



SENTENCE STRUCTURE, POETIC FEATURE AND FIGURES OF SPEECH IN KAFA PROVERBS

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to identify the formal and stylistic features of the Kafa proverbs, using a qualitative literary analysis from formal and stylistic features perspective. The proverbs were collected through informal interviews with selected informants from Kafa Zone. The collected proverbs were transcribed in Kafi Noonoo using Latin alphabet, and translated into English. They were then classified based on their formal and stylistic structure and analyzed through structural approach to folklore. The findings reveal that Kafa proverbs, though brief in form, are binary constructed. Binary construction is a balancing division of proverbs into two parts to make them witty and artful. Thus, in their balancing relationships, the Kafa proverbs exhibit various formal and stylistic features, particularly in poetic and sentence structures. Kafa proverbs contain balanced phrases as in poetry, subjects and predicates as in forming simple sentence, main and subordinate clauses as complex sentence and coordinate clauses as compound sentence. Moreover, the proverbs are known for their stylistic beauty and figurative decorations that give them a lasting effect.

INTRODUCTION

The Kafa people live in the Southwest part of Ethiopia, in Kafa Zone of Southwest Ethiopia Peoples Region. Their language, Kafi Noonoo, belongs to the Omotic language family, which also includes Shinashigna, Shekigna, Garo, and Mao (Habtemariam et al., 1966). Historically, this language served as the working language of the Kafa Kingdom until its downfall (Bekele, 2010). Later it was replaced by Amharic and came to be regarded as the language of a non-literate rural population until the downfall of the Derg regime. In 1987 E.C, the constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia granted the right to develop indigenous culture and learn in one's language. Since then, Kafi Noonoo has been used as the medium of instruction in elementary schools and taught as a subject in secondary schools as well as in colleges. Recently, Kafi Noonoo has also been introduced as a department at Bonga College

of Teachers' Education at diploma level and in Bonga University. Because the written Kafi Noono developed only recently, the wisdom and values of Kafa people have continued to be transmitted from generation to generation orally through folklore. Kafi Noonoo has different genres of oral literature such as folktales, riddles and proverbs. Each genre has its own name in this language. For instance, the folktale is called *tochoo*, riddle *turito*, proverb *shaahiyee yibbaatoo*, and legend *nonikino* (Bogale & Worku, 2002; Markos, 2002).

Proverbs are almost expressed in the form of a single statement and one of the shortest forms of oral literature that require attention to themselves as formal artistic entities (Abrahams, 1972). In the same way, Dundes (1975) stated that structurally proverbs can have as few as two words and consist of at least one topic and one comment about that topic. Within the general framework of topic-comment, one can distinguish a clear-cut structural type of proverbs. According to Miruka (1994), proverbs have other structural features such as abbreviation, wellerism, parallelism and mnemonics. Concerning abbreviation, a speaker using a proverb may sometimes choose to deliver one part of the proverb and leave the hearer to complete the rest. When we see wellerism, many proverbs are presented as quotation from some imaginary or actual characters to introduce an element of objectivity and authority in the proverb. In other words, wellersism seems to mean that the person who quotes such a proverb gives responsibility of saying that proverb to something else (Abrahams, 1972; Miruka, 1994).

Parallelism as Berhanu (2009) defined "is the use of similar words, phrases or lines" (p. 200). It also refers to the use of two balancing units in a literary form (Fortune, 1976). According to Miruka (1994), Parallelism can be seen in four forms. These are cross –parallelism, double proposition, contrast proposition and negative axiom. Cross parallelism occurs when a significant word or phrase in the first part of proverb is repeated in the second part. The following Agikuyu proverb can be good example of this type. "He who robs in the day is known and he who robs in the night is known too" (Miruka, 1994, p. 41). In double proposition, the first part of the proverb is a general statement and the second is its qualification or vice versa. The Yoruba has such a proverb. "If the wild boar behaved like the domestic pig, it would ruin the town, if the slave were king, no decent would be left" (Miruka, 1994, p. 41). In the case of contrast proposition, the first part of the proverb is stated in the affirmative and the second in the negative or vice versa. Thus, many proverbs are based on traditional semantic contrastive pairs (Dundes, 1975; Miruka, 1994). The following Swahili proverb clarifies this point. "It is

not hard to nurse a pregnancy, hard work is to bring up the child” (Miruka, 1994, p. 41). In negative axiom, the two parts of a proverb are stated in the negative. The Agikuyu proverb can be example of this. “There is no tree which a panting animal would not cling to” (Miruka, 1994, p. 42).

Mnemonics refer to the poetic patterns of a proverb that aid memory. According to Berhanu (2009), proverbs are usually marked by a poetic quality in style or in sense. They exhibit certain poetic features that enable a person to remember them easily. Similarly, Abrahams (1972) argued that since proverbs are artful and witty, they employ all of the devices that are commonly related with poetry such as alliteration, assonance, and rhyme. Alliteration is the occurrence of similar consonant sounds at initial positions of consecutive words in a line of verse (Berhanu, 2009). Assonance is the repetition of a vowel sound in words that are close together while rhyme refers to the sameness of the final sounds of the two parts of a proverb (Abrahams, 1972; Miruka, 1994). Proverbs also exhibit formal feature of binary construction (Abrahams, 1972; Fortune, 1976). Binary construction means that although proverbs are in the form of sentences, there is a break called caesura in the middle of sentence, which is the pronounced effect of balance that makes witty effect of the proverb. Binary construction principle can also be seen in the area of meaning. A proverb is a description that consists of two parts of balanced structure. These two elements are often tied together either by a verb of equivalence or by a verb of causation. Similarly, the relationship between the elements may be reflected positively or negatively (Abrahams, 1972; Fortune, 1976; Mieder, 2004).

