromo society’s native knowledge and accumulated experience of fertility in reproduction. Besides, the proverb contends with death, the end of life (extinction). Hence, this proverb explains the importance of marriage in reproduction in the socio-cultural milieu of the society. The proverb is usually used by the society to criticize the youth who refuses to marry for a long time because of different reasons and enforce him to marry. The proverb advises the youth to respect the socio-cultural norms of the society unless he suffers a bad consequence of lacking status of fatherhood. He is regarded as *dhaabate hafee* (literally means a unpaired at all) and his name is engraved alone.

Thus, in the society’s culture, the youths must play their role in reproduction to perpetuate generations. Every youth in the society should strive to do what will bring respect and honour to him and which

⁸² Personal interview with Ayyaana, 25 April 2021 in the village of *Odaa Bulluq*, 10:00am-11:00am.

⁸³ Interviews with Malkaa, *Odaa Bulluq*, 23 April 2021; Odaa, 23 April and Roobaa, April 27 2021 at *Didibe Kistana*

⁸⁴ Interview with Malkaa, at *Odaa Bulluq*, on April 23/2021, 9:00am-11:00am

should be done at the rightful time. Psychologically, the youth who deviates from the socio-cultural norms of the society faces disrespect and dishonor in that society.

The speaker persuades the hearer to give birth to children through marriage process to perpetuate his generation. The proverb is used to advise youths to marry and have children. The form of this proverb is declarative and the act is directive.

DATA 17

Oromo: *Mirgii fi dhalli ganama nama hafa. /mirgi: fi dālli ganama nama hafa/*

English: The best target for huntsman is in the morning and to marriage when the person is young.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (informing, criticizing);
- b) Indirect: directive (advising, warning)

➤ Contexts:

In this proverb, the word *mirga* (literally means right hand) has a connotative implication of hunting animals throwing spears and killing it especially earlier than any other hunters holding the possession of the meat of the animal's right leg indicates bravery in the society. *Dhala* (literally means child) refers to child bearing through marriage; *ganama* (literally means morning) has the implication of a sign of a good omen in the Oromo worldview about creation and fertility preceding other things. According to the informants, the Oromo society enforces to do things sticks to the socio-cultural norms and obey the laws of *Gadaa* system.⁸⁵ For instance, bravery and marriage is a highly respected value in the culture of the Oromo society.⁸⁶ From the informants' ideas, the researcher observed that to have a child through marriage is highly respected in the society's socio-cultural milieu and bravery, too. This explicates that marriage changes the status of someone when they start to bear children. This demonstrates that marriage is normally praised, respected, and valued to get children at the right time in the society.

Metaphorically, the proverb stresses the significance of becoming bravery and having a child. A comparison is made between the *mirga* (target hunter), which symbolizes bravery and the child, the most precious possession in the Oromo nation. The comparison reveals that in the society's culture, to

⁸⁵ Interviews with Malkaa, on April 23/2021, Ayyaana, on April 25/2021 and Aliitoo, on April 26/2021 at the village of Odaa Bulluq; Odaa, On April 23/2021, at Didibe Kistana.

⁸⁶ Personal Interviews with Malkaa, on April 23/2021 and Aliitoo, on April 26/2021, at Odaa Bulluq.

become bravery and to have a child is highly treasured. The proverb is usually utilized to reinforce the youths to marry early and to have children. Thus, this proverb is usually used by elders to warn the youths who reject the ideas of their parents and live alone without marriage. It is also used by the elders to criticize the youths who show deviant behaviors or acts against the norms of the society. The proverb advises the youths to respect the socio-cultural norms of the society unless they suffer death without having children, or changing their status of fatherhood/motherhood. Thus, the researcher realized that this proverb reflects the significance of marriage to get a child and extend the family formation in the society.

Thus, the proverb explains that the life of the society is only brightened when it is attended by childbirth. To get children at the right time is regarded as a societal norm because children are many things for parents in the society. The society respects and values individuals who get married and give birth to children early. Psychologically, youths who want to be respected should do things that will earn him respect in the socio-cultural milieu of the society. Just as respect is earned, insult is also invited through unpleasant behavior if the youths don't get married.

The speaker persuades the hearer to get a child early through marriage is better than any other time. The form of this proverb is declarative; it has the pragmatic functions of advising or warning the youths to marry and bear children at the right time which is a speech act of directive.

DATA 18

Oromo: Hin se'iin manaa bahee deebiin fala naaf ta'e. /hin se?i:n mana: bahe: de:bi:n fala na:f ta?e/

English: An unintended marriage contract results in an unexpected possibility.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (criticizing);
- b) Indirect: directive (advising, warning);

➤ Contexts:

The proverb illustrates that men are expected to do things according to the socio-cultural norms of the society to arrange marriage contract for their children. According to an informant, local elders play a good position in the society in setting marriage contract together with the boy's father in the society's

culture.⁸⁷ The groom's father searches for a girl for his son in exchanging ideas with his relatives. The bridegroom's father and his relatives research for seven generations to ensure that the families are not related by bloodline, or lineage.⁸⁸ After they finish their investigation, the boy's parents send local elders to the girl's parents for marriage inquiry of their daughter. However, this proverb expresses a strange thing that the boy's father alone goes to the girl's parents home to arrange a marriage contract for his son. The boy's father doesn't tell to his relatives as well as local elders as he is arranging marriage contract for his son and even he doesn't observe his omens. The way the boy's father tries to contact the girl's parents to make marriage alliance for his son is different from what is usual, or experienced before in the society. From the informant's ideas, the researcher realized that this proverb is usually used by an elderly man to warn or to criticize the boy's father who ignores sending *jaarsummaa* to the girl's parents to set marriage contract secretly by violating the socio-cultural norms of the society. In cases disagreement arise between the boy's father and the girl's parents in arranging marriage agreement; it is mandatory for both partners to resolve their disagreement through *jaarsummaa* socio-culturally. The elder uses this proverb to criticize the close-mindedness or foolishness of the groom's father who suffers a bad consequence in neglecting the position of local elders in the socio-cultural milieu of the society, particularly marriage contract. Thus, the researcher realized that this proverb reflects that reconciliation (*jaarsummaa*) is the society's wisdom in processing marriage contract. This implies that marriage contract via *jaarsummaa* is a highly respected value in the norms of the society.

