



# Discourse Analysis of *wəddi mən*, Oral Game of Honeymoon in the Eastern Tigrai

A PhD Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Linguistics and Philology in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

College of Humanities, Language Studies, Communication, and Journalism  
Addis Ababa University

PhD Candidate: Hagos Gebre-Egziabher

Supervisor: Baye Yimam (Prof.)

August, 2020  
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

**Addis Ababa University**

**Discourse Analysis of *wəddi mən*, Oral Game of Honeymoon in the Eastern Tigray**

**A PhD Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Linguistics and Philology in  
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in  
Linguistics**

**Approved by Board of Examiners:**

_____	_____	_____
<b>Internal Examiner</b>	<b>Signature</b>	<b>Date</b>
_____	_____	_____
<b>External Examiner</b>	<b>Signature</b>	<b>Date</b>
_____	_____	_____
<b>Chair Person</b>	<b>Signature</b>	<b>Date</b>

## Declaration

I, Hagos Gebre-Egziabher, declare that this dissertation entitled "***Discourse Analysis of wəddi mən, Oral Game of Honeymoon in the Eastern Tigray***" is the product of my own effort and has not been submitted to any University in the same or different form to merit a PhD degree other than that for which I am now a candidate, and that all sources used for the dissertation have been appropriately acknowledged.

**Hagos Gebre-Egziabher** \_\_\_\_\_

**Candidate**

**Signature**

**Date**

**Baye Yimam (Prof.)** \_\_\_\_\_

**Supervisor**

**Signature**

**Date**

## ABSTRACT

In the rural areas of the Eastern Tigrai, when people visit the honeymooners, they often prefer to play an oral game called *wəddi mən*, which means 'whose son is...', and functionally, 'whose bridegroom/ bride is..., fiancé/ fiancée is...', as an entertainment and socio-linguistic event. This paper investigates on the Discourses that are used in *wəddi mən*. The main objective of this research is to thematically describe the Discourses of *wəddi mən* and their functions. *wəddi mən* is an event that has currently been replaced by some modern entertaining games such as play cards and modern music. Because this socio-linguistic practice is still oral, it has seriously been endangered. Therefore, it needs to be researched and transformed into written status. Thus, this work may be playing its role in documenting this oral language use for the first time.

Conceptually, this research considered Osisanwo's (2005) Discourse features cited in Osoba & Sobola (2014: 203). These features are: conversation, Discourse participants, opening and closing of Discourse, holding floor, turn-taking, overlapping, speech errors, repair mechanism, role sharing, elicitation in talk, and adjacency pairs. Halliday's theory of systematic functional linguistics (SFL), an approach and theory that views languages as a social phenomenon which is more concerned with the functions and meanings than with the structural aspects of languages, is theoretically framed to this research.

This research is designed based on the descriptive approach of qualitative research design. The data for this research are gathered from the remote rural areas of purposely selected six Weredas of the Eastern Tigrai. The main tools for gathering the data for this research have mainly been ethnographic observation and semi-structured interviews.

This study found out different sociolinguistic and cultural practices reflected by the Discourses used in *wəddi mən*. It has thematized the Discourses based on their functions and meanings. The participants portray the issues of power assignment, power hierarchy, power exercise and power transfer in their interactional communications using the Discourses. This research also found out the Discourses of naming and addressing in *wəddi mən* in reflection to the cultures of naming and addressing of their community. It has

also analyzed how the participants use the Discourses that show how people make and fix appointments with other interlocutors thereby reflecting the culture of division of labor among the masculine and feminine genders in their society. Moreover, this study has found out some Discourses that reflect the attitude and the feeling of the bridegroom and the bride towards each other. Besides, it has come up with findings of taboo Discourses that are used by the participants as taboo as they are for entertainment and life skill training in their interaction. Furthermore, this research has also analyzed gendered Discourses; for example, Discourse of sex preference at first birth in their interaction as a reflection of the culture of the society. The other concept which this research has come up with is the Discourses of politeness during the interactional communications of the participants. In their communications, the participants address each other using honorific terms not to belittle their interlocutors. Finally, the participants conclude the game using the Discourses of blessing as illustrated in the Discourses in 4.17. In the game of *wæddi mæn*, it is the bride who blesses the end of the game.

## **Dedication**

This is dedicated to; rest him in a perfect peace, my late father *Gebre-Egziabher Gezahegn*.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

At first glance, I have many thanks to my informants because they equipped me with valuable data for my study. Without of their genuine co-operations, this work wouldn't be a complete work.

Furthermore, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my advisor Baye Yimam (Prof.) for the compassionate and relentless advice he has provided me with while conducting this research. He was always there to help and give me the right research directions for the successful completion of my dissertation.

I would also like to extend my thanks to the Ministry of Education, Wolkite University and Addis Ababa University. They have played their institutional role in sponsoring me this program and financially supporting me.

Moreover, I am thankful to my beloved family all for they always mean a lot for me to be where I am now, especially my beloved Mom W/ro Birhan Atsibha, for she, as a mother and a father, has always selflessly been there for me to be in the position I am now. Many thanks also go to my sisters: Medhin, Gergis, Nigisti, teacher Askual, my brother Tetemke, my niece Letebrahan Birhane, and my cousin Tsega Bereket for their entire assistance all the time. Furthermore, I have no words to express my thanks to my beloved wife Letay Gebreslassie (Ing.), my cute daughter Tsion Hagos, and my baby boy Kaleb Hagos for they didn't complain while I was conducting my study because I didn't share them my time of fatherhood; they fully understand me.

Besides, I would like to express my special thanks to my dedicated friend Dr. Gebrehiwot Gebreslassie and his respected wife S/r Zaid Desta, my brother Gebreyohannes Gebreslassie, and my friend Birhane Hagos for they were always there to help me materially and technically up to the completion of my research. Finally, I wouldn't like to end my acknowledgments without extending my considerate thanks to my dear friends Selamawi Tesfay and Teklay Kahsay for their critical comments aiming at the successful completion of my PhD dissertation.

## TABLE OF CONTENT

ABSTRACT	III
DEDICATION	V
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	VI
LIST OF FIGURES	XI
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	XII
CHAPTER: ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background	1
1.1.1 The People	1
1.1.2 Geographical Setting	4
1.1.3 The Tigrinya Language	5
1.1.3.1 Phonemic Inventory of Tigrinya	6
1.1.3.2 Syllable Structure of Tigrinya	9
1.1.3.3 Phonological Processes in Tigrinya	12
1.2 Statement of the Problem	16
1.3 Objectives	16

1.3.1	General Objective	16
1.3.2	Specific Objectives	16
1.4	Significance	17
1.5	Scope	17
1.6	Limitations	18
	REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	20
2.1	Discourse and Discourse Analysis	26
2.2	Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks	34
2.2.1	Conceptual Framework	34
2.2.2	Theoretical Framework	40
2.2.2.1	Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) Theory	41
	CHAPTER: THREE	47
	METHODOLOGY	47
3.1	Research Design	47
3.2	Sampling Technique	47
3.3	Data Gathering Tools	47
	CHAPTER: FOUR	49
	DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS	49

4.1	Discourses of Permission	51
4.2	Discourses of Accusation	67
4.3	Discourses of Guaranty	74
4.4	Discourses of Rules	80
4.5	Discourses of Penalties	94
4.5.1	Discourses of Penalties in Kind (Qualitative Penalty Weight)	94
4.5.2	Discourses of Penalties in Number (Quantitative Penalty Weight)	102
4.6	Discourses of Power Transfer	114
4.7	Discourses of Reacting to the Violation of Rules	119
4.8	Discourses of Naming and Calling	133
4.9	Discourses of Appointment	153
4.10	Discourses of Beauty and Sentiment	159
4.11	Taboo Discourses	167
4.11.1	Taboo Discourses of Envy	167
4.11.2	Hyperbole Taboo Discourses	176
4.11.3	Taboo Discourses of Sexual Request	186
4.11.4	Taboo Discourses of Sexual Maturity	192
4.11.5	Taboo Discourses of Sexual Immaturity	194

4.12 Discourses of Virginitv	200
4.13 Tongue-Twisting Discourses	209
4.14 Ideophonic Discourses	214
4.15 Gendered Discourses	218
4.16 Discourses of Politeness	224
4.17 Discourses of Blessing	230
CHAPTER: FIVE	234
SUMMARY	234
REFERENCES	242
APPENDICES	251
7.1 Appendix- I: Observation Check-list	251
7.2 Appendix- II: Interview Questions	252
7.3 Appendix- III: Sample Data	253

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The Administrative Map of Tigray Regional State .....	4
Figure 2: Consonant-Vowel Syllable (CV) .....	9
Figure 3: Consonant-Vowel-Consonant (CVC) Syllable .....	10
Figure 4: Dimensions of Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995: 97) .....	50
Figure 5: The Probabilities of the Drops of the Playing-sticks .....	56
Figure 6: Structure of Power Hierarchy Based on Tossing Probabilities .....	58
Figure 7: Representation of Sociolinguistic Power Hierarchy in <i>wəddi mən</i> .....	136
Figure 8: Semantic Relationships (Storey, 1993: 457) .....	175
Figure 9: The Levels of Representation of Social Power in <i>wəddi mən</i> .....	237

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC= accusative

ADJ= adjective

AGT= agent

BEN= benefactive

C= coda

COND= conditional

CONJ= conjunctive

COMP= comparative

COP= copula

CAUS= causative

DET= determiner

F= feminine

FOC= focus

HON= honorific

IDEO= ideophone

IMPF= imperfective

IMP= imperative

INS= instrument

JUSS= jussive

LOC= locative

M= masculine

MAL= malefactive

N= nucleus

NEG= negative

O= onset

PL= plural

POS= possessive

PROG= progressive

PRF= perfective

PRT= particle

PURP= purpose

Q= question

RECP= reciprocal

RED= reduplication

REL= relative

Rh= rhyme

SG= singular

SBJV= subjunctive

VOC= vocative

VN= verbal noun

## CHAPTER: ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background

##### 1.1.1 The People

Tegaru /*təgaru*/, some say /*tigrawət*/, or /*tigrawətot*/ (plural) refers to the Northern Ethio-Semitic people living in the Tigray Regional State, and their language is Tigrinya /*tigrĩñña*/. Tigray, including the Tigrinya speakers in Eritrea, is also referred to as /*tigraj tigrĩññil*/.<sup>1</sup>

Tigray has a total population of 4,314,456 (5.8% of the total population of Ethiopia) (Central Statistical Authority, 2007:13). In Tigray, there are three major ethnic groups. These are: the Tigrinya speakers, the Kunama speakers, and the Saho speaking Irobs. The Tigrinya speaking group is the largest ethnic group consisting of about 5.52 percent of the total population of Ethiopia. The Nilo-Saharan Kunama group consists of about 0.01 percent, and the Lowland East Cushitic Saho speaking Irob consisting of about 0.05 percent.

In Tigray, according to the Central Statistical Authority 2007 housing and population census, 842,723 (19.5%) live in urban while 3,471,733 (80.5%) live in rural areas. Therefore, most of the people in Tigray lead their livelihood in agriculture. According to the 2007 housing and population census, 755,633 live in the Eastern Tigray. Out of the total population in the Eastern Tigray, 146,301 live in the urban areas, and 609,332 lead their livelihood in agriculture and live in rural parts of the zone.

Tigray, like the other nations and nationalities of Ethiopia, has its own unique cultural assets. It, for instance, has some unique practices of marriage. These include traditional songs, cultural dishes in the feasts of marriage, and other traditional entertaining practices.

---

<sup>1</sup> Tigraway /*tigraway*/ (Male Singular) and Tigraweyti /*tigraweyti*/ (Female Singular) refer to the Tigrinya speaking people living in the Tigray Regional State.

One of the traditional entertaining practices is an oral game of honeymoon called *wəddi mən*, which is the focus of this research, mostly known in the Eastern part of Tigrai.

Traditional marriages of Christian (Abraha Abadi 2003: 2), mainly in Tigrai and Amhara regions, are often arranged by the parents of the bridegroom and the bride with a great deal of negotiation. According to their tradition and culture, the bride must be a virgin when the marriage takes place. The reason is that the bride's virginity is highly valued and pride in Christian marriage, with the whole family being shamed if the bride is not found a virgin.

In the traditional marriage of Tigrai, the bride lives in her in-laws' house for honeymoon<sup>2</sup> (**አሰኖት** /his'inot/ or **ቀለም** /k'ələm/ in Tigrinya) with her bridegroom for mostly one month without doing any physical work, but she simply spends the time sitting inside the honeymoon room with her bridegroom. In this particular situation, people nearby usually come and visit the honeymooners. In the rural areas of Eastern Tigrai, when the people visit the bridegroom and the bride, they often prefer to play *wəddi mən* which literally means 'whose son'. The participants who get involved in the game of *wəddi mən* are a male dominating young aged group. The game is primarily used as entertainment for the honeymooners and the people who come and spend their time with the honeymooners (bridegroom, the bride, best men, and bridesmaid). This research is, therefore, an attempt to investigate the Discourses used in *wəddi mən* from the functional linguistics perspective.

Honeymoon in the research area is not the same as the modern honeymoon. It is a traditional honeymoon that is practiced in the research area. In the modern honeymoon, the bridegroom and the bride visit certain places. On the other hand, the honeymoon in the traditional marriage means the time the bridegroom and the bride spend together after their marriage day with their best men, bridesmaid, and page boys. The bridesmaids in the research area are the girls that help the brides, especially when having bathes, using traditional makeups and going outdoor toilets. The page boys, on the other hand, are young

---

<sup>2</sup> In Tigrinya, honeymoon, the honeymooners, honeymoon room, page boy, bridemaide are called **አሰኖት** /his's'inot/ or **ቀለም** /k'ələm/, **ቤት አሰኖት** /bet his'inot/ or **እንዳ መርዑ** /ʔinda mərʕu/, **ተላዕንቲ** /təħas's'ənti/, **ፀዋሪ አፀ** /s'əwari his'ə/ **ላሳቢት ፍላሕ** [ħasaβit] /fillaħ/ respectively.

boys who carry the belongings of the bride when the bridegroom takes her to his family and back to her family after some weeks.

The room where all participants stay with the bridegroom and the bride is the honeymoon room. When the visiting participants come to see the bridegroom and the bride, they directly go to the honeymoon room. It is unusual for them to get into rooms around other than the honeymoon room in this context.

### 1.1.2 Geographical Setting



**Figure 1: The Administrative Map of Tigray Regional State**<sup>3</sup>

Tigray is one of the nine National Regional States in Ethiopia. As we see from the above map, Tigray is found in the Northern part of Ethiopia bounded with the North of Amhara National Regional State, South of Eritrea, West of Afar National Regional State, and East of Sudan.

---

<sup>3</sup> The Source for the above map is CSA, UNCS, Field Survey **Feedback:** ocha-eth@un.org [www.humanitarianresponse.info/operations/ethiopia](http://www.humanitarianresponse.info/operations/ethiopia) [www.reliefweb.int](http://www.reliefweb.int) (January 12, 2015).

From the administration point of view, there are seven Zones in the contemporary Tigrai. These include: the Western zone, the North-West zone, the Central Zone, the Eastern zone, the Mekelle special zone, the South-East Zone, and the South Zone.

The Eastern Zone is the research area of this study. The Eastern Zone of Tigrai is found to the East of Central Zone, West of Afar regional state, South of Eritrea, and North of Mekelle special Zone. It consists of nine weredas namely: Gulo Mekeda [gulo məxəda] Wereda, Erob [irob] Wereda, Saesi Tsada Emba [saʕsiʕi s'aʕda ʔimba] Wereda, Ganta Afeshum [ganta ʔafešum] Wereda, Hawzen [ħawzen] Wereda, Kilte Awlalo [killittə ʔawlaʕlo] Wereda, Atsbi Wonberta [ʔas'βi wəmbərtə] Wereda, Adigrat [ʕaddigrat /Town/ Wereda, and Wukro /Town/ Wereda.

### **1.1.3The Tigrinya Language**

Tigrinya is one of the Afro-Asiatic languages considered as the third largest modern Semitic languages next to Arabic and Amharic (Viogt, 2009: 391). It is the native language of the majority of the population in Tigrai, Ethiopia and the highlands of Eritrea. The speakers of the language are estimated to be 6.9 in both Eritrea and Ethiopia as stated in Viogt (2009: 392). In the classification of Ethio-Semitic, Tigrinya is Northern Ethio-Semitic. It shares many linguistic features with the other Northern Ethio-Semitic languages Ge'ez and Tigre. According to Tesfay (2002: 13), Tigrinya is a de facto national official language in Eritrea and a regional official language in Tigrai. In both Eritrea and Tigrai, it has been used as a language of oral and written communication. Currently, it has been serving as a medium of instruction in primary schools in the above mentioned Tigrinya speaking areas.

Tigrinya had mainly served as a spoken language for a long time before it became a literal language; however, the presence of documented sources asserts the commencement of written Tigrinya during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Besides, during the period of the Italian occupation, written Tigrinya was used for religious purposes. Since then, it has become an important language in which newspapers, magazines, and books are produced (Esayas, 2003: 2).

Ethio-Semitic languages (Tesfay, 2002: 15) have ancient characters of their own that are related to Proto-Semitic or ancient Phoenicians and South Arabian in many ways. The script of Ethio-Semitic was the first Semitic script to annotate vowels consistently. Tesfay (2002: 15) states that the first written evidence of Tigrinya so far known is that of the 13th century. This evidence was found in Logosarda of Southern Eritrea which describes the traditional law in the region.

Since recent years, several researches have been conducted on Tigrinya. Most of them focus on documentation and descriptions of the grammatical aspects of the language. As Fitzgerald (2015: 1) stated, some of the studies that have so far been done on Tigrinya include Leslau (1939, 1969), Palmer (1955, 1957), followed by Pam (1973). Moreover, there are some descriptive grammar works on Tigrinya such as the works of Tsehaye (1979) and Tesfay (2002). In Tigrinya, it is not still common to see studies focusing on the Folkloric Discourse from their linguistic perspective. This study, therefore, tries to investigate on the Discourses of an oral game in wæddi mæn which literally means 'whose son'.

### **1.1.3.1 Phonemic Inventory of Tigrinya**

This research, as mentioned earlier, focuses on investigating the Discourses used in the interpersonal communication of wæddi mæn. This sociolinguistic study does, of course, not concentrate on the phonological aspects of the language spoken by the speech community of the research area. The reason why I present the phonemic inventory of the language is to show that the data are transcribed using the inventory. The phonemic inventory of Tigrinya is shown below.

## A) Consonants

Tigrinya has the following consonantal phonemes:

**Table 1: the Consonants of Tigrinya**

Manners Of Articulation		Places Of Articulation						
		Labials	Dentals/ Alveolars	Palatals	Velars	Labio- Velars	Pharyngeals	Glottals
Oral Stops	Voiceless	p	t		k	k <sup>w</sup>		
	Voiced	b	d		g	g <sup>w</sup>		ʔ
Glotalized		p'	t' s'	č'	k'	k' <sup>w</sup>		
Nasal Stops		m	n	ñ				
Fricatives	Voiceless	f	s	š			ħ	h
	Voiced	v	z	ž			ʕ	
Affricates	Voiceless			č				
	Voiced			j				
Liquids	Voiced	l r						
Glides	Voiced	w		y				

These consonants are taken from Kogan (1997: 424)

Some of the phonemes in Tigrinya have allophonic variations. As Kogan (1997: 425) discussed:

/b/ has an allophonic devoiced sound [b<sup>h</sup>] at word-final, example, /nab/ → [nap] 'to'.

/b/ has postvocally fricativized [β] allophonic sound. Kogan (1997: 426) states that the consonants /b/ is a controversial point in the phonetics of Tigrinya because the above word /nab/ can also be transcribed as [naβ] 'to'.

The voiceless velar stops  $k$ ,  $k'$ ,  $k^w$ , and  $k'^w$  (Tsehaye, 1979: 9; Kogan, 1997: 425, and Tesfay, 2002: 26) have velar fricatives  $[\chi, \chi']$ , and labio-velar fricatives  $[\chi^w, \chi'^w]$  allophones respectively because of spirantization at postvocalic and non-geminate.

As Tesfay (2002: 26) discusses:

$/p/$  and  $/v/$  are used in some recently borrowed words and difficult for the illiterate native speakers to pronounce.

$/č/$  and  $/ñ/$  are assumed to be borrowed from Cushitic languages and marginally used in few words.

$/ž/$  is rarely used and assumed to be substituted by  $/y/$ .

$/p'/$  is rarely used in some Biblical names and is difficult for the illiterate native speakers to pronounce; as a result, they are observed to replace it by  $/b/$ .

## **B) Vowel inventory**

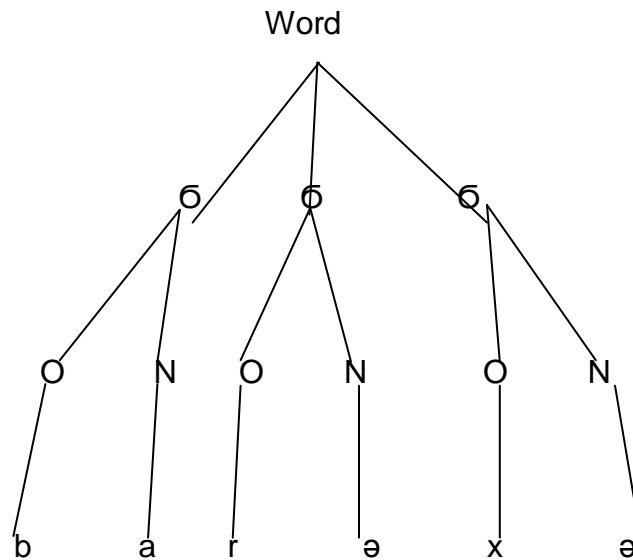
As indicated below Tigrinya has seven simple vowels; there are no long vowels (Buckley, 1994:1) in Tigrinya.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

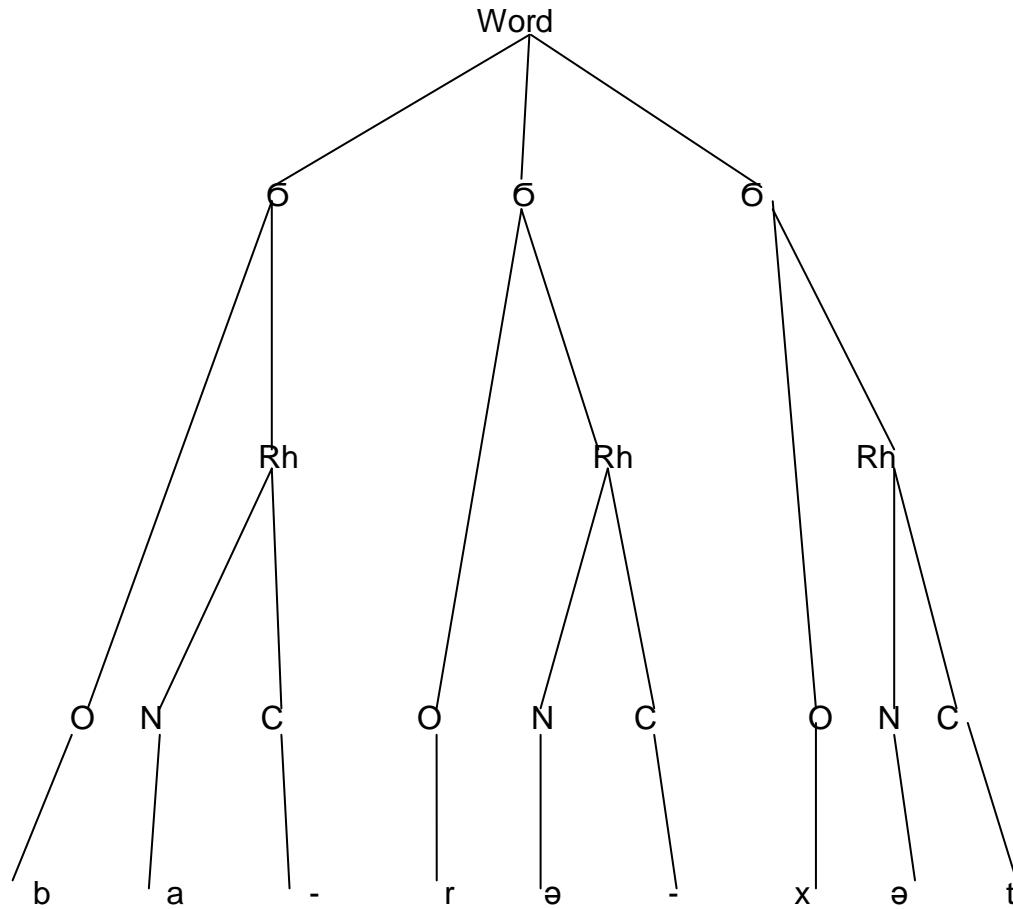
### 1.1.3.2 Syllable Structure of Tigrinya

Tigrinya has syllabic phonotactics as Tesfay (2002: 35) has discussed. Accordingly, the syllabic structure of Tigrinya is combined from the consonant-vowel (CV) and consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC). The vowel is the syllabic nucleus (peak) while the first and the last consonants in the syllabic structure are called onset (O) and coda (C) respectively. The syllables with pattern CV are open syllables whereas the syllables with the pattern CVC are closed syllables (Tsehaye, 1979: 38).

As Tesfay (2002: 37) illustrated the combination of the nucleus (peak) and the coda in the CVC pattern of the syllable is called rhyme (R) of the syllable. Generally, the syllabifications of Tigrinya words [barəxə] 'he has blessed' and [barəxət] 'she has blessed'; as an example, are illustrated in the following diagrams respectively. [See Figure 2 and Figure 3 below.]



**Figure 2: Consonant-Vowel Syllable (CV)**



**Figure 3: Consonant-Vowel-Consonant (CVC) Syllable**

As we can see in the above word [ba-rə-xət], 'She has blessed' has three syllables. The syllables are: CV, CV, and CVC respectively.

In the phonotactics of Tigrinya, no word begins with a vowel and no word begins with two consonants, except when the next consonant of the two is either // or /r/ (Tsehaye, 1979: 38).

Examples from (Tsehaye, 1979: 38):

/blaʕ/ or /bilaʕ/ 'eat.2MSG'

/frə/ or /firə/ 'seed, or fruit'

Similarly, no word can end with a cluster of two consonants. When the unpermissible consonant cluster occurs in Tigrinya, the epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted between the consonants. Moreover, when borrowed words begin with two consonants like the English word sport, the illiterate native speakers add the segment /ʔi-/ before and the vowel /-i/ after the borrowed word and make it [ʔisporti].

According to Tsehaye (1979: 36), when a cluster of two consonants occurs word medially in Tigrinya, the first consonant /C<sub>1</sub>/ is considered as the coda of the preceding syllable whereas the second consonant /C<sub>2</sub>/ is considered as an onset of the following syllable. In this case, the first consonant /C<sub>1</sub>/ occurring as a coda is not released until the second consonant /C<sub>2</sub>/ occurring as an onset is uttered.

In the phonological process of Tigrinya, the cluster of identical consonants is a highly important feature (Tsehaye, 1979: 36). This feature is called germination. In the phonological process of Tigrinya, any consonant sound, except /h, ɸ, ʔ, ʕ, p, and v/, may be geminated.

Examples from (Tsehaye, 1979: 36):

/habbo/      give.2MSG    him

/bælla/      hit.2MSG      her

Generally, when we see the phonotactics of Tigrinya as (Tesfay, 2002: 35) has illustrated:

1. There can be no vowel sequence in a word.
2. There can be no consonant cluster word finally, or word-initially, except when the next consonant of the two is either /l/ or /r/ (Tsehaye, 1979: 38).
3. A word never begins with a vowel.
4. Basic stems that begin with /y/ are very rare.
5. There are only two types of syllables: /CV/ and /CVC/.

### 1.1.3.3 Phonological Processes in Tigrinya

When certain speech sounds are in sequence, phonological processes such as: assimilation, dissimilation, deletion ... etc could occur in Tigrinya as Tesfay (2002: 37) has stated in his work.

#### a) Assimilation

This is a phonological process in which the feature of a sound spreads to another neighboring sound. As Tesfay (2002: 38) has illustrated, the assimilation in Tigrinya are:

1. a) Anticipatory (regressive) assimilation: from right to left

Examples from (Tsfay 2002: 38):

/ginbar/ → [gimbar] 'front'

/t'ənk'i/ → [t'əŋk'i] 'cause'

b) Preservative (progressive) assimilation: from left to right

Examples (Tsfay, 2002: 38):

/wələdti/ → [wələddi] 'parents'

/ʔarigkum/ → [ʔarikkum] 'You.2MPL became old'

2. a) Distant (Non-contiguous/long-distance) assimilation: occurs when there are one or more intervening segments between assimilee(s) and assimilator(s). In Tigrinya, this assimilation commonly occurs in vowels (Tsfay, 2002: 39), and it is called vowel harmony.

Examples from Tesfay (2002: 39):

/kifuʔ/ → [kufuʔ] 'bad'

/koxəb/ → [koxob] 'star'

/bizuħ/ → [buzuħ] 'many/ much'

b) Contagious (contact) assimilation: occurs when there are no intervening segments between assimilee(s) and assimilator(s). In Tigrinya, his kind of assimilation (Tesfay, 2002: 39) occurs in consonants.

Examples from Tesfay (2002: 38):

/mənʃəs/ → [mənʃəs] 'spirit'

/t'əŋk'i/ → [t'əŋk'i] 'cause'

3. a) Partial (incomplete) assimilation: occurs when the assimilee adjusts partially to the assimilator and shares with it some features (gestures). The assimilation occurs either in place of articulation or manner of articulation, but not both at a time.

Examples:

/kəŋfər/ → [kəŋfər] 'lip'

/ʔambəsa/ → [ʔambəsa] 'lion'

b) Complete (total) assimilation: occurs when the assimilee adjusts to the assimilator so that they both have the same type and number of features (gestures). In other words, the resulting assimilant becomes identical to the assimilator.

Examples from Tesfay (2002: 38):

/ʔanti/ → [ʔatti] 'you.2FSG'

/wələditi/ → [wələddi] 'parents'

4. Fusional assimilation: /əw/ becomes [o] because of the feature of /ə/ + the feature of /u/ or /w/

Examples (Tesfay, 2002: 40):

/məwətə/ → [motə] 'He died'

/ʔitəw/ → [ʔito] 'Come in'

**b) Dissimilation:** The converse of assimilation

Examples (Tesfay, 2002: 40):

/k'itəlaʔo/ → [k'itəliʔo] 'Kill.2FPL him'

/k'itəlaʔa/ → [k'itəliʔa] 'Kill.2FPL her'

**c) Deletion:** when the formerly existing segment is lost i.e /x/ → [∅]

**1) Aphaeresis:** when the deletion occurs at the initial position

Examples (Tesfay, 2002: 40):

/wurəd/ → [rəd] 'Go down'

/nissu habtam ʔiyu/ → [nissu habtam 'yu] 'He is rich'

**2) Syncopation:** The loss of sound at the medial position

Examples (Tesfay, 2002: 41):

/səbiru/ → [səiru] → [səyru] 'He broke'

/kəyədə/ → [kədə] 'He went'

/zəwərə/ → [zərə] 'He roved'

**3) Apocopation:** The loss of segment at the final position

Examples (Tesfay, 2002: 41):

/yistəy/ → [yistə] 'Let him drink'

/yiħməy/ → [yiħmə] 'Let him backbite'

**d) Metathesis:** Segments moves from one place in a string to another.

Examples (Tesfay, 2002: 42):

/ɣaw bəl/ → [waɣ bəl] 'Speak aloud'

/ħax<sup>w</sup>əfə/ → [ħafəx<sup>w</sup>ə] 'He hugged'

e) Gemination: Longer duration of identical sounds (consonants in Tigrinya) one after the other

Examples (Tesfay, 2002: 43):

/fəkkərə/ 'He boasted'

/zəwwərə/ 'He drove'

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Discourse Analysis in the context of communication through folklore is less studied in Tigrinya. Not only in Tigrinya but also in many Ethiopian languages in general, language use related to folklore is less studied from Discourse perspectives (Fekede, 2014: 26). This is also true for *wəddi mən*, the focus of this study. To the best of my reading, no piece of academic writing has yet been produced regarding *wəddi mən*. It is still purely an oral language use that has been transferred from generation to generation by word of mouth. This tells us that *wəddi mən* is not documented in written pieces of status.

The reason for conducting this research on the Discourse analysis of *wəddi mən* stems from the facts that: (1) there is no research that has yet been conducted in *wəddi mən* and (2) *wəddi mən* is, currently, used in very limited remote areas, and less frequently practiced because the time for marriage in Tigray is usually limited to certain months, especially, to January. Therefore, *wəddi mən* is in an endangered situation as a special language use because it has been observed to be replaced by some modern entertaining games such as play cards (card game) and modern music. As a result, the linguistic, social, cultural, and psychological values of the game in the society are also getting endangered together with it.

## **1.3 Objectives**

### **1.3.1 General Objective**

The general objective of this study is to describe the sociolinguistic and cultural functions of the Discourses of *wəddi mən*, an oral game of honeymoon in the Eastern Tigray.

### **1.3.2 Specific Objectives**

The specific objectives of this study are:

- a. describing the literal meaning of the Discourses,
- b. analyzing functional meaning of the Discourses,
- c. assessing the extended meaning of the Discourses,

- d. describing the linguistic contexts of the Discourses, and
- e. analyzing the interactional meanings of the Discourses.

#### **1.4 Significance**

This research is first and foremost thought to be significant for the documentation of the endangered language use or Discourse of *wəddi mən* itself. This Discourse practice is purely oral. There is no written account produced so far. Therefore, this research will serve as a documentary input for this oral Discourse practice. It might also be used as a starting point for other researches across related departments especially, linguistics and folklore (oral literature) of the language. Moreover, teachers and researchers in linguistics, folklore, sociology, and anthropology may use it as reference material. The Tourism and Cultural Bureau of Tigray Regional State, in particular, and the Tourism and Cultural Minister of Ethiopia, in general, can also use this study as an input for the full documentation of the oral language practices because when it gets documented, it could also preserve the social and linguistic importance of the game of *wəddi mən* in the society. The material may serve as input for the development of literature in Tigrinya.

#### **1.5 Scope**

As far as my observation is concerned, *wəddi mən* is commonly known in the Eastern part of Tigray Regional State. Therefore, Eastern Tigray is the research area. The urban/ town and near to urban/ town areas do not use this oral game as a means of entertainment in their marriage practices. Hence, the main resource areas for the data are people in the remote rural areas because *wəddi mən* is very common in marriage practices of such remote areas. In urban-like areas, *wəddi mən* is totally forgotten or rarely practiced. No sufficient data would; therefore, be obtained from the urban/ town speech community. Conceptually, the traditional honeymoon of the marriage in the research area of this research encompasses several coinciding Discourses of social and linguistic practices such as traditional marriage negotiation, traditional marriage songs, traditional dances, traditional entertainments other than *wəddi mən*, etc. Amongst all the Discourses of marriage practices in the research area, *wəddi mən* and the Discourses used in the game of *wəddi*

*mən* are the main concerns of this research. Basically, the Discourses are analytically scoped to the functional systematic linguistics perspective in this research.

## 1.6 Limitations

As it has already been mentioned above, the focus of this research is on the language practice of honeymooners that has been endangered because the traditional and the modern honeymoon are not the same in practice. For example, *wəddi mən* is not known in the modern honeymoon. Currently, because of the influence of modernization and urbanization, the modern honeymoon is dominating the traditional one in the research area. As a result, currently, *wəddi mən* is getting endangered which made the data collection for this research difficult. Modernization and urbanization, now a day, are influencing the cultures and the way of living of the people in the research area. The participants of *wəddi mən* are now a day preferring to entertain themselves by modern music and play card in place of *wəddi mən*. Consequently, this was the first limitation of collecting data for this research. The endangered situation of the game had been a limitation for my data collection because it was not easy for me to get the data any time anywhere. To get the data for my research, I had to go deep to the very remote areas of the Weredas of the research area mentioned above. This helped me get the necessary data to carry on conducting my research.

Moreover, the traditional marriage in the research area is mostly common to January. Therefore, I can say the marriage time in the research area is seasonal. Therefore, this was another limitation for me to collect the data for this research. Because this month was only a chance and could some times coincide with other academic activities, it had been a limitation for me to collect my data. I could not go out for my fieldwork any month other than the marriage season of the research area. In alleviating this limitation, I have made phase-base field works, and I have used an extended time frame in the program of my study. Furthermore, I have gone to my fieldwork in the Easter weeks. In the research area, though it is not as common as it is in January, the people get married in the Easter weeks. They consider the Easter weeks as an alternative chance of the traditional marriage season.

Some people can miss January to get married for some personal reasons and the 'Great Fast/ Great 40 Days' season which usually comes at the end of January. Therefore, they make it up during the Easter weeks after the 'Great Fast/ Great 40 Days' season ends.

## CHAPTER: TWO

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Speakers use language to express what they want, what they feel, what they think, and what is being said. As a result of this communicative function of language, speakers make interaction with other participants. In the interaction of the participants, the context of communication plays a great role. This indicates how language use is influenced by the context in which it is used. The “context”, as Dijk (1997: 1) stated, often means either the ‘linguistic context’ or ‘verbal context’ of some word, sentence or utterance, or the social or cultural context of these verbal expressions. This study tried to investigate on a sociolinguistic practice in Eastern Tigray relating to the actual Discourse of context.

We can see several researches conducted in Discourses analysis. I tried to find related works, but I could not find studies directly related to the present work. Some of the works done on marriage folklores focus on traditional marriage songs and most of them are conducted from the literary works perspectives, not from the Discourse analysis point of view.

Though there are no researches directly related to this study, I have taken studies conducted on folkloric practices of marriage that have used theoretical frameworks, and/or methodologies more or less similar to the present work. These include:

(1) Joseph (2005) on: *A Feminist Analysis of Song Texts in Okun Yoruba Marriage Ceremony*. It is a thematic literary analysis. The study found out how women sing in response to their gender-related oppression in a patriarchal society during Okun Yoruba marriage ceremony in Nigeria. Most of the songs are feministically inclined as they portray the significance of the female gender in a patriarchal society.

Example from (Joseph, 2005: 37):

- |                |                                 |
|----------------|---------------------------------|
| "D' osupa a    | - She has become like the moon. |
| Omo d' osupa o | - She has become like the moon. |

Omo Bola d' osupa - Omobola has become like the moon.  
On tan bi rawo, - Shining like the star."

According to Joseph (2005: 37), "D' osupa is repeated to give a rhyme scheme and to depict the fact that the bride is surely brightening the day and the world with her gaiety. Some of the songs function as a piece of advice to the bride so as to encourage lasting and happy marriage"

The purpose of the research in Joseph (2005) is to analyze the feminist meaning of the marriage song in Okun Yoruba society, while the purpose of this work is to analyze function of the Discourses in relation to different social aspects of the speech community portrayed by the honeymooners and the visiting participants in the context of the game called *wèddi mən*.

Though the main aims of the researches are different, the work of Joseph (2005) can be related to the present work from the gender-related power relationship in social structures. The current study found out how the gendered language the participants use in the context of *wèddi mən*.

In relation to this, there is also a related study (2) Dlamini (2009) on: *Power, sexuality and subversion in lutsango and siswati traditional wedding songs* focusing on Discourses of gender, power relations, patriarchal norms, and views on female sexuality.

The study of Dlamini (2009) found out that the songs are read and analyzed within their contexts of performance and within the context of Swazi customary law in order to scrutinize the gendered and power relations. The songs within the context of Swazi customary law help in looking at the songs as societal texts signifying how gender and power relations are arranged in the familial space.

The issue of gender and language use is one of the focuses of the present study which makes related to the work of Dlamini (2009). The reason is that this research analyzed how

gendered Discourses are used in expressing the social power assignment of the bridegroom and the bride in *wæddi mən*.

Example from Dlamini (2009: 48):

LEADER: Yesibali buya utolala lapha

CHORUS: Indlu yonkhe isemakamelweni

Indlu yonkhe

LEADER: YeMhlongo buya utolala lapha

CHORUS: Indlu yonkhe isemakamelweni

Indlu yonkhe

LEADER: Brother In-law come and sleep here

CHORUS: The whole house is in the bedroom

The whole house

LEADER: Mhlongo come and sleep here

CHORUS: The whole house is in the bedroom

The whole house

As Dlamini (2009: 48) analyzed, when she says, 'brother-in-law come and sleep here' she points at her breast. The song Yesibali Buya UtolalaLapha, recorded during the umtsimba enforces the custom known as kulamuta. The there-scripted version of the song undermines the kulamuta custom and the patriarchal notion that a wife has no sexual needs. Asked about the significance of this song and the umtsimba version of the song, Dlamini pointed out that the re-scripted version of the song is composed to show

that men who marry wives in multiples of two necessitate the practice of promiscuity. She explained that a wife engages in illicit relationships because, with time, she becomes less favorable and neglected by the husband. In some cases, the husband divorces the wife and still claims that she must stay within the family compounds because he paid lobolo for her.

Moreover, the present study and Dlamini (2009) are related in the context that both analyzed the Discourses of sexual orientations.

Example from Dlamini (2009: 52):

LEADER: Wangitsintsa la

CHORUS: Ngatfukutsela

LEADER: Wangitsintsa la

CHORUS: Ngaftukutsela

LEADER: Wangitsintsa la

CHORUS: Ngamoyitela

LEADER: Was'ungitsintsa la

CHORUS: Ngahleka ngedvwana

LEADER: Was'ungitsintsa la

CHORUS: Ngahleka ngedvwana

LEADER: You touched me here

CHORUS: I got angry

LEADER: You touched me here

CHORUS: I got angry

LEADER: You touched me here

CHORUS: I smiled

LEADER: (And) then you touched me here

CHORUS: I laughed alone

LEADER: (And) then you touched me here

CHORUS: I laughed alone

As illustrated above, Dlamini (2009: 52) analyzed that the interlocutor took the audience by storm when she demonstrated where she was touched through this *sitsambo*. This chant is more like a monologue in the sense that the woman tells the audience about the experiences of her body. Asked about the responses she gives when touched in various places of her body, LaMagagula pointed out that she smiled when touched in those parts because it felt sensuous.

The other work that is related to my study is (3) Kinuthia et al (2015) on: *Gendered Identities in Gikuyu Marriage Negotiation Discursive Domain*. This work has primarily focused on what Discourses are used in the contemporary Kenyan customary law for marriage and divorce, bridal negotiation and payment. This research has tried to find out how language can be used to construct personal identities. This happens through names, naming practices and rituals together with systems of address. These aspects are central to this study because address systems are culturally determined for example the way they are used to help establish identity within a context. Culture also determines the degree of formality, degree of intimacy, and degree of the relative relationship status of the participants involved in the interaction.

This work is, particularly, related to my study because it focused on how Discourses are sequenced or ordered based on Conversation Analysis. It also analyzed turn-taking and interruptions during the marriage negotiation. Moreover, Kinuthia et al (2015) and the present study are framed to how language in collaboration to context expresses the status of the interlocutors such as social power in the bridal context.

Generally, Kinuthia et al (2015: 145) concluded that gender identities in the Gikuyu bride wealth negotiation discursive domain manifest in the different roles played by male and female during the marriage ceremonies: men are the main negotiators while women have subsidiary roles such as welcoming the parties and creating good rapport. Gender identities are also manifested in the advisory role played by men and women. All these clearly demonstrate a clear separation of roles and responsibilities for males and females during marriage negotiations; men are the head of negotiation and discussion of the marriage. Moreover, Kinuthia et al (2015: 141) found out that the women in Gikuyu have not dominant voice in marriage negotiations and discussions. This aspect is observed from the turns that the women take in the Discourse; the men take the dominant role in turn-taking and decision making during the negotiation, and discussion. In general, the findings of Kinuthia et al (2015) show the power imbalance between the masculine and feminine genders in Gikuyu. Similarly, this study analyzed some Discourses that reflect gendered communication, and power imbalances between the masculine (bridegroom) and feminine (bride) genders in the context of the game of *wæddi mæn*.

Finally, I have referred to (4) Bhagawati (2012) on: *A Musicological Exploration of Assamese Wedding Songs: 'Biyä-Näm'*. This research has investigated the Discourses in marriage songs that both the bride and the bridegroom take oath for the practice of self-restraint, to work together for the welfare of the family and to help each other to attain spiritual peace.

This can be related to the present work on how the researcher analyzed the Discourses of the participants (bridegroom and bride) to perform actions during the wedding ceremony in the "Assamese" Vedic, Indian community by using the speech act theory. Both Bhagawati

(2012) and the present research have analyzed how things can be done in the context of language use through the speech act theory.

## **2.1 Discourse and Discourse Analysis**

Many pieces of literature present that Discourse is a new linguistic phenomenon; however, according to Dijk (1985a: 1), Discourse analysis is both an old and a new discipline. Dijk assumes that the origin traces back to the study of language, public speech, and literature; especially under the classical rhetorics (the art of good speaking) before 2000 years ago.

In the Middle Ages and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, rhetorics was no more important school curricula and academic researches, and it was replaced in historical and comparative linguistics at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the birth of structural analysis of language at the beginning of the twentieth century (Dijk, 1985a: 1). Since 19th century, Discourse has been employed in several disciplines and has been defined accordingly.

For (Lupton 1992: 145), Discourse a group of ideas or patterned way of thinking which can be identified in textual and verbal communications, and can also be located in wider social structures. Discourse analysis provides insight into the functioning of bodies of knowledge in their specific situated contexts. It generates interpretive claims with regard to the power effects of a Discourse on groups of people, without claims of generalizability to other contexts (Powers, 2001: 18).

Diako, (2012: 14) summarized the cited definitions of Discourse analysis from some scholars it is used to make sense of the constructions of the participants. Discourse analysis is concerned with investigating how meaning is derived from a given text. Discourse analysis is an approach that explores the underlying meaning and motivation behind a text as Diako, (2012: 14) cited from (Parker, 1992). A discourse is referred to as the conversations and the meanings behind the conversations as understood and articulated by a group of people (Parker, 1992) as Diako, (2012: 14) has reviewed. According to Forrester, Ramsden, and Reason (1997) cited in Diako (2012: 14), Foucault

argued that a discourse consists of acceptable statements made by a certain type of community such as people who share similar thoughts and ideas.

According to McCarthy (2011: 5), discourse analysis is the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used. Discourse analysis is about how people use language in communication. As with narrative analysis, there is a focus not just on content but on the form. In conversation analysis, the actual form of the discourse, in terms of stops, starts, clues for continuation, etc., is the primary focus of attention. Discourse is a term for communication between or among two or more people. Social life is managed through linguistics and other related interactions among people.

Language (McCarthy 2011: 5), which may include non-verbal signs, is the general vehicle that carries such interactions. It has been applied in studies of several disciplines since the late 1960s and early 1970s such as: linguistics, semiotics, psychology, anthropology, and sociology. Discourse analysts study language in use: written texts of all kinds, and spoken data, from conversation to highly institutionalised forms of talk. As a modern discipline, Discourse has been developed in the mid-twentieth century as a new paradigm in several fields of the humanities and the social sciences took place that would eventually lead to the emergence of today's Discourse study.

In the mid-1960s (McCarthy, 2011: 5) the humanities and the social sciences has shown a remarkably synchronous paradigm shift with the emergence of different new but mutually inter-related disciplines such as: semiotics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics as well as the study of discourse which latter contributed to the emergence of the field of study, traditionally called discourse Analysis, but more appropriately labeled discourse Studies, because it is not limited to a method of analysis, as is the case for Content Analysis in the social sciences, but also has important theoretical objectives.

For the study of discourse clearly appears in several humanities and social sciences disciplines, it is appropriate to speak of a new 'cross-discipline' or even a 'trans-discipline'. This implies that discourse analysis is not a discipline that exists on its own. It is influenced by other disciplines and influences them as well. It is a two-way process. The story of this

new field of study has been told many times and is as exciting as the contributions it has made to our insights into language use, communication, and social interaction.

Discourse is a buzzword used in many different ways. Scholars have been putting their interest in discourse analysis, especially, since the 1990s. Based on the interest of the scholars, the definition of the field is contentious. Discourse is not universal. Hence, there is the impossibility of a universal definition of discourse although there is (Shi-xu, 2005: 19), in fact, little consensus as to how it should be defined.

Terminologically and conceptually, 'discourse' (Shi-xu, 2005: 19) is viewed from different perspectives in different contexts of disciplines. In the social sciences, there has seemed to be a general tendency to take discourse as purely ideas, notions, theories or meanings, as if they were independent of particular symbolic forms of realization. The term has also been used in a number of different senses in the social and linguistic sciences, referring to such things as particular ideas, written or spoken texts, cognitive structures, or patterns of cultural symbolic practice.

As Osoba & Sobala (2014: 201) explain, Discourse is both structural and functional in nature and the best approach to discourse is to explicate it from both structural and functional perspectives to show how language is used in social context, and what it is used to do.

The discourses with the initial 'd' and 'D' are even differently defined by linguists. Reiko (2012: 1), tried to differentiate between 'discourse' and 'Discourse'. The former refers to the language use in sequence beyond the sentence in social contexts like in academics. The one with 'D' refers to the much broader sense of language used concerning other social practices like in bridal ceremonies. The main focus of this study is on the discourse that starts in 'D' (Discourse).