Proverbs, like the other genres of literature, make use of figure of speech derived from the social, economic, political, physical and cultural environment of a certain folk society, which are not difficult to identify (Berhanu, 1986; Fortune, 1976; Tae-Sang, 1999). Some of these figures of speech are personification, simile, metaphor, paradox, and irony. Personification is the art of endowing human sensibility to animals, abstract ideas and inanimate objects (Melakneh, 2006). Simile expresses comparison using specific words or phrases such as, like, seems, and as if. Metaphor expresses a comparison between two essentially unlike things while paradox is a statement or situation containing apparently contradictory or incompatible elements (Fortune, 1976). Irony is the discrepancy between what is said and what is meant, what is said and what is done, what is expected and what happens or what is meant and what others understand (Melakneh, 2006). These figures of speech are used to represent certain meanings that transcend their nominal senses.

Although there has been research attempt on Kafa Proverbs from the perspective of their socio-cultural values, they have not been researched from their formal and structural perspectives. Hence, this research aims to identify the formal and stylistic features of the Kafa proverbs. This is due to the fact that the message of the proverb cannot be separated from its style and language structure because they give expression to and endows the proverb with its essential character (Fortune, 1976).

Methodologically, this study used a qualitative method of literary analysis engaging a thorough discussion of the Kafa proverbs from formal and stylistic features perspective. The proverbs were gathered from Kafa Zone through informal interviews with informants who were identified based on their knowledge of the oral traditions, social, cultural, and historical realities of the Kafa people. The collected proverbs were first transcribed in Kafi Noonoo using Latin Alphabet and then translated into English. The communicative approach was used to translate all of the amassed proverbs into English to make them readable for readers who do not speak Kafi Noonoo. The translated proverbs were classified based on their form and style. Then the proverbs were analyzed based on viewpoints of structuralism such as binary construction (in sentence structure), bipartite structure and poetic form, and use of figures of speech in the proverbs. Finally, conclusions were made based on the analysis.

ANALYSIS OF THE PROVERBS

1. The Sentence Structure of Kafa Proverbs

From the point of view of sentence structure, Kafa proverbs can be seen in three forms of sentences. These are simple declarative, complex and compound sentences. The complex and compound sentence proverbs display parallel forms such as cross parallelism, double proposition, contrast proposition and negative axiom, in addition to their binary construction structure and grammatical correspondent.

Kafa Proverbs as Simple Declarative Sentences

Simple declarative sentences are used to make a statement having the structure of subject and predicate (Martinet & Thomson, 2003). In simple declarative sentence Kafa proverbs, there are three structural patterns.

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Predicate</u>
Compound subject	complement + verb
Single subject	object + verb
Single subject	complement + object + verb

Compound subject / predicate (complement + verb)

The following proverbs are examples of compound subject and predicate (complement and verb) structure.

1. Wogoonaa tukoona/ gubbi qaaqiye wone.

An oath and a hit on a back/ damage later, it was said.

2. Ittonaa ittoona/ kechee kechiye wone.

Respect and stew /comes out of house, it was said.

These proverbs have compound subjects that are joined by a suffix conjunction ‘-na’ (equivalent to English ‘and’). However, the proverbs reflect grammatical incongruence between their subjects and predicates. The subjects are plurals and the verbs are singulars. This grammatical incongruence is resulted from the attachments of the third person singular masculine marker suffix ‘-iye’ with the verbs /qaaq/ (damage) and /kech/ (come) of proverb sentences 1 and 2 respectively, instead of third person plural marker ‘-iyete’. The connotations of these proverbs are expressed through the analogous effects of the subjects. However, the meanings of the proverbs rest more on the first subjects /wogoo/ (oath) and /itto/ (respect) respectively than the second subjects /tukoo/ (hit on back) and /itto/ (stew) respectively of the proverb sentences 1 and 2. The second subjects are added to explain the subject matters of the proverbs and create balance between subjects and predicates that enable them to achieve the artistic quality of the proverbs. The grammatical incongruence may result from giving emphases to the first subjects. Such simple declarative Kafa proverbs are typically short, expressed in four or five words. Hence, terseness of the expression is an essential feature of Kafa proverbs.

According to proverb 1, if people do not agree on a certain matter, for instance, if one fails to trust another, the person on whom the trust is lost makes an oath in the name of God or in the names of local gods to create an agreement or to be trusted. In fact, the Kafa people believe that when one falsely swears in the name of God or calling the local gods, the God or the gods punish him/ her in future though the time is not fixed. Similarly, the pain of a hit on the back is not much at the immediate time of attack but after a certain time, it gets severe. This proverb stresses on the consequence of /wogoo/ (oath), comparing with the general truth effect of the second subject /tukoo/ (a hit on the back). The proverb is frequently employed to warn people who swear falsely in order to escape from present problem without recognizing its future penalties. Proverb 2 implies, in Kafa culture, respect always starts from family. If someone is

respectful of his/her family or a member of family, he/she is deferential for everyone. In contrast, when he/she does not respect his/her family, he/she also disrespects everybody. Thus, the behavior of a person can be predisposed by his/her act in the family as the quality of stew for creating appetite of eaters is affected by the economic capacity of a certain family. Thereby, the proverb is intended to educate the young people to develop their reverential behavior starting from respecting their family or to criticize people who disregards others viewing that people who disrepute their family never respect other people.

Single subject / predicate (object + verb)

The following are examples of Single subject and predicate (object + verb) sentence Kafa proverbs.

