

Condolence Expressions: Its Techniques and Pragmatic Meanings among the Salale Oromo of North Shewa, Oromia Regional State, Ethiopia

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Abstract

In the context of grieving people stand along the bereaved to show their intimacy and condolence. To this end, they use different condolence expressions which have different implications for the bereaved in particular as well as the community in general. So, this paper focuses on techniques and pragmatic meanings of condolence expressions among the Salale Oromo of Ethiopia. To conduct this study, ethnography was used as research design to show the culture and language used to express one's condolence among the target speech community. The data analysis indicates that there are different techniques of condolence expressions among the community. The pragmatic meanings of the expressions are love and respect that the members of the community have for the deceased, bereaved, and good deeds of the departed one, closeness that the community has with the bereaved, togetherness among the community, and the community's special place for good deeds which are accomplished by members of the community when they are alive. Thus, the condolence expressions play great role in the development of social, cultural, economic, and political system of the speech community. Thus, we suggest that it is essential to keep the culture from negative impacts of modernization because it positively contributes to human progress by strengthening social relationship.

Keywords: condolence expression, pragmatic meaning, deceased, bereaved, speech community, speech act theory

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1. Introduction

Human being is one kind of animals and merely uses language in order to exchange feelings with one another. According to Gee (1993), language is just given to humans to enable them communicate, share information, express opinions and feelings for one another, and ask for explanation. Language is also used to express condolence for a person who departs by death. In relation to this, Bayo (2021) states that condolence expressions in which language plays great role are used to encourage, support and comfort the bereaved.

Condolence means capability of mind reading or sharing the mind of someone who is in different mood. In the same way, Adam (1976) cited in Sally (2000) argues that sympathy is defined as feeling that somebody mirrors with passion of any kind. In relation to this, Darwin (1936) and Cooley (1902) also explain that sympathy is used to understand another's mind. In general, sympathy is reading and understanding mind of others whose beloved one is departed by death and sharing the feelings of the bereaved in order to make them know that people are with them.

Grief is a time when persons' heart is broken. As a result, the bereaved needs special treatment based on the context and culture of the deceased (Bayo, 2021). Appropriately using condolence expressions may minimize bereavement of the family who lost their beloved one and encourage them and strengthen personal relationships. This means, it may restore broken relationship especially if the expression of sympathy is perceived as sensitive or adequate (Yahya, 2010) because a language used in such context gives meaning to listeners according to the existing context (Hidayat, 2016; Kaburise, 2011). Similarly, condolence expressions have meanings for the bereaved as well as surrounding community. This means, if an individual expresses condolence insensitively, carelessly and inadequately, it is negatively perceived by the bereaved and breaks their personal relationships (Yahya, 2010). Thus, in the context of expressing condolences, interlocutors need to be cautious because of the sensitive nature of bereavement. Condolence expressions must be wisely selected and presented in an appropriate manner based on the culture of the deceased because these expressions vary from place to place and are perceived differently by people from different cultures (Bayo, 2021). Concerning this idea, Nurlianingsih & Imperian (2019) and Al-Sboul & Maros (2013) notify that the language used in normal conversation is different from the language used in the context of condolence. Thus, in the context of condolence, individuals are expected to cautiously use condolence expressions and pass their messages of sympathy to encourage the grieved and other mourners to return to their normal life because every language which is used in the context of death has its own meaning.

Although most of the preceding researches have focused on expressions of condolence, little attention has been given to techniques and pragmatic meanings of condolence expressions. The previous studies have focused on expressing condolences in English and Persian via short messages and speeches (Behnam, Hamed, & Asli, 2012), analysis of condolence response to the death of Dr. John Pombe Joseph Magufuli on Facebook (Bayo, 2021), and a study of condolences in Iraqi Arabic with reference to English (Yahya, 2010). The studies mainly focused on condolence expressions rather than techniques and pragmatic meanings of condolence expressions. In Ethiopian context, there is little research on condolence. Particularly, there is no research which was conducted on condolence expressions and their pragmatic meanings in the context of the Salale Oromo of Oromia Regional State, Ethiopia. Therefore, this study examined the techniques and pragmatic meanings of condolence expressions among the Salale Oromo of North Shewa, Oromia Regional State, Ethiopia.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