Regarding the notion of "Big 'D' Discourse" ("Discourse" spelled with a capital "D") Gee (2015: 1) discussed the notion of "Big 'D' Discourse" that it is a set of larger context (Combinations of ways with words and ways with "other stuff" (bodies, clothes, objects,

tools, actions, interactions, values, and beliefs) that can get people recognized as having certain socially significant identities for the analysis of “discourse” (with a little “d”), that is, the analysis of language in use. Gee (2011: 2), on the contrary, illustrates that the discourse analysis with the little “d” studies how the flow of language-in-use across time, the patterns, and connections across this flow of language make sense and guide in interpretation. He; therefore, concludes that the “Big D” Discourse analysis embeds the little “d” discourse analysis into the ways in which language melds with bodies and things to create society and history. This research principally discusses the broader sense of the Discourses in the context of the game. Therefore, I will, now on, try to spell it purposely with the Discourse "Big D" initial.

According to Whisnant (2012: 6), Foucault seemed to focus on the discourse that starts in "D", and states four basic ways (Foucault models) how 'Discourse' operates in relation to the other social issues (social practices) which are summarized as follows:

According to Whisnant (2012: 6) firstly, Foucault describes that "Discourse creates a world". This implies that, by shaping our perceptions of the world, pulling together chains of associations that produce a meaningful understanding, and then organizing the way we behave towards objects in the world and towards other people, one might say that Discourse generates the world of our everyday life. This generally refers to that language binds us to social beings together playing a key role in the social construction of reality.

Secondly, Whisnant (2012: 6) explains Foucault states that "Discourse generates knowledge and truth". Here, it means that Discourse constitutes not only the world that we live in but also all forms of knowledge and truth. In this case, knowledge for Foucault (as for most other structuralists and poststructuralists) was not something that existed independently of language.

The third way where Discourse operates according to Foucault is that "Discourse says something about the people who speak it" (Whisnant 2012: 6). Discourse communicates knowledge not only about the intended meaning of the language but also about the person speaking the Discourse. By analyzing the Discourse a speaker uses, one can often tell

things about the speaker's gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class position, and even more specifically the speaker's implied relationship to the other people around him/ her.

Finally, Whisnant (2012: 7) reviews that Foucault relates "Discourse and Power". This brings us to the fourth way that Discourse operates, namely by being intimately involved with socially embedded networks of power. Because certain types of Discourse enable specific types of individuals to "speak the truth," or at the very least to be believed when speaking on specific subjects, Discourses also give these individuals degrees of social, cultural, and even possibly political power.

Whisnant (2012: 7) summarizes that Discourses are always multiple in three specific ways. First, Discourses culturally constructed out of numerous competing Discourses. In this case, according to Whisnant (2012: 7), some Discourses may dominate the culture in shaping the political and social institutions. Additionally, Whisnant (2012: 7) states that Discourses change over time because they undertake transformations based on certain assumptions and rules which prove that science is not static. Finally, Whisnant (2012: 8) gives details that Discourses can be subdivided into subcategories because of their complexity. For example, Whisnant (2012: 8), states that one can speak of "scientific Discourse" as a whole, or one could talk about "psychiatric Discourse" as a subcategory of this larger whole. And then one can isolate specific strains of scientific Discourse that perhaps stretch across several fields: racist-biological Discourse, for example, which had an influence on many different scientific fields around the turn of the century, and also influenced Western culture and politics at large.

Discourse analysis (Rotimi, 2010: 4) simply refers to the linguistic analysis of connected writing and speech. The major focus in Discourse analysis is the use of language in a social context. Discourse analysis focuses not only on the linguistic symbols used but also on all the features that accompany language, which include the paralinguistic features, such as gestures and kinesics. Discourse Analysis has to do with the study of language in use, so it is concerned with the performance of the language user. Such performance may be a monologue, (soliloquy) a dialogue, a multilogue.

Discourse analysis is also defined by (Forough & Mohammad, 2011: 107) as an analytical framework that was created for studying actual text and talk in the communicative context. This implies that the major focus in Discourse analysis is investigating the use of language with respect to social context; people know how to interpret what someone says based on the situation they are in. Discourse analysis is the analysis of language in use focusing on the relationship between language and the socio-cultural contexts in which it is used.

As Dijk (1985b: 2) argues, Discourse analysis is not a mere providing of an adequate description of text and context. However, more is expected from Discourse Analysis that it is a study of real language use, by real speakers in real situations than it expected that it is a study of abstract syntax or formal semantics.

Similar to the argument of Dijk (1985b: 2), Brown and Yule (1983: 1) suggest that analyzing discourse, necessarily, means analyzing language in use. This suggestion entails that Discourse analysis cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which those forms are designed to serve in human affairs.

Gee (1999: 92) also defines Discourse analysis that it essentially involves asking questions about how language at a given time and place. This definition refers to how language is used to construe the aspects of the situation network as realized at that time and place and how the aspects of the situation network simultaneously give meaning to that language. Discourse analysis involves (Gee, 1999: 92) asking questions about the six building tasks. These six building tasks as they are taken from Gee:

(1) *semiotic building* (clues to assemble situated meanings about what semiotic/ communicative systems, systems of knowledge and ways of knowing, are here and now relevant and activated), (2) *word building* (clues to assemble situated meanings about what is, here and now, taken as 'reality', what is, here and now taken as present and absent, concrete and abstract, 'real' and 'unreal', probable, possible and impossible), (3) *activity building* (clues to assemble situated meanings about what activity or

activities are going on, composed of what specific actions), (4) *socioculturally-situated identity and relationship building* (clues to assemble situated meanings about what identities and relationships are relevant to the interaction, with their concomitant attitudes, values, ways of feelings, ways of knowing and believing, as well as ways of acting and interacting), (5) *political building* (clues to construct the nature and relevance of various 'social goods' such as status and power and anything else taken as a 'social good' here and now e.g. beauty, humor, verbalness, specialist knowledge, etc), (6) *connection building* (clues to make assumptions about how the past and future of an interaction, verbally and non-verbally, are connected to the present moment and to each other after all, interactions always have some degree of continuous coherence) (Gee, 1999: 92).

Furthermore, Montes et al (2014: 104) defines Discourse analysis as the examination of - language used by members of a speech community. It involves looking at both language form and language functions and includes the study of both spoken interaction and written texts. Similar with Halliday (1970: 140), Montes et al (2014: 104) as well state that Discourse analysis also deals with textual units in terms of experiential, interpersonal, and textual language functions.

Another definition by Jones (2012: 2) is that Discourse analysis is not just a study of language, it is a way of looking at language that focuses on how people use it in their real-life communications for different purposes such as: to joke, to argue, to persuade, to flirt, and to show that they are certain kinds of people or belong to certain groups. He discussed based on four main assumptions of looking at language. The assumptions as they are taken from Jones (2012: 2) are:

1) *Language is ambiguous*. What things mean is never absolutely clear. All communication involves interpreting what other people mean and what they are trying to do.

2) *Language is always 'in the world'*. That is, what language means is always a matter of where and when it is used and what it is used to do.

3) *The way we use language is inseparable from who we are and the different social groups to which we belong*. We use language to display different kinds of social identities and to show that we belong to different groups.

4) *Language is never used all by itself*. It is always combined with other things such as our tone of voice, facial expressions and gestures when we speak, and the fonts, layout and graphics we use in written texts. What language means and what we can do with it is often a matter of how it is combined with these other things.

## 2.2 Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

### 2.2.1 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework is the direction to the operationalization of the theoretical frameworks employed in the research being conducted. It can also be defined as the symbolic representation of the constructs involved in the research (Jabareen, 2009: 1).

This research concentrates on some related concepts in the operationalization of the theories that are discussed below. In this research, the concepts that are raised are concepts of speech acts, ethnography of communication (cultural and functional relevances of Discourses), the concept of power (social and physical power, gendered attitude), psycholinguistic dimension, and concepts of order of talk (turn-taking, interruptions, and politeness) pertaining to the 'Discourses' of *wəddi mən*.

This research focuses on speech act as a pragmatic point of view because it investigates the linguistic functions (contextual use and meaning) of the discourse in *wəddi mən*. The study assesses the role of the 'Discourses' of *wəddi mən* in what the participants do with the 'Discourses'. The analysis is the discourse of the brides- *wəddi mən* which literally means 'whose son (are you)'.

This study focuses on the function of the 'Discourses' of *wəddi mən* as an ethnographic communicative practice. According to Muriel (2003: 6), ethnography of communication extends to understanding cultural systems where language relates to social organizations, role-relationships, values and beliefs, and other shared patterns of knowledge and behavior which are transmitted from generation to generation in the process of socialization/enculturation.

Furthermore, Muriel (2003: 7) defines ethnographic communication as a field of Applied Linguistics, where it identifies what a second language learner must know in order to communicate appropriately in various contexts in that language, and what the sanctions may be for any violations or omissions. Moreover, it is significant in cross-cultural

interaction and translation, and for recognizing and analyzing communicative misunderstandings.

The definitions of ethnography of communication from the Anthropological and Applied Linguistics are well framed for the analysis of the present work. The study gives due emphasis to language use in the context concerning the culture of interactants. In the light of ethnographic communication, this study assesses how the participants of the game reflect their culture through their language in the particular in the context of bridal conversations. This research has analyzed the Discourses from the angle of their cultural functional essences in the society of the research area.

The concept of power is the other concept which this research focuses on through the critical theory, in some works critical approach. This sociolinguistic concept is employed as a method of focusing on the analysis of the concept of social power structure among the participants in *wəddi mən*. Fairclough (2001: 1) talks of two ways of exercising power—through physical coercion, or through the manufacture of consent. The latter involves convincing people that they should accept things as they are, or accept proposed changes. Physical coercion is time-consuming (it works on only small numbers at a time). Thus, the manufacture of consent is a much-preferred vehicle for exercising power.

This analysis is, of course, not on the political power, but on the structure of social power of the participants in *wəddi mən* and how they exercise it in that particular context through the 'Discourses' of the game of *wəddi mən*. According to Dijk (2016: 19), social power is a property of the relationship between groups, classes, or other social formations, or between persons as social members. Moreover, as Dijk (2016: 19) states, at an elementary but fundamental level of analysis, social power relationships are characteristically manifested in interaction such as the interaction in the game of *wəddi mən* in this case. Although we may speak of personal forms of power, this individual power is less relevant for our systematic account of the role of power in discourse as social interaction.

When Dijk tries to correlate social power and Discourse, he summarized as:

Social control through Discourse is the control of Discourse and Discourse production itself. Therefore, the central questions are: Who can say or write what to whom in what situations? Who has access to the various forms or genres of Discourse or to the means of its reproduction? The less powerful people are, the less they have access to various forms of text or talk. Ultimately, the powerless have literally "nothing to say," nobody to talk to, or must remain silent when more powerful people are speaking, as is the case for children, prisoners, defendants, and in some cultures, including sometimes women (Dijk 2016: 21).

Folkloric Discourses such as the Discourses in the game of *wæddi mæn* can be conceptualized as an emerging frontier of social relations causing power differences and other forms of social practices developing at the intersection of human collective communicative acts. This emergence (Connie, 2013: 1) has created a need for considering novel approaches to investigating these emerging phenomena in the social relationship. In this research, I present Critical Discourse analysis (CDA) as an approach to theory development in the social power structure in the context of the game of *wæddi mæn*.

Furthermore, this study considers a psycholinguistic dimension to assess some rules of the game. Of course, the primary purpose is not the rules, but how the participants memorize the rules, and what 'Discourses' do they use for that purpose.

This research analyzes the concept of cognitive process and memory representations of the 'Discourses' in the oral game of *wæddi mæn* because storage, retrieval, memory limitations and organizations of information processing of the rule in the game of *wæddi mæn* is some of the relevant focuses of this research. For instance, the possible effects or functions of Discourse in the social context crucially depend on what information about the text, dialogue, or communicative situation can be retrieved from memory (when, by whom, and under what conditions).

Finally, I have related the concepts of the order of talk (turn-taking) and interruption through the approach of conversational analysis in the present work. This conceptual framework is

employed to analyze how the 'Discourses' are structured in sequence. Not only on how the 'Discourses' are sequenced, but this research has also related conversational analysis of why the 'Discourses' of *wèddi mən* are patterned in a certain order of talk.

This, generally, assesses the turn-taking of the participants in that particular context based on the size and length of linguistic oral texts, and what they say in implementing such rules of turn-taking. This can also be related to the notion of interruptions, and politeness 'Discourses' during the game of *wèddi mən*. In analyzing the Discourse, this research has related the concept of turn-taking with how the power imbalance shapes the context of interactional communication among the participants. The power imbalance in the conversation is caused by the social hierarchies and gendered factors of the participants in the context of the game of *wèddi mən*.

In general, the Osisanwo's (2005) features of Discourses cited in Osoba & Sobola (2014: 203) are taken as operationalizing concepts for this research. Except for feature (ix) because discourse markers are more of structure-based) the rest are related to this research. These are reviewed as follows:

- i. Conversation: This is the interaction between people. In this case, the Discourses of the game of *wèddi mən* are conversations among participants.
- ii. Discourse participants: these are the people known as interlocutors or as speaker and addressee. These are the host and the visitors in the game of *wèddi mən*.
- iii. Opening and closing of Discourse: the preliminary words to initiate conversation, for example: greeting or summoning. On the other hand, closing of Discourse is the concluding remark made by one of the participants to show that conversation has come to an end, for example: fare welling. In this case, the game of *wèddi mən* has greeting Discourses as an introduction part and blessing Discourses as closing Discourses.

- iv. Holding floor: this is a situation in which a participant is speaking while the other participants wait for him to finish what he has to say. Turn-taking is used in the context of *wæddi mæn* in taking turns in the dropping of playing-sticks as in taking the floor in talking.
- v. Turn-taking: it is a point at which a speaker stops speaking and another speaker begins to speak. In conversation, each participant waits for his turn to avoid overlapping. In the context of *wæddi mæn*, the participants don't speak all at the same time. They take turns to speak based on their social power.
- vi. Selecting the next speaker: it is the method of choosing who speaks either by calling the next speaker to air his view or by using non-verbal cues like pointing. In this study, the participants select their interlocutors and order then to speak one after the other on basis of their respective social power in the context of the game of *wæddi mæn*.
- vii. Overlapping: it is also called interruption; two or more participants are speaking at the same time. In *wæddi mæn*, overlapping happens when certain participants react to violations of rules during the game; they cannot wait to react to violations of rules.
- viii. Topic negotiation: it is a device used by a participant who feels abandoned in conversation and is eager to make his/her points at all cost. It is done by introducing a new topic. In this study, the visiting participants present their topic of accusations on the best men to the bridegroom in relation to this concept as the topic of negotiation.
- ix. Discourse markers: these are the devices or cue words used to mark the boundary of an utterance in discourse to show relation.
- x. Speech errors: these are mistakes made during a conversation or when a turn is going on. In relation to this concept, the participants entertain themselves with the speech errors committed by the bridegroom or the bride, especially in the tongue-twisting Discourses.

xi. Repair mechanism: this is the method used to correct speech errors. In the context of *wæddi mæn*, while the bridegroom or the bride makes speech errors the best men in the sides make repair mechanisms as an advisory mechanism.

xii. Role sharing: role is allocated to participants in a social set-up based on age, sex, education, achievement, profession or social status. The factors above are used in the allocation of turns in human society since it is highly stratified. The social power assignment and distribution among the participants are related to this concept in the current study.

xiii. Talk initiation: it is the process of starting a conversation. In this study, the situations of how and what Discourses are used to start the game are connected to this concept or feature of Discourse.

xiv. Elicitation in a talk: it is the process of demanding a reaction, response or feedback (verbal or non-verbal) from an interlocutor by questioning the interlocutor. The reactions to the breaks of rules in this study are related to this concept.

xv. Adjacency pairs: When the exchange structures are in pairs, we have adjacency pairs. They are always complimentary and reciprocatory with features such as greeting and response, complaint and apology, question and answer, challenge and reaction. For example, in this, the participants present their complaint to the bridegroom about the mistakes the best men commit in the context of *wæddi mæn*. In this case, the bridegroom in his turn apologizes to their complaints.

### **2.2.2 Theoretical Framework**

When a research work is conducted, it must have some theoretical perspectives that can be used as a basis for examining the issue under study. There may be several theories that can be employed in particular research, but they cannot be taken all in the same study. One or some perspectives that are framed to the research being conducted are to be chosen as theoretical frameworks. Kassaye (2013: 11) cited that Merriam (2001) describes the theoretical framework as "the structure, scaffolding, and the frame of the study". This implies that theoretical frameworks are general guidelines for the research being conducted.

By its nature, (Reiko, 2012: 3) Discourse analysis is very multi-disciplinary. It is multi-disciplinary related to psychology, sociology, anthropology, literature, linguistics, politics, philosophy, etc. Therefore, the theories of Discourse analysis are as diversified as its multi-disciplinary nature. As McCarthy et al. (2002: 60); and Eggins and Slade (1997: 24) have presented, because of its multi-disciplinary nature, Discourse analysis can be theoretically approached to: sociology (conversational analysis), sociolinguistics (ethnography, interactional sociolinguistics and variation theory), philosophy (speech act theory and pragmatics) linguistics (structural-functional such as Birmingham School and structural functional linguistics, and social semiotics such structural functional linguistics and critical discourse analysis), and artificial intelligence.

The focus of this research is mainly the linguistics perspective of Discourse analysis. Discourse analysis like the other social issues has its own theories in which researches are examined accordingly. This study has mainly employed Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) theory which can be directly or indirectly related to some subsidiary theories such as Symbolic Interactionism (SI), Appraisal Theory (AT), Critical Theory (CT), Speech Act Theory, and Conversation Analysis (CA) as theoretical frameworks.

### 2.2.2.1 Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) Theory

In the early 20th century, linguistics has come up with a significant number of theories and each one has its divergent orientations, trends, and subjects of study (Wael, 2016: 71). One of the most considerable linguistic theories is Halliday's SFL that has attracted the interests of researchers and has been frequently employed in the literature on general linguistics and applied linguistics.

In his article, Ignatius (2017: 2) explained that the ultimate goal of the language is to communicate. This could explicitly be related [as we can see it below] to SFL as an approach in linguistic study frameworks.

If one were to ask why humans have or acquire language, the most typical answer would likely be "to communicate with it." In other words, the ultimate goal of a person acquiring a language is not merely to produce or know the "correct" linguistic structures/forms, but to get the right meaning across and accomplish certain social purposes with that language. This kind of view is pretty much aligned with the notion of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) which was developed by M.A.K. Halliday in the 1960s (Ignatius, 2017: 2).

According to O'Donnell (2012: 2), Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is an approach to language developed mainly by M.A.K. Halliday in the U.K. during the 1960s, and later in Australia. As a theoretical framework, SFL is built on previous works of several influential linguists such as Bronislaw Malinowski and J.R. Firth. As O'Donnell (2012: 2) states, Bronislaw Malinowski was a polish anthropologist who did most of his works based on SFL in England.

The approach is now used worldwide, particularly in language education, and for purposes of Discourse analysis (O'Donnell, 2012: 2). While many of the linguistic theories in the world today are concerned with language as a mental process, SFL is more closely aligned with Sociology: it explores how language is used in social contexts to achieve particular goals. In terms of data, it does not address how language is processed or represented within the human brain, but rather looks at the Discourses we produce (whether spoken or

written), and the contexts of the production of these texts. Because it is concerned with language use, SFL places higher importance on language function (what it is used for) than on language structure (how it is composed).

Systematic functional linguistics (SFL) theory was developed in the Birmingham School of Discourse analysis as text-linguistics. It was developed as a theory that sees language as part of a wider socio-cultural context (Trappes-Lomax, 2010: 138). Systematic functional linguistics SFL, for instance, sees grammar as a meaning potential that is functionally determined by the need of speakers and writers to simultaneously represent experience (the ideational function), manage their relationship with their co-participants (interpersonal function), and produce dialog or monolog (the textual function). Stubbs (1983: 46) having observed these functions, builds on Jakobson's and Hymes' contributions by making his own proposition on functions of language as expressive or emotive, directive or conative, poetic, contact or phatic, metalinguistic, referential and contextual functions. Halliday (1970: 140) has also proposed these three broad functions he believes language should perform as ideational, interpersonal and textual functions.

The precursor of systematic functional linguistics (SFL) theory, Halliday M. A. K, views languages as a social phenomenon concerned with the function and meaning of language. It analyzes language based on social contexts where a particular lexico-grammatical choice is constructed under the influence of the social and cultural context. Meaning, central to SFL, is achieved through the linguistic choices in paradigmatic and syntagmatic levels of Discourse where the words are arranged in a clause or text (Haratyan, 2011: 1).

As Halliday (1994: xiii) states, language is considered as a goal-oriented behavior of human interactions. In his view about systematic functional linguistics (SFL), Halliday explains that this theory is designed to account for how the language is used. Moreover, he states that every piece of text ranging from a whole series of books to a single lexical item can realize several meanings simultaneously. As a result, each element of linguistic structure in a certain unit can be analyzed in terms of its meaning or function in the total system of language. From this illustration, we can conclude that meaning and function are

the key concepts in the analysis of linguistic elements using Halliday's theory of systematic functional linguistics (SFL).

Systematic functional linguistic theory (SFL) is the very concern of language in terms of function. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 31) have stated that functionality is intrinsic to language that "language is as it is because of the functions in which it has evolved in human species".

Systematic functional linguistics (SFL) is chosen as a research framework for three reasons (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 31). First, it argues that all languages accomplish three major meta-functions: "ideational or experiential" (concerning with propositional content), "interpersonal" (dealing with interpersonal constituents/ elements), and "textual" relations. Second, it describes language in terms of sets of choices of meaning or by providing a set of options termed as a "system". Third, the systematic functional linguistics (SFL) theory proposes that the objective of language study should be a whole text, not a de-contextualized sentence or utterance. This view focuses on the significance of language through meaning constructed.

Today's grammar (Jones, 2012: 5) rooted from the grammar of the Ancient Greeks, dated around the fourth century BC, can be divided into two major camps: formal linguistics and functional linguistics. Formal linguistics can be traced back to Swiss scholar, Saussure. He believed that language could never be fully explained but could be perceived in the forms of langue (set of signs Saussure's scholarship was primarily concerned with langue, arguing that parole is not situated within proper parameters for linguistic studies. In analyzing language, Saussure employs two models. The first one is a diachronic model that analyzes language change through time such as tree model of internal development (genetic relationship), and cross-linked (external) model such as contact, code-switching, borrowing, and areal phenomena. The second model is the synchronic model that analyzes language at a particular time focusing on the specific or the whole aspects of the language such as sketch grammars and comprehensive grammars. Edward Sapir, Leonard Bloomfield, and

Noam Chomsky are the three American linguists who are shaped by the scholarship of Saussure and played their role in the emergence of structural linguistics.

Jones (2012: 6) states how the three American linguists viewed language and linguistics as follows: Sapir defined language in terms of social, arbitrary, and inherent biological human capacity. Bloomfield's scholarship was primarily concerned with the structural analysis of language heavily on phonology, morphology, and syntax, but his structural analysis was less concerned with semantics. Similarly, Chomsky was interested in Bloomfield's Structuralism. Chomsky dichotomized linguistic knowledge as competence and performance. Chomsky was primarily concerned with the competence to analyze language. To Chomsky, the social aspect of language is considered irrelevant. He focused that language is considered to be biologically determined; thus, it created a need to study competence to the exclusion of performance. Generally, as Jones (2012: 6) states, formal linguistics can be said to be heavily shaped by the scholarships of Saussure, Sapir, Bloomfield, and Chomsky.

On the other hand, functional linguistics emerged out of the Prague School in the 1920s (Jones, 2012: 6). The linguists in the Prague School were mainly interested not simply in describing the forms of certain grammatical elements, but also in how those forms function in a particular context. From the Prague School, there emerged the idea of Theme and Rheme as a means to functionally account for syntagmatically ordered elements in a text. From this school, two major linguists influenced the emergence of functional linguistics: Bronislaw Malinowski and J.R. Firth. Malinowski coined the phrase context of the situation. As Jones, (2012: 6) describes an individual must know not only the literal meaning of the words uttered in order to understand an utterance but the social situation wherein the phrase is uttered. This phrase and its attendant meaning greatly influenced both Firth and, later, M.A.K. Halliday. This linguistic interest paved the way to the emergence of Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as a theory of linguistic analysis concerning the language in use in contrast to the formal linguistics.

According to Wael (2016: 71), compared to the other linguistic systems, SFL has its distinctive features. For example, the systemic functional linguistics studies languages in terms of meaning (function), while transformational generative grammar studies languages through structure independent of meaning (function). Moreover, when we compare SFL with Bloomfield's structuralism, Bloomfield's structural tradition rejected the possibility that language can be analyzed through meaning which is the real focus of the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). The reason why Bloomfield rejected meaning in the study of language is that documented language is the base to study an oral language. Therefore, there might occur a change in meaning in the courses of time; what was meant in the past could mean different today or in the future. Likewise, Chomskyan linguistics (Jones, 2012: 7) is concerned with models of mental grammars by isolating semantics from syntax. On the other hand, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) values meaning in all areas of the language,

From the linguistic theories mentioned above, systematic functional linguistics (SFL) is the most preferred one in this research. The reason is that the focus of this study is contextual-based on the actual Discourse of utterances. The meaning of the Discourses has less probability of difference due to change in time as Bloomfield insisted. The real focus of this study, theoretically speaking, is framed with the study of languages (Discourse in this case) through meaning and function.

Context is a central concern in Halliday's theory of systematic functional linguistics (SFL) in analyzing languages through meaning and function. When language occurs in a context, it is related to or is linked to a number of contexts like the context of culture, and the context of the situation (technically-register). The context of situation (Wael, 2016: 72) is highly related to language uses to create texts in terms of three separate components: (1) Field (what is going on in the linguistic context) which talks and gives us an indication of the topic or what is being talked about, (2) Tenor (the power and status of an individual) which gives us an indication of who is/ are involved in the communication and the relationships between them, (3) Mode (the communicative channel) that gives us an indication of what part of the language is playing role in the interaction and what form it takes (written or spoken).

According to Dijk (1997: 3), most researchers who have conducted context-sensitive studies in linguistics have been employing functional paradigms as is the case for Systematic Functional linguistics, such as those propagated by Dijk (1981), and especially by Givón, who most explicitly deals with context, also within a Discourse analytical and cognitive perspective (Givón, 1989, 1995, 2005).

This study mainly focuses on language use in relation to the context of Discourse. Given these earlier works as methodological evidence; therefore, Systematic Functional Linguistic is found to be the right theoretical framework for this particular research. As it is conducted based on the context-dependence of the pragmatics and the Discourse, it did not review literature and analysis of linguistic structures.

Systematic Functional Linguistic (SFL) theory, as mentioned above, has subsidiary theories. These are Symbolic Interactionism (SI), Appraisal Theory (AT), and Critical Theory (CT), Speech Act, and Conversation Analysis (CA). These subsidiary theories are mentioned in some works, such as in (Tamrat, 2015) as independent theories, but in one or the other way round, they all focus on linguistic functions which are generally the focuses of Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Therefore, I found it is a redundancy to discuss them all as independent theories in this work.

## CHAPTER: THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Research Design

This study has followed a descriptive approach to qualitative research design. The reason is that its subject matter is language use phenomenon in a particular social context which is analyzed/ described on the qualitative assumption of analytical linguistic theories.

#### 3.2 Sampling Technique

To the best of my observation, *wəddi mən* is an endangered linguistic and social event commonly practiced in the Eastern part of Tigrai. Therefore my focus was in the Eastern part out of the seven zones in Tigrai. As I have stated in the scope of the research, there are nine weredas in Eastern Tigrai, of which I focused on these Weredas where *wəddi mən* is commonly practiced. *wəddi mən* is less known linguistic and social event in some parts of the Eastern part of Tigrai as far as I know. For example, *wəddi mən* is less known or completely unknown in towns and urban areas.

Out of the nine Weredas in the Eastern Tigrai, I have purposely selected the remote rural areas of the following six Weredas. Thus, the remote areas of the rural Gulo Mekeda [gulo məxəda] Wereda, Saesi Tsada Emba [saʕsiʕi s'aʕda ʔimba] Wereda, Ganta Afeshum [ganta ʔafeʂum] Wereda, Hawzen [ħawzen] Wereda, Kilde Awlalo [killittə ʔawlaʕlo] Wereda, and Atsbi Wonberta [ʔas'βi wəmbərtə] Wereda, were the sources for the primary data of this research. Therefore, I followed a purposive sampling technique. I purposely selected very remote rural areas where *wəddi mən* is still practiced in each of the Weredas mentioned.

#### 3.3 Data Gathering Tools

For the successful completion of this study, phase-based primary data have been collected during the season of the game, January and Easter weeks. I had three phase based

linguistic field works to the research area to collect the data for this research. I have stayed there for 90 days of field work in the research area. That means two Januaries (60 days) and one Easter weeks (30 days).

To collect the primary data, I mainly employed ethnographic observation as a tool. This means that I, myself, have involved in the oral game of the honeymoon as a direct participant of the interactional conversation. I have attended five honeymoons in the rural Hawzen [ħawzen], two honeymoons in rurla Gulo Mekeda [gulo məxəda], three honeymoons in rural Saesi Tsadamba, four honeymoons in rural Ganta Afeshum [ganta ʔafešum], two honeymoons in rural Kilde Awlalo [kilittə ʔawlaʕlo], and one honeymoon in rural Atsbi Wonberta [ʔas'βi wəmbərtə]. In this case, I did not neglect the ethical issue of research. I had the full consent of my resource persons to be a part of that language use activity of *wəddi mən* so that I could get the data for my research; not for any non-research purpose else.

Moreover, I also have employed semi-structured interviews with some informants who had/have frequent personal experience of *wəddi mən*. I have made interviews with twelve informants. These informants were considered in my interview because they had direct interest and experience in the social and linguistic event of *wəddi mən*. Four of them had active involvement in *wəddi mən* while I was making my ethnographic observations where as eight informants were elderly people who had involved in *wəddi mən* prior to my field works.

The data gathered through ethnographic observation and semi-structured interviews are comprehensively recorded in audio and video forms for further evidence and analysis. As we can see them in the appendices section below, I have listed down ten check-list questions for my observations and prepared ten interview questions for my interviewees. The informants for the interview sessions were considered because they now have or they previously had personal interests in and experiences with the game of *wəddi mən*. In a net shell, the check-list and the interview questions helped me thematically present the data in seventeen themes (some have sub-themes and some have not) and analyze accordingly.

## CHAPTER: FOUR

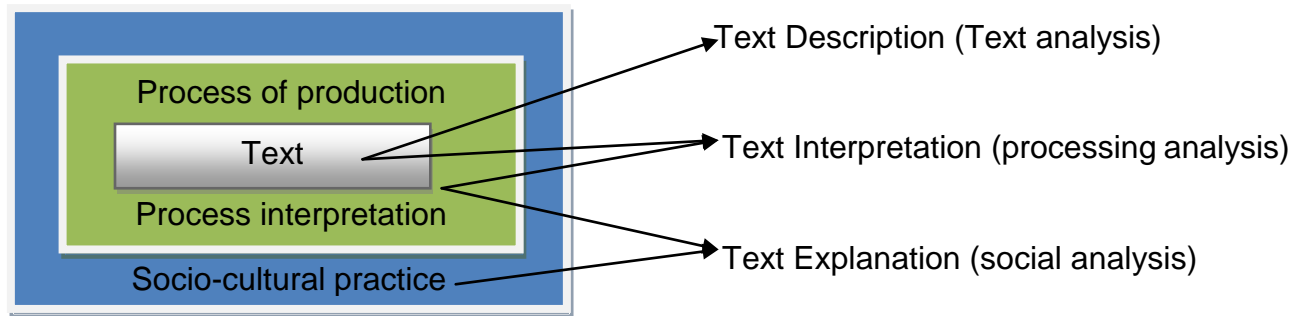
### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The primary data that are collected using the above tools are: orthographically transcribed, phonetically transcribed, morphologically glossed, and then they have literally (the way the speakers say it) and functionally (the intention of the speakers in the context of the game of *wəddi mən*) been translated. Then, they are fully described, analyzed, interpreted and explained. The data analysis follows the qualitative Discourse analytical approach because it is a description of a language use phenomenon in the context of interactional communication of *wəddi mən*.

Discourse analysis (DA) (Adjei, 2013: 1) provides a different way of theorizing language. It is concerned more with the analysis of texts and/or utterances within a specific socio-cultural context and indicates a method of analysis that tells researchers about the discursive construction of a phenomenon.

As an analytical approach, I have employed the three Fairclough's dimensions (1995: 95) in Discourse Analysis. These are Text description, text interpretation, and text explanation in terms of social relations. First, I have provided a linguistic description for the data of the Discourses used in *wəddi mən*. Second, I have interpreted the data to analyze the relationship between the productive and the interpretative Discursive processes of the text. Finally, I have given explanations about the relationship between the Discursive process and the social practice of *wəddi mən*.

Fairclough's framework approaches the analysis in three dimensions. For him, the discursive practices involve, simultaneously, "(i) a language text, spoken or written, (ii) Discourse practice (text production and text interpretation), (iii) socio-cultural practice" (Fairclough, 1995: 97). The following diagram captures his representation of the approach.



**Figure 4: Dimensions of Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995: 97)**

The data of this research are presented and discussed in 17 themes (some of the have sub-themes while some have not): (1) Discourses of permission, (2) Discourses of accusation, (3) Discourses of guaranty, (4) Discourses of rules, (5) Discourses of penalty, (6) Discourses of power transfer, (7) Discourses of reacting to violation of rules, (8) Discourses of naming and calling, (9) Discourses of appointment, (10) Discourses of beauty and sentiment, (11) taboo Discourses, (12) Discourses related to virginity, (13) tongue-twisting Discourses, (14) ideophonic Discourses, (15) gendered Discourses, (15) Discourses of politeness, and (17) Discourses of blessing respectively. Some of the themes have sub-themes, and some of the themes don't have sub-themes.

The structure of the game lies on three parts. The first part is the introduction which consists of the greeting parts in the Discourses of permission as opening Discourses. The second part of the game is the main body. Finally the game is concluded by the Discourses of blessing as closing Discourses. Therefore, the structure of the game paves way to the sequences of the dialogs hereby helped me to present and thematize the data of this research. Moreover, the meaning and the function of the Discourses in the game were essentially used to thematize the data in the analysis part.

#### 4.1 Discourses of Permission

In *wəddi mən*, the participants do not start the oral game of *wəddi mən* on their own will. They first get permission from the bridegroom and the bride. In permitting the game, the bridegroom takes the highest authority. Then, the bride takes the power to permit the game next to her bridegroom. The following Discourses are; therefore, used by the participants in asking and granting permission to play the game of *wəddi mən*. Though the primary purpose of the visiting participants is to get permission to play the game, they first greet the hosting participants (the bridegroom, the bride, the best men, and the bride's maid).

4.1(a) ተሳተፍቲ<sup>4</sup>:    ዓዲ    ጎይታይ            ዓዲ    እምባይተይ            ጥዕና    ይሃበለይ

təsətəfti:    ʕaddi    goyta-y            ʕaddi    [ʔimbəytə]-y            t'iʕinna    yi-[haβ]-əll-əy

participants: house    sir-1SG.POS    house    madam-1SG.POS    health    3MSG-JUSS.give-BEN-1SG

*Literally*<sup>5</sup>: May He give the house of my sir and madam health for me.

*Functionally*: Dear bridegroom and bride, how are you?

This Discourse is uttered politely by the visiting participants to greet the host participants. Functionally, the above Discourse in 4.1(a) in the context of *wəddi mən* is an opening Discourse in the game. When the participants come and visit the bridegroom and the bride, the first thing they do is greeting the honeymooners. Here, we can say that greeting strengthens the interaction of the interlocutor in their interpersonal communications, and it can smoothen the approach to their upcoming talk (in this case, the oral game of *wəddi mən*).

---

<sup>4</sup> ተሳተፍቲ /təsətəfti/ and ተሳታፊ /təsatafi/ 'participants' and 'participant' are used in this research to refer to any of the visiting participants(plural) and participant(singular) respectively in most of the conversations of *wəddi mən*.

<sup>5</sup> In this analysis, when I say '*literal*' meaning of the expressions, it implies the way forward (direct) meaning of the expression whereas; the '*functional*' meaning of the expressions means the intentional (contextual) relevance of the Discourses. In short, they are 'what the speakers say' and 'what the speakers mean' respectively.

What makes it different from the ordinary greeting is that the Discourses which the visiting participants use in this particular context are more of politeness and respect. They start in a special phrase which means "the house of my Sir and Madam" as illustrated in the Discourse 4.1(a). These expressions are not used in normal context of greeting. In the phrase, the participants try to refer to the bridegroom and the bride as they are making their own family which is symbolized by the term **ዓዲ** /ፍaddi/ which functionally means the own family of the bridegroom and the bride. The visiting participants say **ዓዲ** /ፍaddi/ which means 'house' or 'the honeymoon room', but this expression implies that marriage is the turning point for the bridegroom and the bride to have their own family symbolized by the term **ዓዲ** /ፍaddi/ which functionally means house.

The participants address the honeymoon room using the terms of respect **ዓዲ ጎይታይ** ፍaddi goyta-y and **ዓዲ እምባይተይ** ፍaddi [ʔimbəytə]-y 'the house of the respected bridegroom and bride' which functionally imply that the house (bridal family, in the context of *wəddi mən*) of the honeymooners is a respected social context. Therefore, as we can see it in the above Discourse in 4.1(a), the visiting participants use the language of respect to address the honeymooners and the whole context of *wəddi mən*. This Discourse of respect helps the visiting and the host participants have polite and smooth interactional communications in the game of *wəddi mən*.

After they greet the hosting participants, the hosted (visiting) participants request the bridegroom and the bride for permission to play the game of *wəddi mən* as it is shown in the Discourse in 4.1(b) below.

<b>4.1(b) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ዓዲ</b>	<b>ጎይታይ</b>	<b>ዓዲ</b>	<b>እምባይተይ</b>	<b>ከንግወት</b>	<b>ፍቅዳትኩም</b>	<b>ድዩ</b>
təsatəfti:	ፍaddi	goyta-y	ፍaddi	[ʔimbəytə]-y	kini-s's'awət	[fiχ'ad]-at-kum	di-ʔiyy-u
participants:	house	sir-1SG.POS	house	Madam-1SG.POS	PURP-IPMF.play	permission-PL-2PL.POS	Q-be-3MSG

*Literally:* The house of my sir and madam, is it your permission to play?

*Functionally:* Dear bridegroom and bride, is it your permission if we play *wəddi mən* with you?

This Discourse is uttered by the visiting participants politely so that the bridegroom and the bride can allow them to play the game of *wəddi mən*. The terms **ጎይታይ** /goyta-y/ 'my sir' and **እምባይታይ** [ʔimbəytə]-y 'my madam' are the titling expressions that refer to the bridegroom and the bride. Their contextual relevance is to make the interactional communication of the participants very polite and help the visiting participants get permission from the bridegroom and the bride to play the oral game of *wəddi mən*.

According to the request of the visiting participants, the bridegroom responds to show their agreement to play *wəddi mən* to entertain themselves with the visiting participants as it is illustrated in 4.1(c) below. To get engaged in this social interaction, the visiting need to have consent and will of the host participants (honeymooners). Thus, the above Discourse in 4.1(b) is used by the visiting participants to ask the host participants for permission to play the game of *wəddi mən*.

<b>4.1(c) መርዕ፡</b>	<b>ፍቅድና</b>	<b>እዩ</b>
mərʕu:	[fiχ'ad]-na	ʔiyy-u
honeymooners <sup>6</sup> :	Permission-POS.1PL	IMPF.be-3MSG

*Literally:* It is our permission.

*Functionally:* We have permitted you to play the game with us.

This is a positive response from the bridegroom and the bride that they are willing to entertain themselves with the visiting participants playing the oral game of *wəddi mən*.

As it is indicated in 4.1(c), the game of *wəddi mən* gets started when the bridegroom and the bride permit the visiting participants to play the game. This shows the bridal power which socially means the status of hosted and hosting power. In the case of *wəddi mən*, the visiting participants are the hosted participants, and they have no deciding power like the

---

<sup>6</sup>In this research, 'honeymooners' refers to: the bridegroom, the bride, the best men and the bride's maid, while 'honeymoon room' refers to the room where the bridegroom, bride, best men and bride's maid live in for, usually, a month after the bridegroom and bride got married.

hosting participants (bridegroom and bride). The purpose of the visit the participants make to the honeymooner signifies the notions of respect, friendship, relativeness to the bridegroom and/ or bride. In turn, the honeymooners have to respect the visiting participants. Therefore, they never say, "No" to when the visiting participants ask them for permission to play the game of *wæddi mæn*.

In the context of *wæddi mæn*, there are four sticks contextually known as **ወርቁ ሸተታ** /wərki šətəta/, meaning 'golden playing-sticks' or 'tossing-sticks'. The sticks are well adzed and burnt striped by fire on their one side and un-striped on their other side. After they get permission from the bridegroom and the bride, the visiting participants ask for the playing-sticks as it is in 4.1(d) below.

<b>4.1 (d) ተላተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ወርቁ</b>	<b>ሸተታ</b>	<b>ሃቡና</b>
təsatəfti:	gold	šətəta	[haβ]-u-na
Participants:	wərki	playing stick	IMP.give-2MPL-1PL

*Literally:* Give us the gold playing-stick.

*Functionally:* Give us the golden playing stick of *wæddi mæn*.

This Discourse functionally means that the visiting participants are asking the host participants for the playing-sticks to start the game. The playing-sticks are simple hand made wooden sticks; however, the name given to them in the context of *wæddi mæn* signifies their value in the game. They are not simply called sticks, but as we can see in the Discourse above in 4.1(d), they are named **ወርቁ ሸተታ** /wərki šətəta/ 'golden sticks' in the context of *wæddi mæn*.

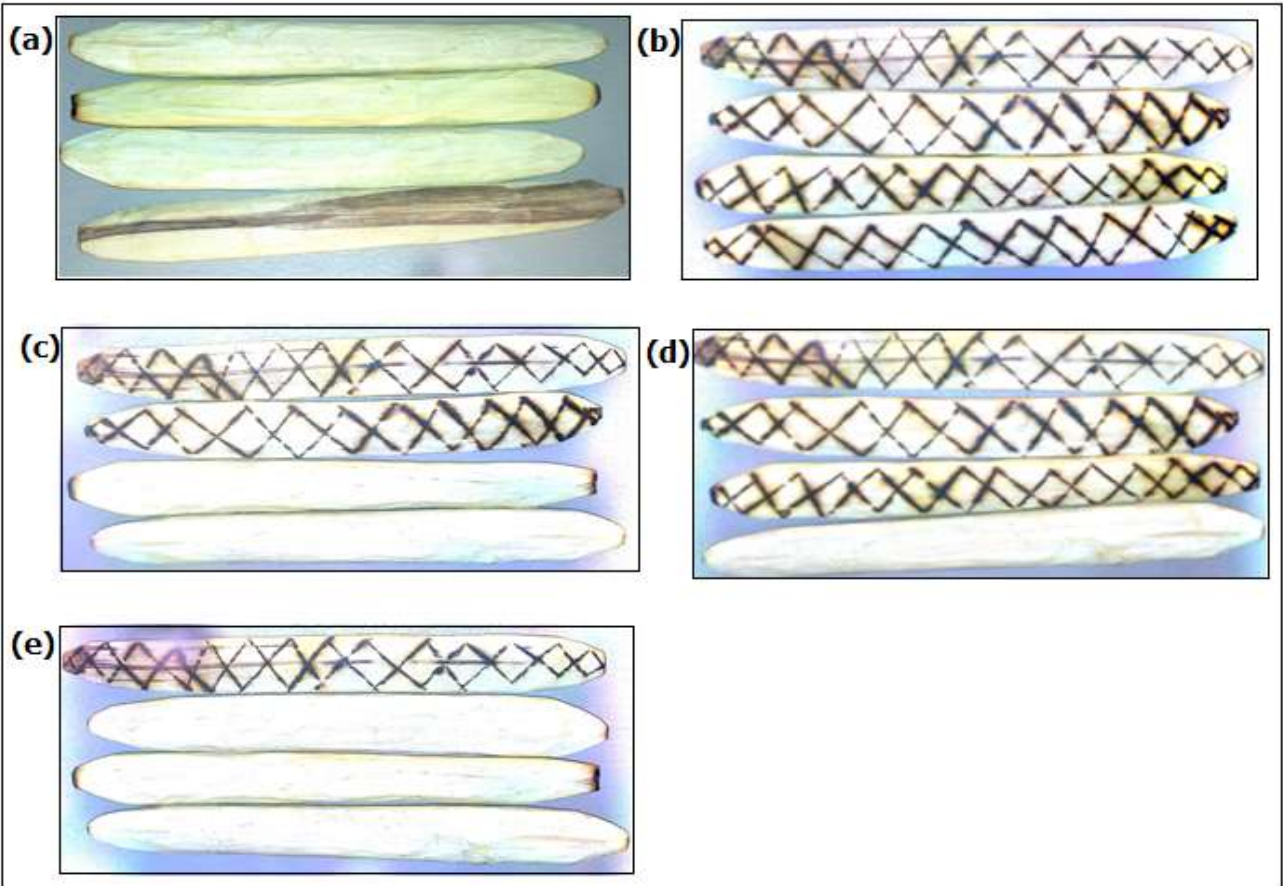
The functional meaning of the Discourse in 4.1(d) expresses that the visiting participants do not use the properties of the hosting participants without getting permitted to do so. Therefore, the visiting participants ask the bridegroom and the bride for the playing-sticks. In this context, the participants reflect the notion of ownership. In the research area, when people want to use others' property, they have to get the consent and permission of the

owner of the property. In this context, the playing-sticks are, in fact, the properties of the bridegroom and the bride.

In the oral language use and practice of *wæddi mæn*, these sticks are tossed at a time for probability by the participants sitting in a round form. When the participants toss the playing-sticks at a time, they may have five probabilities. The probabilities of the drops have the following technical names in the context of the game. Functionally, the names of the drops show the distribution of rotational power among the participants involving in the game of *wæddi mæn*.

- (a) All white (un-striped) sides up or simply 'whites',
- (b) All black (striped) sides up or simply 'blacks',
- (c) Two white (un-striped) and two black (striped) sides up,
- (d) One white (un-striped) and three black (striped) sides up, and
- (e) Three white (un-striped) and one black (striped) side up.

These probabilities expressed by their technical names are shown in the diagrams below.



**Figure 5: The Probabilities of the Drops of the Playing-sticks**

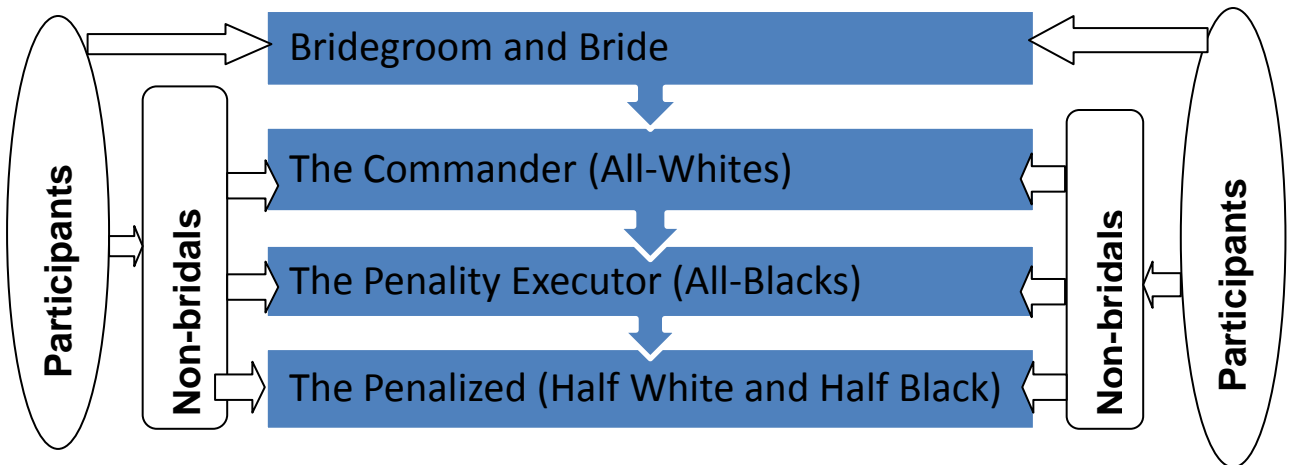
In the game, the participants (hosting participants and visiting participants) get power according to the probability of the playing-sticks tossed. The participants who tossed all-white (un-striped) sides of the playing-sticks up, becomes the commander of the game. The participant who tossed all black (striped) sides of the playing-sticks up, on the other hand, becomes the penalty executor in the game. The participants who tossed half white and half black sides of the playing-sticks up get penalized in the game. If the participants of the game tossed and get the probabilities in (d) and (e) above, which means when one is odd from the other sticks; they simply transfer the chance of tossing to the participant sitting next to them.

From these descriptions, we can understand the power exercise, power distribution, and structure in that particular linguistic and social event. The assignment and distribution of the power structure based on the tossing-sticks can be depicted as follows (Figure 6).

As the social power assignment and structure is diagrammatically shown below, the participant who tossed all the sticks white-faced up takes the highest position next to the bridegroom and bride. Then, the participant who tossed all the sticks black-faced up takes the next power position. The participants who tossed two white and two black sides of the playing-sticks up get penalized. The penalty is ordered by the commander (white in this context) and executed by the penalty executor (black in this context).