3. Muddoo / bi shaa'oon ariiyaache.

Nose/ does not know its smell.

4. Haashoo/ biiye dechoon maahe.

Fish/ feeds below it.

5. Kishoo / kishoon machiie.

Hand/ washes hand.

These proverbs have identical structural pattern and grammatical correspondence in their constructions. The subject- verb agreement in proverb 3 is created through the inflectional suffixes '-ach' and '-e' that are attached with verb /ariiy/ (know) to indicate negative and third person singular masculine respectively. Similarly, the subject-verb correspondences in proverb sentences 4 and 5 are attained through the concord suffix '- e' which is depended on verbs /maah/(eat) and /machiie/ (wash) of the proverbs 4 and 5 respectively to show third person singular masculine. In proverb 3, the message is conveyed by contrasting the subject's attribute in the predicate; that is, by denying the superficial attribute of the /muddoo/ (nose's) sensing smell in the predicate. The proverb is intended to comment on the behaviors of people who criticize or offend others without recognizing their own weaknesses. The disavowal of the subject's attribute also carries an ironic truth. Proverb 4 condemns people who fear those who are stronger than they are and attack those who are weaker than them. Proverb 5 also conveys that helping other or doing good for other people rewards; that means, when one is supportive, he/she can also be helped by whom he/she aided.

Subject /predicate (complement + object + verb)

6. Dangiyo/ bi gabbooche mocoo maataache.
An elephant/ does not eat grass under its stomach.
7. Hirgach bushoo/ maacaa gashoo kichiye.
A greedy boy/ grows teeth inside the womb.

Although these proverbs are binary constructed (i.e. having subject-predicate structure) and grammatically compatible for their subject verb agreement, the phrases of the two parts of the proverbs are not balanced. The parts in the predicates are longer than the parts in the subjects. Proverb 6 contains noun /dangiyo/ (elephant) as a subject but in proverb 7, the subject is noun phrase; that is noun /bushoo/ (child) with adjective modifier /hirgach/ (greedy). In their predicate parts, in addition to verbs, the proverbs consist of complements, prepositional phrases /bi gabooche/ (under its stomach) in proverb 6 and /maacaa/ (in side) in proverb 7. The grammatical correspondence of the proverbs is achieved through the negative marker suffix ‘-ach’ and the third person singular masculine marker concord suffix ‘- e’ which are attached with verbs /maataach/ (does not eat) in proverb 6, and ‘-iye’ in verb /kich/ (grow) of proverb 7. Proverb 6 allegorically states that the grievance and difficulty of attacking one’s neighbor or relative - relating with the difficult nature of eating grass for the elephant under its stomach. In the views of Kafa people, although attacking anybody is criticized, attacking neighbor or relative is considered as taboo. For that reason, even though one wants to harm his/her neighbor or relative, such cultural view forbids him/her. Proverb 7, /maacaa gashoo kichiye/ (grows teeth in the womb), criticizes greed, using hyperbole to emphasize the extreme eagerness of the greedy people.

Kafa Proverbs as Complex Sentences

Complex sentence is a type of sentence that has at least one independent and one or more dependent clauses (Martinet & Thomson, 2003). The binary construction of the proverbs here can be seen separating them as main and dependent clauses. Complex sentence Kafa proverbs are mostly declarative and are two types. These are proverbs taking relative clauses and concession clauses as subordinate clauses.

Relative clauses as subordinate clauses

Kafa proverbs that have relative clause as a subordinate take an impersonal pronoun ‘one’ to convey that the authority of such ideas lies beyond the speaker quoting them. The following proverbs have relative clauses as subordinate clause.

8. Naayachon/ aaco maataache.

One who has helper/ never fails in a river.

9. Baakkaallo/ ahi bagoon gacahe.

One who has no hen/ undermines other's sheep.

10. Qitaanoo /yeerich bushoo baachiye.

One who never dies/ is a son of God.

In these proverbs, the subjects are relative clauses. The subject parts of the proverbs are the subordinates and the predicate parts are the main clauses of the proverb sentences. The subject parts show that in Kafi Noonoo sentence construction, a single word can be a clause. Such words contain suffixes that represent various morphological features of the Kafi Noonoo language. Proverb 8 is stated in passive voice to give emphasis to the object /naayo/ (helper) which contains relative clause and impersonal pronoun marker suffixes '-acho'(who has) and '-n' (one) respectively. The subject /aaco/ (river) is categorized under the predicate with the negatively inflected verb /maataache/ (does not take). Metaphorically, the proverb asserts the importance of living with people. In other words, if one is sociable and cooperative in social life, he/she can win any kind of problem (for which the metaphor 'aaco' stands) with the help of other people. Parallelism in this proverb is achieved through contrasting the lexical items in the subject with the predicate. Therefore, since the first part of the proverb is stated in affirmative and the second in negative, the proverb takes contrast proposition form of parallelism. Unlike proverb 8, proverb 9 is stated in active voice taking the form subject-object-verb. The subject is the negatively inflected relative clause /baakkaallo/ (one who has no hen). It contains relative and negative marker suffix '-aallo' (one who has no) which is connected with noun /baakoo/ (hen). The predicate part of the proverb is the main clause of the proverb sentence. It has the structure object /ashi bagoon/ (other's sheep) and the verb /gacah/ (undermine) that takes the third person singular masculine marking concord suffix '-e' to indicate the subject-verb agreement of the proverb sentence. However, this proverb has the parallel form of contrast proposition because it is stated in negative form in its first part and in affirmative form in its second part.

