

Analysis of linguistic Taboo Words Related to Sexual Organs and Their Euphemistic Expressions in Oromo

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Abstract: This study identifies and describes the linguistic taboos related to sexual organs and their corresponding euphemistic expressions among Oromo societies of research areas. To conduct the study, qualitative method was employed. The main instruments of data collection were focus group discussion, unstructured interview and introspective method. The framework of this study is euphemism and politeness theory. The finding of the study revealed that in their daily communication, Oromo society of the research areas prohibit uttering taboos in general and taboo related to sexual organs in particular. This tabooed subject highly unmentionable taboo words which are absolutely forbidden. For this taboo terms the Oromo society of the study areas use euphemistic expressions to mild, roundabout, indirect, polite, inoffensive, agreeable, to make taboo words comparatively less unpleasant association whereas the substituted taboo words are characterized as harsh, painful, unpleasant or offensive. Avoiding taboo words through euphemistic expressions save the speaker or hearer from any feeling of shock. The society of the study areas use distinctive euphemistic expressions for a single tabooed term except some expressions they use in common. In fact, the usage of linguistic taboos and euphemistic expressions related to sexual organ are determined by context of use. Some words are similarly taboo in all research area while some of them have meaning extension, or completely not known. Finally, to minimize problems encountered by taboo word related to sexual organs and sexual acts, further research must be conducted by concerned bodies.

Keywords: linguistic taboos, euphemism, politeness, negative connotation, meaning extension.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The People and the Language

The Oromo people are native African ethnic group found in Ethiopia and to smaller extent in Kenya and Somali. Gragg (1982:xiii) reports “the Oromo live over a large area stretching from close to the Sudan border in the West, through Addis Ababa, and beyond Harar in the east, from the northern Kenya in the South and east of Rift Valley to Wollo in the north”. In line with this, Kebede (2009:1) says in Ethiopia, the Oromo people live in an area extending from Tigray (Raya) in the north to Kenya in the south (Waata), and from Wollega in the west to Hararge in the east with Addis Ababa at the intersection of the two axes.

On the other hand, there is discrepancy among researchers in figuring out the number of the Oromo people. As the ‘Summary of Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia’ (2007), Oromo people are 25.3 million out of the 73.9 million of the total population of the country. The data indicates that the people are the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia and cover the overwhelming majority, more than 32% of the population of the country. According to Kebede (2009) in the present day Ethiopia, Afaan Oromoo is spoken by about 40% of the population and is used as a language of inter-group communication in several parts of the country.

The Oromo people permanently live on the Oromo land, Oromia; Oromia¹ is located in the Eastern central and Western parts of Ethiopia. Its capital city is called Addis Ababa, which is also the same for the same country Ethiopia. Oromia is the largest regional state in Ethiopia both in terms of population and land size.

In their long life history, the Oromo people are enriched with their own culture. The one which is highly developed and well known self-sufficient system has influenced every aspects of the life of the Oromo is the 'Gada' system. The Gada system is the social, political, legal, and religious system of the people (1988:10). It has guided the religious, social, political, and economic life of the Oromo [people] for many years, and also their philosophy, art, history, and calendar.

The Oromo language (self-name *Afaan Oromoo*) is one of the languages of the East Lowland Cushitic within the Cushitic family of the Afro-Asiatic Phylum (Baye, 1986:8). It is spoken in three countries of north eastern Africa: Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia. It is one of the major Ethiopian languages. According to Gadaa (1988:9) Afaan Oromoo is the third most widely spoken language in Africa after Arabic and Hausa.

Due to the fact that Oromo dialectology has not been studied exhaustively, there are different classifications of Oromo dialect. For instance, Mekonnin (2002) divided the dialects of Oromo into Borana, Gujii (both Southern), Arsi-Bale (South Eastern), Hararghe (Eastern), Wallo, Raya (both Northern), Tulama (central) and Mec'c'a (Western). In the same token, Fedaa (2015:7) recently classified dialects of Afan Oromo into six clusters, Western (Wollega, Illubabor and Jimma), Central (Tuulama, or Shewa), Northern (Raya and Wollo), Southern (Borana and Guji), Southeastern (Arsi and Bale) and Eastern (Harar).