The rest of the participants are power neutral until they get the chance of tossing the power of the winning probabilities. The position of the power structure is not permanently held by individual participants in the game. It, actually, rather circulates to all the participants based on the chance of their tossing probabilities of the playing-sticks.

The participants throne and dethrone one after the other according to the chance of their drops. In the game of *wæddi mæn*, participants are not observed to take power from the bridegroom or bride. This indicates the social power the bridegroom and the bride have in that particular linguistic and social event. Based on the tossing probabilities, the bridegroom and the bride can take the power of being a commander or a penalty executor; however, because of their bridal status when the bridegroom or the bride tosses two white and two black, they are not penalized. The penalty goes to the best men who are sitting next to the bridegroom and the bride respectively.



**Figure 6: Structure of Power Hierarchy Based on Tossing Probabilities**

The above figure shows the representation of social power approached by Critical Discourse analysis (CDA) Dijk (2001a: 353) a type of Discourse analytical approach that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context of power structure. With such research contexts, critical Discourse analysis takes an explicit position and thus is used to analyze social inequality (power distributions and structures, in this case). This indicates that critical Discourse analysis is an analytical methodology of data analysis concerning language use and power structure.

<b>4.1 (e) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ሓደ</b>	<b>ዝራብዕ</b>	<b>ናባይ</b>	<b>ክይድ.</b>
təsətəfti:	ħadə	[zi <sup>7</sup> raβiŋ]	[ni-ʔaβəy]	keyd-u
Participants:	One	Bull	to-where	PRF.go-3MSG

*Literally:* Where has one bull gone?

*Functionally:* Where is one of the tossing-stick of *wəddi mən*?

---

<sup>7</sup> The vowel /i/ is an epenthetic vowel that breaks an impermissible cluster of consonants in the phonotactics of Tigrinya.

This tossing-stick functionally refers to the missing best man during the game. The term **ዝራብ** [ziraβiŋ] 'bull' signifies the state of strong and bouncy sexual desires in the context of *wəddi mən*. Although it literally means an animal (bull) in normal contexts, it functionally represents the best man who has been missed out of the honeymoon room searching for some partner (fiancée) in the context of *wəddi mən*.

The Discourse in 4.1(e) means that the participants are asking for where one bull among the rest of the herd is; however, the functional meaning of the Discourse refers to the missing tossing-stick that extendedly means the missing best man to be penalized for the game to begin which literally means to be blessed. The participants say, "Let's bless the game" which functionally means, "Let's begin the game". [See 4.1 (j) below.]

To begin the game, all the best men are slapped on their back by all the participants. In the context of the game, the participants refer to bull to symbolize the best men to mean how they are in their bouncy and youthful age that they are hyper-active (restless) and they are looking for their arousing interests.

The Discourse in 4.1(f) below is used by the bridegroom and the bride where one of the best men represented by a bull has gone.

<b>4.1 (f) መርዑ:</b>	<b>ናብ</b>	<b>ሰራ</b>	<b>ከይዱ</b>
mərɕu:	[naβ]	sirra	keyd-u
Honemooners:	To	mate	PRF.go-3MSG

*Literally:* It has gone to have mated with a cow.

*Functionally:* One of the best men is missing out on seducing girls around.

This Discourse refers to the situation that the missing best man symbolized by a missing bull has gone in search of a partner (fiancée in the context of *wəddi mən*).

In the Discourse in 4.1(f), the bridegroom or the bride responds to the visiting participants that the missing best man referred to as a bull has gone for mating with cows. Here, the

functional meaning of the Discourse is that the missing best man has gone seducing girls around. The term ስራ /sirra/ which literally means 'mating' functionally signifies that the best men are at their age of strong desire to get married and sexual desires.

In the following Discourse, the visiting participants tell the bridegroom and the bride that they would help them in finding out where the missing out best man is. However, before going to search for the missing out best man, the visiting participants ask the bridegroom and the bride for guaranty in the form of bail. [See 4.1(g).]

<b>4.1 (g) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ዓዲ</b>	<b>ጎይታይ</b>	<b>ዓዲ</b>	<b>እምባይተይ</b>	<b>ዋሕስ</b>	<b>ሃቡና</b>
təsatəfti:	ʕaddi	goyta-y	ʕaddi	[ʔimbəytə]-y	waħis	[haβ]-u-na
Participants:	house	sir-1SG.POS	house	madam-1SG.POS	bail	IMP.give-3MPL-2PL

*Literally:* House of my sir and madam, give us a bail.

*Functionally:* Dear bridegroom and bride, please give us your bail so that we can help you in looking for the missing out best man.

In this Discourse, the word ዋሕስ /wəħas/ literally meaning bail, but functionally signifies that the participants are asking the bridegroom and the bride for payment and security in the situation of searching for the missing out best man.

In this case, the visiting participants assume that one best man is missing out. The visiting participants make this by intentionally hiding one tossing-stick representing the missing out best man. They say that they can find it for the bridegroom and the bride. In the context of *wəddi mən*, the Discourse in 4.1(g) means that the bridegroom, the bride, the best men, and the bridesmaid are insiders while the visiting participants are outsiders. Therefore, the visiting participants are not as free and secured as the honeymooners (host participants) are to move around and find the missed out bull for the honeymooners.

The Discourse in 4.1(g) contextually touches the notion of co-operation. The visiting participants, though they are outsiders (They act as they are new to the whereabouts of the honeymooners), are willing to help the honeymooners in finding the missed out best man.

In the research area, if someone's animals or kid missed out, any person around accompanies them in searching for the missed out belongings. Therefore, this Discourse functionally portrays this notion of mutual co-operation in the society of the research area.

Then, the visiting participants ask for a bail that protects them in case somebody accuses them of cutting a tree to make a tossing-stick that represents the missing out best man. Furthermore, the Discourse means the participants are requesting for some food and money to go out and look for the missing out best man. The missing out best man in this context is represented by a missing out bull. As indicated in the following data, the bridegroom and bride guarantee them as per the request of the participants.

<b>4.1 (h) መርዓት:</b>	<b>ፍርቂ</b>	<b>እንጀራ</b>
mərʕat:	firk'i	[ʔiñjəra]
Bride:	Half	'injera'

*Literally:* half 'injera'

*Functionally:* Half 'injera' is enough for you so that you may not get hungry while looking for the missing out best man.

The bride grants the visiting participants foodstuff ('injera') while they are searching for the missing out best man.

As shown in 4.1(h), the bride is expected to give the participants who look for the missing out best man foodstuffs. 'Injera' is the common foodstuff that travelers pack as food supply when they go far away from home. Functionally, this Discourse shows that preparing foodstuff like 'injera' and serving/ giving to the consumers is womanly stuff in the community.

Below, we can see what the bridegroom gives the visiting participants. When we compare the bail of the bride as shown above and the gift of the bridegroom, they are different in kind. Look at the Discourse in 4.1(i) below.

<b>4.1 (i) መርገዋ፡</b>	<b>አመብት</b>	<b>ቅርጺ</b>
mərɣawi:	ħammuštə	k'irši
Bridegroom:	Five	Birr

*Literally:* five birr

*Functionally:* Five Birr is enough for your costs on your way to looking for the missing out best man.

This Discourse is uttered by the bridegroom that five Birr is sufficient for the visiting participants so that they can find the missing out best man for the host participants.

When we compare the bail that is given by the bride in 4.1(h) and bridegroom in 4.1(i), we can infer that females are attributed to responsibilities of the provision related to foodstuff. On the other hand, the gifts that are expected of the bridegrooms are related to money. This can indicate how gender can bring about the differences in belongings which can further attribute the gendered Discourse in the research area.

In the research area, men do not decide on issues related to foodstuff because, in the society, to deal with foodstuff is womanly (feminine) stuff. On the other hand, men dominate their women to have decisions and belongings of money as we can see in the Discourses in 4.1(h & i) above.

In general, the Discourses in 4.1(h) and 4.1(i) functionally mean the masculine and feminine responsibility in the research area. The Discourses mean that we can find a piece of money in a man's (bridegroom's) pocket and a piece of foodstuff in a woman's wide plate (a holder made of dried grass). This gendered context also brings about the gendered language use variations; the bridegroom cannot say, "I will give you a piece of foodstuff" while the bride cannot say, "I will give you some money" because of the above illustrated socially constructed mind-set of masculinity and femininity. This linguistic distinction occurs because of the socially constructed notion of genderedness in language use in the society of the research area. This gendered context of Discourse also implies the notion of

patriarchal relationship in the interactions of the bridegroom and the bride in the context of *wəddi mən*.

After the visiting participants find out the missing out best man, the game gets started. The game is not simply started by any participant without the permission of the bridegroom and the bride. As we can see in the Discourse 4.1(j) below, the visiting participants ask the bridegroom and bride to begin it for the rest of the participants.

<b>4.1 (j)</b>	<b>ተሳተፍቲ፡</b>	<b>ባርኾት</b>	<b>ባርኾልና</b>
	təsətəfti:	[barχot]	[bariχ]-u-l-na
	Participants:	Blessing	IMP.bless-2MPL-BEN-1PL

*Literally:* Bless the game for us.

*Functionally:* Dear bridegroom and bride, please begin the game for us.

This Discourse functionally means the visiting participants are asking the bridegroom and the bride to begin slapping the best men in the game of *wəddi mən*. This Discourse intentionally means that non-bridal participants do not start to penalize the best men in *wəddi mən*.

The expression ባርኾት ባርኾልና [barχot] [bariχ]-u-l-na 'bless it for the rest of us' is literally used to ask males, usually elderly and priests, to hand a piece of food to the rest of the party in a food table before beginning to eat on their own. Functionally, this Discourse is used to ask permission from the bridegroom and then the bride to begin the game by slapping the best man's back who has made himself ready for all the participants to slap as penalty. It is the bridegroom who begins to slap and the bride follows her bridegroom. Finally, with their palms, all the participants sitting around slap the best man's back one at a time.

In this case, the participants cannot slap the best man's back before the bridegroom and the bride start slapping. Therefore, the participants ask the bridegroom and the bride to start slapping the best men's back. First, they say, 'Bless it for us!' which functionally means, 'Start the game for us'.

After the best men are beaten on their backs one by one, they are asked to utter the Discourse in 4.1(k) below. The linguistic function of the Discourse is illustrated as follows.

**4.1 (k)** ተሳተፏት: ይነሱ  
təsətəfti: yi-nnəsh-u  
Participants: 2MHON-JUSS.confess-2MHON

*Literally:* You confess.

*Functionally:* Dear best man, say something about the brides and get up from the penalty bed.

In this Discourse, the participants order the best men to loudly speak about the beauty of the bride to the rest of the participants before standing up from the leather carpet (kip) they have been bowing down for penalty.

After blessing (functionally-beginning the game), the best man does not stand up from the leather carpet (kip) he has been bowing down for penalty; he first asks for permission to stand up. Then, the participants around order him to confess. The expression ይነሱ /yi-nnəsih-u/ 'confess' literally has a religious content i.e to speak out the sins somebody has committed to the religious fathers, but in the context of *wəddi mən*, the intentional meaning has no religious content.

In *wəddi mən*, the Discourse in 4.1(k) literally means confess, but functionally the participants mean that they are ordering the best man to loudly declare to all the participants how beautiful the bride is. [See in 4.1(l) below.]

<b>4.1 (I) ዓርኪ:</b>	<b>እምባይተይ</b>	<b>መብርሂት</b>	<b>ተኳሒለን</b>	<b>ተሳሒለን</b>
ፍርካ:	[ʔimbəytə]-y	[məβrhit]	tə-[χ <sup>w</sup> añil]-ən	tə-saʔil-ən
Best man:	Madam-1SG.POS	Mebrhit	PASS-PRF.kohl-3FHON	PASS-draw-3FHON
	<b>ናብ ጎይታየ</b>	<b>ሓዱሽ</b>	<b>የብለን</b>	<b>ዕልልል...</b>
	naβ goyta-yyə	ñadduš	y-əbbil-ə-n	ʕililil...
	to sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	3MSG-JUSS.say-3MSG-3FHON	cheering up

*Literally:* May He make Madam Mebrhit, being kohled and drawn, say to sir Hadush.

*Functionally:* May the beautiful bride be with the bridegroom throughout her life.

This Discourse is used by the best men to loudly report about the beauty of the bride and that she, fortunately, deserves to the bridegroom. This Discourse is used by one of the best men as service of promotion witnessing the beauty of the bride to the rest of the visiting participants in the game of *wəddi mən*.

The Discourse in 4.1 (I) expresses the way the best man reports about the beauty of the bride to all the participants in the honeymoon room. Here, it is assumed that the best man is loudly witnessing and heralding the beauty of the bride to all the participants who represented the mass community.

Moreover, contextually the Discourse in 4.1(I) is about the responsibility of the best men to express the beauty of the bride on behalf of the bridegroom. We can call the best men are the spokesmen of the bridegroom in the context of the Discourse in 4.1(I).

The best man does not only report how beautiful the bride is, but he also wishes the bridegroom that the beautiful bride is no ones in her life time, but only his among the rest of the men in the community. It is when the best man does these duties that the participants of *wəddi mən* allow him to stand up from the penalty bed (kip) he has been bowing down to be penalized.

In general, the Discourses in 4.1(a-l) mean about the processes in which the game of *wæddi mæn* goes through, and gets started. We can also see the social power of the participants in *wæddi mæn*. The visiting participants, for instance, have no power to begin the game on their will.

They have to ask the hosting participants (bridegroom and bride) for permission to begin the game. Concerning the power structure of the participants, we can also see differences in the power of the bridegroom and bride in turn-taking.

The bridegroom has the leading power in the conversation and practice of the game. It is when he finishes speaking to permit the game that the bride can speak her turn. Moreover, the game is started by the bridegroom and then followed by the bride. [See the Discourse in 4.1(j).]

This shows a gendered order of talk (turn-taking) that reflects that women of the research area take turn in their communicative interactions after their husbands. The women are socially criticized and even said to be discourteous if they interrupt their husbands in any interactional conversations.

## 4.2 Discourses of Accusation

In *wəddi mən*, the best men are expected to accomplish some social responsibilities. These may include: welcoming the visiting participants, receiving the belongings of the visitors such as sticks and putting them in a very safe place, cleaning the honeymoon room, putting things in the honeymoon room in their proper places. Then, after getting permission to play *wəddi mən*, the visiting participants try to find some faults in the honeymoon room so that they can accuse the best men. The following linguistic expressions of accusations are used in the social practice of *wəddi mən*.

<b>4.2 (a) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>እንዳ</b>	<b>ጎይታይ</b>	<b>እንዳ</b>	<b>እምባይተይ</b>	<b>ግልጾታት</b>	<b>አለዉዎ</b>
təsatafi:	ʔinda	goyta-y	ʔinda	[ʔimbəytə]-y	gilya-tat	ʔallə-wu-wo
Participant:	House	sir-1SG.POS	house	Madam-1SG.POS	servant-PL	IMPF.exist-3MPL-3MSG.POS
	<b>ዶ</b>	<b>እዚ</b>	<b>ገዛ</b>			
	do	ʔizi	gəza			
	Q	This	house			

*Literally:* The house of Sir and Madam- does this house have servants?

*Functionally:* Dear bridegroom and bride, do you have the best men who care for your room (honeymoon room)?

The visiting participants use this Discourse to make sure the bridegroom and the bride have fulfilled the responsibility of making the best men.

The bridegroom and the bride of the research area are expected to make the best men. In *wəddi mən*; therefore, the participants ask for this requirement as it is shown in 4.2(a) before the game of *wəddi mən* gets started.

<b>4.2 (b)</b>	<b>መርገዊ፡</b>	<b>እወ</b>	<b>አለዉዎ</b>
	mərɕawi:	ʔiwwə	ʔallə-wu-wo
	Bride:	Yes	IMPF.exist-3MPL-3MSG.POS

*Literally:* Yes, they do exist.

*Functionally:* Yes, we have some.

This Discourse functionally means that the bridegroom and the bride have fulfilled the requirement of making the best men in their marriage. In the research area, no one can traditionally marry without making best men.

As it is illustrated in 4.2(b) above, it is the bridegroom who is responsible to answer the above questions in the Discourse in 4.2(a). He answers that they have fulfilled the requirement of making the best men. The bridegroom of the society of the research area worries about the best men they would have in their marriage. Therefore, the responsibility of finding the best men is the responsibility of the bridegroom; the best men are usually the relatives of the bridegroom. The Discourse in 4.2(a) above illustrates this context in the game of *wəddi mən*.

As the visiting participants assure the presence of best men, they forward their complaint to the bridegroom as we can see the Discourses in 4.2(c-f) below.

<b>4.2 (c)</b>	<b>ተሳታፊ፡</b>	<b>እንታይ</b>	<b>ድኣ</b>	<b>እዩ</b>	<b>እዚ</b>	<b>ገዙ</b>	<b>ጋዕዝዩ</b>
	təsatafi:	ʔintay	diʔa	ʔiyy-u	ʔizi	gəza	gaɕziy-u
	Participant:	What	PRT	be-3MSG	this	house	PRF.mess-3MSG

*Literally:* What is then this house messed up.

*Functionally:* If there are some best men, why is this honeymoon room not cleaned properly?

In this Discourse, the visiting participants are complaining of the cleanliness of the honeymoon room.

The best men are expected to clean the honeymoon room in the research area. As we can see in the Discourse in 4.2(c), the visiting participants accuse the best as if they have not cleaned the honeymoon room. As a result, the best men are accused of acting irresponsible.

<b>4.2 (d) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ኢጋዩሽ</b>	<b>ዝቕበል</b>	<b>ተሳኢኑ</b>
təsatafi:	ʔa-gayuš	zi-[χ'ibbəl]	tə-saʔin-u
Participant:	PL-gusst	REL-IMPf-receive	PASS-PRF.lack-3MSG

*Literally:* One who receives guests is lacking.

*Functionally:* No best man welcomes the visitors who come to visit and play with the bridegroom and the bride.

This Discourse functionally means the visiting participants are complaining to the bridegroom and the bride that they are not properly welcomed by the best men.

Functionally, the Discourse in 4.2(d) means that the visiting participants need to be warmly welcomed to the honeymoon room. In this case, the responsibility of welcoming the guests (visiting participants) is attributed to the best men. The best men are expected to be at the gate of the honeymoon room so that they can show respect and welcoming to the participants who come to visit the honeymooners (the bridegroom and the bride).

In the research area, the community does not consider the guests and non-guests the same treatment. They warmly welcome and respect guests. The Discourse in 4.2(d) can functionally reflect the context of *wəddi mən*. In the research area, the best men have to serve the bridegroom and the bride in warmly welcoming and well-treating the visiting participants.

<b>4.2 (e) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>አቀማምጣ</b>	<b>አቼሑት</b>	<b>ገዛ</b>	<b>ትኸከለኛ</b>	<b>አይኮነን</b>
təsatafi:	ʔak'k'əmamt'a	[ʔax'uħut]	gəza	[tiχikkiləñña]	ʔay-kon-ə-n
Participant:	Placement	furniture	house	Proper	NEG-PRF.be-3MSG-NEG

*Literally:* The placement of the household furniture is not proper.

*Functionally:* The best men put the furniture in the honeymoon room in a messy way.

This Discourse is used by the visiting participants to accuse the best of not properly grooming the honeymoon room and putting things in their improper order in it. Indirectly, this Discourse indicates that the best men have to put the belongings in the honeymoon room in a well-groomed scenario.

The Discourse in 4.2(e) tells us that the best men are responsible to put things in order and make the honeymoon room groomed. The more hard-working best men the bridegroom and the bride have, the more beautifully groomed honeymoon room they have. Therefore, the visiting participants look for how well the honeymoon room is furnished and decorated. If the honeymoon room is not well furnished and decorated, it means the best are careless and are accused by the visiting participants of such irresponsibility.

<b>4.2 (f) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>እዚ</b>	<b>ገዛ</b>	<b>ቁንጫዕ</b>	<b>ፈጢሩ</b>
təsatafi:	ʔizi	gəza	k'unnič'aʕ	fət'ir-u
Participant:	this	house	flee	PRF.develop-3MSG

*Literally:* This house has developed flee.

*Functionally:* There are some flees in the honeymoon room because the best men have not kept it neat.

The participants are accusing the best in this context because the honeymoon room is evolving flees of uncleanliness.

If one's house is not properly cleaned, it could probably be possible for some insects such as flees to evolve in it. According to the functional meaning of the Discourse in 4.2(f), the

participants are advising the best men so that they can keep the honeymoon room clean and prevent it from unnecessary evolution of insects like flee.

In general, the participants, in the above context, use the Discourses in 4.2(a-f) not because they are bothered whether the bridegroom and the bride have the best men or not. They intend to find out any fault in the honeymoon room so that they can accuse the best men. Purposefully, the visiting participants look for any kind of fault in the honeymoon room no matter who has caused the mistakes. Then, they accuse the best men and complain to the bridegroom.

<b>4.2 (g) መርግዊ:</b>	<b>ይቕሬታ</b>	<b>ከነስተኻኸል</b>	<b>ኢና</b>
mərɣawi:	[yix'reta]	ki-n-ətəχaxil]	ʔiy-na
Bridegroom:	Sorry	PURP-1PL-IMPF.correct	IMPF.be-1PL

*Literally:* Sorry, we are to correct it.

*Functionally:* We are going to make good of it.

This is a Discourse of apology made by the bridegroom to the visiting participants because of the irresponsibilities that happened in the honeymoon room.

The Discourse in 4.2(g) tells us that the bridegroom has the highest authority in the honeymoon room. That is why he responds to the complaints first. He even admits the mistakes that have been made in the honeymoon room regardless of the best men admit or not. He promises the visiting participants (accusers) that he can take corrective measures on the best men assumed to commit the mistakes in the honeymoon room. Then, the bridegroom wants to know what the penalties would be deserved to the best men and asks the accusers using the Discourses in 4.2(h) below.

<b>4.2 (h) መርገዳ:</b>	<b>እንታይ</b>	<b>ከንቅጣዕ</b>
mərɣawi:	ɣɪntay	ki-ni-k'is's'aɣ
Bridegroom:	What	PURP-1PL-IMPF.penalize

*Literally:* What are we to be penalized?

*Functionally:* What can be our penalty for what we have been accused of?

This Discourse functionally enquires what the best men deserve for the wrong deed they commit in the honeymoon room. This Discourse is used by the bridegroom and signifies a context of honesty in admitting ones wrong deeds in the honeymoon room.

The Discourse in 4.2(h) is used to mean the bridegroom is ready for whatever penalty would the visiting participants like the best men to be penalized for. The bridegroom has the deciding power in the context of *wəddi mən*. It is not the bride or the best men who accept and make the best men get penalized as per the request of the accusers, but only the bridegroom deals with what kind of penalty could be exerted on the best men. The best men cannot even complain no matter how seriously penalized they are. They are expected to get penalized as the visiting participants like them.

What is interesting here is that the penalties the bridegroom is accepting are inclusive to him too. Though the best are going to get penalized of the wrong deeds, the bridegroom inclusively admits and inclusively says, "What are we going to be penalized for that?" He doesn't exclusively say, "What are the best men going to be penalized for that?"

In the context of *wəddi mən*, the following Discourses express the penalty types the visiting participants can usually ask the bridegroom for the best men to be penalized for acting irresponsible and improper provision of social services of the best men in the context of the honeymoon.

<b>4.2 (i) ተሳታፊ፡</b>	<b>ግልፅ</b>	<b>ይተክሰር</b>
təsatafi:	gilya	yi-ttə-ʔassər
Participant:	servant	3MSG-PASS-JUSS.jail

*Literally:* Let your servant be jailed.

*Functionally:* Let one of your best men be jailed against the pillar of the honeymoon room.

The best men as mentioned above can be tightly tied up to the pillar of the honeymoon room as high as they cannot freely move here and there, and they feel so painful.

The Discourse in 4.2(i) is used to specify one of the measures that would be taken on the best men who critically misbehave and misdeed in the honeymoon room. Most of the time, best men who commit serious mistakes are sentenced to be jailed (tightly fastened) against the pillar of the honeymoon room. These measures will be discussed in 4.5 below in detail under the theme of Discourse of penalty.

### 4.3 Discourses of Guaranty

After the accusation, the best men are subject to some penalty in *wəddi mən*. The penalties are sentenced by the bridegroom. Therefore, they need somebody who guarantees them in their time of penalty. In this social practice, it is the bride who asks to guarantee the best men. She, first, asks her bridegroom to give her permission of guaranty. The Discourses used in this context are discussed below.

<b>4.3 (a)</b>	<b>መርዓት:</b>	<b>ጎይታይ</b>	<b>ወዲ</b>	<b>ጎይታይ</b>	<b>እቶም</b>	<b>ግልያና</b>	<b>እንታይ</b>	<b>ገይሮም</b>
mərʕat:	goyta-y	wəddi	goyta-y	ʔit-om	gilya-na	ʔintay	gəyr-om	
Bride:	sir-1SG.POS	son	sir-1SG.POS	DET-3MHON	servant-1PL.POS	What	PRF.do-3MHON	
	<b>እቶም</b>	<b>ተክሲሮም</b>						
	ʔiyy-om	tə-ʔasir-om						
	IMPF.be-3MHON	PASS-PRF.jail-3MHON						

*Literally:* My sir, the son of my sir, what has our servant done he is jailed?

*Functionally:* My dear bridegroom, what is the reason that our best man is jailed?

This Discourse is functionally used by the bride to ask her bridegroom the reason why her best man is jailed. In this case, the bride is expected to stand up and uncover her head out of the scarf. In *wəddi mən*, this procedure is socially considered as a rule of respect reflecting the contextual courthouse manner.

In the context of the Discourse in 4.3(a), the bride stands up and presents her petition to her bridegroom about the jailed best man. She asks the reason why he is jailed. Then, she requests her bridegroom that she could be a guarantor for the best man to be released from jail. The function of the Discourse in 4.3(a) reflects the social power of the bridegroom that the bride is asking for briefing why their best man is jailed.

Functionally, the Discourse does not mean the bride needs information about why their best man is getting penalized, but she is politely approaching her bridegroom if he can allow her to be a guarantor for the jailed best man. Moreover, this Discourse reflects the

masculine power the husbands, represented by the power of the bridegroom in this context, have over their wives in the community of the research area.

Karlberg (2005: 2) calls this power “power over” a model that highlights the issues of social conflict, control, and coercion, which have been the primary focus of social power inequalities. In reflection of this model, the bridegroom has the highest power of decision over his bride in the context of *wəddi mən*. This notion shows the male-dominating family structure; husbands have the highest authority in deciding serious issues of the families in the research area because they are basically male-dominating (patriarchal) families.

The following Discourses presented by the bridegroom are used to reason out why one of their best men is imprisoned.

<b>4.3 (b) መርግዋ፡</b>	<b>እምቢይተይ</b>	<b>ጻል</b>	<b>ጎይታይ</b>	<b>ገዛ</b>	<b>ብልግባእ</b>
mərɕawi:	ʔimbəyt-əy	g <sup>w</sup> al	goyta-y	gəza	bi-li-gibbaʔ
Bridegroom:	Madam-1SG.POS	daughter	sir-1SG.POS	house	INS-REL-responsibly
	<b>የፅረዩይ</b>				
	yə-s'rəy-u-y				
	NEG-PRF.clean-3MHON-NEG				

*Literally:* They have not cleaned the house responsibility.

*Functionally:* The best man has not thoroughly cleaned the honeymoon room; therefore, he must take responsibility for that.

The Discourse functionally means that the responsibility of cleaning the honeymoon room is attributed to the best men.

<b>4.3 (c) መርጻዊ:</b>	<b>ብልግባእ</b>	<b>ኢጋዩሽ</b>	<b>የተቐበሉይ</b>
mərɕawi:	bi-li-gibbaʔ	ʔagayuš	yə-[təχ'əbbəl]-u-y
Bridegroom:	INS-REL-responsibly	guests	NEG-PRF.welcome-3MHON-NEG

*Literally:* They have not welcomed the guests responsibly.

*Functionally:* Our best man is to be penalized, for he has not welcomed the guests warmly.

In the context of the honeymoon, the best are expected to manage the activities of welcoming the visiting participants.

Therefore, the participants use the Discourse in 4.3(c) to refer to this duty in the game of *wəddi mən*. When the game starts, the visiting participants find out some sorts of mistakes assumed to be done by the best men. One of the mistakes they get concerned about is the way the best men welcome every visiting participants to the honeymoon room.

<b>4.3 (d) መርጻዊ:</b>	<b>ብልግባእ</b>	<b>አቁሑት</b>	<b>የቸመጡይ</b>
mərɕawi:	bi-li-gibbaʔ	ʔakuñut	yə-[əχ'əmmət']-u-y
Bridegroom:	INS-REL-responsibly	furniture	NEG-PRF.put-3MHON-NEG

*Literally:* They have not responsibly put the furniture.

*Functionally:* Our best man has put the furniture of the honeymoon room in a mess.

This Discourse functionally means that the best men are also expected to keep the honeymoon room well-groomed. Unless the best men keep the honeymoon room well-groomed and put things in their proper order, they are accused of it using the Discourse in 4.3(d).

**4.3 (e) መርዓት: ከወላሰም**

**ይፈትሉላይ**

mərፍat: ki-wwiḥas-om

yi-ffətiḥ-u-lə-y

Bride: PURP-IMPF.guarantee-3MHON

3MHON-JUSS.untie-3MHON-BEN-1SG

*Literally:* Let me be their guarantor; let them be untied.

*Functionally:* The bride wants to be a guarantor and see their best man released from the tying rope.

This context shows us one of the best men is getting tightly tied up to the pillar of the honeymoon room as penalty. The bride feels pity for such a serious penalty and asks her bridegroom so that he can let her be a guarantor for the release of the best man from the tying rope. Naturally, females feel more pitiful than males while people are getting hurt (penalized in this context). This Discourse functionally signifies the notion of pity in the context of *wəddi mən*. This indicates that the bride worries more than her bridegroom of the penalty exerted on their best men and asks her bridegroom for permission of forgiveness to get the best man released.

The bride cannot be a guarantor for the jailed best man on her own will. She has to ask her bridegroom for permission to do so. This implies the male dominating family of the social power hierarchy of the bridegroom and the bride. The Discourse in 4.3(e) above illustrates this context.

**4.3 (f) መርዓዊ:**

**መን**

**ይመት**

mərፍawi:

mən

yi-mut

Bridegroom:

who

3MSG-JUSS.die

*Literally:* Who dies?

*Functionally:* Can you swear that you can be a guarantor for our tied best man?

This Discourse functionally means the bridegroom is asking his bride to swear of reassuring that she could be the right person to guarantee the jailed best man. The Discourse መን

ይመት /mən yi-mut/ is a swear expression which literally means 'who dies'. It is used when the speaker wants his/ her addressee to swear in Tigrinya. Its intentional meaning in this context is, "Swear to me".

The bridegroom needs his bride's word if she can surely be a guarantor. Therefore, he asks her to swear to him that she can make it. The literal meaning of the Discourse in 4.3(f) is, 'Who is going to die'; however, the functional meaning of the Discourse is that the bridegroom is asking his bride to swear.

The following Discourse in 4.3(g) is the Discourse that the bride uses to swear to her bridegroom.

**4.3 (g) መርዓት: ስገአም**  
mərʕat: sigə-ʔom  
Bride flesh-2MHON.POS

*Literally:* Your flesh.

*Functionally:* I swear to you, my dear bridegroom.

Here, the bride swears to her bridegroom that she can be the right person to guarantee their best man. This Discourse in the normal/ literal communication means, "Your flesh"; however, in the context of the game of *wəddi mən* and semantic field of swear, it is a swear expression.

The expression in 4.3(g) means, 'Your flesh'; however, the speakers in the research area use the Discourse to functionally mean, 'I swear to you'. In the context of *wəddi mən*, the bride swears to her bridegroom to make sure she can be a guarantor for their jailed best man.

The Discourse in 4.3(a) illustrates that the bride is the one who is responsible to guarantee the best man is penalized fastened against the pillar of the honeymoon room. First, she asks her bridegroom why their best men are subject to the penalty. In the above Discourses in 4.3(b-d), the bridegroom mentions for his bride why their best men are subject to the penalties. This Discourse even attests to how much the brides love and respect their best men. In the research area, most of the time, the best men are the relatives of the bridegrooms, and the brides are measured in the depth of the respect and love of their relatives-in-law. Therefore, the Discourses above illustrate these social issues of the research area.

In 4.3(e), the bride assures that she could be a guarantor for their best men to be released. The Discourse in 4.3(f) tells us that the bridegroom needs his bride's word that she is the right person to do it. Then, in 4.3(g), the bride swears to re-assure that she can do it for their best men. Finally, he approves the petition she has already requested to release the jailed best man.

If the brides in the research area do not do the activity in the Discourse in 4.3(e), the best men feel that the brides do not love and treat them as their best men. There could even be situations the best men get angry at the brides and ignore them when they do not ask why they are getting jailed and ask their bridegroom to be a guarantor for their best men.

The visiting participants also socially criticize the brides who do not properly treat their best men; they could even say, "This bride loves her best men, but that one does not". The more the brides love their best men means the deeper they love their bridegroom. Therefore, the Discourses in 4.3(a & e) reflect this social norm in the research area.

#### 4.4 Discourses of Rules

The corrective penalties for the best men in *wæddi mæn* are followed by setting some rules. The participants do not simply start the game. There must be some rules that the participants, in that social practice, should obey. Violation of the rules that are already set could cause further penalties for all the participants. The following Discourses are; therefore, common as linguistic expressions of rules in *wæddi mæn*.

<b>4.4 (a) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ፀዓዳ</b>	<b>ዘውደቕ</b>	<b>አዛዚ</b>	<b>እዩ</b>
təsatəfti:	s'əʕad-u	z-[əwdəχ']-ə	ʔazzazi	ʔiyy-u
Participant:	white-PL	REL-PRF.drop-3MSG	Commander	IMPF.be-3MSG

*Literally:* One who dropped whites is a commander.

*Functionally:* In *wæddi mæn*, the participant who tossed all-white surfaces of the tossing-sticks up (contextually whites) orders the penalty.

He/ she becomes a penalty commander because of the chance of dropping all the playing-sticks white faces up.

The Discourses in 4.4 (a) means that, in *wæddi mæn*, the participant who tossed all-white sides of the tossing-stick up, he/ she becomes a commander in the game. He/ she orders the penalty type and penalty weight in the game of *wæddi mæn*.

<b>4.4 (b) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ፀለምቲ</b>	<b>ዘውደቕ</b>	<b>ድራር</b>	<b>ይሓትት</b>
təsatəfti:	s'əlləm-ti	z-[əwdəχ']-ə	dirar	yi-ħattit
Participants:	black-PL	REL-PRF.drop-3MSG	dinner	3MSG-IMPF.ask

*Literally:* The one who dropped blacks asks for dinner.

*Functionally:* In *wæddi mæn*, the participant who tossed black striped surface of the tossing-stick up (contextually blacks) executes the penalty.

This Discourse means that the participant who drops all the sticks black faces up takes the power of being a penalty executor. The expression *dīrar* which literally means 'dinner' is intended to mean penalty in the context of *wəddi mən*. In this case, the executor considers the penalty as a dinner for him/ her though it would be so painful to the participants getting penalized in the context of the game of *wəddi mən*.

The expression in 4.4(b) reflects the power assignment when a participant tosses the sticks and gets them all-black sides up. This power bears the status of being an executor of the penalty ordered by the commander of the game. The commander orders the penalty and the penalty executor implements the penalty in the context of the game of *wəddi mən*.

In the context of *wəddi mən*, the penalty commanders and the penalty executors must be fair in power exercises; otherwise, they, in turn, can be penalized according to the rules set by all the participants. From this Discourse of context, we can infer the power exercise in the community is unbiased. Some individuals hold the top powers like the penalty commanders and the penalty executors in the game, and the mass community is referred to by the whole participants in the context of the game.

#### 4.4 (c)

ተሳተፍቲ፡	ከልተ	ፀዓዳ	ከልተ	ፀለምቲ	ዘውደቕ	ይቕጥፅ
təsətəfti:	killittə	s'əʕad-u	killittə	s'alləm-ti	z-[əwidəχ']-ə	yi-[χ'is's'aŋ]
Participants:	two	white-PL	two	black-PL	REL-drop-3MSG	3MSG-IMPF.penalize

*Literally:* The one who dropped two whites and two blacks is penalized.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, the participant who tossed two tossing-sticks un-striped (white surfaced) up and two tossing-sticks black striped (black surfaced) up gets penalized.

In *wəddi mən*, the participants who tossed two whites and two blacks represent individuals who attempt to get the highest position of power, but their attempt does not fifty percent suffice all the requirements of taking power. They are penalized to show that people in the community do not take power at easy; they must be hard examined. The examination is represented by the penalty in the Discourse of *wəddi mən* as we can see it in 4.4(c) above.

#### 4.4 (d)

<b>ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ግልፆ</b>	<b>ገዛ</b>	<b>ፅሩይ</b>	<b>ከገብሩዎ</b>	<b>አለዎም</b>
təsatəfti:	gilya-tat	gəza	s'iruy	ki-[gəβir]-u-wo	?allə-w-om
Participants:	Servant-PL	house	clean	PURP-IMPF.make-3MPL-3MSG	IMPF.have-3MSG-3MPL.POS

*Literally:* The servants have a house to make clean.

*Functionally:* The best men have to make the house clean.

This Discourse is used by the visiting participants to comment on the bridegroom to order the best men to clean the honeymoon room.

<b>4.4 (e) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ግልፆ</b>	<b>ጋሻ</b>	<b>ከቸበሉ</b>	<b>አለዎም</b>
təsatəfti:	gilya-tat	gašša	ki-[χ'ibbəl]-u	?allə-w-om
Participants:	Servant-PL	guest	PURP-IMPF.welcome-3MPL	IMPF.exist-3MSG-3MPL.POS

*Literally:* The servants have a guest to welcome.

*Functionally:* The best men have to welcome the guests.

This expression is a comment forwarded to the bridegroom that his best men should; as a social rule, warmly welcome the visiting participants and non-participant guests to the honeymoon room.

As we can see in the Discourse in 4.4(e) above, the best men are expected to warmly welcome the visiting participants. They should wait at the gate of the honeymoon room and make a kind welcoming to the participants who come to visit the bridegroom and the bride. Therefore, the Discourse in 4.4(e) gives a reflection of a moral lesson of hospitality in the community of the research area.

4.4(f)

ተሳተፍቲ:	ግልያ	አቀማግገብ	አቅራቢ	ከፀብቅ	አለጋጋ
təsatəfti:	gilya-tat	ʔak'k'əmamt'a	ʔax'uħut	k-[əs'əbbix']-u	ʔallə-w-om
Participants:	Servant-PL	Position	Furniture	PURP-IMPF.glamorize-3MPL	IMPF.exist-3MSG-3MPL.POS

*Literally:* The servants have furniture to put in a well-groomed position.

*Functionally:* The best men have to put the furniture in their proper position.

This rule is told to the bridegroom that their best men are also expected to put things in order and to groom the honeymoon room as one of the best manly responsibilities. The Discourse in 4.4(f) reflects this specific responsibility of the best men.

To generalize, the data in 4.4(d-f) are the Discourses of rules that exclusively set for the best men to obey. These rules are used to express that the responsibilities of welcoming the visiting guests, cleaning the honeymoon room, placing furniture in the honeymoon room in their proper place are bestowed to the best men as social duties.

The structure of the social hierarchy in the Discourse of *wəddi mən* encompasses the bridegroom, bride the community, commander of the penalty, executor of the penalty, best men (the ministers of the high powers) and the participants referring to the head of the community, the princess, commander-in-chief (executive power, the ministers of the high powers, the mass community in the speech community of the research area respectively (See Figure 4). Then, the Discourses above express the responsibilities of the best men in the honeymoon contexts.

<b>4.4 (g) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ኣቲም</b>	<b>ኣትን</b>	<b>ምትዕፅዓፍ</b>	<b>እዩ</b>
təsətəfti:	ʔatum	ʔatin	mi-ti-ʕis'is'af	ʔiyy-u
Participants:	You.2MHON	You.2FHON	VN-RECP-fold	IMPF.be-3MSG

*Literally:* It is You.2MHON, You.2FHON, and folding each other.

*Functionally:* The participants must honorify each other in their conversation during the game of *wəddi mən*.

This Discourse functionally signifies that the participants should address each other using honorific expressions so that they respect each other in the context of the game. Literally, the expression **ምትዕፅዓፍ** /mi-ti-ʕis'is'af/ 'to fold one another' functionally implies that the interlocutors must use honorifics to address each other in their interactional communications.

The expressions in 4.4(g) tell us that in Tigrinya, third-person plural masculine pronoun is used to refer to a second-person singular masculine and third-person plural feminine pronoun is used to refer to a second-person singular feminine for honorific purposes while interlocutors are addressing one another in their interactions.

In the research area, elderly communications: elder-to-elder and young-to-elder talk are expressed in honorific terms. The speakers address the elderly interlocutors as if they are addressing more than one interlocutors; the third person plural number marker is used in addressing the honorific context of communication. The function of the honorific terms is to show respect and courteousness registers (elderly approach in the communication). The Discourse in 4.4(g) illustrates this context in *wəddi mən* in representing the wider communication scope of the society in the research area.

<b>4.4 (h) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ሸረፈት</b>	<b>አይፍቀድን</b>
təsatəfti:	šərəfət	ʔay-yi-fik'k'əd-in
Participants:	chipping	NEG-3MSG-IMPF.allow-NEG

*Literally:* Chipping is not allowed.

*Functionally:* We must use honorifics in *wəddi mən*.

This Discourse functionally means the participants feel degraded if someone uses singular pronouns to address them.

The Discourse ሸረፈት /šərəfət/ "chipping" refers to the action of reducing of things into small pieces. Then, the participants are using the Discourse in 4.4(h) to refer to their interlocutors means that they are demoting or belittling them to the lower status which portrays disrespect in the interactional communication of the participants. Therefore, this Discourse can teach us the moral lesson of respect in the communicative culture of the society of the research area.

The linguistic function of the Discourse in 4.4(h) is similar to the Discourse in 4.4(g) above. The Discourse in 4.4(h) tells us that addressing participants without the use of honorifics is not allowed in *wəddi mən*. It is considered as disrespectful when participants do not use the honorifics in their communication. After their marriage, the bridegroom and the bride are addressed using the honorific expressions. This context indicates that the participants in *wəddi mən* should be trained in using honorific terms to address the bridegroom and the bride.

<b>4.4 (i) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>እግዚአብሔር</b>	<b>ይሃበለይ</b>
təsatəfti:	[ʔigziʔaβher]	yi-[haβ]-ə-llə-y
Participants:	God	3MSG-JUSS.give-3MSG-BEN-1SG

*Literally:* May God give it you for me.

*Functionally:* Thank you, for you penalized me.

This is a thanking Discourse used by the penalized participants in response to the penalty in the game of *wæddi mæn*.

In the communicative context of *wæddi mæn*, the participants are expected to say thank you in response to whatever penalty is exerted on them. This Discourse can teach the participants honesty in admitting mistakes. Therefore, no matter how immense penalty exerted on the penalized participants, they are expected to say thank you in the communicative rules of *wæddi mæn*.

**4.4 (j) ተሳተፍቲ፡ ገንዘብም**  
təsətəfti: [gənzəβ]-om  
Participants: Money-2MHON.POS

*Literally:* Your money.

*Functionally:* You are welcome.

This Discourse is a response to the thanking expression in 4.4(i). The intention of the speakers while they use the Discourse in 4.4(i) above, they are to mean that the penalty deserves the participant who is getting penalized in the context of *wæddi mæn*.

In normal communication, the expression 'amen' can be used in response to the expression 'thank you'. In the context of *wæddi mæn*, the expression in 4.4 (j) is used instead of 'amen'. The reason is illustrated below in 4.4 (k). The expression ገንዘብም [gənzəβ]-om which means, "Your money" pragmatically (functionally) reflects that the penalty is what the participants deserve, as we have seen above, in the Discourse of *wæddi mæn*.

<b>4.4 (k) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>አሜን</b>	<b>የቅፅዕ</b>
təsatəfti:	ʔamen	y-[əχ'is's'is]
Participants:	Amen	3MSG-IMPF.penalize

*Literally:* To say 'amen' makes someone be penalized.

*Functionally:* If you say amen in response to thank you, you are vulnerable to penalty. Say "Your money", which means, 'It is what you deserve' in the context of *wəddi mən*.

In response to the expression thank you, the rule in *wəddi mən*, does not allow the participants to react by saying 'amen'. They are expected to respond by saying ገንዘብም [gənɣəb]-om which literally means 'your money' and functionally means 'It is what you deserve'. [See in 4.4(j) above.]

Thus, the context of Discourses in 4.4(j and h) reflect that penalizing one who goes against the norms of the speech community is a norm; it is not a business of thanking and reacting for thanking. Therefore, the response for the Discourse, "Thank you" would be, "It is what you deserve", which means the interlocutor is being penalized because of going against the norms of the speech community in the research area. Thus, we can say this context reflects the notion of correctiveness.

<b>4.4 (l) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ድራር</b>	<b>ምርሳዕ</b>	<b>የቅፅዕ</b>
təsatəfti:	dirar	mirissaʔ	y-[əχ'is's'is]
Participants:	dinner	to forget	3MSG-IMPF.penalize

*Literally:* Forgetting dinner makes you be penalized.

*Functionally:* Forgetting to ask to penalize for the one who orders penalty makes one be penalized.

The penalty executor is expected to ask for dinner which functionally means penalty when other participants drop two white and two black tossing-sticks in the game of *wəddi mən*.

Functionally, the Discourse **ድረር** /dirar/ which means 'dinner' refers to the penalty when two blacks and two whites are dropped in the game. Therefore, the penalty executor is expected to ask for 'dirar' which means 'dinner' when any participant drops two blacks and two whites in the game of *wəddi mən*.

The Discourse in 4.4 (l) means the penalty executor must be keen to see what is going on in the game. In this case, if the penalty executor is not conscious of the tossing probability that two whites and two blacks are dropped, he is penalized for it. This context can teach the participants how to be keen and consistent with some assigned social responsibilities in the community.

<b>4.4 (m) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ወርቂ</b>	<b>ምንጻፍ</b>	<b>ምትካል</b>	<b>የቆፅፅ</b>
təsətəfti:	wərk'i	mins'af	mitkal	y-[əχ'is's'iʕ]
Participants:	gold	carpet	to plant	3MSG-IMPF.penalize

*Literally:* Planting the tossing- sticks on the golden carpet makes one be penalized.

*Functionally:* Piercing the leather carpet (kip) of the honeymoon room by the tossing-sticks (ṣətəta) makes one be penalized.

When the participants put the tossing-stick pointed to the kip, they are considered that they are damaging the property of the honeymoon room and are penalized for that mistake. The term **ወርቂ ምንጻፍ** /wərk'i mins'af/ signifies how elevated values the belongings of the honeymooner have. Though the honeymooner sleep on simple **ማእሲ** /maʔsi/ 'kip' made up of animal skin, the participants do not call it kip. They rather use high value signifying term **ወርቂ ምንጻፍ** /wərk'i mins'af/ which literally means 'a golden carpet' in the context of the game of *wəddi mən*.

In *wəddi mən*, destroying the properties of the honeymoon room in particular and the properties of the house, in general, are strictly criticized. Therefore, rules that prevent people from doing so are set as it is illustrated in 4.4(m) above.

<b>4.4 (n) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ወርቁ</b>	<b>ሽተታ</b>	<b>ዘቐበለ</b>	<b>ይቐግዕ</b>
təsatəfti:	wərk'i	šətəta	z-[əχ'əbbəl]-ə	yi-[χ'is's'aŋ]
Participants:	gold	tossing-stick	REL-PRF.accept-3MSG	3MSG-PASS-IMPF.penalize

*Literally:* The one who accepts the tossing-stick is p penalized.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, one should not take the tossing-stick from others' hands to toss.

This Discourse means that unnecessary help makes somebody lazy.

<b>4.4 (o) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ወርቁ</b>	<b>ሽተታ</b>	<b>ዝተቐበለ</b>	<b>ይቐግዕ</b>
təsatəfti:	wərk'i	šətəta	zi-tə-[χ'əbbəl]-ə	yi-[χ'is's'aŋ]
Participants:	gold	tossing-stick	REL-PASS-PRF.accept-3MSG	3MSG-PASS-IMPF.penalize

*Literally:* The one who made others accept the tossing-stick from his hand to toss is penalized.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, giving the tossing-stick to other participant causes penalty because when they unnecessarily help others, it is considered as making somebody lazy and other-reliant.

<b>4.4 (p) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ዕጋብ</b>	<b>ዶ</b>	<b>ጥምየት</b>	<b>ምስታት</b>	<b>እዩ</b>
təsatəfti:	[s'igaβ]	do	t'imyet	miñitat	ʔiyy-u
Participants:	satisfaction	Q	hunger	to ask	IMPF.be-3MSG

*Literally:* It is asking satisfaction or hunger.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, the one being penalized is asked whether he/ she is well penalized or not.

This Discourse is used to make sure that the participants are getting properly penalized.

No power abuse is allowed in *wəddi mən*; the penalty executor should penalize neither below nor above the standard of the penalty weight as per the penalty commander has ordered. The Discourse in 4.4(p) is a question of reassurance whether the participant is penalized up to the order of the penalty commander or not.

If it is not the way it is ordered, the executor is penalized for it in turn. This indicates fairness and proper power exercise in the communicative context of *wəddi mən*. This power exercise could represent the way the speech community fairly and effectively implement power exercise. Moreover, this Discourse implies that no matter what power someone has, if a participant commits some mistakes, he/ she gets penalized for it.