This research was directed by Speech Act Theory which was developed by Austin 1962. Speech act theory was developed based on the principle that utterances are made for particular purposes and to systematically explicate the purposes of language based on three component speech acts. These components are: locutionary speech act, illocutionary speech act, and perlocutionary speech act. Proponents of the theory defined locutionary act as the simple utterance of the performatives. According to them, the locutionary act is further broken down into three acts: the phatic act which refers the act of making simple noises or sounds; the phonetic act refers to the act of making sounds that are noticeable as words from a certain vocabulary and grammar and the rhaetic act which refers to the act of using words to convey literal meanings. As the proponents of the speech act theory indicate, Illocutionary act which refers to an act which is being accomplished in uttering a performative. For example, in uttering a performative, an interlocutor may perform the illocutionary acts of making hidden promising, apologizing, offering and etc. And the third is called the perlocutionary act which refers to the act of the interlocutor in producing a certain answer from the listener, or in making an effect on the hearer. For instance, the speaker, through his/her performative, may want the hearer to be convinced, persuaded, delighted, etc. (Austin, 1962; Cutting, 2002; Mabaquiao, 2018; Yule, 1996).

Speech Act Theory is appropriate for this research since it fulfils the needs of the study. Literature indicates strong relationship between pragmatic meaning of an expression and speech acts as pragmatics also deals with the meanings of utterances rather than just sentences (Kaburise, 2011). Thus, any meaning that condolence expression has in the context of condolence is pragmatic meaning of condolence expression. Therefore, before expressing condolence, interlocutors are expected to take into account culture of the culture of the community, the context of the condolence and the meanings

(Illocutionary act) of the utterances or condolence expressions used for a person who is departed by death. Based on this theoretical framework, the conceptual framework of this study has been put as follows:

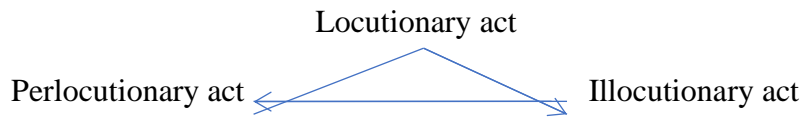


Figure 1: Conceptual framework of the study

2.2 Empirical Review

There are studies which have been conducted focusing on expressions of sympathy worldwide. For instance, in America, Europe and Africa researches have been conducted focusing on sympathy and related issues. However, there is lack of studies conducted on the techniques and pragmatic meanings of condolence expressions in Ethiopia.

Koopmann-Holm and Tsai (2014) studied cultural differences in expressions of sympathy by focusing on the negative aspects. In order to achieve this, they conducted four studies. In study 1, data showed that American condolence cards include fewer negative and more positive condolence expressions than German condolence cards. In study 2, the collected data disclosed that European Americans need to avoid negative contents more than Germans do. In study 3, the data revealed that these cultural differences mediate how contented Americans and Germans feel focusing on the negative when expressing compassion for the hypothetical death of a fellow's father. In study 4, American and German participants were randomly assigned to 1 of 2 conditions to push negative images away or to pull negative images closer to themselves. Then they were asked to pick a card to send to a friend whose father had supposedly just died. Across cultures, participants in the "push negative away" condition were less likely to choose condolence cards with negative states than were those in the "pull negative closer" condition. Finally, the study concludes that cultures impact the degree to which expressions of compassion focus on the negative aspects.

Moghaddam (2012) also conducted research focusing on interjections and intensifiers during the time of performing condolence expressions among Persian and English speakers. He used movie analysis to gather data about how native speakers used interjections and intensifiers during performing condolence expressions. The findings of the study revealed that there is a significant difference among intensifiers and interjections in each culture; interjections and intensifiers can be organized semantically, and the nature of English and Persian intensifiers is syntactically different.

