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THE INAUGURAL ISSUE OF GADAA JOURNAL

Dear readers,

Welcome to the first issue of Gadaa Journal, a peer reviewed, bilingual and multidisciplinary journal of the Institute of Oromoo Studies (IOS).

The journal is named after the cherished and all-encompassing system of the Oromoo called Gadaa, which UNESCO inscribed in 2016 as one of the Intangible Cultural Heritages of Humanity. Like the indigenous Gadaa system which governs the totality of Oromoo life, the scope of Gadaa Journal covers all issues pertinent to Oromoo life and work.

Gadaa Journal aspires to promote multidisciplinary scholarships on Oromoo studies through creating a platform for publication. Hence, the research community is encouraged to share their research findings, insights and scientific views on diversified aspects of Oromoo life and work. Through disseminating the scientific studies, the journal aims to provide inputs for policy makers and end users. The Journal publishes original research, review articles, book reviews, and short communications on Oromoo life and work from all disciplines.

The first issue of Gadaa Journal has appeared with nine articles from various disciplines exploring topics ranging from values of Gadaa system, Oromoo Calendar, Identity, Discourses of Representation, Customary Law, Oral Literature to Communication in Folk performances and through material culture. The articles explore intact phenomena; present critical contemporary issues, embolden sound arguments, signpost future research areas and endorse viable solutions in their respective areas.

We hope readers would find the articles in the first issue informative and worth reading. It is the trust of the journal that publication of manuscript should be based on critical, rigorous and objective review process. To this end, the journal follows a double-blind peer review making decisions based on the articles' validity and importance to the scientific readers. We encourage our readers to give us their critical comments and support this emerging journal fulfill its aspiration moving on the right scientific track.

Enjoy your reading!

Ashenafi Belay Adugna,
The Editor-in-chief

MAXXANSA JALQABAA BARRUULEE GADAA

Jaallatamoo Dubbistootaa, Anaadhufu!

Gara dubbisa maxxansa jalqabaa Barruulee Gadaatti baga nagaan dhuftan. Barruuleen Gadaa, maxxansa qorannoo gulaala irratti hundaa'u, afaan-lamee fi gosa beekumsa danuu kan Dhaabbata Qorannoo Oromoon maxxanfamu dha.

Moggaasni maqaa barruulee qorannoo kanaa sirna jaallatamaafi hunda galeessa Oromoo, kan UNESCOn akka hambaa kiliyaa ilma namaatti bara 2016 galmeesse, sirna Gadaa irraa madda. Akkuma sirni Oromoo ganamaa kuni jiruufi jireenya Oromoo hunda maandheffatu, Barruuleen Gadaa waraqaalee qorannoo guutummaa jiruufi jireenya Oromoo bu'uureffatani gosa beekumsaa hedduu irraa tahan maxxansa.

Barruuleen Gadaa qorannoo Oromoo gosa beekumsa hedduun gaggeeffaman maxxansuun ogummaa (beekumsa) Oromoo addunyaatti beeksisuuf akeeka. Kanaafuu, beektonni (qorattoonni) hundi bu'aa qorannoo isaanii, beekumsaa fi ilaalcha saayinsawaa kallattii hedduun jiruufi jireenya Oromoo irratti qaban akka gumaachan jajjabeeffamu. Barruuleen Gadaa qrannoolee sayinsawaa tahan kana maxxansuun, qaamolee imaammata baasani akkasumas hojiitti hiikaniif kan galtee tahu dhiyeessa. Gosti maxxansa barruulee kanaas bu'aalee qorannoo, sakatta'a qorannoolee, cuunfaa kitaabileefi ergaawwan qorannoo gaggabaaboo guutummaa jiruufi jireenya Oromoo ilaallatan irratti xiyyeeffata.

Maxxansi jalqabaa kuni barruuwwan qorannoo sagal gosa beekumsa gara garaa dhimmoota adda addaa: duudhaalee Sirna Gadaa, Dhaha Oromoo, Eenyummaafi beekumsa Oromoo ganamaa, mallattoolee bakka bu'iinsaa, seera ambaa, akkaataa ogafaan Oromoo, mul'istoota waliigaltee hurruubbii foollee fi uffata aadaa Oromoo irratti xiyyeeffatu. Barruuwwan kunis, beekumsa Oromoo habbuuru; yaadota jajjaboo haala yeroo dhiheessu; falmiiwwan jajjaboo kaasu; kallattii qorannoo gara fuulduraa agarsiisu; akkasumas furtuuwwan ijoo irratti hojjetamuu malan lafa kaa'u.

Qorannoolee maxxansa jalqabaa kana dubbistanii akka irraa fayyadamtan hawwii keenya. Barruuleen Gadaa, maxxansi kamuu adeemsa gulaalaa jabaa, sirna qabuufi looga irraa bilisa tahe keessa darbuu qaba jedhee amana. Kanaafuu, adeemsi gulaala barruulee kanaa gulaala dura eenymmaa barreessaafi gulaalaa dhoksaan kan qabatu yoo ta'u murtoon maxxansuufi dhiisuu qulqullinaafi sadarkaa gahumsa waraqaa qorannoo sanaarratti hundaa'a. Gama kanaan, dubbistoonni yaadota fooyya'insaa teessoo keenyaan nuuf eeruun, barruulee olguddachuuf dhama'u kana haalaafi adeemsa saayinsawaa hordofuun waan akeeke bira akka ga'u akka taasiftan amaanaa jenna.

Dubbisa gaarii!

Ashenafi Belay Adugna,
Gulaalaa Ol'aanaa BG

The Oromoo Gadaa System: Why Considered Democratic?

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Abstract

Gadaa is an indigenous and democratic system of governance which has been used by the Oromoo people, developed from knowledge gained by community experience over centuries. It regulates political, economic, social and religious activities of the community and serves as a mechanism for enforcing moral conduct, building social cohesion and expressing forms of community culture. Gadaa has been considered as a democratic and just system than other forms of governance in the region. This paper attempts to explain why gadaa is considered a democratic and just system based on review of literature and my own experiences as participant of the system. The democratic elements of the Oromoo gadaa system are clearly reflected in the periodical elections that are held every eight years with a clear term limit; peaceful transfer of political power; equitable distribution of power across generations and down to the community; rule of law and accountability; separation of politics from religion; social integration and peace building roles; a period of testing and the presence of check and balance system.

Keywords - Gadaa Democracy; Gadaa Governance; Gadaa System; Indigenous Knowledge; Oromoo

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Axereeraa

Gadaan sirna bulchiinsa dimokraatawaa Oromoo ganamaa kan uummatichi muuxannoo hawaasummaa jaarraa hedduu irratti hundaa'uun kalaqedha. Sirni kuni sochiilee siyaasa, diinagdee, hawaasummaa fi amantaa uummatichaa kan to'atu yoo ta'u, safuu kabachiisuuf, tokkummaa hawaasaa ijaaruuf akkasumas aadaalee hawaasaa mul'isuuf gargaara. Gadaan sirnoota bulchiinsa biroo naannoo jiran caalaa dimokraatawaafi haqa qabeessa tahuun beekama. Kaayyoon waraqaan kanaa sakatta'a barruuwwaniifi muuxanno hirmaannaa sirnichaarratti ani qabu irratti hundaa'uun, maaliif sirni gadaa dimocraatawaafi haqa irratti kan hundaa'e akka jedhamu ibsuudha. Sirni gadaa Oromoo dimokraatawaa ta'uu ifatti kan mul'isan keessaa: filannoo ganna saddetiin gaggeeffamuufi yeroo aangoo murtaa'e qabaachuu; aangoo nagaafi fedhiin walharkaa fuudhuu; qoqqoodinsa aangoo madaalawaa umriifi sadarkaalee hunda hirmaachisufi hawaasatti gadi bu'u qabaachuu; olaantummaa seeraafi ittigaafatamummaa qabaachuu; siyaasaafi amantaa waliin makuu dhabuu; tokkummaa hawaasummaa ijaaruufi nagaa kabachiisuurratti gahee inni qabu; yeroo qophiifi sirna to'annaa aangoo qabaachuu isaati.

Jechoota Ijoo: Dimokraasii Gadaa; Bulchiinsa Gadaa; Sirna Gadaa; Beekumsa Ganamaa; Oromoo

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* Corresponding author.

1. Introduction

Gadaa system is essentially a home-grown (indigenous) democratic socio-political organization of the Oromoo people, the largest identity group among the Cushitic-speaking peoples who have inhabited Northeastern Africa in general and modern Ethiopia and Kenya in particular as long as recorded history indicates. Historically, gadaa has been considered as a democratic and just system than other forms of governance in the region. A number of scholars who have studied Oromoo gadaa system positioned gadaa as an African democracy that could inform constitutional thinkers. Asmarom (2000:262), one of the scholars who have meticulously studied the gadaa system, described this uniquely democratic system of the Oromoo people as:

> One of those remarkable creations of the human mind that evolved into a full-fledged system of government. It contains genuinely African solution for some of the problems that democracies everywhere have had to face.

The Nineteenth Century British diplomat, (Plowden, 1868:64), observed that "of all the republican systems, the gadaa system is the most advanced." American sociologist, social theorist, historian, educator and writer Levine (1974:131-2) stated that "Gadaa system represents one of the most complex systems of social organization ever devised by the human imagination." Professor of geography and anthropology Carter (1967: 158-9), had the opinion that gadaa is "an extra ordinary system of government." For Asafa (2012: 1), gadaa represents "the totality of Oromoo civilization." These are just some of the impressions and/or opinions of different scholars on the democratic nature of the Oromoo gadaa system.

The critical question that should follow is then, why gadaa is considered a democratic governance system? This short paper is an attempt to answer this question based on review of literature and my own experiences as participant of the system. Since the gadaa system is a very complex and brood subject to comprehend fully, the paper is limited to only addressing the stated question. However, to properly address this question, it is important to understand how the traditional Oromoo society has been organized.

The Oromoo polity has been organized as three principal institutions: a) generational organization (gadaa), b) the religious institution (qallu), which is tied to dual organization, or the moiety and c) the general assembly (gumi), the highest law making body Asmarom (2000: 97). A full understanding of the gadaa system requires the comprehension of these interrelated and interacting institutions. Picking one aspect of the system for separate treatment may lead to erroneous conclusion. Gadaa system as an institution stands for systematically interrelated ideas that refer to various concepts ranging from ritual performances, law-making and adjudication, conflict resolution to political leadership.

2. Gadaa (Generational Organization)

Gadaa is a traditional system of governance used by the Oromoo people for many centuries[a]. It includes various distinguishing features that make it a democratic institution.

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[a] There is no clear information on how old the gadaa system is. Some put it to over 3000 years, while others argue that it is at least more than 500 years old.

a) **An Egalitarian System with Peaceful Transfer of Political Power**

Asmarom (1973: 8) defined gadaa system as "a system of generation classes (luba) that succeed each other every eight years in assuming political, military, economic, legislative and ritual responsibilities." Gadaa is quite an egalitarian (qixxee/equal) system and leaders are elected democratically. It is just one aspect of the age old egalitarian complex system that was created by the Oromoo to manage their day-to-day life. In the gadaa system there is no hierarchy or monarchy; all humans deserve to be treated with almost equal respect without regard to human differences. Political power is shared equitably among the parties and across generations, (see below).

In gadaa system the male members of the society would join five gadaa parties (miseensa/gogeessa) and pass through a number of age-grades (about 7 – 13) in different Oromoo groups. In age-grade/generational-set recruitment into the system is based not on biological age as in the case of age-set system but on the maintenance of socially-defined generation between parents and children. Parents and children are five grades or 40 years apart from each other. Each age-grade lasts for a period of eight years (Hinnant, 1977; Asmarom, 1973). People move from one age-grade to the next as they advance in age. The first five age-grades with a total period of 40 years, mainly serve as schools for the young Oromoo people. It is the time when they obtain different trainings which qualify them for hunting, military obligation as well as community leadership. The sixth age–grade (41 – 48 years)[b] is called gadaa. This is the stage of political, social, military and ritual leadership. The head of gadaa would be elected democratically form among the gadaa age-grade. He has title of abbaa gadaa. For eight years he would serve as a leader and spokesman of the assembly. There are other gadaa officials: the Abba Dula is the commander of the army. The Abba Sera is in charge of the traditional Oromoo laws[c] . These and other officials work closely together for one gadaa period (8 years) and when their term of office ends, they will hand over the power to next gadaa grade and party, which will elect new officials for the next eight years. So, in the gadaa system political power is held by elected officials, and there is peaceful transfer of power from one gadaa-grade to other every eight years. Such power transfer is conducted in a volitional manner, with full passion and without friction. Those who left the office would serve as advisors to the new gadaa grade (Hinnant, 1977; Asmarom1973, 2000; Bassi, 2005).

b) **Gadaa is Participatory Democracy with Distribution of Power across Generation and down to Community**

The gadaa system divides the stage of life, from childhood to old age into series of formal steps. There are 7 to 13, such steps among different Oromoo groups. Transition ceremonies mark the passage from one stage to the next. Within each stage activities and social roles (rights and responsibilities) are formally defined, both in terms of what is permitted and what is forbidden. The activities vary depending on the age and gadaa status of individuals or groups, ranging from livestock herding, participation in organized war parties, to administration of the country and to counseling. Regarding the way power is distributed in the gadaa system, Asmarom (2000:24) commented that:

> One major contribution of Oromo democracy is the way power is shared by the generations…. Far from being a government of the elders, the system (gada) ensures that rights are distributed fairly among fathers, sons and grandsons: no generation

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[b] This is true for those who are born right on appropriate time.
[c] The names Abbaa Duulaa and Abbaa Seera positions vary from one Oromoo group to another.

that is mature enough to be able to bear the rights and duties of citizenship is prevented from taking part in political life.

Besides this, leadership is equally divided among the five gadaa parties and the successive gadaa age-grades. There is no inter-party (horizontal) and/or intergenerational (vertical) competition over power. Exposing the deficiency of Western liberal democracies in distribution of power across generations, Asmarom (2000: 24) stated that, "Western liberal democracies failed quite miserably to achieve any semblance of inter-generational equity. The youth movements and the movements of the elderly that swept across the United States and Europe in the 1960s and 1970s were attempts to correct the generational injustices that were, and still are, present in Western political systems."

c) Peace Building and Social Cohesion/Integration

Gadaa incorporated pivotal institutions that created a strong link between successive generations and gives to the members of the community a sense of identity and continuity; functions as a mechanism of conflict resolution, as reparation and protection of women's rights, as a system of social cohesion and integration, for peaceful co-existence with other identity groups and it embraced nagaa (peace), which is central in Oromoo gadaa system (Shongolo and Schlee, 1955; Kuwee, 1997)

The Oromoo are well known for their military tradition, but that does not spill over the peaceful way of life. Random violence is not common with the Oromoo. It takes the gadaa system longer time to calculate before it goes to war. War was considered as a last resort behind which a question of substance and self-defense exists (Israel, 2009: 21). As a result, internal peace and stability among the Oromoo as well as with other has been a hallmark of the gadaa system. It has institutional mechanisms to integrate the non-Oromoo into the system. Those who integrate are guaranteed equal rights regardless of their ethnic and religious background.

The humanitarian institutions of the gadaa system include guddifachaa[d] (adoption) and moggaasa[e] (naturalization). These are wonderful integrative mechanisms that the Oromoo practice to accommodate other non-Oromoo peoples. The gadaa system is thus an all-inclusive, accommodating system that constantly and unfailingly attempts to ensure inclusion and integration. In addition, the practitioners of the gadaa system ensure that the differences and disagreements which arise among the Oromoo people as well as with others, particularly neighboring peoples, are resolved pursuant to the negotiation rules of the gadaa system. In this regard, araara[f] (conflict reconciliation) and gumaa[g] (reparation) are important gadaa institutions. Moreover, the gadaa system has parallel (to gadaa) siiqe/siinqe[h] and ateete[i]

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[d] Guddifachaa is the practice of adopting Oromoo or non-Oromoo male or female individuals, usually at a younger age, by a family. In this case the adopted sons and daughters would have equal rights and privileges with the biological sons and daughters.

[e] Moggaasa is the adoption of relatively large group of people usually by an Oromoo lineage or clan to be integrated to their community. Here also the adopted group will have equal rights and privileges with adoptive Oromoo lineage or clan.

[f] Araaara is reconciliation that involves various traditional institutions like council of elders (Jaarsaa Biyia and Hayyu) and gadaa officials.

[g] Gumaa is blood price, ritual of reparation and purification after homicide.

[h] Siiqqee/Siinqee is literary a symbolic ritual stick used by married women. It promotes gender equality and protects women from discrimination and violence. The gadaa system also allows women (through their siiqe) to play a decisive role in conflict resolution and restoring peace. Siiqqee is a vehicle for addressing gender inequality and advance the empowerment of women.

institutions through which the rights of Oromoo woman are respected by checks-and-balance system (Mohammed, 1994; Asmarom, 1973, 2000; Kuwee, 1997).

d) A Period of Testing

This is one of the most important features of the gadaa system from which the Western liberal democracies could draw a lesson, according to Asmerom (2000: 248). Testing time in Oromoo democracy is an extended period of time (usually for three gadaa-grade period)[j] during which the would be gadaa leaders and councilors must pass through a rigorous training about the laws and the customs and the wisdom of leading a society before they take the position of authority in gadaa, (particularly the Abba gadaa position). A period of testing is a requirement in Oromoo gadaa system while it may not be so in Western democracies. Asmarom (2000:248) has the following to say about this issue:

> Perhaps one of the most interesting ideas in Oromo democracy is the notion of the period of testing. It is true that in the West the elected leader does often hold a variety of elective or appointive offices before he or she makes it to the top as president or prime minister, and that his or her track record is reviewed by academics, the press, and parliament when elections are in progress. In parliamentary democracies, the prime ministers are also members of parliament and, as such they may have had ample legislative experience…. However, none of these experiences are required as a precondition for the top positions of elective leadership. It is therefore, quite possible for an inexperienced and untested individual may hold the top position.

The Oromoo gadaa system made a testing period a requirement to avoid the dangers of having inexperienced and untested individuals, who may cause damages to the society and to the system, to hold the top position.

3. Qaalluu and Moiety Institutions as Check and Balance Organs

Qaalluu is the other institution that manifests the religious/ritual aspects of the gadaa system. The word refers to the ritual leader as well as the religious institution. Qaalluu, as a head of Oromoo religion (waqqeffannaa), performs all electoral and ritual ceremonies. He legitimized Abba gadaas with oath taking and blessing ceremony; supports the legitimate base of gadaa system and the transfer of power; and resolves conflicts between Abba gadaas, if any (Hinnant, 1978: 234). However, the qaalluu and qaalluu institution do not interfere in the activities of gadaa. Religion and gadaa administration are separate, indicating the secular nature of the gadaa democracy. In addition to this, the two qaallus of Booranaa as religious heads of each moiety (Sabbo and Gonna), serve to maintain a check and balance role between them. It is the prototypical basis for balanced opposition and power-sharing (Asmarom, 2000: 136). The original qaalluu is believed to be sent down from heaven and served as medium between man and God (Waaqa). The institution of qaalluu is inherited and held for life as opposed to that of the political office.

Moiety is a kinship structure that divides the different Oromoo groups into two halves (e.g. Sabboo and Goonaa in Booranaa; Kontomaa and Daarimuu in Gujii; Sikkoo and Mandoo, in

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[i] Ateetee is a ritual ceremony exclusively practiced by women in the belief that it makes them fertile. It is also a cultural representation among the Oromoo women to counter male dominations and to enforce religious sanctions against related abuses.
[j] This period of three gadaa grades (i.e., Kussa, Rabba and Dorri) is a continual period of public scrutiny. At any time during this period the council or a member could be dismissed if he fails to measure up to the responsibility that the office requires.

Arsii, and etc). The moieties structure cut across the different clans and lineages of each group. Under the kinship structure, gadaa system is organized into five miseensa/gogeessa (parties) with one of these functioning as the ruling party, consisting of Abba gadaa, officials and assembly. Each party assumes power, one after the other, every eight years, taking 40 years to complete the cycle. The names of these parties differ from one Oromoo group to another. In Gujii Oromoo, for example, the five parties are: Halchiisa, Dhalana, Harmuufa, Roobale and Muudana/Burmajii; in Booranaa Oromoo they are: Moggisa, Sabaaqa, Libaasa, Mardiida and Fullaasa. Every Oromoo is born into one of these predetermined parties, whose father is already a member. One of the main functions of these parties is to maintain the check and balance system between and among the parties. As a rule alternate parties are qadadduu (allies) to each other, while adjacent parties are walaannaa (oppositions) to each other. The check and balance system is important to facilitate the smooth transfer of power from one party to another and to insure equitable division of power across the generational lines (Asmarom, 1973, 2000; Hinnant, 1977; Jemjem and Dhadacha, 2011).

4. The National Assembly (Gumii)

The gadaa system has a legislative body/branch, often called general assembly (gumii) or assembly of the multitude. It is a combination of all the local assemblies and councils of the given Oromoo group[k] that meet once every eight years, and mostly for a week or two. In principle, every person can attend the gadaa general assembly. Differences in terms of age, gender, status or political affiliation may not bar a person from taking part in the assembly. It is mandatory for all living Abba gadaas (ex-presidents who have served for eight-years), incumbent gadaa council and clan elders to convene to the assembly. The assembly reviews its laws and if necessary amends them. Those rules and customs deemed unfit in light of the social, political economic, environmental and spiritual realities of the people would be amended and new laws are issued and promulgated. The system is self-adjusting and upgrading (recreating) itself with social changes. The law made by the general assembly is the supreme law and would be implemented by executive and judicial branches.

The general assembly has also the duty to evaluate the men in power (in their fourth year term of office) and to resolve conflicts that could not be resolved at lower levels of the judicial organization. It has the power to depose elected leaders, even the abbaa gadaa from his office, if accused and proven of violating rules and regulations. Any elected representative is accountable for any failure in the official duties. No one is above the law. All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. Thus, under the gadaa system the power of administering the affairs of the nation and the power of enacting laws belong to the people. Every male member of the society who is of age and of gadaa-grade has full right to elect and to be elected. All people have the right to air their views in any public gathering without any fear (Gadaa Melba, 1988:11). The general assembly is therefore the supreme institution that manifests the principle of popular sovereignty in traditional Oromoo polity. It is a good example that shows power is in the hands of the multitude. The direct participation of the people in the assembly's proceedings in unfettered manner shows clearly that the people directly involved in their governance and this could be the best example of direct democracy under gadaa governance.

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[k] It is known that the Oromoo used to have a common gadaa assembly ground (Wolaabu) before they were differentiated into various groups and localities.

5. Conclusion

The place of Africa in the history of democracy is often overlooked. The conceptualization of the postcolonial state in Africa is highly influenced by the present predicaments (i.e., civil wars, famine, corruption and others) of the continent (Zelalem, 2017). Hence, regard for its indigenous egalitarian institutions and its continuous development has little or no space in academic discussion. However, Benjamin Isakhan (n.d.:5) warns that considering the Western democracy as the only way for the rest of the world misses the broader human story of the struggle for and achievement of democracy. In line with this, recently some scholars underline that the gadaa system of governance is genuinely African and provides a potential solution for some of political challenges African states faces today (See for example, Asmarom, 1973; 2000; Asefa, 2012; Holecomb, 1997).

The democratic features of the Oromoo gadaa system are clearly reflected in the periodical elections that are held every eight years with a clear term limit; peaceful transfer of political power; equitable distribution of power across generations and down to the community; rule of law and accountability; separation of politics from religion/secularism; social integration and peace building roles; a period of testing and presence of check and balance systems. The gadaa system has functioned as an effective method of participatory democracy for at least the past five centuries in Ethiopia. Therefore, The Oromoo gadaa system could certainly be considered a democracy, if "democracy" is strictly taken in its classical meaning of "government of the people, by people, for the people" in A. Lincoln's terms. Even though the Oromoo gadaa system had such wonderful features that could be used among them and across the country, the Ethiopian governments have no vision to accommodate it or even to learn from gadaa participatory democracy while mired in tyranny and corruption. Nonetheless, UNESCO has recently recognized gadaa system as intangible world cultural heritage.

As I have tried to show in this short paper, gadaa obviously stands as a potential source of democratic governance. This is not to say that gadaa will serve as a literal blueprint. Of course, gada developed under a completely different circumstance and therefore cannot be transplanted wholesale into a modern social organization (Gemetchu, 2005). However, the basic philosophy underlying the system and the democratic elements of gadaa, mentioned in this paper, can be adapted to advance democracy in Oromia in particular and Ethiopia in general. These elements if properly institutionalized have the capacity to ensure popular participation. Nonetheless, how these democratic elements of gadaa could be adopted or integrated into the modern political system requires further studies.

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Gada National Assembly at Me'ee Bokko, Guji- Zone, February, 2016. (Picture by the author)

Law making at Me'ee Bokko, Guji-Zone, February, 2016 (Picture by the author)

A Future Gaze: Gadaa Oriented Constitutional Structure for Oromia

Zelalem T. Sirna*

"Africa doesn't need strongmen, it needs strong institutions."
~ Barack H. Obama 2009, US President

Abstract

The Gadaa System has been studied by several scholars, both by domestic and expatriates. This is undeniably a great opportunity. However, up until today, there is not a great deal of studies conducted from the perspective of how the Gadaa system could be used across Oromia's modern political order. Thus, the general objective of this paper, considering the socio-political order Oromia is in, critically analyses how the Gadaa oriented constitutional structure can be adopted in Oromia. The scope of the analysis is limited to the Gadaa structures such as: the five Gadaa parties (Gogeessa), the Gadaa council (Adula), the Gadaa grades (gulantaa Gadaa), the Gadaa assemblies, and the Gadaa confederacies. Therefore, the mission of this article is to pave the way and kindle discussion on how Gadaa could be implemented across Oromia future. This paper approaches this issue from the concept of neo-Gadaa. By neo-Gadaa, the author mean the revitalization of secular Gadaa values, principles and structures applicable across Oromia irrespective difference in socio-economic practices, religion kinship and clan ties. Furthermore, the concept neo-Gadaa is analogous to the concept of "living law"– which promotes the reinvention of indigenous institutions to solve pressing social, political and economic problems. The author has conducted a field work among the Boorana and the Gujii people; in June, 2016 and February, 2016 respectively. Finally, this article found out that Gadaa oriented constitutional democracy sets a lifelong social and political responsibility than simply a "ballot box" gratification; and above all "neo-Gadaa" reinvigorates the necessity of renaissance of the indigenous Gadaa for the emancipation of politically and economically marginalized Oromoo people.

