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A Conceptual Comparative Approach to Teach Oromo and Amharic (Major Languages of Ethiopia) Idioms

Chimdi Wakuma Olbasa^{1*}; Amanuel Raga¹ and Samuel Adola²

¹-Assistant Professor, Collage of Social Sciences and Humanities, Department of Afan Oromo and Literature, Jimma University, Jimma, Ethiopia.

²-Lecturer, Institute of Language Studies, Addis Ababa University, P. O. Box 1176, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

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Corresponding Author:

Chimdi W. Olbasa

Assistant Professor,
Collage of Social Sciences
and Humanities,
Department of Afan
Oromo and Literature,
Jimma University, Jimma,
Ethiopia.

Abstract

This study has explored how Oromo and Amharic idioms of body parts can be taught in such a way that they can be understood and retained effortlessly by the learners. To do this, Conceptual Metaphor Theory was applied. It claims that idioms are analyzable to varying degrees and that many aspects of idioms are closely tied to more productive grammatical patterns. This position stands in opposition to the traditional claim that idioms are an exception and not a norm in a language and therefore cannot be explained in terms of rules and semantic characteristics. For this reason, it recommends memorization of the individual idioms and the conventional meanings associated to them as the only means of learning idiomatic expressions. It is this same approach that our schools have followed so far. The conceptual approach we have adopted for this study, however, aims at sorting out the conceptual metaphors underlying the idiomatic expressions with the assumption that most idioms are semantically transparent and share commonalities at the conceptual level. For this study, we have collected 678 Oromo and 805 Amharic body part idioms from native speakers in three places in Amhara Regional State (Gondar, Dessie and Debremarkos) and three places in Oromia Regional State (Adama, Negelle Borena and Adaba). Analysis of the idioms has uncovered that the body part idioms fall into three major categories. The first category comprises idioms that are totally similar in both languages both in form at the surface linguistic level and in their semantics and even morpho-syntax. The second category of idioms refers to those that are partially similar. To be specific, the body part idioms often have two constituents, i.e. the one that involves body part and the co-occurring word which is mostly a verb or a noun. The last category of idioms is the one wherein discrepancy is observed in terms of both constituents of the idiom, i.e. both the body part and the co-occurring word. Therefore, the traditional method that recommends memorization as the only means of understanding and retaining idiomatic language is wrong from its assumption that idioms are peripheral aspects of language and therefore cannot be understood. This study has shown that idioms are central to human language and cognition and that their semantic transparency can be explored by applying the conceptual approach. Inviting the students to make comparisons of the two languages can help them discern and retain the idioms.

Key Words: Oromo Idiom, Amharic Idiom, Conceptual Comparative Approach, metaphorical language.

Introduction

An idiom is often defined as an expression consisting of one or more words with a meaning different from its constituent parts, as in, for example, the phrase *afaan hiikkachuu* or አፍ መፍታቻ meaning ‘acquiring a language’. Since idioms refer to expressions where there is a difference between what is said and what is meant, as in the above example, they fall within the realm of metaphorical language, a phenomenon that has divided scholars into two camps. On the one hand, we have those who hold the traditional view that idioms are peripheral aspects of language, i.e. idioms are an exception and not a norm in language because they cannot be explained in terms of rules and semantic characteristics, like other areas of language. In a nutshell, they claim that idioms “are independent of any conceptual system and that they are isolated from each other at the conceptual level” (Kovecsés and Szabo, 1996: 327). As a result, they believe that speakers must learn idiomatic expressions by arbitrarily pairing each phrase to some non-literal meaning without any awareness of why the phrases mean what they do. They thus posit memorization of the individual idioms as the mere mechanism for learning the idioms in a second language. On the other hand, we have cognitive semanticists who, on observing that “[m]any aspects of idiomaticity are closely tied to more productive grammatical patterns and enduring schemas of human thought,” claim that idioms

“are not peripheral aspects of language” (Gibbs, 2007: 721). In other words, they argue that our conventional everyday language is full of idioms—we rarely speak using literal language exclusively—and *“[i]n many cases, idioms are analyzable to varying degrees and linked to enduring metaphorical and metonymic conceptual structures”* (p. 697-8). “[I]t is nearly impossible,” says Gibbs, *“to speak of many human events and abstract ideas without employing idiomatic phrases that communicate non-literal meaning”* (p. 697). He adds, *“Speaking a language with any degree of fluency requires a knowledge of idioms”* among others, which could be why we often compliment proficient non-native speakers of a given language on their command of appropriately idiomatic language (p. 721).

Proponents of the conceptual framework claim that metaphor is central not only to language but also to human cognition, and idiomatic expressions, as one type of metaphorical language, reflect fundamental patterns of human thought. On the basis of this understanding, they posit that idioms can be construed and retained best when recourse is made to the concepts that underlie the linguistic expressions because using this method helps develop one’s metaphorical competence. Interestingly, that metaphoric competence (in our case, knowledge of the underlying concepts expressed by particular body part idioms) can contribute to all aspects of communicative competence, i.e. grammatical, textual, illocutionary, sociolinguistic, and strategic competence, as demonstrated by Littlemore and Low (2006). Drawing on this insight, Buckingham (2006), in turn, proposes a multilingual didactic approach to idioms. It is this same approach that we have adopted for this study and are proposing as the best method for the teaching of Oromo and Amharic idioms, though our focus is on the body part idioms.

Afan Oromo belongs to the Highland East Cushitic subphylum and Amharic to the Semitic subfamily. The two subfamilies, however, belong to the Afro-Asiatic super family. What is more, the two linguistic communities have lived together for over four centuries. Based on these facts, we have assumed that the two languages share commonalities not only at the surface linguistic level but also at the conceptual level that underpins the linguistic expressions. Following this assumption, we posit that exploiting these correspondences in the teaching of the idioms in the two languages and inviting the learners to make comparisons can facilitate the understanding and retention of the idioms far more than encouraging mere memorization of the individual idioms.

Researches in Cognitive Linguistics have found out that idioms are best understood and retained when they are taught by emphasizing the concepts underlying them and when cross linguistic comparisons are encouraged (Littlemore and Low, 2006; Buckingham, 2006). Proponents of the conceptual framework also argue that metaphoric competence (i.e. knowledge of the conceptual metaphors underpinning the idiomatic expressions) does contribute to all aspects of our communicative competence more than lexical and phraseological competence does.