However, the main purpose of the current study is not to discussing the classification of Oromo dialects in detail. But it is just an attempt to show that a single word in our case taboo words and their corresponding euphemisms can have various meanings due to the variation of dialects among the people in the research areas and can create misunderstanding between communicants come from different dialects.

1.2. Background of the Study

Human languages convey vital messages about life, character and personality. Indeed, these messages are generally interpreted differently because of the impact of our culture which dictates how we think and behave in various situations. Language occupies a vital place to influence people's views and concepts about their world. By means of language, individual identities become explicit since it mirrors their social status and environment (Babou-Sekkal, 2012:17). Language is not simply a means of communicating information; it establishes and maintains the relationship of the society.

Furthermore, language and the context in which interaction takes place are inseparable. In other words, the use of language depends largely on the social context where interaction occurs. Consequently, there are some aspects that affect language including the social structure, the social environment and values of the society. Language is deep rooted in the culture of its people since it reflects their norms and taboos. Hence, ignoring these beliefs during interaction may lead to severe assault between speakers since every individual has to behave appropriately in his/her society depending on its norms. In fact, taboos exist in all languages and cultures, although each society has its own norms and taboos. This means that there are taboos which are universal and others are culture-specific.

Besides, in order to avoid embarrassment and face-losing, people try to look for substitutions that can hide the harmonious power of taboo words. Consequently, euphemisms are employed to replace offensive expressions that can cause harm and shame for speakers (Ghounane, 2013). The language of a particular society is an integral part of its culture, so when we talk about linguistic taboo of Afaan Oromoo (Oromo), it is inevitable to raise the idea of Oromo culture and norm. Because it is impossible to understand language comprehensively without considering the context of culture and the context in which communication takes place (Alixé 2012:13).

According to Goddard and Patterson (2000:38), the different category of taboo words is the reflections of what society thinks about taboo. It appears that within a particular cultural context, people may speak different languages in different social contexts but there seems to be some common prohibitions in terms of language and behavior. So this idea shows us

¹ Oromia is one of the ten ethnically-based regions of Ethiopia.

how much it is difficult to categorize linguistic taboo subjects easily because it varies from society to society within their cultures. But in this study the focus was given only for the taboos related to sexual organs and their euphemistic expressions.

Sexual activity is tabooed as a topic for public display and severely constrained as a topic for discussion. The language of sexual pleasuring and copulation gives rise to a great deal of verbal play and figurative language (Allan and Burrige, 2006:144). Generally, the concept of sex to a large extent reflects people's moral values. That is to say, one's strong personality is measured by one's preservation from socially unpermitted sexual affairs. Consequently, it has become a thin-skinned topic in every day conversations unless referring to it is unavoidable. Socio-religiously, sex is divided into two major categories, legitimate sex (i.e. sex inside marriage) and illegitimate sex (i.e. sex outside marriage). Both are completely taboo for being openly talked about, and they are variably euphemized in daily conversations. This issue is also true in Oromo society; people never use words/expressions related to sexuality except in the context of insult/angry.

If speakers overtly use these taboo words, they are regarded as violators of social norms and customs; at the worst point he/she might be rejected or excluded from the formal setting of the society. These expressions and concepts used in a limited context in a society are called linguistic taboos (Aris 2013). There are many definitions for the notion linguistic taboos; however, the present study has relied on working definition of Qanbar (2011:88). According to her, "A linguistic taboo is any word or a phrase or a topic that if mentioned in public causes embarrassment and feeling of shame or provokes a sense of shock, and it is offending to the hearer's sensibilities or beliefs".

The form of language avoidance in a certain way is euphemism. The term euphemism is used to substitute words and phrases which are considered impolite and embarrassing since people need to speak indirectly and politely (Holder 2008: 65).

The Oromo culture and language also consist of rules and norms that guide the daily businesses of the people. When these rules and norms are violated, it could result in imposition of sanctions. A linguistic taboo is part of the language and culture which is sensitive topic in our daily communication; so it is significant to know taboo words and the strategies of using euphemistic expressions to avoid taboo which offend someone when communication takes place.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

According to Ghounane (2013:98), researchers are hardly motivated to carry out research on this topic due to its sensitiveness so that little is known about linguistic taboos and their euphemistic expressions. This statement seems true in our current case even though no research has been conducted on this topic in Oromo. In our daily speech, breaking Oromo society's taboos cause different problems between interlocutors; especially among the speakers who come from different dialects. Afaan Oromoo has various dialects; due to this reason some taboo words related to sexual organs have double meaning (meaning extension); these meanings may result in positive or negative responses in different research areas.