Keywords - Gadaa system, Neo-Gadaa, Social Capital, the State of Oromia

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Axereeraa

Sirni Gadaa hayyoota garaa garaan, kan biyya keessaa fi alaa ta'anin sirna qu'atamee fi qoratame dha. Kun carraa guddaadha. Haa ta'u iyyuu malee, hanga ammaatti, akkaataa kamiin sirni Gadaa sadarkaa har'a Oromiyaan irra jirtutti hojii irra ooluu danda'a qixa jedhuun qorannoo fi quannoon geggeefame baay'ee xiqqaadha. Kaayyoon gooroo barruu kanaas haala qabatamaa har'a Oromiyaan irra jirtu ilaalcha keessa galchuun, akkaataa itti Gadaan guutummaa Oromiyaa keessatti hojii irra ooluu akka danda'u kan xiinxaluu fi fala dhahu ta'a. Qabiyyeen barruu kanaa, caasaa sirna Gadaa keessa caasaalee murteessoo ta'an kan akka: Gogeessa (gadaa classes); Adulaa (Gadaa council); gulantaa Gadaa (Gadaa grades); fi bulchiinsa konfederalaawaa (Gadaa

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confederacies) daanga´aa dha. Kanaaf, ergamni inni guddaan barruu kanaa akkaataa itti caasaan Gadaa (Gadaa structure) gara duraatti Oromiyaa guutuu keessatti hojii irra ooluu danda´u irratti daanddii saaquu fi yaada marii kakaasuudha. Barruun kun dhimma kana gama haaroms-Gadaa – (neo-Gadaa) ilaala. Kana jechuunis, garaagarummaa saalaa, hariiroo hawaasummaa, hariiroo dinagdee, amantii, gosaa fi firoomaa osoo hin ilaalin; duudhaa, hundee fi caasaa Gadaa guutummaa Oromiyaa keessatti hojii irra akkaataa itti oolu xiinxaluu jechuudha. Dabalataanis, yaad-rimeen haroms-Gadaa yaada-rimee "seer-jiraataa" (living law) jedhuun kan wal unatuu fi rakkoo hawaasummaa, siyaasaa fi dinagdee furuuf dhaabota buleeyyii (indigenous institutions) lam-dhalachiisuu kan deeggaru dha. Barreessaan kun hojii qorannoo sirna Gadaa uummata Booranaa fi Gujii Ji´a Waxabajjii bara 2016 fi Ji´a Guraandhalaa bara 2016, tartiibaan, kan raawwatamedha. Argannoon barruu kanaas, heera Gadaa irratti hundaa´e siyaasa filannoo geggeessuu bira darbee; itti gaafatamummaa hawaasummaa fi siyaasaa dhalootaa hanga du´aatti kan diriirsuu dha. Hundaa ol ammoo, haaroms-Gadaa uummata Oromoo gama siyaasaa fi dinagdeen yarate (marginalized) birmaduu baasuu kan danda´u dha.

Jechoota Ijoo – *Dimokraasii, Haaroms-Gadaa; Kaapitaala- hawaasummaa, Oromiyaa*

1. Introduction

The conceptualization of the postcolonial African state in general and that of Ethiopia in particular is highly influenced by the present predicaments such as: civil wars, famine, corruption and others. Several literatures describe the sub-Saharan African states as neo-patrimonial state, criminal state, collapsed state, and warlord state (Mederd 1982; Bayart et. al. 1999; Zartman 1995; Reno 1995, 1998 respectively). The prescribed pill to address these African problems is the adoption of liberal democracy and the western constitutions. The Occident/the west narrates the standard history of democracy as modernist and universalistic; and thus the rest had to be eliminated.

However, to narrate the Western democracy as the only model makes it a yardstick of success and failure stories of other countries´ political systems. This is "a profound misreading of world history" (Amartya Sen 1999 cited in Benjamin and Stephen 2011: 9). It also served as "an ideology that legitimizes subordination to Western imperialism" (Boaventura 2005: xvii). Benjamin and Stephen urge that "it is time for the democratic impetus to be understood in the broader context of human history" (Benjamin and Stephen 2011: 4). Benjamin further notes in this regard that, considering the Western democracy as the only way for the rest of the world will "miss the broader human story of the struggle for and achievement of democracy" (Benjamin n.d.: 5). Citing Roxanne (1997) Melissa and Warren also suggest that, it is vital for political theorists to "problematize the dominance of Western intellectual traditions, conceptual frameworks, and institutional forms and devote our energies to fostering a 'trans-cultural conversation' or 'dialogue among civilizations'" (2014: 30).

Ironically, Ethiopia – non-colonized country´s past three regimes (Menelik II, Haile Selassie I and the Dergue regime) as well as the incumbent EPRDF regimes emulated the western legal and political systems to sculpture state institutions. Thus, Ethiopian regimes had neither looked in to its social capitals nor into its indigenous governance institutions such as the Gadaa system to build legal and political institutions. Asefa Jaleta notes in this regard that the successive Ethiopian colonial states have prevented the Oromoo society from having their autonomous national institutions and organizations through violence and other policies (Jalata 2007). The Ethiopian regimes were clearly paternalistic in a sense that, transplanting

the developed nations' institutions could transform the country to "modernity" and ultimately it would create "civilised" citizens. However, for an institution to be sustainable it has to be pragmatic and shall match ´the spirit of the people´; it shall reflect the socio-economic development of the country. Thus, in the process of sculpturing constitutional document, an indigenous political structures and culturally embedded legal institutions of the people should not be stifled (Brietzke 1982),

Embracing the Western epistemological orthodoxy, African elites and leaders, undermined African indigenous egalitarian institutions (Mazrui 2002). An African anthropologist Asmarom Legesse also remarks that "we have no difficulty in identifying those ideas in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that drive from Magna Carta, the America and French Revolutions and the constitutions modern liberal democracies. Does anything in that document drive from Africa? If not, why should Africans see it as their charter and not as an alien system of ideas that is, once again, imposed upon them from without?" (Asmarom 1980: 123-124). Legesse notes further that "… from the African perspective the individual who is fighting private wars against his society is no hero." (ibid: 124).

As part and parcel of unveiling constitutional democracy other than the Western type as well as tackling the limitation of liberal democracy, this paper reintroduces and analyzes Gadaa structure. The adoption of the Gadaa system in twenty-first century Oromia is vital for the emancipation of politically, and economically marginalized Oromoo nation. It is important to note also that, an attempt to integrate indigenous governance in modern political structure needs caution (See: traditional leaders becoming "vote-brokers").[a] Accommodating indigenous institutions should first begin with the epistemological excavation and revitalization of fundamental Gadaa structures, values, and institutions.

This article is presented in six sections. The first section provides the context, and the methodological approach this paper is grounded on. The second section theorizes Gadaa as an institution and as a social capital. Third, the government possible strategies toward Gadaa based constitutional order is discussed. The forth section identifies viable Gadaa structures for further analysis. Envisioning Gadaa in twenty-first century Oromia, an analysis section, took place in fifth section. The final part provides concluding remarks.

1.1. Setting the Context

Geographically, Oromia is located in a central area and borders all of the regional states except Tigray regional state. Oromia covers an estimated area of 359.619 square kilometers that is about one-third of Ethiopia's total land area (Berhanu Gutema 2007: 225). Currently, it is estimated that the State of Oromia comprises of approximately 40% of the country's total population, and the Oromoo language covers approximately 35 % of total language coverage and followed by Amharic language which is 29.3% (CIA, the World Factbook).

Since 1991, a *de facto* and since 1995 a *de jure*, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic federal system was constitutionally declared. The formation of the Oromia National Regional State (the State of Oromia, here in after) is the result of the 1992 Charter of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia. The 1995 FDRE constitution, under article 47 (1) (4), recognize

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[a] In some African countries, there are issues of co-opting chiefs to act as "vote-brokers" in rural areas and exercise significant informal control over the state intervention in local affairs (Lawson 2002; van Kessel, and et. al., 1997). As vote-brokers, they align themselves with the powers that offer the best chances for safeguarding their positions and advancing their interests.

the State of Oromia as one of the nine regional states. Article 52(2) (b) of FDRE constitution recognises that national regional states can enact their own constitutions. Accordingly, the State of Oromia adopted its first constitution in 2001 and revised twice (in 2005 and 2006). In principle, regional constitutions are meant to be the reflection their respective social, economic, political, and cultural orders, which is replica of self-rule inherent in a federal system. However, contrary to this, in its entirety the State of Oromia´s constitution mimicked the FDRE constitution. Nowhere in the Constitution of the State of Oromia are Gadaa principles emulated. Perhaps, the drafters have had no intention and readiness to do so.

The Constitution of Oromia provides the vertical distribution of powers among the four administrative levels, viz.; regional administration, zonal administration, district administration and kebele administration (Berhanu Gutema 2007). Analogous to all these administrative levels, judicial institutions are established; being a supreme legislative power vested in the ONRS Council, the *Caffee*. The *Caffee* has 537 seats and its members are directly elected by the people for a five years' term of office. The *Caffee* members are accountable collectively to the people of the region (Article 46(1), 48 (1), 48(6), 51(1) of the Constitution of the State of Oromia). It would be unwise to suggest that all these constitutional structures set in the Constitution of Oromia to be replaced by Gadaa structures. Instead, it seeks to identify Gadaa structures and suggest its adoption where legitimate and applicable. Moreover, this paper does not seek to address the four layers of administrative structures (i.e. regional, zonal, district and kebele); rather the analysis is limited to the regional and zonal administration level.

1.2. Methodological Approach

In order to make use of Gadaa in contemporary Oromia, we need to adopt a *neo-Gadaa* path. The concept "neo-Gadaa", first, indicates the necessity of renaissance of the indigenous Gadaa system to make it conversant with the 21st century political and social dynamics. Second, kinship, clan system and generation based Gadaa class may not be feasible in contemporary Oromia. Hence, by neo-Gadaa I mean Gadaa values, principles and structures applicable across Oromia irrespective of "blood and flesh" test. Furthermore, the concept neo-Gadaa should not be thought of something suddenly suggested by this author. Instead, it has already been proposed and tested in some African countries and elsewhere. It is analogous to the concept of "living law"– which promotes the reinvention of indigenous institutions to solve pressing social, political and economic problems (Kyed and Buur 2006; Sklar 1999b; Van Kessel and et.al. 1997). For example, Rwanda reinvented *Gacaca*, a traditional justice system, and settled the 1994 genocide far better than the modern justice system could. Therefore, I strongly believe that Gadaa possesses fundamental constitutional tenets and structures that can address the democratic challenges Ethiopia is in. In other words, this paper suggests constitutional entrepreneurship; innovatively sculpturing and pragmatically sorting relevant Gadaa structures which can contribute to social emancipation.

For this paper, primary data collected through interview with knowledgeable Gadaa leaders, and councilors was used. The author has conducted a field work among the Borana and the Guji people; in June, 2016 and February, 2016 respectively. Moreover, primary data such as the legal documents, that is, the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) constitution and the Constitution of the State of Oromia are used. In addition to these primary sources, the author has reviewed relevant literatures.

2. Theoretical Approach: Gadaa as an Institution *and* as a Social Capital

The concept of social capital is used by different authors measuring multiple layers (e.g. micro, *meso* or macro level) of social relations. However, for this paper, I am referring to it as the social ties among diverse social groups at macro level. Moreover, this paper utilizes the concept of social capital interchangeably with the concept of institution for both concepts are inextricably linked. Thus, first, I discuss the concept of institution and then I will introduce the concept of social capital.

It could be argued that no societies exist without institutions. Institutions are the synergy of social norms, legal rules, beliefs and actors. North (1995: 15) notes that institutions are "the rules of the game". The rules of the game may be official and unofficial; domestic and international. The formal legal domains may include: constitutional laws, proclamations, regulations and directives. Institutions, despite their nature and scope, possess the capacity to produce and preserve norms. In turn, norms shape the behaviors of the society and thus award the adherents and punish the deviants (Coleman 1990: 37). Once institutions are instituted they have the capacity to change the world (Soltan 1998: 49). It has to be noted that the development of institutions is driven by individuals' and groups' conscious or spontaneous performances. Thus, this paper upholds the new institutionalism theory which suggests that "institutions must be grounded in the social fabric and thus that rational choice by individuals must be combined with historical and cultural variables" (Soltan, Uslaner and Haufler 1998: 3).

Coming back to the concept of social capital, Robert Putnam has defined it as: "features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions." (Putnam 1993a: 169 quoted in John Field 2003: 13). The central idea of social capital is that social networks are a valuable asset (Field 2003: 21). Fukuyama also defined social capital from the perspective of trust as a basic feature of social capital: 'Social capital is a capability that arises from the prevalence of trust in a society or in certain parts of it' (Fukuyama 1995:26). Thus, social capital is an indispensable asset for the democratization process in any polity (Putnam 2000; Coleman 1988).

Furthermore, as Coleman (1988) rightly recognizes, social capital is productive for marginalized groups, since vertical associations are characterized by hierarchical relationships and an unequal power distribution among members. The underlying logic for the importance of social capital in democracy is, therefore, that it "teach tolerance, promote compromise, stimulate political participation, and train leaders-all of which contribute to a healthy democracy" (Pamela Paxton 2002: 257). Coleman (1988) also recognizes the fact that social capital is productive even for marginalized groups, since vertical associations are characterized by hierarchical relationships and an unequal power distribution among members.

However, where social values are transgressed or untapped, then the political institutions will inevitably depart from this collective spirit. Because, in contrast to truth driven indigenous political discourses, most of the political discourses are not to find the truth but "to speak about the ideology of the party" (Habermas 2007: 294). Therefore, to expect democratic institution devoid of social capital such as cooperation, trust, and reciprocity, no matter how the theory of democracy is profoundly interesting, the outcome would be zero-sum game. Especially, a capitalistic version of democracy, an aggregation of private interests, negates the social gadaal. Inevitably, such system will be dominated by the haves often driven by "profit maximization" – detached from the *non-commurcium* social values.

When social capital is not utilized, it leads to *ideal culture*. By ideal culture I mean, the fact that there is a belief, for example, in democracy, rule of law, or equal opportunity for all, but it does not exist in practice.[b] Another explanation for the crisis could be the underpinning concept of "elitism." Since elitism asserts itself to "gentle men´s club" than "cultural" fabric – and creates an ivory tower. Democracy is unsustainable and even dangerous where the liberty and equality of the people is in the hands of a few.

Considering Gadaa as a social capital, one can observe that among the Oromoo there are values such as: blessing (*eebba*), tolerance (*wal-dhageetti*), respect (*ulfina*), order (*sirna*), and mutual understanding (*elaa fi elamee*). For instance, the practice of blessing (*eebba*) of the session precedes a deliberation and discussion. Elders bless the assembly before any planned session formally initiated. Blessing has special significance in cooling the emotions of the convened, increase respect, and open space for dialogue. Now, how Gadaa could be constituted in contemporary Oromia? To constitute Gadaa, there is no other best way than developing a constitutional law embracing Gadaa structures and principles. A constitution is an essential document that lays a foundation for the formation of a state and its organs. For instance, in the Plato´s five regimes we have: aristocracy, oligarchy, theocracy, democracy and tyranny.[c] Hence, a constitution can be understood as "a founding act, creating a new identity, a new state, a new political order against the political, ethnic or racial reality that it faces" (Ninet 2013: 116). Therefore, a constitution is a wisdom constituting a state.

Nevertheless, the adoption of Gadaa oriented constitutional order in Ethiopia would not be an easy task. Thus, it is reasonable to foresee and analyse the government strategies toward the Gadaa oriented constitutionalism.

3. Gadaa vis-à-vis Government Possible Strategies

Government policies affect social capital either in positive way or negatively. Where it is negative, it may damage the social capital and where it is positive it fosters it. John Field (2003: 144) notes that the government action can, then, inadvertently end up by destroying social capital, and reducing people's capacity for cooperation to tackle problems. Thus, it would be risky for any policy-maker to ignore social capital altogether. However, in multicultural societies like Ethiopia where tensions arise between competing social orders that create uneasy coexistence, a state is expected to provide way outs. Brian Tamanaha (2007) observed four possible strategies: *accommodation, integration, neutral* and *elimination*. Accommodation strategy works in liberal states since it allows a certain degree of autonomy to each and attempt to please competing legal orders. Integration strategy "absorbs the competing system as a way to control or neutralize or influence its activities — by paying the participants, providing them incentives to conform, or by situating the absorbed institution in a hierarchy that accords the official legal system final say" (Tamanaha 2007: 375). Neutral strategy explicitly permits its promotion or prohibit a competing/conflicting unofficial institution, but take no action to promote or repress it (Ibid). Finally, elimination strategy refers to the state political and legal system aggressively suppresses competing informal institutions — working towards its elimination (Ibid)

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[b] For instance, a person may learn that Americans cherish the value of equal opportunity, yet in observing Americans, the person might encounter many cases in which people from different economic, class, racial, ethnic, and religious back ground are treated in a highly unequal manner.

[c] Besides, Cicero also affirms that "when supreme authority is in the hands of one man, we call him king, and the form of state is a kingship (*regnum*); when selected, citizens hold this power we say that the state is ruled by an aristocracy (*civitas optimatium*). But a popular government (*civitas popularis*) (for so it is called) exists when all the power is in the hands of the people" (Cicero 1961 quoted in Ninet 2013: 31).

Historically, the Ethiopian imperial regimes as well as that of the *Dergue* regime adopted official "elimination" strategy towards Oromoo identity and the Gadaa system. Ethiopia People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) seems to have revisited the challenge of advancing elimination strategy, and thus adopted multi-cultural and multi-ethnic groups federation. Thus, at least in formality, if not in practice, it has acknowledged the cultural "suppression" and the longstanding claims of the "oppressed nationalities" claims (Serra-Horguelin 1999: 1). The position of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) in this regard appears *neutral* – in a sense that the legal principles provide right "to develop and promote its culture, help it grow and flourish" (Article 39 (2) of FDRE constitution); while in fact they are dead letters (see also: Pausewang 2004). Nevertheless, the accommodation of indigenous institutions of governance into constitutional system is next to none.

In principle, federalism is about self-rule and accommodation of the constitutional plurality; that is, "diversity" in systems of governance and plurality in laws and the adoption of distinct administrative structures in a federation (Fiseha 2006, 2007). However, federalism in contemporary Ethiopian constitutional system is highly qualified to the extent that political power centralization is "constitutionally" established. Keller puts this fact as follows: [...] with the exception of linguistic and cultural autonomy, so far the constituent members of the ethnic federation cannot exercise administrative and political autonomy [...] an asymmetrical form of federalism that was overly centralized and operated almost like a unitary centralized state" (Keller 2004: 38). A clear indication of this reality is the absence of state constitutionalism.

I argue that the plurality of state constitutions is essential for the enrichment of the fundamental principles of the federal constitution itself. Because, it helps the constituents of the federation to exercise their power and eventually it necessitates an environment of effective self-governing regional states. In dealing with the Gadaa system in Oromia, the strategy needs to be adopted is integration; while seen from a national federal structure the sustainable approach is accommodation. Therefore, given the historical and political significance of Gadaa for the Oromoo, this paper proposes its *renaissance* – a call for re-engineering of socio-political structure across Oromia drawing lessons from the Gadaa system.

4. Identifying Gadaa Structures Viable in Oromia

The Gadaa system possesses quintessential political structure viable in twenty-first century Oromia. Here below, only Gadaa structures relevant in contemporary Oromia is identified and analyzed. The identification process did not take place recklessly; rather it is based on three guiding principles. First, their capacity to be implemented across Oromia; second, exhibit constitutional features and third, their potential to bring Gadaa renaissance in twenty-first century Oromia. Some of the notable and relevant Gadaa structures are: Gadaa class, Gadaa grades, Gadaa assemblies, Gadaa council, and Gadaa confederacies. These structures are discussed further below.

Gadaa classes: Gadaa classes are one of the fundamental pillars of Gadaa structure. The Gadaa classes are five in number. These five Gadaa classes commonly known among Borana as *Gogeessa* (*Gogeessa 1^{ffaa}; Gogeessa 2^{ffaa}; Gogeessa 3^{ffaa}; Gogeessa 4^{ffaa}; and Gogeessa 5^{ffaa}*). Whereas, among the central Oromoo it is called as *Lubaa* and among the Gujii they are known as: *Mudana, Halchisa, Dhalana, Harmufa* and *Robale*. All the five Gadaa classes assume the political authority for eight years and once in every forty years. Among the Gujii as well as the Booranaa, Gadaa classes refer to a segment of genealogical

generations constituted by two cross-cutting elements: gada-grades (age-sets) and moieties. Among the Gujii there are two moieties: Daarimu and Kontomaa and among the Booranaa the two moieties are: Sabboo and Gonaa.

Moreover, the five Gadaa classes are related to the five "natural" governments. According to the Oromoo worldview all natural governments are established by divine will. In particular, the Oromoo oral tradition holds that the five cyclic Gadaa classes are derived from the five natural governments: that of men or of *reason*; that of running water or *progress*; that of sheep or *tranquility*; that of lion which represents strength and *domination;* that of vulture which presides over the spoil and *quest*. The Oromoo also believe that each Gadaa class in ascending to political power brings into all affairs the inclination which is appropriate to it, that is, each Gadaa class leads the people according to its natural tendency. Although the five Gadaa classes are based on generational relationships, they can be equated to the contemporary political parties established on political "programmes."

Gadaa Grades: age is one of the building blocks of the Gadaa system´s socio-political organization. Among the Gujii-Oromoo there are fourteen age sets[d] and among the Booranaa they are *eleven*: five active, five passive and one liminal (full retirement) stage. Each one of the eleven Gadaa grades equally bear eight year periods (Leus 2006). They are: *Dabballe* (the first Gadaa grade) from age 0 to 8; *Gaammee xixiqqaa* (junior *gaammee*) from age 8 to 16; *Gaammee gurguddaa* (senior *gaammee*) from age 16 to 24; *Kuusaa* (the fourth Gadaa grade) from age 24-32; *Raba* (the fifth Gadaa grade) from age 32 to 40; *Gadaa* (the sixth Gadaa grade) from age 40 to 48; *Yuuba* (the semi-retired assemblymen) from age 48 to 80; and *Gadamojjii* (liminal or full retirement stage) (Asmarom 2006; Nicolas 2011; Zelalem 2012). However, Gadaa grades and Gadaa classes are two distinct institutions. The Gadaa grades are the phases of development through which the members pass. Gadaa class refers to the group of people who share the same status and who perform their rites of passage together (Nicolas 2010, Asmarom 1973). Thus, where the latter is horizontal and refers to the collective, the former is vertical and defines individual responsibilities assumed successively throughout their careers.

*Gadaa Council***:** It is an executive entity where members have official capacity and collectively represent their people. It is a separate body of the Gadaa government. Among the Booranaa, it consists six members.[e] It has a President, two vice-presidents and three senior councilors – and they form the "Gadaa triumvirate" (Asmarom 1973: 63). Moreover, the Gadaa council has auxiliary (helping) members. The auxiliary members of the Gadaa council may be regarded as executive officers. They are mainly selected based on their commitments to serve the Gadaa council. Their number may range from six to nine. In most cases, they are appointed based on the recommendation of Abba Gadaas, respective clans and willingness of the appointed member. The executive officers have their own groups,

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[d] Dabale (0-8); Qare dura (9-16); Qare Duba (17-24); Kusa (25-28); Raba (29-36); Dori (37-40); Gadaa (41-48); Batu (49-56); Yuba Didiqa (57-64); Yuba Guguda (65-72); Jarsa Guduru (73-80); Jarsa Qulullu (81-88); Jarsa Rageya (89-96); Jarsa Gigna (above 97).

[e] Among the Guji there are three clans: Hoku, Mati and Uraga. The senior clan is that of Uraga. All these three clans do have their own Abba Gadaas. However, since the senior clan is Uraga, always the president at apex will be from Uraga clan. Abba Gadaas from Mati and Hoku will serve as vice-presidents. Besides, it embraces three junior councilors (i.e. retired ex-presidents known as *Batu*).

names and functions. Among the Gujii they are: *Jalkeya* (spokesman);[f] *Faga* (spritual advisor);[g]*Hayu* (senior councillors);[h] *Jaldhaba* (security men);[i] *Torbi* (law enforcers).[j]

***Gadaa Confederacies*:** Confederacy is an integral part of Oromoo political structure. For example, the Oromoo people's pattern of settlement the Borana confederacy constitutes, but not limited to: the Macha – Tuulamaa, the Darimuu – Kontomaa (the Gujii); and the Sabboo-Gonaa (the Booranaa). Secondly, the Bareentuu confederacy comprises clans such as: Arsii: Sekoo-Mandoo, Karrayyuu: Baaso-Dullachaa; Humbannaa: Anniyaa-Qalloo and Ittuu: Marawa-Rayyaa (Alemayehu et al. 2006: 102).

***Gadaa Assemblies*:** The Gadaa system has a general assembly which is open to the public. Across Oromia, there are a number of Gadaa general assemblies which takes place once every eight years. Among other, the Gumii-gaayooo of the Booranaa and the Mee´ee Bokkuu of the Gujii are the notable ones. The Gadaa general assembly is the supreme legislative authority (Asmarom 1973; Haberland 1963). It can be regarded as "the assembly of deliberation". It is where new *seera* (laws) are enacted or amended. Wako also describes the Gumii-gaayoo (Gadaa General Assembly among the Booranaa) as the assembly of multitudes Gumii-gaayoo is vested with the powers of legislature, undertakes law reforms, reiterates old laws and enacts new ones. He further reiterates that "persistent disputes, which were unsettled for their gravity or complexity, are brought before an open air court for the community to contribute their wisdom towards its solution" (Wako 1997:647 - 648).

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[f] It is an executive officer responsible to look after the activities of gadaa Council in general and that of Abba Gadaa in particular. He is expected to make all necessary effort to make smooth and effective the job of Gadaa council. He may also serve as spokesperson for the Abba Gadaa (the president) (Interview with Haji Mona, February, 2016).

[g] The *Faga* are two in number. Often, they are selected from the Galalchaa clan of the Gujii people. One of the function of these advisors is to foresee and plan the activities of Abba Gadaa and advise accordingly. Besides, in the blessing ceremony of Abbaa Gadaa by the religious leader known as Kallu, they are the one who selects 100 (hundred) cattle and give to the Kaallu and receive *kumbii*. Moreover, they advise the Abba Gada where his abode should be. Above all, they are the one who takes the "balli" (an ostrich feather – an insignia of power) from the outgoing Abbaa Gadaa and inserts in the incoming Abbaa Gadaa's headdress. Hence, by doing so, they make the power transfer so smooth.

[h] The total number of senior councilors is seven. The senior councilors are selected from the seven Gujii clans. Senior advisors are the ex-Abba Gadaas and they have accumulated knowledge and experience to serve their government. The senior advisors term of office, in most cases, is for life. The senior councilors have the power and function to: set new laws for deliberation once every eight years; advises all the five Gadaa classes; and dispose politico-judicial concerns. In order to become senior councilors, they have to undergo the eating *kumbi* ceremony. After that, they will be named after the place where they ate *kumbi*. For example, if the ceremony took place called as Adoola or Ganalee, he will be named as Abbaa Adoola or Abbaa Ganale until his death.

[i]Like the senior councilors, the security men are selected from the seven tribes of Gujii. The security men are mainly responsible for ensuring the peace and security of the members of Gadaa council. Their power and function is similar with the work of contemporary police officers. Specially, when the Gadaa general assembly takes place, the security men may not sit, instead, they should stand firm and ensure the order of deliberation. Wherever the Abbaa Gadaas travel, the security will also travel with them.

[j] Like the security men, the law and order enforcers are conscripted from the seven Gujii tribes. They enforce cases adjudicated by the Gadaa council. Besides, they enforce the order the security men passes. However, where the *jaldhaaba* position is honorary and voluntary service, the *torbi* position is ordinary and compulsory. Moreover, where the former serve for eight years, the later serves only for a limited period of time (Asmarom 2006).

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5. Analysis: Envisioning Gadaa Constitution in 21st Century Oromia

The development of the Gadaa system has never been a spontaneous event. Instead, it took the present shape by adapting itself to the socio-political developments in Ethiopia and beyond. For example, in the 13th Century, Odaa Bultum[k] was the settlement area and politico-religious centre for the Oromoo people (Alemayehu et. el 2006). Oromoo oral tradition about Odaa Bultum holds that it was the place where Gadaa renaissance and enactment of new laws took place. It is also believed that a person known as Awusaid took part in the process of the renaissance of the Gadaa System and proclamation of new rules at Odaa Bultum. In the course of Oromoo people's socio-political history, a "renaissance" (*haaromsa*) had also happened in the 16th century. At that time, the Oromoo clans were organized under two Oromoo confederacies namely: the Booranaa and Barentuma confederacies.[l]

The socio-political dynamics in Ethiopia and beyond demands transcending the "Awusaidian" and the "confederate" legacies. For example, the depletion of Gadaa system in the last century, the recent political crisis in Ethiopia, the resurgence of the *Qubee* generation across Oromia, and the recent reintroduction of *Foollee* institution and others makes the renaissance of the Gadaa constitution pertinent and timely.

Considering the socio-political and religious diversity of the Oromoo people, one could be cynical of such radical proposal. Although I do, partly, share such worries, here is my stand: if one looks at the secular Gadaa principles and structures; it would be difficult to find an egalitarian system like Gadaa anywhere in the world. A legitimate question is, should we leave our system at bay and worship the dysfunctional western constitutional values? My answer is negative.