<b>4.4 (q) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ፅጋብ</b>	<b>ተኣዚዙ</b>	<b>ዘጥመዩ</b>	<b>ይቕጥቦ</b>
təsətəfti:	[s'igaβ]	tə-ʔazziz-u	z-ət'məy-ə	yi-[χ'is's'aŋ]
Participants:	satisfaction	PASS-PRF.order-3MSG	REL-PRF.hungry-3MSG	3MSG-IMPF.penalize

*Literally:* The one who made someone hungered is penalized.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, the one who penalized less than expected is penalized.

The executor of the penalty has no power to lessen the penalty weight which the penalty commander has already ordered. As it is expressed in the Discourse of the rule above in 4.4(q), the executor is penalized in turn for minimizing the penalty in weight and kind.

<b>4.4 (r) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ጥመዩት</b>	<b>ተኣዚዙ</b>	<b>ዘፅገበ</b>	<b>ይቕጥቦ</b>
təsətəfti:	t'im'yət	tə-ʔazziz-u	z-[əs'gəβ]-ə	yi-[χ'is's'aŋ]
Participants:	hunger	PASS-PRF.order-3MSG	REL-PRF.satisfy-3MSG	3MSG-IMPF.penalize

*Literally:* The one who satisfied someone is penalized.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, someone who penalizes more than expected is penalized.

This Discourse contextually means that no abuse of power is allowed in the Discoursal practice of *wəddi mən*.

As the penalty executor cannot have the power to lessen the weight of the penalty, he/ she cannot have the power to over-penalize the participant concerned either. The Discourse in 4.4(r) above functionally means this context in *wəddi mən*.

**4.4 (s) ተሳተፍቲ፡ ዋይ ኣይ-በሃል?**  
təsətəfti: way ʔay-yi-bbəhal-in  
Participants: ah! NEG-3MSG-IMPF.say-NEG

*Literally:* 'Ah!' is not said.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, to utter a sound of complaint in response to the painful penalty brings about additional penalty.

No matter how immense penalty is exerted on any participant concerned, he/ she should not complain of it. The Discourse of the rule in 4.4(s) functionally means that the participants in *wəddi mən* are not allowed to utter the grumbling sound ዋይ /way/ which means 'ah!' in the context of the game of *wəddi mən* while getting penalized.

In general, the Discourses of rules presented in 4.4(g-s) are set to be obeyed by all the participants in the sociolinguistic practice of *wəddi mən*. In this case, any participant who disobeys (violates) the contextually universal rules in that particular context is subject to penalties by the mass participants in *wəddi mən*; the whole participants, with their hands, slap the one who abused the rules on his/ her back.

Some of the rules specified above can cause penalties not because the participants disobey the rules but because they are procedural rules in the game of *wəddi mən*. For example, provided that any participant tosses two striped tossing-sticks up and two un-striped tossing-sticks up, he/ she is subject to a penalty known as 'dinner' in *wəddi mən*.

The word ደረር /dirar/ which literally means 'dinner' refers to a penalty requested by the penalty executor (contextually, black) and ordered by the penalty commander (contextually, white). In this context, the word that means dinner refers to the one who asks

for it is hungry because no rule is violated, and as result he/ she has not penalized for certain minutes.

Therefore, I can say when a participant is penalized because of tossing two striped and two un-striped tossing-sticks up, that penalty is simply a fulfillment for the penalty executor not to be hungry for penalizing other participants in the game of *wæddi mæn*. That is why the participants call it 'dirar' which literally means dinner.

Generally, the Discourses of rules in *wæddi mæn* touch several sociolinguistic practices such as Discourses of rules for power assignment, social norms, and social criticisms. The participants try to support some social practices and criticize some others through the Discourses of rules in the oral game of *wæddi mæn*.

The Discourses of rules in 4.4(a-c) refer to the power assignment and power distribution among the participants in *wæddi mæn*. The power is socially assigned to the participants based on the face of tossing-sticks the participants drop. If a participant tosses the sticks of the game and probably gets the white surface of all the tossing-sticks up, he/ she is the commander of the dinner which literally means commander of the penalty.

On the other hand, if a participant tosses the sticks of the game, and probably gets the black stripped surface of all the tossing-sticks up, he/ she asks for dinner (literally- that participant is a penalty executor). While somebody drops the tossing-stick and gets two black stripped surfaces of the tossing-sticks up and two white surfaces of the tossing-sticks up, he/ she serves dinner (literally- gets penalized).

The rules in 4.4(d-f and m); as examples, teach the hosting participants in particular and the visiting participants in general about the social responsibilities and practices like how to welcome and treat guests, and how to handle indoor (honeymoon room in this case) properties.

Moreover, the Discourses of *wæddi mæn* in 4.4(g-k) express the way the visiting and the hosting participants learn: how to respect (honorify) others, how to use polite expressions

like thank you, and how to positively react their interlocutors. To make their talk so polite the participants are expected to use the honorific terms in this regard.

In *wæddi mæn*, there are also Discourses of rules that criticize some social practices which are socially condemned in the research area. The Discourses of rules in 4.4(l, n, and o); for instance, reveal how laziness is not socially accepted in the research area of this study. As mentioned above it is not allowed for the participants in *wæddi mæn* to give and take the tossing-sticks for and from somebody's hand to toss. The reason for these rules is that it makes people lazy when taking from and giving to someone the tossing-sticks to toss by which the participants may also entertain laziness.

Moreover, the Discourses of rules in 4.4(p-r) are set so that the participants can learn how to decide social penalties and how to be as consistent as the penalty weight that has already been decided. Surprising of all, in *wæddi mæn* no matter how severe penalty is exerted on the participants, they cannot complain of the severity of the penalty, as illustrated in the Discourse of the rule in 4.4(s) above.

## 4.5 Discourses of Penalties

In *wəddi mən*, there are some penalties which are specified for the disobedience of the rules set. The weight of the penalties can be qualitative (in kind) or quantitative (in number). The types of penalties are determined by the participants who hold the power of the sentence. As Discourses of penalty, the following linguistic expressions are used in *wəddi mən*.

### 4.5.1 Discourses of Penalties in Kind (Qualitative Penalty Weight)

<b>4.5.1(a)</b>	<b>ተሳተፍቲ፡</b>	<b>ብዘይ</b>	<b>ጭራን</b>	<b>ከበሮን</b>	<b>ተልሃይ</b>
	təsətəfti:	bizəy	č'ira-n	[kəβəro]-n	təlhay-y
	Participants:	without	č'ira-CONJ	drum-CONJ	IMP.dance-2MSG

*Literally:* Dance without 'č'ira' (local string musical instrument) and drum.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, best men who misbehave are penalized to dance without music or musical instrument.

In normal situations, it is so funny for people to dance in a context which is free of musical instruments and traditional songs. In the context of the game of *wəddi mən*, when the best misbehave, they are penalized to dance with no musical instruments. The purpose of the penalty is either for fun or to psychologically harass the best men misbehaving because they feel embarrassed of dancing with no musical instruments 'č'ira' and drum which are commonly known in the research area.

It looks like craziness when people dance without music and musical instruments. In the context of *wəddi mən*, the participants may penalize the best men to dance with no music and musical instruments such as drum and č'ira (local string musical instrument). The best men feel embarrassed when they are penalized like the Discourse in 4.5.1(a). Usually, the penalty in 4.5.1(a) is exerted on the best.

<b>4.5.1(b) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ግልፆ</b>	<b>ደርፊ</b>	<b>ይድረፍ</b>
təsatəfti:	gilya	dərfi	yi-drəf
Participants:	servant	song	3MSG-JUSS.sing

*Literally:* Let a servant sing a song.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, the best men who misbehave are penalized to sing any song and entertain the honeymooners and visitors.

In this Discourse, the participants comment on the bridegroom to penalize the best that they should sing a song for their misdeeds.

When the best men misbehave, the participants may ask the bridegroom that they (best men) should sing some traditional (local) songs. In *wəddi mən*, if someone had been the best man several times before, he can sing a song without feeling shy; however, we can commonly observe some best men feeling shy of singing a song as far as they are best men for their first time. The visiting participants; therefore, try to find out who is the person who has been the best man for his first time, and penalize him the Discourses in 4.5.1(a and b).

<b>4.5.1(c) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ጎይታ</b>	<b>ራእሲ</b>	<b>ግልፆ</b>	<b>ዓው</b>	<b>ኢሉ</b>	<b>ይፀውዕ</b>
təsatəfti:	goyta	raʔsi	gilya	ʕaw	ʔil-u	yi-s'əwwiʕ
Participants:	sir	head	servant	loud	PRF.say-3MSG	3MSG-JUSS.call

*Literally:* Sir the head, let a servant call loudly.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, best men who misbehave are penalized to loudly call the names of old neighbors by names.

In the research area, it is so embarrassing to call old people by their names. Those who call some elderly people by their names are socially condemned. Anyone in the society can react to them by saying, "Is he/ she your friend to whom you dare call by name?". Some people can even curse them for committing this social wrong because it is against the

social norm to call old people by their names. To call them, one has to use their first child's name. Thus, in *wæddi mæn*, the best men who have done something wrong in the honeymoon room are penalized to call some old neighbors by name.

This kind of penalty is not an easy penalty weight because the best men who are subject to the penalty type in 4.5.1(c) feel psychologically humiliated because they are fear of social criticism and may be cursed. Though it is against the social norm which brings about social criticism, the best men who have misbehaved do it because it is a rule for the best men in the game of *wæddi mæn* to fulfill what the visiting participants penalize them to do.

<b>4.5.1 (d) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ግልፆ</b>	<b>ኢድ</b>	<b>የሕፁብ</b>
təsatefti:	gilya	ʔid	y-[əhəs's'if]
Participants:	servant	Hand	3MSG-JUSS.wash

*Literally:* Let a servant wash hand.

*Functionally:* In *wæddi mæn*, best men who misbehave are penalized to wash the hands of the bridegroom, bride, other best men, bridesmaid, and all the visiting participants.

In this Discourse, the participants functionally mean the best man, as penalty; wash the hands of all the participants in the game of *wæddi mæn*.

<b>4.5.1(e) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ግልፆ</b>	<b>ብሽተታ</b>	<b>ይወቅፅ</b>
təsatefti:	gilya	bi-šətəta	yi-[wwəχ'aʕ]
Participants:	servant	INS-tossing-stick	3MSG-JUSS.hit

*Literally:* Let a servant be hit with tossing-stick.

*Functionally:* In *wæddi mæn*, best men who misbehave are hit with a tossing-stick as penalty.

As a form of penalty, the participants of the game use this Discourse to comment on the bridegroom that the best men misbehaved should be beaten by single or bundle of the playing-sticks.

When some best men misbehave in the honeymoon room, they are physically penalized. The visiting participants request the bridegroom so that the best man who is doing something wrong in the honeymoon room is penalized by beating him with a single or the bundle of the tossing-stick in *wəddi mən*. Functionally, the Discourse in 4.5.1(e) expresses this situation in *wəddi mən*.

<b>4.5.1(f) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ግልፆ</b>	<b>ብአድ</b>	<b>ይወቅዕ</b>
təsətəfti:	gilya	bi-ʔid	yi-[wwəχ'aʕ]
Participants:	servant	INS-hand	3MSG-JUSS.hit

*Literally:* Let a servant be hit with a hand.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, best men who misbehave are slapped on their face or back.

The penalty executor can penalize the best men acting wrong in the honeymoon room in *wəddi mən*. This penalty weight is done by slapping the best man on his back. The Discourse in 4.5.1(f) functionally means this context in the game of *wəddi mən*.

<b>4.5.1(g) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ግልፆ</b>	<b>አድ</b>	<b>መን</b>	<b>ብላዕሊ</b>	<b>ይወቅዕ</b>
təsətəfti:	gilya	ʔid	mən	bilaʕli	yi-[wəχ'aʕ]
Participants:	servant	Hand	who	over	3MSG-JUSS.hit

*Literally:* Let a servant be hit with whose hand is over.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, best men who misbehave are hit with a bundle of all the participants' hands layered one on another, and they are penalized until they know whose hand is over the rest of the hands.

The participants ask the best man, "Whose hand is overall the rest of the hands?". In this case, if the best man knows whose hand is at the top in the layer, he is freed of the penalty; otherwise the participants keep asking and hitting him until he recognizes whose hand is on top of the hands layering one on the others'.

The Discourse of penalty in 4.5.1(g), expresses a massive and immense weight of penalty. All the participants put their palms one over the other and hit hard on the back of the penalized. They repeatedly hit hard again and again until the penalized participant recognizes whose hand is on top of the others. This implies the community gets united not only to work hand in hand, but also to penalize someone behaving bad and deviating from their social norms.

<b>4.5.1(h) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ጎይታ</b>	<b>ራእሲ</b>	<b>ግልያ</b>	<b>ብጫማ</b>	<b>ይገረፍ</b>
təsatəfti:	goyta	raʔsi	gilya	bi-č'amma	yi-ggərəf
Participants:	sir	head	servant	INS-shoe	3MSG-JUSS.lash

*Literally:* Sir head, let the servant be lashed with a shoe.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, when best men misbehave, they are lashed with a shoe as penalty.

The penalty executor can also slap the best men who are acting irresponsibly in the honeymoon room and around by lashing on their back using shoes. This kind of penalty is so painful and not that much common in the game of *wəddi mən*.

<b>4.5.1(i) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ጎይታ</b>	<b>ራእሲ</b>	<b>ግልያ</b>	<b>ይትክሰሩልና</b>
təsatəfti:	goyta	raʔsi	gilya	yi-tti-ʔasər-u-l-na
Participants:	sir	head	servant	3MSG-PASS-JUSS.tie-3MHON-BEN-1PL

*Literally:* Sir head, let the servant be tied.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, when best men misbehave, they are tied tightly against the pillar of the honeymoon room.

The participants, in this context, use the Discourse to comment on the bridegroom that the misbehaving best men should be tightly tied on the pillar of the honeymoon room.

When we look at the data in 4.5.1(a-i), they are the Discourses used in *wæddi mæn* to penalize the best men. As soon as the visiting participants found some faults in the honeymoon room, they accuse the best men. Then, the bridegroom approves the accusation which is forwarded from the participants. In this case, it is the visiting participants who specify the penalty types and ask the bridegroom for confirmation. The penalty types mentioned above can be psychological or physical.

The Discourses in 4.5.1(a-d) are uttered to psychologically penalize the best men. For example, they feel shy while dancing without any music or musical instrument while singing a song when having no interest to sing a song, to wash the hand of all the participants around. Worst of all, they feel embarrassed to call elderly people who are neighbors to the honeymooners' family by their names. The best men feel afraid of being cursed by the old people for calling them by their names. In the research area, people cannot call elderly people by their names; they instead use the name of one of their (usually first) son/daughter. Then, when the participants penalize the best men to call elderly people by name, it could make psychological fear or penalty not to be cursed by the elderly people in the community.

The data in 4.5.1(e-h) are, on the other hand, Discourses that cause physical penalties on the best men. While misbehaving, the best men can be: beaten by the tossing-sticks, slapped by an individual's hand or collective hands of the participants of the game. [Look at the Discourses in 4.5.1(e-h).] The other physical penalty, as mentioned in the Discourse in 4.5.1(i), is that the best men can be tied their hands against the pillar of the honeymoon room.

<b>4.5.1(j) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ጎይታ</b>	<b>ራእሲ</b>	<b>ንእምባይተ</b>	<b>ልእልቲ</b>	<b>ይስዓምወን</b>
təsətəfti:	goyta	raʔsi	ni-[ʔimbəyətə]	liʔilliti	yi-sʕam-w-ən
Participants:	sir	head	ACC-madam	princess	3MHON-JUSS.kiss-3MHON-3FHON

*Literally:* Sir the head, kiss madam princess.

*Functionally:* Dear bridegroom, please, kiss your princess (bride) on her cheeks and forehead.

This is a Discourse of penalty deserved to the bridegroom when misbehaving. The participants intend this penalty to make the bridegroom shy of openly kissing his bride in front of people.

In *wəddi mən*, when the bridegroom misbehaves, he is penalized to kiss his princess (bride) on her cheek. This could be easy for some bridegrooms and difficult for some other bridegrooms because it is not socially common for people to kiss their brides (wives) in open-air; they feel shy and afraid of social criticism to do it in public contexts.

In the society of the research area, the bridegrooms prefer to kiss their brides on the cheek because it is the softest part of the face of their brides; therefore, they feel so romantic when they kiss on their cheek. It is out of the norm for one to kiss his/ her spouse's lip in the society of the research area. It is not normal to practice lip kissing in the context of *wəddi mən*, as well because the activities practiced in the game of the *wəddi mən* are the reflections of the norms of the societal domain in the research area.

<b>4.5.1(k) ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>እምባይተ</b>	<b>ልእልቲ</b>	<b>ጎይታ</b>	<b>ራእሲ</b>	<b>ይስዓምአም</b>
təsətəfti:	[ʔimbəyətə]	liʔilliti	ni-goyta	raʔsi	yi-siʕam-a-om
Participants:	madam	princess	ACC-Sir	head	3MHON-JUSS.kiss-3FHON-3MHON

*Literally:* Madam princess- kiss your Sir, the head.

*Functionally:* When the bride misbehaves in the game of *wəddi mən*, she is penalized to kiss her bridegroom's forehead.

The participants penalize the bride to kiss her bridegroom as it is in the Discourse in 4.5.1(k) above. If the bride kisses her bridegroom on part of the face other than the forehead, it is considered as a fault. The best man next to the bride is penalized for the fault of kissing she has done. Finally, the participants ask her to correct it and kiss her bridegroom on the forehead. The reason is that the society of the research area expresses the deepest love they have to their relatives or family member by kissing on the forehead.

**4.5.1(l) አዛዚ:**            ስዳጋ            ንወዓለ  
                          ጎazzazi:        ናidaga        ni-wəʕal-ə  
                          Commander:    Market        REL-PRF.spend a day-3MSG

*Literally:* The one which was in the market of the day

*Functionally:* The same in weight as the previous penalty.

The speaker's intention in this Discourse is that the commander is ordering the penalty executor to penalize a participant exactly the same weight in quality and quantity with the preceding penalty. This Discourse is intentionally used by the penalty commander to make sure that the penalty remembers the preceding penalty in kind and number.

The Discourse in 4.5.1(l) is used in *wəddi mən* to test the short term memory of the participants how they memorize what recently happened in the game. If the penalty executor didn't remember what had penalized before, he/ she is penalized for that. Therefore, the participants have to be vigilant to memorize the recent penalty weight; otherwise, they could be subject to penalty in turn.

**4.5.1(m) አዛዚ:**            ማሕራ  
                          ጎazzazi:            maħra  
                          Commander:        free

*Literally:* free of charge

*Functionally:* The participant is free of penalty as ordered by the commander.

This Discourse functionally means that someone is free of charge as of the will of the commander of the game.

The Discourse in 4.5.1(m) expresses when one is not penalized as of the penalty orderer (white, in this case) in the context of *wəddi mən*. This Discourse is used by the orderer (white) when the penalty executor asks for dinner to penalize strange people (guests of guests) and relatively elderly people. As illustrated above, the orderer says, "ማሕራ /maħra/" which contextually means leave them in-penalized (free).

#### 4.5.2 Discourses of Penalties in Number (Quantitative Penalty Weight)

In the previous section, the penalty weights illustrated are in kind, not a numeral. In *wəddi mən*, the participants can also use Discourses of penalty in number. The numbers can be cardinal; however, most of the time, the participants are observed to use religious commemorative dates to metaphorically represent the penalty weights in number. In *wəddi mən*, the executor asks the commander of the game by saying *ድራረይ* /dirar-əy/ which means, 'I need my dinner' and functionally means, 'I need to know the weight of the penalty'. The following Discourses can illustrate this context.

<b>4.5.2(a) አዛዚ:</b>	<b>ሓደ</b>	<b>ውቅዒት</b>
ʔazzazi:	ħadə	wik'kiʕit
Commander:	one	beat

*Literally:* one beat

*Functionally:* A slap on one's back as a penalty

In the Discourse above in 4.5.2(a), the commander of the penalty is ordering the executor to exert just a beat on the back of the penalized participants.

<b>4.5.2(b) አዛዢ:</b>	<b>ክልተ</b>	<b>ውቅዲት</b>
ጎazzazi:	killittə	wik'k'iʕit
Commander:	two	beat

*Literally:* two beats

*Functionally:* Two slaps one's back as penalty

The Discourse in 4.5.2(b) functionally means that the penalty commander is ordering the penalty executor to beat the penalized participant twice on his/ her back. The penalty executor can beat using either his/ her hand or using the bundle of the tossing-sticks as per the request of the penalty commander.

<b>4.5.2(c) አዛዢ:</b>	<b>ሰለሰተ</b>	<b>ውቅዲት</b>
ጎazzazi:	sələstə	wik'k'iʕit
Commander:	three	beat

*Literally:* three beats

*Functionally:* Three slaps on one's back a penalty

As illustrated in the Discourses in 4.5.2(a & b), the expression in 4.5.2(c) also means that the commander is ordering the penalty executor to beat the penalized participant three beats with his/ her hand or using the bundle of the tossing-sticks.

In *wəddi mən*, when best men misbehave, they are penalized to be beaten with a slap on their back. The Discourses in 4.5.2(a-c) illustrate the penalty weight in a numeral of cardinal numbers (1, 2, 3 ...). Three beats are not the highest numeral penalty weight, but it can be beyond.

The weight of the penalty depends on the physical strength of the participants penalized. Some of the participants are usually strong enough to endure penalty weight up to thirty beats. On the other hand, some little aged and female participants are penalized usually for not more than ten beats.

As we can see above, the commander of the game can use cardinal numbers (1, 2, 3 ...) to specify the weight of the penalty. What is surprising here is that it is common to specify the numbered penalty weight not by direct cardinal numbers, but by the dates of the spiritual commemorations. The purpose of using these dates is simply to test and confuse the executor if he/ she knows the exact date of the spiritual commemorations in the community. The following Discourse can illustrate this communicative context.

<b>4.5.2(d) አዛዚ:</b>	<b>አቦና</b>
ጎazzazi:	ጎabbo-na
Commander:	Father-1PL.POS

*Literally:* our Father

*Functionally:* A slap on one's back as a penalty to reflect monotheism

The literal meaning of the Discourse in 4.5.2(d) is our father, but functionally, the participants mean they have only one creator. The gender of the Discourse as illustrated in the Discourse is masculine which signifies the participants have only one God. Philosophically speaking, the Discourse in 4.5.2(d) functionally means the participants are monotheistic (believers in one God).

Therefore, the penalty executor, according to the Discourse in 4.5.2(d), is expected to beat one. If he/ she beats wrong may be two, three or ..., the participants affirm him/ her, "how many Fathers do we have?". This, functionally, means they are asking him/ her if he/ she knows the number of God(s) they believe in.

<b>4.5.2(e) አዛዚ:</b>	<b>ኣብርሃ</b>	<b>ወኣፅብሃ</b>
ጎazzazi:	[ጎaፊriha]	wə-[ጎas'ፊiha]
Commander:	'Abraha'	CONJ-'Atsibha'

*Literally:* 'Abraha' and 'Atsibha'

*Functionally:* Four slaps on ones back about the commemoration date of St. 'Abraha' and 'Atsibha'.

The date on which St. 'Abraha and Atsibha' are commemorated is four; therefore, the commander uses the number purposefully to relate it to this date of commemoration.

<b>4.5.2(f) አዛዚ:</b>	<b>ጎብር</b>
ጎazzazi:	[gaፊir]
Commander:	St. 'Gabir'

*Literally:* 'Gabir'

*Functionally:* Five slaps on one's back about the commemoration date of 'Gabir' the Father

Locally, the date of commemoration for 'Abba Gabir' is on the fifth day of every month. Then, the participants use the above in 4.5.2(f) Discourse to refer to this occasion.

<b>4.5.2(g) አዛዚ:</b>	<b>መግደላዊት</b>
ጎazzazi:	məgdəlawit
Commander:	Mary Magdalene

*Literally:* Magdalene

*Functionally:* Six slaps on one's back about the commemoration date of St. Mary Magdalene.

The commander utters the Discourse in 4.5.2(g) above to attest the executor knows when to commemorate St. Mary Magdalene. If the penalty executor beats six times, that is right,

otherwise, he/ she is penalized for he/ she does not know the commemoration date of St. Mary Magdalene is.

**4.5.2(h) አዛዚ:** ስላሴ  
ጎazzazi: sillase  
Commander: Holy Trinity

*Literally:* Trinity

*Functionally:* Seven slaps on one's back about commemoration date of Holy Trinity

When the commander says, 'Trinity' in ordering the penalty, he/ she is ordering the penalty executor to beat seven times, and he/ she should act accordingly. Unless the executor beats seven times, it indicates he/ she does not know when the Holy Trinity is commemorated; therefore, this participant gets penalized for that.

**4.5.2(i) አዛዚ:** ሜካኤል  
ጎazzazi: mikaʔel  
Commander: St. Michael

*Literally:* Michael

*Functionally:* Twelve slaps on one's back about the commemoration date of St. Michael

The commander in *wəddi mən* uses the Discourse in 4.5.2(i) to make sure whether the penalty executor remembers/ knows the exact commemoration date of St. Michael.

**4.5.2(j) አዛዚ:** አቡነ አረጋዊ  
ገላጌዳዊ: [ገላጌዳዊ] ገላጌዳዊ  
Commander: 'Bishop Aregawi'

*Literally:* Bishop 'Aregawi'

*Functionally:* A penalty of fourteen slaps on one's back about the commemoration date of 'Aregawi the bishop'

One of the local commemoration dates is that of አቡነ አረጋዊ [ገላጌዳዊ] ገላጌዳዊ 'Bishop Aregawi'. The exact date is on every 14th day of the month. The commander; therefore, refers to the Discourse in 4.5.2(j) to attest to the penalty executor of the game if he/ she knows when it exactly is commemorated.

**4.5.2(k) አዛዚ:** ጭርቆስ  
ገላጌዳዊ: ሮ'ጻር'ዕስ  
Commander: St. 'Cherkos'

*Literally:* 'Cherkos'

*Functionally:* A penalty of fifteen slaps on one's back about the commemoration date of St. 'Cherkos'

On every 15th day of the month, the ritual date for St. Cherkos is commemorated. The commander in *wəddi mən* utters the Discourse in 4.5.2(k) about this ritual day.

**4.5.2(l) አዛዚ:** ኪዳነ ምህረት  
ገላጌዳዊ: kidanə mihret  
Commander: St. 'Kidane Mihret'

*Literally:* 'Kidane Mihret'

*Functionally:* A penalty of sixteen slaps on one's back about the commemoration date of St. 'Kidane Mihret'

The exact date of commemoration for St. 'Kidane Mihret' is on every 16th day of the month. The commander of the game utters the Discourse in 4.5.2(l) above to attest whether the penalty executor knows/ remembers the exact date of commemoration of St. 'Kidane Mihret'.

**4.5.2(m) አዛዚ:** አቡነ ገብረሚካኤል  
ገazzazi: [ገaβunə ɡəβrəmikaʔeɪ]  
Commander: Bishop 'Gebremichael'

*Literally:* Bishop 'Gebremichael'

*Functionally:* A penalty of seventeen slaps on ones back about the commemoration date of 'Gebremichael' the bishop

'Gebremichael' the bishop is one of the local saints whose commemoration date in on every 18th day of the month. Therefore, the commander of the game uses the Discourse in the 4.5.2(m) about this ritual context.

**4.5.2(n) አዛዚ:** ስባርያ አፅሞ  
ገazzazi: sibbarya ገas'mo  
Commander: 'Sibarya Atsimo'

*Literally:* 'Sibarya Atsimo'

*Functionally:* A penalty of eighteen slaps on one's back about the commemoration date of 'Sibarya Atsimo'

Locally, the date to commemorate the St. 'Sibarya Atsimo' is on every 18th day of the month. For the ritual awareness regarding the exact day, the commander attests the executor using the Discourse in 4.5.2(n).

**4.5.2(o) አዛዚ:** ብኣለ ማርያም  
ጎazzazi: biጎalə maryam  
Commander: Holiday of Mary

*Literally:* Holiday of Mary

*Functionally:* A penalty of twenty-one slaps on one's back about the commemoration date of St. Mary

The exact date of the commemoration for St. Mary is on every 21st day of the month. The commander of the game; therefore, refers to this context using the Discourse in 4.5.2(o).

**4.5.2(p) አዛዚ:** ጅወርግስ  
ጎazzazi: jiwərgis  
Commander: George

*Literally:* St. George

*Functionally:* A penalty of twenty-three slaps on one's back about the commemoration date of St. George

On every 23<sup>rd</sup> day of the month, the ritual day for St. George is commemorated. Therefore, the Discourse in 4.5(l.16) is used by the commander to refer to this ritual occasion. The immediate purpose of the commander is to make sure the executor knows/ remembers this exact date. If the executor fails to remember/ know when that exact date of commemoration is, he/ she is penalized for that. Indirectly, the participants are learning religious lessons.

**4.5.2(r) አዛዚ:** አቡነ ተክለሃይማኖት  
ገazzazi: [ገaβunə] [təχləhaymanot]  
Commander: Bishop 'Teklehaymanot'

*Literally:* Bishop 'Teklehaymanot'

*Functionally:* A penalty of twenty-four slaps on one's back about the commemoration date of Teklehaymanot the bishop

Every 24th of the month, the date of Bishop 'Teklehaymanot' is commemorated. The Discourse in 4.5.2(r) is used by the commander of the game to refer to the number 24 on which the ritual date of Bishop 'Teklehaymanot' is commemorated. If the executor does not penalize 24 beats, it implies that he does not when exactly the commemoration date of Bishop 'Teklehaymanot' is. Therefore, the commander orders penalty upon the executor in turn.

**4.5.2(s) አዛዚ:** መድሃኒዬ ዓለም  
ገazzazi: mēdhanyē ʕaləm  
Commander: World savior

*Literally:* World savior

*Functionally:* A penalty of twenty-seven slaps on one's back about the commemoration date of Jesus Christ, the savior of the world

The commemoration of Jesus Christ is on the 27th of every month. The commander attests the penalty executor of the game whether he/ she knows/ remembers the exact date of the commemoration of Jesus Christ, the savior of the world. The above Discourse in 4.5.2(s) is used by the commander of the penalty in the game to refer to this ritual context.

**4.5.2(t) አዛዚ:** አቡነ ይምአንታ  
 ጎazzazi: [ጎaፊsunə] yimጎanta  
 Commander: Bishop 'Yimanta'

*Literally:* Bishop Yimanta

*Functionally:* A penalty of twenty-eight slaps on one's back about the commemoration date of Yimanta the bishop

The commemoration date locally known as አቡነ ይምአንታ [ጎaፊsunə] yimጎanta Bishop 'Yimanta' is on the 28th date of the month. The date is a ritual commemoration date commonly known in Hawzen Wereda. It is the only church built for the Tabot of አቡነ ይምአንታ [ጎaፊsunə] yimጎanta the Bishop to the South-West of the Hawzen (Center of the Wereda) and one of the rock-hewn churches of Gheralta Mountains. In the context of *wəddi mən*, the commander uses the Discourse in 4.5.2(t) to refer to this ritual occasion.

**4.5.2(v) አዛዚ:** ብአለዚሀር  
 ጎazzazi: biጎalə zihər  
 Commander: Holiday of God

*Literally:* Holiday of God

*Functionally:* A penalty of twenty-nine slaps about the commemoration date of God

Locally, ብአለዚሀር /biጎalə zihər/ which means 'the Holiday of God' is commemorated on the 29th date of the month. Therefore, the commander of the game orders the executor of the penalty using the Discourse in 4.5.2(v).

Generally, as illustrated in the above data in 4.5.2(a-v), the participants of *wəddi mən* are observed to use penalty weight in number that refers to the commemoration dates of rituals. The participants use the above ritual Discourses for two reasons in the context of *wəddi mən*.

The immediate reasons for the participants to manipulate the number reference and to use these metaphoric Discourses to test the ritual knowledge of the participants and confuse the one who penalizes that he/ she slaps the one being penalized wrongly in number because he/ she does not know/ remember the exact commemoration date. When he/ she penalizes the wrong number of penalty weight, he/ she is penalized in turn.

That way, the participants learn some religious concerns such as when to commemorate their religious kinds and rituals. Surprisingly, they express number one by referring to their monotheistic belief that they have only one God as illustrated in 4.5.2(d) above.

To sum up, the above data in 4.5.1(a-n) and 5.4.2(a-v) are those mostly used Discourses of penalty weight in *wæddi mæn*. The penalties can be specific to best men, or universal to all the participants in the game. For example, the Discourses in 4.5.1(a-i) express the penalty weights attributed to the best men of the brides. In the data in 4.5.1(j & k) above, it is expressed that when the brides misbehave, they are penalized to kiss one another.

In the context of the game of *wæddi mæn*, the ways the bride kiss each other when misbehaving is presupposed. The bridegroom kisses his bride on her cheek and forehead. On the other hand, the bride kisses her bridegroom on the forehead. Therefore, the participants simply say kiss your bridegroom or bride without mentioning where to kiss. In the way of their kissing, the bridegroom and the bride reflect the cultural normality of their society. For example, they reflect that kissing on the lip is not common in the society of the research area. This fact is also reflected in the context of the game *wæddi mæn*.

In the data above in 4.5.1(l) and 4.5.2(a-v), the Discourses are used to express the penalty weight in a way that they test the short and long term memory of the participants in the game. Finally, the datum in 4.5.1(m) is a Discourse that frees certain participants from being penalized because they are distinguished guests or relatively elderly participants in the game of *wæddi mæn* by which the participants reflect the culture of respect for guests and elderly people.

Moreover, the above Discourses of penalty are denoted by in kind or in number (cardinal numbers ritual commemorations). The religious commemorations are used to test religious knowledge and increase now how about when to commemorate the religious holidays.

## 4.6 Discourses of Power Transfer

In *wəddi mən*, there is an assignment and distribution of power among the participants. The powers can be a power to sentence penalty, and the power to ask and implement the penalty. The power is assigned and distributed among the participants according to the probabilities of the tossing-sticks. It is not held permanently by a particular participant; it is rather rotational according to the probabilities of the side of the tossing-sticks.

As we have already explained above, if someone has tossed (dropped) and got the white sides of the tossing-sticks up, he/ she is assigned as a commander of the penalty. On the other hand, if someone has tossed and got the striped sides of the tossing-sticks up, he/ she is assigned as the one who asks for penalty and implements it. For more details, the following Discourses can illustrate the linguistic context when the power is taken by some other participant as a result of the tossing probabilities of the side of the sticks.

**4.6(a) ተሳታፊ:** መለጭዎ  
təsatafi: məlləč'-u-wo  
Participant: PRF.sweep-3MSG-3MHON

*Literally:* They have swept the power from other's hands.

*Functionally:* He has taken power.

The Discourse in 4.6(a) is uttered by any participants in the game to functionally mean one has taken either the power of penalty commander or the power of penalty executor. The Discourse has abruptness in its intonation. The participants say the Discourse loudly in a way it shows that power is suddenly taken out of the previous power holder.

**4.6(b) ተሳታፊ:** መለጭኦላ  
 təsatafi: məlləč'-a-ʔo  
 Participant: PRF.sweep- 3FHON-3MSG

*Literally:* They have swept it from the hand of the power holder.

*Functionally:* She has taken power.

The discourse in 4.6(b) has the same function as the one in 4.6(a) above. Both the Discourses in 4.6(a & b) show quick and swift power transfer in the game of *wəddi mən*.

The Discourses in 4.6(a & b) are used to mean that a certain participant has taken power from another participant by tossing black or white. If he/ she has tossed black, the participant takes the power of being a penalty executor, and if he/ she has tossed white tossing-stick, he/ she takes the power of being a commander (orderer). To show that the power is abruptly taken, the participants utter the Discourses in 4.6(a & b).

**4.6(c) ተሳታፊ:** ኣብኡ ይኹነሎም  
 təsatafti: [ʔaβʔu] yi-[χun]-əll-om  
 Participant: There 3MSG-JUSS.be-BEN-3MHON

*Literally:* Let it be there for them.

*Functionally:* Let the power be with you (the bridegroom); I do not want to seize it from you.

The Discourse in 4.6(c) is used when any participant has dropped the probability to take power from the bridegroom. He/ she expresses his/ her will that he/ she is not taking power from the bridegroom. The Discourse functionally means that the participants have great respect for the bridegroom and the bride because of the bridal power they have at that time. In *wəddi mən*, the bridegroom and the bride are assumed like they are the king and the queen respectively. The following Discourse in 4.6(d) is also related to this context.

<b>4.6(d) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>አብኡ</b>	<b>ይኹነለን</b>
təsatafi:	[ʔaβʔu]	yi-[xun]-əll-ən
Participant:	There	3MSG-JUSS.be-BEN-3FHON

*Literally:* Let it be there for them.

*Functionally:* Let the power be with you (the bride); I do not want to seize it from you.

In 4.6(c & d), the Discourses mean that the person who has got a chance to take power is letting the power to stay with the participant who has it. In the context of *wəddi mən*, the participants are observed not to take power from the bridegroom and bride.

This is to show the social power of the bridegroom and bride is considerable in the sociolinguistic practice of *wəddi mən*. In the *wəddi mən*, though the context not to take power is common if the power was with the bridegroom or the bride, it can also happen if the power were with some distinguished visiting participants. The reason is related to the special treatment and respect for the visiting participants.

<b>4.6(e) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ሕዳር</b>	<b>ይኹነሎም</b>
təsatafi:	ħidur	yi-[xun]-əll-om
participant:	stayed all night	3MSG-JUSS.be-BEN-3MHON

*Literally:* Let it stay all night for them.

*Functionally:* Let the power be with you all the time.

The Discourse in 4.6(e) is used to functionally mean the late power holder wishes the best of luck to the participant taking the power. This Discourse has the same functional meaning with Discourse in 4.6(f) below. The Discourse in 4.6(e) is addressed to the masculine honorific addressee; whereas the Discourse in 4.6(f) is addressed to the feminine honorific participant.

<b>4.6(f) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ሕዳር</b>	<b>ይኹነለን</b>
təsatafi:	ħidur	yi-[xun]-əll-ən
Participant:	stay all night	3MSG-JUSS.be-BEN-3FHON

*Literally:* Let it stay all night for them.

*Functionally:* Let the power be with you all the time.

The Discourse in 4.6(f) is used to address the wish to the feminine power taker by the late power holder. When power is transferred from participant to participant, there is a smooth and congratulatory power transfer. The Discourses in 4.6(e & f) illustrate the good wishes the participants give to the participants taking the power.

In general, in the Discourses in 4.6(e & f), the participants are blessing the power holder. The Discourses mean that the participant parting the power is wishing the participant taking the power to enjoy it.

<b>4.6(g) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>መባልዕቲ</b>	<b>ይግበረና</b>
təsatafi:	mə-[βaliʔ]-ti	yi-[gβər]-ə-na
participant:	RECP-eat-AGT	3MSG-JUSS.make-3MSG-1PL

*Literally:* May He make us co-eaters.

*Functionally:* We wish we will be good luck to each other in our power span.

When a new participant comes to power in *wəddi mən*, he/ she is expected to introduce himself/ herself with the other power holder. Then, both the new and the late power holder participants wish to be good luck to one another. The Discourse in 4.6(g) illustrates this context in the communicative setting of *wəddi mən*. This context portrays the co-operation and co-existence in exercising power in the speech community of the research area. In the context of *wəddi mən*, the power holders wish one another to go hand in hand in exercising power.

To sum up, the above Discourses in 4.6(a-g) functionally mean about the power exercise and distribution in the context of *wæddi mæn*. In this sociolinguistic context of *wæddi mæn*, the participants can learn about social power exercise in their community. They can learn that power is not to be permanently held by a single participant.

This context, in the game, implies the smooth transition of power exercise and power distribution in the community of this research area. Moreover, the above Discourses can show that power in the context of *wæddi mæn* is not usually taken from the bridegroom and the bride. This is simply to show them the respect that they are capable of holding and exercising power properly. All in all, in this sociolinguistic context, the participants can learn how to exercise and distribute social power as illustrated by the above Discourse.

## 4.7 Discourses of Reacting to the Violation of Rules

Affective appraisals are concerned with resources that describe people's emotional responses or their feelings (Young, 2011: 629). This section illustrates how the participants in *wəddi mən* reveal their emotional feeling out when some rules get violated in the game of *wəddi mən*. In the socio-linguistic practice of *wəddi mən* as already mentioned above in section 4.4, there are some binding rules set for the participants. The rules are not mere rules; they are kept obeyed throughout that oral game. If the rules are knowingly or unknowingly disobeyed by certain participants, any participant among them can react for the violation of the rule(s).

To react to the disobedience of the rules in *wəddi mən*, the following Discourses can be abruptly uttered by any participant of the game. The Discourses of reacting against the violation of rules in *wəddi mən* are in the form of interruption which can be linguistically expressed as conversation analysis. Without keeping their turn, any participant who is aware of the violations of rules can react (accuse) the participants against the rule of the game. The following Discourses illustrate this context.

To react to the disobedience of the rules in *wəddi mən*, the following Discourses can be abruptly uttered by any participant of the game. The Discourses of reacting against the violation of rules in *wəddi mən* are in the form of interruption which can be linguistically expressed as conversation analysis. Without keeping their turn, any participant who is aware of the violations of rules can react (accuse) the participants against the rule of the game. The following Discourses illustrate this context.

**4.7(a) ተሳታፊ:** ሸረፈት!  
təsatafi: šərəfət  
Participant: Chipping

*Literally:* Chipping is not allowed.

*Functionally:* We shouldn't demote or belittle others in the game of *wəddi mən*; we must use honorific terms.

When certain participants disrespect or use non-honorific terms, any of the participants in the game can react to them using the Discourse in 4.7(a) above. In this context, the participant is not reacting not only because he/ she is not being respected but because other participants are not being respected in the game of *wəddi mən*. This shows that something against the norm done on an individual is against the norm to all the participants in the game in particular in the whole society in general.

The Discourse in 4.7(a) is related to Appraisal theory. Appraisal theory, according to Young (2011: 629), a theory is used in Discourse analysis of interpersonal meaning, mainly, focusing on an attitude of people (people's stance/ position, and their opinion towards other people, objects and events). It could include the attitude to evaluate sub-systems of affect (emotional responses of security/ insecurity, happiness/ unhappiness, satisfaction/ dissatisfaction), appreciation and judgment.

The Discourse in 4.7(a) above is used to make sure the participants are respecting each other. ሽገራት! /šəɾəfət/ which literally means 'chipping' is functionally used to mean that the participant who utters non-honorific terms in *wəddi mən* is considered disrespectful to the other participants. Therefore, any participant who utters non-honorific terms in the game is reacted for committing ሽገራት! /šəɾəfət/ which literally means 'chipping' and functionally means that a participant is not using possible honorific terms in the game. Not using honorific terms to address the other participants is considered as belittling the addressee in the game which reflects the norm of the society in the research area.

In the game of *wəddi mən*, all the participants have the same role to react to some situations against the rules in the context. Any participant in the game who has noticed him/ her while using no honorific terms can react using this term. Here, the participants are evaluating the attitude of the participant who has used non-honorific terms towards the other participants in the context of *wəddi mən*.

**4.7(b) ተሳታፊ:** መንጠኒ  
təsatafi: mənt'əl-u-ni  
Participant: PRF.Snatch-3MHON-1SG

*Literally:* They snatched me

*Functionally:* You have dishonored/ belittled me and did not use an honorific pronoun to call me.

A participant can use the Discourse in 7.4(b) to blame the other participant is not properly addressing him/ her in the game. The Discourse is used to react that a participant is against the rule of honorifics. In the community of the research area, to address someone in honorific terms implies the language of respect; the addressees feel belittled when their interlocutors address the using non-honorific terms in their communications.

The Discourses in 4.7(a & b) have the same functional meaning in the context of *wəddi mən*. They are used to react to the violation of rules of honorific language use in that particular communicative context.

The Discourses in 4.7(a & b) imply that the participants are expected to use honorific languages (Discourses) as when they are talking to elderly people thought the participants are not elderly. They mean that marriage is the turning point to get acquainted with some social norms like honorific language use in their communication with interlocutors of the same age as them. Before marriage, people are not socially expected to use honorific Discourses while communicating with interlocutors of their age, but after marriage, it is socially wrong not to use honorific terms while talking to married interlocutors.

<b>4.7(c) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ናይ</b>	<b>ቀንጠብጠብ</b>
təsatafi:	nay	[k'ənt'əɪst'əɪ]
Participant:	of	Snitch

*Literally:* Of snitch

*Functionally:* A reaction to someone who wrongly takes side with the one to be penalized in *wəddi mən* (bias is not allowed in *wəddi mən*).

The game is expected to be a game of fairness and impartiality. The participant who sides with some participant unreasonably is criticized in *wəddi mən*. The *wəddi mən* when a participant irresponsibly sides with somebody is reacted using the Discourse in 4.7(c). In this context, the participants teach each other about the issue of the social impartiality of the community.

<b>4.7(d) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ናይ</b>	<b>ጠልቆምቆም</b>
təsatafi:	nay	t'əlk'omk'om
Participant:	of	licking

*Literally:* Of licking

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, some participants illegally take side much and violate the rules of *wəddi mən*; then, they are reacted to **ናይ ጠልቆምቆም** /nay t'əlk'omk'om/, meaning ' of licking'.

This Discourse is functionally related to the situation when people side with others for benefits such as bribery.

The Discourse in 4.7(d) functionally means that the participant is unreasonably taking side with other participants and going against the rules of *wəddi mən*. This reflects the moral rules and how to obey them during the game of *wəddi mən*.

The data in 4.7(c & d) are Discourses that contextually mean the participants are meddling (interfering) in a communicative context where it offends the rest of the participants and

wrongly favors to the participant being or to be penalized. Because this situation means favoritism to certain interlocutors, the participants consider it as disobedience of rules in *wəddi mən*, and they react to it using the Discourses in 4.7(c & d). Moreover, these reactions can teach us the participants should equally treat the other participants in the game means they are reflecting the culture of equality and fairness in their society as moral lessons.

**4.7(e) ተሳታፊ፡ ሓደ ክልተ ሰለስተ... ዓሰርተ**

təsatafi: ħadə killittə

sələstə... ፍassərtə

Participant: one, two, three...ten

*Literally:* counting one, two, three...ten

*Functionally:* When someone is late to drop the tossing-stick, he/ she is reacted to by counting one up to ten.

The Discourse in 4.7(e) can be treated in the notion of turn-taking (conversation analysis) in interactional communication. The Discourse means that the participant is not taking his/ her turn in dropping the sticks on time. Therefore, any participant who is aware of this context would count one up to ten to react to the participant whose turn is being delayed may be due to negligence or unconsciousness.

Thus, the participants are expected to keep coordinated with all the rest of the participants and alert in the game of *wəddi mən*. Furthermore, the Discourse in 4.7(e) can tell us the moral and lesson of punctuality in the context of *wəddi mən*. The reaction expressed in the Discourse above in 4.7(e) teaches the participant who did not drop the tossing-sticks on time should be punctual in the game and act accordingly.

**4.7(f) ተሳታፊ:**     ድራር     አሕሊፎም  
 təsatafi:     dirar     ?a-ñlif-om  
 Participant:     dinner     CAUS-PRF.pass-3MHON

*Literally:* He has made dinner pass.

*Functionally:* You were late to ask the commander for penalizing someone who dropped two stripped and two un-stripped tossing-sticks.

In normal communication or literally, this Discourse means that somebody has jumped dinner; however, this Discourse functionally indicates the penalty executor is not keen on what playing-stick is exactly getting dropped in the game.

Functionally, the Discourse in 4.7(f) means the penalty executor did not ask the commander for literally-dinner which functionally means penalty while he/ she would ask to. The participants are reacting using this Discourse to teach that anybody should be vigilant and responsible for what is going on. If they are not acting accordingly, this implies they are not the right participant to hold the power. We conclude that this Discourse portrays the notion of how to be a right person to hold and properly exercise the power (social or political) in the domain of their society at large.

**4.7(g) ተሳታፊ:**     ትእዛዝ     አሕሊፎም  
 təsatafi:     ti?izzaz     ?a-ñlif-om  
 Participant:     order     CAUS-PRF.pass-3MHON

*Literally:* They have made the order pass.

*Functionally:* You were late to notice that two striped and two un-stripped tossing-sticks were dropped.

In this context, the penalty executor has forgotten the already ordered penalty in the game of *wəddi mən*.

The executor can be out of consciousness while the commander has already ordered the penalty in the game. The participants use the Discourse in 4.7(g) to functionally mean the context of *wəddi mən*. In this context, the participants learn how to keep vigilant on what is going on around their surroundings.

<b>4.7(h) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ቅፅዓት</b>	<b>ተጋግዮም</b>
təsatafi:	k'is'ʕat	tə-gagiy-om
Participant:	penalty	PASS-PRF.wrong-3MHON

*Literally:* They wronged the penalty.

*Functionally:* You were wrong in penalizing the participant; may be below or beyond the order of the commander.

In this Discourse, the participants are accusing the penalty executor that he/ she has penalized wrong in kind and/ or in quantity in the game of *wəddi mən*.

Unknowingly, the penalty executor may penalize a participant exceeding or below the penalty weight ordered by the commander. The participants react to this kind of context because it is against the notion of fairness. In the context of the game of *wəddi mən*, the participants reflect the perception of the ethnography of communication in their society. What is already sentenced to certain participants by the commander should be properly implemented by the penalty executor of the game.