In addition, Behnam, Hamed, and Asli (2013) conducted their research focusing on giving condolences in English and Persia by short messages. To this end, they used 60

short messages, 30 Persian and 30 English, and coded them accordingly. The findings of the study specified that people express their condolence differently, and Persian messages are more direct and shorter, and they show signs of religious culture during condolence expression. However, English people's messages are mostly indirect, sympathetic, and apologetic.

In African context, Bayo (2021) studied condolence comments which were posted on Facebook pages in response to the death of the fifth president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Dr. John Pombe Joseph Magufuli. He extracted a total of 200 comments from well-known Facebook accounts. The analysis of the data revealed seven strategies of condolence expressions from the most frequently used to the least frequently used: asking for God's mercy and forgiveness, commenting on the deceased, expressing shock and grief, expressing sympathy, realizing death as a natural part of life, expressing skepticisms and reciting some verses from holy books like the Bible and Quran. The findings of the study also revealed that the selection of the strategies was related to respondents' belief, the position of the deceased before death and nature and contribution offered by the deceased to other people's life before his or her death.

As one can understand from the review of literature, there is a lack of studies conducted on the techniques and pragmatic meanings of condolence expressions in Ethiopian context. The previous studies were mostly conducted in America, Europe and other African countries. Thus, this study aims to examine techniques and pragmatic meanings of condolence expressions among the Salale Oromo of North Shewa, Oromia Regional State, Ethiopia. The study specifically examined illocutionary speech acts of condolence expressions of the mentioned people.

So, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the techniques of condolence expression which are used among the Salale Oromo speech community?
 2. What are the pragmatic meanings of the condolence expressions among the Salale Oromo speech community?
- 3. Research Methodology**

3.1 Research Design

This study intended to investigate techniques and pragmatic meanings of condolence expressions among the Salale Oromo Oromoo. Ethnography was chosen as the research design as it is suitable to identify language and culture of a community (Denscombe, 2007) and explains and shows a detailed picture of the community's world view in relation to condolence. Concerning this, Denscombe states that ethnography is used to investigate the behaviour or culture of the participants as it occurs in their natural environment and analyses the collected data based on strategy of thematic analysis. So, the study was qualitative in nature.

3.2 Participants and Sampling Techniques

This study involved 40 participants – 32 participants from the 4 randomly selected districts of culture and tourism office and 8 local elders from the 4 randomly selected districts. The participants were selected based on purposive sampling technique. This technique was chosen to obtain appropriate and relevant information concerning the study topic. In the same way, Kotari (2004) argues that in purposive sampling researchers deliberately select the participants that are thought representative of the whole population.

3.3 Instruments of Data Collection

Data were collected via interview and focus group discussion (FGD). The researchers interviewed the participants when they were in the context of their everyday life's. Accordingly, they interviewed them individually by using a semi-structured format. This approach helps researchers to collect data flexibly from participants of the study. In the same way, a Denscombe (2007) state that one of a benefit of semi-structured interview is that it provides an outline of questions, without prescribing all the probes. This allows the interviewer the freedom to deviate from the interview questions as needed to pursue unanticipated findings and fruitful directions. Accordingly, the researchers interviewed 8 (eight) interviewees one by one to get data about techniques and condolence expressions and their hidden or contextual meanings.

The researchers also used focus group discussion for data collection. They selected participants for focus group discussion from the selected culture and tourism offices of the 4 districts; with each group consisting of eight participants making a total of 32 participants for FGD were purposively selected based on their knowledge and skills related to the study topic. Regarding the idea, Nyumba, Wilson, Derrick, and Mukherjee (2018) explain that focus group discussion is frequently used as a qualitative method to get an in-depth understanding of social issues. According to the scholars, the method intends to get information from a purposively selected group of individuals rather than from statistically representative sample of a broader population.

3.4 Data Analysis

In this research, data analysis was done throughout the whole process of conducting the research. The researchers started data analysis as soon as data collection started and continued as long as they worked on the study. Regarding this, Cohen (2007), Denscombe (2007), Creswell (2012), Walliman (2006), and Richards (2003) state that in qualitative research there is usually a constant linkage and intimacy between data collection and analysis. These processes are intertwined and they go hand in hand from the beginning up to the end of the study.