Proverb 10 is constructed in passive voice taking the negatively inflected relative clause as subject. This is because to give stress to the object /qitaano/ (one who never die) of the proverb sentence, which acts as subject in this construction. The relative and negative marker suffix '-aano' (one who never) is embedded with noun /qito/ (death). The subject of the proverb

sentence /busho/ (child) is modified by possessive adjective /yeerich/ (God's) but in this construction, it takes the position of complement and categorized under the predicate. Unlike the relative clause, the main clause of this proverb sentence is stated in affirmative. Hence, analogous with proverbs 8 and 9, proverb 10 has the contrast proposition form of parallelism. The proverb is usually quoted in funeral occasions to console the family or relatives of the deceased, urging them not grieve excessively for death inevitable for everyone. That is, since every creature is mortal except the divine ones, much grief is not necessary.

Complex sentence proverbs having concession as subordinate clauses

11. Baakkoo kukkiyani /gifoo qechaache iye wone.

Though the cock crows /it cannot open door, said someone.

12. Wogaaboo wuxiyani /cahoo daamaache iye wone.

Although typhoid kills/ it cannot take the body to grave, said some one.

These proverbs are in the form of complex sentence and made up of two grammatical sections that are correlated each other. The first parts of the proverbs are subordinate and the second are the main clauses of the proverb sentences. The concession clauses of the proverbs are indicated by suffix '-iyani' (equivalent to English 'although') that is subordinated to verbs /kukk / (crow) and /wix/ (kill) of the proverbs 11 and 12 respectively. The two parts of the proverbs are grammatically harmonious for being stated in present tense but their first parts are stated in affirmative and the second in negative forms. Consequently, the proverbs display contrast proposition form of parallelism. These proverbs are not only similar in structure but also identical in meaning. Both of the proverbs contend that the limited duty or capacity of someone or something to do something completely.

Kafa Proverbs as Compound Sentences

Many Kafa proverbs are made up of two coordinate clauses. These clauses are closely linked to each other. Mostly, one of the clauses is intended to develop the meanings of the proverbs further. Unlike the complex sentence proverbs, which display one form of parallelism in each proverb, the compound sentence proverbs display two forms of parallelism in each proverb. The compound sentence Kafa proverbs obtain their basic form as declarative and imperative sentences.

Declarative coordinate clause sentence proverbs

This type of proverbs comprises two independent declarative sentences. In each proverb, the first clause is grammatically corresponding with the second clause. The following proverbs are examples of such type.

13. Uree bi shunchoch cibbataana/ yeri bi shunchoch uchiye.

A woman filled for her beloved/ but God makes it drunk by his beloved.

14. Waakki ariiyachon aaco mateena/tagge ariiyachon taatoo maahe wone.

An expert of swimming is taken away by river / an expert of justice is defeated by king, it was said.

15. Indeemanee indee tunyaachan /neshoo nihoo tuniyache.

Aunt never be mother / uncle never be father.

16. Aaco miiciibee maateena/taatoo miiciibee tippihe.

River takes making to laugh / king arrests laughing.

These proverbs are structurally declarative consisting two independent clauses. In addition, in their each part, the proverbs contain different subjects and repeated words. In proverb 13, the two clauses are connected with the coordinate conjunction marking suffix ‘-ataana’ (similar to English ‘but’) that is attached to verb /cib/ (fill) of the first part the proverb. Proverb 13 also contains repeated word /shuncho/ (beloved) in its both parts. Although the possessive pronoun ‘bi’ occurs in both sides of the proverb, it denotes different meanings. In the first part, it means ‘her’ and in the second part, it stands for ‘his’. In Kafi Noonoo, third person possessive pronouns may have the same form but their meaning is known depending on their appearance in the contexts of sentences in which they are used. Besides, the first part /uree bi shunchoch cibbataana/ presents the matter to be drunk is prepared for a woman’s beloved, but as the second part states, it is drunk by God’s beloved not by her beloved. Thereby, this proverb reflects two types of parallelism. Because of its inclusion of repeated words in its both parts, it has a form of cross parallelism and for its contrasting elements; it also has a form of contrast proposition.

Proverb 14 contains two independent clauses that are joined by a suffix conjunction ‘-na’ (analogous with English ‘and’). Both clauses contain harmonizing grammatical structure and they are positioned in juxtaposition, but they have closely related meanings. In other words, this form of parallelism is not based on front linking but in which different but corresponding

images express the same ideas or two sides of complementary situation pointing to one conclusion. More briefly, the first clause /waakkee ariiyachon/ (object), /aaco/ (subject), and /maatee/ (verb) is parallel with the second clause /taggee arriyachon/ (object), /taatoo/ (subject), and /maahe/ (verb) in its structure (object-subject-verb). Similarly, the two parts are parallel for their ironic comment on the nature of things. That means, the ironic implication of the defeat of the expert in law (justice) is congruent with the ironic implication of the death of the expert of swimming. Besides this fact, the first part of the proverb seems a general statement and the second its qualification commenting on the illogical dominance of one over another and thereby, it has the form of double proposition. The proverb also shows the trait of cross parallelism since it embraces the repeated word /ariiyachon/ (expert) in its either side.