As explained in the proverb the boy's father becomes shameful because he goes alone to make marriage agreement for his son. His deeds destroy his dignity in the society. Local elders must involve in marriage alliance because marriage is a social event which needs participation according to the socio-cultural milieu of the society. As a result, the boy's father faces a psychological consequence of his actions; the local elders blame him for his deeds.

The speaker humiliates the hearer to be wise and not to go alone to the girl's home to make marriage agreement for his son that destructs his self-respect and dignity in the society. This is a bad deed that someone commits in marriage negotiation. Thus, the proverb is widely used to advise the boy's father to send local elders to make marriage alliance for his son and warn him not to make marriage contract

⁸⁷ Personal interview with Aagaa, on April 25, 2021 in the village of Didibe Kistana, 8:00am-9:00am.

⁸⁸ interviews with Yuuba, on April 25 at Didibe Kistana; Aliitoo, on April 26, and Ayyaana, on April 25 at Odaa Bulluq

without the awareness of the local elders and his relatives. The form of the proverb is declarative and it is the speech act of directive.

DATA 19

Oromo: Niitiin baate amalli lama. /ni:ti:n ba:te ?amalli lama/

English: A wife divorced has two behaviors.

➤ Illocutionary acts

- a) Direct: assertive (informing)
- b) Indirect: directive (advising, warning)

➤ Contexts:

The proverb explains that a wife is expected to be wise and knowledgeable to maintain her home according to the socio-cultural norms of the society. As stated by one of the informant, a wife plays a crucial role in the society in handling her home in the marriage system.⁸⁹ This is affirmed by the Oromo proverb ‘*Dubartiin utubaa manaati,*’ which means ‘A wife is the pillar of the house in the society.’⁹⁰ From the informant’s ideas, the researcher observed that without a wife everything lacks its beauty in the house according to the society’s socio-cultural milieu. Thus, the society expects a wife to be knowledgeable and wise enough to handle her home. This proverb is usually used by elders of the society to advise a wife to be insightful and to keep her home though her husband’s treats her badly because of his misbehavior. This proverb has an implication that a wife in the society does not easily divorce her husband and dissolve her house. She is usually regarded as innocent and impatient, and breaks the socio-cultural norms of the society as well as she violates her beliefs to be ruled by *Waaqa* if she thinks about divorce.⁹¹ As the proverb demonstrates a wife is also vulgarized as disloyal and usually not accepted even by her mother due to lack of wisdom if she thinks of divorce. A mother also uses this proverb to warn her daughter who thinks to divorce her husband not to break the socio-cultural norms of the society in the house.

In Oromo *Gadaa* system, divorce is prohibited and discouraged in the society’s religion and *Gadaa* marriage laws, which considers marriage tie as a marital infrangible union.⁹² He added that a young man,

⁸⁹ Personal interview with Ayyaana, on April 25, 2021 at the village of Odaa Bulluq, 10:00am-11:00am.

⁹⁰ Personal interview with Roobaa, on April 27 2021 in the village of Didibe Kistana, 1:00pm-2:00pm.

⁹¹ Personal interview with Ayyaana, on April 25/2021,at the village of Odaa Bulluq, 10:00am-11:00am.

⁹² Personal interview with Odaa, at Didibe Kistana, on April 23/2021, 3:00pm-5:00pm

who divorces his *niitii qarree* (early wife), is not elected to be member of *Gadaa* officials in the Oromo *Gadaa* system. This informant proves his statement with another Oromo proverb which reads ‘*Bakka Waaqni nama hidhe takaallaa malee dhaabbatu*, which roughly means ‘A person stays to a place where *Waaqa* ties him/her without a chain.’ From the informant’s ideas, the researcher found that divorce runs against the will of *Waaqa* in the Oromo society. This explains that divorce is strictly forbidden in the Oromo society as it breaks the socio-cultural norms of the society. The proverb also conveys psychological consequence that a wife in the society never thinks about divorce of her husband even if she is maltreated by her husband. This is because bad names are attributed to a divorced woman such as foolishness, unfaithfulness, and brainless (devoid of intelligence) in the society. A wife begets dishonor and disrespect if she thinks of divorce in the society’s socio-cultural milieu.

The speaker persuades the hearer (a wife) to be wise and to maintain their home in the marriage system. The proverb is widely used to advise a wife as members of the society to maintain her home despite her husband’s mistreatment; to warn a wife who deviates from the norms of the society, divorce. The form of the proverb is declarative and it is the speech act of directive.

7. Family/Kinship

Under this category proverbs that talks about family relationship or kinship in marriage are presented.

DATA 20

Oromo: Soddaa fi surree wajjin kufu./sodda: fi surre: wadzin kufu/

English: It is with our own in-laws and trousers we fail.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (asserting/informing)
- b) Indirect: expressive (complimenting);

➤ Contexts:

According to an informant, in Oromo traditional marriage system, in-laws create a high relationship between the parents of both the bride and the bridegroom.⁹³ The informant’s ideas imply that the proverb informs how in-laws become our relatives in Oromo marriage system in extending family formation in

⁹³ Personal interview with Roobaa, on April 27, 2021, at the village of Didibe Kistana, 1:00pm-2:00pm.

the society. Here in this proverb the word *soddaa* (literally means in-laws) is compared to *surree* (literally means trousers). The proverb is metaphorical; there is a comparison between trousers and in-laws. A comparison is made between the trousers, which is designed to cover our body parts and the in-laws, which stands for persons connected with another by affinity in the Oromo nation. This implies that the trait of in-laws is assigned to trousers in that either of them shows firm association of something. As stated by the same informant, in Oromo cultural marriage system to become in-laws in marriage is highly valuable, respected and praised. From the ideas of the informant, it is clear that trousers conceal the body parts as a protective layer. Just like trousers, becoming in-laws in marriage in Oromo society creates a high relation between biological groups offering self-esteem, respect, affection, or admiration to both families in every aspects of life. From the place observed by the researcher, an old man used the proverb when he was talking about the brother-in-laws who reciprocate his mother/father in-laws with precious gifts during returning of the best men to the bride's home family. Here the old man used the proverb to compliment others to provide in-laws with gifts and respect them. Thus, the researcher realized that this proverb reflects the significance of marriage to extend the family formation and to strengthen the family relation by blood in the society through in-laws.