Along data collection, the researchers prepared and organized the data in the way they could thoroughly be read, understood, and transcribed. Based on this, they transcribed

the data based on the instruments used for data collection. To obtain a general sense of the data, the researchers explored the transcribed data taking some notes to remember ideas which came to their mind and considering whether they might need more data on the issues under investigation. For further process of analysing the data, the researchers coded the collected data. This process involved, dividing the data into text segments, labelling these segments with codes, and examining the codes to identify overlaps and redundancies. This process enabled them to collapse the codes into broad themes. To form major ideas in the data base and reduce the list of codes, the researchers aggregated similar codes together making the data manageable and interpretable. To achieve this, they used different procedures such as: familiarization, coding, generating themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes and writing up.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Techniques of condolence expression among the Salale Oromo People

Data collected through individual interviews and focus group discussions (FGD) indicate, four ways of condolence expression among the target speech community. Participants of this study explained that members of the target community express their condolence for someone who is departed by death by acknowledging news of the death, expressing distress in relation to the deceased one, offering assistance for the bereaved, and encouraging the bereaved. In line with this, Bayo (2021) find that people use different strategies to express their condolence for a deceased person. In addition, the participants uttered that each condolence expression used in the context of mourning or grief has a hidden meaning which has implication for the deceased as well as the whole community. In relation to this, Zunin (2007) states condolence expressions convey particular hidden meaning for the bereaved as well as the whole community. Similarly, other scholars argue that different condolence expressions are used to express the interlocutor's sorrow at the news of the death of someone. This helps the family of the deceased to be encouraged and forget their distress (Lotfollahi & Rasekh, 2011; Suhartono, 2020). According to them, condolence expressions also strengthen social relation among the community if the condolence expressions are positively understood by the bereaved and the surrounding community. That is the reason why Mwhaki (2004) and Suhartono (2020) say that expressing condolence for a deceased establishes good social relation among the community.

4.2 Acknowledging news of death among the Salale Oromo Community

Through individual interviews and FGD, have found that acknowledging the death of a person is one of the techniques of condolence expressions among the members of the Salale Oromo community in Ethiopia. According to the expressions of the participants of the study, as soon as the news of a person's death is heard, every member of the community acknowledges the death of the person by reflecting strong feelings or expressing sadness. For instance, as the collected data exposed, the member of the

community of the target districts acknowledges the death of a member of the community by shocking, shouting, reflecting bad feeling about the death of the person, and using different condolence expressions. According to the participants, feeling of the members of the community varies based on the status, age, personality of the deceased, and relationship that the interlocutors have with the deceased one. In relation to this, Bayo (2021) states that condolence expressions which are used differently for a deceased are determined by the status of the deceased and nature and contribution offered by the deceased. This means, during acknowledging death, people show strong feeling for those whose age is young, who have positively contributed for the community, and they have strong relationship with them, but they do not show strong feeling for those who have not positively contributed for them, whose age is high, and they have not strong relationship with the deceased.

In the speech community of the target people, if the departed one is aged but well-known in good things like being rich, helping others, generous, problem solver, hero or heroine, youth, and friend with the interlocutor, the interlocutor becomes shock and acknowledge the news of the death by reflecting his or her strong feeling and using different condolence expressions. For instance, the participants responded for the question “How do you acknowledge for the news of the death of a person who is positively seen among the community and with whom you have strong relationship, and whose age is young?” The responses included: *Baay’een gadda* (I am very sorry!), *Oduu gaddisiisaa kana dhagahuu koof baay’een gadda* (I am sorry to hear such terrible news!), *Dhuguma waan jechaa nama wallaalchisa* (I really don’t know what to say!), and *Ani kana hin amanu* (I can’t believe this!) during hearing the news of the death of a person. These expressions show to what extent the interlocutors have special place for the deceased.