The two clauses in proverb 15 are covertly joined and constructed in negative form. The negatively inflected verb /tuniyaach/ in the first part is repeated in the second part to express the similar actions of the two different subjects' /indeemane/ (aunt) and /nesho/ (uncle) respectively of the first and second clauses of the proverb sentence. Nevertheless, the verb in the first clause comprises the third person singular feminine marker suffix '-an' whereas in the second clause, it contains the third person singular masculine marker suffix '-e' to achieve the subject verb agreement in each part. Since the proverb is constructed in negative form in its two parts, it exhibits negative axiom form of parallelism and for containing repeated word in both clauses, it shows cross parallelism form. Moreover, the two clauses of the proverb sentence are correspondent for having similar meaning. That is, the first part of the proverb expresses the general truth that though the aunt loves and treats her sister's child, she never satisfies the child as his /her mother does. The same is true for the uncle. In other words, the proverb means that the role of mother and father is not replaceable by others.

Similar to proverb 14, the two clauses in proverb 16 are allied with the overt conjunction '-na' that depends on the verb/maatee/ of the first clause. The two clauses are stated in affirmative and deal with different things but have closely related meanings. However, the expression of the proverb stresses on the second part /taatoo miciibee tippiye/ (king arrests laughing). The first part /aaco miciibee maahe/ (river takes making to laugh) appeared to elaborate the subject matter of the proverb. Thus, the first part of the proverb is general statement and the second part is its qualification. Therefore, the proverb reflects double proposition form of parallelism.

In addition, it exhibits cross parallelism because of its consisting of the repeated word /miiciibee/ (laughing) in both clauses of the proverb.

Imperative coordinate clause sentence proverbs

Imperative sentences are used to issue commands. They do not have subjects at the surface structure characteristically. However, it is often claimed that the underlying subject of an imperative construction is the second person singular “you” (Martinet & Thomson, 2003; Tae-Sang, 1999). The following are examples of imperative compound sentence Kafa proverbs.

17. Achiyo dichaaayi /godoo gabichaaayi.

Do not bring up nephew/ do not make yard wide.

18. Ne gifoo hiccaayi/ne noo noo hici.

Do not close your door/ close your mouth.

19. Ashimoo yoocha ne mooyo beegi/ shaatee aacoochaa neshaaahoo beegi.

See your case from others’ case/ see your icon from reflecting water.

20. Geppoo gedi kashaayi/ hiishoo gedi gaannaayi.

Do not rest without finishing maintain/ do not get rich without paying your credit.

These proverbs are structurally imperative. They also exhibit two independent clauses that are placed in juxtaposition, except proverb 18. However, they show some structural variations. In proverb 17, both clauses are constructed in negative form. Though not joined with an overt conjunction, the clauses are parallel in grammatical construction; that is, both clauses are stated in present tense. They both begin with objects /achiyo/ (nephew) and /godoo/ (yard) respectively and end with verbs /dich/ (grow) and /gabich/ (make wide) respectively that contain identical suffixes ‘-ay’ and ‘-i’ which mark negative inflection and second person singular respectively. Although the clauses do not deal with similar matter, their messages are more or less similar. The first clause is a general statement on which the weight of the proverb’s message stresses and the second is its explanation. Thus, the proverb shows the trait of double proposition form of parallelism. Moreover, since the two clauses are stated in negative, it also has negative axiom form of parallelism.

Proverb 18 exhibits contrasting clauses. The first part of the proverb is stated in negative form, whereas the second part in affirmative. The association of the negative marker suffix ‘-ay’ with the verb /hic/of the first clause signals the contrast between the actions of the respective verbs negative /hicaayi/ (do not close) and affirmative /hici/ (close). Thus, the proverb takes the form of contrast proposition stating that if someone guards his/her mouth, he/she guards his/her life. Conversely, if he/she speaks rashly he/she will come to be ruined. However, verbs in both parts of the proverb are congruent for containing identical concord suffix ‘-i’ that indicates second person singular subject and thus creates the subject verb agreements of the clauses. Besides, the two clauses of the proverb are presented in present tense. In addition to having similar grammatical construction in both clauses, the proverb contains the repeated word /ne/ in its either part. Therefore, it also shows the form of cross parallelism.

Proverb 19 has two affirmative coordinate imperative clauses. Similar to proverb 17, the two clauses in proverb 19 are not joined by an overt conjunction but have similar grammatical structure. Both are stated in present tense and have subject verb agreements through the concord suffix ‘-i’ that serves similar function as it does in proverbs 17 and 18. Since the two clauses of the proverb do not deal with similar subject matter, the first clause carries the message of the proverb and the second further expands that message. Thus, the proverb shows double proposition form of parallelism. Besides, there are repeated words /ne/ (your) and /beegi/ (see) in either part of the proverb. Therefore, the proverb also exhibits cross parallelism form.

Proverb 20 is structurally identical with proverb 17. Both clauses of the proverb are stated in negative form and deal with different subject matters. Thus, it has the form of double proposition. The first part /Geppoo gedi kashaayi/ (do not rest without finishing the mountain) is a general statement upon which the second part /hiishoo gedi gaannaayi/ (do not get rich without paying your credit) rests. In addition, this proverb has the form of negative axiom since both parts of the proverb are stated in negative form. In the Kafa folk culture, it is believed that if a passenger who crosses long distance through a mountain rest in the middle of the mountain, the rest is not complete or may not give satisfaction because in his/her front, there is a challenging journey. Instead, rest after mountain is advisable. Analogously, if one gets rich without paying his/her credit, the possession that he/she has is not considered as his/ her

because he/she may lose the possession after paying the credit. Therefore, the proverb suggests the problem of living with credit based on the general truth that appeared first.

2. The Poetic Features of Kafa Proverbs

The bipartite structure of Kafa proverbs makes them gain poetic style and quality. Bipartite structure is a bisectonal division of proverbs based on their equal or nearly equal number of syllables and corresponding grammatical relationships (Tae-Sang, 1999). In addition, the poetic feature of the Kafa proverbs can be marked by rhyme and alliteration.