The proverb has a psychological effect of binding parents of the bridegroom and the bride, even their relatives in Oromo marriage system. The proverb is used to express a feeling of sympathetic pleasure to someone's in-laws in socio-cultural milieu of the society. This illuminates that in Oromo land, whenever in-laws is mentioned, admire and respect come to mind in the society's culture.

The speaker wants to please the hearer to express a feeling of great respect and admiration to his or her in-laws; it is considered a speech act of complimenting. The form of this proverb is declarative and it belongs to the acts of expressive.

DATA 21

Oromo: Jiruu fi amaatii hin tuffatan. / dziru: fi ?ama:ti: hin tuffatan/

English: One doesn't condescend on his in-law and a job.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (asserting/informing)
- b) Indirect: directive (advising)

➤ Contexts:

As explicated by one of the informants, a job and an in-law are highly respected, valued and appreciated in the socio-cultural norms of the society.⁹⁴ The word *jiruu* (literally refers to job) and *amaatii* (literally refers to mother-in-law) have connotative implication in the socio-cultural milieu of the society. The proverb is figurative; there is a comparison between a job and a mother-in-law. From the informant's ideas, the researcher noted that in the society, whatever job someone has, it is not underestimated and neglected. Similarly, in the society's marriage system whether our own mother-in-law is poor or rich, she is not undervalued. The proverb describes that once the connection is created among parents of the bride and the bridegroom in marriage, mother-in-law is highly respected in Oromo societal norms. This proverb is usually used to advise those people who neglect his or her mother-in-law because of different socio-cultural factors. This proverb is usually cited by an elderly man when brother-in-law shows a behavior that he doesn't think his wife's mother valuable which causes her hurt feelings. Thus, when the elder found fault with the brother-in-law, then the elder quotes this proverb to advise the brother-in-law for his misbehavior of showing disrespect for his mother-in-law. That is, the proverb is used when someone is expected to respect and give worth of high regard for his/her mother-in-law. The proverb has psychological consequence on the hearer to give respect and value of his/her mother-in-law. Due regard or respect should be given to our mother-in-law in the society's marriage system.

The proverb is often used by the elder to consider the hearer that he/she would not neglect his/her mother-in-law because of the association created through cultural marriage. It is considered as a speech act of advising. The form of this proverb is declarative and it is directive.

DATA 22

Oromo: Soddaa fi dugdaan lafaa ol ka'u. /sodda: fi dugda:n lafa: ka?u/

English: It is with our own in-law and back we rise from the ground.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (affirming/informing)
- b) Indirect: expressive (validating);

⁹⁴ Personal interview with Roobaa, on April 27/2021, at the village of Didibe Kistana, 1:00pm-2:00pm .

➤ Contexts:

In this proverb, in-law is compared to back of our body, which refers to the rear part of the human body that goes from the neck to end of the spine. An in-law stands for persons connected with another by bloodline in the Oromo society through marriage and the back refers to connected bones that provide support for our body anatomically. In-law interacts and helps his mother-in-law and father-in-law as well as their relatives in different social events such as harvesting time, wedding ceremonies, funeral ceremonies and the like.⁹⁵ In-law is highly respected and praised in the society in creating a strong bond among the two families and arrives to help his mother or father in-laws in time of problems.⁹⁶ From the informants' ideas, the researcher explains that in Oromo marriage system in-law lives in harmony and cooperation with his in-laws in respecting the socio-cultural norms of the society. This proverb reflects that in-law is a worthy person that deserves respect and honor in the marriage system of the society in every aspects of the society's life. From the place observed by the researcher, an old man quoted this proverb at a wedding ceremony to talk about the in-law who helped his father-in-law and mother-in-law during wedding ceremonies in providing financial assistance. Here the man used the proverb to validate the worthiness of in-law for mutual cooperation that is created through marriage tie in socio-cultural milieu of the society in time of problems. Thus, the researcher observed that this proverb reflects the significance of marriage to extend integrity and value of in-law among families and to strengthen the family tie by bloodline in the society. The proverb approves that the society admires or honors his in-laws mental states. High status is given for in-laws in the socio-cultural milieu of the Oromo society.

The speaker wants to inspire the hearer to express a feeling of great respect and honor; it is considered a speech act of validating. The form of this proverb is declarative and it belongs to the acts of expressive.

8. Status

Status plays important role in creating a healthy, a wealthy and a successful marriage in the society's life. Good parents who have good status such as age, race, religious, socio-economic, moral and ethical values, etc are selected by parents of the boys and the girls for marriage contract. Proverbs with such a theme is the focus of this sub category.

⁹⁵Interviews with Aagaa, on April 25/2021,8:00am-9:00am and Aliitoo, on April 26/2021,9:00am-10:30am,Odaa Bulluq

⁹⁶ Personal interviews with Aliitoo, on April 26,2021,9:00am-10:30am,at the village of Odaa Bulluq

DATA 23

Oromo: Durbaa fi qullubbii abbaatu bakka gaarii dhaabbata.

/durba: fi k`ullubbi: ʔabba:tu bakka ga:ri: dʌ:bbata/

English: It is the father who plants the garlic and the girl in a good place.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (informing)
- b) Indirect: directive (advising, warning)

➤ Contexts:

This proverb draws a possible significance of primarily selecting something prematurely results in good fruit. The word *qullubbii* (literally means white onion), *durba* (literally means a virgin girl) are compared in this proverb. The proverb is metaphorical; there is a comparison between garlic and daughter. One of my informant asserted that when we plant vegetables like garlic, we select fertile soil to get good production.⁹⁷ The same informant explained that the society selects good parents to make marriage alliance for their children to get a happy and wealth marriage of their children. Relatives of the girls or the boys play a decisive role in the selection of good parents next to their fathers in order to decide marriage contract in the socio-cultural contexts of the society. From the informant's ideas, the researcher observed that parents who fit to the socio-cultural norms of the society are selected so as to decide the marriage of their children. The proverb is usually applied to advise people to be systematic in selecting something to attain good outcomes. The proverb was usually used by an elderly man who was advising the girl's parents to engage their daughter for the boy whom they set *jaarsummaa* for marriage alliance for at the bride's home.