In our schools, however, the trend long followed in the teaching of idiomatic expressions in Ethiopian languages involves providing conventional meanings for the idioms at the surface level, and students have but to memorize the forms and meanings of the individual idioms. In some instances, the teaching may involve organizing the idioms around a common lexeme, i.e. a body part or an animal, as is often the case with dictionary entries (see Amsalu and Dagnachew, 2001). Oromo students learning Amharic, therefore, are expected to memorize the idioms without consideration of the underlying concepts and without being given the opportunity to compare the Amharic idioms with their corresponding Oromo idioms that they might have already been acquainted with. And as emphasis has not been placed on developing students’ metaphorical competence in the teaching of Amharic idioms in particular and the language at large, many students speaking Oromo as their first language have been observed to have difficulties expressing themselves in Amharic after they have graduated from high schools and studied the language for over six years (6-8 years) as a school subject.

Despite the role of idioms in developing the metaphorical competence of students, the teaching of idioms starts only when students reach grade nine. There are a few examples presented under exercise sections in grades six, seven and eight Afan Oromo and Amharic text books. And in grade six exercises, the idioms are presented under phraseology and not separately. These facts show that due heed is not paid to the teaching of idioms in junior secondary schools and even in secondary schools.

Review of related literature

For this study, we used the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) original framework, which has been revised by subsequent writers like Pamies (2002), Iñesta and Pamies (2002), and Pamies and Cortina (2006). It is one of the earliest theories of Cognitive Linguistics, which makes the claim that metaphorical system is central to human cognition, and the so called metaphorical language is but a reflection of this metaphorical thinking (Lakoff 1993). Based on this observation, proponents of this theory argue that idiomatic language, which is largely metaphorical, can be understood and retained best only when we make recourse to its underlying concepts.

This approach stands in opposition to the traditional method that encourages learners to memorize individual idioms at the surface lexical level—an approach which follows from the assumption that the relation between an idiom’s form and its meaning is arbitrary. Due to this assumption, the traditional approach also maintains that semantically idioms are not analyzable. Interestingly, on the front cover of their dictionary, Amsalu and Dagnachew (2001) have configured this view (incongruity of idioms’ surface structure) by the

use of the Ethiopic letters η and σ like this: $\eta+\sigma \neq \eta+\sigma$. For cognitive linguists, however, speakers do not randomly assign meaning to idioms because idiomatic expressions are cognitively motivated. That is, idioms “reflect fundamental patterns of human thought” and are mostly “analyzable to varying degrees and linked to enduring metaphorical and metonymic conceptual structures” (Gibbs 2007: 697-8). In emphasizing the cognitive motivation of idioms, Buckingham (2006:38) states, “...indeed, it is no coincidence that languages frequently coincide in general terms, or even very closely, in how they express an abstract concept metaphorically.” And it is these commonalities of thinking patterns that the proponents of the conceptual framework want to exploit in the teaching of idioms. We believe this framework is especially fruitful in the teaching of Oromo and Amharic idioms because the two languages have striking similarities in their metaphorical (idiomatic) expressions of many abstract entities. And these similarities, we believe, can facilitate the construal and retention of the idioms. As evidenced by the following examples, some body part idioms are similar at the surface linguistic level, which of course entails similarity at the conceptual level too (1a-d), and some at the conceptual level only (2a-d). The Oromo examples are our own, while the Amharic ones are taken from Amsalu and Dagnachew (2001).

1. Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
a) afaan hiikkate	a') አፋን ፈታ (p173)	'(he) acquired language'
b) gara-bal'eessa	b') ሆደ ሰፊ (p11)	'tolerant'
c) harka namaa ilaale	c') የሰው እጅ አየ (p163)	'(he) became poor'
d) kan garaa	d') የሆድ (p12)	'secret'

The Oromo idioms and their Amharic equivalents above are all similar at the surface linguistic level, which entails that they have repetition within the same sentence correspond at the conceptual level. To be specific, the following conceptual metaphors underlying the idiomatic expressions in the two languages are found (Note that according to the convention in Conceptual Metaphor Theory, conceptual metaphors are written in upper case in the form of A IS B or A AS B, while the linguistic realizations of the conceptual metaphors are written in lower case): ACQUIRING A LANGAUGE IS UNTYING ONE’S MOUTH (a, a’), BEING TOLERANT IS POSSESSING A LARGE STOMACH/BELLY (b, b’), BEING POOR IS LOOKING AT OTHERS’ HANDS (c, c’), and SECRET IS AN ENTITY INSIDE A PERSON’S BELLY.

The pairs of idiomatic expressions given below, on the other hand, differ with respect to the parts of the body used and their co-occurring words. In other words, where Oromo uses the *head* (a) and the *stomach/belly* (b, c), Amharic uses the *heart* (a’-c’), and where Oromo employs the *tongue* (d), Amharic makes use of the *mouth* (d’). Also, where Oromo uses the more or less literal word *jabaa* ‘hard’ to express ‘hardness’ (a, b), Amharic uses *dingai* ‘stone’ (a’) and *darak’* ‘dry’ (b’) to express the same phenomenon. Further, to express the state of being comforted, Oromo uses *ciisuu* ‘lying down’ (c) and Amharic employs *maras* ‘getting soaked’ (c’) together with the body parts; and to express an indecent person, Oromo uses *dheerachuu* ‘to be stretched out’ (d) while Amharic makes use of the word *ጸ:ገ* ‘pointed’ (d’).

2. Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
a) mata-jabeessa	a') ልብ ድንጋይ (p22)	'stubborn'
b) gara-jabeessa	b') ልብ ደረቅ (p22)	'cruel'
c) garaatu isa ciise	c') ልቡ ራሰ (p23)	'he delighted (in sth)'
d) arraba dheerachuu	d') ሹል አፍ (p173)	'indecent'

Despite their apparent differences at the surface linguistic level, the above pairs of idiomatic expressions can be brought together at the cognitive level. For example, the idioms (a, a’), (b, b’), and (d, d’) can be subsumed under the higher level conceptual metaphor ABNORMALITY OF BODY (PART) IS ABNORMALITY OF BEHAVIOUR, which is schematic for the lower level metaphors: TO BE STUBBORN IS TO HAVE A HARD HEAD (a) /HEART (a’), TO BE CRUEL IS TO HAVE A HARD STOMACH (b) /HEART (b’) (note here that what is dry is often hard to break or bend), and BEING RUDE IS PROTRUDING ONE’S TONGUE (d) /MOUTH (d’) (this is also experientially rooted because a pointed mouth results from stretching out the lips by keeping them closed). Underlying these idioms is also the fact that a pointed thing has the capacity to pierce the body and thus inflict harm on it, and similarly, rude words normally hurt the feelings of others. The idioms in (c) and (c’), however, are rooted in our experiences of LYING DOWN (or its entailment CEASING MOVEMENT) and TAKING IN LIQUID (TO MOISTEN ONE’S STOMACH) as events that give comfort to our physical bodies. We can thus posit the higher level metaphor TO BE DELIGHTED IS TO GET WHAT THE BODY NEEDS, which is schematic for the lower level metaphors DELIGHTING IS HAVING ONE’S HEART MOISTENED/LETTING ONE’S STOMACH CEASE MOTION.