In general, the present study attempts to answer the following basic research questions:

1. What are the differences and similarities of taboos related to sexual organs and euphemistic expressions used among the Oromo of the selected areas?
2. How do they interpret the semantics of taboo words related to sexual organs and their euphemistic expressions in the research areas?
3. Why do Oromo people of the research areas avoid taboo words and required to use euphemism instead?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

The objective of this study is divided into general and specific objectives.

1.4.1. General Objective

The general objective of this study is to describe the linguistic taboos related to sexual organs and their corresponding euphemistic expressions among Oromo of Bale, Hararghe and Wollega zones of Oromia Region.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are to:

1. To sort out the differences and similarities of taboos related to sexual organs and their euphemistic expressions used among the Oromo of the selected areas
2. To explain how do the semantics of taboo words related to sexual organs and their euphemisms are interpreted in the Oromo society of the research areas
3. Express why do Oromo people of the research areas avoid taboo words related to sexual organs and required to use euphemism instead

1.5. Significance of the Study

This study is expected to contribute the following issues. It would encourage the interest of people to study linguistic taboos and their euphemistic expressions existing in Oromo or other societies. It is believed that the key issues of taboo and euphemism have not previously been researched fully; hence the understanding derived from this study is useful guide for educators involved in similar or related research topic and will facilitate new approaches to Afaan Oromoo curriculum design. This study is very important for curriculum designers of Afaan Oromo, lexicographers who prepare Afaan Oromoo dictionary and people who work on Afaan Oromoo standardization and translation. Furthermore, people use this funding as reference if it is kept in libraries at school or university and zonal cultural and tourism bureaus.

1.6. The Scope of the Study

This study is concerned with a thematic analysis of linguistic taboos and their corresponding euphemistic expressions in Oromo. As linguistic taboos can be categorized into different subjects; this study is limited to describe linguistics taboos related to related to sexual organs and their euphemistic expressions. The current study delimited to Bale, Hararghe and Wollega Zones even if Oromia region has 17 zones.

1.7. Research Methodology

This part presents the research methods and the procedures designed to answer the research questions. It includes research design, data source, sampling techniques, research instrument, data collection and data analysis.

1.7.1. Research Design

To conduct this research, descriptive qualitative method is employed. Descriptive qualitative method is a better method to be used in order to collect data to specify, delineate, or describe naturally occurring phenomena without experimental manipulation (Seliger and Shohamy (1989). Qualitative research allows the researcher to gain access to the motives, meanings, actions and reactions of people in the context of their daily life. In essence, qualitative research is oriented toward the search for meanings, that is, the interpretation and meanings people give to events, objects, other people, and situations in their environment (Ghounane 2013)

1.7.2. Source of Data and Sampling Technique

The primary source of data for this study is native speakers of Afaan Oromoo who live in Bale, Hararghe and Wollega zones. To select the research area, purposive sampling technique was used. As Creswell (2003:185), in case of qualitative research, for the purpose of deep understanding of the subject matter under study or research question, it is up to the researcher to make a decision on the research participants, sites and even the material to be used.

Besides, to select the participants of the study, purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used. Snowball sampling is used as supportive technique to identify participants. This technique involves using the already identified participants to connect with the other potential participants who are trusted to give valuable information for the study.

1.7.3. Instruments of Data collection

Research instruments are very important to obtain the result of the study. They are a set of methods which are used to collect the data. These are resources or tools which are supposed to be utilized in the study for one to come up with consolidated required information in order to prove the theoretical framework of the research being undertaken by an investigator (Azkiyah, 2008:31). To collect the data, the present study has used a focus group discussion, participant observation, unstructured interview and introspective method.

1.7.4. Method of Data Analysis

The data obtained from participants were analyzed qualitatively according to basic research question and objectives. The analysis of data included several steps. First, I noted the recorded conversations related to the linguistic taboos related to sexual organs and their euphemistic expressions. Then, all the words and expressions were listed and verified through unstructured interview. Next, analyze the semantics (meanings) of their euphemistic expressions, describe the similarities and differences of taboos related to sexual organs and their euphemistic expressions among the research areas.