<b>4.7(i) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ቅፅዓት</b>	<b>አጥምዮም</b>
təsatafi:	k'is'ʕat	?a-t'miy-om
Participant:	penalty	CAUS-PRF.hunger-3MHON

*Literally:* They made the penalty hungered.

*Functionally:* You made the penalty less than the ordered penalty weight.

This Discourse is used by the participants in the game when the penalty executor has done it below the order of the commander of the penalty.

The participant is hungry for the penalty functionally means he/ she is not well penalized as per the commander has ordered. The Discourse in 4.7(i) is used to react that the executor has penalized the concerned participant below the standard.

<b>4.7(j) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ቅፅዓት</b>	<b>አፅጊባም</b>
təsatafi:	k'is'ʕat	ʔa-[s'giβ]-om
Participant:	penalty	CAUS-PRF.satisfy-3MHON

*Literally:* They made the penalty satisfied.

*Functionally:* You made the penalty more than the ordered penalty weight.

You over penalized someone. This Discourse functionally refers to the reaction of humiliation (over penalty) of any participant by the penalty executor in *wəddi mən*.

The Discourse in 4.7(j) is used to react to the executor when he/ she humiliates the penalized participants. The Discourse functionally means the penalty implemented upon a participant is over penalized.

In general, the Discourses in 4.7(e-j) refer to the reactions to the participants who were less concentrated or less conscious in the game. The Discourse in 4.7(e) is specifically used to react to the participants who are late to drop (toss) the tossing-sticks. Then, if one counted one-to-ten before the participants toss the stick, the chance to toss the sticks is given to the next role player and the preceding participant is penalized for being late to drop.

The Discourses in 4.7(f & g) are used to react when the participants are late or get less concentrated to ask for dinner (penalty) or to order the asked dinner (penalty). On the other hand, the Discourses in 4.7(h, I & j) are uttered to react to the participants when they wrongly penalize a participant in the game. These could be totally wrong penalty in weight. It can also happen when the penalty executors over penalize (satisfactory in this context) while they are ordered to penalize less, and vice-verse (hunger in the contextual Discourse of *wəddi mən*).

<b>4.7(k) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ሽተታ</b>	<b>አቅቢሎም</b>
təsatafi:	šətəta	ʔa-[χ'əbbil]-om
Participant:	Tossing-stick	CAUS-PRF.receive-3MHON

*Literally:* They made the tossing-stick received.

*Functionally:* He has handed the tossing-stick to the next participant which is wrong in *wəddi mən*.

This Discourse is used by the participants in *wəddi mən* to react to someone who hands the playing-sticks over to the next participant.

In *wəddi mən*, to hand over the tossing-sticks to the next participant is not allowed. The reason for this is because the participants believe it makes the participants lazy and dependent. They do not actively participate in the game if some other participant unnecessarily helps them. Therefore, they use the Discourse in 4.7(k) to react to the participants who hand over the tossing-sticks to the next participant in the game of *wəddi mən*.

<b>4.7(l) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ሽተታ</b>	<b>ተቅቢሎም</b>
təsatafi:	šətəta	tə-[χ'əbbil]-om
Participant:	Tossing-stick	PASS-PRF.receive-3MHON

*Literally:* They have received the tossing-stick received.

*Functionally:* He has received the tossing-sticks from another participant's hand which is wrong in *wəddi mən*.

In this context, the participants use this Discourse to functionally react to a participant receiving the playing-sticks from the preceding participant.

The Discourse in 4.7(k) is used to react to the participant who gives the tossing-sticks to the next participant in the game. The Discourse in 4.7(l), on the other hand, is used to react to the receiver.

The Discourses in 4.7(k & l) refer to the context where the participants react to laziness. The participants cannot hand in the tossing-sticks to or from other participants in the context of *wəddi mən*. From this context, we can infer that the participants portray the culture of condemning laziness in their speech community. Everyone is expected to play his/ her role in their turn without seeking for unnecessary help during the game.

<b>4.7(m) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ፃዕዳን</b>	<b>ፀሊምን</b>	<b>አይተፋለጡ?</b>
təsatafi:	s'aŋda-n	s'əllim-in	ʔay-tə-falət'-u-n
Participant:	white-CONJ	black-CONJ	NEG-RECP-PRF.know-3PL-NEG

*Literally:* White and black have not known each other.

*Functionally:* The Commander and the commanded have not known each other in the game of *wəddi mən*.

The participants utter this Discourse because the penalty commander and the penalty executor have not introduced each other.

In *wəddi mən*, the power holders should know each other so that they can practice the power in synchronization. Therefore, the late power holder should welcome and get introduced with the newly power holding participant.

The above Discourse in 4.7(m) tells us that when a participant takes the power of asking for order (dinner) by tossing blacks or commanding order (dinner) by tossing whites, he/ she is expected to get introduced with the corresponding power holder. When they fail to know one another, they are reacted to using the above Discourse in 4.7(m) and subject to penalty in *wəddi mən*.

**4.7(n) ተሳታፊ:** አየመስገኑን  
 təsatafi: ʔay-əməsgən-u-n  
 Participant: NEG-PRF.thank-3MHON-NEG

*Literally:* They have not thanked.

*Functionally:* In *wəddi mən*, the one who has been penalized must say thank you at the end of his/ her penalty.

If the participants being penalized in *wəddi mən* don't thank for being penalized, they are penalized again and again. Therefore, the participants can react using the Discourse in 4.7(n) when the ones being penalized do not thank the penalizing participants around. This penalty teaches the participants to learn and develop the culture of thanking. Moreover, when the participants thank for getting penalized, it creates a smooth interactional communication and sense of friendship in the game of *wəddi mən*. No concord problem is accepted in the game of *wəddi mən* because of the penalty exerted on the participants. In the ethnography of communication of the speech community of the research area, the culture of thanking is of great value in their interactional communications.

**4.7(o) ተሳታፊ:** ገፅ አልባብ  
 təsatafi: gəs' [ʔalβaβ]  
 Participant: face Missing

*Literally:* The face is missing.

*Functionally:* The bride has covered her face out of shyness.

Some brides get shy to see the visiting participants in *wəddi mən*.

The reason is that the brides may not be familiar with most of the visiting participants. Therefore, a bride could cover her face in her scarf out of shyness. That is why, the participants react to ገፅ አልባብ gəs' [ʔalβaβ] as the Discourse in 4.7(o) which literally means-face missing, and functionally means the bride has covered her face out of shyness.

Unless she uncovers her face immediately after the participants react in such a way, the best man sitting beside her is penalized on behalf of her. Because of the socio-linguistic power they have, the bridegroom and his bride are not penalized severely; the best men sitting beside them take the penalties respectively. It is only kissing that the brides and the bridegrooms can be penalized with.

In this context, the visiting participants would like to traditionally get introduced with the bride, especially; they want to know what the bride looks like- beautiful or not beautiful. Therefore, as a contextual rule in *wəddi mən*, the participants ask the bride to uncover her face as in the Discourse in 4.7(o).

<b>4.7(p) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ዋይ!</b>	<b>ኢሉም</b>
təsatafi:	way	ʔil-om
Participant:	Ah!	PRF.say-3MHON

*Literally:* They said, "Ah!"

*Functionally:* He has complained of the penalty which is not allowed in *wəddi mən*.

The Discourse in 4.7(p) is used to react to the complaint in the context of *wəddi mən*. However severely the participants are penalized, they cannot complain **ዋይ** /way/ meaning- ah, functionally a sound of complaining out of the pain of penalty in *wəddi mən*. This is a context in which the participants learn how to become resistant in times of hardship in the speech community of the research area.

<b>4.7(q) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ንርገግ</b>
təsatafi:	ni-rgəs's'-a
Participant:	1PL-JUSS.step on-3FSG

*Literally:* Let's step on her.

*Functionally:* Let's skip the arguable reaction.

The violation is not clear to decide in some cases; therefore, the Discourse in 4.7(q) is used to react to this arguable violation in the game of *wəddi mən*. This Discourse has a metaphoric meaning. In the literal or actual meaning, no one can physically step on ideas or arguments; however, the participants use this Discourse to intentionally mean that they have to jump on the arguable mistakes and proceed to the other session of the game of *wəddi mən*.

In *wəddi mən*, there could happen some arguable rules on which the participants do not agree whether they are abused or not. They should; therefore, come into common consensus in such kind of situation. To react to this argument, the participants use the Discourse in 4.7(q) ንርገግ /ni-riḡəs's'-a/ which literally means, 'Let's step it', functionally means- 'Let's skip it' because it is arguable to decide. This Discourse means that the participants do not waste their time arguing on some unclear issues to decide which could refer to the social rules in the speech community of the research area.

<b>4.7(r) ተሳታፊ፡</b>	<b>ሕገ</b>	<b>ግልሑ</b>
təsatafi:	ḥiggi	miḥ?-u
Participant:	law	IMP.fulfill-2MHON

*Literally:* Fulfill the law.

*Functionally:* Obey the rules of *wəddi mən*, and get yourself ready for penalty.

This Discourse is functionally used by the participants in *wəddi mən* to react to the participants getting penalized when they act improperly/ involuntary to get penalized.

In the context of *wəddi mən*, the Discourse in 4.7(r) is used to react when certain participants are not properly ready for penalty. This implies that no one is above the rule of law in the context of the game of *wəddi mən*; every participant is expected to behave accordingly and respect the rules and regulations of the game. As mentioned above, the Discourse ሕገ ግልሑ /ḥiggi miḥ?-u/ which literally means- fulfill the law is the way the participants learn how to behave according to some social rules to fulfill in their community

in several sociolinguistic affairs. In short, as we can see the Discourse in 4.7(r) above, the participants can learn that no one is above the rule of law in their community.

In this context of Discourse, the participants use the expression in 4.7(r) to enforce that certain participants are going against the norm of the game. This norm refers to the social norm (social law) of the speech community the participants live and grown in to learn that one who deviates from the social norms in the speech community is socially criticized.

In general, the Discourses in 4.7(a-r) are used in the context of *wæddi mæn* to react against the participants who go against the sociolinguistic rules set in that particular social practice. In this particular context, any participant can take a role to react to the violation of the rules. When the reaction is found true, the one who went against the rules gets penalized. As indicated in the above data, the Discourses in 4.7(a-r) are applied in reacting to the violation of the rules in the context of *wæddi mæn*.

#### 4.8 Discourses of Naming and Calling

According to Osisanwo (2005), cited in Osoba & Sobola (2014: 203) Discourse participants are the people involved in a conversation, known as interlocutors as speaker and addressee. The Discourse participants in *wèddi mən* are the bridegroom, the bride, the best men, and the visiting participants. In the oral game of *wèddi mən*, there is a system of giving the participants a name. The honeymooners are not given the simple names that directly mean the bride and bridegroom in the ordinary linguistic context. The names given to the honeymooners are capable of implying their sociolinguistic hierarchy. The naming of the bridegroom, and the bride and the way they call each other are discussed below. In the following data, we will also see the way the bride introduces her bridegroom to the visiting participants in the game of *wèddi mən*.

<b>4.8 (a) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ጎይታ</b>	<b>ራእሲ</b>
təsataf:	goyta	raʔsi
Participant:	Sir	head

*Literally:* Sir, the head

*Functionally:* Sir, the head of the bridals.

This Discourse means the bridegroom- the head, and functionally it refers to the power position of the bridegroom.

The participants in the context of *wèddi mən* do not call the bridegroom by the ordinary name መርዳዊ /mərɕawi/ which means bridegroom, but they call him using an elevated term ጎይታ ራእሲ /goyta raʔsi/ literally 'the head' which functionally means that the bridegroom is above all the people in the honeymoon room. As it is expressed in 4.8(a) above, the Discourse functionally implies that the bridegroom takes the highest position of the power in the honeymoon room. The participants represent the name of the bridegroom in the context of *wèddi mən* to refer to the leading powers in their community.

<b>4.8 (b) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>እመቤተይ</b>	<b>ልእልተ</b>
təsatafi:	[ʔimbəytə]-y	liʔilliti
Participant:	Madam-POS	princess

*Literally:* My madam, the princes

*Function:* Madam, the princess of the brides.

This is an expression that refers to the bride and her position.

The functional meaning of the name given to the bride is not equivalently meant to the word bride. The participants call her a name that bears the highest power next to her bridegroom. The name they call her does not mean መርዓት /mərʕat/ 'bride'. They rather call her እመቤተይ ልእልተ [ʔimbəytə]-y liʔilliti, which literally means the princess and functionally it implies that the bride is the queen of the honeymoon room. This name also bears that the position of the bride is the highest next to her bridegroom.

<b>4.8 (c) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ግልያ</b>
təsatafi:	gilya
Participant:	Servant

*Literally:* servant

*Functionally:* Best man

The Discourse in 4.8(c) above functionally means that the best men are the servants of the bridegroom and the bride in the honeymoon room. The name given to the best men in *wəddi mən* is not exactly meant best man. In ordinary communication, the best man is called ግርኪ /ʕarki/, but in the context of *wəddi mən*, the word used to mean best man is the Discourse above in 4.8(c) ግልያ /gilya/ which means 'servant' functionally portraying the roles of the best men in the honeymoon room.

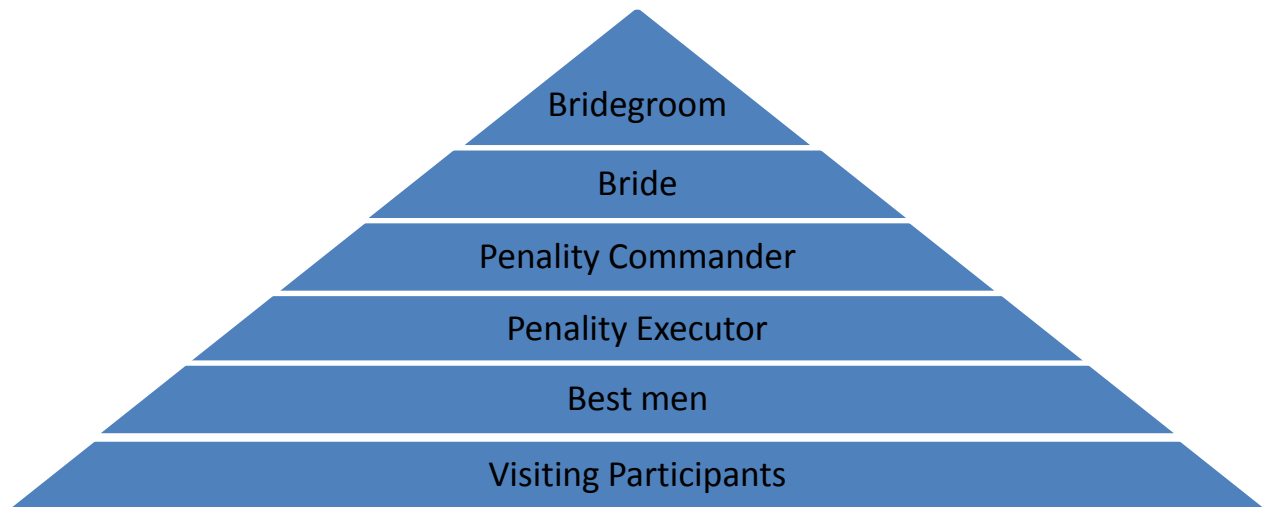
Generally, in the above data 4.8(a-c), we can observe that metaphorical names are given to the brides and their best men revealing their social hierarchy. The reason why the names

are metaphorical is that they are not the ordinary names that are used in the normal Discourse of communication. The bridegroom, bride, and best man are normally called መርዓዊ /mərɣawi/, መርዓት /mərɣat/, and ዓርኪ /ɣarki/ respectively. In the context of the game of wəddi mən, on the other hand, they are given metaphorical names: ጎይታ ራእሲ /goyta raʔsi/- meaning the head of the bride, እምባይተ ልእልቲ [ʔimbəytə] liʔilliti- meaning the princess of the brides, and ግልፆ /gilya/-meaning the servant of the brides respectively.

Now, we can infer the social hierarchy of the brides from the metaphorical names given to them in that particular context of Discourse. As we have seen in Osisanwo (2005) Discourse features cited in Osoba & Sobola (2014: 203), role sharing is allocated to participants in a social set-up based on age, sex, education, achievement, profession or social status. The factors above are used in the allocation of turns in human society since it is highly stratified.

Based on the role sharing of the participants, the bridegroom is at the top; then comes the bride followed by the penalty commander, executor of the penalty, best men and the visiting participants, respectively, as discussed in 4.4(d-f). This can be depicted in the figure below. The figure analyzes the above Discourses relating to (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002: 61) Discourse theory and critical linguistics focuses on how power, ideology, social relations, identity, social practice, and knowledge are constructed and signaled through language use (written or spoken).

Socio-culturally, the society of the research area considers that males are superior to females. This implies that the families of the speech community in the research area have a patriarchal family; the husband is the head of the family which portrays the masculine power ideology in the society. The social power position of the bridegroom and the bride as we can see in the following pyramid reflects this patriarchal social power in the context of the game of *wəddi mən*.



**Figure 7: Representation of Sociolinguistic Power Hierarchy in *wæddi mæn***

The bridesmaid in the research area is usually the little sister of the bridegroom. Then, when we treat the bridesmaid in the above hierarchy, it depends on her age. She can or cannot involve in the game of *wæddi mæn*.

If she is very little below the marriage age standard of the society, she is not allowed to participate in the game of *wæddi mæn* because she is considered too little to hear the taboo Discourses used by the participants in the game of *wæddi mæn*. In this context, she can participate in the introductory part of the game of *wæddi mæn*, but when the main part of the game starts the participants, especially her brother (the bridegroom) makes her get out of the honeymoon. She can also leave by her own will because she feels shy to her the taboo Discourses used by the participants.

On the contrary, if the bridesmaid is old enough to get married according to the perception of the society in the research area, she can involve in the game of *wæddi mæn*, and she is treated with the visiting participants in the social power hierarchy depicted in the diagram above.

<b>4.8(d) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ጎይታ</b>	<b>ራእሲ</b>	<b>ፍቅድ</b>	<b>ድዩ</b>	<b>ወዲ</b>	<b>መን</b>	<b>ክነብለኩም</b>
təsatafi:	goyta	raʔsi	[fiχ'ad]	di-ʔiyy-u	wəddi	mən	kin-əbbilə-kkum
Participant:	sir	head	Will	Q-COP-3MSG	son	who	PURP-IMPF.say-2MPL

*Literally:* Sir the head, is it your will to make you say *wəddi mən* (whose son)?

*Functionally:* Dear bridegroom the head of the honeymoon room, we need your word of will to play *wəddi mən* with you.

In this Discourse, the participants are asking the bridegroom and the bride to have fun with the game of *wəddi mən*.

<b>4.8(e) መርዓዊ:</b>	<b>ፍቅድ</b>	<b>እዩ</b>
mərɣawi:	[fiχ'ad]	ʔiyy-u
Bridegroom:	Will	IMPF.Be-3MSG

*Literally:* It is a will.

*Functionally:* It is our will that you can play *wəddi mən* with us. This is an expression that refers to the context of permission to be granted by the bridegroom so that the visiting participants can play the game of *wəddi mən*.

The above Discourses in 4.8(d and e), the visiting participants ask the bridegroom permission to play the game of *wəddi mən*. As shown in the above diagram in figure 7, the bride takes the top sociolinguistic hierarchy in *wəddi mən*, so he is the head with the responsibility to permit (reassure) as the Discourse in 4.8(e) for the game to be played.

<b>4.8(f) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ወዲ</b>	<b>መን?</b>
təsatafi:	wəddi	mən?
Participant:	son	who

*Literally:* Who son...?

*Functionally:* Whose bride are you?

In the Discourse in 4.8(f), the question expression "Whose son...?"; the participants imply to indirectly ask the bride whom she is going to give birth to, and metaphorically the question is to ask the bride to introduce her bridegroom to the participants around in the context of *wəddi mən*. This implies that women in the research area use their son/ daughter to refer to their husbands by name.

This is the reason the participants ask the bride whose (father) son is your son going to be; however, they do not ask who her husband or the father of her son is. From this data, again, we can observe that people of the research area use gendered Discourse. They ask the bride, "Whose son?", but not "Whose daughter?" This sexist (gendered) Discourse emanates from the gender preference of the participants for the first birth. It is observed that they prefer a baby boy in the first birth. In the research area and in most of the Ethiopian contexts, kids take the name of their father. Therefore, when people want to know whose son/ daughter is he/ she. Functionally, this question means, "Who is the kid's father?" In this Discourse, the speakers are asking for the father of the kids.

**4.8(g)**

መርጻት:	ጎይታይ	ወዲ	ጎይታይ	ሽሞም	ጠፊኡኒ	ሽሞም	ዶ	ከህቡኒ
mərṣat:	goyta-y	wəddi	goyta-y	šim-om	t'əfiʔ-u-ni	šim-om	do	ki-[hiβ]-u-ni
Bride:	Sir-1SG.POS	son	Sir-1SG. POS	name-2MHON.POS	PRF.lose-3MSG-1SG	name-2MHON.POS	Q	PURP-give-2MHON-1SG

*Literally:* My sir the son of my sir, I lost your name; can you give me your name?

*Functionally:* My dear bridegroom, I forgot your name; could you remind me of it?

In this context, the bride is asking her bridegroom to remind her- his name because she has forgotten it.

The Discourse in 4.8(g) functionally means the bride is asking her bridegroom's name because she forgot it. It seems outrageous to hear the bride has forgotten her bridegroom's name, but it can happen because the brides in the rural areas of the research area usually

get married to somebody whom they did not know before. This Discourse in 4.8(g) bears this context in the game of *wəddi mən*.

<b>4.8(h) መርዓዊ:</b>	<b>ጎይታዬ</b>	<b>ገብረ-ዕቡድ</b>
mərɕawi:	goyta-yə	[gəβrə-ɕiβud]
Bridegroom:	sir-1SG.POS	"Gebre" the crazy

*Literally:* My sir, Gebre the crazy

*Functionally:* My name (The bridegroom's name) is "Gebre" the crazy.

The Discourse in 4.8(h) above refers to the name of craziness. The bridegroom intentionally uses this name to test his bride if she would accept her bridegroom deserves the name of craziness like the name in the Discourse in 4.8 (h) above.

<b>4.8(i) መርዓት:</b>	<b>ፍስ ስገአም</b>	<b>ትኸከለኛ</b>	<b>ሸሞም</b>	<b>ይንገሩኒ</b>
mərɕat:	fos sigə-ʔom	[tiχikkiləñña]	šim-om	yi-[ŋgər]-u-ni
Bride:	for flesh-2MHON.POS	Real	name-2MHON.POS	3MHON-JUSS.tell-2MHON-1SG

*Literally:* For your flesh, tell me your real name.

*Functionally:* Please, my dear bridegroom, swear to me you are telling me your real name.

This Discourse functionally refers to the hesitation of the bride that she is not happy with the name her bridegroom is telling her.

In the Discourse in 4.8(i), the bride is expressing her hesitation that the name in 4.8(h) could describe her bridegroom. She asks her bridegroom to tell her what his exact name is in the Discourse in 4.8(i).

4.8(j)

<b>መርጻዊ:</b>	<b>ሽመይ</b>	<b>ጠፊኡኩን</b>	<b>ስገኦም</b>	<b>ይበላኒ</b>
mərɕawi:	šim-əy	t'əfiʔ-u-kkin	sigə-om	yi-[βəɪ]-a-ni
Bridegroom:	name-1SG.POS	PRF.lose-3MSG-2FHON-2FHON	flesh-2MHON.POS	3FHON-JUSS.say-2FHON-1SG

*Literally:* Say to me, "Your flesh" you lost my name.

*Functionally:* Swear to me; you have forgotten my name.

This is an expression that is used by the bridegroom to make sure his bride has really forgotten his name.

The bridegroom uses the Discourse in 4.8(j) to make sure that his bride has really forgotten his name. He asks her to swear to him to make it sure. The way people swear in the research area is reflected in this context. Interlocutors may ask somebody to swear by saying, 'Your flesh'. This expression functionally means, 'Swear to me' in the context of swearing.

<b>4.8(k) መርጻት:</b>	<b>ስገኦም</b>	<b>ሽሞም</b>	<b>ጠፊኡኒ</b>
mərɕat:	sigə-ʔom	šim-om	t'əfiʔ-u-ni
Bride:	flesh-2MHON.POS	name-2MHON.POS	PRF.lose-3MSG-1SG

*Literally:* Your flesh, I lost your name.

*Functionally:* "I swear; I have forgotten your name," says the bride to her bridegroom.

This Discourse [4.8(k)] is a swear expression of reassuring that the bride has forgotten her bridegroom's name. It seems ridiculous that brides forget their bridegroom's name; however, this Discourse implies that the intimacy of the brides and the bridegrooms is not that much active in rural areas unlike that of the urban areas of the research area. The brides feel shy to talk to their bridegrooms and to ask what their name is, especially at the initial times of their honeymoon span.

<b>4.8(l) መርገጭ:</b>	<b>እምበይተይ</b>	<b>ጻል</b>	<b>ጎይታይ</b>	<b>ሓዱሽ</b>	<b>ይበሃል</b>
mərɣawi:	[ʔimbəytə]-y	g <sup>w</sup> al	goyta-y	ħadduš	yi-bbəhal
Bridegroom:	madam-1SG.POS	daughter	Sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	1MSG-IMPF.say

*Literally:* 'My madam, the name of the daughter my sir is Hadush'.

*Functionally:* My dear bride, my name is Hadush.

Now, the bride has politely told his bride his real name as it is in the Discourse in 4.8(l). The expressions እምበይተይ ጻል ጎይታይ [ʔimbəytə]-y g<sup>w</sup>al goyta-y 'Madam, the daughter of my sir' are polite utterances used by the bridegroom to address his bride respectfully in the game of *wəddi mən*.

Now, the bridegroom has made sure his bride has forgotten his name. Therefore, he uses the Discourse in 4.8(l) to tell her his real name. The name ሓዱሽ /ħadduš/ is not the only name used in *wəddi mən*, but it is randomly taken in this research because it is one of the names commonly used the proper name for males in the research area and it was one of the common proper names of the bridegrooms among the informants of this research. Therefore, I have taken it randomly to be used in this analysis.

To summarize, in the Discourse above in 4.8(g), the bride asks her bridegroom that she forgot his name. From this Discourse, we can infer that brides in the eastern Tigrai do not frequently call their bridegrooms by name. That is why they are observed forgetting their bridegroom's name. In response to the question in 4.8(g), the bridegroom gives a false name as is in 4.8(h) ገብረ-ዕቡድ [gəβrə-ʕiβud] 'Gebre the crazy'. Because the name in 4.8(h) is a name that symbolizes insanity, the bride asks her bridegroom a name of his own type. Then, as is in 4.8(j), the bridegroom makes his bride swear if she has truly forgotten his name. As she swears, the bridegroom tells his bride the real name of his as expressed in 4.8(l) above.

<b>4.8(m) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>እምባይተይ</b>	<b>ልእልተ</b>	<b>ወርቁ</b>	<b>ሽተታ</b>	<b>የውድቻ</b>
təsatafi:	[ʔimbəytə]-y	liʔilliti	wərk'i	šetəta	y-[əwɔdix']-a
Participant:	madam-1SG.POS	princess	gold	tossing-stick	3FHON-JUSS.drop-2FHON

*Literally:* Madam Princess, drop the golden tossing-stick.

*Functionally:* Dear bride, toss the golden tossing-stick to show you gave birth for your bridegroom.

The Discourse in 4.8(m) means to drop the tossing-stick to the leather carpet. The functional (metaphorical) meaning is that the participant is asking the bride to drop (bear) a baby boy to the bridegroom. The tossing-stick dropped symbolizes a baby boy that is assumed to be born to the bridegroom and bride in the context of *wəddi mən*.

<b>4.8(n) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ወዲ</b>	<b>መን?</b>
təsatafi:	<i>wəddi</i>	<i>mən?</i>
Participant:	son	who

*Literally:* Whose son?

*Functionally:* Whom are you going to give birth to, or who is your husband, wife, fiancé or fiancée?

In this context, *wəddi mən* means 'whose son?' However, the functional meaning of the term is not to ask whose son someone is. The participants use it to indirectly ask brides, whose bridegroom/ bride they are.

The participants can also ask some suspected participants in the game to know who their fiancé/ fiancée is. If they have a fiancé/ fiancée, they tell the name of their fiancé/ fiancée to the participants of the game. If they do not have fiancé/ fiancée, they answer the question by the common expression **ወዲ ጎይታዬ ማንነትለ** /wəddi goyta-yə mantillə/ or /wəddi ʔimbəyt-əy mantillə/ which means 'the son of sir/ madam rabbit'.

The expression 'the son of sir/ madam rabbit' is used, in the context of *wəddi mən*, to functionally mean that the participant is telling the other participants he/ she has no fiancé/ fiancée. This expression could provide an opportunity for them to be an entailment that he/ she has no prospect marriage partner (fiancé/ fiancée) and can be proposed for marriage by other participants. This expression can indirectly be a way of making sure the participants are engaged or not. Naturally, rabbit is one of the wild animals which are commonly known in the research area. The reason for the participants in *wəddi mən* to symbolize the unknown fiancé or fiancée is that it restlessly runs here and there; it is unstable in one place. Therefore, when the participants use rabbit to refer to the anonymous fiancé/ fiancée, their intention is that the speaker hasn't identified or hasn't decided his/ her prospect yet.

#### 4.8(o)

መርጻት:	ወዲ	ጎይታዩ	ሓዱሽ	ኩሕለዋይ	ዓይኒ	ንዕሎም	እንትርኢ	የሕለሊ	የሕለሊ
mərṣat:	wəddi	goyta-yə	ħadduš	kuħil-əway	ʕayni	ni-ʕiʔom	ʔinti-riʔ-i	y-əħiləl-i	y-əħiləl-i
Bride:	son	sir-POS.1SG	Hadush <sup>8</sup>	kohl-ADJ	eye	ACC-3MHON	PROG-see-1SG	1SG- IMPF.gaze-1SG	1SG- IMPF.gaze-1SG

*Literally:* The son of my sir Hadush with the kohled eye at whom I gaze and gaze when I see him.

*Functionally:* I am the wife of the respected bridegroom Hadush, whom I feel jealous of and see him in love.

In this context, addressing what does her bridegroom looks like and the feeling of the bride towards her bridegroom with some expressive words.

The Discourse in 4.8(o) functionally means that the bride is telling that she is the wife of the bridegroom by the name (Hadush) taken as an example. As indicated above, when the

---

<sup>8</sup>The names: Hadush for the bridegroom and Mabrhit for the bride in this study are randomly taken out of the names of the informant brides for consistency; however the name of the son, Hagos, is not randomly taken; it is the name that most of the brides prefer to call their son in the context of *wəddi mən* unless the name of the bridegroom is Hagos.

bride tells the participants the name of her bridegroom, she makes some extra descriptions that positively describe the bridegroom such as the good looks and titling terms of the bridegroom.

**4.8(p)**

<b>መርዓት:</b>	<b>አብቲ</b>	<b>ዋላኹ</b>	<b>ረኺቦመኒየ</b>		
mərʕat:	[ʔaβ]-ʔiti	[walaxu]	[rəxiβ]-om-ni-yə		
Bride:	LOC-DET	Loam	PRF.find-3MHON-1SG-VOC		
	<b>ጭንጻዕቲ</b>	<b>ማይ</b>	<b>አሰትዮምኒየ</b>		
	[Č'ing <sup>w</sup> aʕti]	may	ʔa-sitiy-om-ni-yə		
	Droplet	water	CAUS-PRF.drink-3MHON-1SG-VOC		
	<b>ጠምየ</b>	<b>ነይረ</b>	<b>ድጋም</b>	<b>እንጀራ</b>	<b>ሂቦምኒየ</b>
	t'əmy-ə	nəyr-ə	diggam	[ʔiñjəra]	PRF.[hiβ]-om-ni-yə
	PRF.hungry-1SG	PRF.be-1SG	quarter	injera	give-3MHON-1SG-VOC
	<b>ኡፍ</b>	<b>ልባይ</b>	<b>ተመሊሳ</b>		
	ʔuf	libb-ə	tə-məlis-a		
	Oh!	heart-1SG.POS	PASS-PRF.return-3FSG		
	<b>ልባም</b>	<b>ትመለስ</b>			
	libb-om	ti-mmələs			
	heart-3MHON.POS	3FSG-JUSS.return			

*Literally:* He found me in the loam area.

He made me drink a drop of water.

I was hungry, and he gave me a quarter of 'injera'.

Oh! My heart has recovered, so let your heart recover, too.

*Functionally:* My dear bridegroom was there in my times of:

Hardship to rescue me, to feed me, and to make me happy,

Therefore, I am so thankful for everything good he has done for me.

The Discourse in 4.8(p) portrays thankfulness of the bride to her bridegroom in the community of the research area. As we can see from the functional meaning of the Discourse, the bridegroom meant a lot to his bride in her time of hardship. This way, the participants in the game of *wəddi mən*, use this Discourse to teach the brides how responsible he should be to his bride in all the times of difficulties and hardships. In addition to the notion of thankfulness, the Discourse in 4.8(p) reflects the notion of choice- the right choice of the bride. She means, according to the Discourse, that the bridegroom is the right person of her choice though her parents were the deciding bodies for her to marry that person at the beginning.

To sum up, Discourse 4.8(n), one of the participants asks, "Whose son" as soon as the bride drops a tossing-stick that represents the baby boy she will bear. In Discourse 4.8(o), the bride pronounces the name of her bridegroom, the father of her son. To make the way for calling her bridegroom, she utters all the good external 4.8(o) and internal 4.8(p) attributions of her bridegroom. She utters the name of her bridegroom and attributes that he is externally handsome [4.8 (o)] and internally heartfelt [4.8 (p)]. The Discourses in 4.8(o and p) generally tell us how happy the bride is because she has married to such an externally and internally good bridegroom.

#### 4.8(q)

መርጋት:	ጎይታይ	ወዲ	ጎይታይ	ንቲ	ወድና	ዶ	ሽም	ከነውፀአሉ
mərʕat:	goyta-y	wəddi	goyta-y	ni-ʔiti	wəddi-na	do	ʃim	kin-əws'əʔ-əll-u
Bride:	sir-1SG.POS	son	sir-1SG.POS	ACC-DET	son-3PL.POS	Q	name	PURP-get-BEN-1MSG

*Literally:* My sir the son of my sir, can we get a name for our son?

*Functionally:* My dear bridegroom can we give our newly born son a name?

The Discourse in 4.8(q) tells us that the families in the research area give their newly born child a name based on discussion and common consensus. They choose the name they all agreed upon. The discussion is not simple, but it would take a serious talk among the family (the bride and the bridegroom in this context).

<b>4.8(r) መርዓዊ:</b>	<b>ሓጎስ</b>	<b>ንበሎ</b>	<b>ዘበንና</b>	<b>ዘበነ</b>	<b>ሓጎስ</b>	<b>ክኸነልና</b>
mərɕawi:	ħagos	ni-[βəll]-o	[zəβən]-ina	[zəβənə]	ħagos	ki-[χ <sup>w</sup> ənə]-Ina
Bridegroom:	Hagos	1PL-JUSS.say-3MSG	year-1PL.POS	year	happiness	PURP-be-1PL

*Literally:* Let's call him Hagos so that our year can be a year of happiness.

*Functionally:* Let's call our son Hagos, the name that symbolizes a time of happiness.

This Discourse is a name given by the bridegroom to the assumed newly born baby boy of the bridegroom and the bride just in the game of *wəddi mən*.

In *wəddi mən*, the bridegrooms mostly name their son by the name Hagos. The reason is they believe this name symbolizes the time of happiness in their future. Together with their brides, most of the bridegrooms wish to have a time of joy and happiness from their marriage onwards. It is when the name of the bridegroom is Hagos that they name their child by another name, usually 'Birhanemeskel' which symbolizes a time of bright future.

<b>4.8(s) መርዓት:</b>	<b>ሓጎስ</b>	<b>ሓጎስዩ</b>
mərɕat:	ħagos	ħagos-yu
Bride:	Hagos	Hagos-VOC

*Literally:* [Calling]... Hagos my son! Hagos!

*Functionally:* [The bride calling]...My bridegroom the father of Hagos, my son!

In this context [the Discourse in 4.8(s)], the bride is using the name of her son for calling. Her real intention is not to call her son, but to call her husband. In the speech community of this research, wives call their husbands by their first child's name. Not only for one's husband or wife, but the society of the research area uses the name of, usually the oldest child, in the family to call elderly people. In this context, the Discourse in 4.8(s) is used as a life skill training of the culture of calling someone far away by the child's names, usually by the first child's name in the speech community.

<b>4.8(t) መርዓዊ:</b>	<b>አየትየ</b>	<b>አየትየይ</b>
mərɕwi:	ʔayət-yə	ʔayət-yəy
bridegroom	yes-VOC	yes-VOC

*Literally:* yes-hey yes-hey

*Functionally:* [The bridegroom responding the call]... Oh yes!

Though the bride is calling by her son's name (Hagos) as in the Discourse in 4.8(t), the bridegroom knows that she is calling at him, not at their son. This indicates that he has already identified the context of who is the actual addressee of this Discourse in *wəddi mən*. Not only in *wəddi mən*, but this context of addressing also reflects the actual addressing in the society of the research area.

<b>4.8(u) መርዓት:</b>	<b>ንማይ</b>	<b>እየ</b>	<b>ንሓጎስ</b>	<b>ወድና</b>	<b>ዶ</b>	<b>መፅንሑኒየ</b>
mərɕat:	ni-may	ʔiyy-ə	ni- ħagos	wəddi-na	do	m-əs'nifñ-u-ni- yə
Bride:	to-water	IMPF.Be-1SG	ACC-Hagos	Son-POS.1PL	Q	SBJV-PRF.wait-2MHON-VOC

*Literally:* Can you make our son Hagos wait with you because I am to water?

*Functionally:* Can you please look after our son Hagos because I am going to fetch water from the nearby river?

The bride is begging her bridegroom to care their son in the time she wants to fetch water from a nearby river.

In the Discourse in 4.8(u), the bride is asking her bridegroom to look after their son because she is going out to fetch water. In this Discourse, we identify that looking after one's son is usually the responsibility of women in the research area. Moreover, we can infer from the Discourse that to fetch water is womanly responsibility in the research area.

According to Searle (1979: 12), one of the categories of illocutionary acts is the Directives illocutionary act by which the speaker tries to make the hearer do something by using verbs

such as: ask, beg, challenge, command, dare, invite, insist, and request. In *wəddi mən*, the Discourse in 4.8 (u) represents this category of an illocutionary act (Directives illocutionary act) because of the verb that the bride principally used in the above Discourse of request or begging.

As discussed above, the Discourses in 4.8(q-u) illustrate the sociolinguistic contexts of giving a newly born baby a name. As indicated above in the Discourse in 4.8(q), the bride asks her bridegroom permission to name their newly born baby. Surprisingly, in most of the games of *wəddi mən*, bridegrooms are observed to name their assumed baby boy by the name Hagos, which they assume a name that symbolizes a time of happiness; Hagos which means "happiness" in Tigrinya.

Therefore, the bridegroom, as indicated in the Discourse in 4.8(r), chooses the name that shows the strong wish the brides have in their entire relationship. This indicates that the brides prioritize to have a joyful time ahead in their relationship. If the name of the bridegroom is 'Hagos', they name their son different, most often 'Birhanemeskel', which symbolizes a bright future in their coming times.

As soon as the brides name their newly born baby boy, the bride starts to call her husband, not by his name. She calls him by the name of their baby boy. This is evidence that women in the rural research area do not call their husbands by name. To address their husbands before giving the first birth, women in the research area prefer the third singular masculine pronoun እሱ /ʔissu/ which means 'he' to their husbands' name. Therefore, as indicated in the Discourse in 4.8(s), the bride calls her bridegroom ሓጎስ /ħagos-yə/...ሓጎስ /ħagos-yu/, which is the name of their son.

In the Discourses in 4.8(s & t), the final morphological segment described as VOC (loud call marker) in this study is slightly different in the way the bride and the bridegroom utter it. The bride rounds her lips and produces a long sound /yu.../ while the bridegroom produces a slightly spread long sound /yə.../. The way they shape their lips matters in how much loud

sounds they produce. The bridegroom freely utters the loud call morphological marker, but the bride relatively utters the loud call marker less loudly compared to her bridegroom.

In 4.8(u), the bride begs her bridegroom to look after their baby boy. They equally take care of their baby, but the responsibility of looking after him weighs to the bride. This indicates that the responsibility to look after children is mainly given to women in the research area. In this context, it is not the bridegroom who is very concerned to take care of the son, to fetch water, to wash the family clothes in the speech community of the research area, but it is the bride who does these activities as it is portrayed in the context of *wæddi mæn*. The men, on the other hand, are concerned with some outside home social affairs like having an appointment with some people near or afar in their community.

<b>4.8(v) መርገዳ፡</b>	<b>ምስ</b>	<b>ጎይታ</b>	<b>አይተ</b>	<b>ጭጭት</b>
mərɣwi:	mis	goyta	ʔaytə	č'ič'č'it
Bridegroom:	with	sir	Mr.	Chicken
	<b>ምስ</b>	<b>ጎይታ</b>	<b>አይተ</b>	<b>ፍርንጭት</b>
	mis	goyta	ʔaytə	[firiñčit]
	with	sir	Mr.	Testicles
	<b>ቆፀራ</b>	<b>አለኒ</b>	<b>እሞ</b>	<b>ከይትድንጉያኒ</b>
	kos'əra	ʔallə-nni	ʔimmo	kəy-ti-[dinguy]-a-ni
	appointment	has-1SG	FOC	NEG-2HON-IMPF.late-2FSG-1SG
	<b>ዓዳቶም</b>	<b>ቆላ</b>	<b>እንተርፊደ</b>	<b>ቕፅዓት</b>
	ʔadda-tom	k'olla	ʔintə-rifid-ə	[χ'is'ɣat]
	House-POS	far	PROG-IMPF.late-1SG	Penalty
	<b>ልቕምፅ</b>		<b>ከዮብሉኒየ</b>	
	lix'imis'		kəy-y-əbbil-u-ni-yə	
	spank		NEG-3MPL-IMPF.say-3MPL-1SG-VOC	

*Literally:* I have an appointment with Mr. Chicken and testicle, so do not be late for me there house is far from here. If I am late they may spank me penalty.

*Functionally:* I have an appointment with my friends afar which causes a merciless penalty upon being late; therefore, do not be late for me.

In 4.8(v), the bridegroom tells his bride that he has an appointment with ጭጭት [firiñčit]- meaning 'chicken' and ፍርንጭት [firiñčit]- meaning 'testicles' that stand for the anonymous co-appointees afar who are merciless in penalizing someone late for the appointment. This phenomenon indicates that people are serious in a social commitment like an appointment and not being late for an appointment, especially after marriage.

Therefore, it is in such sociolinguistic practices that the people of the research area learn to participate in certain social activities of elderly concerns. The words ጭጭት /č'ič'č'it/-

meaning 'chicken' and ፍርንጭት [firiñčit]- meaning 'testicles' are used because they are rhyming not because they have some logical relationship. In *wəddi mən*, it is common to hear and use words that are related to sex and sexual organs without euphemizing them, which will be broadly discussed below in 4.11.

#### 4.8(w)

መርጻት:	ከይድንጉዮም	ድንጉይ	የብለኒ	ትቕፅግቶም	ቕፅግተይ	እዩ
mərʕat:	kəy-[diŋguy]-om	[diŋguy]	y-əbblə-ni	ti-[χ'is'ʕat]-om	[χ'is'ʕat]-əy	ʔiyy-u
Bride:	NEG-late-2MHON	late	3MSG-JUSS.say-1SG	DET-penalty-2MHON.POS	penalty-1SG.POS	IMPF.be-3MSG

*Literally:* Not to be late, let it make me late.

*Functionally:* My dear bridegroom, I swear I will not be late.

The Discourse in 4.8(w) functionally means the Discourse of promise that the bride making to her bridegroom not to be late in the nearby river.

In pragmatics, (Austin, 1962: 45) and (Searle, 1979: 22) Speech Act Theory can be related to this context particularly the commissives illocutionary speech act in which the speaker commits himself (or herself) to a (future) course of action, with verbs such as guarantee, pledge, promise, swear, vow, undertake. In the Discourse in 4.8(w) above the bride is committing herself not to do something that pragmatically offends her bridegroom in the form of a promise.

4.8(x) መርጻዊ:	ሓጎስ	ወድና	ወዲ	ኣርሒዶና	ፀባ	ፀገብና
mərʕawi:	ħagos	wəddi-na	wəddi	ʕarħido-na	[s'əβa]	[s'əggəβ]-na
Bridegroom:	Hagos	son-1PL.POS	son	youngster-1PL.POS	milk	satisfied-1PL.POS

*Literally:* Hagos our son the son of our youngster, and milk satisfied.

*Functionally:* [Looking after] Hagos my son, the son of my beautiful bride, I am here for you to make you happy, my pudgy son.

This Discourse is used by the bridegroom to look after their son in the absence of the mother (the bride).

As indicated in the Discourse in 4.8(w), it is after the bride swears and promises not to be late there in the nearby river that her bridegroom can accept her request to look after their baby boy. In the Discourse in 4.8(x), the bridegroom uses a child-directed speech (baby talk) to take care and appease his baby boy until his bride comes back from the nearby river where she fetches water.

Generally, from the above Discourses in 4.8(a-x), we can observe that naming and how the bridegroom and the bride call each other is one of the activities in playing the game of *wəddi mən*. In the context of *wəddi mən*, the names of the bridegroom and the bride are not the same with their name in the daily Discourses in Tigrinya.

They are given some contextual names that could show the bridal sociolinguistic power structure in the context of *wəddi mən*. The issue of naming their baby boy is raised by the bride and approved by the bridegroom. In most of the contexts of *wəddi mən*, the brides preferred the name 'Hagos' which they assume is related to a time of happiness in their upcoming life.

If the bridegroom's name is 'Hagos', the name of the baby boy in the context of *wəddi mən* is different, most commonly 'Birhanemeskel' because the brides relate this name with a bright future in their entire life. From the Discourses above in 4.8(t), we can observe that women (brides in this context) don't call their men (bridegroom in this context) by their name, but by their child's name. This portrays the culture of addressing interlocutors in the speech community.

Moreover, the Discourses discussed above can also reveal the gender-based language use difference due to the gendered activities they are socially assumed to deal with. For example, the Discourses expressing fetching water are attributes of the bride (feminine stuff); while the Discourses expressing appointing and getting appointed are attributed to the bridegroom and his co-appointee (masculine stuff).

## 4.9 Discourses of Appointment

In the game of *wəddi mən*, talking about the social issue of appointment is also common. In this regard, the bridegroom is the concerned body to deal with an appointment in the family of the bridegroom and the bride. The following Discourses are commonly used in the issues of appointment in the context of *wəddi mən*.

<b>4.9(a) መቻላር፡፡</b>	<b>ሓጎስየ</b>	<b>ሓጎስየይ</b>
[məχ <sup>w</sup> as'irti]:	ħagos-yə	ħagos-yəy
Co-appointee	Hagos-VOC	Hagos-VOC

*Literally:* [Calling] Hagos hey Hagos hey.

*Functionally:* [The co-appointee calling] to the bridegroom who is supposed to be the father of the expected baby boy Hagos.

The co-appointee is calling using the name of the son of the bridegroom and the bride. The real intention of the participant is not to call the son (Hagos), but he is calling to the bridegroom by his first son in this context.

<b>4.9(b) መርጎዊ፡፡</b>	<b>አየትየ</b>	<b>አየትየይ</b>
mərɕawi:	ʔayət-yə	ʔayət-yəy
Bridegroom:	Yes-VOC	Yes-VOC

*Literally:* yes-hey! yes-hey!

*Functionally:* [The bridegroom responding the call]... Oh yes!

The Discourse in 4.9 (b) is a response to the call made by the co-appointee in 4.9(a). As we can see the Discourse used to call in 4.9(a), the co-appointee has used the name of the son (Hagos) to address the bridegroom. This reflects the way people who have born children use to address each other in the speech community of the research area. In the society of the research area, it is so rudeness to call elderly people by their name while they have children.

**4.9(c) መቻፅርቲ፡**    **ኣቲም**            **እንታይ**    **ድኣ**    **ኣርፊድኩም**                            **ቆፀራ**            **ሰዓት**    **ኣኺሉየይ**  
 [məχ<sup>w</sup>as'irti]:    ʔatt-um            ʔintay    diʔa    ʔa-rfidi-kum                            k'os'əra            siʕat    [ʔaxil]-u-yəy  
 Co-appointee:    You-2MHON    what    PRT    CAUS-PFV.late-2MHON    appointment    time    up-3MSG-VOC

*Literally:* You there, why are you late the time of appointment is up.

*Functionally:* My friend, let's go to the appointment right now; otherwise we are going to be late.

The co-appointee is complaining at the bridegroom because he is the reason for both of them to be late for the appointment.

In the Discourses in 4.9(a-c) above, the participants are talking as if they are old enough to deal with some social issues such as appointment. This case is to show that after marriage, the bridegroom can accomplish some elderly masculine sociolinguistic concerns like going to appointments near and afar.

**4.9(d) መርዓዊ፡**    **ኣቲም**            **ሰበይቲ**            **ንማይ**            **ከይደን**                            **ደንጉየናነየይ**  
 mərʕawi:    ʔatt-um            [səβəyti]    ni-may    kəyd-ən                            [dəŋguy]-ən-ani-yəy  
 Bridegroom:    You-2MHON    Wife            to-water    PFV.go-3FHON    PFV.late-3FHON-1SG.MAL-VOC

*Literally:* You there, the wife has gone to water and has been late for me.