In some instances, the part of the body used is similar except that one of the two languages may be more specific than the other. See examples below.

3. Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
garaa na nyaate	አንጅቴን በላው (p156)	'I sympathized with him'

The feeling of sorrow caused by the suffering and trouble of others is expressed in terms of eating one’s BELLY (Oromo), which is more general than INTESTINE (Amharic), but the two expressions follow from the conceptual metaphor MAKING SOMEONE SYMPATHYZE WITH ONESELF IS EATING HIS STOMACH, wherein STOMACH stands for ‘gastrointestinal’.

To conclude with Taylor’s words, “[a]ppeal to conceptual metaphor... can have considerable explanatory power,” and “[i]t is especially fruitful in studies of polysemy and idiomaticity, and readily lends itself to applications in second-language pedagogy” (2002:492). Similarly, we believe that making recourse to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory in the teaching of Oromo and Amharic idioms helps the learners to be aware of the cognitive mechanisms involved in the construal and use of the idioms because it encourages delving into the concepts underlying the idiomatic expressions. It is especially useful for the understanding of the idiomatic expressions that appear different at the surface level (2a-d) but are actually corresponding at the conceptual level. Where the idioms are totally different both at the surface and at the conceptual levels, our pairing of the two languages invites the learners to make contrasts between the conceptualizations involved in the expressions. The framework we are using for this study, therefore, emphasizes not only similarities resulting from historical reasons but also differences caused by the differing ways of life experienced by the two linguistic communities. And since contrasting is one of the methods through which we can attract people’s attention (Langan 1985), it can help the reader to remember what he/she is taught.

Materials and Methods

In collecting data for this study, we have used introspection (especially for Oromo, our native language), elicitation, and focus group discussion. We divided the data collection process into three stages. To be specific, the first stage for Oromo involved gathering of body part idiomatic expressions through introspection and from selected written materials, and that of the Amharic involves identifying and recording all the body part idioms included in Amsalu and Dagnachew’s (2001) dictionary of Amharic idioms and from Kane (1990) Volumes I and II. Kane (1991)

To gather the body part idioms through introspection and from written materials, we first listed over sixty body parts in both Oromo and Amharic, and for most of the body part terms provided one example (for each body part idiom) in both languages so as to explain what body part idioms mean (see Appendices 1 and 2). We could not get examples for all body part terms. Even from the speakers themselves, we were unable to get examples for some of the body parts. Surprisingly, the body parts we could not get examples for include such vital human organs as lung, kidney and liver (we were able to get one example for this body part term in Oromo).

The second stage involved eliciting the body part idioms in the two languages from native speakers in selected areas in Oromia and Amhara Regional States. From Oromia Regional State, we selected Adama, Negelle Borena and Adaba, while from that of Amhara region we selected Gondar, Dessie and Debremarkos.

At the third stage, we selected native speakers in the two languages who we believed could understand the nature of our study and engage in fruitful discussions. We then provided the groups (three groups for Oromo and three groups for Amharic, each consisting of 8 persons, 4 young and four elderly, four men and four women) with the idioms for the discussions of how they construe the relations between the abstract and the concrete entities used in the metaphors, at times prompting the group members with our speculations of the conceptualizations by taking as much care as possible not to tempt them to readily accept our opinions without taking their chances to try their own. Then, the individual idiomatic expressions and the conceptual metaphors identified were presented in such a way that they could ease the teaching of the idioms on the part of the bilingual teachers and enhance the understanding and retention of the expressions on the part of the learners.

Results and Discussion

As noted earlier under the methodology section, we used around seventy body part terms to elicit the idioms in Oromo and Amharic. Within the limited time we had to collect the data, we were able to gather 678 Oromo and 805 Amharic body part idioms from native speakers as well as from secondary sources. The number of idioms evoked by the specific body part terms in both languages shows striking similarities as well as differences.

The body part idioms collected from the two languages can be divided into three major categories. The first category comprises idioms that are totally similar, while the second category is composed of idioms that are partially similar, but the third category involves idioms that are totally different. Whereas the first two can be taught by making recourse to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the framework adopted for this study, proponents of this theory recommend memorization of the individual idiomatic expressions as the only viable method of learning the idioms for the third category. Following is a discussion of the three categories of idioms.

Totally Similar Idioms

Presented below are a few of the totally similar body part idioms from both languages. The discussion of the idioms has been categorized in terms of the body part used. For example, idioms using the MOUTH include the following.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
a) Afaan hiikkate	አፋን ፈታ	‘he acquired first-language’
b) Afaan hinbeeku/hindanda’u	አፍ አያዉቅም/አይቸልም	‘he don’t know the language’
c) Afaan qabachiise	አፍ አሰያዘ	‘he made him ashamed’
d) Akka afaan keetii naaf haa godhu	እንዳፍህ ያድርግልኝ	‘I wish it is so; so be it’

The English equivalent for the examples under (a) can be roughly put as ‘he untied his mouth’ whose meaning is ‘he acquired a language’. In the two communities, there is the underlying assumption that a baby that has not yet acquired a language is considered as ‘mouth-tied’, and when the baby starts to speak the language they refer to the situation as ‘untied mouth’. In the second example (b), there can be observed a similar situation wherein language is construed as mouth and the phenomenon of not being able to speak a language as ‘not knowing a mouth’. Since the English equivalent for this example goes ‘he does not know a mouth’, one can clearly see the fact that metonymy is at work in this phrase. That is, in this example, MOUTH STANDS FOR LANGUAGE. This expression in turn is experientially rooted in the sense that we use our mouth to speak a language, and this same body part has been metaphorically extended to the THING IT UTTERS—language.

The meaning in the third example is also somewhat similar to the meanings expressed in (a) and (b). This third example can be roughly translated as ‘he made him hold his mouth’. The act of holding one’s mouth (or putting one’s hand over one’s mouth) in this expression evokes one of two things. One does this either when he is surprised or when he is not allowed to speak. Though both understandings are possible in the two languages, this specific example refers to the situation wherein one could not speak as a result of feeling ashamed and not having the courage or words to speak anymore. The conceptualization underlying this expression is that one is unable to speak when he puts his hands over his mouth, and this act has been mapped onto the lack of courage or words to speak what one wants.