1.8. Theoretical Framework of the Study

In the attempt of studying the linguistic taboos related to sexual organs and their corresponding euphemistic expressions in Oromo, I used a pragmatic approach to euphemism includes euphemism to context of situation (Allan and Burridge, 2006), face and politeness theory (Goffman, 1967, Brown and Levinson (1987). These approaches are presented hereunder:

1.8.1. Euphemism and Context of Situation

The term context is an elusive concept in linguistics, and particularly in pragmatics (Yule, 2006:112). It is an account for the way language functions as 'a model of action'. Accordingly, this could be meaningful if it is only matched with an appropriate 'context of situation'. As the result of this, the meaning of any single word to a very high degree is dependent on its context...a statement, spoken in real life, is never detached from the situation in which it has been uttered.

When we schematize the relation of euphemism to its context of situation we have to follow questions like: Who is saying what to whom, under what circumstances, under what conditions, with what intended and with what result (Andrews, 2001:133). The question 'who is saying what to whom' means addressor and addressee. The question 'under what circumstances' refers to the setting or the physical environment, 'under what conditions' tends to be 'the purpose' and the last two points seem to be best interpreted by the essential theories of pragmatics like speech act, politeness principle, etc. Language is used in social context but not in a vacuum. It is closely related to the social and cultural values. The use of language is influenced by social variables such as, gender, education, age and social status.

1.8.2. Euphemism and Politeness Theory

In linguistics, politeness is the act of using polite speech during a conversation. First it was introduced into linguistics by Goffman (1967) on the study of face, politeness gets interest in linguistic studies in 1978 when Brown and Levinson successfully attempted to develop a theory that could help understand the principles of politeness and at the same time, account for framework in any study regardless of region, culture or language. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), every person has face which is one's public self-image. The speaker tends to use a politeness strategy such as euphemism to avoid face loss of either the hearer or the speaker. In addition, Brown and Levinson (1987:62) divided face into two types; the negative face and the positive face. The negative face, which is related to the person's freedom of action and freedom of speech, means to be free to utter any term without any consideration of its negative effect on the hearer/speaker's face or feelings. The positive face is related to the person's need to be accepted and admired by other members of a society.

2. DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

In this section, the taboo words related to male and female sexual organs and their corresponding euphemistic expressions were discussed as per Bale, Hararghe and Wollega Oromo community's use.

2.1. Taboos and Euphemisms Related to Male Sexual Organ

Due to sensitivity of the organ being described, speakers resort to use of euphemistic expressions for it. When euphemistic expressions are used instead of sexual organ names, the accurate information which is supposed to be conveyed may be lost. So, euphemistic expressions tend to sacrifice precision in meaning to get acceptance in the society. In this case, the speaker must be polite to save his/her face and that of the listeners. Bale Oromo prefer to replace male sexual organ as in Table 1.

Table 1: Male sexual organ taboo names and its euphemistic expressions in Bale

Male's sexual organ taboo names	English translation	Euphemistic expressions
<i>tuffee(for child)</i> <i>k'unt'urroo</i> <i>k'unbaa</i> <i>wašalaa(uncircumcised)</i> <i>soodallaa</i> <i>kolaa</i> <i>k'olofa</i> <i>mit'irii</i> <i>yuuyyuu(for child)</i> <i>labooba</i> <i>bukkee</i> <i>tusee</i>	penis	(1) a. <i>k'aama hormaata diira-a</i> body/organ reproductive male-GEN 'Male reproductive organ.' b. <i>abbaa ilma-a</i> father son-GEN 'lit. owner of the son/father of a son.' 'male sexual organ.' c. <i>abbaa Husen</i> father Husen 'Lit. Husen's father.' 'male sexual organ.'(informal) d. <i>eegee</i> 'lit.tail' which means 'penis'