Here below are analytically forwarded enabling principles and structures which I am convinced that they can contribute to the renaissance of Gadaa in contemporary Oromia.

1. To emulate Gadaa system in contemporary Oromia´s administrative structure system, the two confederacies (the Borana and Barentu) shall be reinvigorated and maintained. One could question, why we need to reinsert Gadaa confederacy in contemporary Oromia. First, the term "confederacy" should not be misinterpreted as something contrary to federal system. It shall simply mean autonomous local administrations answerable to regional (i.e. the State of Oromia) government. Sculpturing Oromia´s constitutional structure based on Gadaa confederacies has paramount importance for decentralization of political authority which in turn contribute to balance of power between the two confederacies. Besides, as discussed above, confederacy is one of the

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[k]Odaa Bultum currently found in Galamso, in Eastern Oromia Region of Ethiopia, inhabited by the Ittuu Oromoo. Odaa (oak tree) is a big tree under which people use to conduct meetings, pass laws and settle disputes. Among the Oromoo people Odaa has special place. For instance, Oromoo customary law does not allow anyone to cut the Odaa tree.

[l] However, there is misunderstanding between the Oromoo elders and native scholars as to the source and meaning of the terms: "Borana" and "Barentu"; whether it refers to the names of individuals or the direction of the Oromoo people's units. Some argue as these terms represent names of individuals. In this regard, they state that Booranaa was senior (angafa) and Barentu junior (qutisu). However, others do assert that where the term "Borana" is the combination of two native terms: Boroo and aana that literally means "distant from sun rise" or simply the 'West' (west of Ganale river); "Barentu" is again the combination of two native terms: Barii and Aantuu literally which means "next to sun rise" or simply the East (east of Ganale river) (Bokku Dirribi 2011; Alemayehu et el. 2006: 100).

time-tested wisdom of Oromoo political system which allows us to draw a great lesson from/for the social, cultural and economic development of the two confederacies.

2. Each confederacy can be subdivided into five each sub-confederate (*shanan Booranaa* fi *shanan Bareentuu*); based on their geographical proximity, politico-economic interests, cultural affinity and consent of the local people. For example, under the State of Oromia, the Booranaa and Bareentuu confederacy can be established. Under Booranaa confederacy, the following areas can be classed as the five Booranaas: the West Wollega and Kellem Wollega (1); East Wollega and Horroo Guduru (2); Ilubabor and Jimma (3); North Showa and West Showa (4); and East Showa and South-East Showa (5). Under Bareentuu confederacy: Arsii and West Arsii (i); East Hararghe (ii); West Hararghe (iii); Bale (iv); and Booranaa and Gujii (v). However, this is a suggestive example than fixed proposal. This is a mere proposal and I think a better structural adjustment can be sought in the future.

3. Gadaa classes shall be reengineered as Gadaa political parties/organizations, unlike the case of Gadaa classes which follows genealogical generations, – with distnict political programmes. As political organizations, they shall be registered and possess legal personality. It is important to note also that; these five political parties shall have equal opportunity promote their programmes across Oromia. Moreover, any member of the society can embrace any of the political organization of his or *her* choice irrespective of their difference in their geographical locations, socio-economic livelihoods and religious practices. For example, cattle herding *Gaammee-didiqqaa* in Borana and 5th grader in Finfinnee may belong to Gadaa political party "M".

4. It is necessary to reiterate that the five Gadaa parties shall follow the five world views of the Oromo people. That is the five natural governments: that of *running water* – "W" (progress/liberal); *lion* – "L" (power/patriotic); *men* – "M" (reason); *sheep* – "S" (tranquility/peace); and *vulture* – "V" (resourcefulness/developmental) (De Salviac 1901 (2008): 222). Here, one may relate and positively interpret the Plato´s five regimes.

5. One may wonder how the five Gadaa parties could orderly come to power. Suppose that the Gadaa party "W" assumes power in 2020. Since the term of office is limited to eight years, it will only serve from 2020-2028. In the same fashion, the other Gadaa parties "L" "M", "S" and "V" shall consecutively come to power once every forty years. Hence, there would not be direct competition among the five Gadaa parties, rather the competition would be among individuals within a party.

6. In principle, every person, irrespective of difference in gender, religious, or socio-economic practices, shall join any party of his or her choice (W-L-M-S-V). Where the subjects are minors, every family owes the right to raise their children according to the party they belong to. However, upon attaining emancipatory stage (18 years of age), they can shift to a Gadaa party of their choice. For example, suppose that parents of Jiru from Borana confederacy and parents of Jiregna from Barentu confederacy belong to Gadaa party "L". Suppose that, both Jiru and Jirenga grewup as members of Gadaa party "L". When they attain the majority age, they can switch their party to "M" or "S".

7. Nevertheless, the Gadaa parties cannot function without embracing Gadaa grades. In our example, Jiru and Jiregna, as members of party "L" they shall pass through all Gadaa grades. However, given the diverse socio-economic practices of the Oromo

people and given the fact that Gadaa institutions are almost extinct in most parts of Oromia, the revitalization of Gadaa grades could be challenging. Hence, it is important to re-think and re-invent Gadaa grades. First, the social, cultural and economic traits attached to all the Gadaa grades *need not* necessarily be uniform across the Oromia. For example, a person at age 32, perhaps married and manager of a community school in Finfinnee, shall have the Raba status with a person at similar age in Arero, perhaps married and manager of Eela as *Abba Herrega*. Second, as part and parcel of promotion of the cultural rights, it is nothing unconstitutional to recognize all the Gadaa grades across Oromia. Above all, one could imagine the significance of legally recognizing *Daballee* or *Kuusaa* or *Rabaa* etcetera – in terms of their economic, social, political and cultural contributions.

8. The election of future leaders, to the office of Gadaa council shall take place at the level of *Kusa* Gadaa grade (between 24 to 32); likewise, the future presidents of Oromia shall be elected at the level of *Kusa* Gadaa grade and shall be made ready to assume the highest political responsibility at the level of Gadaa (40 to 48). Following their candidacy, *de facto* leaders, they shall continue to serve as any public posts entrusted to them and thus could boost their experience. That is, on one hand it eases for the people to test them before they take power and on the other hand, it helps them exhibit their allegiance to their people.

9. Although every Gadaa party shall serve a single term of office of eight years, there shall be examination of the leaders or a sort of "confidence vote" shall be carried out in the middle of the term of office. Provided the performance of the ruling Gadaa council was positive in the first half, the Gadaa general assembly shall vote in favor of the ruling council to finish the second half of the term of office.

10. After completing a term of office, members of Gadaa council shall not be abandoned. In Gadaa system they are required to render counseling services to the general assembly (*Gumii* or *Caffee*). Moreover, they may be required to be assistants to the Gadaa Council in power. That is, as long as they (ex-Gadaa councilors) are not declared individually incapable due to factors such as: incapacity (biologically or legally) they have duty to serve as councilors to the Gadaa council in power as well as to the general assembly.

11. In Gadaa System the highest executive office is entrusted to the Gadaa Council. As you might remember, the Gadaa Council among the Borana consists of six leaders: one Abba Gadaa, two vice Abba Gadaas and three senior Gadaa councilors. Likewise, the constitution of the State of Oromia could be sculptured constitutive of one president at apex, two vice-presidents and three senior councilors. This would lead to a government by council. However, it is noteworthy to stress here the relationship among the members of the Gadaa Council is not hierarchical. Rather, members of the Gadaa Council exercise powers jointly and severally. In other words, the position of the president may be regarded as the *first among equals* (Legesse 2006: 215, 217). Thus, the President shall summon and chair the executive council.

12. However, unlike the case of Borana or Guji, the total number of the Gadaa council of Oromia may not be limited to six. Considering the two confederacies and the five each confederate, the total number of the council may reach ten in number. That is, three will serve as presidents: one Abba Gadaa at apex (e.g. from Borentu confederacy) and two

vice presidents (e.g. from Booranaa confederacy); and seven senior councilors (e.g. from Booranaa as well as Bareentuu confederacies).

13. In addition to the Gadaa council, there are auxiliary executive officers or junior councilors. Among the Booranaa, an outgoing Abbaa Gadaa has the mandate to appoint additional junior councilors (*garba*) from among all the five Gadaa parties to thereby ensure balanced opposition among all Gadaa parties. This wisdom is also relevant for Oromia. Thus, it is appropriate that an outgoing president of Oromia should nominate junior councilors from among the five Gadaa parties. Thus, the criteria of nomination should not be based on kinship and clanship but should be based on a party's recommendation. The nature of junior councilors resembles to the "council of ministers". In that sense, the number of the junior councilors should not be fixed based on reasonable tasks and missions and therefore, it should not be limited to three. For instance, the junior councilors may be distributed over the following administrative posts: the speaker of the Gadaa legislative assembly (*Caffee*); minister of justice (*Abbaa haqaa);* prosecution office (*Abbaa Alangaa*); minister of defense (Abbaa *duulaa)*; minister of economy (*Abbaa dinagdee);* and so on.

14. The Gadaa general assemblies are relevant in contemporary Oromia. There are numerous Gadaa assemblies across Oromia. Although the political liberalists advocates for majoritarianism, the attainment of the will of the people through representatives (See: Dahl 1996; Habermas 1996; Rawls 1999 Drzek 2000; Benhabib 1996; Mouffe 1996); in state-society´s asymmetrical power relations, the agent-principal relation type of explanation does not work always. Because, the transformation of the will of the people into public policy is harder than simple casting of a vote. Especially, where the larger segments of the populations left unrepresented in the *first-past-the-post* electoral systems being practiced in Ethiopia, one can see the liberal democracy is clearly a zero-sum game where the winner takes all. Therefore, it is commendable to reserve public sphere where Gadaa assemblies deliberate and recommend.

15. In Gadaa general assemblies, "seats" are reserved for the semi-retired Gadaa leaders and the future Gadaa leaders. Moreover, in the mid-term of the president's term office Gadaa General Assembly reviews the performance of the Gadaa Council in power. Likewise, the *Caffee* shall reserve seats for the ex-presidents and vice-presidents of Oromia so that they can serve as legal advisors after retiring from the office. However, their membership shall be transitory; their position shall change once every eight years like the Gadaa system.

16. Another essential feature of the Gadaa general assembly is that it is "open to everyone" who has vested interest in an issue the assembly is expected deliberate over and anyone who has the knowledge of Gadaa System. However, an open general assembly may not be feasible and thus the Gadaa legislative assembly can be established at two levels: at regional (as house of unity where representatives are directly elected by the people) and at local level (house of deliberations where any interested party can take part in). Hence, *Caffee* shall be maintained as house of unity – where regional laws are enacted and amended. Whereas, the local level Gadaa general assemblies shall be established at

zonal levels. Currently, there are twenty-two[m] zonal administrations in Oromia. If we take this a point of departure, then there will be twenty-two Gadaa general assemblies.

17. Finally, as the Gadaa general assemblies in Booranaa and Gujii are named after the place where the assembly takes place, so does the rest should be named accordingly. However, it should be noted that the missions of the Gadaa general assemblies is limited to deliberating over regional policies/laws and enacting regulations that are specific to their zonal administrations.

6. Concluding Remarks

Throughout this paper, I have attempted to answer how the Gadaa system could be adopted in contemporary Oromia. It is indicated also that Gadaa is a living example of the fact that democracy is not all about election – of "winner-loser" dichotomy of the Western liberal democracy. Rather, it is an egalitarian system encompassing age-based social stratification from early ages up to death. Thus, it is vital to envision constitutional democracy as a lifelong responsibility than simply a "ballot box" gratification (Bruce and Fishkin 2006: 8). Approaching the Gadaa system as a social capital and as an institution has made it possible to discern relevant Gadaa principles and structures.

Among others, the orderly succession of the Gadaa grades, the five Gadaa parties, the Gadaa assemblies, the Gadaa council, the junior Gadaa councilors, and the Gadaa confederacies are essential and significant structures. The paper finds that Gadaa age grade system necessitates the organization of social groups and allows the members to exercise leadership skills from early ages. The adoption of the five Gadaa parties' system avoids the pre-election and post-election uncertainties, political crisis, and time and financial costs related to election campaigns.

In nutshell envisioning Gadaa oriented constitutional order in Oromia is not without legitimate ground. Although it is good news that such an egalitarian system has been recognized by UNESCO, since the end of twentieth century, the Gadaa system is depleting. Moreover, it has to be recalled that the Ethiopian constitutional power arrangement since 1995 (federalism) allows the plurality of state constitutions. One viable and significant example should be Gadaa oriented constitution. Finally, the paper argues that the resurgence of the *Qubee* generation across Oromia, and the recent reintroduction of *Foollee* institution in Oromia and others makes the renaissance of the Gadaa constitution pertinent and timely.

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[m] Arsi, Bale, Bedele, Borana, East hararghe, East Shoa, East Welega, Guji, West Guji, Horo Guduru, Illubabor, Jimma, Jimma special zone, Kelem, North Shoa, South West Shoa, West Arsi, West Hararghe, West Shoa, West Welega, Adama, and special zone surrounding Finfinnee.

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Astronomical Calendar of the Oromoo - Living Style in Space and Time: Facts and Historical Issues

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Abstract

The Oromoo people constitute the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia, and belong to the Cushitic family. Their original homeland, Oromia, included most of what is now the Ethiopian Empire and stretched into northern Kenya and Somali, where some Oromoo still live. As sources indicate, customarily, their living style: philosophical view, belief, physical existence and phenomena (perception, analysis and future prediction) are all customarily linked to events they observe in cosmos. A concisely established witness is the Booranaa calendar. It is so claimed as an accurate complex astronomical calendar of ancient Cushites by the scientific community. The historical discovery of this calendar is supported from a broad range of disciplines, like Anthropological, Astronomical, Physical studies (radioactive dating) traced from the pillars at Namouratuna where the Booranaas, or otherwise, the "Kushs" had built around 300 B.C as the drawings on the pillars confirm to whom the property stands for. Its identity representation to all Oromoo does not raise question. However, whether it is customary or not across all the Oromoo is worth to bring into discussion. In fact, there are similar pillars preserved in some regions of Oromia and else around as well as event telling practices by Oromoo elders across most of Oromia. It needs to be worked out and is widely open to research. This noble scientific based life style needs attention by the current generation to promote, work on it, document and hand it over to the next generation. In this article, the author first tries to provide detailed scientific, astronomical-physical review and analysis of the Booranaa calendar. Secondly, he tries to articulate further research initiatives of the Oromoo space-time conceptual, astrophysical/cosmological living style perspectives. Finally, the author presents comments and concluding remarks.

Keywords: Oromoo, Booranaa calendar, space-time, culture - living style, astronomy

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Axereeraa

Uummanni Oromoo saboota Itoophiyaa keessa jiran keessa saba danuu yoo ta'u maatii hortee Kuush keessatti ramadama. Lafti isaanii ganamaa irra jireessa empaayera Itoophiyaa qabatee hanga kaaba Keeniyaafi Somaaliyaa har'aatti bal'ata. Barruuwwaniifi qorannooleen akkuma agarsiisan, akkaataan jireenya uummata Oromoo, ilaalchi, falaasamni, jiruun akkasumas argaa-yaada (mil'uu, xinxallii fi raagni) isaani hubannoo taatewwan uumamaa irratti hundaa'a. Kanaaf ragaan qabatamaa dhaha Oromoo Booranaati. Dhaha durii keessaa kan Booranaa dhaha astroonomii irratti hundaa'e sirriifi hubannoo gadi-fageenyaa barbaadu akka tahe saayintistoonni ragaa bahu. Seenaan argama isaa qorattoota gosa beekumsa adda addaatiin deeggarama. Kunneenis qorannoo xinaadaa (antroopolojii), astroonomii fi arkiyoolojii (tilmaama umrii) utubaa dhakaalee Namouratuna, bakka Booranni yookaan Kuush baroota 300 Dh.K.D ijaare irratti

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taasifaman yoo tahan, fakkiifi bocaawwan irratti mul'atan waa'ee abbumaa isaaniitiif ragaa guddaadha. Kanumarratti hundaa'uun calaqqeen eenyummaa achirratti mul'tan kan Oromoo ta'uu waan gaaffii keessa galu mit. Kun garuu Oromoo hunda biratti akkanatti hubatamuufi dhiisuun yaada xiyyeeffannoo barbaadudha. Utubaaleen dhagaa akkanaa Oromiyaa bakka gara garaa keessatti ni argamu, kanumaan walqabatee seenessi taateewwan garagaraa manguddoota Oromoo kennan hedduudha. Sirni jireenyaa saayinsii hundeeffate kunis waan irratti hojjetamuu maluufi dhimma qorannoo jabaa tahuu maludha. Barruu kana keessatti, barreesichi jalqabarra waa'ee sakatta'a barreeffamoota saayinsii fi astroonomii dhaha Booranaa irratti taasifaman dhiyeessa. Itti aansuuddhaan, dhimma yayyaba yeroo Oromoo irratti qorannoolee gara fuulduraatti hojjetamuu malan aggaama. Dhumarrattis yaada gudufaa tahan kaasa

Jechoota Ijoo- *Oromoo, Dhaha Booranaa, bakka fi yeroo, aadaa, akkaataa jireenyaa, astroonomii*

1. Introduction

The Oromoo is an indigenous family of East African Cushitic people currently inhabiting most of Ethiopia, and other significant number of them live in Kenya and Somalia. Presently, they are the largest group in number among the Cushites of East Africa. They speak the Oromo language (Afaan Oromoo), the third largest language (next to Arabic and Hausa) spoken in Africa (Ta'a, 2006). Historically, the Oromos are recognized with ancient prehistory of inventing a complex astronomical calendar about 2300 years ago (Bassi, 1988; Laurance R. Doyle & Wilcox., 1986; A Legesse, 1973; Lynch & Robbins, 1978; Paul, 1979; Robbins, 2006; Soper, 1982) as well as the references therein. The Gadaa System, inscribed under UNESCO as Intangible World Heritage and recognized as a democratic socio-political system of ancient time, is the identification of the Oromoo governing principles (UNESCO, 2016). Actually, Gadaa is developed, evolved and inherited and involves the whole governing principle of both nature and social affairs of the Oromoo (Baissa, 2004; Jalata, 2012b; A Legesse, 1973; Asmarom Legesse, 2006; Tesfaye, 2012). Evidences from various disciplines attest that the Oromoo indigenous knowledge, world view, belief, physical existence and phenomena (perception, analysis and future prediction) are all customarily linked to events they observe in cosmos (Isenberg, Krapf, & MacQueen, 1843; Megeresa, 2005).

A concisely established witness of the Oromoo observational view of lifestyle is the Booranaa astronomical calendar derived from night sky observation. Its identity representation to all Oromoo is not questionable. However, whether it is customary or not across all the Oromoo is worth to bring into discussion. In fact, there are similar pillars preserved in some regions of Oromia and else around whose purposes are not yet fully known. This by itself is widely open to research. On the other hand, there are event telling practices customarily induced or deduced from occurrences of natural phenomena by Oromoo elders across most of Oromia. This inherent scientific based lifestyle needs attention to promote, work out, document and hand it over to the next generation.

The first objective of this article is to provide detailed scientific astronomical-physical review and analysis of the Oromoo calendar, in particular, the already celebrated Booranaa (Oromoo-Cushitic) calendar derived from the Namoratunga II ethno-archeological site around Lake Turkana, Kenya. The rationale behind is that, though the calendar is well established as an astronomical calendar by astronomers (Doyle & Wilcox., 1986), it has remained to debate among archeologists and anthropologists (A Legesse, 1973; Lynch & Robbins, 1978; Soper, 1982; Turton & Ruggles, 1978). And, on the other hand, it has transpired speculations by historians (Hassen, 1992), sociologists and amateur scholars in the analysis, interpretation and its implication in historical construction and description of the Oromoo. Here it is important to note that, while the philosophical lifestyle of a community is

peculiar to that societal background setup, etc., it is also affected by local and global interfaces that need a pool of social and natural field of studies. Hence, one has to be aware of the difficulties of connecting the philosophical part of Oromoo world outlook (cosmos perception) by way of cyclic events to that of the laws of physics. This abstract thinking of Oromoo world outlook by way of cyclic eventful formulation in describing the physical world by itself (more observed by the Gadaa system) is an issue[a]. Actually, correlating the astronomical calendar to the cycles of Gadaa system is an intricate task. The scientific astronomical calendar is already in use within the Gadaa system that incorporates the cosmos perception of the Oromoo. With this precaution, under this objective the author focuses on reviewing and analyzing the Booranaa calendar based on the existing literature reviews from the pure physical principles and laws of nature. Then, he provides supplementary and enriching views, analysis and also comment on some elements that need further work.

Secondly, and in connection with the first objective, the article is intended to initiate further exploration into the Oromoo calendar elsewhere. As such, whether the Oromoo calendrical system is uniformly used across or in differences due to spatial and temporal factors need to be worked and thereby the results need to be evidenced to enrich the construction of the life style of the society.

Thirdly the article deliberates on how Booranaa calendar is correlated to the Gadaa cycle of the Oromoo so that the discussions become an initiative for further research. Finally, the author tries to articulate further research initiatives of the Oromoo living style perspectives from cultural knowledge of nature (Oromoo space-time concept, astrophysical/cosmological perception, religious views, etc) to trace history and cultural assets of the people.

2. Literature Review

The Oromoo Calendar

Prior to the anthropological work of Legesse in the early 1970's, ethnographic literature scholars were interpreting the Oromoo calendrical system as solar calendar. Consequently, the scholars were attempting to explain superficially that the Oromoo "attach magical significance to the stars and numbers" (Haberland, 1963). However, the first astronomical detail outlined by Legesse has shown that the Oromoo calendar is astronomical. In fact, it is a lunar-stellar astronomical calendar as archaeo-astronomical works have proved so. As Legesse describes, the calendar is cyclical similar to those of the Mayans, Chinese, and Hindu, but unique in that it ignores the sun completely (except indirectly by way of the phases of the moon). The mechanisms of the observation were described to him by the Booranaa Ayyaantuus[b] within the locality where he had conducted the field work, the Booranaa region –Southern Ethiopia. According to Legesse's finding the days are cyclic in a month. There are twelve months in a year, but no weeks. Each month is being identifiable with a unique (once a year) astronomical observation by the Ayyaantuus. The length of each month is either 29 or 30 days – the time it takes the moon to go through all its phases. There are 27 day names. Since each month is 29 or 30 days long, there is a shortage of two to three days early in the same month. But the Booranaa recycle the name of the days so that for day

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[a] The Oromoo world outlook is adopted by formulation of events they observe cyclically. This cultural world outlook is most reflected and observed by the Gada system. For more refer the work of (Megersa, 2005; Megersa & Aneesa, 2004).

[b] Ayyantus are people among the Oromoo who are culturally specialized in informing events like time reckoning. Here, the definition is too limited to observation (only), while it is understood in wide range of issues by the Oromoo.

28 the first day's name is used again, the second day's name for day 29, and start of the next month using the third day's name and so on. Thus each month will start on a different day name. Whether the particular month is to be 29 or 30 days long would depend on the astronomical observations of the seven Booranaa stars (refer table 1 for the names) being in conjunction with the rising of the moon.

On the other hand, in the later part of the 1970's Lynch and Robbins in their archeological field work around Lake Turkana - Northwestern Kenya sites- came with what they believed was the first archaeo-astronomical site ever found in sub-Saharan Africa. The Namoratunga II archeological site consisted of 19 basalt pillars arranged in rows forming a suggestive pattern. The site is dated at approximately 300 B.C., as archeologists have taken sightings on seven prominent stars, seven Booranaa stars earlier reported by Legesse, as they would have appeared during this period. Due to precession (the slow, wobbling of the pointing direction of the rotation axis of the Earth), the stars will seem to move from their positions over the centuries, although the moon's position would not vary on this time scale. The archeologists did suggest that the archaeo-astronomical information described for Namoratunga II is an accurate and complex calendrical system. Then, the archeologists came to conclude that astronomical calendar was developed by the first millennium B.C. in eastern Africa. Furthermore, they did comment on its significance in evidencing to attest the complexity of prehistoric cultural developments in sub - Saharan Africa.

In response to this archaeo-astronomical report, in 1982 a number of significant questions arose concerning the site, the calendar, and archaeo-astronomy of East Africa in general. The pillars were re-measured by an anthropologist (Soper, 1982) and found to be magnetic in nature. The original measurements had to be modified but, again, alignments with the seven Booranaa stars were found. So, this brought up the question whether the pillar alignments are significant at all, since the Booranaa Ayyaantuus certainly using the calendar as reported by Legesse.

In 1986, (Laurance R. Doyle & Wilcox., 1986) did reinterpret on the archaeo-astronomical finding of the calendar in response to the quests and debates. Their astronomical analysis, concludes that the pillars found in northwestern Kenya by Lynch and Robbins and preliminary dated at 300 BC could, as they suggest, represent a site used to derive the Booranaa calendar. Further, they did outline that the Booranaa calendrical system as described by Legesse, works subjected to certain astronomical constraints described in their article. The calendar does not work in right-ascension, but does work if taken as based on declination. Moreover, (Laurance Reeve Doyle, 1985; Laurence Reeve Doyle, 1984) suggests that some significant anthropological results can be drawn from the astronomical derivation of this calendrical system. Then, he comments that the calendar would have been invented (to use the stars correctly) sometime within a few hundred years of 300 BC, a time when the Cushitic peoples were dominant in this part of the world. Accordingly, Doyle heroically calls it the Booranaa-Cushitic calendar.

On the other hand, (Bassi, 1988) discusses and comments on the understanding of the procedures of establishing a particular conjunction how the people are using the calendar without any discrepancy. He comments that Legesse's work misses intercalation of months and another Booranaa star (that means Booranaa stars are eight instead of seven). He also further discusses that the Booranaa calendar works accurately with the solar cycle with adjusting principal observation of the lunar-stellar conjunction. The calendrical system practically works on the basis of right ascension of stars and constellations, but not of their

declination. His report is based on the knowledge of Bante Abbagalan, an Ayyaantuu of the Booranaa.

3. Methods and Materials

The methodology is a mixed approach of descriptive analysis of the review works; and comments and supplementary enriching additional works. The steps are:

1) Review on the Oromoo calendar from research articles addressing the main issues therein the references (earlier section).

2) Supplementary and complementary comments to the revised materials.

3) Invoke possibly researchable issues of the Oromoo living style in space and time to trace the assets and histories of the people from observational point of view.

4. Results and Discussions

4.1. Comments

The Oromoo (Booranaa-Cushitic) astronomical calendar derived from the Namoratunga II archeological site around Lake Turkana, Kenya is the result of an indigenous knowledge of ancient Oromoo at least dated back to 300 BC. This indigenous knowledge is a pure scientific knowledge derived from observation of nature (here astrophysical observation of night sky). The uniqueness of this calendar is its accuracy in the past and cultural continuity by the current Boorana Ayyaantuus. Though, there is lack of critical anthropological work in other places (outside Booranaa region), certainly there were specialized Ayyaantuus in the calendar within the 20th century among the people. For example, in west central Ethiopia, West Showa zone (Oromia regional administrative state) at Oda Gudaya the calendar was within the Gadaa system derived from star observation by the local Ayyantus called Warra Abba Odo[c]. Futtasa Bujjo who died around 1960 was the last Ayyaantuu of this family still within the memory of many old age people in that locality.

Moreover, the Oromoo astronomical calendar derived from the Namoratunga II archeological site rules out the idea perceived by some historians including (Hassen, 1992) that the Oromoo calendar has evolved from the Muslim or Christian calendrical system. However, chronologically the Oromoo calendar precedes both, at least by 300 years to the modern Christian calendar and more to that of Muslim's. Besides, their philosophical approaches of derivation are entirely different. The Oromoo calendar is based on observation of stellar-lunar system while the other two are based on Solar (Christian) and Lunar (Muslim) relative motions in the sky. Regardless of this comment, Prof. Mohammed Hassen's great works in writing and constructing the history of Oromoo people are commendable.