The proverb explains that parents who conform to what is decent in the socio-cultural norms of the society are good for marriage as they attain honor and respect in society. However, parents who act against the norms of the society are regarded as uncultured parents and are not selected for marriage. Psychologically, such parents lack dignity and honor as they live out of the society's norms. Hence, their children are not selected for marriage because of their unaccepted behavior.

⁹⁷ Personal interview with Odaa, at Didibe Kistana, on April 23/2021, 3:00pm-5:00pm

The speaker wants to convince the hearer to choose good parents in order to make marriage alliance to avoid negative consequences that may come after marriage like divorce. Thus, the proverb is used to advise or warn the society on how to choose a good husband or wife for their children to create a happy and a successful marriage for their children. The form of the proverb is declarative and it is the speech act of directive.

DATA 24

Oromo: *Mi'a wal fakkaatu walbira fannisu. /mi?a wal fakka:tu walbira fannisu/*

English: Similar tools are hanged in the same place.

➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (asserting)
- b) Indirect: directive (advising, warning)

➤ Contexts:

This proverb characterizes a status which is considered as a criterion in the selection of marriage contract in the Oromo socio-cultural milieu. The word *mi'a* (literally means tool) is liked to *fannisu* (literally means to hang). The proverb is metaphorical; there is a comparison between tool and person. According to informants, the Horro Guduru Oromo society selects the status of parents to engage their children in marriage negotiation to attain a happy and a wealth marriage for their children.⁹⁸ This statement implies that every aspects of parents' life in relation to others in that society are considered as a major standard for dealing marriage contract. This proverb is usually used by elder to advise parents to be precise in selecting good parents for their children when they make marriage contract. This proverb describes that parents who have the quality of being decent to the socio-cultural norms of the society are selected for marriage. The proverb was usually used by an elder man who was advising the groom's parents at their house to select a good bride for their son from respected parents in the society before they contact the girl's parents. This indicates that the bridegroom's parents together with their relatives were talking about selection of good parents for their son to make a decision for marriage alliance.

The selection of parents to arrange marriage contract in the society has a psychological effect as implied in the proverb. This implies that parents who have good ethical values in the society are suitable for

⁹⁸ Personal interviews with Malkaa, on April 23/2021; Ayyaana, on April 25/2021, and Aliitoo, on April 26/2021, at Odaa Bulluq; Odaa, On April 23/2021 and Yuuba, on April 24/2021 in the village of Didibe Kistana

marriage selection because of their honest behavior that they show respect for other people in the socio-cultural norms. On the other hand, parents who are indecent behavior are inappropriate for marriage as they have socially improper behavior in the societal norms.

The speaker wants the hearer to consider parents' selection in order to create marriage contract to avoid negative effects like divorce, which may happen post marriage. Thus, the proverb is used to advise or warn the society to select parents for marriage to create a fertile, wealthy, healthy and successful marriage for their children. The form of the proverb is declarative and it is the speech act of directive.

DATA 25

Oromo: Sa'a dallaa guutuu manna soddaa barcuma guutuu wayya.

/saʔa dalla: gu:tu: manna sodda: barʃʷuma gu:tu: wajja/

English: Having a full seat of son-in-law is better than having a number of herds.

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➤ Illocutionary acts:

- a) Direct: assertive (informing)
- b) Indirect: directive (advising, warning)

➤ Contexts:

In the Horro Guduru Oromo socio-cultural milieu, the selection of marriage contract is based on the status of the boys' and the girls' parents. The word *sa'a* (literally means cow), *soddaa* (literally means in-law) are compared in the proverb. The proverb is metaphorical; there is a comparison between cow and in-law. The statuses of parents are set as a standard of selecting the boys' and the girls' parents in marriage contract to attain a happy and a wealth marriage in the socio-cultural context of the society.⁹⁹ This proverb is usually used by an elder to advise girl's parents to select in-law from respected parents. The proverb demonstrates that parents who have a socially acceptable behavior are selected for marriage because they have attained respect and dignity in the society's socio-cultural norms. The proverb is used by an elder man who advises parents who pledge their daughter in marriage for the boy who respects the norms of the society; warns them not to engage their daughter to the boy who deviant from the

⁹⁹ Personal interviews with Malkaa, on April 23/2021; Ayyaana, on April 25/2021 and Aliitoo, on April 26/2021 at Odaa Bulluq; Odaa, On April 23/2021 and Yuuba, on April 24/2021 in the village of Didibe Kistana

socio-cultural norms of the society. This proverb explicates that indecent behavior of parents affects the psyche of parents as marriage contract is done public. This implies that parents who respect the moral and ethical values of the society are preferred for marriage. However, parents who deviate from the norms are not favored for marriage.

The speaker wants the hearer to consider parents' selection in order to create marriage contract to avoid negative effects like divorce, which may happen post marriage. Thus, the proverb has two illocutionary forces: advising and warning; the form of the proverb is declarative and it is the speech act of directive.

4.3. Discussions of Findings

The analysis of data reveals that Searle's (1979) speech act theory analyses the pragmatic aspects of the selected *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru marriage proverbs. The analysis reveals that careful analysis of the pragmatic concepts such as the linguistic, the situational, psychological and socio-cultural contexts of the proverbs helps the researcher to recognize its illocutionary acts and the perlocutionary acts of the society's proverbs.