As we can observe from Table 1 above, Bale Oromo interchangeably use the metaphoric expression in (1a), which is also used by Hararghe and Wollega Oromo. This expression refers to the function of this sexual organ which reproduce a new baby; the term *horuu* means 'reproduce' and consequently people derived the word *hormaata* 'reproductive' from *horuu*, because after male's sperm/seed is ejaculated, it is developed to a new baby. In this process the agent that distributes a seed into vagina is penis. Therefore, the society uses both the male and female sexual organs as devices that process the reproduction system. Similarly, the metaphoric expression in (1b) has been derived from the source domain of euphemism *abbaa* 'father' because *abbaa* has relation to his natural child. So, the expression has the relationship with the expression explained in (1a); because this expression refers to the outcome of the sexual intercourse which is a child. However, a prototype meaning of *abba ilmaa* 'father a son' while the second meaning, sexual intercourse is copied from the primary meaning. Here, *abba ilmaa* also seems the circumlocution expression because the father is explained in a round way. According to respondents' explanation, the thing that makes someone the father of a son is not being a male but the seed which produces a child. Similarly, Bale Oromo sometimes use the expressions in (1c) which represent male sexual organ in addition to formally representing the masculine proper name. This informal representation is especially used by male youth group. When somebody uses these names, others easily understand what the person wants to say differently from the usual implication depending on the context of their conversation. The metaphoric expression in (1d) refers to the shape of the organ which is to some extent similar to tail of animals; however, it is informal which we do not use in polite company. In the following sections, we look at the euphemistic expressions given by Hararghe Oromo.

Table 2: Shows male sexual organ taboo names and its euphemistic expressions in Hararghe.

Male's sexual organ taboo names	English translation	Euphemistic expressions
<i>k'unt'urroo</i> <i>tuuṣoo(for child)</i> <i>mandaala</i> <i>jamalii(for male child)</i>	Penis	(2) a. <i>k'aama hormaata diiraa</i> 'males reproductive organ' b. <i>sadee-n</i> the three-3PL 'lit. the three's.' 'The two testicles & penis.' c. <i>meeṣaa</i> 'lit. instrument' which means 'penis'

The literal meaning of the abstract expression in (1b) refers to something which is three in number but in this context it refers to the two oval organs (testicles) and penis. Here the referent of testicles is totally included in the referent of another word (penis). Similarly, the literal metaphorical expression in (2c) refers to a tool that people use to work something by it. But in this context they use to refer to the function of penis during sexual intercourse. Besides,

sometimes people use the term *meešaa* to refer to ‘gun’ which they use to shoot their enemies. Similarly, the expression shows what a male organ does towards the vagina.

Similarly, Wollega Oromo use euphemistic expression to avoid the tabooed names of male sexual organ.

Table 3: Male sexual Organ taboo names and its euphemistic expressions in Wollega Oromo

Male's sexual organ taboo names	English translation	Euphemistic expressions
<i>k'uunt'ee</i> <i>wašalaa(uncircumsed)</i> <i>seeruu</i> <i>geeba</i> <i>saallii</i> <i>raroo</i> <i>k'ut'usee(for child)</i> <i>joojoo(for child)</i>	Penis	(3) a. <i>k'aama hormaata dīiraa</i> ‘male reproductive organ’ b. <i>jall-aa</i> not straight-ADJ ‘lit.not straight’ ‘penis’ c. <i>dak'na isa-a</i> body he-GEN ‘lit.his body.’ ‘Penis’ d. <i>k'ullaa isa-a</i> naked body he-GEN ‘lit.his naked body.’ ‘Penis.’ e. <i>k'odaa isa-a</i> materil he-GEN ‘Lit.‘his material.’ ‘Penis.’

As we have seen in the table 3, Wollega Oromo use the metaphoric expression in (3b) to refer to the shape of a male organ; because, while we intentionally observe its shape, it is not straight. Due to this reason they use this metaphorical expression indirectly. They also interchangeably use the expression in (3c) and (3d) to refer to penis; especially a wife uses metonymic strategy to euphemize it. Because she uses a whole *dak'na isaa* ‘his body’ and *k'ullaa isaa* ‘his naked body’ to refer to the specific part of her husband’s sexual organ/penis. Besides, Hararghe and Wollega Oromo interchangeably use the metaphorical expressions in (4c) and (4e) because these metaphoric expressions indicate the male sexual organ function with other materials that people use as it has been explained in (2c). If somebody calls the name of sexual organ, in addition to creating embarrassment, it will create disagreement between the speaker and the hearers.