There are also idioms using BELLY which have total similarity. A few examples include the following.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
a) Gara bal’eessa	ሆደ ሰፊ	‘tolerant/ patient’
b) Abbaa garaa	ሆዳም	‘one who eats a lot’
c) Kan garaa	የሆድ	‘Secret’
d) Garaa isa nyaate	ሆዱን በላፈ	‘pity/fellow-feeling’
e) Dugdaafi garaa	ሆድና ጀርባ	‘opposite’

In the first example (a), we have the expression whose English equivalent is ‘wide-bellied’. The conceptualization underlying this expression is motivated by the fact of consuming food. That is, one can consume a lot only if they have large stomachs, and in this example food has been mapped onto the evil deeds one sees and hears others doing. The physical experience motivating this expression is also that one starts feeling uncomfortable only when his stomach is stuffed with more than it usually holds—a similar situation caused by overeating in our country especially on holidays. In the same way that overeating gives one discomfort, evil deeds seen or heard (done against others or on oneself), when they can no more be tolerated, can cause anger to a person. And naturally we have differences in our capacity to tolerate things, which according to the conceptualization underpinning this idiomatic expression, can be equated with having a small or big belly. In other words, one who is more patient is understood as having a big belly (large stomach)—which envisages that he has more space to accommodate evil deeds and ideas forwarded by others.

The conceptualization that someone with a big belly consumes more has been expressed hyperbolically by the idiom under example (b). This idiom can be roughly translated as ‘one with belly/stomach’. There is of course no one who does not have a belly who is alive—any living person has a belly/stomach. Yet, this idiom presupposes that there are people who do not have bellies. This however is not what it really means because the expression is somewhat hyperbolic. That is, the idiom indirectly expresses someone who does not overeat as ‘one who does not have a belly/stomach’, and its direct sense refers to a glutton who has been construed as ‘someone who has a belly’. In Amharic, there is another expression which is said to have been introduced from Ge’ez-/karsam/ which expresses the same phenomenon. This expression is a bit literal in the sense that it talks about eating by making reference to the body part that holds what we consume-belly. The sixth example above however is more metaphorical in that it expresses the abstract in terms of the concrete. More specifically, in the expression /yahod/ or /kan garaa/ which can be translated as ‘that of the belly’, we can observe ‘the belly’ as representing the concrete entity and ‘the thing held in the belly’ as the abstract entity. Normally, what is held in the belly is a concrete one, specifically food. Yet, in these two language communities, the belly is also construed as a place where you (with) hold ideas and grudges, which suggests that the communities conceptualize ideas as food and the containers of ideas as a belly.

Introduce these examples

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
a) Mataa na naannesse	ራሱን አዞረኝ	‘I have got a headache’
b) Mataa isaa danda’e	ራሱን ቻለ	‘became autonomous’
c) Mataatti ol ba’e	ራስ ላይ ወጣ	‘climbed steeply to the top’

The three Oromo examples above and their Amharic equivalents are totally similar in form and meaning. All of them use the body part term HEAD to express the notion of BEING FED-UP/GETTING DRUNK (a), BEING INDEPENDENT (b) and GETTING DRUNK (c). These three abstract notions have been expressed concretely in terms of the HEAD.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
a) Ija isaa ijaan arge	አይኑን ባይኑ አየ	‘he begat’
b) Ija guutuu	ለአይን መምላት	‘became mature’

Further, the two examples above make use of the concrete body part EYE to express the non-spatial senses GETTING A BABY THAT RESEMBLES ONESELF (a) and TO HAVE AN IMPRESSIVE APPEARANCE (b). And the two idioms are totally similar with respect to their form and meaning.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
Adda duree	ግንባር ቀደም	‘icon’
Nama adda qabu	ግንባራም	‘of big forehead’

The abstract senses BEING FOREMOST/THE MAIN ONE/FIRST (a) and BEING CHANCEFUL (b) have been expressed using the concrete body part FOREHEAD in the above examples whose forms and meanings are almost totally similar. There are also cases wherein the body part INTESTINE can be used to express the abstract notion ANNOYING in both languages with total similarity in both form and meaning as can be evidenced by the following example.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
Kan mar’immaan nama gubu	አንጅት የሚያሳርር	‘annoyance’

What is more, the body part HAND can be used to express the non-spatial senses BEING PENILESS, LOSING EVERYTHING ONE POSSESSES, SURRENDERING and BEING NEEDY with total similarity in both form and meaning in both languages. This can be instantiated by the examples, a, b, c and d, respectively.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
Harkatu na gabaabbate	እጅ አጠረ	‘impecunious’
Harka duwwaatti hafe	ባዶ እጅ ቀረ	‘left empty hand’
Harka kenne	እጅ ሰጠ	‘surrendered’
Harka namaa ilaale	የሰጠ እጅ አየ	‘became beggar’

Total similarity in both form and meaning can also be observed in the following example that makes use of the body part term NECK, with the abstract sense SUPERFICIAL.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
Mormaa ol	ከአንገት በላይ	‘unwillingly’

The finger can also be used in some body part idioms with total similarity in both form and meaning to express the notion of FEW. See the following example.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
Qubaa kan lakkaa’amu	በጣት የሚቆጠር	‘few numbers’

Though not a human body part, the animal body part TAIL can be used to express BEING LAST with total similarity in both form and meaning. This idiom is experientially motivated in the sense that the TAIL is found at the peripheral part (back or end) of the body. This has been evidenced by the following example.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
Eege ta’e	ጭራ ሆነ	‘left behind’

The human FACE, as instantiated by the example below, can be used in both languages to express the abstract sense TO LOVE/BEFRIEND.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
Fuula itti agarsiise	ፊት አሳየ	‘he smiled’

In many cultures, the TONGUE is mostly associated with the LANGUAGE, and it even sometimes metonymically understood as standing for the LANGUAGE, thereby evoking the metonymy TONGUE FOR LANGUAGE. The following example, which is totally similar with its Amharic equivalent, evidences this phenomenon.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
Arraba kee sassaabbadhu	ምላሰከህን ሰብሱብ	‘keep quiet!’