On the other hand, it is important to remark on the confusions arising from other literatures that the Oromoo calendar is derived from the relative motion of stars, moon and the sun in the sky. This is somewhat, confusing unless otherwise it is carefully considered in the context of the arguments forwarded (Bassi, 1988). However, I argue that the confusion arises in the cycles of the 27 days. Actually, these 27 day cycles are astrophysically related to solar activities, not related to the relative motion of the sun with respect to the earth (earth's

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[c] Oda Gudayya is a Gada center located in Bako-Tibe local district of West Showa zone. The center services three neighbouring districts: Bako-Tibe, Chaliya (West Showa) and Jimma-Rare in Horo-Guduru (Wallaga, Oromia) .

Information is gathered by the author. Fortunately, the author was born and grown up near this locality (about 10-15km). More information is supplied by the grandson of Futtasa, Gaddisa Waktola.

revolution about the sun). So this is open to research. Additionally, attempting to derive the calendar from the more general abstract thinking of Oromoo world outlook by way of cyclic eventful formulation that will pool a number of issues like philosophy, religion affairs, etc together is a complicated task. Eventually this leads to little conclusion.

However, it is important to remark Doyle's suggestion that the Oromoo calendar will be used to draw some anthropological results in the study of the East African Cushites. On the other hand, it has great importance in the construction and extraction of Oromoo history that mostly lacks written documentation. Here, one can hypothesize that the ancient Oromoo would have developed a lifestyle based on observation of nature and its principles. Accordingly, in the next sub-section we propose some research frame that methodologically will use the Oromoo indigenous observational knowledge of nature to construct/extract their living style in space-and-time. In effect, this will further initiate new methodological paraphernalia in tracing relevant anthropological results.

Generally, the archaeo-astronomical site found in sub-Saharan Africa, Namoratunga II is ended considered to be an ancient observatory of Cushites being built for the use of Oromoo calendrical system. The calendar is purely astronomical where the observation of relative motion of stellar system in the sky is its base. This noble work of anthropologists, archeologists and astronomers in consultation with the Ayyaantuus on this historical and currently working system is outstanding. Its implication is so vital to study the prehistory of the community and social construction. In one way, it is useful to communicate, derive and construct/extract the history of the society. And on the other hand, it is useful to derive the indigenous assets of the society to lay a foundation up on which the society can be rebuilt.

Finally, it is important to consider the following comments and corrections to the mainstream review literatures, whereupon this article has focused concerning the calendar:

1. In Legesse's conclusion that the Booranaa calendar ignores solar seasons shall be reconsidered or to be checked. On one way Marco's field report claims that solar seasons are incorporated by the calendar through intercalary months. On the other hand it seems to avoid the whole idea of his classical Gadaa system which cycles every 8 years relevant to solar calendar (According to Legesse the calendar and the Gadaa system are inseparable).

    On the other hand, here we show that the calendar fits with 8-years cycle as framed in table 2. But it works exactly in 9 cycles, about 8 – and – half solar years. The table is generated based on the pure lunar – stellar conjunction cycle with 354 days of the year where the 27 names of the days are numerically represented as: 1, 2, 3,…,27, then cycle according to the proposed system giving months 29 or 30 alternatively. If one tempts to bring ideas like the half year is Gadaa transition period for handing and overtaking to the governing body it seems fine. But this needs critical research by itself. Another temptation is to link it to *Salgan-Booranaa* (the nine Booranaas) or other Oromoo cyclical event recognitions, which seems at the moment any description to be worked out.

2. Though, there is no scientific or logical discrepancy, there is a misunderstanding on the names of the seven Booranaa stars and the months by Doyle and Wilcox. The correct ones can be referred from table 1 which shows Legesse's or Marco's proposal.

3. Marco's work reveals the freedom of having alternative stars in Booranaa calendrical system. This should be taken in to consideration for further research work. It is known that the Oromoo people in general practice sky observation to tell and arrange events.

Accordingly one will expect probably different stars or stellars including names be used by the Oromoo separated in space and time without losing ground of the common indigenous knowledge they possess.

4.2. Issues to be addressed and Remarks

The work of Legesse (A Legesse, 1973) compiled and fully described in his book at least shows the indigenous knowledge of the Oromoo people observed in their living style (in real time). Actually in reference to this classical book, the ethno-archeological work of Lynch and Robbins (Lynch & Robbins, 1978) further tells us that the Oromoo people are the indigenous African Cushites who have at least lived more than 2300 (300BC) back from now where they are also living still today.

This ethno-archeological discovery in agreement with the anthropological work of (A Legesse, 1973) reveals the advent of this indigenous people's complex astronomical calendar. It is a pure scientific living style based on real physical observation of world view. The people also have lived with complex knowledge bringing their observation and experience to build and construct principles of future control and management system both for natural and social affairs – the Gadaa System. In fact, it is the Gadaa system that shows the link between the ancient Oromoo indigenous and present modern Oromoo living style and system of knowledge. Time reckoning based on astronomical observation by the Ayyaantuus is used within the Gadaa system for calendrical purpose. The Ayyaantuus were the living people among the Oromoo whom the anthropologists, the archeologists and the astronomers consulted during their field work for their findings. The researchers were acknowledged for their noble discovery. And hence, there cannot be any reason for failing to acknowledge the historical ownership of the people and their preservation of it to the current world. A provocative idea for further investigation that could enrich the indigenous cultural preservation in this regard is the link the two complex worldviews of the Oromoo: the astronomical calendar and the Gadaa system.

While, the anthropological and archaeo-astronomical findings of the aforementioned evidences show that the people have discovered a complex astronomical calendar and using it still today, there are also evidences from different disciplines that the people's indigenous knowledge of world view: philosophical view, belief, physical existence and phenomena (perception, analysis and future prediction) are all customarily linked to events they observe in cosmos. For example, comments from strangers like travelers, foreign expediters, missionaries and traders observations project that the Oromoos (whom) they had met in general were considered as gentle, open minded, good at instructions and very conscious of reading someone's opinions, for example(Isenberg et al., 1843)as viewed from social outlook. Though it is not conclusive, it is not least to extract from these and similar scholars that traditionally the Oromoo social life style appears to depend on tracing the knowledge and experience they have acquired from their exposures.

The review related materials in the study raises some key issues that needs to be addressed in future research:

1. While the Oromoo society in the prehistory, before 300BC were known with such advanced knowledge in constructing Astronomical Observatory for calendrical system, including patenting of ownership, their place of dwelling, etc., where is the continuity of such generation?

2. Though the above question is relevant, the 16th century Oromoo movement and reconstructing of governing system that came with it as seen in the well-constructed

Gadaa system seems to show the continuity and progress of the society's indigenous knowledge. As the archaeo-astronomical findings implied, the people also remained using the calendar they discovered accurately. So the question is, where are the other documents that smoothly fit the past, and the sixteenth century (relatively) advanced complex indigenous society value assets?

3. Why the documents produced during and after the sixteenth century about the Oromoo people are so hostile? What are the factors?

In the very beginning, building on certain foundation and constructing the whole system are different. In fact physical buildings as well as developing science based on natural principles are not as difficult and complex as that of social history construction. The latter one is very difficult to correct once it is distorted or lacks genuine reflection. The effect is long lasting where the consequence is an obvious crisis to a state of confusion to fellow generation. One can easily understand this through reviewing the existing records of Oromoo history which is full of confusions. Some of (not few) the fanatic, fictitious, manufactured documents appear to be good for entertainment had they been produced for creative purpose provided a virtual subject is used, instead of Oromoo. Some documents seems to be perpetually produced for fencing the reality out of reach with full of religious and socio-economic politics as a tool. The worst of these series is their state of determinism for both the origin and homeland of the Oromoo, contrary to what the Oromoos say about themselves.

4. Based on the raised questions as in the above, what is the present generation supposed to do?

As a remark, what (Jalata, 2012a) comments is relevant. Understanding Oromoo civilization requires studying the historical, cultural, political, philosophical, religious, linguistic, and geographical foundations of Oromoo society. This endeavor can unquestionably leads to the answers. But to arrive at that deliberating over the way, and creating relevant conditions are very important to consider.

4.3. Some Research Initiatives

1. Studying, searching, clearing confusions and reconstructing Oromoo indigenous knowledge as viewed from Observational point of view: Physical, philosophical, religious, and social angles is pertinent. Meanwhile, considering research on Oromoo culture, history and archaeology is as important as it is supportive.

2. Further research on Oromoo calendar and developing and establishing practical (officiating, academic) use of the calendar is also relevant.

3. Conducting research to resolve whether the Gadaa cycle is related to the Oromoo calendar or not is important.

Finally, as a puzzle I introduce a simple drawing around the Booranaa stars in the form of figure as displayed in fig. 1.

Acknowledgements

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Tables and Ffigures

Table 1: Names of Booranaa Stars

No.	Stars Name by the authors			
	Legesse (1973)	Doyle & Wilcox(1986)	Marco(1988)	Standard Astronomical name
1	Lami	Bittottessa	Lami	Triangulum
2	Busan	Camsa	Busan	Pleiads
3	Bakkalcha	Bufa	Baqqalcha Sors	Aldebarran
4	Algajima	Wacabajjii	Baqqalcha Algajim Algajima	Belletrix
5	Arb gaddu	Arb gaddu	Baqqalcha Arb gaddu	Central Orion
6	Urji Walla	Obora Gudda	Baqqalcha Walla	Saiph
7	Basa	Obora Dikkaa.	Baqqalcha Basa Guddo	Sirius
8	-	-	Baqqalcha Basa Diqqo	Beteleguse

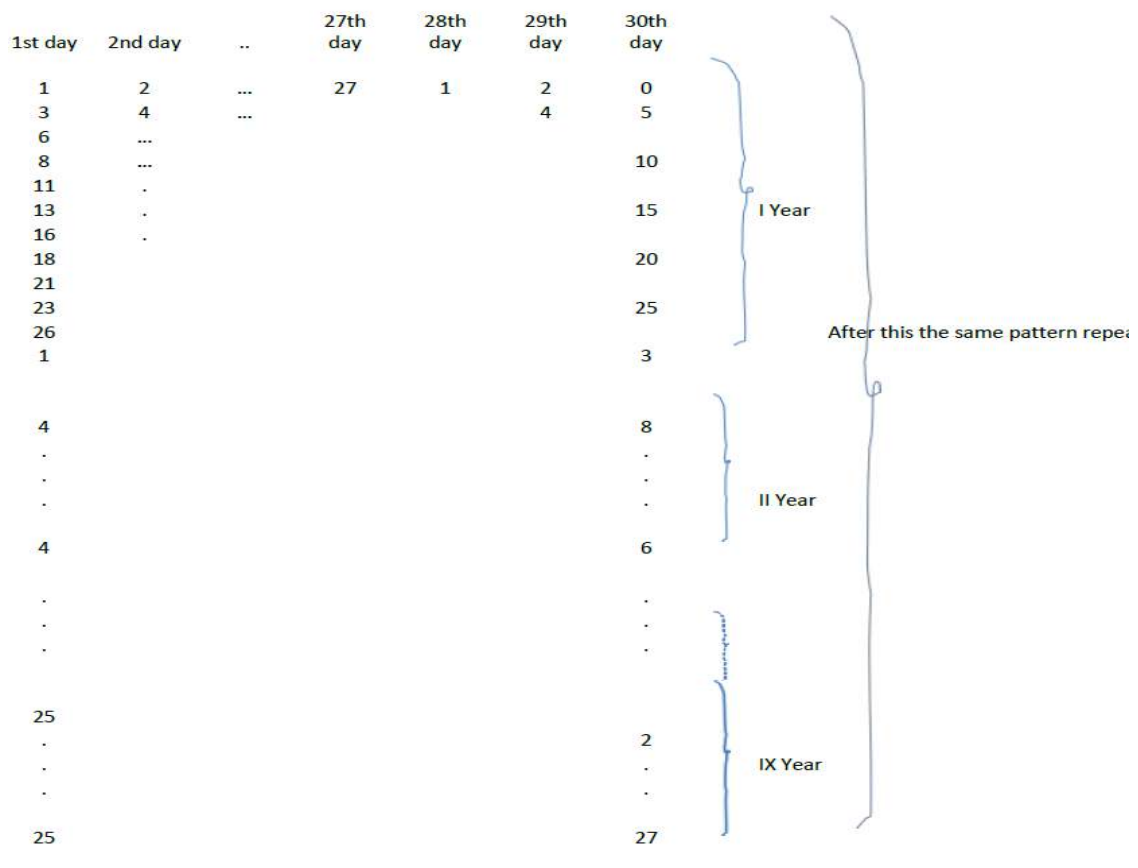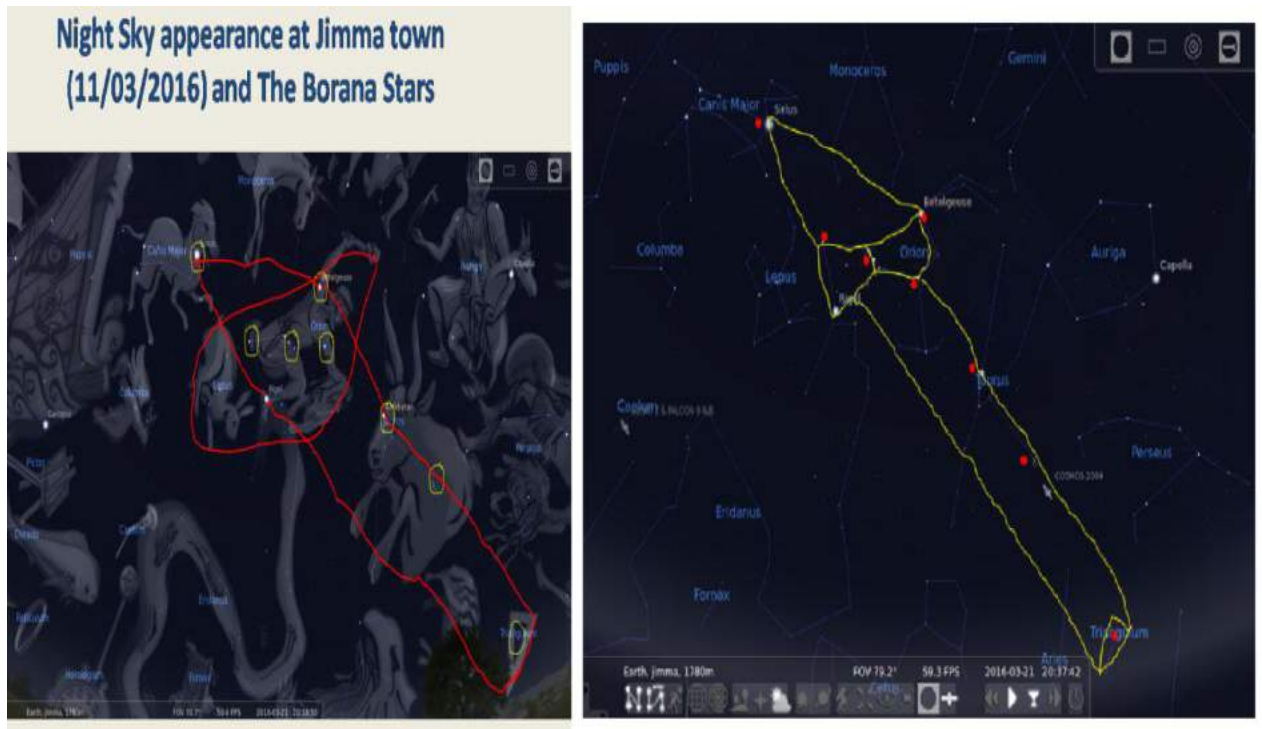**Table 2: Booranaa calendrical system to cycle in 8 or 9 years?**

Fig. 1: The Booranaa Stars: In the left panel the 8 - Booranaa stars are circled with yellow ink. In the right panel the stars are red spotted.

The Harmful Effects of the Suppression of Oromoo Indigenous Knowledge System on Oromoo Identity: The Role of Oromoo Intellectuals

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Abstract

Africans have not been consumers of European knowledge at all times. They have their own indigenous knowledge systems like all human societies elsewhere. In their attempt to dominate the minds of Africans and thus subjugate them in perpetuity, European colonialists imposed their own knowledge, belief systems and culture on the people they colonized. Post-colonial African governments ignored their indigenous knowledge and institutions and became mere consumers of European knowledge. Under Ethiopian Empire State, before coming under the influence of modern European education, the different people had to go through Amhara ruling elites' coercive assimilation and the consequent weakening of their own indigenous knowledge and identity. The Oromoo had been one of the main victims of the aggressive assimilation policy as a result of which their knowledge system and identity have been significantly undermined. Oromoo belief systems, knowledge and cultural values have been deliberately despised and portrayed as backward with a view to dismantle Oromoo self-respect and identity. Having lost their individual self-respect and self-perception, many western educated Oromoos lost their intellectual self-confidence and identity which constitute key components of Oromoo identity. This article looks at the existing practices among the Booranaa Oromoo that are indicative of the harms resulting from the weakening of Gadaa institutions and indigenous knowledge system. The article mainly aims at drawing the attention of Oromoo scholars towards ending the threat being posed against Oromoo identity as a consequence of the weakening of Oromoo indigenous knowledge system. The article proposes that there is a need to reclaim and revitalize Oromoo indigenous knowledge which is the foundation of Oromoo identity and wellbeing. As a people, we cannot create a robust, materially and morally virtuous society without Oromoo indigenous knowledge which is the basis for Oromoo identity.

Keywords - Oromoo, indigenous knowledge, identity, Booranaa

Axereeraa

Uummanni ardii Afrikaa akkuma uummattoota biroo ogumaa fi beekumsa ofii qabu. Bara bittaa kolonii, uummata kana gabroomfachuf jecha koloneeffattoonni ardii Awurooppaa irraa dhufan ogumaafi beekumsa ganamaa kana dagachiisuuf beekumsa, amantaa, duudhaafi aadaa ambaa irratti fe'an. Mootonni Afrikaa sirna kolonii kanaan booda dhufanis beekumsaafi dhaabbilee ganamaa qaban dagachuun beekumsa dhihaa (Awurooppaa) kanarratti ofgatan. Dhufaatii barnoota ammayyaan dura saboonni empaayera Itoophiyaa keessa turan sirna gosagaloommii bulchitoota Amaaraa jalatti beekumsaafi enyummaa isaanii ganamaa akka dagatan taasifamaa turan. Uummanni Oromoo sirna kana keessatti uummattoota eenyummaa isaanii ganamaa akka dagatu taasifaman keessaa tokko. Aaadaa, duudhaa, beekumsaafi amantaan uummata kanaa akka jibbamuufi akka waan qarooma hinqabneetti waan ilaalamaa tureef ofitti amanamummaafi

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eenymmaan Oromoo diigamaa ture. Kabaja dhabuun Oromummaa beektota Oromoo barnoota ammayyaa keessa darbanii kabajaafi ofitti amanamummaa dhabsiiseera. Kunneen ammoo dhimmoota murteessoo Oromumman irratti hundaa'udha. Barruun kun haala Oromoo Booranaa keessa jiru irratti hundaa'uun rakkooleen laafuun dhaabbilee Gadaafi beekumsa Oromoo ganamaa fidaa jiran xiinxala Kaayyoon isaas dagatamaa dhufuun beekusa Oromoo ganamaa rakkoo jabduu inni Oromummaa irratti fidaa jiru gara xiyyeeffannoo beektota Oromootti fiduudha. Barreeffamich beekumsa ganamaa kana bakkatti deebisuufi haaromsuun bu'uura Oromummaa ammaa taasisuun eenyummaa fi fayyaalessummaa Oromoo dagaagsuun akka danda'amu akeeka. Akka uummataatti beekumsa Oromoo ganamaa bu'uura Orommummaa ta'an osoo bakkatti hindeebisiin uummata fayyaalessaafi diinagdeef xinsammuun mo'ataa ta'e ijaaruun hindanda'amu.

***Jechoota Ijoo** – Oromoo;beekumsa ganamaa, eenyummaa, Booranaa*
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1. Introduction

All human beings are naturally endowed with the faculty of learning from their interactions with the environment and their own interactions. These interactions and experiences are the foundations of human knowledge. Knowledge is a human construction, production, reproduction and transfer of life experiences formally or informally. In a society with diverse knowledge systems, the status of a certain knowledge system has strong correlation with the existing power relation in the society. If there is an inequitable power relation in society, the dominant group will make use of its power and impose its belief system, knowledge and cultural values on the dominated groups in many ways and under the guise of education. In a society with diverse knowledge systems, validating one form of knowledge as superior would undermine the survival of others and establish the supremacy of one form of knowledge. This will make the education system and the knowledge produced hegemonic in its nature (Dugassa, 2014; Foucault, 1980; Freire, 1985; Gemetchu, 1993).

Although Ethiopia has undoubtedly been and remained a society with diverse indigenous knowledge systems, these knowledge systems have not been given recognition. Ethiopian academic institutions including universities have been teaching Eurocentric knowledge all along, turning these institutions into mere outposts for Eurocentric knowledge system. Owing to its inherently exclusivist and hegemonic nature, until the last quarter of a century, the Ethiopian educational system has remained unwelcoming to Oromoo indigenous knowledge (OIK) system (Asafa, 1996).

Before their forcible incorporation into the Empire State of Ethiopia, the Oromoo people had a distinctive and robust body of indigenous knowledge system that has survived for centuries. With their incorporation into the Empire, the Oromoo have lost not only their land but they have also been stripped of their worldview, belief system, knowledge, cultural values, language and collective identity until very recently. The Oromoo have largely been coerced to give up their own and accept the belief system, knowledge and cultural values of the rulers (Asafa, 1996).

The main purpose of the article is to look at the harmful effects the marginalization of OIK system is causing to the Oromoo people. This of course is without discounting some of the achievements that has been made by way of regaining Oromoo consciousness. The article focuses particularly on the state of Oromoo indigenous knowledge system within the mainstream Ethiopian education system. Qualitative research method has been employed for the study. As I have done my dissertation among the Booranaa which was on indigenous

justice system from 2012- 2014, I had the opportunity to interview Booranaa elders which has given me adequate understanding about the state of Oromoo indigenous knowledge. I have also drawn on my personal experiences in Ethiopian school system as a student and teacher and looked at the pertinent literature. The article has examined the merits of OIK and the justifications for giving it legitimate space within the formal Ethiopian education system. The article is critical of the Euro-Ethiopian exclusivist approach to education which has regarded OIK valueless without any evaluation of its merits and demerits. In the author's view, the uncritical welcoming of hegemonic Euro-Ethiopian education system by Oromoo scholars and students has to be brought to an end.

The author proposes that Oromoo scholars have to confront the current Ethiopian education system which is not fully accommodative of OIK and tends to consider it as archaic and irrelevant. Instead of the 'one size fits all' approach, the author argues for an alternative middle -ground approach that makes room for integration of OIK with the formal education system. In some post-independence African countries, scholars have maintained that Africa should have pluriversity instead of university which is essentially Eurocentric in its approach to knowledge. Pluriversity referred to an academic setting and "a process of knowledge production that is open to epistemic diversity" (Mbembe, 2016). This article also argues for a university which would be open to diversity and possibly allows the Oromoo to take advantages of the strengths of both systems and avoid their weaknesses.

2. Conceptual Framework and Review of Literature

The concept knowledge in general is defined as an "awareness or familiarity gained by experience (of a person, fact, or thing), a person's range of information; a theoretical or practical understanding of a subject, language, etc. as a sum of what is known" (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1998: 753). This broader conception of knowledge is used in this particular study. As one form of knowledge which comes under knowledge in general, indigenous knowledge refers to "a body of knowledge, or bodies of knowledge of indigenous people of a particular geographical area/s that have survived for a very long time" (Mapara, 2009:140). It is a unique body of knowledge in a particular culture and society which is "embedded in community practices, institutions, relationships and rituals" (World Bank, 1998: 8).

Indigenous knowledge is essentially "experiential knowledge based on a worldview and a culture that is basically relational" (Owusu-Ansah, & Mji, 2013:1). Its characteristic feature is its being rooted in belief system with symbiotic relationship of all beings both animate and inanimate. OIK shares most of the characteristics common to indigenous knowledge. In order to understand the indigenous knowledge of a community, one needs to be familiar with that community's belief system or worldview. By worldview here, we mean the "cognitive, perceptual, and affective maps that people continuously use to make sense of the social landscape and to find their ways to whatever goals they seek" (Hart, 2010:2).

Indigenous worldviews are products of a particular people's interaction and relationship with the environment and among themselves. The belief systems, assumptions, decision-making and ways of problem-solving of a community are influenced by its worldview. In a similar manner, the educational system in a given community is also "shaped by culture and epistemology in which it is embedded" (Dugassa, 2011:55). This means the educational system in a given society is influenced by the nature of knowledge and how it is acquired. Generally, what are produced and transferred by way of knowledge through a certain

education system is the belief system and values reflecting the dominant group/'s viewpoint incorporated into curriculum (Vindevoghel, 2016).

According to Ngugi, education is essentially a means of knowing ourselves. "After we have examined ourselves, we radiate outwards and discover peoples and worlds around us" (1986:94). In the context of a society with diverse knowledge systems, for the students coming from the dominated groups, an education system which imposes the belief, cultural values and knowledge system of a dominant group cannot be a means of knowing themselves. It will be a means of legitimizing and perpetuating oppressive power relation between the existing knowledge systems and the people (Dugassa, 2011; Vindevoghel, 2016).

Human knowledge is a social construct and as such is a reflection of the social, economic and historical context in which it is constructed. The production and consumption of knowledge has to be looked at within the context of the human interactions with one another and with the environment. In a pluralist knowledge systems setting, there is no value-free standard with which to judge one knowledge system more legitimate than others. The validity of knowledge has to be determined having regard to the historical, socio-cultural, environmental conditions and experiences of a given people. Every knowledge system has to be viewed as an integral part of human heritage. No indigenous knowledge should be labeled obsolete and made irrelevant before its merits and demerits are critically evaluated (Nyanchoga, 2014; Vindevoghel, 2016).

2.1. Knowledge and Power-Correlation

Human history has shown that depending on the nature of power relation in a given society, a group may have control over knowledge production and dissemination thus being able to turn others into mere knowledge consuming objects. Education is a means through which behaviors of those being educated are shaped and controlled. In a society with diverse knowledge systems, a group that controls the education system will have monopoly over the production and dissemination of knowledge which would enable it to manipulate behaviors of consumers of the knowledge. A dominant group will produce and disseminate its own values and knowledge system under the guise of education thus turning education system into a weapon of domination through which it keeps others under its perpetual domination. In that sense, both education and power mutually reinforce each other (Dugassa, 2014; Foucault, 1980; Ngugi, 1986).

Before being brought under European colonial rule, Africans had their own indigenous knowledge systems the production and transference of which was under their complete control. Africans had their own ways of schooling, knowing and preserving their heritage; their own indigenous ways of adapting to their physical environment. They had ways of maintaining their indigenous values, institutions, language and heritage from the past (Nyanchoga, 2014). Africa had *"a very rich heritage of what their past generations thought, did, experienced and passed on to their children"* (Mbiti, 1991:3). Having colonized Africa, the colonial powers did not want to be limited to controlling the lands of Africa. So as to perpetuate their colonial rule, they wanted to control the minds of Africans as well. They wanted to achieve that ambition through imposing their own belief and knowledge system on Africans under the guise of religion and education. Hence, "the physical violence of the battlefield was followed by the psychological violence of the classroom" (Ngugi, 1986:9).