The pragmatic meaning of the condolence expressions mentioned above is that since the interlocutors had a special place for the deceased and did not expect untimely death of such persons, their heart are strongly broken by hearing the bad news of the departed one. In addition, the condolence expressions display that the consolers are shocking to hear the death of a good and strong person, as they never expect to hear the bad news of such kind of persons. In the same way, Parkers, Laungani and Young (1997) state that since humans are emotional beings, death of a person brings with state of deep sorrow, grief, shock and numbness to acknowledge the death of a person. Yahya (2010) also expresses that condolence expressions are affected by certain sociolinguistic variables like sex, age and status. As a result, Bayo (2021) explained that since death is something that comes to human being unexpectedly, it hurts those left behind. The pragmatic meaning of the target people’s expressions of condolence is that members of the target community have great love for one another, especially for those who are positively seen among the community. For this reason, no one expects to hear bad news of individuals who are youth, acquaintances, strong and well-known persons among the community. This way of expressing one’s condolence

indicates that how much they critically concern and feel about the deceased one, and how much the deceased one is important person in the life of the surrounding community, and losing him or her will hurt his or her friends, family and the surrounding community in general. This way of expressing one's condolence also shows the extent to which the condolers share the feelings of the bereaved.

4.3 Expressing Distress about a Deceased among the Salale Oromo Community

The members of the target speech community express their distress for a dead person using different condolence expressions based on the condition of the deceased one. Participants in interview and focus group discussions indicated that if the departed is aged and well-regarded among the community, his or her good deed is expressed during condolence expression. For instance, they say:

"Goota koo" ykn *"Gootittii koo"* (My hero or heroines!)

"Harki koo na hidhame" (My hand is tied!)

"Iji koo na jaame" (My eye is blinded!)

"Abbaa dilbii gaarii" (Owner of many good stored treasures!)

"Abbaa sangoota cimdii" (Owner of double oxen!)

"Haadha hundaa" (Mother of all!),

"Biyyeen sitti haa salphatu" (May soil simple to you!)

"Eenyutu harka na qaba kana booda?" (Who will hold my hand after all?)

"Eenyutti nu dhiiftee?" (To whom you left us?)

In addition, the participants mentioned that the people express their condolence by calling the nickname of the deceased, beating their heart, wearing black clothes and changing their wearing style. Moreover, the collected data showed, the bereaved employ a person who makes others know about good deeds (good story) of the separated person and cry while remembering these deeds. Besides, the data also displayed that the community express their condolence by referring the name previously deceased person firing a gun, changing their wearing style, and carrying clothes of the departed one. These also display the extent to which the condolers have a special place for the deceased and share feelings of the bereaved.

The pragmatic meaning of the mentioned condolence expressions is that since the deceased was supportive, hero or heroine, loved and respected among the community, losing him or her means losing everything in life. These expressions show that the community gives special place for such kind of persons and remembers them forever after their death. Moreover, these expressions convey the message that all community members are expected to initiate the deceased's good qualities. Bayo (2021) supports this, arguing that expressing condolence by retelling the deceased's good deeds implies that others are also expected to be good person like the deceased one. These ways of condolence expressions encourage the family of the deceased one to forget their sadness

because the expressions make them think their beloved one was good, loved and respected person among the community. As a result, they feel respect and think that their beloved one was not dead because he or she lives forever being remembered by the surrounding community.

4.4 Offering assistance for the bereaved of the target community

Data gathered via interview and focus group discussions indicates that along with expressions of sympathy for the deceased, the surrounding community offers various forms of assistance to the family of the deceased. The participants mentioned that females assist them by preparing different kinds of foods: coffee, bread, and injera (local food) either at the home of the family of the deceased one or at their home and deliver them for guests who come for the mourning from different places. On the other hand, men assist the family by preparing burial sites and gathering the necessary materials for the burial. They also help by building tent or other temporary houses where guests who come to encourage the family take rest. In general, the community expresses their condolences by performing different tasks at home of the deceased's family. The pragmatic meaning of expressing condolence by assisting the family of the deceased shows the community's great love and respect for the deceased and bereaved. It also reflects strong relationships, unity, cultural values and mutual support during difficult situations showing that the surrounding community shares feelings of the bereaved. This support helps the family feel comfort and understand that death is a natural part of life. Similarly, Mwhaki (2004) argues that condolences are not just expressions of sympathy; but also acts of encouragement. Accordingly, the pragmatic meanings of assisting the bereaved is that community's support ensures the bereaved do not feel alone during such challenging times.