Again, though not a human body part, the HORN—an animal body part—can also be used in both languages to express the notions of AGING and GETTING VERY ANGRY. See example below.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
Gaafa baase	ቀንድ አወጣ	'it has got horn'

Both Oromo and Amharic language communities sometimes use the body part EAR in some idioms whose form and meaning are totally similar to express IRRITATING TALKS/NEWS. In the following example this abstract sense is conceptualized in terms of a HEAVY BURDEN THAT HAS BEEN PLACED OVER THE EAR.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
Waan gurra namaatti ulfaatu	ለጆሮ የሚከብድ ነገር	'shocking to hear'

As is evidenced by the following examples, the body part LEG can also be used in some idioms that are totally similar in form and meaning to express the abstract notions of BEING FAST (a) and HAVING NO LUCK (b)

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
a) Miilla kan salphatu	እግረ ቀላል	'speedy one'
b) Miilla gogeettii	እግረ ደረቅ	'chanceless'

The abstract concept BEING CONCEITED is sometimes construed in terms of PUSHING OUT ONE'S CHEST. And as can be understood from the example below, the Oromo idiom and its Amharic equivalent are totally similar formally and semantically.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
Lapheesaa dhiibe	ደረቱን ነፋ	'he became boaster'

Lastly, one can also observe cases wherein Oromo and Amharic phrases are totally similar in form and meaning when expressing the abstract notion of PICKING/SPEAKING SOMETHING WHICH IS WORTHLESS by the use of the body part SPLEEN. The following idiom is a good example this phenomenon.

Foon lakkaa'i jennaan rajijjiin tokko jedhe

To conclude, this subsection Oromo and Amharic have many more idioms of body parts that are totally similar in both FORM and MEANING, which can be readily used in the teaching of the idioms in both languages. Such similarity is believed to enhance the understanding and retention of the idioms much more than just memorization of the forms together with their conventional meanings.

Partially Similar Idioms

The idioms under this category can be further divided into two subcategories. The idioms in the first category differ with respect to the body parts used, while the idioms in the second category differ in terms of the words that occur with the body part term.

1.1 Idioms differing with respect to the body part terms used

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
a) Garaatu isa gubate	አንጆቱ ተቃጠለ	'he annoyed'
b) Gara kuteessa	ልብ ቆራጥ	'decisive'
c) Garaasaatti qabate	በልቡ ያዘ	'kept secret'
d) Garaa isaatu gubate	ቆሽቱ አረረ	'he irritated or angry'
e)		

1.2 Idioms differing with respect to the co-occurring words

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
a) Gara bal'eessa	ሆደ ባህር	'tolerant/patient'
b) Garaatu isa ciise	ሆዱ ራሰ	'he pleased/enjoyed'
c) Ija hinfuunee	አይን የበላ	'overconfident/ arrogant'
d) Miilla fuudhi	ባትህን አሳኞኝ	'show me your calf of leg'
e) Gara jabeessa	ልብ ደንጋይ	'cruel/unkind'

When teaching the two subcategories of partially similar idioms, the teacher is expected to go deep into the semantics of the phrases and explore the commonalities that exist at the conceptual level and explain to the students because the students might not have the knowledge and the intellectual maturity to unfold the underlying senses and conceptualizations. In other words, the phrases that seem different superficially can be found to be similar at the conceptual level, and the teacher should be able to explore and make use of this similarity.

Totally Dissimilar Idioms

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
a) Gara kuteessa	ልብ ሙሉ	'confidant'

b) Mogoleetu bu'e	ሀግቱ ፈሰሰ	'terrified'
c) Qaaruu nama nyaachuu	እጅ የሚያስቆረጥም	'delicious'
d) Nafa nafa	ራስ በራስ	'quickly'

When the teacher encounters such idiomatic expressions whose equivalents in both languages are totally dissimilar, the method at his disposal is simply using the traditional method, which involves mere memorization of the individual idioms. It follows from this that the conceptual metaphor theory overrides the traditional method in its capacity to assist the teaching of a large part of the idioms and not in dealing with all idioms. After all, not all idiomatic expressions are semantically transparent, in which case we have to make recourse to the old method.

Dissimilarities to Be Noted When Teaching the Idioms

There are various instances where dissimilarities can be observed in the use of the body parts in the two languages. For example, there are cases where Amharic speakers use the HEART while Oromo uses STOMACH/BELLY or the EYE or CHEST or the HEAD. There are also cases where Amharic speakers use INTESTINE, whereas Oromo speakers use BELLY. More cases can also be observed where Amharic speakers use the NECK, but the Oromo use the HEAD. Further examples indicate that Amharic speakers prefer the MOUTH where Oromo speakers prefer the TONGUE in expressing similar phenomena. Lastly, a situation has also been observed wherein Amharic speakers use BELLY, but the Oromo use the LIVER which is totally missing from the Amharic data of body part idioms. See the following examples.

I. Where Amharic uses the HEART and Oromo uses BELLY

Amharic idiom	Oromo equivalent	Meaning
a) ልብ ሰፊ	gara bal'eessa	'tolerant/patient'
b) ልብ ድንጋይ	gara jabeessa	'cruel'
c) ልብ ቆራጥ	gara kuteessa	'decisive'

II. Where Amharic uses the HEART and Oromo uses the CHEST

Amharic idiom	Oromo equivalent	Meaning
a) የተሰበረ ልብ	Laphee cabaa	'innocent/gentle'
b) ልቤን ነካዉ	Laphee koo na tuqe	'I am touched'

III. Where Amharic uses the HEART and Oromo uses the HEAD

Amharic idiom	Oromo equivalent	Meaning
a) ልብ ደንዳና	Mata jabeessa	'hard-hearted'
b) ልብ ድንጋይ	Mata jabeessa	'hard-hearted'

IV. Where Amharic uses INTESTINE and Oromo uses BELLY

Amharic idiom	Oromo equivalent	Meaning
a) አንጅተን በላዉ	Garaa na nyaate	'I am sympathy of him'
b) ከአንጅተ ነዉ	Garaa koo irraati	'it is from my heart'
c) አንጅት አሳራሪ	Kan garaa nama gubu	'annoying person'

V. Where Amharic uses the NECK and Oromo uses the HEAD

Amharic idiom	Oromo equivalent	Meaning
a) አንገተ ደንዳና	Mata jabeessa	'powerful'
b) አንገቱን ደፋ	Mataa buuse	'he became shameful'

VI. Where Amharic uses the MOUTH and Oromo uses the TONGUE

Amharic idiom	Oromo equivalent	Meaning
a) እሾህ አፍ	Arraba qoraattii	'arrogant/haughty'
b) አፈ ማር	Arraba dammaa	'humble/respectful/narrator'
c) ሹል/ሙጢ አፍ	Arraba dheerachuu	'pointed mouth'

VII. Where Amharic uses either INTESTINE or the HEART and Oromo uses BELLY

Amharic idiom	Oromo equivalent	Meaning
a) ልቡ ራሰ	Garaatu isa ciise	'he satisfied'
b) አንገቱ ራሰ	Garaatu isa ciise	'he satisfied'

VIII. Where Amharic uses BELLY and Oromo uses the LIVER

Amharic	Oromo equivalent	Meaning
ሆደ	tiruu koo	'my beloved!'