Consequently, African indigenous values and knowledge systems have been totally marginalized by colonial powers. In their role as educators and missionaries, Europeans taught and preached their beliefs so that Africans may change their indigenous patterns of behaviors. They wanted Africans to view themselves in the way colonial powers desired (Ngugi, 1986; Fanon, 1968). Colonial education by its nature is characterized by annihilating "people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves" (Ngugi, 1986:3). Rather than recognizing and accommodating African knowledge systems, the Eurocentric education sought to inculcate European worldview onto the minds of the colonized people of Africa (Asante, 2012). As a result of European colonial education, educated Africans became mentally disconnected from their indigenous worldviews, belief systems, knowledge systems, cultural values, language and African identity (Nyachonga, 2014). "Very few educated Africans are even aware that they are also in cultural bondage. All educated Africans [...] are still cultural captives of the West" (Mazuiri, 1978:13).

Colonial education has made the colonized people see their past as a "wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves" (Ngugi, 1986). In Ali Mazrui's view (1978), European colonial education has made an educated African "a misfit in his own village" (p.16). The educated Africans who have become misfit in their villages and communities are acting as agents of colonial powers and causing harms to Africans in African educational institutions and universities. They have become at the forefront of disseminating colonial education in total disregard of indigenous African knowledge systems thus turning African universities into colonial outpost.

2.2. Oromo Indigenous Knowledge System and its Merits

Oromoo *Gadaa* system is "one of those remarkable creations of the human mind that evolved into a full-fledged system of government, as a result of five centuries of evolution and deliberate, rational, legislative transformation" (Asmarom, 2000:195). The *Gadaa* system and institutions are the embodiment of OIK which is "framed in an Oromo paradigm of thinking" well-suited to address the problems of Oromo people (Dugassa, 2014: 23). Despite all odds and long years of attempt to wipe it out, Borana Oromoo have kept Oromo indigenous knowledge system along with Gadaa system.

Before the conquest and the introduction of the Euro-Ethiopian education system which is unwelcoming to indigenous knowledge, among the Booranaa, the mode of transferring indigenous knowledge from one generation to the next generation was through *hayyuu*/elders/. Among the Booranaa, indigenous knowledge system has always been stored and transferred orally within family, clan and pan-Booranaa institutional settings like *Gumii Gaayyo* which is the supreme Booranaa decision and law-making body. The Oromoo in general had their indigenous knowledge system which is not only their intangible heritage but also a bond which links them to their ancestral fathers and mothers. Oromoo indigenous knowledge is found embedded in Oromoo worldview, belief system and cultural values embracing the spiritual, economic, social and political aspects of the society. With the help of their indigenous worldview, the Booranaa Oromoo understand and explain themselves, others and their interactions with the world. According to Booranaa indigenous worldview, the maintenance of the cosmic order and harmony as set by *Waaqa* (God) is the foundation of their *Nagaa Boorana*, (peace of Booranaa). The philosophy among the Booranaa is that the survival of human beings and other natural world are reciprocated and mutually dependent. Disrupting the cosmic order that has been set by *Waaqa* would ultimately put

human peace and survival in danger. Guided by their indigenous worldview and knowledge system, the Booranaa have managed to survive the harsh climatic conditions and succeeded in maintaining sustainable harmony among *Waaqa,* society and nature for thousands of years (Asmarom, 2000, Bassi, 2005).

Booranaa indigenous knowledge has been derived from, shaped and developed by the direct interaction of the people among themselves and with their particular natural setting. The complexity of the indigenous knowledge, belief, social, cultural and political systems of the Booranaa are noticeable from the institutional set up and functioning of the *Gadaa* system. The Booranaa have a proven knowledge of their environment that has enabled them to devise resource specific indigenous laws *seera marra bisaani*, (laws of water and grass) which they have used successfully for the management and use of scarce natural resources.

For the Oromoo in general, their indigenous knowledge system is a sole means of producing, preserving and transferring knowledge, cultural values, history and identity. The indigenous knowledge is the repertoire of Oromoo intangible heritage which is also an integral part of global heritage. Oromoo *Gadaa* system has already been recognized as one of the remarkable creations of the human mind and has been accepted as part of global heritage. But this indigenous knowledge including their art of governance has not as yet been given space in Ethiopian educational system (Asmarom, 1973; Bassi, 2005).

After being incorporated into Ethiopian Empire, the Booranaa have been coerced to abandon their indigenous worldview, belief and knowledge systems. By using their coercive state power, the successive Ethiopian rulers have imposed their own belief and knowledge systems on the Booranaa. But they could not as yet succeed in turning the Booranaa into mere consumers of knowledge produced by Ethiopian ruling elites. As a result of this, there are two main knowledge systems among the Booranaa with the indigenous Booranaa indigenous knowledge system having marginal status and the other being dominant. The alien Euro-Ethiopian knowledge system has been made dominant because of the oppressive power relation between the rulers of Ethiopia and the Oromoo including the Booranaa (Asafa, 1991). The invasive Euro-Ethiopian knowledge system is inconsiderately dislodging the effective Booranaa indigenous *Gadaa* and knowledge systems including their environmental friendly knowledge /*seera marra bisaani*/ which has been in use for thousands of years (Bassi, 2005). Since there is no mechanism that accommodates this Booranaa indigenous knowledge into the mainstream education system, there is a looming danger of its being displaced.

3. The Harmful Effects of the Weakening of OIK System

The annihilation of Oromoo knowledge system has begun during the war of conquest made by Abyssinian rulers to incorporate the Oromoo into their Empire State. After incorporating them into the Empire, the successive rulers of the Empire prevented the expansion of Oromoo indigenous belief and knowledge systems by displacing their indigenous institutions. They imposed and expanded their own belief and knowledge systems with the help of the coercive state machinery. Since then, the production and dissemination of Oromoo indigenous worldview, belief and knowledge system has been hindered.

Through their denigrating strategy of labeling Oromoo belief and knowledge system obsolete and by making OIK irrelevant, Ethiopian rulers have deprived the Oromoo the right to sustain, produce and disseminate their indigenous knowledge. In that way, the Oromoo people have become passive consumers of alien knowledge produced and disseminated by

Ethiopian rulers who assumed the monopoly of both the state power and educational system (Dugassa, 2014). Through all means available to them, Ethiopian rulers have labeled and disseminated Oromoo belief and knowledge systems as obsolete and superstitious (Dugassa 2014; Asafa, 1996). Although there is a significant increase in Oromoo collective identity consciousness, so long as the hegemonic educational system remains impervious, OIK would remain marginalized. There will still be the breaking down of indigenous Oromoo family and community bonds all of which are anchored on Oromoo indigenous belief system, indigenous knowledge and the intangible ancestral heritage.

From what I have gathered from Booranaa elders during my field work in the area, they are not feeling comfortable about the mainstream educational system which in their view is posing danger to the future of their indigenous knowledge and Gadaa system. Kanu Jilo was one of the elders I have interviewed in 2013. When he told me their Gadaa system is being weakened, I asked him how and by whom it is being weakened. His answer was, "sirni *Gadaa akka laaffataa deemu kan gochaa jiru ebelu jechuun nu dhiba, barumsa fakkaate karuma ijoollee keenya nutti dhufaa."* This literally translated means; it is not easy to name the body responsible for the weakening of Gadaa system, it comes by way of education given to our children. Borbor Bulee was another Booranaa elder I have interviewed in 2013. According to Borbor Bulee, *"laaffachu sirna Gadaatiif sababnni guddaan tokko babal'ina amanttiilee haaraa adda addaa kan amantii keenyya Waaqeffanna seexana waaqessuudha jechuudhaan jibbiinssa irratti boba'aniidha."* When translated, this means, one major cause for the weakening of Gadaa system is the expansion of new religions that discredit our indigenous Waaqeffanna religion by labeling it a devil worship.

As shown by the experiences of the Booranaa, development interventions made in disregard of the proven indigenous knowledge hasn't been successful. The top-down development interventions have not only made Booranaa indigenous knowledge irrelevant, the ecosystem more vulnerable, but it has also destabilized the previously well-functioning and user-friendly indigenous institutions. In its top-down governance structure that goes down to *kebele* level, which is the lowest level of governance*,* has made the indigenous governance institutions and structures irrelevant. The non-indigenous Peasant Associations have played and still playing instrumental role in the weakening and undermining of the authority of the indigenous governance structures and institutions (Watson, 2001).

Under the current essentially Euro-Ethiopian education system, Oromoo students are taught to "reproduce the knowledge, culture, power structure, thinking and the worldview of colonizers" (Dugassa, 2011: 55). The Euro-Ethiopian education system still remains inherently hegemonic with little room for the production and dissemination of OIK and its intangible heritage. In the particular context of this article, the fact that the mainstream Ethiopian education system hasn't still satisfactorily incorporated OIK into its curriculum has to be taken seriously by Oromoo intellectuals.

As a result of the content of education and European thought incorporated into the curriculum, the system would still have negative impacts on the minds of significant number of educated Oromoo. Such intellectuals tend to believe, even teach and preach the mainstream Euro- Ethiopian knowledge as an accepted standard. During their long years of hegemonic rule, Ethiopian rulers have succeeded in making the marginalization of OIK and this has helped them to perpetuate their hegemony. Unless the flawed and structurally embedded knowledge dominance is properly understood and confronted face-to-face by educated Oromoo scholars, this hegemonic Euro-Ethiopian education system will keep on hampering any effort made to promote OIK system.

On the whole, in its long history of existence, the Ethiopian education system has inconsiderately remained hostile to Oromoo indigenous knowledge and discouraged efforts made to maintain it. The system has consistently been resolute in its drive to displace Oromoo indigenous belief system, knowledge, cultural values and history. It has undermined Oromoo indigenous ways of schooling and its ways of preserving its history and cultural values. This has curtailed the development of Oromoo history, language and literature terribly. Thus, the subjugation of Oromoo people which started with disconnecting the Oromoo from their land has been made complete by the Euro-Ethiopian education system which has disconnected educated Oromoo from their history, knowledge and collective identity.

4. Conclusion

In a society with plural knowledge systems, a pluralistic approach to knowledge systems is imperative. In such society, the approach to be followed regarding knowledge should not be "reduced to the standards and epistemology of western perspective of knowledge base" (Owour, 2007: 34). A pluralistic approach would require that all stakeholders of education respect the diverse knowledge systems, embrace their logic, and epistemological foundations. This would entail acknowledging the value, reciprocal relations, and contributions of all forms of knowledge to the global body of ways of knowing. In a society with diverse knowledge systems, declaring one of these as supreme will establish inequitable power relations between the existing knowledge systems (Foucault, 1980; Olsen et al., 1992).

Although Ethiopia has undoubtedly been a society with diverse knowledge systems, this has never been formally acknowledged. Starting from the very time of conquest, the victors designed hegemonic education policy which was made in such a way as to assimilate and make Oromoo students accept the belief, values and knowledge system of the rulers. The ruling elites have preached/ taught/ and discredited Oromoo indigenous belief system, knowledge, cultural values, language and history as obsolete. The imposed education system has in the long run "conditioned the Oromoo people to adopt the Euro-centric discourses and its top-down organizational structure" (Dugassa, 2014: 23).

Educational systems "are shaped by the culture and epistemology in which it is embedded" (Dugassa, 2011: 55). Likewise, Ethiopian education system which is embedded in hegemonic political culture was shaped by this culture and was meant to shape the subjugated people fit to be ruled in the way the rulers desired. It was designed to disconnect learners from their fathers' and mothers' local knowledge, experiences and problems. As being witnessed presently in Ethiopia, with the exclusivist Euro-Ethiopian education and the knowledge and skills derived from the system, educated Oromoo students are incapable of solving local problems.

Educated Oromoo have become unfit and detached from their fathers and mothers in their thinking and way of life. In so doing, the hegemonic education system is playing a crucial role in disrupting Oromoo social fabric and their *nagaa* in its holistic sense. These educated Oromoo who have lost their identity have to be engaged in the processes of self-discovery and self-definition. They have to take part in the recovery and restoring of the best elements of Oromoo indigenous knowledge. In his book, *Decolonizing the Mind,* Ngugi wa Thiongo has affirmed that education is essentially a means of knowing ourselves. According to Ngugi, it is only after we have examined and known ourselves that we reach out and learn about other people and things around us (1986).

One fundamental question that all Oromoo scholars need to ask ourselves is the extent to which the current hegemonic Ethiopian education system is allowing us to see ourselves in relationship to one another and to other selves. Oromoo scholars have to be able to interrogate the existing hegemonic Ethiopian education system in terms of its relevance to Oromoo situation and its contribution towards understanding ourselves. They have to interrogate the effects of Eurocentric epistemology and ideology on Oromoo indigenous epistemology. The fact that Oromoo indigenous epistemology arises from Oromoo worldview or the interconnections between the human world, the spirit and inanimate entities has to be properly comprehended.

There is indisputably a need to fully reverse the existing humiliating situation through decolonization of the deformed mind-set of educated Oromoo. Decolonization of the mind is a process of self-ownership, it is a fight made by the colonized to repossess by way of taking back or reinstating which belongs to them *(*Mbembe, 2016*).* As a process of taking back or reinstating oneself and the collective, decolonizing the mind of educated Oromoo will not be an easy task. It will be a long time and difficult undertaking which would entail decolonizing our Eurocentric mind-set, our way of life, our educational institutions and the nature of knowledge to be imparted to Oromoo students. Having gained self-ownership, Oromoo scholars have to be aware of the need to make Oromoo students and all Oromoo conscious of the effects of displacement of OIK which has made Oromoo needs and values, history and culture irrelevant and disfigured Oromoo social fabric.

Decolonizing of educated Oromoo mind-set mainly focuses on reclaiming Oromoo knowledge system and avoiding practices and beliefs that undermine Oromoo identity. In this author's view, even if a person has Oromoo name but has lost all Oromoo identity markers, there is nothing that makes this person an Oromoo in its real sense. An Oromoo totally disconnected from Oromoo land, way of life, belief system, knowledge system, cultural values and history is not an Oromoo. Every Oromoo scholar should realize that it is only Oromoo indigenous worldview and knowledge system which would enable the Oromoo to see themselves, their relationship with others and the universe.

The UN Convention on Biological Diversity (1992) recognizes the validity of indigenous knowledge to the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity. The Convention acknowledges the contributions of indigenous knowledge as a suitable approach for environmental protection. As it is a proven environmental-friendly knowledge system, giving recognition to Oromoo indigenous knowledge would contribute towards the efforts being made globally by human kind for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity. Besides, UNESCO (1999) also calls for respect, sustenance and enhancement of indigenous knowledge. It recommends that indigenous knowledge be recognized as a legitimate knowledge system. When seen in light of this, the struggle being made by the Oromoo to regain control over their indigenous knowledge and restore the neglected knowledge and teachings of their *hayyu*/elders/ is legitimate.

Finally, in order to transform Ethiopian universities from colonial outposts to Oromoo – friendly educational centers where Oromoo indigenous knowledge systems are produced and disseminated, Ethiopian educational institutions and universities have to be decolonized by way of making them pluralistic and accommodative of Oromoo indigenous knowledge. Oromoo scholars should be able to confront the hegemony of Euro-Ethiopian knowledge system that is still dominating Ethiopian educational institutions including universities. In our fight to reinstate Oromoo indigenous knowledge, our educational institutions including

universities need to undergo a process of decolonization of knowledge where the universities invest on academic research that focuses on the promotion of indigenous knowledge.

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The Politics of Representation: Anoole and Menelik II Statues in Focus

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine how Anoole and Menelik II statues serve as sites for both reproduction and re-articulation of historical relations of power in the Ethiopian polity. Theory of representation is used as theoretical framework, and in-depth interview, textual and document analysis have been employed as tools to generate data. Four non-government magazines (Addis-Guday, Lomi, Inqu, and Jano), and official documents from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau and Addis Ababa City Government were selected and analyzed qualitatively. In-depth interview was also employed with seven participants from academic and political spheres to triangulate the textual analysis. The result of the study reveals that there is historiographical contradiction, architectural contention and political contestation over the representation of Anoole and Menelik II statues in the Ethiopian polity. There are also three dominant and competing perspectives (Ethiopianist, Correctionist, and an incumbent government view) regarding the representations of both statues as the process of political power struggle in Ethiopia. Lastly, the study makes suggestions as to how the competing and contradictory narratives about Anoole and Menelik II statues could be reconciled in a way that might reduce tensions over their representations.

Keywords - Anoole Statue, History, Menelik II Statue, Politics, Representation;

Axereeraa

Kaayyoon qorannoo kanaa bakka bu'iinsaafi agarsiisa hariiroo aangoo garee siyaasa Itoophiyaa siidaaleen Aanolee fi Miniliik mul'isan qaaccessuudha. Yaaxxinni bakka bu'umsaa (representation) akka kallattii qaaccessaatti, afgaaffiifi, sakatta'i ragaalee barreeffamaa akka meeshaalee funaansa ragaatti hojiirra oolfamaniiru. Barruuleewwan dhuunfaa afur (Addis Gudday, Loomii, Inquu fi Jaanoo), ragaalee barreeffamaa Biiroo Aadaafi Tuurizimii Oromiyaa fi Bulchiinsa Magaalaa Finfinnee filachuun bifa akkamtaatiin qaacceffamaniiru. Afgaaffii namoota baruu-barsiisuu fi siyaasaa keessa jiran toorba waliin taasisuun ragaa barreeffamaan argaman tumsa akka tahanitti faayidaarra oolaniiru. Bu'aan qorannoo kanaa waldiddaan seenessuu, walitti buiinsi kuulaa(boca) siidaa fi siyaasaa gareewwan siyaasaa Itoophiyaa gidduu akka jiru mul'isi aasxaa siidaalee Aanoleefi Minilikii ni agarsiisa. Gama walmorkii hariiroo aangoo biyyittiin yoo ilaalamu, ilaachota waldorgoman gurguddoo sadiitu mul'atu (Leellisa Itoophiyummaa, Sirreessummaa fi kan mootummaa angoorra jiruuti). Qorannoon kun, dhumarratti yaadoleen siidallee kana bu'uureffachuun waldhiitaniifi waliin morkan irratti kallattii furmaata araarsaa ta'eefi rirriittaa jiru tasgabbeessuu malu eereera.

Jechoota Ijoo – Siidaa Aanolee, Seenaa, Siidaa Minilikii, Siyaasa, Bakkabu'iinsa

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1. Introduction

The present Ethiopia has passed through three different political ideologies from Monarchial period to the FDRE. The modern Ethiopian Empire building began by Tewodros II (1855-1868) and end by Menilik II (1886-1913). Menelik II pursued his imperial policies of modernization and centralization. He undertook military conquests to expand his territory, particularly, to the southern and western parts of the country. Finally, he incorporated different ethnic groups, either peacefully or forcefully, into the modern Ethiopian empire. After emperor Menelik II, *Lij* Iyasu ruled the country from 1913-1916. Then, *Ras* Tafari Mekonnen officially came to power in 1928 and took his baptismal name Haile Silasse I in **1930**. During these reigns, Ethiopia followed and practiced the monarchism political philosophy (Bahru, 1991; McClellan, 1978; Marcus *et.al*, 1994).

Due to several internal and external problems, the monarchy period ended and the last monarchial emperor, Haile Silasse I, disposed by *coup d'état* and the Derg military junta which followed socialism political ideology came to power in 1974. Mengistu Hailemariam emerged as the undisputed leader of the *Derg* (committee in Amharic) after the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) was done away with. However, due to a wide-scale drought, and a massive refugee problem, the resistance movements spearheaded by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) finally brought down the military junta and established the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) on May 28, 1991 (Aalen, 2002; Bahru, 1991; Marcus, 1994; Merera, 2003; Turton *et.al*, 2006).

In these consecutive regimes, political actors constructed several statues that represent and strengthen their regime in various parts of the country. Among several statues built in Ethiopia, the issues of Anoole and Menelik II statues have been the points of controversy among the people. The statue of Emperor Menelik II which is located at Addis Ababa in front of St. George Cathedral church was erected for the good deeds of emperor Menelik II in 1930 by emperor Haile Silasse I. On the other hand, Anoole memorial monument was erected during the incumbent government at Hetosa, Arsi Zone, Oromia Region, on 6 April, 2014 as a tribute to the Arsi Oromos who were the victims of Emperor Menelik II's war of conquest in the 1880s. Thus, both Anoole and Menelik II statues serve as representations of the historical and socio-political phenomena of the reign of Emperor Menelik II. Therefore, it is important to examine how these two statues define and redefine the political narratives of modern Ethiopia political history.

2. Rationale of the Study

There are several reasons for societies often to erect statues. For example, people erect statues for spiritual significance, commemoration of different patriots, heroes and heroines, transmission of mythical histories, representation of nation or nationalizing-state, preservation of cultural heritage, beautification of cities and legitimization of authority. Predominantly, statues have been used as weapons in the political battle after 19[th]c, and different politicians have contested for victory through co-opting, creating, altering, ignoring or removing particular monuments. Politicians have been engaged in such symbolic dialogue with each other and with the public so as to gain prestige and legitimacy (Jonson, 1966; Forest and Johnson, 2001).

In Ethiopia, with the coming to power of the EPRDF in 1991, different new statues have been erected to signify various historical occurrences in view of preserving them for the

posterity. In doing so, the normative narratives of the already existing monuments are being deconstructed and rearticulated as a result of which these symbols have essentially become sites of elite contestations over the right interpretation of the Ethiopian history. Such representational struggle is best exemplified by the way various elite groups are advancing contradictory historical narratives in relation to the statue of Emperor Menelik II and the newly erected Anoole statue. The controversies over the two statues emanate from contradictory readings of the nature of the modern Ethiopian state and the role of elites who had spearheaded the nation building project in the modern Ethiopian history. This being the case, the present study needs to explicate the unraveling politics of representation as reflected in the two juxtaposed statues which chronicle about the reign of emperor Menelik II in the Ethiopian history.

3. Objective of the Study

The general objective of the study is to examine how Menelik II and Anoole statues serve as sites for both reproduction and re-articulation of historical relations of power in the Ethiopian polity. The study specifically attempts to:

- Examine the normative historical narratives Menelik II statue has promoted in the Ethiopian polity;

- Investigate how the Anoole statue deconstructs the naturalized historical narratives about the reign of Menelik II as symbolized by latter's statue;

- Describe how the two statues' contradictory historical representations of the reign of Menelik II serve as manifestation of power struggle between elites in the Ethiopian polity.

4. Theoretical Framework: Theory of Representation

Representation is a complex process through which meanings are produced and exchanged among members of a culture. It includes the use of language, sign and image which stand for or represent something (Hall, 1977). Hence, statues are symbols which carry meanings that are communicated and interpreted among the society who has common cultural background. Accordingly, Anoole and Menelik II statues are symbols that reflect the historical narratives which are related to power in Ethiopia. The narratives revolve over these statues as what statues symbolize may not necessarily be static. Several contradictory interpretations often emerge at different focal points. This dynamic and unstable change over the statues' representation often comes from the struggle for 'power'. Thus, the concept of politics of representation focuses on the issues of power and control over one's own self and its representation and reproduction by others.

5. Methods and Materials

The study employed descriptive qualitative research design to examine the politics of representation of Anoole and Menelik II statues through analysis of their historical narratives that are related to power. Informants from academic, political and Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau were used as primary data sources. First, these domains and, then, the participants from these domains were selected through purposive sampling method. Accordingly, from academic domain, three participants from three departments (History, Political Science and Fine Arts) were selected to get professional explanations on the history, socio-political and design of both statues. From the political domain, three

participants from OPDO, AEUP and Blue Party were selected as they had different political narratives on the political representations of Anoole and Menelik II statues. Lastly, one participant from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau was also purposively selected to get relevant information about the purpose of Anoole statue construction.

In addition, Official documents and magazines were used as secondary data sources. With this regard, official documents from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, and Addis Ababa City Government Office, and four (4) currently closed down private magazines (*Fact, Inqu, Addis Guday,* and *Lomi*) were again purposively selected since they have given high coverage on issue of Anoole and Menelik II statues. To get the necessary information from both aforementioned sources of data, in-depth interview, document and textual analysis were employed as the main data gathering tools. Qualitative approach was used to analyze the data on the political representation of Anoole and Menelik II statues in the Ethiopian polity.

6. Result and Discussion

6.1. The Normative Historical Narratives about Menelik II Statue

The major historical narratives of Menelik II statue revolves around the commemoration of emperor Menelik II contributions for the modern Ethiopia. These contributions can be seen from three different perspectives.

First, the emperor made series of military conquests to the southern and western parts of the country and built the modern Ethiopian Empire. This expansion process is taken as the major contribution of emperor Menelik II in the modern Ethiopian history. However, it should be noted that the process of building an Ethiopian empire was made in two different ways: peaceful and forceful. The emperor took both peaceful and forceful measures in order to make different independent kingdoms submit their powers. For instance, Kawo Tona of Wolaita submitted his power under coercion while Abba Jifar of Jimmaa and Kumsaa Morodaa of Wallaggaa peacefully submitted and maintained some of their powers.

Second, Menelik II made a great war to expand his territory, Shewa and lastly built the modern Ethiopian Empire in 1889. The Emperor gained victory over Fascist Italy in defending the Ethiopian territory from colonization. Thus, an equestrian statue of Menelik II was built to commemorate the battle of Adowa. Several scholars (Getachew and Paulos, 2005; Marcus, 1994; Markakis *et al*, 2011) also stated the battle of Adowa which is one of emperor Menelik II's heroic deeds to keep the sovereignty of Ethiopia from fascist Italy.

Third, emperor Menelik II did a lot to modernize the Ethiopian empire. With this regard, as informants from history department said, Menelik II is considered as the first emperor who introduced different modern technologies and built infrastructures in the country. Specifically, different communication technologies like telephone, telegraph, postal service, and infrastructures such as electricity, railways, hospital, school and bank were constructed in Ethiopia during the reign of Menelik II. Besides, the country had begun the use of money in the commercial transaction. As a result, scholars (Kebede, 1928; Bahiru, 1991; Tekletsadik, *et.al* 1983) see emperor Menelik II as the father of modernization in Ethiopian history.

The normative narratives of Menelik II statue, therefore, emphasize the contributions of emperor Menelik in building an Ethiopian empire. Particularly, equestrian statue of Menelik II constructed to commemorate the battle of Adowa which was regarded as a historic battle for black Africans. The statue was pulled down in 1936 by the order of Benito Mussolini

and was hidden somewhere so that the humiliating defeat of the Italians by Ethiopians at the Battle of Adwa could be forgotten. However, in 1941 when the invaders were ousted by the Ethiopian patriots and allied forces, the statue restored to its original place (Bahiru, 1991; Mirror of Addis Ababa, 1950; Addis Ababa city administration, 2005).

After that, every year the anniversary of the battle of Adowa has been celebrated until today in Ethiopia though the ceremonial practice has varied in the three consecutive regimes. During the monarchial period, the battle of Adowa was celebrated through laying wreath on the statue after attending mass at St. George Cathedral. In the *Derg* regime though the celebration took place through laying a wreath on the statue, the attendance of church services did not take place as the regime's ideology did not recognize religion. Again, in the EPRDF period, the celebration of Adowa anniversary has continued in different forms although there is an ambivalent feeling towards the commemoration.

6.2. The Deconstructive Historical Narratives about the Reign of Menelik II as Represented by Anoole Statue

Menelik II and his soldiers with modern firearm fought and lost many battles to conquer Arsii Oromoo during the process of building modern Ethiopia. The war took almost five years (1882-1886) and ended with the defeat of Arsii Oromoo at Azule 6 September 1886 (Ezekiel, 2014). Hence, the deconstructive theses about the reign of Menelik II emanates from the Menelik war of conquest and its consequences.