4.5 Encouraging the bereaved of the target community

Data collected from the participants via interviews and focus group discussions show that the surrounding community encourages the family of the deceased using different condolence expressions. The expressions vary based on the age and status of the deceased. For instance, if the deceased is aged – father, mother, medium in age –, the condolers say to the bereaved:

“Waaqayyo isin haa jajjabeessu” (May God encourage you!)

“Waaqayyo waan hamaa irraa isin haa eegu” (May God protect you from evil thing!)

“Boolla isaa daadhiin haa guutu” (May charming drank fill in his or her grave!)

“Jajjabaadhaa” (Be encouraged!)

“Bakka abbaa ykn haadha ykn obboleessa ykn obboleettii kee ati jirta” (You are instead of your father/mother/sister!)

“Abbaan/haati/obboleessi/obboleettiin kee siif jiru” (You have your father/mother/sister!)

“Duuti isiniin hin jalqanbe” (Death did not start from yours!)

“Waan gochuu qabdan gotaniittu” (You have done your best to save him or her!)

“Maaloo wal jajjabeessaa” (Please, encourage one another!)

“Ayyaanni isaa/ishee isinii haa hafu” (His or her grace be with you!)

If the deceased is young, according to the participants, the condolers encourage the bereaved saying:

“Waaqayyo isin haa jajjabeessu” (May God encourages you!)

“Waaqayyo waan hamaa irraa isin haa eegu” (May God protect you from evil thing!)

“Boolla isaa/ishee daadhiin haa guutu” (May charming drank fill in his or her grave!)

“Jajjabaadha” (Be encouraged!)

“Bakka obboleessa/obboleettii kee ati jirta” (You are instead of your brother/sister!)

“Abbaan/haati/obboleessi/obboleettiin kee siif jiru” (You have your father/mother/sister!)

“Duuti isiniin hin jalqabne” (Death did not start from yours!)

“Waan gochuu qabdan gotaniittu” (You have done your best to save him or her!)

“Maaloo wal jajjabeessaa” (Please, encourage one another!)

“Homaa gochuun hin danda’amu” (Nothing can be done)

“Ayyaanni isaa/ishee isinii haa hafu” (His or her grace be with you!).

If the deceased is child/very young, the condolers encourage the bereaved by saying:

“Warri hafan dhibba isinii haa ta’an” (May God multiply those who are left for you!)

“Kan jaalate fudhateera” (God took that He hate!)

“Waa’ee isaa/ishee baay’ee hin yaadiinaa” (Do not think much about him or her!)

“Kan jaallatu isinii haa kennu” (God may give you the one He loves!)

“Daa’ima Waaqayyotu namaa kenna” (It is God who gives child for human being!)

“Kan guddatu Waaqayyo isinii haa kennu” (May God give you the one who grows!)

“Waaqayyo garaa keessan isinii haa fayyisu” (May my God heal your heart!) which means may God give you another child!)

“Homaa gochuun hin danda’amu” (No one can do anything!)

“Kan dhalche hin dune” (Those who have child did not die) because they are replaced by their child, *“Hundi keenyayyuu achumaaf teenya”* (Every one of us is going to die!)

If the departed one is aged, they say:

“Darggeessuu ni du’a” (Even, a youth dies)

“Maaloo dhiisaa!” (Please, forget it!).

In addition to these expressions, the condolers encourage the bereaved by staying with them, going to tomb of the deceased and stay with the family for seven days and using these condolence expressions, to help them forget their distress.