Idiomatic Expressions in which the body parts are apparently missing

In the following Oromo expressions, the body parts are overtly missing though they are there underpinning the expressions.

Oromo idiom	Amharic equivalent	Meaning
a) Natti ciniinnate	ጥርሱን ነከሰ	'in the teeth of'
b) Humna kee itti agarsiifadhu	ከንድህን አሳየዉ	'show him your power'
c) Nihiiixate	እጁን ዘርጋ	'he stretched his hand'

In the first expression, the body part used can be understood from the verb used in the sense that the meaning of the verb presupposes the body part term. Here, the verb used is ‘bite’ whose action is obviously done by the teeth. In the Amharic equivalent of this idiom, however, it can be seen that the body part ‘tooth’ has surfaced. Despite the missing body part in the Oromo idiom, the meaning evoked by the two expressions is the same, i.e. ‘to threaten’. The sense denoted by the expressions is experientially rooted because it is common for people in the two cultures (or even universally) to bite their teeth when threatening others or when expressing their anger. In the second example, the Oromo verb ‘*humna*’ meaning ‘strength/power’ is used whereas in the Amharic the body part ‘arm’ is used to denote ‘strength/power’. The reason this body part is not used in the Oromo example could be the fact that the HAND universally represents STRENGTH/ POWER in addition to SKILL, HELP, SUPPORT and other notions.

In the third example, the Oromo example uses only the verb *hiixachuu* ‘to stretch’ whereas in the Amharic example we have both the body part term ‘hand’ and the verb ‘stretch’. Both expressions evoke the sense ‘to give’, and it can be easily discerned that the meaning is motivated. That is, when someone gives, he stretches his hand to the one who receives. And the reason why the body part term is missing from the Oromo expression could be because the word *hiixachuu* inherently has the sense of ‘giving’. The word that is used exclusively to express the act of ‘stretching’ is *diriirfachuu* which encodes the senses ‘to unfold’ and ‘to relax’.

Loan words enhancing the Teaching of the Idioms

Oromo Words in Amharic

We have been able to identify some Oromo words that have long been used in Amharic. See examples below.

	Amharic idiom	Meaning
a)	<i>Handhuura</i> in አንጡራ ሀብት	‘asset/wealth’
b)	<i>Onnee</i> in ወነ ቢስ	‘fearful’
c)	<i>Kottee</i> in የኮቱ ገንዘብ	‘compensation’
d)	<i>Gurra</i> in ጉራ ነዛ/ነፋ	‘boasting’

The word *gurra* is an Oromo term for ‘ear’, which is often semantically extended to denote ‘dignity’. And it appears that this word has been introduced into Amharic with its metaphorical sense denoting the meaning ‘show-off’ though the two senses are not semantically identical. What is interesting about this word’s usage in Amharic is that it has become productive to the extent of being used in the formation of idiomatic expressions like the above ones—/*gurra nazza*/ and /*gurra naffa*/ both of which mean ‘bragged, boasted’ and the commonly used expression ጉራኛ ‘bragger, boaster’. Yet, surprisingly the users with which we held the discussion on the semantics/conceptualizations of the idiomatic expressions said they have no knowledge of the fact that this word is related to the body part ‘ear’. One can find this sense of the word only when he/she is acquainted with the word’s meaning in the Oromo language. And this requires comparing the two languages and going underneath the semantics of the way the word is metaphorically used in the Oromo language.

There are also cases where the words that occur with the body part terms are borrowed from Oromo. Consider the Oromo words *gaffarsa* ‘buffalo’, *guddaa* ‘big/great’ and *bona* ‘dry season’ in the following Amharic idioms.

Amharic idiom	Meaning	
a) <i>Gaffarsa</i> in ገፈርሳ ሆድ	glutton, voracious eater	
b) <i>Guddaa</i> in ልብ ጉዳ	generous, noble, big hearted	
c) <i>Bona</i> in ቦና ሆድ	lean-bellied (like cattle in dry season)	

Amharic Word (body part term) in Oromo

መንጋጋ in *mangaagaa* jabaata ‘jecha hintaane namatti deebisa’

There are also two body part terms that both Amharic and Oromo share whose etymology we could not trace. These are *somba/ሳንባ* ‘lung’ and *afaan/አፍ* ‘mouth’. It has to be noted however that the forms of both lexical items in the two languages are not exactly the same. Since the word ‘af’ is also used in some Afro-asiatic languages like Somali, it can be said that the root comes from a language that predates Afro-asiatic languages. Interestingly, this body part term is highly productive in both languages in that we can find body part idioms that make use of this word in Amharic and Oromo. The body part term LUNG however is used in none of the idioms we have collected for both languages. We could not find any reason why this very important body part is not used in the idiomatic expressions. It is really surprising how a single human experience in both language communities is not expressed in terms of this concrete entity. Despite the lack of ideas and entities to be construed in terms of this body part, we appreciate the similarity the two languages have with respect to not using this vital organ in the conceptualization of the world around us.

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

This study has explored how Oromo and Amharic idioms of body parts can be taught in such a way that they can be understood and retained effortlessly by the learners. To do this, it has made recourse to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory which claims that idioms are

analyzable to varying degrees and that many aspects of idioms are closely tied to more productive grammatical patterns. This position stands in opposition to the traditional claim that idioms are an exception and not a norm in a language and therefore cannot be explained in terms of rules and semantic characteristics. For this reason, it recommends memorization of the individual idioms and the conventional meanings associated to them as the only means of learning idiomatic expressions. It is this same approach that our schools have followed so far. The conceptual approach we have adopted for this study, however, aims at unraveling the conceptual metaphors underlying the idiomatic expressions with the assumption that most idioms are semantically transparent and share commonalities at the conceptual level. Not only does this approach propose unveiling the conceptual metaphors underpinning the idioms as a simple means of learning the idioms, but it also invites the learners to making comparisons.