*Functionally:* My friend, my wife has gone to fetch water from the nearby river, yet she has not come.

**4.9(e)**

<b>መቻላርቲ:</b>	<b>ኣቲም</b>	<b>ኣብ</b>	<b>ገዛ</b>	<b>ደርጓዕ</b>	<b>ይብላ</b>	<b>ኣለዋ</b>
[məχ <sup>w</sup> as'irti]:	ʔatt-um	[ʔaβ]	gəza	dərg <sup>w</sup> aŋ-g <sup>w</sup> aŋ	yi-[βil]-a	ʔallə-wa
Co-appointee:	you-3MHON	at	house	buffet=RED	3FHON-IMPF.say-3FHON	PRF.present-3FHON
	<b>ይመስላ</b>		<b>መፅየን</b>	<b>ከይኸና</b>	<b>ርኣዮወንዳይ</b>	
	yi-mməsl-a		məs'iy-ən	kə-y-xon-a	riʔay-u-wən-yəy	
	3FHON-IMPRF.seem-3FHON		PFV.Come-3FHON	NEG-may-3FHON	IMP.see-2MHON-3FHON-VOC	

*Literally:* You there, it seems she is buffeting at home; therefore, check her if she has come.

*Functionally:* Check her in case she has come back home because I heard someone buffeting sound at your home.

<b>4.9(f) መርዓዊ:</b>	<b>ኣቲም</b>	<b>ርጉም</b>	<b>ኩኩናይ</b>	<b>ኣሎና</b>	<b>እሱ</b>	<b>እዩ</b>	<b>ንኸውንዳይ</b>
mərɕawi:	ʔatt-um	rigum	kukkunay	ʔallo-nna	ʔissu	ʔiyy-u	ni-[xəwwin]-yəy
Bridegroom:	you-3MHON	damn	cock	IMPF.exist-1PL.POS	It	IMPF.be-3MSG	REL-IMPF.be-VOC

*Literally:* You there, we have a damned cock; that may be it.

*Functionally:* It may be the God damned cock that we have at home buffeting.

<b>4.9(g) መቻላርቲ:</b>	<b>ኣቲም</b>	<b>ድምፁ</b>	<b>ናይ</b>	<b>ሰብ</b>	<b>እዩ</b>	<b>ንመስልዋ</b>	<b>ፀወዑወንዳይ</b>
[məχ <sup>w</sup> as'irti]:	ʔatt-um	dims'-u	nay	[səβ]	ʔiyy-u	ni-məssil-wa	s'əwwiɕi-u-wən-yəy
Co-appointee	You-3MHON	sound-3MSG	of	Person	IMPF.be-3MSG	REL-IMPF.seem-FOC	IMP.call-2MHON-3FHON-VOC

*Literally:* You there, call her because the sound seems that of a person's.

*Functionally:* It is not a cock that creates a buffeting sound like that; it seems she is buffeting rather; therefore, call her to look after her son.

This is a Discourse of argument from the co-appointee that the buffeting sound heard far from home of the bridegroom and the bride is not that of a cock; it is that of the bride.

The Discourses in 4.9(e-g) connote that the bridegroom that symbolizes the masculine gender in the speech community is not that much concerned to know what is going on inside the house. The Discourse tells us that he has been waiting outside home taking after his baby boy until his wife (bride in this case) comes back from the nearby river. The wife (bride in this context), on the other hand, is tied up with some feminine activities considered to be attributed to feminine gender in the speech community of the research area. Thus, the above Discourses can show us that the difference in gender brings about sociolinguistic variation.

<b>4.9(h) መርዓዊ:</b>	<b>ሓጎስዩ</b>	<b>ሓጎስዩ</b>
mərɕawi:	ħagos-yə	ħagos-yə
Bridegroom:	Hagos-VOC	Hagos-VOC

*Literally:* Hagos hey! Hagos hey!

*Functionally:* [The bridegroom calling] ... My dear bride, the mother of my son Hagos.

<b>4.9(i) መርዓት:</b>	<b>አየትዩ</b>
mərɕat:	ʔayət-yu
Bride:	Yes-VOC

*Literally:* Yes hey!

*Functionally:* [The bride responding the call] Yes! Yes!

<b>4.9(j) መርዓዊ:</b>	<b>ቆፀራ</b>	<b>አለኒ</b>	<b>እናበልኩኸንሰ</b>	<b>ደንጉኸንፍኒ</b>
mərɕawi:	k'os'əra	ʔallo-nni	ʔina-[βəɪ]-ku-[χin]-s	[dəŋg <sup>w</sup> i]-χin-na-ni
Bride:	appointment	IMPF.exist-1SG	PROG-say-1SG-2FHON-FOC	PRF.Late-1FHON-MAL-1SG

*Literally:* You were late while I say I have an appointment for me.

*Functionally:* You are so late while I have already told you not to do so.

This Discourse refers to the complaint of the bridegroom for his bride was late to come back home from the nearby river she went to fetch water.

**4.9(k)**

መርጻት:	እቲ	መብሩቕ	ሰርአም	ክጨቋጨቕ	ዕትሮ	ነኸሉኒ	ክወታትፍ	ደንጉየዮም
mərṣat:	ʔiti	[məβruχʻ]	sirə-ʔom	ki-[č'ək <sup>w</sup> ač'uχʻ]	ʕitro	[nəχ <sup>w</sup> il]-u-nni	ki-wətatif	[dəŋguy]-ə-yom
Bride:	The	white	trousers	PURP-IMPF.wash	pot	PFV.hole-3MSG-1SG	PURP-IMPF.cork	late-1SG-2MHON
	ዶ	ድንጉይ	የብለኒ		ይሃቡኒ		ክቕበሎም	
	do	[diŋguy]	y-əbbil-ə-nni		yi-[haβ]-u-ni		ki-[χ'iɓbəl]-om	
	Q	late	3MSG-IMPF.say-3MSG-1SG		2MHON-JUSS.give-2MHON-1sg		PURP-IMPF.accept-2MHON	

*Literally:* Let it be late for me, I was late to wash the white trouser of you and to cork the holed pot. Now, please give me; let me accept you.

*Functionally:* I am sorry, but I swear; I was washing your white trousers and corking my holed pot; therefore, I was late my dear bridegroom.

This Discourse functionally reasons out why the bride was so late in the nearby river she went to fetch some water.

The Discourse in 4.9(k) functionally means the bride is asking her bridegroom for an apology. In the speech act theory, Searle (1979: 12) Expressives illocutionary speech acts express state of affairs. These speech acts use speech act verbs such as apologies, appreciate, congratulate, hate, regret, thank, welcome. In the context of *wəddi mən*, this Discourse can; therefore, be a category of Expressives illocutionary act.

The Discourse in 4.9(h) indicates that the bride is calling by the name of his son, Hagos; however, the real intention is not to call his son, and in fact, his son is at his hug. Therefore, he is indirectly calling his wife (bride in the case of *wəddi mən*). In the speech community of the research area, men have relative freedom to call their women by name, but after giving birth if the woman is at a certain distance, her man does not prefer to call her by name; he

rather calls her by the name of her son/ daughter as illustrated in the above Discourse 4.9(h).

To sum up, the above Discourses, in 4.9(a-k), touch several sociolinguistic issues. They can show how the bridegroom (masculine) and the bride (feminine) gender affects the difference in language use because of the differences in the manly and womanly activities they do. For instance, the Discourse in 4.9(k) expresses that washing clothes and fetching water are womanly stuff. The Discourse in 4.9(j) can tell us that stuff related to appointments arise the concern of men in the research area.

#### 4.10 Discourses of Beauty and Sentiment

In *wəddi mən*, the bride is asked to express the feeling she has for her bridegroom. The Discourses that she uses to express her bridegroom reveal how gorgeous is the bridegroom, and how much she loves him. The following Discourses can illustrate these phenomena. The expressive power of the Discourses in the communicative context of *wəddi mən* as discussed below can illustrate the sentiment referring to how the bride discharges her emotions, feelings, and attitudes towards her bridegroom.

- 4.10(a) ተሳታፊ:**        **ዓይብ**  
                  təsatafi:        [ፍላጎት]  
                  Participant:    Local place name

*Literally:* Say [ፍላጎት]

*Functionally:* The bride was asked to say "local place name [ፍላጎት]" after the participant.

The participant uses this Discourse to ask the bride to repeat it after him. The participant uses the word **ዓይብ** [ፍላጎት] 'Local place name' in the above context is for rhythmic purpose rhyming to the following Discourse.

- 4.10(b) መርዓት:**        **ዓይብ**  
                  mərፍat:        [ፍላጎት]  
                  Bride:            Local place name

*Literally:* [ፍላጎት]

*Functionally:* The bride says, [ፍላጎት] after the participant.

This is the repetition of the Discourse in 4.10(a) by the bride as per the request of the participant.

#### 4.10(c)

ተሳታፊ:	ጎይታየ	ገብረዕቡድ	ብሽጋር	እንተኸዱ	አነ	ተሸካሚት	ዲባ
təsatafi:	goyta-yyə	[gəβrəʕiβud]	bi-šəggar	ʔinti-[χəd]-u	ʔanə	təšəkkamit	[ʕiβa]
Participant:	Sir-1SG.POS	Gebre "the crazy"	INS-horse	PROG-go-3MHON	I	carrier	Muck

*Literally:* When sir 'Gebre' the crazy goes on horse's back I carry muck.

*Functionally:* When my crazy bridegroom is in comfort, I let myself down and live a poor life.

This Discourse is used by one of the visiting participants trick the bride if she could attribute her bridegroom by this expression ገብረዕቡድ [gəβrə ʕiβud] which refers to one's personality of craziness.

The participants use the term ገብረዕቡድ [gəβrə ʕiβud] 'Gebre the crazy' in 4.10(c) intentionally to test if the bride dares to call her bridegroom by that offending name. The brides in the speech community, on the other hand, prefer to attribute their husbands' good qualities. [See in 4.10(d).]

#### 4.10(d)

መርዓት:	ጎይታየ	ሐዱሽ	ብሽጋር	እንተኸዱ	አነ	ተሸካሚት	ዲባ
mərʕat:	goyta-yyə	ħadduš	bi-šəggar	ʔinti-[χəd]-u	ʔanə	təšəkkamit	[ʕiβa]
Bride:	Sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	INS-horse	PROG-IMP.F.go-3MHON	I	carrier	muck

*Literally:* When sir Hadush the crazy goes on horse's back I carry muck.

*Functionally:* When my dearest bridegroom is in comfort, I am happy to let myself down and live a poor life for him.

This Discourse is said by the bride to functionally mean how much she is subordinated to her bridegroom and wishes him all the best of lucks in his entire life.

The Discourses in 4.10(c & d) express that the brides in this context that represent the women in the speech community of this research area take the responsibilities of doing

some difficult works like carrying muck as stated in 4.10(d). She expresses extreme subordination to her bridegroom. The man (bridegroom in this context), on the other hand, is believed to have a luxury life compared to his woman (bride in this context). When the bridegroom walks on a horse's back, the bride walks on foot even carrying a cumbersome responsibility represented by muck in this context.

<b>4.10(e) ግልጽ:</b>	<b>ንባዕዲ</b>	<b>ንባዕዲ</b>
gilya:	ni-[βaɸdi]	ni-[βaɸdi]
Servant:	ACC-outsider	ACC-outsider

*Literally:* For an outsider for an outsider

*Functionally:* Dear bride, it is not what you deserve.

This reaction is forwarded by one of the best men sitting next to the bride that the bride does not deserve something which the bridegroom doesn't. This Discourse functionally means the best men should look at the bridegroom and the bride in the same eye; they should not bias the bridegroom and the bride.

In 4.10(e), the best man uses a Discourse that explains how to show the fairness of responsibilities between the bridegroom and bride. When the best man says the Discourse in 4.10(e), he means that his bride, too, doesn't deserve cumbersome responsibilities. Like her bridegroom, the bride also needs to have a comfortable life. In the context of *wəddi mən*, the best men are best men for both the bridegroom and the bride though they are most often the biological relatives of the bridegroom. Therefore, they shouldn't be biased to one of them.

<b>4.10(f) መርዓት:</b>	<b>ዕምብባ</b>	<b>ሰየ</b>
mərʕat:	[ʕimbəβa]	siyyə <sup>9</sup>
Bride:	Flower	palm tree
	<b>ይፈትዎም</b>	<b>እየ</b>
	yi-fətw-ə-om	ʔiyy-ə
	1SG-IMPF.love-1SG-3MHON.ACC	IMPF.be-1SG

*Literally:* The flower of a palm tree- I love him.

*Functionally:* I love my handsome bridegroom.

In this Discourse, the bride expresses the feeling she has towards her bridegroom- a kind of deep love of her handsome bridegroom.

---

<sup>9</sup> Most of the words that rhyme, for example, **ሰየ** /siyyə/-meaning palm tree and **እየ** /ʔiyy-ə/-meaning IMPF.be-1sg in 4.10(f) above are used together in this research not because they are logically related, but because they are rhyming words, and the meaning does not fall on them, rather on the rest of the words.

**4.10(g)**

**መርዓት:** ዕምበባ ላሎ  
 mərʕat: [ʕimbəβa] lalo  
 Bride: Flower local shrub

<b>ናይ</b>	<b>ጎይታየ</b>	<b>ሓዱሽ</b>	<b>ቁንጅና</b>	<b>ንመስል</b>	<b>ዶ</b>	<b>ኣሎ</b>
nay	goyta-yyə	ħadduš	[k'uñjinna]	ni-mməsil	do	ʔallo
of	sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	beauty	REL-IMPF.seem	Q	IMPF.exist.3MSG

*Literally:* The flower of 'lalo, local shrub'- is there existing a beauty that seems that of my sir Hadush?

*Functionally:* There is no handsome man like my dearest bridegroom, Hadush.

In this Discourse, the bride witnesses that her bridegroom is the only handsome man of all the men around.

**4.10(h)መርዓት:** ዕምበባ ታህሰስ

mərʕat: [ʕimbəβa] tahsəs  
 Bride: Flower Dodonea angustifolia

<b>ደድሕሪ</b>	<b>ጎይታየ</b>	<b>ሓዱሽ</b>	<b>የብሉኒ</b>	<b>ተሰሰ</b>	<b>ተሰሰ</b>
də-difhri	goyta-yyə	ħadduš	y-əbbilə-nni	təsos	təsos
RED=after	sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	3MSG-JUSS.say-1SG	chase	chase

*Literally:* The flower of Dodonaea Angustifolia- May He make me chase and chase after my sir Hadush.

*Functionally:* I beg my God to make me the companion of my dear bridegroom forever. (I need to be with my bridegroom all the time.)

This is a Discourse used by the bride to express her desire of having a long time with her bridegroom.

**4.10(i) መርግት: ተብብ**

mərṣat: [təɮəβ]

Bride: Becium grandiflorum

**ደድሕሪ**

də-dihri

RED=after

**ጎይታየ**

goyta-yyə

sir-1SG.POS

**ሓዱሽ**

ħadduš

Hadush

**የብለኒ**

y-əbilə-ni

3MSG-JUSS.say-1SG

**ተርብብ**

[tərβəβ]

creep

**ተርብብ**

[tərβəβ]

Creep

*Literally:* Becium Grandiflorum- May He make me creep and creep after my sir Hadush.

*Functionally:* I beg my God to make me follow my dear bridegroom wherever he goes.

This is a Discourse uttered by the bride that she wishes to be with my bridegroom all the time.

The Discourses in 4.10 (h & i) are used by the bride in this context to mean a lot about the strong feeling she has to spend time with her bridegroom and follows his foot step all the time. These Discourses are some interactional ways she expresses the love she has for him.

<b>4.10(j) መርዓት:</b>	<b>ስርናይ</b>	<b>ገዛና</b>		
mərʕat:	sirnay	gəza-na		
Bride:	wheat	house-1PI.POSS		
	<b>ጎይታየ</b>	<b>ሓዱሽ</b>	<b>ማለፍያ</b>	<b>ጉታና</b>
	goyta-yyə	ħadduš	maləfiya	gutana
	sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	elegant	afro

*Literally:* The wheat of our house- the afro of my sir Hadush is elegant.

*Functionally:* My dear bridegroom looks classically handsome.

This Discourse refers to the traditional hairstyle of the bridegroom- Afro style.

The expression in 4.10 (j) is a Discourse that the bride uses to describe her bridegroom. The term **ማለፍያ ጉታና** /maləfiya gutana/ which means 'afro' in 4.10(j) above talks about the elegant traditional hairstyle of the young males; especially bridegrooms, in the speech community of the research area.

<b>4.10(k) መርዓት:</b>	<b>መጉእ</b>					
mərʕat:	məguʔ					
Bride:	mortar					
	<b>ከንዲ</b>	<b>ልቢ</b>	<b>ጎይታየ</b>	<b>ሓዱሽ</b>	<b>ልቢይ</b>	<b>ይፈጋእ</b>
	kɪndi	libbi	goyta-yyə	ħadduš	libb-əy	yi-fəgaʔ
	behalf	heart	sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	heart-1SG.POS	3MSG-JUSS.crack

*Literally:* Mortar- on behalf of the heart of my sir Hadush, my heart gets cracked.

*Functionally:* I would prefer my heart to get broken to my dear bridegroom's heart.

This Discourse expresses that the bride wishes a better life than she does for herself.

The Discourse in 4.10(k) is an expression of self cursing. The bride curses herself in wishing all the best wishes to her bridegroom. This can mean the caring life of the wives would like to have with their spouses in the speech community.

The Discourses in 4.10(f-k) mean how much the bride loves her bridegroom. The way she expresses her love can be understood from the Discourses that she tells the participants in *wæddi mæn* how much she loves him, how much she wishes to be with him all the time, how much handsome and gorgeous her bridegroom is. What makes it more surprising is that the bride uses a self cursing Discourse as in 4.10(k) that she would prefer if something bad happens to herself to her bridegroom.

The Discourses in 4.10(a-k) can, in general, express the sentiment (feeling) of the bride to show her bridegroom extreme subordination, respect, love, and care. In this context, the bridegroom is not observed to use the above Discourses in the game of *wæddi mæn*. From this situation, we can deduce brides tend to use more expressive Discourses to reveal the sentimental feeling they have towards their bridegrooms in *wæddi mæn* which could portray the culture of using expressive words in the research area.

## 4.11 Taboo Discourses

Linguists have different views towards taboo Discourses. According to Fakuade et al (2015: 119), linguistic taboos are words that many people consider offensive or shocking. Fakuade et al (2015: 120) further states that Recent models in the study of linguistic taboo strive to classify taboos according to tradition and norm of the concerned community, this notwithstanding, the different classifications share certain characteristics. Taboo words have different forms that vary from society to society. The category of taboo languages varies because of the cultural variation of societies.

The taboo Discourses this research is focusing on are related to sex and sexual acts that most of the linguists have agreed upon. As far as my point of view is concerned taboo Discourses are contextual. What is a taboo expression now could not be functionally taboo in some other context. The evidences in the context of taboo words related to sex and sexual acts in *wəddi mən* are not as taboo as they are in the normal communicative context of the society of the research area.

In the common communicative context of the speech community, in Tigrai in general and the research area in particular, it is not commonly observed to hear people uttering taboo Discourses related to sex and sexual organs as un-euphemized as they are in the open air. On the contrary, it is common for the participants in *wəddi mən* to use sexual Discourses as taboo as they are in the game. The following Discourses discussed in sociolinguistic themes below illustrate this phenomenon.

### 4.11.1 Taboo Discourses of Envy

It is not common to observe people using sexual words in an open communicative context. In the sociolinguistic context of *wəddi mən*, on the contrary, the participants apparently use sexual words as taboo as they are in their group communication. The purpose is that taboo words of that particular context are very expressive, entertaining, and educational. They can be used to describe some sociolinguistic issues as discussed below.

<b>4.11.1(a) መርዓት:</b>	<b>ጣፍ</b>	<b>እንት-ትዝራእ</b>	<b>ሃምባሃምባ</b>	<b>ይፈሪ</b>
mərፍat:	t'af	ʔinti-ti-zirraʔ	hambahambo	yi-fərri
Bride:	t'eff	PROG-PASS-IMPF.sow	local shrub	3MSG-IMPF.yield
	<b>ምጥሪ</b>	<b>እንት-ትውገር</b>	<b>መዓከር</b>	<b>ይኸሪ</b>
	mitri	ʔinti-ti-wiggər	məፍakkor	yi-χurri
	Pussy	PROG-PASS-IMPF.fuck	buttocks	3MSG-IMPF.angry

*Literally:* While t'eff is sowed, the local shrub 'hambahambo' yields seeds; when the pussy is fucked, the buttocks get angry.

*Functionally:* The buttocks envy on the neighboring pussy being fucked.

The two body parts mentioned in this Discourse represent two neighboring entities that envy one another.

<b>4.11.1 (b) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>እንታይ</b>	<b>ከይኑ</b>
təsatafi:	ʔintay	koyin-u
Participant:	What	PFV.be-1MSG

*Literally:* What has happened to it?

*Functionally:* Why did it envy?

The participant here wants the bride to reason out why this situation of envy occurred. Therefore, the bride openly reasons out using the Discourse in 4.11(a.3) below.

<b>4.11.1 (c) መርገጽ:</b>	<b>ነይተወገርኩ</b>	<b>ኢሉ</b>
mərʕat:	nəy-tə-wəgər-ku	ʔil-u
Bride:	NEG-PASS-PRF.fuck-1SG	PRF.Say-3MSG

*Literally:* It said, "I am not fucked".

*Functionally:* The buttock envied because it did not get the chance that happened to the neighboring pussy.

Envy is one of the social issues that can exist in one society. Then, the speakers in the game of *wəddi mən* express it like it is presented in the Discourses above.

The function of the above Discourse in 4.11.1(c) is used to express the cultural attitude of the speech community of the research area towards an envying neighbor. The participants represented the envying neighbor by the buttock. When something good happened to a certain family the neighboring family could feel envying on the neighboring family of good luck of any sort (e.g. wealth, happiness, power...etc). In *wəddi mən*, the participants use the Discourse 4.11.1(c) that the buttock envies because of the good thing (sex) happening to its neighbor (vagina).

Moreover, we can interpret the Discourse in 4.11.1(c) the notion of what deserves to what. In the speech community of the research area, it is not buttocks that deserve to be fucked but the vagina. This implies what is normal and what is not normal regarding the Discourse in 4.11.1(c). Therefore, the participants in *wəddi mən* use this Discourse to teach each other about the norm in their society.

**4.11.1 (d) መርዓት:** ጡጥ  
 mərṣat: t'ut't'  
 Bride: Cotton

ሓደ	እንትኣቱ	ክልተ	የንቋልጥ
ñədə	ʔinti-ʔattu	killittə	yi-[ʔaŋk <sup>w</sup> alit']
One	PROG-IMPF.enter	two	3MSG-IMPF.drool

*Literally:* Cotton- while the one enters, the two drools.

*Functionally:* While the penis enters to the pussy, the testicles drool.

When people eat food around us, we would salivate of it. The Discourse in 4.11.1(d) is used to express this situation. It functionally means that the testicles salivate of the action done by the nearby penis. As in the Discourse in 4.11.1(d), testicles are said to drool or salivate to have the chance the penis gets; however, as matter of physiology and norm the testicle cannot get that chance of sexual activity as a matter of normality in the research area. Therefore, testicles could represent the envying entity in this situation as used by the participants in *wəddi mən*.

**4.11.1(e) መርዓት:** ትኪ  
 mərṣat: tikki  
 Bride: Smoke

ምጥፊ	እንትትውገር	መዓኮር	ይበኪ
mit'ri	ʔinti-ti-wiggər	məṣakkor	yi-[βækki]
pussy	PROG- PASS-IMPF.fuck	buttock	3MSG-IMPF.cry

*Literally:* Smoke- while pussy is fucked, the buttocks cry.

*Functionally:* While the pussy is fucked, the neighboring buttock cries of envy.

This Discourse is related to the above Discourse in 4.11.1(c). They imply the same function in the Discourse of *wəddi mən*. Both the Discourses in 4.11.1(c) and 4.11.1(e) functionally

mean though the buttocks envy to get what the vagina gets, it is not a norm in the society to happen to the buttock what happens to the vagina as portrayed by the participants in these Discourses.

**4.11.1(f) ተሳታፊ: እንታይ ኮይኑ**  
təsatafi: ʔintay koyn-u  
Participant: What PRF.be-1MSG

*Literally:* What happened to it?

*Functionally:* Why did it envy?

This Discourse is used by one of the participants in the game of *wəddi mən* to ask the bride to reason out why the buttock envied of its counterpart.

**4.11.1(g) መርዓት: ለይተወገርኩ ኢሉ**  
mərʕat: ləy-tə-wəgər-ku ʔil-u  
Bride: NEG-PASS-PRF.fuck-1SG PRF.Say-3MSG

*Literally:* It said, "I am not fucked".

*Functionally:* The buttock envied on pussy because it did not get the chance that happened to the neighboring pussy.

This Discourse is functionally used by the bride to reason out why the situation in the Discourse in 4.11.1(f) happened.

This Discourse is used by the participants in *wəddi mən* to respond to the Discourse in 4.11.1(g). Though the buttock needs to get the chance the vagina gets, it is against the norm of the society of the research area. The participants use the Discourse 4.11.1(g) to teach the novice participants in *wəddi mən* what is normal sexual intercourse and what is not normal in this context.

**4.11.1(h) መርዓት: ኣዳጉራ**

mərʕat: ʔadagura  
Bride Soya bean

<b>ኣነ</b>	<b>እንት-ውገር</b>	<b>ሓማተይ</b>	<b>የንርግራ</b>
ʔanə	ʔinti-ti-wigər	ħamat-əy	y-[əŋgərgir]-a
I	PROG-PASS-IMPF.fuck	mother-in-law-1SG.POS	3FHON-IMPF.tremble-3FHON

*Literally:* Soya bean- while I am fucked, my mother-in-law trembles.

*Functionally:* While I am fucked, my mother-in-law irritates with envy on what is happening to me.

This Discourse is used expresses the assumed feeling of the in-laws in the community of the research area when something good happens to their daughters-in-law.

This Discourse implies the stimuli on the mothers-in-law when their daughters-in-law have sexual intercourse. Then the envy as expressed in the Discourse in 4.11.1(h) is a response for this stimulus. Traditionally, there is a belief that mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law envy each other in the research area. This Discourse can represent this perception as portrayed by the participants in *wəddi mən* like it is in the Discourse 4.11.1(h) above.

**4.11.1(i) ተሳታፊ: እንታይ ከይነን**

təsatafi:	ʔintay	koyn-ən
Participant:	What	PRF.be-3FHON

*Literally:* What happened to her?

*Functionally:* Why does she irritate?

This Discourse is used by the participants to ask why the Discourse in 4.11.1(h).

4.11.1(j) መርዓት፡ ለይተውገርኩ ኢለን  
 mərṣat: ləy-tə-wəgər-ku ʔil-ən  
 Bride: NEG-PASS-PRF.fuck-1SG PRF.Say-3FHON

*Literally:* She said, "I am not fucked".

*Functionally:* The mother-in-law of the bride envied because her daughter-in-law has sexual intercourse.

This Discourse refers to the situation of the mother-in-law's envy of something good (sexual pleasure) that happened to her daughter-in-law.

The Discourse in 4.11.1(h) is used by the participants to respond to the question in 4.11.1(i). The Discourse in 4.11.1(j) reasons out why the mothers-in-law envy on the daughters-in-law in the research area.

In Tigrinya, there is a proverb that says, "መርዓት ፅባሕ ከትኩኒ ኢኺ ሓማት" mərṣat [s'iβaḥ] kitkoni ʔixi ḥamat which means, "Bride, you are going to be a mother-in-law tomorrow. The functional meaning of this proverb is that the brides usually complain of their mothers-in-law. Therefore, speakers use this proverb to react the brides to stop complaining of their mothers-in-law because what happening to the mothers-in-law today will happen to the brides tomorrow when they become mothers-in-law in their turn. The Discourses above illustrate this social context of disagreement between the mothers-in-law and the daughters-in-law in the research area.

**4.11.1(k) መርጻት፡ ደንደሱ**

mərʕat: dændəs-u

Bride: Edge-3MSG.POS

<b>ምጥሪ</b>	<b>እንትትጢጎር</b>	<b>መጻኮር</b>	<b>ይፈሱ</b>
mit'ri	ʔinti-ti-wiggər	məʕakkor	yi-fəssu
pussy	PROG- PASS-IMPF.fuck	buttock	3MSG-IMPF.fart

*Literally:* Its edge- while the pussy is fucked, the buttock farts.

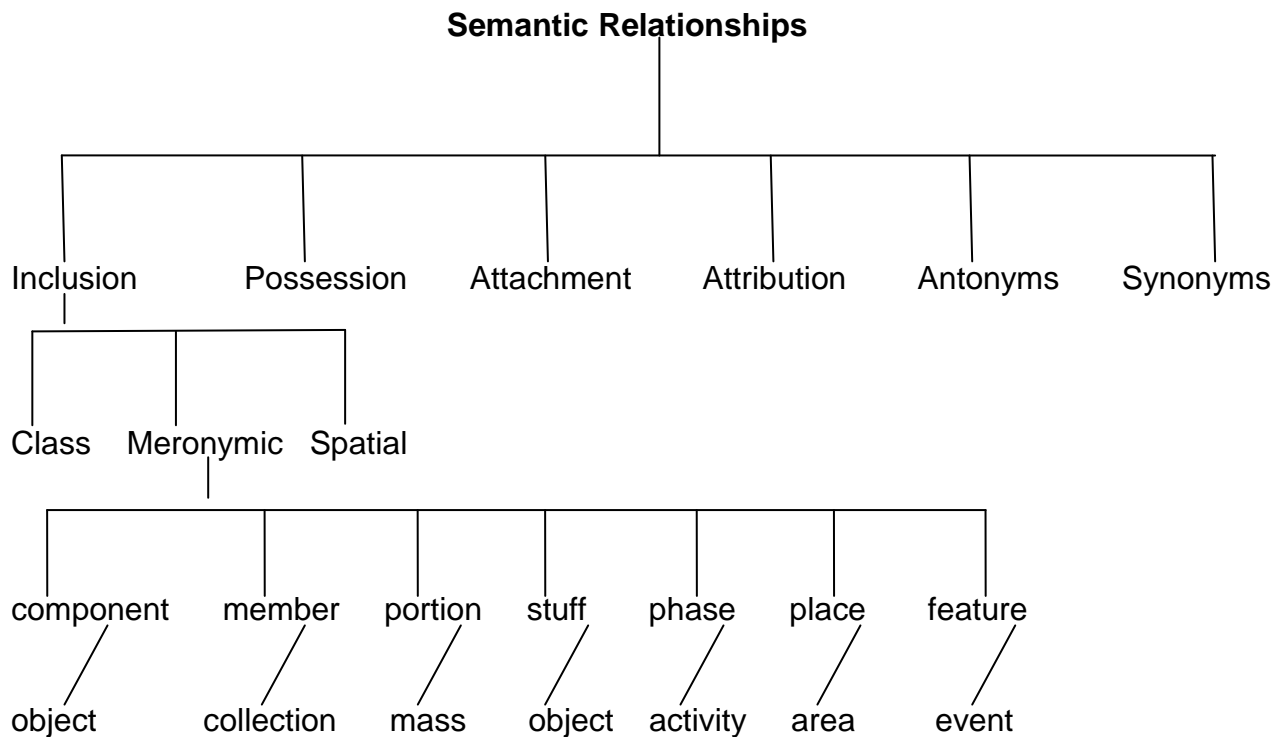
*Functionally:* The buttock farts of envy while the neighboring pussy is fucked.

This Discourse refers to the situation of envy happening to the buttock while its counterpart getting the chance of sexual activity. The sexual organ of the bride and her buttocks in this Discourse represent abnormal neighborhood- an abnormality signifying envy in the research area.

The Discourses in 4.11.1(a-k) are used in referring to envy in the context of *wəddi mən*. In the Discourses, the bride refers to two entities of a group. Semantically, they are meronymies (envious entities) that probably represent a situation of envy because something good happens to one while it is not happening to the other meronymy.

The above Discourses can be illustrated as meronymies of (i) plants (t'eff and the local shrub 'hambahambo', (ii) tabooed body parts (pussy and buttocks), (iii) sexual organs (penis and testicles), (iv) females (bride and mother-in-law). In this sociolinguistic context, the meronymies in (i-vi) are taken as symbols of envying partners. As it is discussed in the Discourses above in 4.11.1(a-k), the second entries in each of the meronymy envy because of what is happening to the first entries in the pairs of the meronymies. In the speech community, mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law are observed in personal disagreements because the mothers-in-law get envious of the daughters-in-law. The Discourse in 4.11.1(h) reflects this situation in the context of *wəddi mən*.

Meronymies, as explained in Storey (1993: 457), represents the semantic relationship that refers to the situations of inclusions of: component- object, member- collection, portion- mass, stuff- object, phase- activity, place- area, feature- event relationships. The following diagram as depicted in Storey (1993: 457) shows the general sketch of the semantic relation of lexicons regarding meronymies.



**Figure 8: Semantic Relationships (Storey, 1993: 457)**

In this context, the envious entities are of the meronymies of membership (hambahambo, local shrub versus t'eff and mother-in-law versus daughter-in-law), meronymies of the same component (buttocks versus vagina and penis versus testicles) relationship. In the context of the game, the participants express the notion of envy by referring to these meronymic entities.

### 4.11.2 Hyperbole Taboo Discourses

Figurative languages (metaphoric) are capable of expressing the insight meaning of Discourse as stated in Sakadolskis (2003: 5). They can carry meanings beyond their literal ones by giving an extra dimension to language by stimulating the imagination and evoking visual, sensual imagery; such language paints a mental picture in words. Figurative languages include simile, metaphor, personification, hyperbole, irony, allusion, imagery... etc. In this study the most commonly used figurative language is hyperbole. The following Discourses are often used by the participants in *weddi mən*.

#### 4.11.2(a)

መርዓት: ጎነቕ

mərʕat: [gonəχ']

Bride: Dichrostahys cinerea

አነን	ጎይታየ	ሓዱሽን	እንትንጥጥር	መሬት	ይነቻነቕ
ʔanə-n	goyta-yyə	ħadduš-in	ʔinti-ni-wwagər	məret	yi-[nnəχ'anəχ']
I-CONJ	sir-POS.1SG	Hadush-CONJ	PROG-RECP-IMPF.fuck	earth	3MSG-IMPF.shake
ጎረባብቲ	ይሃድሙ	ክረስቶስ	ይድነቕ		
[gorəβaβitti]	yi-hadm-u	kirstos	yi-[dinnəχ']		
Neighbors	3MPL-IMPF.run-3MPL	Christ	3MSG-IMPF.appreciate		

*Literally:* Dichrostahys Cinerea- while my sir Hadush and I fuck each other, the earth shakes, the neighbors run away, but Christ appreciates it.

*Functionally:* We fuck each other as hard as it causes earth quick, so long as it scares the neighboring people, and as powerful as it makes Christ appreciate the way we do it.

This Discourse functionally means that it is no harm and no sin if the bride makes romantic love with her bridegroom post their marriage. The society of the research area condemns pre-marriage sexual intercourse. Therefore, the Discourse in 4.11.2(a) is used in the game to refer to marriage that it a social resolution for one to get engaged in sexual acts with his/her partner.

4.11.2(b)

መርዓት: ጎዳዳ  
 mərṣat: goda-du  
 Bride: depot-PL

አነን	ጎይታየ	ሓዱሽን	እንትንዋገር	ኣብዑር	ይህድዱ
ʔanə-n	goyta-yyə	ħadduš-in	ʔinti-ni-wwagər	[ʔaβʔur]	yi-hiddid-u
I-CONJ	sir-1SG.POS	Hadush-CONJ	PROG-RECP-IMPF.fuck	oxen	3MPL-IMPF.run away-3MPL

*Literally:* Depots- While I and my sir Hadush fuck each other, oxen run away.

*Functionally:* My bridegroom and I fuck each other as hard as we scare the oxen around.

This Discourse pragmatically indicates the bridegroom and the bride make a very intense and deep sexual play and exaggerates that they do it as much as the animals around the honeymoon room get scared of the way they do it.

4.11.2 (c)

መርዓት: መቕዕ  
 mərṣat: [məχ'iʕ]  
 Bride: Balanites aegyptiaca

አነን	ጎይታየ	ሓዱሽን	እንትንዋገር	መሬት	ይነቅዕ
ʔanə-n	goyta-yyə	ħadduš-in	ʔinti-ni-wwagər	məret	yi-nək'k'iʕ
CONJ	sir-1SG.POS	Hadush-CONJ	PROG-RECP-IMPF.fuck	earth	3MSG-IMPF.crack

*Literally:* Balanites Aegyptiaca- while I and my sir Hadush fuck each other, the earth cracks.

*Functionally:* My dear bridegroom, Hadush and I fuck each other so hard that causes the earth cracks.

This Discourse functionally expresses that the earth shakes off during the deep sexual intercourse the bridegroom and the bride have.

The Discourse in 4.11.2(a-c) above are exaggerated Discourses that the people got scared, the earth shook and cracked, and the oxen around ran away of scary when the bridegroom and the bride make love. The Discourse in 4.11.2(a) is used in the context of *wəddi mən* to teach that having sex after marriage is no sin when it is with one's husband or wife.

This Discourse tells us though people and the oxen around get frustrated, and the earth shakes and cracks because the bridegroom and bride have sex very hard; however, Jesus Christ feels happy of the way they have sex to mean having sex with one's husband (bridegroom in this context) and wife (bride in this context) is no sin in the norm of the speech community of this research area. What makes this Discourse a hyperbole is that it exaggerates that the neighboring people and the oxen around get scared, and the earth shakes and cracks of the intensity of the sex the brides have in the context of *wəddi mən*.

**4.11.2(d)**

መርዓት: ፈልግ  
 mərṣat: fəls's'i  
 Bride: Dissected wood

ምጥረይ	እንት-ትዉገር	ሻምባቆ	ሒዙ	ይፋግ
mit'r-əy	ʔinti-ti-wiggər	šambak'k'o	ħiz-u	yi-fas'i
Pussy-1SG.POS	PROG-PASS-3MSG-IMPF.fuck	flute	hold-1MSG	3MSG-IMPF.whistle

*Literally:* Dissected wood- while my pussy is fucked, it holds a flute and whistles it.

*Functionally:* The sound that is created while my pussy is fucked, it produces a musical sound of a flute.

The bride uses this Discourse to describe the rhythmic sound of her sexual organ makes while having a sex play with her bridegroom. The bride exaggerates this context as if they make a sound truck because of the arrangement of the sexual organs in their romantic play.

The above Discourse of *wəddi mən* in 4.11.2(d) exaggerates the huff-puffing sound of sex that the sexual organ of the bride makes is as loud as the sound of a musical instrument called flute. The Discourse can also be a personification figure of speech because the Discourse means the sexual organ of the bride plays (blows) a musical instrument (flute).

<b>4.11.2(e)</b>	<b>መርዓት:</b>	<b>ጣፍ</b>	<b>ዓጋመየ</b>		
	mərʕat:	t'af	ʕagamə-yə		
	Bride:	't'eff'	place name-VOC		
		<b>መዓኮረይ</b>	<b>መላጥ</b>	<b>ምጥረይ</b>	<b>ጋመየ</b>
		məʕakkor-əy	məlat'	mit'r-əy	gamə-yə
		buttock-1SG.POS	bald	pussy-1SG.POS	Hair style-VOC
		<b>ጨጉሪ</b>	<b>ምጥረይ</b>	<b>መሐንገጢ</b>	<b>ዕትሮየ</b>
		č'əguri	mit'r-əy	[məħəŋgəti']	ʕitro-yə
		hair	pussy-1SG.POS	sling	pot-VOC

*Literally:* 't'eff' of Agame- my buttock is bald, my pussy has a hairstyle as long as a sling of a pot.

*Functionally:* My pussy is bounded by long bushy hair while my buttock has no hair at all.

One of the signs that one is reaching the secondary sexual characteristics is growing hair on sexual organs. This Discourse; therefore, is used by the bride to functionally mean she is old enough to show this characteristic of adolescence.

**4.11.2(f) መርዓት: ብርስን**

mərʕat: birsin

Bride: Lentil

<b>ጨጉሪ</b>	<b>ምጥረይ</b>	<b>መጎጎ</b>	<b>ሐማተይ</b>	<b>የርስን</b>
č'əguri	mit'r-əy	məgogo	ħamat-əy	y-ərissin
Hair	pussy-1SG.POS	oven	mother-in-law-1SG.POS	3MSG-IMPF.heat

*Literally:* Lentil- the hair of my pussy heats the oven of my mother-in-law.

*Functionally:* The hair around the edge of my pussy is so bushy that it can burn to heat the traditional baking oven of my mother-in-law.

This Discourse is functionally the same in meaning with the Discourse in 4.11.2(e) above.

**4.11.2(g) መርዓት: ጻፀ**

mərʕat: s'as'ə

Bride: ant

<b>ጨጉሪ</b>	<b>ምጥረይ</b>	<b>ብወፈራ</b>	<b>ይላፀ</b>
č'əguri	mit'r-əy	bi-wəfəra	yi-llas'ə
hair	pussy-1SG.POS	INS-campaign	3MSG-IMPF.shave

*Literally:* Ant- the hair of my pussy is shaved in a campaign.

*Functionally:* My pussy is bounded by bushy hair that one cannot manage to shave it.

In the research area, people make campaign labor to reap crops to save their energy and time. Concerning to this labor campaign, the Discourse in 4.11.2(g) exaggeratedly denotes the situation that people shave the hair around the sexual organ of the bride. The intention of the speaker (the bride) in this Discourse is that she is adolescent enough to get engaged in sexual affairs with her partner.

**4.11.2(h) መርዓት:** ሊካም  
 mərʕat: Liḥam  
 Bride: Syzygium guineense

<b>መዓከረይ</b>	<b>መላጥ</b>	<b>ምጥረይ</b>	<b>ጭካም</b>
məʕakkor-əy	məlat'	mit'r-əy	č'iḥam
Buttock-1SG.POS	bald	pussy-1SG.POS	bearded

*Literally:* Syzygium Guineense- my buttock is bald while my pussy is bearded.

*Functionally:* My pussy is full of bushy hair that makes it look bearded, but my buttock has not any.

This functionally refers to the length of the hair around the sexual organ of the bride.

The Discourses in 4.11.2(e-h) mean that the sexual organ of the bride has never been shaved before that it got so bushy that she (single person), for example, cannot finish shaving it at a time. These Discourses are hyperbole in their nature because they exaggerate how bushy the sexual organ of the bride and how much long hair it has. In this context, the bride is metaphorically telling the participants that she is old enough to engage and enjoy herself in sexual affairs. Her bushy sexual organ means she is at her age of secondary sexual characteristics.

**4.11.2(i) መርዓት:**    **ሐፀር**  
 mərʕat:    ḥas'ur  
 Bride:    fence

<b>ምጥረይ</b>	<b>እንቀዓ</b>	<b>ጨው</b>	<b>ይቋፅር</b>
mit'r-əy	[ʔiŋk'əʕa]	č'əw	yi-[χ <sup>w</sup> as'ir]
pussy-1SG.POS	local measurement	salt	3MSG-IMPF.hold

*Literally:* Fence- my pussy holds እንቀዓ [ʔiŋk'əʕa] (local measurement) of salt.

*Functionally:* My pussy is so wide. This Discourse exaggerates how much wide sexual organ the bride has.

The expression እንቀዓ [ʔiŋk'əʕa] functionally means a local measurement unit for grainy or powdery matters. In this context, this expression is used to refer to the width of the bride's sexual organ in an overstated sense.

**4.11.2(j) መርዓት:**    **መጥእ**  
 mərʕat:    məguʔ  
 Bride:    mortar

<b>ምጥረይ</b>	<b>ደሙ</b>	<b>የሐብእ</b>
mit'r-əy	dimmu	y-əḥəbbiʔ
pussy-1SG.POS	cat	3MSG-IMPF.hide

*Literally:* Mortar- my pussy lets a cat hide in it.

*Functionally:* My pussy is so wide that it can let a cat hide in it.

Though different in the literal meaning, this Discourse is functionally the same with the Discourse in 4.11.2(i) above. They refer to how much wide is the sexual organ of the bride as she utters them to the participants in the game of *wəddi mən*.

**4.11.2(k) መርግት:** ሰቲ  
 mərḡat: sətti  
 Bride: bulrush

<b>ፀፈፍታ</b>	<b>ምጥረይ</b>	<b>ፅምዲ</b>	<b>ብዕራይ</b>	<b>የሰቲ</b>
s'əfəfta	mit'r-əy	s'imdi	biḡray	y-əsitti
fluid	puss-1SG.POS	pair	ox	3MSG-IMPF.drink

*Literally:* Bulrush- the fluid in my pussy lets a pair of oxen drink.

*Functionally:* My pussy produces fluid as much water as a pair of oxen can adequately drink.

This Discourse functionally refers to the depth of the bride's sexual organ.

**4.11.2(l) መርግት:** ደወኸን  
 mərḡat: [dəwəx<sup>w</sup>ən]  
 Bride: Honeycomb

<b>ናተይ</b>	<b>ሕምሲ</b>	<b>ክነድዚ</b>	<b>ይኸን</b>
natəy	ħimsi	kindi-ጎizi	yi-[x <sup>w</sup> ən]
my	pussy	COMP-DET	3MSG-IMPF.be

*Literally:* Honeycomb- my pussy is as big as this...

*Functionally:* My pussy is so big that can be compared to my palm hands [the bride showing her palm hands] curved to each other.

This Discourse figuratively indicates the entire size of the sexual organ of the bride in an inflated manner.

The Discourses in 4.11.2(i-l) mean the sexual organ of the bride, as to her, is so wide and deep and outwardly big. Therefore, she exaggerates that it is as wide as it can hide a cat in it as we can see; for example, in the Discourse 4.11.2(j). This means it is too wide a genital mouth it has. She also exaggerates her sexual organ that it is as wide as it can hold as

much water like a pair of oxen can sufficiently drink. Moreover, the bride compares the width of her sexual organ with her palm hands curved to each other.

#### 4.11.2(m)

መርዓት: መርፍእ  
 mərʕat: mərʕi?  
 Bride: needle

ጎይታየ	ሐዱሽ	ውግር	ሐዲርግኒ	ከሳብ	ወርሐ	ትጠፍእ
goyta-yyə	ħadduš	wigir	ħadir-om-ni	[kisaβ]	wərħi	ti-t'əffi?
sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	fuck	PRF.spend night-3MHON-1SG	until	moon	3FSG-IMPF.lose

*Literally:* Needle- my sir Hadush had been spending a night fucking me until the moon got lost.

*Functionally:* My dear bridegroom, Hadush had been fucking me the whole night.

In this Discourse, the bride tells the whole participants in the game of *wəddi mən* about the duration of their romantic play. This Discourse is hyperbolic in the sense that it literally refers to the whole night to equate the duration of their sexual play.

4.11.2(n) መርዓት: ቆርቆሮ  
 mərʕat: k'ork'orro  
 Bride: tin

ጎይታየ	ሐዱሽ	እንትውግሩኒ	ይበፅሕ	ኣብ	መሮ
goyta-yyə	ħadduš	ʔinti-wəgr-u-ni	[yi-βəs's'iħ]	[ʔaβ]	məro
sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	PROG-IMPF.fuck-3MHON-1SG	1SG-IMPF.reach	at	ceiling

*Literally:* Tin- while my sir Hadush fucks me, I reach the ceiling.

*Functionally:* My dear bridegroom fucks me so hard that makes me feel painful.

In this context, the bride expresses the pain she feels as high as she reaches the ceiling of the honeymoon room while having sexual intercourse with her bridegroom.

**4.11.2(o) መርዓት:** ብራካ  
 mərʕat: birak<sup>w</sup>a  
 Bride: jerrycan

ኣብ	መንጎ	ኣእጋረይ	ኣውጺኦም	ፋብሪካ
[ʔaβ]	[mənɔgo]	ʔaʔgar-əy	ʔa-ws'iʔ-om	[faβrika]
at	between	legs-1SG.POS	CAUS-PRF.out-3MHON	Factory

*Literally:* Jerrycan- He outed a factory between my legs.

*Functionally:* Most of the activities that my bridegroom is doing these days are fucking me as his usual business.

This Discourse functionally indicates the frequency of the sexual act the bridegroom engaged in. The bride uses this Discourse to express that her bridegroom is making sexual intercourse his regular business with her.

In general, in the above Discourses in 4.11.2(m-o), the bride exaggerates how long sexual intercourse she has had with her husband. These Discourses, in the context of *wəddi mən*, mean that the bride is complaining about the intensity and frequency of the sexual intercourse her bridegroom has night long to exaggerate. In general, the Discourses tell us how hard sexual intercourse and long sexual intercourse time the brides have. In a hyperbole figurative speech, the bride also expresses the pain she feels while having sexual intercourse with her bridegroom as illustrated in the Discourse in 4.11.2(n). Moreover, this Discourse functionally means the bride complains that her bridegroom is frequently having a business between her legs (contextually at her sexual organ) as we can see in the Discourse in 4.11.2(o) above.