In every culture, proverbs are context-dependent for use in communication in a society (Meider, 2007; Finnegan, 1970). The meanings and functions of a particular proverb can only be determined when they are used in contexts (Meider, 2007). The linguistic context appears to be the surface structure through which the hidden intentions of other elements are revealed. The analysis also shows that both the primary and the secondary levels of meanings are required for the contextual explanation of the linguistic context. The primary level is required for the literal meaning of the lexical items while the secondary level is needed for the metaphoric or connotative meaning of a particular proverb. To figure out the perlocutionary acts of the proverbs, the hearer infers the speaker's covert mental states (see: Searle, 1979:116).

The situational context is the most important pragmatic elements used in the data analysis of *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs. The illocutionary acts and the perlocutionary act of the proverbs can't be understood without the situational context. It provides important information about contextualization of the selected proverbs for data analysis. This is mainly supported by the psychological context through

which the feelings or beliefs of language users (speaker-hearer) with reference to their mental state are reflected in the illocutionary forces or pragmatic functions of the proverbs. Psychologically, the society's strong religious feelings or beliefs are interpreted in its situational context.

The analysis also shows that socio-cultural context mirrors the shared indigenous knowledge that prevails in the *Gadaa* system among the *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru society. To illustrate, the analyzed proverbs reflect that the Oromo society advocates the will of *Waaqa* in the marriage system to maintain the ethical moral standards of the society's religious rituals. The practice of these customary rituals of the society is decreed in the Oromo *Gadaa* system. To be married with virginity is regarded as a state of being moral, which is ruled by *Seera Safuu* (laws against immoral) of the *Gadaa* system and ruled by *Waaqa* in the society. Besides, divorce is strictly forbidden in the Oromo society as it breaks the socio-cultural norms of the society. This is proved by the Oromo proverbs '*Intala abbaa manaa biraa baate, haati boo'icha hin dhageessu,*' which means 'A mother does not listen to her daughter who divorces her husband.' The proverb that reads '*Bakka Waaqni nama hidhe takaallaa malee dhaabbatu,*' which roughly means 'A person stays to a place where *Waaqa* ties him/her without a chain', affirms that divorce runs against the will of *Waaqa* in the Oromo society. In the Oromo *Gadaa* system, a young man who divorces his *niitii qarree* (early wife) is not elected to be member of *Gadaa* officials. Moreover, *ininayyoo* (girls' songs of lamentation) is a highly respected wedding song which is practiced only in legal forms of marriage that follows the *Gadaa* marriage laws in the society. It marks an important stage in wedding ceremony of the society's cultural marriage. Thus, proverbs document the socio-cultural, philosophical and religious construction of the Oromo society (see Sumner, 1995). That is, the society's shared native knowledge and belief is reflected in the use of their proverbs which is determined by the society's perception of the world. This implies that through indigenous knowledge the Oromo society makes psyche communication to make a decision. This is affirmed by the Oromo proverb '*Halkanii fi salgan yoo laate,*' which roughly means 'If the marriage is dreamt as a good omen and elders of the marriage welcome.' Thus, proverbs are best interpreted in line with the culture of the society who uses them (Tadesse, 2004).

The discussions of the proverbs in their real contexts such as linguistic, situational, psychological, and the socio-cultural setting helped the researcher to obtain the following findings:

The first finding shows that the types of illocutionary acts found in *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs are identified. The analysis reveals that direct illocutionary acts of the proverbs are mainly assertive except for the one which is directive. It is common that proverbs are used to affirm or assert the society's cultural primacy, societal values, code of ethics and norms in accordance with the socio-cultural norms of the society, and criticizes and comments on people who show misbehavior in the community or go against the society's socio-cultural norms. Thus, this affirms that marriage proverbs perform three assertive illocutionary forces such as asserting, informing and criticizing. The analysis also shows that *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs is used either to advise people to respect the socio-cultural norms of the society or to warn those people who deviant from the socio-cultural norms of the society indirectly. This affirms that these marriage proverbs belong to the directive illocutionary acts. Proverbs are used to show respect of those who obey the accepted ethics and to criticize or warn those which are deviant (Bascom, 1965). The analyzed data also reveals that there are expressive illocutionary acts which are used on the occasion of complimenting of a person, praising, validating and regretting something. This indicates that these proverbs conform to the belief that proverbs encourage societal virtues, or quality of decency and condemn vices, or the quality of indecency. Moreover, the analysis shows that there are marriage proverbs which belong to the commissive indirect illocutionary acts, which are used for hoping. Furthermore, the analyzed data reveals that there are declaration indirect illocutionary acts, which are used to confirm something.

The second findings of the data analysis indicates that *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs perform many illocutionary forces such as asserting, informing, criticizing, advising, warning, confirming, hoping, praising, regretting, counseling, validating and complimenting.

The third findings of the data analysis reveals that *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs also presents different perlocutionary acts such as considering, persuading, convincing, invoking, reminding, frightening, bad omens, inspiring, good omens, character assessment, causing, humiliating, and pleasing.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the summary of the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the study. This study aimed at analyzing the pragmatic analysis of *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru-Oromo marriage proverbs. The study was based on Searle's (1979) Speech Act Theory.

5.2. Summary of the Research Findings

It is sometimes hard to induce the pragmatic meaning of a proverb. The hearer needs to employ both the linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts to infer the speaker's intended meaning of a proverb (see Leech, 1983). The hearer is required to examine the pragmatic meaning that is derived from the application of a given proverb to its linguistic contexts such as direct/literal and indirect/connotative meaning, and extra-linguistic contexts like situational, socio-cultural and psychological contexts.

The linguistic context represents mainly the lexical meaning and partly the communicative meaning. However, the communicative meaning is influenced by the situational, socio-cultural and psychological contexts of the language users. The situational context considers the actual location of utterance and the discourse participants. The socio-cultural contexts consider the relationship between the interlocutors, their shared beliefs, their indigenous knowledge, their socio-cultural values and norms of the society such as attitude to basic faith, respect for elders, respect for norms, etc. The socio-cultural variables have direct relationship or connection to the religious ritual of the Oromo society, which is ruled by *Waaqa*. For instance, the observance of omens in *Maccaa* Oromo cultural marriage has a strong link with the society's faith in *Waaqa*.