For this study, we have collected 678 Oromo and 805 Amharic body part idioms from native speakers in three places in Amhara Regional State (Gondar, Dessie and Debreworkos) and three places in Oromia Regional State (Adama, Negelle Borena and Adaba). To elicit the data from the native speakers, we first listed over sixty body part terms and for most of them provided one example to help the respondents understand what body part idioms really mean. Then, we asked each respondent to give us the conventional meanings of these idiomatic expressions together with how they conceptualize the individual idiomatic expressions. In addition, we held discussions with selected persons as to how they discern the idioms and whether they can see any connections between what is said and what is meant by the idioms. And for Oromo we have used introspection in addition to elicitation. We have also consulted some selected written materials on both languages. We have focused on the category of body part idioms alone because it is methodologically convenient and idiomatic language is mostly human-centered.

Analysis of the idioms has uncovered that the body part idioms in the three languages fall into three major categories. The first category comprises idioms that are totally similar in both languages both in form at the surface linguistic level and in their semantics and even morphosyntactically. Since such idioms exhibit similarity both at the surface linguistic level and at the conceptual level, teachers can tell the students to compare the idioms in both languages both formally and semantically. The idioms under this category are so identical that they are very easy to understand and retain. The teacher's role is simply to make the students aware of the semantic transparency and formal similarity of the idioms.

The second category of idioms refers to those that are partially similar. To be specific, the body part idioms often have two constituents, i.e. the one that involves body part and the co-occurring word which is mostly a verb or a noun. Accordingly, whereas the first category refers to idioms in Oromo and Amharic that are totally similar in terms of the body part term and the co-occurring word, the second category refers to those idiomatic constructions that are similar either with respect to the body part used or the co-occurring word. Even when the idioms show dissimilarity in terms of one or the other of its two constituents at the surface level, their semantics remains similar because the concepts evoked by the idioms are similar deep at the conceptual level. This time the teacher has to go deep into the semantics of the individual idioms while also uncovering what really motivates the use of one or the other of the two constituents. He can then explain it to his/her teachers why what appears to be different superficially has common underpinnings.

What is interesting about this second category is that especially when the idioms are dissimilar in terms of the body part used, it does not mean that the body parts used are totally dissimilar. For example, where Oromo uses the STOMACH, Amharic uses the BELLY, an INTESTINE or the HEART, the three of which have to do with the larger category ABDOMEN. What gives rise to the difference in terms of the constituents is just the way that culture profiles a given situation in the real world.

The last category of idioms is the one wherein discrepancy is observed in terms of both constituents of the idiom, i.e. both the body part and the co-occurring word. Here again the teacher has the opportunity to delve into the semantics of the idioms in order to unravel the conceptual metaphors underlying the idioms and the things that motivate their usage. Yet, if he/she fails to see any connection between the idioms the teacher has to resort to recommending the traditional method, which is memorization of the individual idiomatic expressions. According to the proponents of the conceptual approach, it is a large portion of the idioms and not all that can be accounted for using their framework. For them, the third category is an exception and not a norm so they recommend memorization for its construal and retention.

As noted earlier, the idioms also exhibit similarity in terms of their morphology and syntax, and these can be explored to help the students understand both the form and meaning of the idioms and keep them in their minds. What is more, there are loan words taken from Oromo into Amharic or from Amharic into Oromo, and such words are believed to enhance understanding and retention of the idioms.

In sum, the traditional method that recommends memorization as the only means of understanding and retaining idiomatic language is wrong from its assumption that idioms are peripheral aspects of language and therefore cannot be understood. This study however has shown that idioms are central to human language and cognition and that their semantic transparency can be explored by making

recourse to the conceptual approach, and inviting the students to make comparisons of the two languages can help them discern and retain the idioms.

Lastly, since idioms are central to human language and cognition and since they exhibit patterns just like other areas of language like phonology, morphology and syntax, educationalists engaged in the preparation of pedagogical materials should give more attention to idiomatic expressions.

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Appendix 1 (Amharic Idioms)

1. ሳፍ wpK< ሳፍ~ LÄ ፕ× (cY[])
2. ÓUv ሳÓፕv ፕ ሳL×U (፳፻ÉK?) ሳL×U)
3. ሳፅ g<M ሳፅ (ፕÑ[—])
4. SLe G<Kf SLe (Ncf“ ሳፍ ሳvLm)
5. TĪ^f uTĪ^~ ሳ[Ä^< (ፕV~<)
6. Ô” KÔ’< Ä^<nM (K^c< Ä^<nM)
7. ፓ” ሳፓ” ሳg”< (ÄuÄu”<)
8. ÄU ÄS S^ (ፕÑ ፳፻T>Ñ”uፑ)
9. È`v JÉ“ È`v (ፅèV ሳKSÓvvፑ)
10. Ī^f Ī^~” ÄqLM (ÄKTS×M)
11. eÖ eÖ J’ (c”< J’)
12. ሳፅ”Ý ሳፅ”Ý”<” ሳፅ (ፅ[ፅ])
13. ሳፑ ሳፑ cÖ”< (ፅk[u”<)
14. k”É k”É” ሳፅ፳፻ (ፅÈ”& T” Ä`Ý—M ሳK)
15. JÉ JÄ-cò (ፅÒi)
16. Ý`e ፅ`Ý`e (MĪ)
17. ÚÖ@^ uŪÖ@^I Äq[vM (ፅÄkÖ< p×ፑ ፑk×KI)
18. ፑÝh ፑÝh cÖ (ፅÝ<^& u”kፑ ሳÄ” ፅKÝ)
19. qÇ qÇ”<” ሳe” ÄÄ (c”<” ÝፅÝፅ ሳÄ[Ñ])
20. ß” ß” Öwp (w~ ፅ[c—])
21. Ða Ða eÖ~ (ፅÇUÖ~)
22. Ða Ó”É Ða Ó”É” ሳMÝ<ፑ (uØò S)G<ፑ&uፅØ’ፑ gØÝ<ፑ)
23. GVፑ/ፕVፑ ሳVፑ ÄK”< (q^Ø)
24. ሳፕ”ፑ ሳፕ”ፑ ፳፻Ki (JÇU)
25. ሳĪ ሳĪ”Øw (ፑ’& ሳĪ ፳፻Ý”< ፳፻T>KSMU)