The major deconstructive thesis that is reflected by Anoole statue on the reign of Menelik II emphasizes the abolishment of the *Gadaa* system. *Gadaa* is uniquely democratic political and social institution that governs the life of every Oromo from birth to death (Gadaa, 1988). It is an example of traditional African form of democracy that it is lately registered by UNESCO in 2016. Menelik II and his army, however, did not simply bring the *Gadaa* system to an end. Arsii Oromoo fought and defeated Menelik force many times as *Gadaa* was the source of their courage and strength. Thus, the emperor forces planned a new strategy that helps them to eliminate *Gadaa* system for once and for good from Arsi Oromo. As official document from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau (2006) shows, it was the period of Arsii *Gadaa* power transition, '*Roobalee*' to '*Birmajjii*' when Menelik II and his soldiers lastly decided to end the *Gadaa* system. This last war (September 6, 1886) was designed by *Ras* Darge in the name of making peace at Anoole. As informant from Oromia Culture and Tourism office says:

> *Anoole was a symbolic site of Arsi power and what is reverently referred to as 'Arsooma', a custom by which the Arsi Oromo made laws, deliberated on war and peace, elected their leaders and settled their inter and intra-clan disputes. It is the superglue that held the Arsi tightly together.*

After the Arsii Oromoo gathered at Anoole, the Menelik army surrounded the people and proposed two options; either to accept the Menelik rule or to sacrifice their life to maintain their *Gadaa* system. After a long controversy, the Arsii Oromoo decided to accept the Monarchy rule, but governed and administered by their *Gadaa* system. As Baxter, Hultin and Triulzi (1996) also stated, the conquest of Abyssinians over the indigenous Oromoo people suppressed the Oromoo socio-political system, *Gadaa*. This shows the *Gadaa* system is inseparable from the life of Oromoo. It is difficult for Oromoo people to be detached from *Gadaa* like change or remove skin. The Arsoi Oromoo lost their life and body part for the continuity of *Gadaa* system.

The second deconstructive narrative emphasizes on long-lasting psychological damage of Arsii Oromoo during Menelik II war of conquest. Emperor Menelik II and his army made an inhumane act at the last war of conquest to traumatize the Arsii people not to resist again. They mutilated the hands of men and breasts of women of Arsii people in order to make them lose the audacity and become psychologically weak to fight back. As document from Oromia Culture and Tourism office (2006) also mentioned,

> *The act of hand and breast mutilation happened at the end of war in 1886. Ras Darge and Menelik's army ordered those in attendance at the "peace" gathering to enter a narrow pass one by one. Then, the right hands of all male and the right breasts of the women were cut off. The mutilated hand and breast also tied to the neck of the victims. This act happened to frighten the Arsi people who defeated Menelik II army for several times (Translated).*

Thus, the mutilated hand and breast holding statue was built to portray what exactly happened at Anoole. However, the act of mutilation is one of the points of controversy. As *Inqu* (April, 2006.Vol.2, No.29) and informants from opposition parties (AUEP and Blue Party) mentioned, the mutilation of hands and breasts is false and popular history. On the other hand, informants from OPDO and Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau strongly opposed the fictitious history of Anoole amputation. In fact, political actors pronounce the modern Ethiopian history from the agenda of their political manifesto.

However, Arsi oral history is full of cold-blooded massacre and mutilation at Anoole. This history had been told and retold by grandmothers and grandfathers for generations. Several scholars (Greenfield, 1965; Alamayo, 1901; Holcomb and Ibssa, 1990; Keller, 1995; Abbas, 1995; Mekuria 1996; Sorenson, *et.al,* 1993) also witnessed the atrocious act of Menelik II army made on Arsi, Bale, Harar, and southern parts of the country during the conquest process.

The third deconstructive narrative over the reign of emperor Menelik II emphasizes the economic crisis of Arsi people. As an informant from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau says, "Menelik II and his soldiers exploited the Arsii Oromoo's natural resources, took a large number of cattle and made them slave labor on their own land." Stressing this, Alamayo (1901: 349) also argues, "During the protracted war of conquest and the pacification that lasted for several decades, vast amounts of property belonging to the conquered people was confiscated or destroyed, and millions of head of livestock were looted." Hence, the Arsi people became economically weak and dependent on the Menelik army who already controlled their resource.

6.3. Architectural Contentions of Anoole and Menelik II Statues

I.   The Symbolism of Menelik II Statue

An equestrian statue of Menelik II is one of the three monuments first erected in Ethiopia. As informant from Fine Art department explains, Menelik II statue is the second erected statue in the country. The statue below portrays Emperor Menelik II in his coronation robes riding glamorously on his horse *Abba Dagnew* looking to the north where the victorious battle of Adwa took place (Mirror of Addis Ababa, 1950; Addis Ababa City Administration, 2005).

Figure 1: An Equestrian Statue of Menelik II at 'Arada Giorgis', Addis Ababa

As an informant from Fine Art department explains, Menelik statue is a kind of an equestrian statue which portrays a rider mounted a horse. The crafting of an equestrian statue began at Greece and mainly erected in the monarchical period. During this period, horses were used for war purposes, and equestrian kinds of statue were constructed for the commemoration of kings and their victory. Similarly, Menelik II statue was erected in Ethiopia to commemorate both the military and civic achievements of emperor Menelik. With this regard, the statue of Menelik depicts the regime and the victory of the emperor over European colonizers.

An informants from Blue Party and *Inqu* (April 2006, Vol 6) magazine mention, an equestrian statue of Menelik is a symbol of liberty, victory and freedom for all Ethiopian and other black people. The statue epitomizes the Ethiopian people heroism and patriotism for the rest of the world. However, the depiction of Menelik II statue has been deconstructed as it could not be an inclusive and representative of all ethnic groups particularly affected by the conquest of emperor Menelik in the process of building the modern Ethiopian empire.

II. The Symbolism of Anoole Statue

Anoole statue was built in Hetosa, Arsi zone, Oromia region on April 6, 2014 as a tribute to the Arsii Oromoo harshly by the conquest of Menelik II. The design of Anoole statue, *mutilated hand holding mutilated breast,* directly depicts the mutilation of Arsii Oromoo's right hands of men and right breast of women during Menelik II war of conquest. Connotatively, the word '*Right*' symbolizes the '*Moral'*, *'Ethics'*, *'Ownership'*, and *'Victory'*. The design depicts the maltreatment of Menelik army.

Figure 2: Anoole Memorial Monument at Arsi Hetosa, Oromia Region

Therefore, Anoole statue is seen as symbol of freedom or independency from past domination of the imperial system. The statue also has similar connotation with other statues constructed in African countries which are epitomizing their freedom and/or independence after the end of colonization. In addition, document from Oromia Culture and Tourism office (2006) and informant from OPDO mentioned that Anoole statue depicts the 'Unity' and 'Courage' of Arsi people to fight against any external power that undermines its socio-political system.

However, the design of Anoole statue was the main cause of discord among the elites over the representation of the reign of Menelik II in the Ethiopian polity. As informant from Fine Art department explains, "When horrific histories are depicted artistically through statues/monuments, artists should transform, not translate the history like photographic form" (personal interview, 10 April 2015). *Jano* (April, 2006.Vol.2, No.29) and *Lomi* (April 2006, Volume, 102) magazines also mentioned the design of Anoole statue as if it inculcates vengeance than preaching forgiveness, tolerance and peaceful coexistence among the society. Opposing this, informant from OPDO argues that Anoole statue is the direct depiction of the fact. Hence, reshaping the design of Anoole statue from its current portrait is perceived as the reformation of the history. History, whether good or bad, should be known by and taken as lesson by the coming generation.

6.4. The Political Views on Anoole and Menelik II Statues in Ethiopian Polity

Based on the historical and architectural representations of Anoole and Menelik II statues, three competing and contrasting political ideologies have been reflected in Ethiopian polity.

I.　Ethiopianist (Extreme Pan-nationalist) View

Ethiopianist (Extreme Pan-nationalist) view is the oldest view in the Ethiopian nationalism that has been dominantly articulated by the Amhara and Tigray elites. This view sees Ethiopia as the country which had a long political history and ancient society welded by its history and devotion to Christian faith. This ideology has hegemonic discourse that considers Ethiopia as one ethnic, one language and one religion state, and through this it intends to create strong Ethiopian nationalism (Markakis, 2012; Vaughan, 2003; Clay and Holcomb et al, 1986).

Thus, the Ethiopianism political view reveres the normative historical narratives about the reign of Menelik II that is embodied in Menelik II statue. As an informant from Blue Party says, "The statue of Menelik II represents the political achievement of emperor Menelik II in the process of building the contemporary Ethiopia. In this process, Menelik II made internal and external wars and showed strong leadership and strong unification process" (Informant from Blue party, 2006). As a result, an Ethiopianist view argues that Menelik II statue is a symbol of great Ethiopian nationalism and emperor Menelik II was the political architect for the creation of sense of strong nationalism among the Ethiopian people during his reign. Hence, Ethiopianism view considers the statue of Menelik II as the symbol of unity, patriotism and victory.

On the other hand, an Ethiopianist view condemns the construction of Anoole statue that deconstructs the reign of Menelik in the Ethiopian polity. In this regard, *Addis Guday* (Vol. 8, No.214, April 2006) and *Inqu* (Vol. 6, No.116, April 2006) mentioned that Anoole statue is a symbol of disintegration and distortion of Ethiopian nation. It initiates revenge among victims and perpetrators. In addition, informant from AEUP says, "Anoole statue encourages ethnicity than nationality. The intention of ethnicity negatively affects the Ethiopian strong nationhood and creates animosity among the major ethnic groups" (Informant from AEUP, 2006). Consequently, this view opposes the deconstructive thesis rearticulated over the reign of Menelik II that is represented by Anoole statue and considers Anoole statue as an emblem of radical racist and secessionist's political ideology.

II. Correctionist (Extreme Ethno-nationalist) View

The correctionist (Extreme Ethno-nationalist) view has emerged to deconstruct the extreme pan-nationalist (Ethiopianism) view and construct the corrective political narratives in the political history of modern Ethiopia. This view considers the Menelik war of conquest as the process of colonization. As Greenfield (1965) also stated, Menelik II conquest of Arsii Oromoo had the same in common as colonialists from Europe did in other parts of Africa. The correctionist view firmly stated that Menelik II army took part in the scramble for Africa by competing with other European countries along Ethiopia's borders. A document from Culture and Tourism Bureau (2006) also asserts that the conquest of Menelik II is seen as internal colonization for the conquered people. As a result, the conquered ethnic groups need to undergo decolonization like other African countries colonized by western colonial empire. This political view is predominantly pronounced by elites from the conquered ethnic groups by Menelik II army. Consequently, it supports the construction of strong ethno-nationalism.

With this regard, the Anoole statue is seen as a site for the construction of the sense of ethno-nationalism and deconstruction of the normative narrative of Ethiopianist view in the Ethiopian polity. This is due to the fact that the correctionist view sees the reign of Menelik as an exclusionist and the oppressed and marginalized groups need to have the right to self-determination. As participants from OPDO and Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau say, the construction of Anoole statue is an outcome of the contemporary Ethiopian political system (ethno-linguistics based federalism). Hence, Anoole statue is considered as site for strong ethno-nationalism.

According to correctionist view, Anoole statue represents the resistance and scarifies of Arsii Oromoo towards any unfair, injustices and inequalities happened on Oromoo people. Thus, the Anoole statue is seen as one way of correcting the hegemonic political discourses over the reign of Menelik II and reconstructs political narratives in the current Ethiopian

political geography as a quest for comparative political power. On the contrary, statue of Menelik II is seen as a symbol of colonization. Thus, this view strongly argues that the statue of Menelik II should be deconstructed and condemned.

III. An Incumbent Government View

An incumbent government came to power in 1991 overthrowing the *Derg* military junta; the federal system was introduced to resolve different ethnic groups' tensions and conflicts in Ethiopia. Many scholars (Vaughan, 2003; Hashim, 2010; Merera, *et al,* 2003) also argue that federalism is a solution to the problem of governing multi-ethnic and multi-religious states which have been plagued in inter-communal conflicts and tensions. It creates peaceful coexistence among societies who have distinct culture, religion, language, and socio-economic preferences. Thus, the federal system based on ethno-linguistic introduced to meet the interest of multi-ethnic groups in Ethiopia. In relation to this, the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) (Article 39, sub-article 2) has guaranteed that "Every nation, nationality and people in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write and to develop its own language; to express, to develop and to promote its culture; and to preserve its history" (Constitution of the FDRE, 1991). EPRDF has been arguing for the role of Ethiopian federalism to administer multi-ethnic groups in the country and thereby resolving the conflicts and tensions among the different ethnic groups found in Ethiopia.

With this regard, an incumbent government (EPRDF) considers Anoole statue from the perspective of giving recognition for the past ethnic tyranny to maintain better and stable political environment. As participants from OPDO says,

> *In the process of nation-building, facts should not be denied whether they are good or bad. Unless consensuses are made on the past history, it is difficult to step forward as a nation. Therefore, the political agenda of Anoole statue construction is giving recognition for the Arsi people who suffered a humiliating defeat of the 'Neftegna' system. In doing so, the statue plays a significant role in the process of creating an integrated society through educating them from the past experience, not to repeat it again in the future.*

Thus, Anoole statue is taken as an exemplary site for fighting the political tyranny of monarchial system as favor to democracy and good governance among the Oromo people and the nation as well. The statue is seen as an emblem of ethno-linguistics based federalism in contemporary Ethiopian political system. On the contrary, *Inqu* (April 2006, Volume 6, No. 116, p.6) and *Addis Guday* (April 2006, Volume 8, No.214, p.14) magazines mentioned that Anoole statue is the space of political friction among the major ethnic groups in the country, and the huge money for the construction of Anoole statue was taken as government extravagance when the country is in the rampant economic situation and the society has the problem of infrastructural services.

According to the participants from OPDO and Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, construction of Anoole statue currently has two basic contributions. First, it benefits the society who lives nearby socially, economically and psychologically. Second, as the statue has its own museum and research center, it gives an opportunity for scholars to explore and investigate untouched issues about Oromo for the rest of the world.

7. Conclusions

This study investigates how statues of Anoole and Menelik II serve as sites for both reproduction and re-articulation of historical relations of power in the Ethiopian polity. The study found that an equestrian statue of Menelik II and Anoole memorial monument are the faces of one coin in the history of building the modern Ethiopia. Specifically, both statues reflect the good and bad historical incidents took place during the reign of Menelik II. The historiography, architectural symbolism and political representations of both states are the points of controversy in the Ethiopian polity. The normative historical narratives (heroism and patriotism of Ethiopians showed at the battle of Adwa) revolve around Menelik II statue deconstructed by Anoole memorial monument which depicts the inhumane act (mutilation of right hand of men and right breast of women) emperor Menelik made on Arsi people.

Besides, three contrasting and contesting political ideologies (extreme pan-nationalist, extreme ethno-nationalist and incumbent government) have been reflected on the political representation of Anoole and Menelik II statues in the Ethiopian polity. With this regard, extreme pan-nationalism view considers the statue of Menelik II as the symbol of unity, patriotism and victory, but condemns the construction of Anoole statue for it is being thought to negatively affect the unity and strong nationhood of Ethiopia. On the other hand, the extreme ethno-nationalist view claims that the Anoole statue is a way of correcting the hegemonic political discourses over the reign of Menelik II and asserts that the statue of Menelik II is a symbol of colonization. The incumbent Government also sees Anoole statue as representation of the monarchical political tyranny and the strong resistance of Arsi Oromo.

Lastly, the study concludes that the controversies over Anoole and Menelik II statues emanate from lack of national consensus. Therefore, the study urges the government to work hard in building national consensus in the country to minimize the disparity among different ethnic groups over the representation of different media texts like statues.

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Some Accounts of Arsii Customary Law (*Seera Ambaa*): Reflections Based on Historical Approach

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Abstract

The study sheds some light on Arsii Oromoo customary law which is referred to as Seera Ambaa, giving particular emphasis to its reformation enactment major achievements, themes of its body contents and practices recurred for over generations within their gadaa context. The Arsii, who have established their local gadaa center at Odaa Roobaa made enactment of their customary law, seera ambaa named after the leading gadaa office, Ambatoo Dayyo towards the end of the 15th century. Historical sources show that as the gadaa system of governance was active, reformation of laws was launched at a different time and level, spearheaded by individuals who deserved reputation of the designation of law maker and reformer. Despite these historical roles of gadaa system of governance, issues pertinent to its law have not been adequately studied. This study attempts to fill this gap through undertaking a qualitative study collecting data through various means. Seera Ambaa is the most recent reformed comprehensive law of Arsii that had been made at its highest point in time based on and within the framework of ancestral law of the Oromoo. This law has underlain their overall interrelationships and interactions in universe that everything in their life was brought under the jurisdiction of this customary law. However, the increase in Islamization of Arsii since 1850s and Menelik's conquest of Arsii in 20th century had challenged the practice and led to its declining phase. In revealing this historical fact, the study contributes to cover the gaps prevailed in the area and add values towards currently revitalizing and rejuvenating gadaa systems.

Keywords - Arsii, seera ambaa, customary law, gadaa

Axereeraa

Qorannoon kun seenaa tumaa haaromsa seera Oromoo Arsii ganamaa, seera ambaa ifoomsuu irratti kan xiyyeeffatedha. Kunis tumaa haaromsa seeraa fi lallaba isaa akkasumas qabiyyee fi shaakallii isaa bu'uura gadaa isaaniin sakatta'uu ta'a. Oromoonni Arsii wiirtuu gadaa ofii Odaa Roobaa taasisuudhaan haaromsa seera ambaa karaa abbaa gadaa fi seera tumticha, Ambaatoo Dayyoon gara dhuma jaarraa 15ffaa keessa tumuun hojiirra oolchan. Ragaan seenaa akka eerutti bulchiinsa sirna gadaa jalatti haaromsi seera ittiin bulmaata sirnichaa yeroo fi sadarkaa addaa addaatti gaggeessummaa namootaa maqaa fi gumataa seera tumtummaa fi haaromsaa gonfamuu danda'aniiru. Haa ta'u malee, sirni gadaa gumaata seenaa olaanaa qabaatus dhimmootiin seera sirnichaa haala ga'umsa qabuun hinqoratamne. Dhimma kanaafis qorannoon kun mala qorannoo ibsaa (qualitative) hordofuunii fi tooftaalee funaansa ragaa qorannichaa fi dhiheessa bu'aa isaa dhimma ba'een gaggeessama. Seerri Ambaa seera Oromoo Arsii adeemsa yeroo mataa ofiin seera isaanii ganamaa irratti hundaa'uudhaan haaromsamedha. Seerri haarome kun haala jiruufi jireenya waliigalaafi hariiroo isaanii uumaa fi uumamaa waliigalaarratti kan xiyyeeffatee fi abboommii isaa

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jalatti akka gaggeeffamu kan irratti murtaa'edha. Haa ta'u malee, dhiibbaan olaantummaa amantaa Islaamaa baroottan 1850 keessa cimaa dhufuu fi sababa weerara sirna Minilik jaarraa 20ᶠᶠᵃᵃ irraan kan ka'e seerrii ambaa hacuuccaa fi dhiibbaa halagaa jalatti kufaa sadarkaa laafinaatti seene.. Qorannoon kunis dhugaa seenaa kana mul'isuun qaawwa qorannoo gama kanaan jiru haguugaa fi haaromsa seera gadaatiif yeroo ammaa taasifamaa jiru kan utubu ta'a

Jechoota Ijoo: *Arsii, seera ambaa, seera ganamaa, gadaa*

1. Introduction

To begin with, the term customary law is referred to as *seera* and constitution as *heera*. Both terms are referring to laws operating at different hierarchical order in their culture. According to Endessa (2011) and Leila (2016), the *gadaa* system was based on what was called customary constitution and law (*heeraa fi seera*). Their differences are while *heera* addresses common pan-Oromoo issues, *seera* implies customary laws operating at local *gadaa* centers among various groups of Oromoo at different parts of Oromia. Thus, it is more of a normative practices for the Oromoo that their life aspects is historically subjected to jurisdiction of laws enacted at different times and under the various *gadaa* administration centers.

Defining customary laws in general includes specific rules, social values or principles, worldviews/beliefs, codes of conduct and established practices. They are enforced by community institutions, derived from natural resources use/practice, locally recognized, orally held, and dynamic (evolving over time) (Chirayath, 2009; Nhlapo, 1994; Borrows, 2010a). Customary law is legal expression of cultural norms and values dynamic to changes based on social, economic and legal developments (Bond, 2010). This system of norms governs the lives of millions of people, particularly covering up to 90% of the population in parts of Africa (Nhlapo, 1994). Customary systems are often the dominant form of regulation in dispute resolution and its informal normative frameworks shaped the vast majority of human behavior. At the same time customary justice differs depending on local traditions, as well as the political history of a particular country or region (Chirayath, 2009). Similarly, law and its knowledge is a centric unit in Oromoo worldview including the Arsii (Mamo, 2006).

Bassi (2005) focused on Oromoo of Booranaa elucidated customary law which includes all the discussions, negotiations and procedures that take place when someone has committed acts deemed morally wrong or in conflict with community morals and norms. Similarly, Leila (2016) in her focus on Arsii explains that their customary law is necessary to constantly discuss and debate the application of various codes, laws, ethics and norms even though our knowledge is limited.

The Arsii is one of the largest Oromoo groups inhabited over a wider geographical territory of Oromia (predominantly today's Bale, Arsii, West Arsii Zones) and developed some distinctive historical experiences and endogenous values, including local *Gadaa* center (Mindaye, 2004; Mamo, 2006). From historical and cultural study perspectives, the Oromo of Arsii territory have anchored major earliest hub of pan-Oromoo *gadaa* assembly, Madda Walaabuu and spiritual center at Dalloo both located in today's Bale. Particularly, Madda Walaabuu had been a hub of pan-Oromoo *gadaa* revitalization in the 15th century and the central *caffee* assembly, and Dalloo had been the seat of Abba Mudaa (the highest priest and spiritual leader), center of pilgrimage for all Oromoo until it came to end in the 19th century (Alemayehu, et.al, 2006; Dereje, 2005). Until these centers faced declining process due to internal and external pressure, they had been serving as a meeting point where all across the

Oromoo local *gadaa* leaders and spiritual heads representative had summoned every eight year and shared experiences before went back to their locality with centrally amended law, new directives and bless for new life. This process had enabled the *gadaa* and *Waaqeffannaa* (Oromoo indigenous religion) enduring for long maintained central authority, principal supervision and watchful institution (Mindaye, 2004; Ginbar, 2010). Harboring ancient pan-Oromoo political and religious centers seemed to have made the Arsii claims for long time stewardship right and custodianship advantageous over the other groups of the Oromoo.

The various groups of Oromoo inhabited over different parts of Oromia established and organized themselves within at their local *Gadaa* assembly centers under the jurisdiction of the pan-Oromoo centers. Likewise, the Arsii made their *Gadaa* center at *Odaa* Roobaa, one of the earliest five Oromoo *gadaa* assembly centers and geographically close to the pan-Oromoo hubs, had administered their generations. *Odaa* Roobaa is center of endogenous organization and differentiation within into sub-clans for unity and harmony over the area their members inhabited. Their geographical proximity to the pan-Oromoo centers seemed to have enabled the Arsii being good recipients of the hubs closer attention for healthier system of *gadaa* values (*ibid*). Oral sources also mentioned another important task connected to this center, the reformation of their ancestral law, *Seera Ambaa*. *Seera Ambaa* was not a fresh law but a reformed version of Arsii context that was undertaken within the framework of ancient law of Oromoo, beneath the jurisdiction of pan-Oromoo centers and remembered with its extensive sagacity endurance and comprehensive values. However, against these backgrounds, popular and wider claims made on rules of law based on *Gadaa* system of governance literature are scare in the area. Hence, only little is known about these early experiences and wisdom of the populace. This marginalization is principally substantiated to both past historical injustice, contemporary emerging challenges and other weaknesses.

Nonetheless, there are few attempts made on Arsii indigenous wisdom and *gadaa* values consulted for this study; for example, Mamo (2000 & 2006), Endassa (2011) and Leila (2016) have provided certain clues on *Seera Ambaa* varyingly that are barely mentioning the term to making slight description. Hence, this study is motivated to fill the gaps uncovered in bringing fair detail description about this wisdom and its body contents which reverberate at different levels in the study area: in rhetoric expression, traditions and some areas of practical activities. There is a strong sympathy prevailed among the study areas (Kokosa, Arsii Roobee, Dodolaa, Muneessa and Kofalee) Arsii elders towards their long established wisdom which recurs in their traditions and practices to handling public gatherings, different social cases and individual member of their society. Some survived elements and values of this Arsii customary law are still persisting in managing their relationships at gender, conflict resolutions, socio-cultural life, marriage, socialization, etc. areas. Thus, aiming to bring some better detail account in the area, this particular study will serve to propounding and furthering our understanding on the subject. However, this work in itself is not a complete one as financial and time constraints, limitations to comprehending over generation transcended oral information and historicizing as desired, Ethiopian political, cultural, religious injustice and contemporary exogenous forces presented a challenge on indigenous wisdom.

2. Literature Review

Oromoo customary laws are some of the underpinnings which determine Oromoo national unity, identity, self-assertion, addressing natural and social merits and demerits. Law is the highest supreme body and organ for administrating society and governing relationships between and among humans and others in their worldview. Law and its knowledge is highly crucial to guiding Oromoo life overall generational activities within itself and out (Alemayehu, 2009).

The Oromoo people are pre-eminent observant of *gadaa* laws which are embedded at the hearts of its long established culture and norm (*aadaa*) and ethos (*safuu*). Before it fully evolved to a complex system, *gadaa* has been emanated out of these populace intelligences. Several scholars of *gadaa* have asserted that the *Gadaa* system is political-legal wisdom enamored by egalitarian democratic values. This is referring to the supremacy of law over rule of man and collective motives over individual interests and ambitions (Assefa, 2010; Asmerom, 2000; Alemayehu, 2009). G*adaa* governance has been exercised at both mega and local unit level-based administration system established in all groups and clans of the nation settled in various parts of Oromia (Alemayehu et.al, 2006). The system has made a continual existence holding itself under compelling reasons and demands for reformation processes that are undertaken at different times (*gadaa* cycles) and places (centers of its assembly-*Odaa*) and by individual preceded their respective *gadaa* offices. However, studies in this area are only little emerging.

Accordingly, populace historical background focused recent studies, undertaken by some *gadaa* scholars like Alemayehu (2009), Alemayehu, et.al (2006), Dereje (2005 & 2012) and Daribu (2000) who are reviewed in this work to provide some clues which served as passing references in the area. Particularly, the works of Alemayehu et.al (2006) and Dereje (2005) focus on the early history of the Oromoo asserted change on the reorganizations of *Gadaa* system at *Madda* Walaabuu c.a. 1450 and reformation of *gadaa* laws. They mentioned that the principle of *Gadaa* system known as *Seera Caffee* Oromo or S*eera* Walaabuu was formulated centrally and comprised of most common laws directly or indirectly addressing socio-political, economic and religious life of an individual Oromoo. The studies also further ascertained that few task of setting reinforcement of new rules and regulations on the use of materials like *Kallachaa* (insignia for spirituality), *Bokkuu* (insignia of *Gadaa* headship)*, Caaccuu* (insignia of fertility) and *Siinqee* (insignia representing feminine) at Madda Walaabuu (mid of 15th century) that revealed the identity of their culture (*ibid*).

Furthermore, Alemayehu (2009) has gone to mentioning different themes of Oromoo law and made significant reflections on its major focus, mainly the prerogatives of female, spiritual leader, Waaqa, Earth, father, mother, *kallachaa*, plants, cardinal laws, crime, wild animals, horse, the banner of Oromoo, refugee, etc. The Oromoo used the *Gadaa* laws as constitution of their government although it was not written like the constitutions of many other people. Bearing the general limitations in studies on the area and insufficiency on documentation of ancient Oromoo customary law, these works are important displaying at Oromoo knowledge of law in the *gadaa* system.

According to Alemayehu, et.al (2006) and Dereje (2005), the laws of *Gadaa* were formerly known as *Seera* Ganamaa (ancient laws) and *Seera* Walaabuu (the law of the day break). This earliest law of *Seera* Walaabuu, an opening source for *gadaa* laws, had been coined on the bases of laws of nature (Waaqaa) and observing natural phenomena. This nature imitated

and its observant parental law of Walaabuu is pillar to all laws as *heera* (constitution) presents both temporal and spiritual features at its background.