Bipartite Structure and ‘Rhyme’ as a Poetic Feature of Kafa Proverbs

In addition to their balancing structure, the Kafa proverbs display three types of rhyme. These are having identical sounds at both the beginning and ending positions of either side of the proverbs, having similar sounds only at the beginning positions of the two parts of the proverb and having identical sounds only at the final positions of each part of the proverbs.

Proverbs rhymed both at the initial and final positions of the two parts of the proverbs

The following proverbs are rhymed both at the initial and final positions of the two parts of the proverbs.

21. Shiichi gettaayi/ shiichi qeccaayi (5/5).

Do not tell first/ do not eat first.

22. Maddoo heechaayi/ maaddi shaggaayi (5/5).

Do not miss lord’s work/ do not arrive early.

23. Ta shattammo aa’i cooxo/ taa dabbimmo aa’i cooxo (8/8).

What I fear is a black beast/ what follows me is a black beast.

24. Bushacho giracho/ bunacho nuushacho (6/6).

One who has child is poor/ one who has coffee is addicted.

All the above proverbs are divided into two parts so that they exhibit bipartite structure. Besides, these proverbs are rhymed both at the initial and final positions of their two parts. This in turn shows that one of the unique characteristics of Kafa oral poetry is its rhyme exists at the initial and final positions of lines. The same is true for these proverbs. Besides, these proverbs show identical bipartite structure interims of their equal number of syllables in each part and interims of their congruent grammatical structure.

Proverbs rhymed only at the initial positions of the two parts of the proverbs

Some proverbs are rhymed only at the initial positions of either part of the proverbs. The following proverbs are examples of this type.

25. Qappii ariiyaanooch/ qamoo shaawushoone (7/6).

Liver is a bone /for one who has never cut meat.

26. Aafeto bukkoo kicheena / aasheto bukkoo shiihe (8/7).

One who is lucky turned his hair gray/ one who hid himself bore child.

27. Ne gifoo hiccaayi / ne noonoo hici (6/5).

Do not close your door/close your mouth.

Unlike the above-discussed proverbs, these proverbs are rhymed only at the initial positions. In addition, the numbers of syllables in each section of the proverbs are not identical, but nearly equal. Hence, as the proverbs reflect, the numbers of syllables in the first parts of the proverbs exceed the second parts by one.

Proverbs rhymed only at the final positions of the two parts of the proverbs

There are also proverbs that are rhymed only at the final positions of each part of the proverbs. Here are examples.

28. Qitiya it geenoona uppaayi / shaanna it amihona oqqaayi (10/10).

Do not be cursed by a dying old/ do not walk in a passing rain.

29. Mame ne maacooyich / nallibe ne magooyich (6/7).

Eat for your stomach/ judge for your house.

30. Ashi gattoo gibanaayi / ne kootaroo bataayi (8/7).

Waiting for other's oxen/ do not forget your digger.

The two parts of these proverbs are rhymed only at their final positions. They are structurally similar with the above-discussed proverbs for having rhyme only at one side. Nevertheless, the number of syllables of the two parts of the proverbs here may be identical or the first part or the second part may exceed the other by one. Although the numbers of syllables in either section of the above proverbs, which are rhymed only at one position, are not identical, it is impossible to claim that they are completely unbalanced. As seen in the analysis, their differences are one. Therefore, these proverbs are less balanced than the proverbs that are rhymed at their both initial and final positions, but not totally unbalanced. Hence, Kafa proverbs contain equal number of syllables when they are rhymed both at the initial and final positions of the two part of the proverbs. On the other hand, when the proverbs are rhymed

only at the initial positions of each part, the number of syllables in the first parts of the proverbs is greater than the second parts by one. Whereas, when the proverbs are rhymed only at the final positions, the number of syllables in each part may be equal, or syllables in the first or the second parts may be greater than the other by one.

Alliteration and Assonance as a Poetic Feature of Kafa Proverb

The poetic quality of the Kafa proverbs is also achieved through alliteration. Alliteration is the occurrence of similar consonant sounds at initial positions in consecutive words in a line of verse (Berhanu, 1986). The followings are examples of these forms of proverbs. All the similar consonant sounds are underlined. Also there are many repetitive vowel sounds as it can be seen in all the below proverbs.

31. Xibaallon/ xibbo qooxxiye wone.
Mud swallows/ a lonely person, it was said.
32. Ittonaa ittoona/ kechee kechiye wone.
Respect and stew/ comes out of a house, it was said.
33. Muccoyee /muuco gaawa iye wone.
To lick/ is better than to luck, someone said.
34. Kishoo/ kishoon machiie.
Hand/ washes hand.

Though the Kafa proverbs are in the form of sentences, in the above proverbs the initial sounds of the two consecutive words become similar as well there are elements of assonance in many of the above proverbs. As a result, such proverbs have poetic sense that also enables them to achieve stylistic beauty.

3. Figures of Speech in Kafa Proverbs

Kafa proverbs are marked by stylistic beauty and figurative decorations. Most of the proverbs are allegorical; that is, they have connotative and denotative meanings. However, the messages of the proverbs most rely on their connotative meanings. In the previous analysis, some of the common figures of the speeches are touched. Nevertheless, for more clarification examples of the most common figures of the speech in Kafa proverb are analyzed bellow.

1. Metaphor

Metaphor is one of the common figurative features of Kafa proverbs. The Kafa proverbs draw their allegorical style from the socio- cultural environments of the Kafa people. Thus, metaphor

is one of the most frequently employed figures of speech in Kafa proverbs. The followings are examples of metaphor.