2.2. Taboos and Euphemisms Related to Female Sexual Organ

The Oromo society of the research areas use the following euphemistic expressions instead of female sexual organ (taboo names) as explained in tables (4), (5) and (6) below. I have observed that most of a female sexual organ (taboo names) are expressed by male to male talk or while someone needs to insult somebody else. Uttering the taboo names of female sexual organ is considered as one of face threatening terms.

Table 4: Taboos and Euphemisms Related to Female Sexual Organ in Bale Oromo

Female's sexual organ taboo names	English translation	Euphemistic expressions
<i>tambo</i> <i>bašoo</i> <i>basurree</i> <i>bit't'oo</i> <i>k'arana</i> <i>k'int'irii</i> <i>buk'ušaa</i> <i>t'eerii</i>	vagina	(4) a. <i>k'aama hormaata dubartii</i> body reproduction woman:GEN ‘female reproductive organ.’ b. <i>daabboo</i> ‘bread’ (informal) to mean ‘vagina’ specially for little daughter. c. <i>Birk'ee</i> refers to feminine name means ‘darling’ which informally means ‘vagina’

The literal meaning of the metaphoric expression given in (4b), *daabboo* refers to the bread that we eat. However, in this context, it informally represents the female sexual organ which is typically used by young group. They use it considering as the body organ is worthy or a daily basic need of males. Due to this social meaning, if someone unconsciously says to a female, *daabboo naaf kenni* 'give me bread' she may feel embarrassed. Sometimes Bale Oromo also informally use the metaphoric expression in (4c) to express the value of female sexual organ; because the feminine name *Birk'e* may give you an idea about the meaning of 'endearment'.

Table 5: Taboos and Euphemisms Related to Female sexual Organ in Hararghe Oromo

General taboo names	English translation	Euphemistic expression
<i>mut't'ee</i> <i>bat'ašoo</i> <i>tambo</i> (for child) <i>k'int'irii</i> <i>hudduu</i> <i>buk'aa</i> <i>daluu</i>	Vagina	(5) a. <i>k'aama hormaata dubartii</i> 'Female's reproductive organ.' b. <i>k'aama finc'aanii</i> body urine:GEN 'Lit.urine's organ' 'vagina.' c. <i>daabboo</i> 'bread' (informal)

The circumlocution expression in (5b) refers to a female genital organ function through which is discharges urine. Sometimes they use this expression in hospital when someone is exposed to a disease related to this sexual organ and when is talked to a doctor about the case or symptom of the disease.

Table 6: Taboos and Euphemisms Related to Female sexual Organ in Wollega Oromo

General taboo names	English translation	Their euphemistic expressions
<i>buk'aa</i> <i>fučii</i> <i>šoošoo</i> <i>bek'ee</i> <i>daaddoo</i> <i>k'int'irii</i> (for child) <i>bat'asi</i> <i>bat't'ee</i> <i>bit't'illee</i> <i>fagaarau</i>	Vagina	(6) a. <i>gadameessa</i> 'womb' b. <i>mat't'annee</i> 'the closer' c. <i>k'ullaa iše-e</i> naked-body she-GEN 'lit.her naked-body.' 'vagina' d. <i>k'odaa iše-e</i> material she-GEN 'Lit.her goods.' 'vagina'

The metonymic expression in (6b) has similar interpretation as given in (5a). The literal meaning of this word refers to the organ where a woman conceives a child but in this context, they use the metonymic strategy to refer to vagina in polite way. Similarly, the metaphoric expression in (6b) refers to the structure or location of the organ which is attached to her body. The metonymic expression in (6c) which refers to the whole naked body part is used to replace the word vagina. The metaphoric in (6d) refers to the function something that people use to do something with. Similarly, this body organ is considered as instrument that people use for sexual satisfaction or in order to give birth.

2.3. Meaning Extension of Male and Female Sexual Organ

In the previous sections the euphemistic expressions given for male and female sexual organ's taboo names, but now I interpret both taboo and euphemistic expressions which have meaning extension. In this section, the 'meaning extension' refers to the meaning of these words in addition to the formal meaning they have. The names of sexual organs which are taboo in one place of the research area may not be taboo in other places of the research areas and vice versa. In Table 7, the normal meanings and extended meanings (connotation/taboo meanings) of sexual organs are analyzed depending on the data of the research areas.