Besides, the scholarly works of Gemetchu (2005) and Aseffa (2010) have furthered our knowledge on the topic elucidating that the Oromoo law has comprised two major divisions: customary law (*Seera namaa*) and law of God (*Seera Waaqaa*). In discussing their relationships, *Seera* Waaqaa is a precedent and source for *seera namaa* has maintained supremacy as a constitution does on other law categories. Here, more of temporal aspect (*seera namaa*) and spiritual (*Seera* Waaqaa) seemed to be fused to undifferentiating points. Similarly, distinctions are made in Arsii by saying as *seera Ambaa* (temporal*)* and *Seera Wayyuu (*sacred) to speak of secular and temporal aspects of their laws. Deduced from the aforementioned discussions, the Oromoo sources of law had natural, religious and temporal basis and reflected the general features of customary laws.

In a discussion on the sources of Indigenous legal traditions in Canada, Borrows (2010a) explains that the underpinnings of indigenous law are entwined with the social, historical, political, biological, economic and spiritual circumstances of each group. They are based on many sources, including sacred teachings, naturalistic observations, positivistic proclamations, deliberative practices, and local and national customs. In this regard, when the Arsii speak of *seera ambaa* or *seera aadaa* (cultural/customary law), it has comprised of sacred, natural, deliberative, positivistic and customary laws and more. Furthermore, Leila (2016), who focused on Arsii indigenous values, mentions that customary laws are interwoven with all other practices and types of knowledge of the group.

Besides, Alemayehu (2009), Alemayehu, et.al (2006); Dereje (2005 & 2012) and Samu'el (2011) have pointed out that the law of *gadaa* has contained two divisions: cardinal law (*seera ikkee*) and supplementary law (*seerota biroo*). They expressed that cardinal laws are simulated from natural phenomenon and non-amended category of law as opposed to the latter revisited in comply with arising need in the society, at each series *gadaa* power transition. Thematic wise, some features of *gadaa* cardinal law mentioned in the above sources, include: law of God, law of earth, law of the father, law of the mother and law of the *Qaalluu* (spiritual head*)*. Most of the time, *Ikkee* laws are termed as *mataa, (sammuu*) *seerota,* head/ brain to supplementary law which have not compelled to alteration and revisions of its contents and items (Samu'el, 2011).

However, the supplementary law contents and items showed variations in time and place based on changes and continuities in the socio-political, religious and economic life of the society. Hence, they can be varying from one another among the Oromoo groups established at local *gadaa* administrations. On the basis of this idea, recurring five *gadaa* parties used to examine, made laws and reformed the existing ones based on its necessities as opposed to cardinal law (Alemayehu, 2009: 157). Whatever distinct themes rose at local administration levels issues like living, non-living things and spiritual matters are major features of Oromoo law and under normal conditions, they were never inviolable in any stance of reformation activity.

Another important point cited in literature with regard to law making is the religious-philosophical notion mentioned as the five fundaments, *Yaayyaa Shanan.* The concept of *Yaayyaa Shanan* is a deep-seated Oromoo religious-philosophical notion rooted in creation mythology (*dhugeeffannaa*) of the *Waaqeffannaa* religion. According to Gemechu (2005), a scholar in the area, this notion of Oromoo worldview attests Waaqaa's initial creations as spearheaded by five fundaments: the sun, moon, star, land and water. These elements are

believed to have made first appearance in *Waaqeffannaa* creation mythology and pillars imitation to life in many areas. On the basis of these five fundaments correlation arrangement, a different area of the law making process is made to have presents their replication for appropriation. Their molding is compulsory requirement and sign of assertive fulfillment in law making process, in one and different ways (Alemayehu, 2009; Dereje, 2005). For instances, the five themes of cardinal laws of *gadaa:* law of God, Earth, father, mother and *Qaalluu* and, the five *gadaa* parties were organized to their replication. In allegiance to this, tradition in Arsii expresses their law was organically adopted from and enacted on five parts of a bull *(seerri qaama kormaa gurguddoo shan irraa tumame)*. Besides, as presented in the forthcoming discussion, the enactment of Arsii law was spearheaded by five leading persons and many other things are expressed in this five base arrangement.

In the history of the political culture of the Oromoo, as mentioned in literature, the process of law making, formulation and reformations have been undertaken at different *gadaa* periods and by several leading personalities. Some prominent political figures during whose governance period reformation of *gadaa* laws were undertaken are namely Gadayyoo Galgaloo, Dawwee Gobboo(Boorana), Jujee Badhaasaa (Gujii), Makkoo Billii (Macca), Hawaas Ayid (Ituu), and Namoo Dooyyoo, Haru Maaruu, and Cangaree Korboo (Tuulama) (Alemayehu, 2009), Ambatoo Dayyoo (Arsii) (Ginbar, 2010).

Historical studies on early Oromoo of Macca have mentioned prominently the name Makkoo Billii with varying roles and achievements such as great law giver, maker, prophet, reformer, judge, etc. (Mohammed, 1994). The laws are named with the persons led reformation in their respective such as *seera* Makkoo Billii (in 1580s), *Seera* Gadayyoo Galgaloo (Dereje, 2005) and *Seera* Ambaa (Ginbar, 2010). It is mentioned in the literature that reformation is normative practice as *gadaa* went on to cop up prevailing internal and external forces of dynamisms. In most conventional sense, massive act of enactment at any level and degree were initiated out of compelling reasons that felt them strong threat and chaos. Thus, distinctive from every eight years periodic interval reformation, these prominent persons are mentioned to have undertaken and performed immense, comprehensive and lasting ones. These personalities are seen as moralistic in charge of enormous task of *gadaa* laws reformation during their *gadaa* office and gave highly comprehensive law to their people that made them to be memorable across generations. Thus, high-level reformation of law was most usually happening to develop surviving endurance against challenge and problem of insecurity met on the populace and their *Gadaa* values so does the *Seera Ambaa*.

To this point, Endessa (2011) made a clear assertion that reformation of law in Arsii was made at a time of social crisis. On important point mentioned, the formulation of Arsii law, *seera Ambaa* was made and named after the then leading *gadaa* office and great reformer, Ambatoo Dayyoo was prevailing to overcome challenges faced on *gadaa* system particularly due to the increasing influence of Islamic ideology. As it will be disclosed in the forthcoming discussion, this could be partly evident from the names of few prominent individuals directly involved in the law making process at various levels. Such similar clue is made in the work of Alemayehu, et.al (2006) that the 15th pan-Oromoo renaissance and reformation of the nation's law made at Madda Walaabuu was undertaken by the involvement of some individual Oromoo Islamic names.

3. Materials and Methods

Reconstructing history of certain theme of oral community requires a close examination of the available sources: use of oral tradition with written materials. The Oromoo transmit their historical and Cultural knowledge through oral tradition which includes songs, tales, legend, myth, etc. used for this study. Besides, in *Gadaa* system, the Oromoo had a unique method of time computation and the method of transmitting history known as *argaa-dhageettii* (from what they heard and saw).

Like most social science, this study has dealt with culture that involved claims of values and rights. For this purpose, the study has principally employed qualitative research approach of descriptive and narrative styles, and its methods of data extraction both from primary and secondary sources. The different types of data collection tools and techniques mainly interviews, non-participant observation, focus group discussions, and document analysis were the instruments used to obtain reliable data for the study.

Key informants, which comprised commoners (Gadaa leaders, the *Qaalluu/ittii*, head of the *Saddeetaa* assembly) civil servants, etc., were selected on mastery knowledge of the history, culture and *gadaa* values of the society. The interviews were conducted in five districts, namely Kokosa, Dodola, Kofalee, Arsii Roobe and Munessa, where still some survival elements of *Seeraa* Ambaa are recalled, conceptualized and lightly practiced. In these selected places of study area non-participant observations of their insignias and emblems of *gadaa* system and assembly center (*yaa'a saddeetaa)* was undertaken. Helpful official documents, both unpublished and published manuscripts from the districts' Culture and Tourism office, and various scholars of different disciplines were helped to reconstruct a history on marginalized themes of study. However, the work has faced some general limitations on its historcization as desired due to the source deficiencies that are unable to trace the subject in change and continuities time frame.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Some Major Achievements with *Seera Ambaa*

In connection to this law making process, a point most importantly highlighted is the historical Arsii customary law enactment center at *Odaa* Roobaa. Sharing most common *gadaa* laws with other groups of Oromoo in the period from central *caffee* assembly at Madda Walaabuu, the Arsii is made to have *Odaa Roobaa* their local *gadaa* center, a point of their further differentiation and enacted their reformed customary law, *Seera* Ambaa (Mindaye, 2004). *Odaa* Roobaa, which is located in Ginnir in Baalee, had become a prominent *Gadaa* center long before their ancestors formulated *Seera* Arsii (law of the Arsii), the modified version of the original *Seera* Oromoo. In other sources (Eshetu, 2008; Alemayehu, et.al., 2006; Dereje, 2005 & 2012), *Odaa* Roobaa is said to be the center of *gadaa* assembly since c.a. 1116 until it had been intervened due to the increase in islamization of Arsii around 1850s and later by the settlements of Neftenya around this *caffee* center since 1890s (Mindaye, 2004; Ginbar, 2010). Mindaye (2004) mentioned that this Arsii law was made during Roobalee *gadaa,* even though no further reference is given whether to be happening prior or after the great reformation at Madda Walaabuu, during Birmajji. According to oral sources, this particular *gadaa* period when Arsii made its law was one *gadaa* generation or *gogessa* after dispersal of the Oromo from Madda Walaabuu (c.a. 1450) and this is calculated to be made c.a. 1490 (c.a. 1450 + 40). This speculation is again supported in the work of Ginbar.

As normative, reformation of law is key system to ensuring *gadaa* wisdom and its supremacy along with the changing situations and increasing its adaptability capacity (Alemayehu, 2009). Based on the findings, *Seera Ambaa* is a consolidated reformed law of Arsii upon their ancestral law enacted at *Odaa* Roobaa during the Roobalee *Gadaa*. This revised version of Arsii ancestral law was undertaken at its highest point in time (c.a 1490) comprehending most recent themes and values underlain to be essential in their worldview. Oral sources uttered that enactment of this reformed version had predominantly emanated out of the need to updating their members' with necessary issues and capacitating them further towards ensuring harmony within their social and natural environment. The principal reason for launching massive enactment at the time was specifically for enhancing susceptibility and adaptability against challenges prevailed upon their *gadaa* values.

As to elder informants starting sometimes long before Ambatoo handling *gadaa* office c.a 1490, the impacts through conversion to Islamic religious ideology had mounted over *gadaa* values. Endessa (2011) mentioned that the Arsii *gadaa* system was created and reformed at a time of social crises. He goes further that a time at crisis mounted spiritual leaders, elders (with or without divine influence) or a combination of both of these groups recommended that the law and *gadaa* system be created. According to my informants, such as Guyyee Kadir, the head of *yaa'a saddeetaa* at Kokosa during my study and one of the most referred oral informants and the works of anthropologist Mamo Hebo and Lila Qashu indicated that the major challenges of the time was the increasing influence of Islamic religion ideology. This *gadaa* wise-man explained that his 18 elder male ancestors pertaining Muslim name had involved in the enactment of *Seera Ambaa*.

In general, the reformation was outcome of accomplishments undertaken at individual and collective level and accountabilities assumed at varying points. This covers from enumerating themes of the law body content, issuing respective prerogatives for entities comprehended and propounding reinforcement system for its ultimate success.

4.2. Spearheading Personalities and their Roles

As lready mentioned above, the enactment of reformed law was undertaken at the end of the fifth *gadaa,* during the Roobalee *gadaa* (c.a. 1490) cycle, counting/starting from the great reformation at *Madda* Walaabuu that was during Birmajjii (c.a 1450). The term *'Ambaa'* is said to have been derived from the name of a great law giver and reformer, Ambatoo Dayyoo, the founding father and the formulator of the reformed rule. Ambatoo Dayyoo is said to have been the *Abbaa Gadaa* of the Arsii from c, a. 1490 A.D to c. a. 1498 A.D and accountable for revisions of the law under his good *gadaa* leadership and beneath the auspicious of *Gadaa* system and *seera* Madda Walaabuu (Ginbar, 2010). Ambatoo Dayyoo had spearheaded this reformation act like Gadayyo Galgaloo and Makkoo Billii who gave law to their people.

According to informants, this massive reformation program was succeeded through good leadership quality of Ambatoo Dayyoo who is said to be wiser and determinant person in restoring Arsii Oromoo values at its day break time. In the expressions of several informants, his gifted ability added with his determination at mounting time of social crisis saved their values from being simply vanished. Existing tradition related to law making still recall his vestige. His greatness with related law giver legacy recurs in their tradition as importantly as below. This is when a child became disobedient to mother, the mother responds with annoyance saying *eebade Ambatoo Dayyoo!* (Oh, Ambatoo Dayyoo, I am

being derelict!). This warning message implies the paramount place given to the law and his legacy influence.

Based on the sources, this legalo-political history of the Arsii Oromoo made certain strong references to formulation and reformation of laws mainly attributes to some other prominent personalities. Besides Ambatoo, the task had been importantly successful with the involvement of some other personalities who took different active roles at various points in the process of endorsing enactment of the law. Accordingly, the reformation process had comprised five top persons replication of five fundaments with different leading roles and made the tasks succeeded. These namely include: Hambisoo Basoo, Yaboo Ejersoo, Igguu Meerree, Soofumar Hammarraa and Jiraan Baagdaad. Elders claim that the duty of introducing the contents of the rules in reformation in a customary way *Koottu-dhufee* (let you come- I came), which is in Arsii known as *Qora mataa fi miilaa* (speeches on content of the law by two selected persons from the elder and younger clan,) was made by Kadir Yaboo on one side and Sofiya Alii on the other side. Evident individuals with Muslim names did play leading roles in the revival movement. The conversions subsequent demerits on their Oromumma and *gadaa* system had been felt and this challenge compelled reformation after Soofumar Hammarraa, Sofiya Alii, and Kadir Yaboo took prime roles in *Gadaa* reformation.

Similarly, Roobee Beerree is said to have accomplished the *lallaba* (promulgation) of the law climbing on *Odaa Roobaa*. Another person, Hambisoo Basoo is said to have designed the *gadaa* periods from seven at prior to five: Birmajjii (c.a 1450-1457), Bultum (c.a. 1458-1565), Horataa (c.a. 1466-1473), and Bahaaraa (c.a. 1474-1481 and Roobalee (c.a. 1482-1489). The enactment was accomplished having the *lallabaa* (proclamation) and *murtii* (enactment) made during the end of the Robale *gadaa*, after successive completion of five *gadaa* periods commencing from *Birmajji.*

Elders in connection to this recall some figurative women who had anticipated for the making of women's social orders and rules. Besides the great law making male, the process of promulgation had comprehended direct in person female's representative like Omuu Baasee the prince's women (head of *saddeeta Dubartii*-assembly of women in the *gadaa* council) and Loyilaa Waaree is claimed to be *haadha Ateetee (*mother of *Ateetee)* of the period (Ginbar, 2010). The Arsii *gadaa* practices involved women through establishing *saddeeta* assembly entirely constituted by female at its heart and made them to attend what resolutions, decisions and rule passed on behalf of the whole system and feminine in particular. These seemed to be members of the law making organ. Thus, it had succeeded with involvement and organization of several individuals assuming varying roles at different points divided into units of tasks and responsibilities.

4.3. Some Major Body Contents

In terms of body content, the reformed law had comprehended as many as 150 themes covering different issues which constituted bodies of the revised version that served them ensuring coexistence for generations. The contents of revised version were set down by the Arsii *gadaa* assembly met at *Odaa* Roobaa after long time deliberate discussion made at different phases on their past success and challenges. Accordingly, body content of the law was enriched with crammed themes of reinstated versions and newly introduced ideas. Its content-wise development is said to have comprehended themes surpassed on their Arsii ancestral law and addressed their entire-life matters and subsequently, ultimate reference for everything of them is made in light to its jurisdiction. Rules, decisions and enactments upon

acceptance of all themes whether newly installed and reinstated ones after making necessary deliberate were passed on by the assembly.

According to the sources, an important task that the assembly had carried out and informants mentioned is naturalization of new things to their worldview. The law had incorporated fresh themes and issues upon its earlier law setting rules for their administration. In its activity, many new things of both social and natural beings were introduced to their knowledge of law maintaining those processes normative in their tradition. This was the act of blessing newly incorporating ones as naturalization that everything should receive appropriate bless before utilization allowed at any degrees by their members. Things unknown to their *gadaa* is regarded as alien and, thus it is never brought to use prior to getting permissions of the assembly and decisions on its acceptance and rules of utility are passed on public. This strategy was used to provide necessary protection and respect for their perpetual existence in accordance to its role and purposes complying prerogatives.

Based on oral sources, the law had noted down names of entities, things and objects with a required prerogative. Each owed and deserved prerogatives according to its necessities in their perspective areas of life underlying the different functions, roles and purposes of the thing to the society. There are pertaining to be differences in functions and values based status among themes of the law. Some are given more attentions and precedence over others in terms of their values and rules set in respective for its administration.

The main themes were rounding on animals and domesticated plants, major household materials, insignias, social order, marriage, reproductive mammals, crimes and wrongdoings, etc. However, whole-comprehensive account of the law once made afar in the long past and came at downstairs can never be easily secured only through oral informants. Nevertheless, some of the prioritized entities captured in their hands and oral memory are presented as below.

i.   Reinstating *Gadaa* Cardinal Laws (*Seera Ikkee*)

One of the prime of all activities was reinstating cardinal *gadaa* law (*Seera Ikkee*) in which violated supremacy and values would be back to the heart of the society and their solidarity in Oromumma. This was underlain to be ultimately recalled to their attentions beyond any dispute. Cardinal laws include the law of *Waaqaa* (God), *Lafaa/dachee* (Earth), *Abbaa* (the father), *Haadhaa* (the Mother) and *Qaalluu/Qaallittii* (the priest and priestess). Their reinstating was a prime action affiliated to assurance of survival and cohesive continued existence. The assembly recalled its decisions indissolubility through varying forms of sanctioning mechanisms and means of punishment: physical, corporal, withdrawal from land, spiritual and moral impeachment, and material, such as from 5-100 heads of cattle to be paid by the violator.

ii.   The Prerogative of Insignias of Power and Authority

Another focus of *seera ambaa* was act of listing major insignias of ritual, spiritual and political power and authority as among the topmost honored classes and passed rules on the prerogatives for intended purposes, symbolic roles and prohibiting the otherwise. Accordingly, *Siinqee* (a ritual stick)*, Qanafaa* (insignia tied on forehead of women's on deliverance)*, Hanfalaa* (a girdle made from leather)*, Gaadii* (a leather used to tie cow's legs)*, Bokkuu* (scepter of *gadaa* leader) and *kallachaa* (symbol of spiritual leadership were elements received highest intent of the law. The prerogative of ritual insignia was made on behalf of status ascribed to them underlying their particular and special roles symbolizing

and representing higher political, spiritual and social roles and values ultimately protected and defended. Violations will result to wide ranging forms and means of punishment varying from spiritual and moral impeachment to material item.

iii. **The Prerogatives of Assembly of *Gadaa* (*Yaa'a Saddeetaa)* and Male *Saddeeta Dhiiraa) and Women (Saddeeta Dubartii)*Council**

In addition to the Arsii *gadaa* assembly center at *Odaa* Roobaa, numerous clans and sub-clans of Arsii have local *gadaa* sites (*yaa'a*) for temporal and spiritual related activities and these are also among highly respected bodies of the law, both through *seera wayyuu* (spiritual law) and *seera* ambaa (temporal law). Besides, the reformed Arsii law had comprised both separate male (*saddeeta dhiiraa*) and female (*saddeeta dubartii*) assemblies, each was made from 8 individuals of particular sex but attending major *gadaa* assembly, making decision, and passing rules together. As opposed to male assembly, women in Arsii *gadaa* practice had been organized into 8 persons' assembly of women as *saddeeta dubartii*. They seemed to be legislative member of the whole *gadaa* assembly. The reformation noted the legibility and legitimacy of *gadaa* to take and held *yaa'aa* (assembly).

iv. **Prerogatives Related to Marriage and Someone to His/Her Similar and Different Sexual Partner**

Marriage is most important practice in continuing generation tree seeds and formation of strong sustainable relationships and bond to the outside clan. In the marital system, the following insignias and elements: *Siinqee* (insignia for female)*, waddeessa* (insignias for male), *ciicoo* (milk container), *boraatii* (headdress), *geegawoo* (bride price), etc. were identified as fundamental prerequisite and a just fulfillment. It has also mentioned *Soddaa* (a male in-law), *Soddaatii* (a female in-law) and co-wife of one's mother, *Dubartii heerumte* (a married woman), *Dubartii ulfa* (a pregnant woman) and *Dubra Qarree* (the unmarried girl) as revered. This mentioned unmarried, married and pregnant female to have assuming distanced positions, from being approached by male.

v. **The Prerogatives of Some Production Materials and Section of House**

Other elements enumerated with respective prerogatives and rules of use were some major production materials and section of house like *Barcumaa* (seat)*, Dhagaa Daakuu* (grinding stone)*, Dagaggee* (plough) and *Dhagaraa* (axes). Section of their house, namely *Gulantaa* (the inner side of the house) had received rules set on/about its penetrability under specific conditions. This section of house is solely reserved for the wife and prohibited from husband penetrating into this division. Conditions of permissible and impermissible utilization and access characterize the distinct prerogatives assumed by this class. The prerogative protected only for permissible specific utility under the stated conditions and against the otherwise unstated.

vi. **The Prerogatives of *Ganyaa Shanan* (Five Major Reproductive Class)**

The other themes to which enactment made were the five reproductive classes with the name *ganyaa shanan* which mainly refer to their domesticated mammalians. The *Ganyaa Shanan* (the five reproductive mammalians) classes namely comprises: *Ganyaa Namaa* (Woman), *Ganyaa Horii* (Cow), *Ganyaa Fardaa* (Female Horse), *Ganyaa Hoolaa* (Female Sheep) and *Ganyaa Gaalaa* (Female Camel). *Ganyaa Shanan* were female mammalians identified for their reproductive quality and irreplaceable roles in securing offspring and continuing generation tree seeds. Referring Oromo worldview, Ginbar (2016) asserted that 'wet womb'

attribution is linked to feminine realm and they are coupled to 'life-giving', nurturing and raising infant, as opposed to male's 'life-taking' militarist, hunters and defender tasks of laborious and muscular. The two topmost security matters in Oromo worldview are continuing generation and defense. While non-crossable lines are ensured protection, ultimate respect and evaded embittering. But, this area is most erroneously misinterpreted and prejudicially presented in some gender related studies as all prove evidence for undermining human same to this category of domesticated animals mainly mother horse. The researchers' weakness to understand the subject within from historical and cultural context instead of their own academic perspectives and western theory drove them to make such wrong conclusions (Hirut, 2000).

vii. *Saddeettan Mukkeen Seeraa* (Eight trees of law)

The other theme received highest prerogatives was trees of law which were known with a name *saddeettan mukkeen seeraa (*the eight trees of law). These include: *Harooressaa (grewa bicolor)*, *Heexoo, Waddeessaa* (*Cordial Africana)*, *Hidheessaa (Juniperus procera)*, *Garabmaa (hypericum revolutum), Daannisaa, Shifaa* and *Bulchaanaa*. They were identified for their socio-cultural, political and religious life roles shaped to those major insignias and objects representing premier power and authority. Accordingly, sticks like *siinqee* and *waddeessa* hold during weeding by female and male were made from *Harooreessa* and *Waddeessaa* trees respectively and *Qanafaa (*tied on forehead*)* from *Bilchaanaa* or *Garambaa* are used to symbolize respects for women. *Heexoo* tree was identified by its significances to medicate their human population and Garambaa and Bilchaanaa were identified for spiritual healing and ritual purposes (*fala*). These trees were only used for making the insignias alone so that they were prohibited from being used for another purposes through rules set to administer and protect their prerogatives. Even, their cutting for established purpose itself was approached under conditions prescribed with rules set, and they can be utilized with permission of elders (*saddeeta yaa'aa*). Misuse and abuse immediately results in paying seven standing cattle.

viii. The Prerogatives of Some Major Social Class and Space

In addition to what have been presented above, rules were also made to address the social status of some sections of the society with objects and materials respective to their career such as the *Waataa* (the eldest clan) with its *Cabbii/Botowaa* (insignia made from stick, *elella* (cowries shell) is sowed on a leather tied at its bottom), *Kallachaa* (highly respected insignia) for the *Qaalluu, Buufaa* (made from leather) for the *Tumtuu* (iron smiths), *Bokkuu* for the *Abbaa Gadaa* and Dhaddachaa *Ateetee* (assembly) for the Women. The social classes and material coupled are legible to the other only and thus, reciprocal relationships are defined and established in accordance.

ix. *Murtii Seera Gumaa* (Institutionalization of Reparation)

One of the major achievements further initiated in the period was the inauguration of well-established *gumaa* institution and resolving problems realized prior due to the absence of an organized institution for punishment against wrongdoers (Ginbar, 2010). As elders mentioned earlier, everybody who committed a crime, regardless of his/her degree of action was definitely put to death, which is termed as *Qucee* (death penalty). All types of scandalous like murderer, theft, kidnapper, adultery, insult, rebellion and disobedience were simply punished in death through this system which is said to have mainly victimized families, especially a mother who would have a single son only. This was until it came later revised to the custom of *dhibba dhiibuu* or *golba guutuu* (driving hundreds to fill a

cleavage), in which the wrongdoer and his/her clan drove thousands of cattle into a cleavage for compensation. The system of *golba guutuu* was evolved to the well-established *gumaa* institution, payment in cattle according to the damages he/she caused on entities identified with the rightful statutes and different among parts of bodies. *Gumaa* rule also included some domesticated animals and plants. Besides, anyone who refuses to hand off a spear during a conflict and broken or tease at the *Siinqee* and *Qanafaa* is said to have paid seven cattle.

x. Prerogative of Some Selected Domesticated Animals and Plants

There have also been prerogatives of domesticated animals and plants; the *caffee* assembly had passed decision which the tradition explains as *gadaan waan shanan murte* (the five things for which *gadaa* had made rules). These include *Loon* (Cows), *Hoolaa* (Sheep), *Sangaa Farda* (Horse bull), *Kanniisa* (Bees) and *Garbuu* (Barley). A rule of utility was set on each of them as to how their treatment and use of their products for ritual purposes. Accordingly, while cow was used only for milk provision, sheep were slaughtered for ritual purposes, bull horse was for cavalry, bees produced honey to prepare ritual mead and barley was used to prepare ritual and ceremonial food. Using these for otherwise and different purposes is unlawful and dire mistreatment as against their established positions and causes socio-cultural, legal and spiritual responsibilities.

xi. Prerogative of Ritual Foods

During the reformation, indigenous foods all prepared from Barley soaked with better mainly *Cuukkoo, Qorii, Micciirraa,* etc. were enumerated receiving necessary bless and utility prerogatives. They were made to accompanying and attending any major events and including drinking like *buqqili* have been used during marriage and other ritual ceremonies. The Arsii formulation of *Seera Ambaa* showed their crop cultivation practices mainly Barley along the pastoralist form of life as early as in the 15th (c.a. 1400 A.D) century.

xii. *Wayyoomaa* (sacred/ness) Ascription to the themes

One of the most principal concepts widely appearing in narrations related to *Seera* Ambaa is *wayyuu*. The term is used to describe things venerated positions through religious dimensions and its interpretations. *Wayyuu/wayyoomaa* implies sacred (Mamo, 2006; Leila, 2016). It is a deep-seated religious-philosophical thought describing and ascribing ultimate respect, protections and veneration for things through its socio-cultural, religious, ritual and political decisiveness. Anything *wayyuu* has occupied un-surrendered respects on spiritual, moral, physical and material ground. *Wayyuu* is more concerned with spiritual life dimensions and law of the area. The reformation ascribed numerous things *wayyoomaa* (sacredness) in names, utility and accompanied by prerogatives.