### 4.11.3 Taboo Discourses of Sexual Request

According to Regan (1997: 521), it is believed that sexual desire affects the perception of the couple's sexual interaction. In this case, the following Discourses illustrate how the bridegroom and the bride request each other for romantic play. This section analyzes the functional meaning of the Discourses and their implications in the sexual interaction of the couples.

<b>4.11.3(a) መርገዊ:</b>	<b>ዕንጨይቲ</b>	<b>ዓጋም</b>	<b>ፀዶ</b>
mərɕawi:	[ɕiñč'əyti]	ɕigam	s'əddo
Bridegroom:	Wood	Carissa edulis	Rhamnus staddo
	<b>አትን</b>	<b>ትዉገራ</b>	<b>ዶ</b>
	ʔati-n	ti-wiggər-a	do
	you-2FHON	PASS-IMPF.fuck-2FHON	Q

*Literally:* Wood of Carissa Edulis and Rhamnus Staddo- would you like to be fucked?

*Functionally:* Would it be alright if I fuck you?

This Discourse expresses the sexual request forwarded by the bridegroom to his bride. The intonation of the speech is not a direct command, but the speaker (bridegroom) uses a question like a request to having sexual intercourse with his bride.

<b>4.11.3(b) መርዓት:</b>	<b>እንተረኺብናዮ</b>	<b>ዶ</b>
mərṣat:	ʔintə-[rəxiβ]-na-yyo	do
Bride	PROG-get-1PL-3MSG	Q
	<b>እንተረኺብናዮ</b>	<b>አይንገድፍ</b>
	ʔintə-[rəxiβ]-na-yyo	ʔay-ni-gəddif
	COND-get-1PL-3MSG	NEG-1PL-PRF.leave
	<b>እንተሰኢናዮ</b>	<b>አይንፀድፍ</b>
	ʔintə-siʔin-na-yyo	ʔay-ni-s'əddif
	COND-miss-1PL-3MSG	NEG-1PL-PRF.fall down

*Literally:* If we get? If we get it, we cannot leave it; if we do not get it, we will not fall off a cliff.

*Functionally:* I would be happy if you could, but that does not much concern me at this time.

In this Discourse, the bride positively responds to the sexual request as it is shown in 4.11.3(a) in the form of a strong wish of sexual desire. The functional meaning of this Discourse reveals that she also was to ask for that sexual request; however, as a matter of order, the bridegroom was to ask for the sexual request first.

<b>4.11.3(c) መርዓት:</b>	<b>ማሕረሻ</b>		
mərṣat:	maħrəša		
Bride:	Plough plow		
	<b>የእትውላይ</b>	<b>ክሳብ</b>	<b>መጨረሻ</b>
	y-əʔtiw-u-lə-y	[kisaβ]	məč'ərəšša
	2MHON-JUSS.enter-2MHON-BEN-1SG	untill	end

*Literally:* Plougher- insert into me until the end.

*Functionally:* Fuck me hard up to the root of your penis.

This sexual request is requested by the bride to her bridegroom to make it harder and harder.

**4.11.3(d) መርዓት: ስዓት**  
mərʕat: siʕat  
Bride: watch

<b>ይውገኑኒ</b>	<b>ስለ-ስርዓት</b>
yi-wigər-u-ni	silə-siriʕat
2MHON-JUSS.fuck-2MHON-1SG	for-rule sake

*Literally:* Watch- fuck me for rule sake.

*Functionally:* My dear bridegroom, it is your responsibility to fuck me when necessary.

In this context, the bride reminds the sexual responsibility (duty) her bride has with her. She functionally means her bridegroom has a duty to fulfill her sexual desire and should act accordingly.

This Discourse is used as life skill training for sexual orientation. Some bridegrooms may assume having sexual acts with their bride as part of their partnership; therefore, the participants use this Discourse for this purpose to orient the bride that she should feel free to ask her bridegroom for sexual intercourse and to inform that the bridegroom should feel committed to do so.

4.11.3(e) መርዓት: ጨርቂ

mərʕat: č'ərki

Bride: cloth

የእትውላይ

y-əʔtw-u-lə-y

2MHON-JUSS.enter-2MHON-BEN-1SG

ከሳብ

[kisaβ]

until

ፍርንጭቶም

[firiñč'it]-om

testicle-2MHON.POS

ንጥልቂ

ni-t'ilki

REL-wet

*Literally:* Cloth- insert into me until your testicle gets wet.

*Functionally:* My dear bridegroom, please fuck me hard and deep until your testicles get wet.

This Discourse functionally means that the bride wants her bridegroom should do it deeper and deeper for her sexual pleasure. This Discourse is used by the participants in *wəddi mən* as a life skill lesson for both the bridegroom and the bride in their sexual life.

4.11.3(f) መርዓት: ዝዋውዕ

mərʕat: ziwawiʕ

Bride: Erythrina abyssinica<sup>10</sup>

አውኒርም

ʔa-wtir-om

CAUS-PRF.erect-2MHON

ይምፅኡኒ

yi-mis'ʔ-u-ni

2MHON-JUSS.come-2MHON-1SG

ከም ዝራብዕ

kəm

like

[ziraβiʕ]

Bull

*Literally:* Erythrina Abyssinica- erect and come to me like a bull.

*Functionally:* My dear bridegroom, please come to me making your penis erected ready like a bull.

---

<sup>10</sup> In translating some local trees, shrubs, and crops, I have used their scientific names; for example Erythrina abyssinica, because of difficulty to find their English equivalents. The scientific names are taken from: Species List Tigrinya - Scientific (November, Eva, 2004).

This Discourse is a simile figurative speech that compares the way the bulls do and the bride wants her bridegroom should get ready to please her in their sexual partnership as hard as the bulls do with their counterparts.

**4.11.3(g) መርዓት: ማእሲ**

mərʕat: maʕisi  
Bride: kip

<b>ይውገሩኒ</b>	<b>ስለ</b>	<b>ኑሰሲ</b>
yi-wigər-u-ni	silə	[nəβsi]
2MHON-JUSS.fuck-2MHON-1SG	for	Soul

*Literally:* Kip- fuck me for soul sake.

*Functionally:* My dear bridegroom, please fuck me for my soul's sake.

This Discourse is used by the bride to express her strong sexual desire to her bridegroom. The intonation of the Discourse reveals the context of begging for sexual interest to have with a partner (the bride with the bridegroom in this context).

**4.11.3(h) መርዓት: ጉጉዲ**

mərʕat: gundi  
Bride: stem

<b>ይውገሩኒ</b>	<b>ብግዲ</b>
yi-wigər-u-ni	bi-giddi
2MHON-JUSS.fuck-2MHON-1SG	INS-duty

*Literally:* Stem- fuck me in duty.

*Functionally:* You must fuck me whenever I in need it.

This Discourse has the same literal and functional meaning with the Discourse in 4.11.3(d) above; they denote the statements of the bride to her bridegroom of sexual duty. In both

Discourses, she functionally means that her bridegroom has to do it because it is his responsibility as a bridegroom and husband of her future life.

**4.11.3(i) ተሳታፊ:**

təsatafi:

Participant:

**አዳጎራ**

ʔadagura

Soya bean

**አርእዩና**

ʔa-rʔiy-u-na

CAUS-IMP.show-2PL-1PL

**ናይ**

nay

of

**ቀትሪ**

k'ətri

noon

**አዋግራ**

ʔawwagra

Fucking

*Literally:* Soya bean-show us the fucking of noon.

*Functionally:* Dear bridegroom and bride, can you show us the way you fuck at noon?

In this context, the participants are requesting both the way the bridegroom and the bride do romantic play in day times. The purpose of this Discourse is to teach that both the bride and the bridegroom should not feel shy and depend only on night about/ to having romantic love.

Generally, the Discourse in 4.11.3(a), the bridegroom wanted to know if his bride needs to have sex with him. Then, the above taboo Discourses in 4.11.3(a-i) are forwarded by the bride in a positive response to the Discourse in 4.11.3(a). These Discourses express the way the bride requests her bridegroom to have sex. In the Discourses, the bride uses taboo words without euphemizing them to directly request her bridegroom for sex. The Discourse in 4.11.3(i) is uttered by the participants around to request the bridegroom and the bride if they can dramatically show them the way they have sex at noon.

From the Discourses discussed above, we can see that the participants in *wəddi mən* touch several sexual orientations as life skill training for the bridegroom and the bride. This situation makes the bridegroom and the bride trained of asking each other for romantic play. The bridegroom and the bride may feel shy of asking each other for sexual desire

because inquiring a partner is not as easy as asking for a glass of water, especially, in a rural society like the society of the research area.

#### 4.11.4 Taboo Discourses of Sexual Maturity

In *wəddi mən*, the issue of sexual maturity of both the bridegroom and the bride is one part of the game. To mean how sexually matured the bridegroom and the bride, the following Discourses are common in *wəddi mən*. As discussed below, some of the Discourses mean the sexual maturity of the bridegroom, and some of them tell us the sexual strength of the bride.

##### 4.11.4(a)

መርዓት: ሐግ  
 mərʕat: ħus'a  
 Bride: sand

መሸኔት	ጎይታየ	ሐዱሽ	ንታ	ምጥረይ	ተርህ፣
məšənit	goyta-yyə	ħadduš	ni-ta	mit'r-əy	t-ərhis'-a
penis	sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	ACC-3FSG	pussy-1SG.POS	3FSG-IMPF.sweat-3FSG

*Literally:* Sand- your penis makes my pussy sweat.

*Functionally:* Your penis is strong enough that it satisfies my sexual interest so much as my pussy gets sweating.

In this context, the bride functionally means that her bridegroom is strong (matured) enough to sexually please her. As illustrated in this Discourse, the bride is producing sweat on her sexual organs means her bridegroom is sexually strong to be the reason for her sweating in their romantic play.

**4.11.4(b) መርዓት: ሓንሰ**

mərʕat: ħanse

Bride: local tree

ና	ጎይታየ	ሓዱሽ	ሽልሐ	ኣብዩዎም	እናጥሓሰ
na	goyta-yyə	ħadduš	šilħo	[ʔaβyi]-w-om	ʔinna-t'ħasə
of	sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	dick	PRF.defy-3MSG-3MHON	PROG-IMPF.penetrate

*Literally:* ħanse (Local tree) - my sir Hadush's penis defies him to penetrate.

*Functionally:* My bridegroom could not control his erected penis penetrating my pussy.

This Discourse is used by the bride to functionally mean that her bridegroom is sexually aroused and wants to romantically play with her all the time. Literally, the sexual organ of the bridegroom is penetrating out means; it is erected and pointed towards the bride. This functionally means the bridegroom has a strong desire for having a romantic play with his bride.

**4.11.4(c) መርዓት: ታንኪ**

mərʕat: [taŋki]

Bride: tank

ተጠምጢመዮም	ይሓድር	ከም	ሰልኪ
tə-t'əmt'im-ə-yyom	yi-ħaddir	kəm	silki
PASS-PRF.coil-1SG-2MHON	1SG-IMPF.spend night	like	wire

*Literally:* Tank- I spend night coiled around him like a wire.

*Functionally:* I spend the whole night coiled like wire around my bridegroom.

This Discourse expresses the sexual maturity of the bride. Its functional meaning refers to the sexual fortitude of the bride; she is sexually matured enough to do it the whole night as illustrated in the Discourse in 4.11.4(c) above.

To sum up, the above Discourses in 4.11.4(a-c) functionally mean about the sexual endurance of the bridegroom and the bride. The Discourses in 4.11.4(a & b) mean that the bridegroom is so strong in having sexual intercourse with his bride. In the Discourse in 4.11.4(a), the bride confirms that her sexual organ produces sweat because of the strength of her bridegroom in sexual intercourse and shows that he beats her in sexual intercourse. The Discourse in 4.11.4(c), on the other hand, tells us that the bride is so sexually matured that she can have sexual intercourse the whole night coiled around the waist of her bridegroom.

#### 4.11.5 Taboo Discourses of Sexual Immaturity

The brides can be sexually weak because of some reasons. Some of the brides can be below the expected age level of marriage. On the other hand, some brides can be sexually weak because of physical strength for some reasons. In *wæddi mæn*, the following Discourses can mean about weakness (immaturity) in having sex.

##### 4.11.5(a)

መርጎዋ፡            ትኪ  
 mərɕawi፡        tikki  
 Bridegroom:      smoke

ምንኳል	ኣብዩኒ	ደኒነ	ዶበኪ
mi-ŋk <sup>w</sup> al	[ʔaβy]-u-nni	dənin-ə	yi-[βəkki]
VN-pierce	PRF.defy-3MSG-1SG	PRF.bend-1SG	1SG-IMPF.cry

*Literally:* Smoke- I bend over and cry for it defied me not to be pierced.

*Functionally:* I badly cried, for I could not be capable of breaking the virginity of my bride easily.

This Discourse is uttered by the bridegroom to refer to the situation that was difficult for him to break his bride's virginity. This Discourse functionally means how tiresome for one to

have sexual intercourse with a female who has never engaged in sexual intercourse before.

**4.11.5(b)**

**መርጎዊ:** ሕፃውቱ

mərɕawi: ħis'awis'

Bridegroom: Calpurnia aurea

ንእምቢይተይ	መብርሂት	እንትወግረን	መግኮረይ	ይርህፅ
ni-[ʔimbəytə]-y	[məβrhit]	ʔinti-wəgr-ən	məʔakkor-əy	yi-rhis'
ACC-madam-1SG.POS	Mebrhit	PROG-IMPF.fuck-3SGHON	buttocks-1SG.POS	3MSG-IMPF.sweat

*Literally:* Calpurnia Aurea- while I fuck my madam Mebrhit, my buttocks sweats.

*Functionally:* I am sexually weak that my buttock sweats when I fuck my bride.

In the above section in 4.11.4(a), we have seen the Discourse that denotes the sexual endurance of the bridegroom; however, in this section, the Discourse in 4.11.5(b) denotes the sexual immaturity of the bridegroom that he produces sweat because of the sexual engagement with his bride.

4.11.5(c)

መርዓዊ: መርፍእ  
 mərፍawj: mərፍi?  
 Bridegroom: needle

ንእምባይተይ	መብርሂት	አንኩላየን	ደም	ይተፍእ
ni-[ʔimbəytə]-y	[məβrhit]	ʔa-[ŋk <sup>w</sup> il]-ə-yən	dəm	yi-təffiʔ
ACC-madam-1SG.POS	Mebrhit	CAUS-PRF.pierce-1SG-3FHON	blood	1SG-IMPF.spit

*Literally:* Needle- I spit blood when I pierced my madam Mebrhit.

*Functionally:* I sweated blood of tiresome after taking my bride's virginity.

In this context, the bridegroom utters this Discourse to functionally mean how much exhausted he felt while taking the virginity of his bride.

4.11.5(d) መርዓት: መስፈ

mərፍat: məsፍə  
 Bride: awl

ጎይታየ	ሐዱሽ	አብደዎዎ	እናተዓፀፈ
goyta-yə	ħadduš	[ʔaβy]-u-wom	ʔina-tə-ፍas'əf-ə
sir-POS	Hadush	PRF.defy-1MSG-3MHON	PROG-PASS-hook-3MSG

*Literally:* Awl- the penis of my sir Hadush defied him hooked down.

*Functionally:* My bridegroom's penis could not be strong enough to penetrate my vagina.

This Discourse functionally refers to the inability of the sexual organ of the bridegroom to erect and break the virginity of his bride through. The reason can be because the bridegroom is not physically matured, or he is not old enough to get married.

**4.11.5(e) መርዓት: ድርቋ**

mərʕat: dirk<sup>w</sup>a

Bride: fodder

<b>ቆልዓ</b>	<b>እየ</b>	<b>የእትውለይ</b>	<b>ፍርቃ</b>
k'olʕa	ʔiyy-ə	y-əʔtiw-u-llə-y	firk'-a
child	be-1SG	1MHON-JUSS.enter-2MHON-BEN-1SG	half-3FSG.POS

*Literally:* Fodder- I am a child; insert it into me half of it.

*Functionally:* I am a litter child that I cannot manage your big penis, so please immerse half of its part so that I can possibly manage it.

This Discourse is used by the bride to functionally mean that she cannot manage the size of her bridegroom's sexual organ. This indicates that she is not sexually matured to fully making romantic love because of the incompatibility of the big sexual organ of the bridegroom and the sexual immaturity of the bride.

**4.11.5(f) መርዓት: ቆርቆሮ**

mərʕat: k'ork'oro

Bride: tin

<b>ጎይታየ</b>	<b>ሓዱሽ</b>	<b>እንትውግሩኒ</b>	<b>ይበፅኦ</b>	<b>መሮ</b>
goyta-yə	ħadduš	ʔinti-wəgr-u-ni	yi-[βəs's'iħ]	məro
sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	PROG-IMPF.fuck-3MHON-1SG	1SG-IMPF.reach	ceiling

*Literally:* Tin- I reach the ceiling while my sir Hadush is fucking me.

*Functionally:* I felt strongly painful when my bridegroom took my virginity (at the first sexual intercourse) with my bridegroom.

It is because of her sexual immaturity that the bride could not manage the pain of the intensity of the sexual intercourse that she reaches the ceiling of the honeymoon room out

of pain. This happens, especially, when the bride is having it for the first time according to the context of the game of *wəddi mən*.

#### 4.11.5(g)

መርዓት: መጠረ

mərʕat: mət'ərə

Bride: Buddleja polystachya

ጎይታየ	ሐዱሽ	እንትወግሩኒ	ዓይነይ	ነጠረ
goyta-yə	ħadduš	ʔinti-wəgr-u-ni	ʕayn-əy	nət'ər-ə
sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	PROG-IMPF.fuck-3MHO-1SG	eye-1SG.POS	PRF.bulge-3MSG

*Literally:* Buddleja Polystachya- my eye has bulged while my sir Hadush is fucking me.

*Functionally:* My bridegroom fucks me as hard as my eyes bulge out.

In this situation, the bride complains that her bridegroom makes her eyes wide open because of the power of sexuality he exerts on her. This situation happens because of her sexual immaturity as illustrated in the Discourse above.

Generally, the Discourses in 4.11.5(a-g) functionally mean about the sexual immaturity of the bridegroom and the bride in romantic plays. Some of the Discourses of sexual weakness (sexual immaturity) discussed above are attributed to the bridegroom while some of them refer to the sexual weakness (sexual immaturity) of the bride.

The Discourses in 4.11.5(a-d) express the sexual immaturity (sexual weakness) of the bridegroom, especially, the Discourses imply that the bridegroom faces difficulty in taking the virginity of his bride. This difficulty could most probably be because the bridegroom may be having sexual intercourse for the first time. In the speech community of this research area, having sex before marriage is not common, and it is not socially acceptable either. As a result, the bridegroom feels strange to have sex for the first time.

The Discourses in 4.11.5(d-g), on the other hand, refer to the sexual immaturity of the bride. Most of the Discourses that mean how the bride is sexually immature because she is

below the age level of marriage. This indicates that early marriage is common in the speech community of this research area. This could also be true for males. Some bridegroom could marry while they are not old enough to marry, hence, they could face a problem of sexual immaturity.

People use taboo Discourses for several reasons, such as to: hurt others, express others, and most crucially to express power. As to Timothy (1999: 164), taboo Discourses are emotionally powerful that human beings can express and relieve themselves of depression. He also (1999: 95) states that speakers use taboo languages to break rules for freedom of expression of desire. Moreover, Timothy (1999: 164) viewed the positive consequences of taboo Discourses that they are linguistically essential for relaxation, solidarity, and humor. However, he also stated that taboo Discourses could have some negative consequences if they are used for sexual insult.

In this section, the Discourses used in 4.11.(1-5) summarize the intention of the participants in *wæddi mæn*. They break the rule of the culture of not using sexual Discourses in open communications in their community. The participants are observed to freely use taboo languages in this particular context for positive reasons such as relaxation, entertainment, and expressing sexual desires. Furthermore, the participants use the taboo Discourses in the game of *wæddi mæn* to train and create awareness for the bride and the bridegroom about sexual relationships. The more the bridegroom and the bride are aware of their sexuality; the more they have a healthy sexual and romantic relationship with their respective sexual partners. Therefore, when the participants use the taboo sexual terms openly in their communication, they play their role in creating a favorable sexual life between the bridegrooms and their brides.

#### 4.12 Discourses of Virginity

Virginity is of a great value in the traditional marriage of the society in the research area of this study. To reflect the ethnographic communication of the speech community, the participants of *wəddi mən* make points of their discussion in the game regarding virginity. Then, directly or indirectly touch the sociolinguistic value of virginity of the bride. The following Discourses of *wəddi mən* are observed to illustrate the sociolinguistic phenomenon regarding the value of the virginity in the research area.

**4.12(a) ተሳታፊ:**        ወረቅት        ገዢ  
təsatafi:        [wərəχ'ət]    gəza-na  
Participant:    Paper        house-1PL.POS

*Literally:* Say paper of our house.

*Functionally:* 'Your virginity'

**4.12(b) መርዓት:**    ወረቅት        ገዢ  
mərʕat:        [wərəχ'ət]    gəza-na  
Bride:        Paper        house-1PL.POS

*Literally:* Paper of our house

*Functionally:* 'My virginity'

**4.12(c) ተሳታፊ:**        ተቆይቶ        ዶ        ገና  
təsatafi:        tə-[χ'ədɪd]-a    do        gəna  
Participant:    PASS-PRF.tear-3FSG    Q        yet

*Literally:* Has it been broken yet?

*Functionally:* Has your bridegroom taken your virginity? This Discourse is used by one of the visiting participants to make sure the bridegroom has taken the virginity of his bride.

<b>4.12(d) መርግት:</b>	<b>ተቆዲዳ</b>	<b>እባ</b>
mərɣat:	tə-[χ'ədɪd]-a	ʔibba
Bride:	PASS-PRF.tear-3FSG	FOC

*Literally:* It has already been broken.

*Functionally:* My bridegroom has already broken my virginity.

In this context, the bride responds to the question forwarded in the Discourse in 4.12(c) above.

<b>4.12(e) ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>መግዝ</b>	<b>መፅያ</b>	<b>መግዝ</b>	<b>ተቆዲዳ</b>
təsatafi:	məɣaz	məs'i-ya	məɣaz	tə-[χ'ədɪd]-a
Participant:	when	PRF.come-3FSG	when	PASS-PRF.tear-3FSG

*Literally:* When has it come, and when has it been broken?

*Functionally:* When has your bridegroom broken your virginity?

This Discourse functionally means the participant in this context is asking for the time the bride has been broken of her virginity by her bridegroom.

<b>4.12(f) መርግት:</b>	<b>ቀዳም</b>	<b>መፅያ</b>	<b>ሰኑይ</b>	<b>ተቆዲዳ</b>
mərɣat:	k'ədam	məs'i-ya	sənuɪ	tə-[χ'ədɪd]-a
Bride:	Saturday	PRF.come-3FSG	Monday	PASS-PRF.tear-3FSG

*Literally:* It came on Saturday, and it was broken on Monday.

*Functionally:* My bridegroom took my virginity on the third day of our marriage.

In the above Discourses, the word **ወረቆት** [wəɾəχ'ət] which literally means 'paper' functionally represents virginity (hymen) in the communicative context of *wəddi mən*. The participants relate the word **ወረቆት** [wəɾəχ'ət] 'paper' to virginity (hymen) because both are once and for all broken to the irreversible state. The action of tearing paper, in the above Discourses,

refers to the situation when the bridegroom breaking his bride's virginity. In the speech community of this research area, the bridegroom takes his bride's virginity on the third day of their marriage because the bride needs one day to get acquainted with her in-law family and make some mental (psychological) preparation for sexual acts with her bridegroom. This is illustrated in the Discourse in 4.12(f) that their wedding was on Saturday and the bridegroom took her virginity on Monday.

**4.12(g) ተሳታፊ: ድንኩል**

təsatafi: [diŋkul]

Participant: blob

**ጥንቅልዒት**

[t'ɪŋk'illiʔit]

Backlash

**የንኩል**

y-ənikkul

3SG-IMPF.pierce

*Literally:* Blob- I backlash and pierce someone.

*Functionally:* It is me who has taken the virginity of my bridegroom.

This Discourse is a tricky Discourse used by one of the visiting participants in the game of *wəddi mən* to get the bride, "I have taken my bridegroom's virginity".

The participants use the Discourse in 4.12(g) to check if the bride dares say that she took her bridegroom's virginity. In the research area, the community does not believe that the brides take their bridegrooms' virginity which signifies virginity of a bride is socially more significant than that of the bridegrooms who might have a sexual experience before marriage. Therefore, the bride is expected to say that her bridegroom has taken her virginity than to say she has taken her bridegroom's virginity. [See in 4.12(h).]

**4.12(h) መርዓት:** ድንኩል  
 mərʕat: [diŋkul]  
 Bride: Blob

**ጥንቅልዒት**      **ይነኩል**  
 [t'ɪŋk'ilʔit]      yi-nəkkul  
 Backlash      1SG-IMPF.pierce

*Literally:* Blob- I am backlash and pierce.

*Functionally:* It is not me, but my bridegroom who has taken my virginity. This Discourse is used by the bride to normalize the tricky Discourse in 4.12(g) above.

The Discourses in 4.12(g & h) contradict in their intentional meaning although the context is the same. The intention of the participant in the Discourse in 4.12(g) is to confuse the bride so that she says she has taken the virginity of her bridegroom, instead of saying he has taken her. The Discourse in 4.12(h), on the other hand, means that it is her bridegroom who has taken her virginity which is the intended meaning of the Discourse. This implies the superiority of male (bridegroom in this context) that he plays a prominent role in sexual affairs. As a matter of norm in the speech community of this research area, it is unnatural to say the bride has taken her bridegroom's virginity. The bridegroom has taken his bride's virginity is a natural Discourse illustrating a gendered Discourse.

**4.12(i) ተሳታፊ:** ተዓሪፋ  
 təsatafi: təʕarifa  
 Participant: penny

**ገዛይ**                      **ኮይነ**                      **የሸርፋ**  
 gəza-y                      koyn-ə                      y-əširf-a  
 home-1SG.POS      PRF.be-1SG      3SG-IMPF.change-3FSG

*Literally:* Penny- I, being at my home, change it.

*Functionally:* I gave my virginity to someone else before marriage.

This Discourse tricky suggests that the bride had sexual intercourse with another person before the marriage with her bridegroom.

**4.12(j) መርገት: ተጻሪፋ**

mərṣat: təṣarifa

Bride: penny

<b>ዓዲ</b>	<b>ሐላይ</b>	<b>ከይደ</b>	<b>የሸርፋ</b>
ʔaddi	ħuma-y	kəyd-ə	y-əšrif-a
house	in-laws-1SG.POS	PRF.go-1SG	3SG-IMPF.change-3FSG

*Literally:* Penny- I change it in my in-laws' house.

*Functionally:* I give my virginity to my right bridegroom at his home after marriage.

This Discourse is used by the bride to react to the tricky Discourse in 4.12(i) above to make the participants sure that she has never had sexual intercourse before the wedding. In normal communication, the expression የሸርፋ /y-əšrif-a/ means making changes of money notes, but in the context of *wəddi mən* this expression refers to the situation of the bride of starting sexual intercourse with her partner at the right time (not before, but after marriage) and at the right place (not somewhere else, but at her in-laws home).

The Discourses in 4.12(i & j) contradict in their meaning although the context is the same. The intention of the participant in the Discourse in 4.12(i) is to confuse the bride so that she says she was taken her virginity before she came to her in-laws' house (before marriage). The Discourse in 4.12(j), on the other hand, means that she was a virgin until she came to her in-laws' house.

In the process of their interaction (Symbolic Interactionism; Potter, 1996: 3), the participants of *wəddi mən* create (construct) meaning of the Discourses in relation to their culture. Therefore, the Discourse in 4.12(i) implies that she has never had sex before marriage because it is out of the norms of the speech community of this research. The participant in the Discourse in 4.12(i) wants to check that she is aware of this norm. If the bride repeats

exactly what the participant says, it implies that she is not aware of the norm of the community about sexual intercourse before marriage, or she has had sexual intercourse before her marriage.

**4.12(k) መርዓት: አስር**

mərʕat: ʔassir  
Bride: Dime

<b>ዓዲ</b>	<b>ሑማይ</b>	<b>ከይደ</b>	<b>ርእሳይ</b>	<b>ይአስር</b>
ʕaddi	ħuma-y	kəyd-ə	riʔs-əy	yi-ʔassir
house	in-laws-1SG.POS	PRF.go-1SG	head-1SG.POS	1SG-IMPF.bandage

*Literally:* Dime- I went to my in-laws' house and bandage my head.

*Functionally:* My bridegroom has taken my virginity fucking as hard as I have bandaged my head out of pain.

This Discourse functionally expresses the pain the bride has experienced while having a romantic play with her bridegroom for the first time.

**4.12(l) መርዓት: ሜዘ**

mərʕat: Mezzo  
Bride: 25 cents

<b>ዓዲ</b>	<b>ሑማይ</b>	<b>ከይደ</b>	<b>ይቕንዝ</b>
ʔaddi	ħuma-y	koydə	yi-[χ'inzo]
house	in-laws-1SG.POS	PRF.be-1SG	1SG-IMPF.pain

*Literally:* 25 cents- I, being in my in-laws' house, feel pain.

*Functionally:* I felt painful when my bridegroom took my virginity.

This Discourse has the same functional meaning with the Discourse illustrated in 4.12(k) above. Both Discourses functionally mean about the pain of first sexual intercourse experienced by the bride.

**4.12(m) መርዓት:** ለቆታ አቆሐ  
 mərʕat: [ləχ'ota] [ʔax'iħa]  
 Bride: leathery Container

ካብ	ንውገር	ምጥረይ	ቀይሐ
[Kaβ]	ni <sup>11</sup> -wiggər	mit'r-əy	k'əyħ-a
Since	REL-fuck	pussy-1SG.POS	PRF.redden-3FSG

*Literally:* Leathery container- from the time I was fucked, my pussy has reddened.

*Functionally:* My pussy has shown a change since I have given my virginity to my bridegroom.

This refers to the physiological change in the bride's sexual organ after marriage.

**4.12(n)**

**መርዓት:** ጭንጭ  
 mərʕat: [č'iħč'a]  
 Bride: Whitestone

ዓዲ	ሑማይ	ካይዳ	ምጥረይ	ተፈንጭጭ
ʔaddi	ħuma-y	kəyd-a	mit'r-əy	tə-[fəñč'ič']-a
house	in-laws-1SG.POS	PRF.go-3FSG	pussy-1SG.POS	PASS-PRF.widen.3FSG

*Literally:* Whitestone- I have gone to my in-laws' house, and my vagina has been widened.

*Functionally:* My bridegroom has taken my virginity, and he has widened my vagina.

---

<sup>11</sup> The morpheme that represents relative marker in the Western and Central Tigrinya variety is /zi-/, but in the research area (Eastern variety), the speakers use /ni-/ /zi-/ and /li-/ as relative marker. On the other hand, the Southern Tigrinya variety speakers (the Enderta and Raya) respectively use the morphemes /li-/ and /di-/ as a relative markers; for example, zi-[βillaʕ], ni-[βillaʕ], li-[βillaʕ], and di-[βillaʕ] 'REL-eat' which mean 'something which is edible'. As we can observe in this text, the speakers predominantly use /ni-/ and /zi-/. Because of geographically proximity to Central Tigray, Eritrea, and Enderta, the Eastern variety is full of variety mixture as we can see it in the whole text.

This Discourse has the same functional meaning with the Discourse in 4.12(m); both denote the change in the physiology of the sexual organ of the bride.

In the Discourses in 4.12(k-n), the bride tells the visiting participants in *wəddi mən* what changes and experiences have been observed to her after she got married. The Discourses in 4.12(k & l) illustrate the pains she has experienced in her first sexual intercourse. The Discourses mean that the bride felt painful to the extent she banded her head out of pain. Furthermore, in the Discourses in 4.12(m & n), the bride expresses the changes that happened to her sexual organ after her first sexual intercourse with her bridegroom.

**4.12(o) መርፍት፡ ሸኸል**  
 mərፍat: šixal  
 Bride: peg

<b>ንእምባይተይ</b>	<b>መብረሂት</b>	<b>ረኸብየን</b>	<b>ነኸዋል</b>
ni-[[ʔimbəytə]]-y	[məβrihit]	[rəxiβ]-ə-yən	nəχ <sup>w</sup> al
ACC-madam-1SG.POS	Mebrhit	PRF.find-1SG-3FHON	hole

*Literally:* Peg- I have found my madam Mebrhit holed.

*Functionally:* I found my bride deflowered because of having sexual intercourse with someone else before marriage.

This Discourse is uttered by the bridegroom to functionally mean he has found his bride deflowered before their marriage by another sexual partner.

In the Discourse in 4.12(o), the bridegroom tells that his bride was not a virgin when she got married to her bridegroom. Though it is not socially acceptable to have sexual intercourse before marriage, sometimes it could happen because of some unconditioned reasons. The Discourse in 4.12(o) means this situation in the context of *wəddi mən*.

Generally, the Discourses used in 4.12(a-o) functionally mean about the issues and the significance of virginity of the brides in the community of the research area. In the research

area, the brides are not expected to have sexual intercourse before marriage. They are socially condemned provided that they had engaged in the sexual acts before they normally get married. Therefore, the Discourses in 4.12(a-o) can imply the attitude of the society toward the norm of virginity and its essence in marriage.

### 4.13 Tongue-Twisting Discourses

In some linguistic contexts, it is common to use tongue twisters so that we can train our tongue in language learning. Regarding tongue twisters, Mu'in et al (2017: 367) state that tongue twister is a promising technique to teach pronunciation and fluency. They can also help to improve accents by using alliteration, which is the repetition of one sound. According to Conde et al (2017: 18), many experts have defined a tongue twister as a sequence of words, phrases, or sentences that are difficult to pronounce quickly and correctly due to the repetition of the same sound, which can be a vowel or a consonant sound.

In the case of *wəddi mən*, on the other hand, the participants use tongue-twisting consonant sounds for tricking purposes. The participants think of some tongue-twisting Discourses and they ask the bridegroom and bride to casually say the series of expressions that can twist their tongue. The intention of the participants is not to make the bridegroom and bride learn the Discourses, but to trick them so that they produce some sexual Discourses as a result of their tongue twisted. The following tongue-twisting Discourses are common in the sociolinguistic practice of *wəddi mən*.

<b>4.13(a) መርዓት:</b>	<b>ብኸፈር</b>	<b>ሸሾ</b>
mərʕat:	bi-[χəfər]	šišo
Bride:	INS-container	ant
	<b>ብኸፈር</b>	<b>ፍልሐ</b>
	bi-[χəfər]	filho
	INS-container	termite
	<b>ብኸፈር</b>	<b>ሸሾ</b>
	bi-[χəfər]	šišo
	INS-container	ant
	<b>ብኸፈር</b>	<b>ፍልሐ</b>
	bi-[χəfər]	filho

INS-container    termite

ብኸፈር            ሸሾ  
bi-[χəfər]        šišo  
INS-container    ant

ብኸፈር            ፍልኮ  
bi-[χəfər]        filho  
INS-container    termite

*Literally:* container of ants and container of termites

*Functionally:* The repetition of these series of phrases twists the tongue of the speaker to the sexual word ሸሻኮ /šilho/, meaning 'dick'.

The participants intentionally ask the bridegroom to casually utter these series of phrases to twist the tongue so that he utters the name of the male sexual organ.

The function of the Discourse in 4.13(a) is not for language learning. Tongue-twisting expressions are importantly used in language learning; however, in the context of *wəddi mən*, the above Discourse in 4.13(a) is used to trick the bride so that she calls the sexual organ word ሸሻኮ /šilho/, meaning 'dick'.

The immediate purpose of the participants to trick the bride like this is to make her ashamed of calling the sexual word, but their long term purpose is to make her acquainted with sexual affairs so she cannot feel shy of doing sexual acts with her bridegroom. In the rural areas of the research area, some girls get married without having enough awareness about what to play with their bridegrooms. Therefore, participants use this kind of informal sexual training in the context of *wəddi mən*.

<b>4.13(b) መርጻጻ፣</b>	<b>ጤል</b>	<b>እዳ</b>	<b>አባይ</b>	<b>አብራሃ</b>	<b>ቀንጢባራ</b>
mərɕawi:	t'el	ʔidda	ʔabbo-y	[ʔaβraha]	[k'ənt'iβsara]
Bridgroom:	goat	of	father-POS	Abraha	restless
	<b>ካብ</b>	<b>እታ</b>	<b>ምጥጣማስ</b>	<b>ምምጥጣራ</b>	
	[kaβ]	ʔita	mi-t'it'am-a-s	mi-mmit't'i-t'ar-a	
	from	The	VN-truncate-3FSG	VN=RED-3FSG-IMPF.climb up	
	<b>መጠረ</b>		<b>ትብልፅ</b>	<b>ተመጣጠራ</b>	
	mət'ərə		ti-[βəlliɕ]	təmət'at'ir-a	
	Buddleja polystachya		3FSG-IMPF.eat	PRF.Climb up-3FSG	
	<b>ጤል</b>	<b>እዳ</b>	<b>አባይ</b>	<b>አብራሃ</b>	<b>ቀንጢባራ</b>
	t'el	ʔidda	ʔabbo-y	[ʔaβraha]	[k'ənt'iβsara]
	goat	of	father-POS	Abraha	restless
	<b>ካብ</b>	<b>እታ</b>	<b>ምጥጣማስ</b>	<b>ምምጥጣራ</b>	
	[kaβ]	ʔita	mi-t'it'am-a-s	mi-mmit't'i-t'ar-a	
	from	the	VN-truncate-3FSG-FOC	VN=RED-3FSG-IMPF.climb up	
	<b>መጠረ</b>		<b>ትብልፅ</b>	<b>ተመጣጠራ</b>	
	mət'ərə		ti-[βəlliɕ]	təmət'at'ir-a	
	Buddleja polystachya		3FSG-IMPRF.eat	PRF.Climb up-3FSG	
	<b>ጤል</b>	<b>እዳ</b>	<b>አባይ</b>	<b>አብራሃ</b>	<b>ቀንጢባራ</b>
	t'el	ʔidda	ʔabbo-y	[ʔaβraha]	[k'ənt'iβsara]
	goat	of	father-POS	Abraha	restless
	<b>ካብ</b>	<b>እታ</b>	<b>ምጥጣማስ</b>	<b>ምምጥጣራ</b>	
	[kaβ]	ʔita	mi-t'it'am-a-s	mi-mmit't'i-t'ar-a	
	from	the	VN-truncate-3FSG-FOC	VN=RED-3FSG-IMPF.climb up	
	<b>መጠረ</b>		<b>ትብልፅ</b>	<b>ተመጣጠራ</b>	
	mət'ərə		ti-[βəlliɕ]	təmət'at'ir-a	
	Buddleja polystachya		3FSG-IMPRF.eat	PRF.Climb up-3FSG	

*Literally:* The goat of father Abraha, the restless

Its truncating the tree is worse than its climbing up the tree.

Climbing up, it eats Buddleja Polystachya.

*Functionally:* When the bridegroom says the series of sentences above three times very fast, his tongue does not manage to utter the last words of each sentence; his tongue gets twisted to utter the vulgar word ምጥራ /mit'r-a/, meaning 'her pussy'.

<b>4.13(c) መርዓዊ:</b>	<b>ዓምዲ</b>	<b>ምድሪ</b>	<b>ግጥም</b>
mərɕawi:	ፍጠራ	midri	ግጥም
Bridegroom:	pillar	earth	match
	<b>ሰማይ</b>	<b>ምድሪ</b>	<b>ጥምጥም</b>
	səmay	midri	t'imtim
	sky	earth	coil
	<b>ዓምዲ</b>	<b>ምድሪ</b>	<b>ግጥም</b>
	ፍጠራ	midri	ግጥም
	pillar	earth	match
	<b>ሰማይ</b>	<b>ምድሪ</b>	<b>ጥምጥም</b>
	səmay	midri	t'imtim
	sky	earth	coil
	<b>ዓምዲ</b>	<b>ምድሪ</b>	<b>ግጥም</b>
	ፍጠራ	midri	ግጥም
	pillar	earth	match
	<b>ሰማይ</b>	<b>ምድሪ</b>	<b>ጥምጥም</b>
	səmay	midri	t'imtim
	sky	earth	coil

*Literally:* pillar and the earth matched.

Sky and earth coiled.

*Functionally:* When the bridegroom says ዓምዲ ምድሪ /ፍጠራ midri/, meaning pillar and earth in the above series of sentences abruptly, his tongue is forced to be twisted and utter the

sexual word **ምጥሪ** /mit'ri/<sup>12</sup> meaning pussy because of replacing the middle consonant /d/ by /t'/.

Typically, mispronunciation in Tigrinya happens when the speakers alter the consonant sounds usually sharing similar features (example: *t* and *d*) in their casual speech. The Discourse above in 4.13(c) illustrates this notion in the context of the game of *wəddi mən*.

The tongue-twisting Discourses above in 4.13 (a-c) are not easy to utter casually and quickly. If they are said repeatedly as discussed above, the speaker may unintentionally say the name of the sexual organs. Therefore, the participants order the bridegroom or bride in the game of *wəddi mən* to casually and repeatedly say the above-mentioned tongue-twisting Discourse for such purpose. When the tongue of the bridegroom or the bride gets twisted and utters the name of the sexual organs, they feel shy. That is why the participants try to find some tongue-twisting Discourses like the expressions illustrated above and order the bridegroom and bride to utter them.

---

<sup>12</sup> In the research area, the elderly people do not use the taboo word **ምጥሪ** /mit'ri/ and **ሽልሐ** /šilho/ which mean 'pussy' and 'dick' respectively in their open communication, but the participants in *wəddi mən* use these slang terms in their interactional communication because they are youngsters. The elderly people use the euphemized term **ነገር ስፍራት** /nəgər ḥifrət/ which literally means 'something that makes one ashamed' and functionally means sexual organs. In their communications, the elderly people can also use the less taboo term than the term pussy and dick i.e **ብልሳት** /billiʔiti/ which means vagina or penis.

#### 4.14 Ideophonic Discourses

As Thompson & Do (2019: 1) state, ideophones are marked words depicting sensory imagery which are often cited as examples of sound symbolism which can be generalized as the relation of linguistic form to its meaning. In *wəddi mən*, the participants are observed to use some sound symbolic Discourses- technically called ideophones in linguistics. In this particular sociolinguistic practice, the participants use some ideophonic Discourses mainly related to sexual practices. The following data explained the details of the ideophonic Discourses in *wəddi mən*.

<b>4.14(a) መርዓት:</b>	<b>መንገዲ</b>	<b>መቐለ</b>	<b>ነቋቋ</b>	<b>ዋለካየ</b>	
mərʕat:	[mənɣəddi]	[məx'ələ]	[nəx'aʕ]	walka-yə	
Bride:	road	Mekelle	cracked	clay-FOC	
	<b>ምስ ጎይታየ</b>	<b>ሓዱሽ</b>	<b>ዝና</b>	<b>መን</b>	<b>ይህበካየ</b>
	mis goyta-yə	ħadduš	zinna	mən	yi-[hiβə]-kka-yə
	with sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	flatter	who	3MSG-IMPF.give-2MSG-FOC
	<b>እንተደኸመክ</b>	<b>ሃምበሃምበኻ</b>	<b>አንጊፍካየ</b>		
	ʔintə-[dəxəmə]-ka	hambahambo-[χa]	ʔa-ns'ifk-a-yə		
	COND-tire-2MSG	local tree-2MSG.POS	CAUS-PRF.spread-2MSG-FOC		
<b>እንተወተረክ</b>	<b>ምጥርን</b>	<b>ሸልሐን</b>	<b>ዓፎጭ</b>	<b>ዓፎጭፎጭ</b>	<b>እናበልካየ</b>
ʔintə-wətərə-ka	mit'r-in	šilħo-n	ʕafoč'	ʕafoč'-foč'	ʔinna-bəlk-a-yə
PROG-erect-2MSG	pussy-CONJ	dick-CONJ	splash.IDEO	splash=RED.IDEO	PROG-say.2MSG-FOC

*Literally:* The road to Mekelle is cracked clay-like.

*Functionally:* This Discourse functionally means that it is so blessing for the bride:

who can give me the flatter with my sir Hadush?

spread and make pillows of the leaves of */hambahambo/*, a local tree, when she and her bridegroom are tired,

make a splashing sound between her pussy and her bride groom's dick,

when it erects

Intentionally, the bride uses the above Discourses to mean that it is so romantic for her to have time with her bridegroom, especially, it makes her enjoy the splashing sound that sexual organs produce while having sex with her bridegroom.

In the above context, the Discourse ገፍጭ ገፍጭፍጭ /ፋፎች ፋፎች-ፎች/ which refers to a splashing sound is ideophonic word that creates a sexual sense on the participants' mind when the bride utters it in the context of the game.

**4.14(b) መርዓት: ፍንጃል**

mərʕat: [fiñjal]

Bride: Cup

ና	ጎይታየ	ሐዱሽ	ሽልሐ	ግንጃል
na	goyta-yə	ħadduš	šilħo	[ፋንጃል]
of	sir-1SG.POS-VOC	Hadush	dick	gargantuan.IDEO

*Literally:* Cup- the dick of my sir Hadush is gargantuan.

*Functionally:* How extra large my bridegroom's dick is!

The term ግንጃል [ፋንጃል], meaning 'gargantuan' shows the size of the bridegroom's sexual organ (penis). When the term is uttered by the bride, the listeners can have an image of the size of the entity.

**4.14(c) መርዓት: ቅርጫት**

mərʕat: k'irič'č'at

Bride: basket

ና	ጎይታየ	ሓዱሽ	ሽልሐ	ሓደ	ገፁ	ምንጫት
na	goyta-yə	ħadduš	šilħo	ħadə	gəs'-u	[miññič'at]
of	sir-1SG.POS-VOC	Hadush	dick	one	side-3SGM.POS	rip.IDEO

*Literally:* Basket- the dick of my sir Hadush is torn on it one side.

*Functionally:* How deformed and big my bridegroom's dick is!

The term *miññič'at* 'rip' is an ideophonic expression because it imitates the sound of the act of ripping. Functionally, the Discourse *ምንጫት* [miññič'at] 'rip' refers to the physiology and the size of the bridegroom's sexual organ.

**4.14(d) መርዓት: ቁንጫ**

mərʕat: [č'i ñč'a]

Bride: white stone

ዓዲ	ሑማይ	ክይዳ	ምጥረይ	ተፈንጭጫ
ʕaddi	ħuma-y	kəyd-a	mit'r-əy	tə-[fəñč'ič']-a
house	in-laws	PRF.go-3FSG	pussy-1SG.POS	PASS-PRF.open.IDEO-3FSG

*Literally:* Whitestone- my pussy went to the house of my in-laws and got opened.

*Functionally:* My pussy got widened because of the sexual intercourse I have been having with my bridegroom as hard as it creates a loud sound of opening.

The term *ተፈንጭጫ* tə-[fəñč'ič']-a meaning 'opened' can be related to an imagined sound symbolism when female sex organ gets opened while having sexual intercourse.

In general, the above Discourses [the words labeled IDEO. (ideophones) in the morphological glossing of the data] are capable of creating sensual meaning when some participants utter the Discourses. Most of the ideophones mentioned above are meant from

the sound of the actions done as discussed in each of the data in 4.14 (a-d). When we say ideophones, we mean we can relate the sound symbolism and the meaning of the terms uttered because they are capable of creating a sensual effect on the listeners' sense organs.

#### 4.15 Gendered Discourses

In several sociolinguistic contexts, we can observe people using gendered languages. This can bring about linguistic variations due to gender differences. Some linguistic expressions can be masculine and some can be feminine due to natural or social factors. In *wəddi mən* as of the data discussed below, are observed some gendered Discourses used by the participants. Sociolinguistically, some of the Discourses reveal the masculine sociolinguistic power and the others imply feminine sociolinguistic power. Gender places people in hierarchies and assigns power to those groups of people placed at the top of the hierarchy, and it has been a factor for the production of gendered language which socially reconstructs the imbalance in the power position. The following Discourse can illustrate how the participants in the game of *wəddi mən* reflect the issues of language and gendered power.

<b>4.15(a)</b>	<b>ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ወዲ</b>	<b>መን?</b>
	təsatafi:	wəddi	mən?
	Participant:	son	who

*Literally:* Whose son is he?

*Functionally:* Whom are you going to bear a baby boy to? In this Discourse, when the participants ask the bride, "Whose son?", they are functionally asking her whose wife she is, or metaphorically who is the father her baby boy.

This Discourse is used to reflect the gendered interest of the community. The community prefers to get a baby boy; especially at their first birth. Therefore, they use the Discourse *wəddi mən* meaning 'whose son' which bears the name of the context of the game in the interactional conversation of the participants.

This reflects that the greater the number of boys in one's family, the more the family feels protected and self-defensive. Therefore, the Discourse expresses the power of masculinity in terms of protection and self-defense. Moreover, when they use this Discourse, they

reflect the attitude of physical labor in the family. Culturally, boys are considered more laborious than girls in labor works such as farming activities, and animal herdsman-ship in the speech community of the research area. Therefore, this Discourse can also portray preference to the physical manpower; not physical woman-power in the family.

**4.15(b)**

መርዓት: ዓይባ

mərʕat: [ʕayβa]

Bride: Local place name

ጎይታየ	ሐዱሽ	ብሽጋር	እንተኸዱ	ኣነ	ተሸካሚት	ዒባ
goyta-yyə	ħadduš	bi-šəggar	ʔinti-[χəd]-u	ʔanə	təšəkkamit	[ʕiβa]
Sir-1SG.POS	Hadush	INS-horse	PROG-go-3MHON	I	carer	Muck

*Literally:* [ʕayβa] local place- when my sir Hadush goes on horse's back I carry muck.