35. Gonda asho/ qaapho ne.

Bad person/ is a tick.

36. Shaahiiyaalli yibbaatoo/ qefaalli shaanoone.

A speech without proverb /is a cabbage without butter.

37. Buuxo cokko/ yeerin ayniiyone iye wone.

Chewing porridge /is disappointing God, someone said.

38. Gochit gattoo bu'oo maatee/ goyaanee kunaanee kosho maahan.

The ox that tills the land eats straw/ the dog eats bread.

In proverb 35, metaphor is used to compare the similar attribute between the subject and the complement. That is, the attribute of the /qaapho/ (tick) is applied to the attribute of the /gonda asho/ (bad person) in order to create an effect of sameness that is not literally applicable. The implication of the proverb is that, if one who is considered as bad person quarrel with some other, he/she never leaves the case. Proverb 36 metaphorically equates the role of proverb with the role of butter. In addition to crop production, the Kafa people raise animals. Products of cow milk, such as cheese and butter are always served with the meals of Kafa people. Cabbage is also a common vegetable in this society and is eaten with butter. Without butter, it is not delicious. As a result, even if a family is very poor, cabbage cannot be cooked without butter. Similarly, a speech that is not accompanied by a proverb is tedious and puny to gain the attention of the audience as cabbage with no butter fails to open the appetite of eaters. As a result, proverbs in the speeches of the Kafa people play an important role in making speech lively and more alluring and thus, have the power to catch the attention of the audience. In proverb 37, the metaphor /buuxon cokkoo/ (chewing porridge) represent actions or practices that are considered as bad or incorrect. In the Kafa socio- cultural context, /buuxo/ (porridge) is not eaten as other chewable foods. Since it is very soft, it can easily be swallowed without chewing. Similarly in Kafa culture, every activity or practice has its own rule. So the proverb allegorically stresses that doing things in ways that are out of the accepted norm is considered as disappointing God or committing crime or sin. Therefore, the proverb is used to advise people to act according to the accepted norms of the Kafa society or to criticize those who deviates such rules.

According to proverb 38, the Kafa people consider ox as a very important asset because their life is based on agriculture and it is the ox that tills the land to cultivate crops. However, the ox is not allowed to eat the product of the crops except the straw. On the other hand, the dog, which has no contribution in the cultivation of crops, eats bread since dogs live around their owner's home and have the chance to eat the food that their owners eat. Beyond its literal meaning, the proverb was intended to comment on unfairly gathered taxes by the landlords during the feudal regime. The landlords (Iraashoo) were very autocrat and had no any contribution during the cultivation of the crops. In Kafa society, since the ox is very important asset, it is kept seriously and not allowed to go place other than its owner. On the other hand, dog is less important and has the right to go and search food from houses other than its owner. Thus, the proverb allegorically suggests that the peasant (represented by ox), who plays an indispensable role in the production of the crops received very few and less qualified product. However, the owner of the land (represented by dog), who has no role in the production process, received not only much of the products but also products of high quality. Furthermore, the poor peasant as ox has no right even to use his own property while the landlord as dog has the right to use the property of other peasants in addition to his own. In addition to paying high tax, the Kafa peasants were obliged to render physical service to the landlords. That means, at least twice in a week the peasants were responsible to plough the lord's land, to bring wood for fuel, to prepare food and so on. If a peasant missed such work, the lord would punish him. In this proverb, the Kafa people draw symbol from their view of domestic animals to express their political and economic attitudes towards feudalism. This proverb seems historical but it is not exclusively historical, because still the Kafa people use it to criticize those who illogically want the property of others.

2. Irony

Irony is another common figure of speech in the Kafa proverbs. Irony in this paper means that the difference between facts what are said and what are conveyed or what are expected and what happened or what is meant and what others understand (Melakneh, 2006). The following proverbs are examples of irony in Kafa proverbs.

39. Manjaabeeti michi aafoo beetee/maabeet kafoo bunnahe wone.

While the being eaten fruit is silent/ bird that eats the fruit shouts, it was said.

40. Ure bishunechoch cibbataaa/ yeeri bishunechoch uchiye wone.

A woman filled for her beloved/ God makes it to be drunk by his beloved, it was said.

41. Ta shattammo aa'i cooxo/ ta dabbimmo aa'i cooxo.

What I fear is a black beast/ what follows me is a black beast.

In these proverbs, irony is resulted from the semantic contrast between the first and the second parts of the proverbs. The expected actions in the first parts of the proverbs are contrasted with the happened actions in the second parts of the proverbs. In proverb 39, it is the fruit not the bird that has to shout for being eaten. Thus, the shout of the bird that eats the fruit is not expected but it happened. The proverb comment on the deceiving action or behavior and usually applied to criticize people who accuse or offend those whom they harm in order to hide their own mistakes. In proverb 40, the matter to be drunk in the first part of the proverb is prepared for the woman's beloved. As a result, the expected one to drink is the woman's beloved. However, since the matter is not prepared for the God's beloved, his drinking is not expected but happened. The proverb projects that what people ideally think cannot always be fulfilled but everything is done by the interest of God. Proverb 41 also ironically reveals that the difficulty of getting rid of the problems or situations that one hates or fears through the contrasting elements in either parts of the proverb.

3. Paradox

Paradox is also a common figure of speech in Kafa proverbs. It is created in Kafa proverbs when proverbs consist of obviously contradicting elements. The following proverbs are sample examples of paradox in Kafa proverbs.

42. Baakkee bi cokkeeshon ucha/ bi ucheeshon cokkahan.

Hen drinks what has to be eaten/ and eats what has to be drunk.