The pragmatic meaning of the condolence expressions is that since no one can reverse death, leaving and forgetting one’s distress is the only solutions for the bereaved. In order to achieve this, the community has good culture of togetherness which enables them encourage the bereaved during grieving period. In line with this, Baye (1997) and Mwihiaki (2004) argue that special condolence Expressions used during mourning are not just expressions of sympathy, but they are also acts of encouragement. Yule (1996)

emphasises that since condolences are expressed by words, people should use them according to the community's culture.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

The findings of study shows that there are four different techniques of condolence expressions among the Salale Oromo community in Ethiopia: acknowledging news of death, expressing distress in relation to the deceased, offering assistance for the bereaved, and encouraging the bereaved during mourning.

In each technique of condolence expression, there are different pragmatic meanings. When members of the community acknowledge news of death of a person by using different condolence expressions, they reflect shocking and strong negative feeling to response the bad news of the death of a member of the community. This reaction indicates the deep affection and respect for the deceased, especially the person was well-known for good deeds, youths, friends and children. This means, since they do not expect to hear bad news of individuals who are youth, acquaintances, strong and well-known persons of the community, they react shockingly. The pragmatic meaning of this way of acknowledging death reflects the extent to which the community have love, respect, and special place for the deceased, bereaved, and human being in general. This way of expressing condolence also indicates that how much each member of the community critically feels about the deceased one, and how much the deceased one is important person in the life of the consolers as well as surrounding community, and losing him or her will hurt his or her friends, family and the community in general.

In addition, during expressing one's distress about a person who is departed by death, interlocutors use different condolence expressions which show identity and great role the deceased had when he or she was alive. These expressions are used based on age, status, and personality of the deceased, and relationship that the interlocutors have with the deceased. The pragmatic meaning of expressing distress in relation to the deceased one by using those condolence expressions is that the deceased was supportive in everything; hero or heroine, loved and respected among the community, and losing him or her strongly hurts the members of the community. For these reasons, the community gives special place for such kind of persons and remembers them forever after their death. Moreover, the condolence expressions which are used for such individuals pass message that everyone who is a member of the community is expected to be good person like the departed one.

Moreover, in offering assistance for the bereaved, condolers work whatever working for the bereaved. They do this starting from the beginning of the grieving up to the time that the bereaved forget their mourning. They also express their sympathy by being with the family of the deceased and sharing the workings for males and females. For instance, women prepare different food for guests who come for the mourning from different places. On the other hand, males assist the grieving by preparing places in

which the body of the deceased one is buried and materials which are used for the burring. In addition, males assist the bereaved by building tent or any other temporary house in which guests take rest. The pragmatic meaning of offering assistance for the bereaved in these ways is that the family of the deceased are not alone when they lose their beloved one as well as when they face another difficult situation. Offering assistance for the bereaved also shows that since the departed one was good and positively seen among the community, the community shares the mind of the bereaved regarding the death of their beloved one. Above all, expressing one's condolence by assisting the family of the deceased by offering different assistances show that there is great love, relationship, unity, good culture and standing together during difficult time among the community.

Furthermore, the findings of the study show the community uses different condolence expressions to encourage the bereaved. The expressions are used to help the family to be encouraged and forget their sadness regarding their departed beloved one. The pragmatic meaning of those condolence expressions which are used to encourage the bereaved is that no one can do anything about death of a person, but they just help and stand beside the bereaved to make them forget their distress during difficult condition.

Therefore, the culture of the ways condolence is expressed among the members of the target community is good. Their meanings have positive implication for political, social, economic, and cultural development of the target speech community. So, the researchers recommend that the concerned bodies – office of culture and tourism which are in federal, regional, zonal and district level and the whole community are expected to protect the culture from being swallowed by modern civilization and pass it from generation to generation. In addition, the stakeholders are also expected to create conducive condition for the advancement of this indigenous culture by incorporating it in curriculum and teach the generation. Moreover, other researchers are also expected to conduct further research in the area to disclose other elements of the culture in relation to condolence expressions in detail.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/ or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship and/or publication of this article.

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