Table 7: Names of sexual organs which have connotative or meaning extension out of their particular areas

No.	The name of sexual organ	The place where the term is taboo, and its meaning		The place where the term is normal, and its meaning	
		place(area)	Meaning	Place (area)	Meaning
1	<i>tambo</i>	Bale	female sexual organ	Hararghe and Wollega	Tobacco leaf or processed tobacco
2	<i>bukkee</i>	Bale	hermaphrodite/impotent	Wollega	<i>cinaa/bira</i> 'near or close to'
3	<i>t'eerii</i>	Bale	female sexual organ	Wollega and Hararghe	internal organs of stomach which we call <i>mar?immaan</i> 'intestine'
4	<i>bašoo</i>	Bale	female sexual organ	Hararghe Wollega	cat the nick name of <i>Bašatuu</i>
5	<i>seeruu</i>	Wollega	male sexual organ	Bale and Hararghe	protecting somebody by law
6	<i>kolaa</i>	Bale	testicles	Wollega & Hararghe	castrated male animal
7	<i>geeba</i>	Wollegga	male sexual organ	Bale	a cup made up of horn
8	<i>mut't'ee</i>	Hararghe	female sexual organ	Bale and Wollega	the tip/edge of something
9	<i>bit't'oo</i>	Bale	female sexual organ	Hararghe	listening
10	<i>tusee</i>	Bale	male sexual organ	Wollega	refers to small ant
11	<i>tuffee</i>	Bale	male sexual organ	Wollega	small hole through which something eject
12	<i>saallii</i>	Wollega	male sexual organ	Bale	embarrassment
13	<i>k'arana</i>	Bale	female genital/clitoris	Hararghe	the spike of crop (wheat)
14	<i>bantii</i>	Bale	virgin	Wollega	male sexual organ
15	<i>šoošoo</i>	Wollega	female sexual organ	Bale	drum
16	<i>munnee</i>	Wollega	female sexual organ	Hararghe	Bee's sting

As we have seen in the table 7, among Oromo society of the research areas taboo words related to sexual organs need great care. Due to the dialectical variation of the Oromo people even by euphemizing the taboo words related to this topic we cannot completely avoid their tabooess. The words which have taboo meaning in one area may have normal meaning in another area and vice versa.

3. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This study was conducted with the central aim of describing analysis of linguistic taboos related to sexual organs and their corresponding euphemistic expressions in Oromo society of Bale, Hararghe and Wollega zones. To answer these research questions, data were gathered through instruments such as, focus group discussion, unstructured interview, observation, and introspective method. Based on the data obtained through these instruments, the following major conclusions were drawn:

The study has investigated linguistic taboo names related to sexual organs existed in the Oromo society of the study areas. These taboo words/expressions are deep-rooted in the culture, religion, norms and beliefs of their particular societies. Therefore, in daily communication, these taboo expressions are taken as ridiculous, vulgar or obscene and speaking them

directly enhances many problems. Mentioning sexual taboo words in public could cause anxiety, embarrassment, and shame, besides resulting quarrel between the speaker and the listeners.

As a result of this, the Oromo people of the research areas employ euphemistic expressions to lessen or avoid tabooed words in order not to offend the speaker and hearer. Therefore, in their daily interaction, to avoid taboos and to protect their faces and politeness they create certain strategies. Thus, euphemistic expressions offer possibilities to gain insights into cultural and psychological aspects of language use, including sensibilities, and how to communicate about these issues linguistically to minimize the risk of offence.

Finally, it should be made clear that taboo words and their corresponding euphemistic expressions used among the research areas have different features. For example, in all research areas, taboo words or euphemisms related to sexual organs are similarly known as taboo or euphemistic expression while some taboo words or euphemistic expressions show meaning shift (extension) among research areas. Depending on the given conclusion, the next recommendations were given: Even though respecting social taboos has great significance to construct good social relationship all concerned bodies must compile and document different linguistic taboos related to sexual organs exist in the Oromo society with their appropriate euphemistic expressions according to their particular areas. To minimize the communication barriers created due to these taboo words stakeholders who work on Afaan Oromoo lexicography, curriculum, and standardization committee should give a due attention to this critical issue since it plays great role in media, communication and education.

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