*Functionally:* When my dearest bridegroom is in comfort, I am happy to let myself down and live a poor life for him.

This is an expression of extreme subordination that the bride feels everything good belongs to her bridegroom than to her.

The Discourse in 4.15 (b) expresses an extreme feminine subordination. Therefore, the term shows gendered linguistic variation. This shows how gendered power relationship of the community is reflected in the sociolinguistic practice of *wəddi mən* 'whose son'. Masculine power dominates the social power structure of the speech community.

<b>4.15(c) መርዓት:</b>	<b>ናዮም</b>	<b>ጥርመሱ</b>	<b>አረቂ</b>
mərʕat:	nay-om	t'irmuz	ʔarək'k'i
Bride:	POS-3MHON	glass	Arak
	<b>ናዮይ</b>	<b>ለቆታ</b>	<b>ስንቂ</b>
	nay-əy	[ləχ'ota]	[siŋk'i]
	POS-1SG	leathery sack	Foodstuff

*Literally:* His glass of arak

My foodstuff in the leathery sack

*Functionally:* The combination of luxury goods (penis) of my bridegroom and the simple sack of stuff (pussy).

This Discourse metaphorically refers to the combination of the bridegroom's sexual organ ጥርመሱ አረቂ /t'irmuz ʔarək'k'i/ which literally means a glass of arak and the bride's sexual organ represented by ለቆታ ስንቂ [ləχ'ota] [siŋk'i] which literally means foodstuff in their future life.

According to the Discourse in 4.15(c), what are luxurious and promoted things in the speech community are masculine belongings. On the contrary, feminine belongings are demoted in the social contexts of the research area. We can compare the masculine belongings and feminine belongings 4.15(c). What is precious and modern metaphorically represents male sex organ, but what is less precious in the community represents a female sex organ. This difference results from the gendered attitude of the speech community of the research area.

**4.15(d) መርዓት: ደንኩል**

mərʕat: [diŋkʊl]

Bride: Blob

**ጥንቅልዒት ደንኩል**

[t'iŋk'iɪɫit] yi-nəkkul

Backlash 3MSG-IMPF.pierce

*Literally:* Blob- I am pierced back-lashed.

*Functionally:* It is not me, but my bridegroom who has broken my virginity.

The bride utters this Discourse to functionally mean that it is her bridegroom who has broken her virginity, but not she is the one who has done so.

As illustrated in the above data, the Discourses bear a gendered context of communication. The Discourses used above can intentionally or unintentionally show the gendered use of Discourses in the context of *wəddi mən*.

**4.15(c)**

<b>ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ዓዲ</b>	<b>ጎይታይ</b>	<b>ዓዲ</b>	<b>እምበይተይ</b>	<b>ከንፃወት</b>	<b>ፍቕዳትኩም</b>	<b>ደዩ</b>
təsatəfti:	ʕaddi	goyta-y	ʕaddi	[ʔimbəytə]-y	ki-ni-s's'awət	[fiχ'ad]-at-kum	di-ʔiyy-u
participants:	house	sir-1SG.POS	house	Madam-1SG.POS	PURP-1PL-IMPF.play	permission-PL-2PL.POS	Q-IMPF.be-3MSG

*Literally:* The house of our sir and madam, is it your permission to play?

*Functionally:* Dear bridegroom and bride, is it your permission if we play *wəddi mən* with you?

The Discourse **ፍቕዳትኩም** [fiχ'ad-at-kum] which means 'your permission' refers to the permission of a second-person plural masculine pronoun that represents the honeymooners. Though it refers to the masculine pronoun, it doesn't mean it excludes the bride. The masculinity of the expression implies the masculine domination of the bridegroom over the bride. In Tigrinya, when a number of female persons are mixed with a

single male person, they are referred to by the masculine gender regardless of the number of the females. This socially constructed reference indicates the masculine gender domination over the feminine gender among the Tigrinya speaking community to which the research area of this study belongs to.

In language use, there are five theories of gender-based language variations (Rahmi, 2015: 83). The first theory is the Deficit Theory which believes that the language of women is not good enough as the language of men. The second theory is the Dominance Theory which considers that men and women could express language differently because there was an inequity of power relations between men and women. The third theory is the Radical Theory that advocates the fact about the world is built based on the language that is created by men. As a result, women had a lack of experience and perceptions because they had limited linguistic expressions. The fourth theory is the Difference Theory. According to this theory, because boys and girls were not socialized similarly, they had different sociolinguistic subcultures which are called male subcultures and female subcultures. Finally, the Reformist Theory that the reformist feminists criticized sexist language that is considered unreasonable and able to create bias when the reality is represented.

For example, when the participants say, '*wəddi mən*' - 'Whose son?' which refers to a masculine meaning, they are referring to the gender preference of the speech community of this research area. We cannot observe the participants say, "*g<sup>w</sup>al mən*"- " Whose daughter". This Discourse is related to the Reformist Theory of gendered language bias. In relation to this theory, because of social impacts, the males and the females are also observed to shape some of the physiology of their articulatory organs. For example, when males and females address interlocutors far away from them, the males (bridegrooms in this context) shape their lips relaxed and freely produce the vocative marker -yəy...[See 4.8(s) and 4.9(i)] while the females (brides in this case) shape their lips rounded and reservedly the vocative marker -yu... [See 4.8(t) and 4.9(a-h).] This linguistic difference is occurred in the context of the game in reflection to their speech community because of the bias of social construction of masculinity and femininity in the society of the research area.

In this sociolinguistic context, the participants also portray the gendered Discourses that more luxurious life and belongings are attributed to the males (bridegroom in this context) than to the females (bride in this context). The Discourses in 4.15 (b & c) illustrate this phenomenon. This context is created in the interactional communication of *wæddi mæn* as a result of a simple bias of sexist language in relation to the context of the reformist theory.

In the Discourse in 4.15 (d) is also gendered. The attitude of the participant uttering that Discourse is portraying the perception that brides do not take virginity, but the bridegroom does it for his bride. The Discourse contextually means that the bridegroom is the only actor to take virginity, but the bride does nothing on it. In *wæddi mæn*, this gendered language happens because of the bride cannot physically take (penetrate into) the virgin of her bridegroom. Here, it works the deficit theory; the bride lacks the physiology of taking her bridegroom's virgin in the context of the game of *wæddi mæn*.

#### 4.16 Discourses of Politeness

Politeness has been defined by scholars from different perspectives such as: purely linguistics, socio-cognitive roots, and discursive nature. The following definitions are some of the reflections of scholars about politeness. According to Lakoff (1975: 64), politeness is defined as a notion developed by societies to reduce friction in their communications. Leech (1983: 19), another scholar, states that politeness is used as a strategy for conflict avoidance in interpersonal communications. Moreover, Arndt and Janney (1985: 282) view politeness as interpersonal supportiveness of interaction based on some speech acts for smooth (Ide, 1989: 22) and successful (Kasper, 1990: 194) interpersonal communications. Brown and Levinson (1987: 1), on the other hand, define politeness as a complex system for softening face threats in interpersonal communications.

In the interpersonal communication during the game of *wəddi mən*, the way the participants talk to each other is not the same as the way they talk to each other when they are addressing their interlocutors in the contexts outside of the game room (honeymoon room). When the participants are playing the oral game of *wəddi mən*, they are expected to use very polite Discourses like the languages in very formal registers. This context makes the participants to get acquainted with Discourses of politeness for smooth and successful communication in their interactions. The following data illustrate the polite Discourses of *wəddi mən*.

##### 4.16(a) ጎይታይ

goyta-y

Sir-1SG.POS

*Literally:* My sir

*Functionally:* My dear (male).

This Discourse is used by the bride or the other participants to address the bridegroom and other masculine participants so that the speakers soften their speech and express respect to them.

**4.16(b) እምባይተይ**

[ʔimbəytə]-y

Madam-1SG.POS

*Literally:* My madam

*Functionally:* My dear (female).

In this Discourse, the bridegroom or the rest of the participants address the bride and other feminine participants to functionally mean they are smoothening the interactional communication in the context of the game of *wəddi mən*.

<b>4.16(c) ዓዲ</b>	<b>ጎይታይ</b>	<b>ዓዲ</b>	<b>እምባይተይ</b>
ʕaddi	goyta-y	ʕaddi	[ʔimbəytə]-y
House	sir-1SG.POS	house	madam-1SG.POS

*Literally:* The house of our sir and madam

*Functionally:* Dear bridegroom and bride.

The visiting participants use this Discourse to have a friendly interpersonal communication with the bridegroom and the bride in *wəddi mən*.

#### **4.16(d) አትን**

?att-in

You-2FHON

*Literally:* refers to the second person plural feminine gender

*Functionally:* The participants use this term for honorific expression referring to first person singular feminine gender.

#### **4.16(e) አቱም**

?att-um

You-2MHON

*Literally:* refers to the second person plural masculine gender

*Functionally:* The participants use this term for honorific expression referring to first person singular masculine gender.

#### **4.16(f) እሱም**

?iss-om

You-3MHON (he-3MHON)

*Literally:* refers to the second/ third person plural masculine gender

*Functionally:* The participants use this term for honorific expression referring to first/ third person singular masculine gender.

#### 4.16(g) እስን

ገiss-ən

You-2FHON (she-3FHON)

*Literally:* refers to the second/ third person plural feminine gender

*Functionally:* The participants use this term for honorific expression referring to first/ third person singular feminine gender.

#### 4.16(h) ጎይታ ራእሲ

goyta raጎisi

sir head

*Literally:* head of the honeymoon room

*Functionally:* Dear bridegroom

#### 4.16(i) እምባይተ ልእልቲ

[ጎimbəytə] liጎilliti

Madam princess

*Literally:* Madam the princess

*Functionally:* Madam, the princess of the honeymoon room

To make their Discourses more polite than in the normal communicative context, the participants in *wəddi mən* try to use honorific pronouns like the Discourses in 4.16 (d-g) or polite markers like ጎይታይ /goytay/-meaning 'Sir' and እምባይተይ [ጎimbəytə]-y which means 'Madam'. In the context of *wəddi mən*, it is common to observe the participants using honorific communication. In the research area, the bridegroom and the bride are socially expected to call their fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law by terms ጎይታይ /goytay/ 'Sir' and እምባይተይ [ጎimbəytə]-y 'Madam' respectively; the terms are considered as terms of respect and inclusiveness. Therefore, the above Discourses reflect these social meanings.

As discussed in 4.7 above, if the participants don't use honorific Discourses, they are subject to penalty. In their normal communication, outside of the context of *wəddi mən*, the participants may not use honorific communication because the honorific expressions are usually used by and/ or to elderly people in the speech community. It seems then, *wəddi mən* the right context to practice such a communication issue.

In the rural parts of the research area, the bridegroom and the bride use honorific terms to address their relatives-in-law. The bridegroom uses these terms to address all the relatives-in-law elder than him while the bride uses honorifics to address any relative-in-law younger and elder than her bridegroom. The bridegroom and the bride address their relatives-in-law using the honorific pronouns አጎን /ʔatti-n/ and አጎም /ʔatt-um/ [See the Discourses in 4.16(d and e)] to refer to the second feminine and masculine interlocutors respectively. Moreover, when the bridegroom, the bride, and the best men of the research area talk to each other, they use honorific pronouns in their interactional communications. Therefore, the Discourses above are used by the participants in *wəddi mən* in reflection to this context of language use in the research area.

In their communication, the bridegroom and the bride use Discourses that functionally express politeness. For example, the Discourses in 4.8(g), 4.8(i), 4.8(q & u), 4.11.3(a), and 4.11.3(b) above functionally mean: "Could you...?", "Can you...?", "Please...", "What if ...?" and " ... would be... if?" respectively. These Discourses make the interlocutors have very smooth and friendly interpersonal communication for making speech acts of: request, permission and strong wish.

When the speakers use the honorific expressions in their communication, they are elevating the status of the addressee like in position or age. In the context of the game of *wəddi mən*, the participants train this Discourse to get accustomed to this kind of communicative culture. In conclusion, I can say the participants use honorific expressions in their interaction to reflect the concept of the power of the interlocutor they are addressing to. In the context of *wəddi mən*, when the participants use honorific expressions to address

their interactants, they pragmatically refer to the social power of the interlocutor in terms of age or social position.

#### 4.17 Discourses of Blessing

In our communication, we human beings create interactional meaning. This is the concern of a discipline called pragmatics which mainly deals with how people convey meaning with language. Speech act theory is one of the most influential areas of pragmatics and used as a theoretical perspective for the investigation of the intended communicative function of language Austin (1962: 45). Searle (1979: 12) classified illocutionary speech acts into five categories: representatives (verbs like: affirm, believe, conclude, deny, report), directives (verbs like: ask, beg, challenge, command, dare, invite, insist, and request), commissives (verbs like: guarantee, pledge, promise, swear, vow, undertake), expressive (verbs such as: apologize, appreciate, congratulate, hate, regret, thank, welcome) and declarative illocutionary speech acts. The verb to bless is considered in the expressive illocutionary speech act because these verbs are used to state affairs.

Commonly, interlocutors start their interpersonal communication or any kind of interaction by greeting each other because greeting plays its role in an interactive context of communication and enhances an emphatic interaction of the interlocutors. Therefore, the participants of the social practice of *wæddi mæn* start in greeting as an opening Discourse, and they end it in good wishing Discourses of blessing as closing Discourses. The bride blesses the time she is going to have with her bridegroom using the following Discourses.

<b>4.17(a) መርገት:</b>	<b>ናዮም</b>	<b>ጥርሙስ</b>	<b>አረቂ</b>	
mərʕat:	nay-om	t'irmuz	ʔarək'k'i	
Bride:	POS-3MHON	glass	arak	
	<b>ናዩይ</b>	<b>ለቕታ</b>	<b>ስንቂ</b>	
	nay-əy	[ləχ'ota]	[sɪŋk'i]	
	POS-1SG	leathery sack	foodstuff	
	<b>ይግበረልና</b>	<b>ንቕርባን</b>	<b>ንፅድቂ</b>	
	yi-[gβər]-əll-na	ni-[χ'urβan]	ni-s'dik'i	
	3MSG-JUSS.make-3MSG-BEN-1PL	PURP-Holy communion	PURP-blessing	
	<b>የብልዕና</b>	<b>እኸሊ</b>	<b>ሐቂ</b>	<b>ሐቂ</b>
	y-[əβliʕ]- ə-nna	[ʔixli]	ħak'k'i	ħak'k'i
	3MSG-CAUS-JUSS.eat-3MSG-2PL	cereal	true	true

*Literally:* His glass of arak

My foodstuff in the leathery sack

May He make it to Holy Communion and blessing for us.

May He make us eat the cereal of truth.

*Functionally:* May the combination of luxury goods (penis) of my bridegroom referred by a glass of arak and the simple sack of food stuff (vagina) of the bride referred by foodstuff in leathery sack makes our life: a blessed, truthful and fruitful life.

In *wəddi mən*, this Discourses metaphorically means, "May our marriage be blessed, be a marriage of truth, and be a marriage of good luck throughout our lifetime". The bride and the bridegroom are expected to express the wish of their future life using the Discourse in 4.17(a).

<b>4.17(b) መርዓት:</b>	<b>አባኻ</b>	<b>ንበሉኻ</b>	<b>ስማዕ</b>
mərʕat:	ʔabbo-[xa]	ni-[βəl]-u-[xa]	simaʕ
Bride:	Father-POS.1MSG	REL-PRF.say- 3MHON-1MSG	IMP.hear
	<b>አዶኻ</b>	<b>ንሃብኩኻ</b>	<b>ብላዕ</b>
	ʔaddo-[xa]	ni-[haβ]-ku-[xa]	biłaʕ
	Mother-POS.1MSG	REL-PRF.give-1SG-2MSG	IMP.eat
	<b>አባኻ</b>	<b>ንወገርዎ</b>	<b>ወገር</b>
	ʔabbo-[xa]	ni-wəgər-u-wo	wuger
	Father-POS.1MSG	REL-PRF.fuck- 3MHON-3MSG	IMP.fuck
	<b>ኪድ</b>	<b>አታ</b>	<b>ፈረጭ</b>
	kid	atta	fərrəč'
	IMP.Go	you	penile
			<b>ተዋጋራይ</b>
			təwagaray
			fucker

*Literally:* Listen to what your father has told you;  
 Eat what I, your mother have given you;  
 Fuck what your father has fucked;  
 Go, you the fucker.

*Functionally:* This is an advice-like wish uttered by the bride that the newly born son may be respectful to what his father tells him, accepts what his mother gives him; and finally, his mother wishes him to grow big and attain what his father has achieved- that is marriage.

This Discourse is used by the bride to signify that she wants her future son to be a man one day like her bridegroom (husband).

As we can see in the Discourse in 4.17(b) above, the bride acts like a mother and forwards advice-like wishes to her son. Though the form of the expressions seems expressions of advice, the intention of the bride is to wish that their son to well-mannered, listening to his father and mother in his future life. In the line of the Discourse, although the literal meaning of the expression is to mean, "Fuck what your father has fucked", it doesn't really mean he is going to have sexual intercourse with whom his father has. Its functional meaning is that

the bride wishes her son to get all the good things that his father has achieved, especially, marriage. When people get married, naturally of the good things they attain is sexual intercourse with their partner. Here, the mother is a symbol for the partner of the son. The partner of the son is going to have what the mother has. Therefore, the bride says to her son, "Fuck what your father has fucked" as we can see it in the third line of the above Discourse in 4.17(b).

As we have seen above, the game of *wæddi mæn* is begun in greeting. After all the necessary sociolinguistic issues have been talked about, the participants close the game in the form of a blessing context of communication. The Discourse in 4.17(a) best illustrates this idea. The Discourse in 4.17(a) means that the bride is wishing to enjoy a blessed and complementing life with her bridegroom for their lifetime from their marriage then wards.

The Discourse in 4.17(a) means the philosophical saying which is "The end justifies the means". The participants use the Discourse because of the attitude they have toward the result of marriage. They do not solely believe in the value of marriage by itself, but they wish their marriage brings about blessing social outcomes. They; therefore, end the game by blessing it using the Discourse in 4.17(a) above. Moreover, the bride wishes their son to be respectful, well-mannered and listening. Finally, the bride wishes her son to grow blessed and be a successful man like his father.

## CHAPTER: FIVE

### SUMMARY

The term Discourse is understood that it is a language use and social interaction in terms of contextual communication (communicative events) and social context (situation). Since a shift from the paradigm of language as a formal system to the paradigm of the language use has taken place in linguistics (Illes, 2001: 11), context has become a key notion in language study.

Regarding the role of context in language use, Malinowski is cited in (Halliday & Hasan, 1985a: 6) stating that meanings could only be understood if they are accompanied by the situation. Halliday & Hasan (1985a: 6) add that Malinowski was the one who introduced the notion of situational context (the environment of the text). Langendoen (1964: 22) also cites that Malinowski argues the meaning of particular words is not given by the physical properties of their referents but rather by their function; all words are functionally defined, and not only all words but all possible utterances in a language. Moreover, Firth (1957d: 182) views that situational context is best used as a suitable schematic construct to apply to language events like *wəddi mən* in this context.

The role of context also applies in the interactional communication of *wəddi mən* because the functions of the Discourses used in the game are highly intertwined with cultural context and situational (social) context (technically-register consisting of the three separate components: field, tenor and mode).

In analyzing the Discourses in *wəddi mən*, context played a role because the analysis was mainly based on situational context which Halliday (1978: 31) uses the term register to refer to it. He explained it as it a fact that the language we speak or write varies according to the type of situation, that is, according to "the social context of language use". According to Halliday (1978: 31), at least two dimensions of register are relevant: the type of transaction that is taking place between speaker and hearer (which Halliday calls *field*), and the interpersonal relationship which holds between them (which he calls *tenor*).

These two dimensions (field and tenor) and the third component by the name mode (spoken or written text) have played their role in the analysis of this research. First, field which is considered as a transaction between the speaker and the hearer of this research is *wæddi mæn*. Second, the participants of *wæddi mæn* and their interactional communication or interactional relationship is the tenor in this context. Finally, the way of their communication technically called mode is practiced through a spoken Discourses in *wæddi mæn*. In general, the analysis in relation to the situational context can be illustrated as, "Who (the participants and their relationship- tenor) says what (the Discourses/ language) where and/or when (*wæddi mæn*- field), how (written or spoken- mode)".

The growth of interest in how language is used in real-life situations and what people mean when they exploit its meaning potential has been, in part, a reaction to Chomsky's treatment of language and the language user as abstract entities (Chomsky 1965: 3). Questions concerning actual language use have been raised and it has become obvious that they can only be answered if the scope of linguistics is expanded and reference is made to the context in which language occurs.

Conceptually, this research investigates the Discourses of *wæddi mæn* as conversations of interactional communications made through the Discourses used by the participants in the game of *wæddi mæn* for several purposes. For example, the participants utter the Discourses in the context of *wæddi mæn* to: greet, ask permissions, make rules, penalize their interlocutors, defend the rules, accuse, guaranty, address interlocutor, reveal feelings and attitudes, name their interlocutors, appoint their interlocutors, train their interlocutors some life skills, etc.

The game has an opening Discourse (greeting) and closing Discourse (blessing) as already illustrated in the analysis section above. In the greeting section, the visiting participants act as adjacency pairs of greeting while the honeymooners act as adjacency pairs of responses. In their speech, the participants take turn, and sometimes overlap as interruptions of reaction to technical errors in the contextual conversations of the game of *wæddi mæn*.

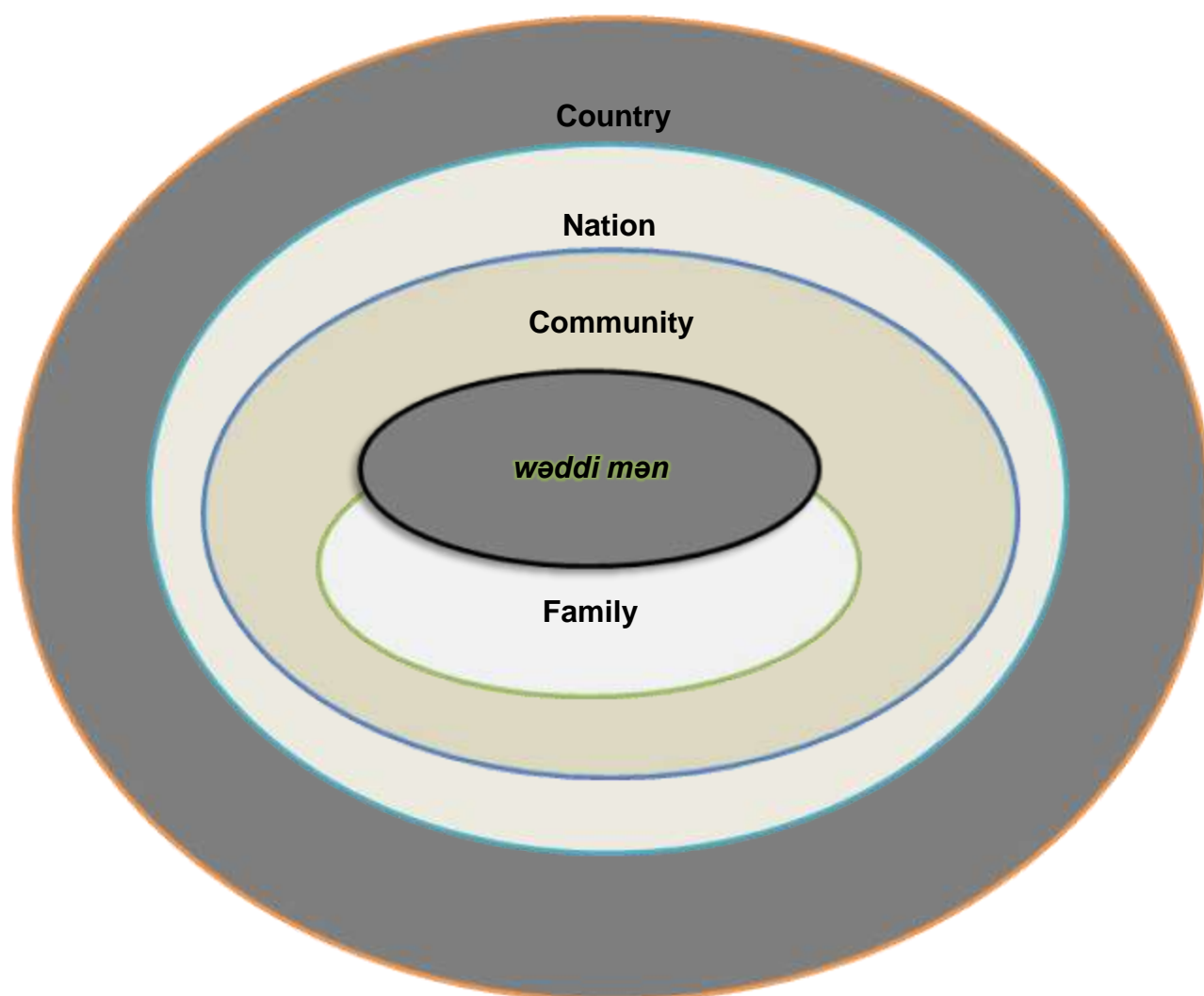
The main question in this research is, "What is said in which interactional communication of the game of *wəddi mən*, or what is said to contextually mean what?" To answer this question, this research has analyzed the data mainly focusing on the contextual language use (Discourse) study in terms of meanings, and functions. Therefore, the data of this study have been analyzed from the functional perspective of the Discourses used in the particular context of *wəddi mən* and how they reflect the sociolinguistic and socio-cultural aspects of the society; in short, this research investigates the relationship of language use and the actual contexts of the Discourses used in the game of *wəddi mən*. The analysis corresponds with the three broad linguistic functions that Halliday (1970: 140) has proposed. These functions are ideational (an experiential function of Discourses), interpersonal (how participants taking role and their relationship with their co-participants in the interactional communication) and textual functions (how to produce dialog or monolog).

As mentioned above, the immediate function of the Discourses in the game of *wəddi mən* is for entertainment purposes; however, the participants in the game try to touch several sociolinguistic and socio-cultural aspects of their society through the Discourses in that particular communicative event.

The main sociolinguistic functions of the Discourses as it can be observed from the data analysis are that the participants can learn the sociolinguistic and socio-cultural practices of their society through the Discourses of the game. They learn, for instance, how to build up one's own family (social structure of family). The social power structure in the honeymoon room during the game of *wəddi mən*, as discussed above, can represent the social structure of the newly built family of the bridegroom and the bride. The bridegroom, as it is discussed above, takes the highest position in the honeymoon room which could imply that man is the head of the family in the speech community of the research area.

The structure of the family as it is reflected in the game of *wəddi mən* is male dominating (patriarchal). Man is the head of the family in the research area in particular and in Tigrai in general. In the interactional communication of the participants of *wəddi mən*, the bridegroom is observed to have higher social power than his bride which is the reflection of

the speech community of the research area. The following diagram can represent the patriarchal social power building at subsequent levels.



**Figure 9: The Levels of Representation of Social Power in *wæddi mæn***

The representation [See Figure 9] shows that the social power system of the speech community goes to the system nation-wide. In the diagram above, *wæddi mæn* is an intersection of the family of the honeymooners and their community because the visiting participants are assumed to be the bridge between the honeymooners and their community during the game of *wæddi mæn* in which the linguistic and socio-cultural aspects are reflected. The bridegroom representing the king is the head of the family in the *wæddi mæn*

whereas the bride represents the queen in the game. They are respectively named ጎይታ ራሳሲ /goyta raʔsi/ 'the head' and እምባይተ [ʔimbəytə] liʔilliti 'the queen' in the context of the game of *wəddi mən*. The best man is named ግልጽ /gilya/ 'the servant of the honeymooners'. The names given to the bridegroom, the bride and the best men reflect their social power they have in the context of the game of *wəddi mən*. In general, from the social power hierarchy of patriarchal perspective, bridegroom is the head in the game of *wəddi mən*, man is the head of the family and the king is the head of the state.

Moreover, the patriarchal family structure in the game of *wəddi mən* is assumed to portray the system of the social powers structure in the family structure of most of the Ethiopian people. According to Genet (2007: 1); example, the roles and the relations of women and men are hierarchical based on their gender. She states that this is explained by patriarchal values through which women are defined as subordinate to men. These hierarchies in status and subordinate position of women are being maintained through the socialization of gender roles more specifically through the socialization of gender-based division of labor. Because this representation is a strong assumption at the country level, as a recommendation, it needs further and intensive comparative investigations in how the patriarchal family and social power structure are reflected and represented in the rest of the Ethiopian cultures, especially in the marriage systems and practices of the people of Ethiopia.

The culture of naming and calling is the other sociolinguistic aspect which the participants in *wəddi mən* try to learn and practice in that particular communicative event. In the research area, women are not observed to call their husbands by name; they rather use the name of their first son or first daughter to call their husbands. The culture of naming and sex preference of the society is also depicted in this study. They prefer, for example, males in their first birth.

In this communicative event, the participants also try to show how to learn and implement social power assignment, social rules through the Discourses in the oral game of *wəddi mən*. The participants also use some Discourse of corrective measures when some

individuals go against the set rules in the game referring to the social norms and rules of their society.

The communicative event of *wæddi mæn* is, furthermore, observed to be essential for the participants to learn about some religious commemorations and beliefs through the Discourses in the game. For example, there is a Discourse that implies the religious philosophy of the society that they are monotheistic (believing in one God) in the communicative practice of *wæddi mæn*.

We, human beings, have diversified desires. Some of the desires are easy for us to reveal out; however, some of the desires are difficult to freely explain to our interlocutors due to different social factors. Whatever desires, including sexual, they are, we use language to reveal them out in our interactional communications. In the game of *wæddi mæn*, the bridegroom and the bride are assumed by the visiting participants that they feel shy to express each other about their sexual desires. In the oral game of *wæddi mæn*, there are several vulgar (sexual) Discourses openly used. This does not, of course, mean the society uses sexual expressions in an open-air of communication. The reason that sexual Discourses are commonly and openly used by the participants is to make sexual awareness on the bridegrooms and the brides.

In the rural society of the research, it is common to observe couples marrying while having no sexual orientation, especially females. Therefore, they may feel shy to couplet and to talk about sexual affairs with their bridal partners. The participants; therefore, are observed to openly use sexual Discourses in *wæddi mæn* for sexual life skill training purposes that it is no harm if they have a romantic play with their respective bridal partners after marriage. They intentionally use the terms to create sexual awareness on the bridegrooms' and the brides' minds because it is common to see individuals who get marry below their marriage-age level; early marriage is common in the research area. In this case, it is not surprising to observe some bridegrooms and brides who consider having sexual intercourse and talking sexual Discourses with their partners embarrassing; they could feel shy to talk about sexual intercourse and have sexual intercourse with their partners even after marriage. Therefore,

though the immediate purpose of the participants in *wæddi mæn* to use taboo Discourses is to entertain themselves in the game, their ultimate purpose is to train and aware the bridegrooms and the brides about these sexual affairs in the context of *wæddi mæn*. Therefore, I can say the participants, by using the taboo Discourses in the context of *wæddi mæn*, essentially play their role in the mental (psychological) readiness of the bridegrooms and the brides in involving healthy sexual affairs with their partners.

Through their Discourses, the participants in *wæddi mæn* are also observed to learn how to practice some social activities. For example, they try to practice social issues such as appointments showing that after marriage such social issues are considered for them to involve as their social responsibilities.

Moreover, the participants portray the labor division of men and women in their society through the Discourses of *wæddi mæn*. They use some gendered expressions in referring to the gendered labor divisions, belongings, interests, and responsibilities.

In *wæddi mæn*, the participants are observed to use honorific Discourses which they do not use in their common communicative contexts. This indicates that in the communication of elderly-to-elderly or young-to-elderly people commonly use honorifics in the speech community of the research area. Then, in this communicative event, the young participants-to-young participants use honorifics to show that marriage is a turning point to learn and act elderly to the society. After their marriage, speakers are observed to take care of the language formality (style) in their communication. The participants not only use the honorific Discourse in *wæddi mæn*, but they are also observed using polite Discourses of greeting and calling other participants. In reflection of this social phenomenon, if the participants in *wæddi mæn* don't use the honorific Discourses discussed above, they are criticized that they are belittling or disrespecting their interlocutors.

In the research area of this study, virginity is of high social value. Language and linguistic practices have a significant function of enacting and constructing our understanding of our society and ourselves (Janson 2012: 101, & Foley 1997: 284). In reflection of the

perception of the society of the research area, there are several Discourses that talk about the issue of virginity in *wæddi mæn*.

The perception of the society can be observed in this sociolinguistic practice of *wæddi mæn* that the virginity of the bride is a point of discussion in marriage; however, they don't talk about the virginity of the bridegroom. Here, what is surprising according to the data of this research is the way the participants represent virginity. In this particular communicative event, virginity is represented by a paper to mean that it is something that can be torn and irreversible.

In their Discoursal communications in the context of the game of *wæddi mæn*, the participants also say when to start sexual intercourse after the day of marriage. According to the Discourses forwarded by the participants, the bridegroom and the bride normally start sexual intercourse on the third day of their marriage. In the research area, the society believes that the couple of days after their marriage are the days of mental (psychological) preparation or readiness for the bridegrooms and the brides to start sexual intercourse with their partner for the first time.

## REFERENCES

- Abraha Abadi. 2001. Marriages and Wedding Ceremonies in Ethiopia.  
*<http://www.lauren.org/ruta-wed.htm> (September 14, 2016).*
- Adjei, Stephen. 2013. Discourse Analysis: Examining Language Use in Context. *The Qualitative Report* 18(50). 1-10.
- Ardnt, Horst & Janney, Richard. 1987. Politeness Revisited. *IRAL* 23(4). 282-300.
- Austin, John. 1962. *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bhagawati, Biju. 2012. A Musicological Exploration of Assamese Wedding Songs: 'Biyä-Näm'. *Sangeet Galaxy* 1(1). 1-20.
- Brown, Gillian & Yule, George. 1983. *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, Penelope & Levinson, Stephen. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Buckley, Eugene. 1994. Tigrinya Vowel Features and Vowel Coalescence. *Penn Working Papers in Linguistics Vol. 1*. 1-28.
- Central Statistics Authority (CSA). 2007. Summary and Statistical Report of 2007 Population and Housing Census: Population Size by Age and Sex. Addis Ababa: UNFPA.CSA, UNCS, Field Survey **Feedback**: [ocha-eth@un.org](mailto:ocha-eth@un.org).  
[www.humanitarianresponse.info/operations/ethiopia](http://www.humanitarianresponse.info/operations/ethiopia) [www.reliefweb.int](http://www.reliefweb.int) (January 12, 2015).
- Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press.

- Conde, Diana; García, Evelyn; Vásquez, Wilson & Gavilanez, Piedad. 2017. *Micro-Curricular Planning Based on Tongue Twisters as a Pronunciation Strategy*. Editor Pedagógico: EDICIEEM.
- Connie, Albert. 2013. *Critical Discourse Analysis: Toward Theories in Social Media*. North Carolina: University of North Carolina.
- Dlamini, Nonhlanhla. 2009. *Power, sexuality and Subversion in Lutsango and Siswati Traditional Wedding Songs*. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand (MA Thesis).
- Diako, Matete. 2012. *Discourses on Autonomy and Marital Satisfaction among Black Women in Dual-Career Marriages*. University of Pretoria: University of Pretoria Press (PhD Dissertation).
- Egins, Suzanne & Slade, Diana. 1997. *Analysing Casual Conversation*. London: Cassell Academic.
- Esayas Tajebe. 2003. *Nominal Functional Categories in Tigrinya*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University (MA Thesis).
- Eva, November. 2004. *Species List Tigrinya - Scientific*. Mekelle: Mekelle University.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. USA: Longman.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2001. *Language and Power*. (2nd edition). Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Fakuade, Gbenga; Kemdirim, Ngozi; Nhaji, Ikechukwu & Nwosu, Florence. 2015. *Linguistic Taboos in the Igbo Society: A Sociolinguistic Investigation*. Ilorin: Kwara State University of Ilorin.

- Fekede Menuta. 2014. *Discourses of Development in Gurage Proverbs*. Hawassa: EJSLS.
- Firth, John. 1957d. *Personality and Language in Society*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Fitzgerald, Colleen. 2015. *More on Phonological Variation in Tigrinya*. Texas Tech University: Texas Tech University Press.
- Foley, William. 1997. *Anthropological Linguistics: An Introduction*. Victoria: Blackwell Publishing.
- Forough, Rahimi & Mohammad, Javad. 2011. Critical Discourse Analysis: Scrutinizing Ideologically-Driven Discourses. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. 1(16). 107-112.
- Gee, James. 1999. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*. London: Routledge.
- Gee, James. 2015. *Discourse, small-d, Big D*. Arizona State University: Arizona State University Press.
- Genet Ashebir. 2007. *Women as Victims /Perpetuators of Patriarchy: A Case study of Women Vendors in Two Localities in Addis Ababa*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University (MA Thesis).
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1970. *A Course in Spoken English Intonation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1978. *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. London: Edward Arnold and Baltimore: University Park Press.
- Halliday M. A. K. & Hasan, Ruqaiya. 1985a. *Language, Context and Text: a Social Semiotic Perspective*. Deakin University: Deakin University Press.

- Halliday, M. A. K. 1994. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (2nd edition). London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K & Matthiessen, Christian. 2004. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Hodder Education.
- Haratyan, Farzaneh. 2011. Halliday's SFL and Social Meaning. *International Conference on Humanities, Historical and Social Sciences IPEDR* 17(2). 260-264.
- Ide, Sachiko. 1989. Formal Forms and Discernment: Two Neglected Aspects of Universals of Linguistic Politeness. *Multilingua* vol.8. 223-248.
- Ignatius, Tri. 2017. *Systemic Functional Linguistics: A Brief Introduction*. Universitas Kristen Duta Wacana:Wacana.<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318700637> (February, 19, 2019).
- Illes, Eva. 2001. *The Definition of Context and its Implications for Language Teaching*. University of London: London.
- Jabareen, Yosef. 2009. *Building a Conceptual Framework: Philosophy, Definitions, and Procedure*. Technion City: Haifa.
- Janson, Tore. 2012. *The History of Language: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Jones, Anna. 2012. *Systemic Functional Linguistic Discourse Features in the Personal Essay*. Marshall University: Marshall Digital Scholar.
- Jones, Rodney. 2012. *Discourse Analysis: A Resource Book for Students*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Jorgensen, Marianne & Phillips, Louise. 2002. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE.
- Joseph, A. A. 2005. A Feminist Analysis of Song Texts in Okun Yoruba Marriage Ceremony. *International Journal of African & African American Studies* 4(1). 33-40.

- Karlberg, Michael. 2005. The Power of Discourse and the Discourse of Power: Pursuing Peace through Discourse Intervention: *International Journal of Peace Studies* 10(1). 1-23.
- Kasper, Gabriele. 1990. Linguistic Politeness: Current Research Issues. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14(2). 193-218.
- Kassaye Gutema. 2013. *Critical Analysis of the Representation of HIV/AIDS in Ethiopia's Policy Documents and Newspapers*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University (PhD Dissertation).
- Kinuthia, Jane; Wathika, Lucy & Yakobo, Mutiti. J.K. 2015. Gendered Identities in Gikuyu Marriage Negotiation Discursive Domain. *International Journal of Linguistics and Communication* 3(2). 135-146.
- Kogan, Leonid. (1997). Tigrinya. In Hetzron (ed.). *The Semitic Languages*. London: Routledge.
- Lakoff, Robin. 1975. *Language and Women's Place*. New York: Happer and Row.
- Langendoen, Terence. 1968. *The London School of Linguistics: A study of the linguistic contributions of B. Malinowski and J. R. Firth*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Leech, Geoffrey. 1983. *Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Lupton, Deborah. 1992. Discourse Analysis: A New Methodology for Understanding the Ideologies of Health and Illness. *Australian Journal of Public Health* 16(2). 145-150.
- McCarthy, Michael; Matthiessen, Christian & Slade, Diana. 2002. Discourse Analysis. In Norbert Schmitt (ed.). *An Introduction to Applied Linguistics*. London: Arnold.
- McCarthy, Michael. 2011. *Discourse Analysis for Language Teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Montes, García; Barboza, Sagre & Olascoaga, Lacharme. 2014. Systemic Functional Linguistics and Discourse Analysis as Alternatives When Dealing With Texts. *PROFILE Issues in Teachers' Professional Development*. 16(2). 101-116.
- Mu'in, Fatchul; Amrina, Rosyi & Amelia, Rizky. 2017. Tongue Twister, Students' Pronunciation Ability, and Learning Styles: *Arab World English Journal (AWEJ)* 8(4). 365-383.
- Muriel, Saville-Troike. 2003. *The Ethnography of Communication: an Introduction* (2nd edition). Oxford: Blackwell.
- O'Donnell, Mick. 2011. *Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics for Discourse Analysis*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Osoba, Sola & Sobola, Eniayo. 2014. *Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. Winneba: University of Education.
- Potter, Jonathan. 1996. *Presenting Reality: Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction*. London: Sage.
- Powers, Penny. 2001. Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines. *The Philosophical Foundation of Foucaultian Discourse* 1(2). 18-34.
- Rahmi, Zakaria. 2015. Gender and Language Use. *Intelektualita* 3(1). 79-93.
- Regan, Pamela. 1997. Basic and Applied Social Psychology. *The Impact of Sexual Request Style on Perception of Sexual Interactions: The Mediation Role of Beliefs about Social Desires* 19 (4). 519-532.
- Reiko, Matsuoka. 2012. *An Analysis of the Oral Academic Discourse in Discussion*. Tokyo: National College of Nursing (PhD Dissertation).
- Rotimi, Taiwo. 2010. *Discourse Analysis*. Lagos: National Open University of Nigeria.

- Sakadolskis, Emilija. 2003. *The Use of Figurative Language in the Construction of Musical Meaning: A Case Study of Three Sixth Grade General Music Classes*. Maryland: University of Maryland (PhD Dissertation).
- Schegloff, Emanuel. 1998. *"Reply to Wetherell"*. *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Searle, John. 1979. *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Shegaw, Wedaj. 2015. *Analysing the Discourse of Tour Guiding Communication: The case of Lalibela Rock hewn Churches*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University (PhD Dissertation).
- Shi-xu. 2005. *A Cultural Approach to Discourse*. Zhiang University: China.
- Storey, Veda. 1993. Semantic Relationships. In Fred J. Maryansk (ed.). *Understanding Semantic Relationships*. University of Rochester: Rochester.
- Stubbs, Michael. 1983. *Discourse Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tamrat Negussie. 2015. *Discourse of Indigenous Knowledge of Crop Cultivation in South Wolo: A Critical Analysis of Farmers' Voice and Practice*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University (PhD Dissertation).
- Tesfay Tewelde. 2002. *A Modern Grammar of Tigrinya*. Rome: Italy.
- Thompson, Arthur & Do, Youngah. 2019. Defining Iconicity: An Articulation-Based Methodology for Explaining the Phonological Structure of Ideophones. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 4(1). 1-40.
- Timothy, Jay. 1999. *Why We Curse*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Trappes-Lomax, Hugh. 2010. *Discourse Analysis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Tsehay Tefera. 1979. *Reference Grammar of Tigrinya*. Georgetown University: Washington D.C.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 1980. *Macrostructures: An Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structures in Discourse, Interaction and Cognition*. Hillsdale: New Jersey.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 1985a. *Introduction: Discourse Analysis as a New Cross-Discipline*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 1985b. *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Academic Press.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 1997. Context: Towards a Multidisciplinary Theory. *Language, Discourse and Cognition vol.1*. 1-46.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 2001a. Critical Discourse Analysis. In Tannen, Deborah; Schiffrin, Deborah; & Hamilton, Heidi. (eds.) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 2016. Structures of Discourse and Structures of Power. *Annals of the International Communication Association* 12(1). 18-59.
- Voigt, Rainer. 2009. Tigrinya, an "African- Semitic". *Folia Linguistica Historica Vol. 30*. 1-10.
- Wael, Abdulrahman. 2016. An Introduction to Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics. *Journal for the Study of English Linguistics* 4(1). 70-80.
- Whisnant, Clayton. 2012. Foucault and Discourse.  
[http://webs.wofford.edu/whisnantcj/his389/foucault\\_Discourse.pdf](http://webs.wofford.edu/whisnantcj/his389/foucault_Discourse.pdf) (May 8, 2016).
- Wodak, Ruth & Meyer, Michael. 2008. *Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory, and Methodology*. London: Sage.
- Wooffitt, Robin. 2005. *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis: A Comparative and Critical Introduction*. London: Sage.

Young, Lynne. 2011. *Appraisal Theory of Discourse*. Buenos Aires: Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd.

Young, Lynne & Harrison, Claire. 2004. Discourse Analysis. In Naomi Ogasawara (ed.). *Systematic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis*. Buenos Aires: Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd.

## APPENDICES

### 7.1 Appendix- I: Observation Check-list

1. Who are participants in the game of *wæddi mæn*?
2. What expressions do the participants use to start the game of *wæddi mæn*?
3. How the participants express the procedures of the game of *wæddi mæn*?
4. How the participants reflect their roles in the game of *wæddi mæn*?
5. What expressions do the participants use in the context of *wæddi mæn*?
6. What do the expressions in *wæddi mæn* literally and functionally mean?
7. How are the expressions which the participants use different from the communication out of the context of the game of *wæddi mæn*?
8. How the participants reflect their society by the expressions in the game of *wæddi mæn*?
9. Who dominates the communication in the context of the game of *wæddi mæn*?
10. What expressions do the participants use to end the game of *wæddi mæn*?

## 7.2 Appendix- II: Interview Questions

1. ኣብ ወዲ መን ዝሳተፉ እኒመን እዮም?

Who are the participants who take part in the game of *wæddi mæn*?

2. ወዲ መን ንምጀመር እንታይ ኢልኩም ትጅምሩ?

How do you start the game of *wæddi mæn*?

3. ወዲ መን ንኸትግወቱ እትኸተልዎም ኣካይዳ እንታይ እንታይ እዮም?

What are the procedures that you follow in *wæddi mæn*?

4. ናይ ወዲ መን ሕጊታት ንምግላፅ እትጥቀምሎም ኣገላልጻታት እንታይ እዮም?

What expressions do you use to denote the rules in the game of *wæddi mæn*?

5. ኣብ ወዲ መን ስልጣን ከመይ ይትግበር?

How do exercise power in *wæddi mæn*?

6. ኣብ ወዲ መን ስልጣን ብከመይ ካብ ሓደ ናብ ካልእ ብኸመይ ይ መሓላለፍ?

How is power transferred from a participant to another participant in *wæddi mæn*?

7. ናይ ወዲ መን ሕጊታት ዝጠሓሰ እንታይ ይቐጥብ?

What are the penalties that are exerted on the participants who violate the rules of the game of *wæddi mæn*?

8. ሕጊታት ወዲ መን ብፍላጥ ይኹን ብዘይ ፍላጥ ከጠሓሱ ከለዉ እንታይ ኢልኩም ትቃወሙ?

How do you react to the participants who knowingly or unknowingly violate the rules in the game of *wæddi mæn*?

9. ኣብ ወዲ መን ከትግወቱ ከለኹም ብኸመይ ትፀዋውዑ?

How do you address one another while playing the game of *wæddi mæn*?

10. ወዲ መን ንምዝዛም እትጥቀምዎም ኣገላልጻታት እንታይ እንታይ እዮም?

What expressions do you use to end up the game of *wæddi mæn*?

### 7.3 Appendix- III: Sample Data

7.3(a). [See 4.1(a) for details.]

<b>ተሳተፍቲ: ዓዲ</b>	<b>ጎይታይ</b>	<b>ዓዲ</b>	<b>እምባይተይ</b>	<b>ጥዕና</b>	<b>ይሃበላይ</b>
təsatəfti:ፍaddi	goyta-y	ፍaddi	[ʔimbəytə]-y	t'iፍinna	yi-[haβ]-əll-əy
participants: house	sir-1SG.POS	house	madam-1SG.POS	health	3MSG-JUSS.give-BEN-1SG

7.3(b). [See 4.1(d) for details.]

<b>ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ወርቁ</b>	<b>ሸተታ</b>	<b>ሃቡና</b>
təsatəfti:	gold	šətəta	[haβ]-u-na
Participants:	wərk'i	playing stick	IMP.give-2MPL-1PL

7.3(c). [See 4.3(f) for details.]

<b>መርዓዊ:</b>	<b>መን</b>	<b>ይመት</b>
mərፍawi:	mən	yi-mut
Bridegroom:	who	3MSG-JUSS.die

7.3(d). [See 4.4(s) for details.]

<b>ተሳተፍቲ:</b>	<b>ዋይ</b>	<b>አይብሃልን</b>
təsatəfti:	way	ʔay-yi-bbəhal-in
Participants:	ah!	NEG-3MSG-IMPF.say-NEG

7.3(e). [See 4.12(c) for details.]

<b>ተሳታፊ:</b>	<b>ተቐዲዳ</b>	<b>ዶ</b>	<b>ገና</b>
təsatafi:	tə-[χ'ədɪd]-a	do	gəna
Participant:	PASS-PRF.tear-3FSG	Q	yet

7.3(f). [See 4.16(i) for details.]

<b>እምባይተ</b>	<b>ልእልቲ</b>
[ʔimbəytə]	liʔilliti
Madam	princess