26. Ö<f	Ö<f }×v (}³SÁ)
27. Ý”ð`	Ý”ð\ ”Ýc (³)}
28. ï”É	ï”ÉI” >d³⁄₄< (U)”<)
29. mØ	mÖ<” ×K (}^q)}
30. >Ã”	>Ã” K?v (>S””^& g’S<×)
31. Ø`e	³⁄₄Ø`e YÖ (ÚpÝn& ””“³)
32. Ñ<Muf	Ñ<Mu~ }[] (ÁÝS)
33. c”<`f	c”<~ }[] (ÁÝS)& c”<`}@ ucK (³K& }ÇÝS)
34. °Ó`	°Ó[cLu= (ç) @”< ³⁄₄TÁcT)
35. >Ø”f	vK >Ø”f (ÝfMp ³⁄₄}”KÁ)
36. >èS`ef	Ý>Áf ÝpÉS >Áf ³⁄₄S×`ef
37. Á[f	Á[~” AdÁM (f°u=}”f ÁhªM)
38. >”Éf	>”É} Á”Ç“ (%oÃ&}Öi)
39. ^e	^c-ïðf (wMI)
40. pMØU	vK pMØU (uÑ<Mu~ ³⁄₄T>•`&HÁK—)
41. >”Ñf	>”Ñ} Á”Ç“ (f°³”” ³⁄₄TÁkuM& °w)}—& ³⁄₄T>S×uf” ³⁄₄TÁ”<p)
42. ”Ñw	”Ñu kLM (ð””)
43. p”Éw	k”Áu (S)}
44. Mw	Mu-S<K< (Áó`)
45. >ÝM	>ÝK SÖ” (Ñ<MUe“)
46. Øð`	Øð^U (vKÑ@)
47. ×f	u×f ³⁄₄T>qÖ` (f”i/Ømf)
48. ×ðÁ	×ðÁ >”É >K (S“— ”Ñ` >`d& }“Ñ[])
49. GVf/>Vf	>V~ ðcc (c`ð)
50. qi f	qi~ >[] (u×U }“ÁÁ)
51. wMf	wM~” S}”< (³⁄₄Ñ\” u<Ø Á[çuf)
52. `ðe	`ðc<” >K (°Á”k H@Á-KIé”)
53. °”p`f	°”p`}@ ð[Ö (u×U ÁÝS”)
54. °Ø	°Ö< Æw >K (Á”ÑÖ& ”<nu=“< ^k”<)
55. Ý`e	Ý`dU (JÇU& u=uL ³⁄₄TÁÖÓw)
56. ç}@	ç}@”< ³⁄₄TÁcT (U)—& SU×~: SH@Æ ³⁄₄TÁcT)
57. ÑL	ÑLÁ (ðp_)
58. B^	B^ k[i (°wÉ& k¶n¹)
59. `iSØ	³⁄₄`iSØ ÁH@ÇM (³⁄₄c”<” ”ÓÓ` >×V Á}[Ñ<TM)
60. Lv	Lv k[i (°wÉ)
61. U”B`	U”B\ Éw” >K (}“ÁÁ)
62. peU	peS< }cu[(eT@~ k²k²)
63. k”É	k”É >”× (u×U >[É& Úc&}“ÁÁ)
64. ÇK?	³⁄₄ç^ ÇK? (“ð` ÁK ÇK?)
65. ÖÑ<`	G<Kf ÖÑ<` >”× (ðèV >[É)

Appendix 2 (Oromo Idioms)

1. Adda	Adda baafachuu, adda qabaachuu (carraa qabaachuu)
2. Afaan	Afaan qabdhul! Afaan hiikkate/bare/wallaale
3. Arraba	Arraba guddachuu; arrabsuu
4. Bar`uu	Bar`uu isaarratti na baatee asiin na ga`e.
5. Ceekuu/saggo	Saggoo isii rukuteen harkaa buusa
6. Cinaacha	Kan cinaan hinbeekne cinaacha dhahanuu hinbeektu.
7. Ciqilee	ciľfachuu, ciqileessuu (influence)
8. Dhiiga	Dhiiga koo na danfitste (na aarsite)
9. Duboo	Duboo kee natty hinraasin!
10. Dugda	Dugda baasuu/fudhachuu/namarra kaa`achuu
11. Eegee	Mataa malee eegee hintaatu.
12. Faana	Faana dha`uu
13. Foon	Foon koo nyaachuutu isii hafe.
14. Funyaan	Funyaan isee qabeen harkaa fuudha.
15. Fuula	Fuula dhowwachuu/gudunfuu; fuullu gurraacha`uu
16. Gaafa/kolbaa	Kana caalaa gaafa baasta moo? (umuriin kee sokkeera)
17. Garaa	Garaa na bare, garaatu na jibbe, gara-jabeessa/laafessa

18. Garaacha	ni garaachote (ulfoofte--Borana)
19. Gateettii	Gateettii kootu natti ulfaate (namni wayita namarra dhaabatu)
20. Gudeeda	Gudeeduu
21. Gurra	Gurra muree afaan na kaa'e (na sobe); gurra hinqabduu?
22. Handhuura	Handhuuruu (gowwoomsuu); handhuura buufachuu
23. Harka	Harkatu na gabaabbate. Harka fuudhaa; harka kennuu/laachuu
24. Harma/guntuta	Harma hodhaa
25. Hidhii	Dhidhii gatee deema. Hidhii xuuxuu (gadduu)
26. Hirree	Hirree isaa namatti agrsiifata (humna isaa namatti agarsiifata)
27. Ija	Ija hinqabu (adda hinbaafatu). Maaltu ija si qabe?
28. Ijoo	ijoo dubbii
29. Ilkaan	Callistee ilkaan hinyaasin (hinkflin)!
30. Jilba	Jilba koo keessaa ba'e.
31. Koomee	Koomee irra of taa'uu (Deemuuf jarjaruu)
32. Kottee	Kottee keen waldabarsa. Kotte na fuudhi/baasi.
33. Lafee	Abalu nama lafeeti.
34. Laphee	Laphee cabaa
35. Lubbuu	Lubbuutti na qabe (na sarde)
36. Maddii	Wal maddii taa'uu.
37. Mar'ummaan	Mar'immaan koo na gubde gurbaan sun.
38. Mataa	Mataa dhagaa gootee!
39. Miilla	Miilla fageeffachuu
40. Mogolee	Mogoleetu na bu'e.
41. Morma/moqoo	Ittiin mormuu
42. Mudhii	Mudhii hidhannee kaneerra.
43. Nyaara	Nyaara guuruu
44. Onnee	Onnee hinqabu
45. Qaama/nandha	Nandha nama suukessa.
46. Qaaruu	Qaaruu nama nyaata (garmalee mi'aawa)
47. Qeensa	Qeensa laafettii
48. Qoosee/gurmuu/saggoo/lum'ee	
49. Quba	Quba qabaachuu
50. Sarbaa	Sarbuu
51. Somba	Somba (kan faayidaa hinqabne, dadhabaa).
52. Tiruu	Tiruu koo (jaalallee koo)