Twenty five *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs were selected for the analysis. Searle's (1979) Speech Act Theory was employed in the analysis of the work which has proved to be a success. This is particularly true of *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs where the linguistic, situational, psychological, and socio-cultural variables are used for understanding of the illocutionary acts and the perlocutionary

acts of the analyzed proverbs. Based on the data analysis as well as the discussions above, the findings of the study revealed the following:

There are five types of illocutionary acts performed in *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs, namely, assertive, directive, commissive, expressive and declaration. The analysis revealed that the direct illocutionary forces of each marriage proverb are different from the indirect illocutionary forces. The analysis also revealed that the selected proverbs are mainly assertive illocutionary forces as direct illocutionary acts and most of them have directive illocutionary forces as indirect illocutionary acts. This is connected with the fact that proverbs are symbols of the society's collective wisdom, a linguistic reservoir of the speech community who shares similar culture, language and world views (see Meider, 2004; Miruka, 1994). Accordingly, assertive illocutionary forces indicate the people's position in asserting to the socio-cultural norms of the society while directive illocutionary forces suggest the way the people are expected to behave in line with their socio-cultural norms of the society.

Moreover, it has been noted that *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs mainly express the direct assertive illocutionary forces of asserting, informing and criticizing. However, the most of the marriage proverbs express the indirect directive illocutionary forces of warning, advising, hoping, praising, confirming, counseling, regretting, validating and complimenting. This implies that the speaker expects or wants the hearer to do something in accordance with the proposition implied in the wording of the proverb in question. A single proverb can be utilized to express more than one illocutionary forces. In this regard, Norick (1985) notes that proverbs have two different levels of comprehension – literal and implied. Likewise, Oromo marriage proverbs can be a combination of two illocutionary forces: direct and indirect illocutionary forces.

Furthermore, perlocutionary effects such as considering, persuading, convincing, invoking, reminding, frightening, bad omens, inspiring, good omens, character assessment, causing, humiliating, and pleasing the hearer is also manifested in the *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs.

5.3 Conclusions

This study was carried out to analyze the pragmatic aspects of *Maccaa* Oromo of Horro Guduru marriage proverbs using speech act theory. It tried to identify the types of the illocutionary acts and the illocutionary forces of *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs. Besides, it targeted to find out the perlocutionary effects of those proverbs on the hearer. Pragmatically, contexts determine the intended meanings of proverbs as it is explained in the above section. In this regard, Finnegan (1970) and Bascom (1965) state that without contexts proverbs are dead. The linguistic, situational, psychological, and socio-cultural contexts are interconnected to provide meaning for the understanding of the illocutionary acts and the perlocutionary acts of the proverbs. This is because the same proverb can have different interpretations depending on the situation of its use. This implies that a proverb that is used to warn a man somewhere may be used to inform the same man in another context. This implies that proverbs are context-dependent. Thus, based on the analysis of twenty five *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs, a few conclusions can be drawn.

- There are five types of illocutionary acts performed in *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs, namely, assertive, directive, commissive, expressive and declaration. There are also direct and indirect illocutionary forces in the marriage proverbs. The study concluded that marriage proverbs generally involve the use of both direct and indirect illocutionary forces. The direct illocutionary forces are mainly assertive and most of indirect illocutionary forces are directive. Assertive nature of the direct illocutionary forces of the proverbs is used to promote and preserve the socio-cultural values and norms (or the society's wisdom and experiences) that the society upholds as positive. But the indirect illocutionary forces direct the course of people's action through advising and warning. This implies that they are employed as tools for correcting deviant behavior or acts; comment on behaviors or actions that are inconsistent with the socio-cultural norms of the society. Almost all of the proverbs analyzed in this research have declarative form except for the one which is imperative.
- There are many illocutionary forces accomplished in *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs. These are: asserting, informing, criticizing, advising, warning, hoping, approving, confirming, praising, regretting, counseling, validating and complimenting.

- There are two kinds of perlocutionary effects that *Maccaa* Oromo marriage proverbs can produce on the hearer. They can be psychological consequences such as persuading, convincing, invoking, frightening ,bad omens, inspiring , good omens, humiliating and pleasing ,and getting the hearer to do something or realize something like considering, reminding, character assessment and causing.

5.4. Recommendations

It was concluded that proverbs play an indispensable role in the traditional marriage system of the Oromo people in different aspects of life such as social, cultural, religious and other aspects of the people's life. Oromo marriage proverbs reflect the people's experience, lives, beliefs, moral values, ethics and wisdom. They contribute a lot about their religious views ruled by marriage laws in the *Gadaa* system of the society.

- This study initiates a similar researcher to conduct other pragmatic applications on Oromo proverbs. For example, politeness strategies in communication should be introduced to Oromo proverbs in order to be understood, appreciated and applied to maintain the values and cultural norms of the proverbs related to different marriage ceremonies that upholds the politeness strategies.
- Proverbs should be studied from psychological, philosophical, sociological and anthropological perspectives to document the indigenous knowledge of the speech community related to Oromo marriage proverbs.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: List of Oromo Marriage Proverbs and their English translations

1. Intala dura jajan booda ulfaan jaju.
First you appreciate the girl and later her pregnancy
2. Niitiin gabaadhaa fuudhan gabaatti baddi.
In a market married woman lost in market.
3. Intalli haati baattee hattu, lafa buunaan hattuu taati.
A child whose mother steals carrying her will also steal when grown up.
4. Amalli haadhaa hintala hin hanqatu.
A mother's behavior never fails to reach her daughter.
5. Intalli adaadaa baddi, ilmi eessuma bada.
A bad girl results from her aunt and a bad son from his uncle.
6. Kan haadhatti barte amaatiitti.
She who habituated to a mother takes her behavior to mother-in-law.
7. Jarjartee na dhungatteef dhirsa naaf hin taatu jette intalli.
You rushed to kiss me, I am afraid you can't be my husband, said a girl
8. Intala duubaan dhaqxe warri keessaa hin qaban.
The parents neglect the girl who went to the boy's home for marriage.
9. Intalli marii malee heerumte marii malee baati.
A girl married without assent leaves her new home without assent.
10. Niitiin dhiirsaaf kafana.
A wife is a garment for her husband
11. Dubartiin utubaa manaati.
A wife is the pillar of a house.
12. Niitiin dhiirsaaf ulfina.
A wife is a dignity for her husband.
13. Gara-laafettiin obboleetti obboleessaaf ulfoofti.
A warmhearted sister conceives from her brother.
14. Kan haati burree qabdu ilmoon kalawwee hin dhabdu.