43. Bushecho girecho/ bunecho nuushesho.

One who has child is poor/ one who has coffee is depressed.

In proverb 42, the two sides of the proverb correspond structurally and grammatically but contrast lexically. The contradiction in the proverb is resulted from these lexical contrasts. The paradox can be resolved when one investigates the ironic truth of the way hen eats and drinks. When we critically see the way hen drinks, it chews but when it eats, it swallows without chewing. Thus, the contradiction in this proverb is created through the contrast with the normal drinking and eating manners in each part of the proverb. The proverb is applied to comment on the behaviors of people who deviate from the accepted ways of life or to criticize those who do things that they are not expected to do. The two clauses in proverb 43 are semantically parallel for conveying paradox. In other words, both / bushoo/ (child) and /bunoo/ (coffee) are

considered as one of the most important possessions of the Kafa society. However, both the subjects /bushecho/ (one who has child) and /bunecho/ (one who has coffee) semantically contrasts with their predicates /girecho/ (is poor) and /nuushecho/ (is depressed) because in the Kafa culture, both possessive adjectives are attached with wealth not with problem. However, in this proverb, they are attached with negative implications. In the first part of the proverb, when one bears a child, his entire asset can be allocated to feed, to dress and to educate the child and that may lead him to poverty. Similarly, in the second part when one has coffee, he usually drinks and become addicted and if in case he lacks, he becomes depressed. Thus, paradox rests on the semantic contrast of the subjects with their predicates in each part of the proverb.

4. Personification

Personification is also one of the literary devices used in Kafa proverbs. Most of the Kafa proverbs end with the words /iye wone/ equivalent to English ‘someone said’ and /wone/ ‘it was said’. This is to say that the one who uses a proverb is not the author of the quoted proverb or responsible for the idea conveyed through that proverb. However, there are proverbs that finalize with personified animals as specific owners of the quoted proverbs. The following are sample examples of such proverbs.

44. Gallatto de’aache/ gaaroo gappeeyache iyane wone baakkee.

“I am not thanked /or my raw meat is not eaten” said the hen.

45. Shattacho gumbo/ shaasho iyane wone kunane.

“Fearful/ has many sticks” said the dog.

Proverb 44 conveys the message of humble feeling through personified hen. Hen is one of the simply used domestic animals of the Kafa people. Its eggs easily reach when guests come. However, its raw meat is not edible. It is the most hated domestic animal because of its disturbance of the compound since it is not tied or sent far as other domestic animals. Personification, in this proverb is resulted from giving human attribute of saying or speaking to non-human hen. Through personification, the Kafa people use this proverb to complain about their thankless or reward fewer services for someone else. Likewise, when we see proverb 45, in Kafa culture, the dog is responsible for keeping the house of its owner. When it sees a strange person or thing, it barks and hurts. At time, the stranger picks up stick or something found around to protect himself. It is believed that the dog can identify fearful person, who use various sticks to defend. Based on their keen observation and experiences of such domestic animals’

characteristics and other cultural environments, Kafa people draw figure of speech to express proverbs in conveying their message indirectly or directly.

CONCLUSION

Kafa proverbs are structurally binary constructions. In their sentence structures, they demonstrate binary construction feature having subject- predicate structure as simple declarative sentence, having subordinate- main clause structure as complex sentence and having two coordinate clauses as compound sentence. Kafa proverbs are made up of words and suffixes that exist in Kafi Noonoo language. These suffixes are arranged to form larger grammatical units like clauses and sentences. Thus, Kafa proverbs exist in the form of sentences such as simple declarative, complex and compound. However, interrogative sentence form of Kafa proverb is seen rarely. Although imperative sentence proverbs exist in Kafa, most of them appear as compound sentence. Compound and complex sentence Kafa proverbs obtain their basic forms using two clauses that are closely connected to develop the meanings of proverbs further. This is due to as Abrahams (1972) stated that binary construction of proverbs that has been emphasized for the clear relationship of the two parts is one of the main ways through which the strategy of clarification is put into effect. Thus, most of the compound sentence Kafa proverbs are constructed juxtapositioning the two semantically, structurally and grammatically congruent clauses. In addition, complex and compound sentence Kafa proverbs reflect the four types of parallelism that are described by (Miruka, 1994).

Although the proverbs are not arranged as poems, through having balancing phrases, ending or beginning with identical sounds in their two parts (rhymes) and displaying alliteration, they gain poetic feature. Moreover, Kafa proverbs exhibit figures of speeches that make them gain artistic beauty. Moreover, the proverbs make use of figures of speeches such as metaphor, irony, paradox and personification. Since the proverbs derive figures of speech from the Kafa socio- cultural surroundings, such stylistic feature help them to have cultural meaning. These formal and stylistic features of Kafa proverbs enable them to be artistic. Most of the Kafa proverbs have connotative and denotative meanings. However, the tendency of the meaning rests on the connotative aspects of the proverbs. Based on their keen observations and experiences of domestic animals' character and socio-cultural environments, the Kafa people draw literary devices to express their proverbs. All the more, the figurative embellishments of the Kafa proverbs enable them to serve the aesthetic functions of proverbs; that is, making

speech lively and charming to catch the attention of audience. Furthermore, Kafa proverbs introduce an element of objectivity being presented as quotations from imaginary or actual characters such as using personified animals and expressions 'wone' and 'iye wone' as well as impersonal pronoun one. According to Miruka (1994), this style is called wellerism, which introduce objectivity and authority in proverbs. Therefore, wellerism is one of the formal and stylistic features of Kafa proverbs.

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