A daughter never lacks the white spot her mother possesses.

15. Haadha ilaalii intala fuudhi.

Inquiry the mother, marry the girl.

16. Soddaafi surree wajjin kufu.

One falls over together with own in-laws and trousers.

17. Jiruu fi amaatii hin tuffatan.

One doesn't condescend on his in-law and a job.

18. Soddaan mirgootti mirga jedhama.

An in-law is right in the right place, it is said.

19. Soddaa fi dugdaan lafaa ol ka'u.

It is with our own in-law and back we rise from the ground.

20. Durbi qarree fi warajoon tokko.

A virgin girl and a sacred animal are alike.

21. Gaa'ila Waaqni abaare osoo *hininayyoo* hin dhaammatiin heerumama.

An unblest marriage by *Waaqa* gets married without ritualizing *ininayyoo*.

22. Gaa'ila Waaqni abaare osoo *hiroo* hin dhahatiin mana bahama.

An unblest marriage by *Waaqa* gets married without ritualizing *hiroo*.

23. Hidhii Waaqni abaare osoo hin dhungatamiin dulloomaa.

An unblest lip by *Waaqa* gets old without being kissed.

24. Mi'a wal fakkatu walbira fannisu.

Similar tools are hanged in the same place.

25. Gaafa naa ta'uu didu saalli gabaatti na ka'e.

An unexpected erection in the market bears to failure.

26. Gaafi gaafi gabaa sekeree bahu.

Sometimes one goes to a market that is ill.

27. Halkanii fi salgan yoo laate.

If the marriage is dreamt as a good omen and elders of the marriage welcome

28. Haadha manaafi abbaa manaa laga tokkoo waraabu.

A wife and a husband are drawn from the same source.

29. Dhirsaa fi niitii oobdii tokkoo hammaaru.

A husband and a wife are collected from the same threshing floor.

30. Niitiin baate amalli lama.

A wife divorced has two behaviors.

31. Hin se'iin manaa bahee deebiin fala naaf ta'e.

An unintended marriage contract results in an unexpected possibility.

32. Mirgii fi dhalli ganama nama hafa.

The best target for huntsman is in the morning and to marriage when the person is young.

33. Qalaamaa gaariin cidhoo gaariin dhalti.

A good filly gives birth to a good colt.

34. Sa'a dallaa guutuu manna dhirsa siree guutuu wayya

Having a full bed of husband is better than having a number of herds.

35. Duuti qoricha hinqabdu, yoo qabaatte fuudhanii dhalchuu qofa.

Death has no medicine if it has the only thing is to have a child in marriage.

36. Manni utubaa fi dubartii malee hin dhaabbatu.

A house cannot be built without a pillar and a woman.

37. Foon lafa jiruuf allattiin mukarra wal nyaatti.

Birds quarrel on the tree for meat is on the ground.

38. Teessee kan hin argiin dhaabbatte hin agartu.

One cannot see a thing by standing that she cannot see it by sitting.

39. Jarjartuun du'aaf of laatti.

One who hurries, exposes himself to death.

40. Borin heeruma jettee har'a of ajjeeste.

Saying that she marries tomorrow, she suicides herself today.

41. Haftuun saddet afur baate heerumni torbanitti gallaan of ajjeefi.

An unmarried girl who stays for eight four years suicides herself a week before her wedding day.

42. Soddoomanii hin gamnooman.

One never becomes subtle after becoming in-law.

43. Akaayiin gita qabaa mulluun hiriyyaa qabaa.

A roasted corn has its own category as a boiled corn has a peer.

44. Namni boriif wal abdatu dhagaarratti wal hin kuffisu.

A person who hopes for tomorrow never makes fall each other on the stone.

45. Qalqalli hin dhibu kan damma baatutu dhiba.

- A sack is present but a sack that holds a honey is absent.
46. Harreen gita gitaan wal qoqorti.
A donkey kisses each other on equivalent relation.
47. Dhoqqeen lafatti jibban funyaan nama xuqa.
A mud that one hates on the ground touches once own nose.
48. Ariifattuun xinnoo dhalti.
A faster person delivers to a minority.
49. Jabbiin Waaqni faale hin hootu.
A calf that is polluted by *Waaqa* doesn't feed.
50. Bakka Waaqni nama hidhe takaallaa malee dhaabbatu.
A person stays to a place where *Waaqa* ties him/her without a chain.
51. Jabbi Waaqni sakaale achii hin deemtu.
A calf that is incarcerated by *Waaqa* doesn't move away.
52. Goromsa duwwaa bite jennaan rimaa taate.
He bought a heifer with no pregnant became pregnant.
53. Mutaa qara bitu, intala haadha fuudhu.
One buys a sharp '*mutaa*' (a sewing tool), and observes a mother to marry a girl.
54. Gaaf gaafii teessoon fardarra kufe.
Sometimes a furniture falls of a horse.
55. Galgalli tolaa hinqabu aannan galgalaa hin dhugiin.
Evening has no righteous, don't drink the evening milk.
56. Hurunguun farra aaddi huummoon dannaba aaddi.
An owl moans anti and a '*huummo*' (a kind of bird) intrigues counter.
57. Milkii gadheen kurupheetti nama fida.
A bad omen brings you to a duiker crossing your way.
58. Ilma yartuu dhalchuu manna durba gaarii dhalchani soddatti hirkachuu wayya.
Instead of begetting a bad son, it is better to beget a girl and rely on a son-in-law.
59. Durba guntutaa durbii bira hin raffisan.
It is not good to allow a matured young girl beside a half brother.
60. Durbaa fi qullubbii abbaatu bakka gaarii dhaabbata
It is the father who plants the garlic and the girl in a good place.

61. Nama Waaqi eebbise ganamaan ilmoo godhata.
A person blessed by *Waaqa* fathers a child early.
62. Dubartiin deessuu fi qalbiin kennaa Waaqatii.
A fertile wife and a psyche are gifts of *Waaqa*.
63. Niitiin dhirsaa kennaa Waaqi.
A wife is a gift of *Waaqa* for her husband.
64. Maqaan baatee fi niitiin baate hin deebitu.
A wife departed and a bad reputation should never return
65. Dubartiin marii malee baate marii malee galti.
A girl divorced without consent returns to her home without consent.
66. Niitiin misir baddee sareen buchul baddee.
A wife misbehaved at the honey moon and a dog at puppy.
67. Intala abbaa manaa biraa baate, haati booyicha hin dhageessu.
A mother does not listen to her daughter who divorces her husband.
68. Niitii fi farda abbaatu leenjifata.
It is the owner who should tame his horse and his wife.
69. Gadheen niitii, dhirsaa hamatti.
A bad wife back bites her husband.
70. Gadheen dhirsaa, niitii hamatti.
A bad husband back bites his wife.
71. Maqaan baduu manna mataan baduu wayya.
A person who lost his life is better than a person whose name is spoiled.
72. Heeruma dharraane, heerumnaan rarraane.
Arousing to be married, married and faced troublesome.
73. Heerumaaf boosse heerumnaan boosse.
Weeping to get married married and wept.
74. Dubartiin dhirsaa malee hin miidhagdu.
A wife never looks nice without a husband.
75. Sa'a dallaa guutuu manna soddaa barcuma guutuu wayya.
Having a full seat of son-in-law is better than having a number of herds.
76. Hiriyaa malee dhaqxee gaggeessa malee galti.

One who goes with unequal friend returns home alone.

77. Muka akka walii walbira dhaabu.

One plants similar plants close to each other.

78. Manni Waaqni ijaare hindiigamu.

Waaqa built houses never separated.

79. Bakka dubartiin hin jirre dhangaan hin tolu.

A place where there is no woman, food doesn't taste good.

80. Niitii ijaan barbaadanirra kan gurraan barbaadatu caala.

It is better to search for a wife by ears rather than by eyes.

81. Duuniifi heerumni hin hafu.

Death and to be married is inevitable.

82. Bareedde jedhanii obboleetti hin fuudhan.

One cannot marry his sister when someone told she is beautiful.

Appendix B: List of Consultants' Names

No	Name of consultants	sex	Age	Responsibility in the society	Place of interview	Date of interview
1	Malkaa ¹⁰⁰	M	74	<i>Jaarsa Gandaa</i> /local elder	Odaa Bulluq	23/04/2021
2	Odaa	M	78	<i>Jaarsa Gandaa</i> / local elder	Didibe Kistaana	23/04/2021
3	Bosona	M	85	<i>Jaarsa Gandaa</i> /local elder	Didibe Kistaana	24/04/2021
4	Yuuba	M	93	<i>Jaarsa Gandaa</i> /local elder	Didibe Kistaana	24/04/2021
5	Aliitoo	M	69	<i>Jaarsa Gandaa</i> / local elder	Odaa Bulluq	26/04/2021
6	Aagaa	M	65	<i>Jaarsa Gandaa</i> /local elder	Odaa Bulluq	25/04/2021
7	Ayyaana	M	67	<i>Jaarsa Gandaa</i> /local elder	Odaa Bulluq	25/04/2021
8	Roobaa	M	78	<i>Jaarsa Gandaa</i> /local elder	Didibe Kistaana	27/04/2021
9	Qumbii	M	73	<i>Jaarsa Gandaa</i> / local elder	Didibe Kistaana	27/04/2021

¹⁰⁰ The names indicated here are pseudonyms deliberately changed to keep the confidentiality of the the study consultants.

Appendix C: In-depth Interview Items

The following semi-structured interview items were translated to *Afaan* Oromo to elicit data from Oromo marriage proverb consultants. The items were used to trigger the consultants to generate relevant data on Oromo proverbs with their contexts.

1. What are the types of marriage systems practiced in your area?
2. Do people make marriage contract through the traditional way? What do you call it in *Afaan* Oromo?
3. Have you participated on marriage ceremony-related issues for the past two years?
4. Are proverbs used in marriage related events?
5. Whom do you think usually uses proverbs in Horro Guduru culture?
6. Where do people specifically use marriage proverbs?
7. Can you tell me real contexts where and when you use proverbs?
8. Do you know any proverb used in marriage ceremony?
9. What does the meaning of the marriage proverb you know? When do people use it?
10. Why do elders use proverbs in marriage events?

Appendix D: Gaaffiilee Afaafii (Afaan Oromo version)

Gaaffiileen kun akka isin mammaaksota sirna gaa'ila Oromootiin walqabatani mammaakaman burqisiistan isin gargaara. Gaaffiileen kunniins mammaaksota Oromoo sirna gaa'ila keessatti fayyaamtan haala qabatamaa isaanii wajjin akka isin dubbataniif isin kakaasa.

1. Akka naannoo kanaatti gosoota fuudhaa fi heerumaa maalfa beektuu?
2. Hawaasni naannoo kanaa mala aadaatiin waliigaltee gaa'iila ni raawwataa? Malli kunis maal jedhama?
3. Sirna gaa'ila raawwataman keessatti waggoota lama as hirmaattanii beektuu?
4. Hawaasni mammaaksota sirna gaa'ila keessatti ni fayyadamaa?
5. Akka naannoo kanaatti namoota akkamiitu mammaaksatti fayyadama jettee yaaddaa?
6. Mammaaksota sirna gaa'iila kunniin keessummattuu eessatti fayyadamuu?
7. Yoomessa mammaaksota kanneen haala qabatamaa keessatti natti himuu ni dandeessaa?
8. Mammaaksota sirna gaa'ila keessatti fayyadan natti himuu dandeessuu?
9. Hiikni mammaaksota sirna gaa'iila ati beektu maalidhaa? Mammaaksota kanatti hawaasni yoom fayyadamaa?
10. Manguddoonni sirna gaa'iila keessatti maaliif mammaaksotatti fayyadamuu?