In the works of Mamo (2006) and Leila (2016), the Arsii customary law has temporal and spiritual dimensions termed as *seera* ambaa and *seera wayyuu* respectively to identify people's secular law from spiritual law. Explaining both have different specialists while a temporal people's law (*seera* ambaa) expert is named *hayyuu,* the scared or spiritual law (*seera wayyuu*) is *wayyuu*. But, both *seera* ambaa and *wayyuu* are beneath the *gadaa* system to which the assembly at *Odaa* Roobaa made a prerogative under its banner distinctively. Varying degrees of *wayyoomaa* were attributed to various things, elements and objects enumerated during the promulgation and thus it is bad, sin, immoral and illegal to violate the *wayyuu* and those identified with *wayyoomaa. Wayyoomaa* was alternative means of

ensuring respect, positions, social roles and corresponding prerogatives entitled to the themes through temporal law and sanctioning violations both together as a unified one.

4.4. *Seera* Ambaa as a Periodization System

The Arsii enactment is important point in their knowledge of periodization. The reformation is also serving as a reference source differentiating entities and beings familiar to their world at that time from then unrecognized. Accordingly, in the past, the Arsii used the term *Dayyoo-Dagayyoo duraafi Dayyoo-Dagayyoo booda* (before and after Dayyoo Dagayyoo) to identify items domesticated and adopted earlier from those late appearing. In their periodization system, *Dayyoo-Dagayyoo duraa* implies the whole prior period act of enactment and those entities recognized in their legal codification system with necessary prerogatives like *gumaa* rights and *Dayyoo-Dagayyoo booda* is used to refer to species known to them later and not recognized in their own rules of domestication. According to elders, the term *Dayyoo-Dagayyoo* refers to the father of Ambatoo, who is remembered as the founding father of the Arsii law five *gadaa*s (40 years) prior to his son.

Accordingly, entities identified in the aforementioned discussions are domesticated beings and recognized by their law as opposed to others discovered and joined their worldview later after the reformation. Those late lacked rules of administration and prerogatives include Boqqolloo (Maize), *Harree* (Donkey), *Jirbii* (Cotton) and *Misingaa* (Sorghum). This method is used to indicate things in their order of appearance as they were belonging either to prior or after enactment. This endogenous classification method of placement, 'the old and new species', is based on their period of domestication.

4.5. *Seera Ambaa*: In Continuities and Its Prospects

The enactment of *seera ambaa* at *Odaa* Roobaa during the Roobalee gadaa around 1490s marked an important historical signal in Arsii. Strong assertion is currently made that the act has been emanated out of their ultimate motives of securing stability and assuring continued existence within themselves coming over instability on their *gadaa* system. This act is a normative practice for the *gadaa* system. However, with a difference in degrees, extents and depth at every *gadaa* cycle patterned revision of laws and rules of the reformation of *seera ambaa* were quite distinctly influential in political-legal history of Arsii with the places deserved in their memory and practice. Contrarily, revision of customary law was not something new to them the reformation of *seera ambaa* was so massive and abiding. Many important values retained in the hands of the Arsii at currently made their rejuvenation source to *seera ambaa*. To the level of my sources, this law is the sole prominent one that has deserved much respect and formed more acquaintance than at every *gadaa* period ever made laws.

Sources are not in a position to informing whether such reputable reformation act was undertaken before and after Ambatoo. This seemed to be the reason why the tradition survived in some parts consulted for this study still recalls solely his law making greatness. However, long after, the development close to 1850s marked the increase in islamization of Arsii paved the way for disinterest to its watchful center, Abbaa Muudaa (father of anointment) of Dalloo, and supremacy of *seeraa ambaa*. The center was predominantly accountable watching health functions of *gadaa* and Oromoo values.

This was further worsened by Menelik's conquest of Arsii land since end of the 1880s and prohibition of cultural practices and *gadaa,* led to demising of the Oromoo socio-political system (Leila, 2016). Overall, asides to the past historical injustice, contemporary expanding

religions like Wahibism and Protestantism, other externally infused ideas and practices are precipitated its little competitiveness. Following this, a complete blackout of the *gadaa* system has declined.

The system disappeared more or less completely in certain areas, while in other locales continues to be practiced, remembered, and used through meetings and ceremonies. Some of its values retained prominence in few areas, however, has no longer reassumed much socio-political importance (Leila, 2016).

Against the aforementioned development, Mamo (2006) elucidated that Arsii Oromoo frequently make distinction between *seera ambaa* and *seera mootummaa* (the state laws) which they sometimes refer to as *seera diinaa* (laws of the 'enemy'). As a point to its aliveness at a present, *seera ambaa* is distinguished from both the laws of the state and customary laws of other non-Oromoo people.

Leila (2016) also noted some surviving values of *seera ambaa* are still winding at the hearts of their various life aspects. Some vestiges have still remained at a grass root level, at the very least as a social and cultural concept. Among the Arsii, different aspects of *gadaa* are referenced in conversations, dispute resolution processes, and ceremonies of *Gadaa*, passage from one age group to another practiced every eight years in some Arsii areas. These are promissory measures and attempts currently apparent to reinstate and revitalize some *gadaa* values.

5. **Conclusion**

Oromoo people are law officiated society in their normative tradition. Their life values are judiciously circumscribed to egalitarian *gadaa* system which is rule of law-based governance and administration system. Cyclic of *Gadaa* power transition is preceded, accompanied by and completed with reformation on its laws and rules. Thus, Gadaa assembly at all time and during every *gadaa* cycle undertook necessary revision activities varying from modest to grand renovation upon existing laws. *Seera Ambaa* had been revised by the Arsii *gadaa* assembly held at *Odaa* Roobaa as part of this development.

The customary law comprised of many themes mentioned and enumerated in names and identified from other by the type of prerogatives endowed as a legal being. The themes were higher class beings and sacred emanated out of their ultimate motives of securing peace and stability, necessitated their life and determining their existence in universe.

Seera Ambaa is the most recent reformed version of Arsii law named after the then leading person, Ambatoo Dayyoo who took spearheading role on reformation and set ahead of generations perpetuated legacy in the history of the populace. It is enduring and memorable one that nothing as transformative as *seera ambaa* seemed to have been recurred. It is as such that why still some of its vestige appears.

The themes' management was put under legal jurisdiction and subjective conditions. Though the customary law was mentioned in the name of a person who led the then *gadaa* office and spearheaded the reformation, it had not ended to rule man and despotic system. The law is named in his name for the reason that he seemed to have taken a prime dedication to come over the problem. In addition, the reformed version continued to be alternatively named as the Arsii law. The law is repudiated effectively keeping their coexistence and maintaining their unity under its banner till mid of the 19th century. However, it has sadly lost historical continuity and centrality due to impositions of alien values.

The decline of Arsii *gadaa* system of governance has led to loss of its strong holds, submerged down to grass root level and gradually undermined in its dominance. As the result, its visage is haphazardly reflected in life at varying levels and degrees among the areas covered in the study. Irrespective of the past diminishing reasons, its values are not totally uprooted from all fields of life at a grass root level till more recent. In those selected few districts of Arsii covered in the study, some of its elements are presented during the Arsii *gadaa* assembly (*yaa'a saddeetaa).* Considering the prevailing interests of the local people, there should be support in revitalizing its anchorage of the *gadaa* system. The extents of Oromoo political-legal and governance is principally connected to *Gadaa* system, and its ancillary institutions are underwent revival today, studies should supplement Oromoo values general revitalization efforts.

This study focused on Arsii gadaa values and reformed law revealed in the historical life of the Oromoo contributing to democratization process. From academic point of view, the study will make worth contribution upon marginally studied and propounded Oromoo themes. But, since it is not exhaustive, there is still needed to dig out and enrich the area further.

In some parts of the Arsii land, since some *gadaa* values are under revitalization recently, there is needed to take various contents of the law into consideration to make the area fully-fledged. Even though many of its elements are lost and declined in history, there is suggestion that reinstating the Arsii knowledge of law is important to supplement contemporary development programs through their indigenous wisdom.

Acknowledgments

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Akkaataa Himiinsa Durdurii OromooTuulamaa

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Axereeraa

Qorannoo kana mata duricharratti gaggeessuuf dhimmoota sababa ta'an keessaa inni guddaan akkaataa himiinsa durduriirratti hojiin hojjetame bal'inaan kan hinjirre ta'uusaati. Kanaafuu, kaayyoo gooroon qorannoo kanaa akkaataa himiinsa durdurii Oromoo Tuulamaa qaaccessuudha. Kaayyoo kana galmaan ga'uudhaaf mala qorannoo akkamtaatti fayyadamuudhaan odeeffannoon afgaaffii, daawwannaafi marii gareetiin walitti qabame. Durduriin waraabbii sagaleetiin walitti qabame barreeffamatti jijjiiramee waraqaa kana keessatti hojiirra oolee jira. Yaaxxinni qorannichi bu'uureffatamee gaggeeffame yaaxxina bifiyyee (formalist theory)ti. Odeeffannoo argamerraa ka'uudhaan durduriin Oromoo Tuulamaa akkaataa baniinsaafi cufiinsa beekamaa akka qabu, innis yemmuu jalqaban durdur …, dur namatu ture…, bara durii… jedhanii akka jalqabaniifi yemmuu guduunfan ammoo '…akkas jedhamaa hoodhu' '…jedhama' akka jedhanidha. Qooddattoonni hangaftoonniifi yoomessi jalqaba durduriirratti dhihaatu. Seenessaan yemmuu seenaa sana himu jechoota, gaaleefi himoota irra deddeebi'a. Irra deddeebiin kun akkaataa himiinsa durdurii Oromoo keessatti beekamaafi faayida qabeessa. Walumaagalatti, Durduriin Oromoo Tuulamaa akkaataa himiinsaa nama hawatu kan qabu ta'uusaa hojii kanarraa hubachuun nidanda'ama. Akkaataan himiinsaa kun dagatamaa kan dhufuufi jijjiiramuu kan danda'u waan ta'eef akka jiruun waraabanii osoo olkaa'anii gaaridha.

Jechoota Ijoo - *akkaataa himiinsaa, durdurii, Oromoo Tuulamaa*

Abstract

This study explores the narrative style of Tuulama Oromoo Oral Prose Narratives. The basic objective is to reveal the overriding styles employed in performing the narration of Tuulamaa Oromoo prose narratives. To meet this end, data were collected from fieldwork using qualitative research methods. The techniques that were employed to collect data include interview, observation and focus group discussion. Transcription of the recorded narratives in tape recorder was made and the analysis was carried out using the theory of Formalism as a framework. The findings reveal that the oral prose narratives are marked by opening/ beginning and closing/ ending styles. In opening style, major characters and setting are introduced. In addition, phrases like…once upon a time or long ago…there was a certain person…, are used. Story tellers usually use words, phrases and sentences. Repetitions are common and very important in Tuulamaa Oromoo oral prose narratives. The styles employed in the performance of Tuulamaa Oromoo oral prose narratives appear to add beauty/ attraction to the events of the narratives. The study implicates that, unless they are collected and documented, the narrative styles could be forgotten in the course of the dynamics.

Keywords- *style, Tuulamaa Oromoo, oral, prose, narratives*

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1. Seensa

Akkaataa himiinsa durdurii kanarratti qorannoo akkan gaggeessu kan na kakaase dhimmoota itti aananii dhihaatani. Inni duraa durduriiwwan walitti qabamanii argaman kanniin yemmuun dubbisu oduu warra durii ta'uu isaanii malee walitti dhufeenya isaanii, garaagarummaa isaan gidduu jiru, waa'ee qooddattoota achi keessatti hirmaatanii sirriitti ibsamee hinarganne. Akkaataa durduriin kunniin ittiin himamanis bal'inaan qoratamee hinargine. Kanaafuu, durdurii walitti qabee akkaataa himiinsaa yaaxxina bifiyyee (formalist theory) fayyadamuudhaan bal'inaan qo'achuufi kanarra dhaabbachuudhaan kanneen duraan walitti qabamaniifis kallattii agarsiisuufan karoorfadhe.

Ka'umsi koo inni biroon mata dureen kun haaraa ta'uun isaafi kallattii kanaan qorannoo bal'aan yoo gaggeeffame durdurii hojii barsiisuu keessatti itti fayyadamuuf haala mijeessuu akka danda'u hubachuu kooti. Kanaafuu, kaayyoo gooroon qorannoo kanaas akkaataa himiinsa durdurii Oromoo Tuulamaa addeessuudha. Kaayyoo kana jalattis qabxiileen xiyyeeffannaa argatan haala baniinsaafi cufiinsa durdruii, qooddattoota, yoomessafi irra deddeebiifaa ta'a.

Akkaataan himiinsa durdurii dhimmoota baay'ee of jalatti hammachuu danda'a. Hojiin kun garmalee bal'atee to'annaadhaan ala akka hintaaneef garuu daangessuun barbaachisaa ta'ee argame. Kanaafuu, waraqaa kana keessatti akkaataa himiinsa durdurii ija yaaxxina bifiyyeetiin qeeqamuu danda'an keessaa baniinsaafi cufiinsa durdurii, qooddattoota, yoomessafi irra deddeebii qofarratti daangessuun barbaachisaa ta'ee argamee jira. Kanneen hafan waraqaa biroo keessatti ilaaludhaaf karaa saaqeen bira darba. Yaaxxinni dhimma kana hojiirra oolchuuf filatames yaaxxina bifiyyee qofa.

2. Sakatta'iinsa Barruu

Gara ibsa akkaataa himiinsa durduriitti osoo hinseeniin dura jecha durdurii jedhu kana gabaabsinee ilaaluun gaarii ta'a. Jechi durdurii jedhu kun madda garagaraarratti 'oral narratives, oral prose narratives' jedhamee argamuu danda'a. Jechoonni kun isa tokko akka bakka bu'an hayyoonnii ibsanis jiru. Fakeenyaaf, barreessaan Bauman (1992:117) jedhamu, "Folktales are oral narratives…," jedha. Asirraa wanti hubatamu jechi durdurii (folktales) jedhu him-afaaniin (oral narratives) bakka bu'uu akka danda'u nutti mul'isa. Yaanni kun akka ibsa ykn akka hiika durduriittis nu fayyaduu danda'a. 'Durduriin him-afaani' jechuun kan afaaniin himamu; dubbii afaaniiti; dhimma odeeffamu jechuudha.

Dorson (1972:58) ammoo, "Folk narratives encompasses all genres of oral literature in prose," jedha. Akka yaada kanaatti durduriin gosoota og-afaanii ta'anii kan haala hololootiin dhihaatan hundaa kan hammatu ta'a. Gosoota og-afaanii kan haala hololootiin dhihaatan kamfaadha yoo jedhame ammoo kanneen akka himtee, durdurii bineessotaa, durdurii ekeraa, durdurii gowwomsoofi seen-dubbiifaa eeruun nidanda'ama. Warra haala hololootiin dhihaatu malee warra haala walalootiin dhihaatan kanneen akka geerarsaa, sirba jaalalaafi faaruu looniifaa kan dabalatu miti. Akka yaada kanaatti durduriin seen-dubbiifi himtees nihammata jechuudha. Kanaafuu, dururiin qaama og-afaanii ta'ee haala hololootiin gosoota dhihaatan kan hammatu ta'uu isaa hubachuuf yaanni kun karaa gaarii nutti mul'isa.

Qabxiin biroo durdurii ilaalchisee kan ka'u qoqqooddii isaati. Okpewho (1992) haala durdurii ittiin qoqqoodan bakka afuritti hiree dhiheessa. Inni jalqabaa hirmaattota bebbeekamoo durduriirratti hundaa'udhaan (on the basis of protagonists) ta'a. Lammaffaan qabiyyee durduriirratti hundaa'udhaan qoqqooduu yoo ta'u sadaffaan amaloota durduriirratti xiyyeeffachuudhaan qoqqooduu ta'a. Qooddii arfaffaan hayyuu kanaan kaa'ame haala

durduriin keessatti himamu (context), wayitii itti seeneffamu (occasion) irratti hundaa'uudhaan ta'a. Durdurii qoqqoduuf haalli mijataadha jedhamee yaadamu arfan kanneen ta'anis qoqqooddii kana keessatti garuu yaadonni tokko tokko addaan baasudhaaf kan nama rakkisan ta'anii argamu. Akka fakkeenyaatti jechoonni akka seen-dubbiifi ('legend') raagamtaa ('myth'), durdurii goch-seenaa ('epic tale'), durdurii namaa 'human tale' jedhaman qooddiiwwan eeraman jalatti ramaduuf rakkisaa akka ta'an hubachuun nidanda'ama.

Qoqqooddii ilaalchisee yaada biroo kan dhiheesse Dorson (1972: 59) ta'a. Innis, "…a perfect classification based on form, content, and function would hardly be possible," jedha. Yaanni kun ammoo isa Okpewho sanas kan diigu ta'uu danda'a. Durdurii qoqqoodudhaaf qabiyyee, caasaafi faayidaa isaaniirratti hundaa'uun ga'aa miti jechuudha. Jarreen kanarratti hundaa'anii qoqqoodudhaan qooddii guutudha jechuun rakkisaa ta'uu nuhubachiisa. Asirraatti garuu durdurii qoqqooduun hindanda'amu jechuu osoo hintaane qoqqooddiin isaa ammam ulfaataa akka ta'e agarsiisuuf yaada dhihaatedha. Egaa durdurii qoqqooduurratti barreessitoonni hedduun kan qooda fudhatan yemmuu ta'u odeeffannoo dabalataatiif namni barbaade hojii Propp (1968) dubbisuu nidanda'a.

Moggaasaafi qoqqooddii kana gara Afaan Oromoottis yoo finnu akkasuma rakkisaadha. Durdurii, Oduu Durii, Mammaaksa, him-afaan jechuudhaan maqaalee addaddaatiin yemmuu waamamu dhageenya. Qorannoo kana keessatti kan dhihaate jecha Afaan Oromootiin 'durdurii' Afaan Ingiliiziitiin ammoo 'oral prose narrative' jedhamu ta'a. Durduriin 'oral prose narrative' bakka bu'a jedhamee sababni filatameef kitaabota Biiroon Aadaafi Turiizimii Oromiyaa (1995) qopheesse keessatti gosoonni kanneen akka himtee/ raagamtaa (myth), seen-dubbii (legends), sheekkoofi (fables) kan biroo waan argamaniifi. Hundasaanii walitti qabanii 'durdurii' jedhanii moggaasanii jiru. Kun ammoo yaada Dorson (1972) kaa'e, og-afaan haala hololootiin dhihaatan hunda kan walitti qabatu 'oral narratives' jedhe sanaan walsima.

Mee ammammoo akkaataa himiinsa durdurii yaa ilaallu. Yaanni akkaataa himiinsaa (style) jedhu kun beektota biratti hiikni tokko qofa kan laatameef miti. Akkaataa himiinsaarratti hayyoonni adda addaa (keessattuu hayyoonni afaanirratti hojjetan) yaada garagaraa qabu. Kuun akkaataan xiinqooqaan kan walqabatu jedhu. Kuun ammoo namicha barreessu ykn dubbatu sana kan ilaalu jedhu. Dhimmoota hedduu ofkeessatti hammachuu danda'a warreen jedhanis jiru. Dhimmoota sanniin keessaa kanneen akka ergaa, akkaataa ittiin ergaa sana dhaggeeffattootaafi dubbistoota biraan geenyu, jechoota, afaan, dubbii qolaa, qooddattootafaa kan hammatu jedhu. Yaada kanas Leech fi Short (1981:11) yoo ibsan, "…style can be applied to both spoken and written, both literary & non-literary varieties of language," jedhan. Akkaataa haala itti fayyadama afaan barreeffamaa ykn kan afaan dubbii ta'uu danda'a. Afaan kun ammoo hojii kalaqaa (literary) ykn al-asoosama (non-literary) ta'uu danda'a. Hojiin kalaqaa kun kanneen akka ogafaanii ta'uu danda'a. Ogafaan jalatti kan argamu, durduriinis kalaqa hawaasaati. Hojii kalaqaatiin ala kan ta'aniifi dhugaa guyyaa guyyaan arguu dandeenyu kan ibsu al-asoosama. Egaan akkaataan himiinsaa hojii ogbarruus ta'ee hojii kalaqaan ala ta'an hubachuuf nu gargaara jechuudha.

Karaa birootiin akkaataadhaaf beektonni hiika garagaraa kennan jechuun maalummaan isaa hinbeekamu jechuu miti. Yaad-rimeen (concept) akkaataa himiinsaa qorannoo kanaaf bu'uura ta'eefi inni beektotaan deeggarame laatamee jira. Yaad-rimee hayyootaafi inni qorannoo kanaaf bu'uura ta'es kan Leechfi Short (1981:10) yoo ilaalle, "Style refers to the way in which language is used in a given context by a given person for a given purpose," kan jedhu arganna. Yaanni kun akkaataan haala itti fayyadama afaanii naannoo murtaa'e

tokkotti namni tokko faayidaa tokkoof itti gargaaramudha. Itti fayyadama afaanii yemmuu jedhamu ammoo qoddattoota, irra deddeebii yoomessaafi jaargocha kan ilaalu ta'uu danda'a. Dubbii qoolaafaas dabalachuu danda'a.

Akkaataa himiinsa durdurii keessatti qabxii ilaalamuu qaban keessaa tokko kan ta'e irra deddeebii ilaaluunis murteessaadha. Namni durdurii himu yeroo baay'ee jechoota yookin gaalee yookiinis himoota irra deddeebi'eet ibsa. Kanas Dorson (1972:61) yemmuu ibsu, "Repetition of passages sequences or the whole narrative adventure is essential to tale structure itself, and also provides a tread for the narrator in his composition techniques as he puts flesh on the tale skeleton," jedha. Akka yaada barreessaa kanaatti irra deddeebiin durdurii keessatti baay'ee barbaachisaadha. Jecha, gaalee ykn yaada guutuu akkuma jirutti irra deddeebi'uudhaan ibsuun caasaa durdurii akka walqabatee deemuuf nifayyada; nama durdurii himuufis yaadonni akka addaan hinciccinneef gargaara; warra dhaggeeffatuufillee yaadas ta'ee qoddattoota osoo hinirraanfatiin akka hordofaniif nigargaara jechuudha. Irra deddeebiin durdurii keesstti iddoo baay'eetti argama. Kunis miira dhaggeeffattootaa harkisuuf qofa osoo hintaane durduriin akka gabbatuufis tajaajiluu nidanda'a. Namni durdurii himu (tale teller or narrator) yemmuu irra deddeebi'u sana gocha adda addaa uumuudhaan (fakkeenyaaf, aggaamuu, ija babaasuu) mimmi'eessuu waan danda'uuf durdurii sana nigabbisa.

Irra deddeebii kana ilaalchisuudhaan Christiansen (1999) gama isaatiin durduriin amala irra deddeebii qabaachuu isaa ibsee irra deddeebiin kunis gaalee akka ta'eefi waliin dubbiirratti akka bal'inaan mul'atu addeesse. Qoddattoonni durdurii keessatti hirmaatan waliin dubbatu. Yemmuu waliin dubbatan sana ammoo irra deddeebi'u. Isuma jalqaba gaafate ammas deebisee gaafata. Inni ibsa laatus nuffii tokko malee irra deebi'ee itti hima. Asumaan irra deddeebiinis itti fufa jechuudha.

Akkaataa himiinsa durdurii waliin kan deemuu malu amaloota durduriiti. Amaloota durdurii ilaalchisuudhaan hayyoonni garagaraa yaada dhiheessanii jiru. Hayyoota sanniin keessaa Sumner (1996), Christiansen (1999), Dorson (1972), Thompson (1977), Bauman (1992)fi kanneen biroo eeruun nidanda'ama. Amaloota durdurii keessaa kallattumaan durdurii Oromoorratti kan barreesse Sumner (1996:253) akka ibsetti haalli qoddattoonni ittiin hirmaatan beekamaadha. Akkaataan durduriin qoddattoota fayyadamee seenicha fuulduratti ittiin tarkaanfachiisus isuma kana akka ta'e ibsee jira. Hojii qorannoo kanaa keessatti garuu qoddattoonni durdurii sadi, afur jennee qofa kan dhaabnu miti. Qoddattoota sagal kan qabus waan jiruuf lakkoofsaan murteessuun rakkisaa ta'a.

Qabxiin biroo kan xiyyeeffannoo argachuu qabu yaaxxina qorannichi kun ittiin gaggeeffame. Yaaxxina gaariifi filatamaa ta'e filachuudhaan itti fayyadamuun rakkisaa akka ta'e hayyoonni ni'ibsu. Kuni ammoo keessattuu ogafaan qorachuurratti mul'ata. Kanaafis yaada itti aanee dhihaate kana xiinxaluun gaaridha. "Choice of theory in the study of African oral literature has been and still remains problematic. This is because scholars in this field have not ventured into inventing theories that would be directly relevant to the field." (Muleka, 2014: 91) Akka yaada kanaatti ogafaan Afrikaa qorachuudhaaf yaaxxina sirrii filatanii itti fayyadamuurratti hanqinni akka jiruudha. Karaa birootiin hojii qorannoo tokkootiif yaaxxina sirrii ta'e filatanii itti fayyadamuun murteessaa ta'uu yaanni kun cimsee nugorsa.

Qorannoo kanaafis yaaxxinni filatamaan yaaxxina bifiyyee akka ta'uu qabu itti yaadamee murtaa'e. Yaaxxina bifiyyee kana ammoo Hayyoonni gara Dhihaa (Western formalist) deeggaraniifi kanneen warra Raashiyaa deeggaran qabxiileen irratti adda adda ta'an nijiru. Hojii kana keessatti yaaxxina bifiyyee warra Raashiyaa bu'uureffachuudhaan kan hojjetame ta'a. Sababni isaas yaada Gray (1984) dhiheesse ta'uu mala. Innis yaaxxinni bifiyyee Raashiyaa akkaataa himiinsaarratti kan xiyyeefatu

ta'uunsaa isa tokko. Inni biroon hayyumti kun unkaafi tekiniikarratti kan xiyyeeffatu ta'ee dhimmoota akka seenduubaa hawaasummaafi siyaasaaf iddoo guddaa kan hinlaanne ta'uusaa ibsa. Hojii kana keessattis dhimmoonni seenduubaan walqabataniifi seenaa durduriifaa kan hinilaalle ta'uusaati. Xiyyeeffannaa guddaan akkaataa himiinsaarratti ta'uunsaa yaaxxina kana akka bu'uureffatamu taasisa.

3. Malleen Qorannoo

Qorannoon kun gosoota qorannoo keessaa akkamtaatti (qualitative research) dhimma ba'uudhaan gaggeeffame. Malli kun hojiirra akka oolu sababni barbaachiseef akkaataa himiinsa durdurii qorachuuf nama durdurii sana himu biratti qaamaan argamuun murteessaa ta'uu isaati. Qaamaan biratti argamuu qofa osoo hintaane dammaqinaan dhaggeeffachuu sagalee seenessaa guutuu waraabbachuufi sochii qaamaa namni sun taasisu viidiyoodhaan waraabuun baay'ee barbaachisaadha. Kuni ammoo irra deddeebii jechaa, gaaleefi himaa namni durdurii seenessu sun taasisu argachuuf fayyada. Sochiin qaamaa inni taasisus bu'aa qaba. Kanaafuu, odeeffannoo qorannoo akkanaatiif afgaaffiifi daawwannaa fayyadamuun murteessaadha jechuudha. Yaada kanaaf ragaa gaarii kan ta'u barreessitoonni akka Finnegan (1992)fi Okpewho (1992) mala kana gargaaramanii ogafaan qorachuun dhimmicha gadifageenyaan hubachuuf akka nama fayyadu ibsanii jiru. Dabalataanis Addunyaa (2011)fi Dastaan (2013) malli qorannoo akkamtaa kun nama odeeffannoo afgaaffiifi daawwannaadhaan funaanuu barbaaduuf barbaachisaa akka ta'e ibsanii jiru. Odeeffannoon qorannoo kanaas hojii aloola (fielwork) irraa haala kanaan argame waan ta'eef malli akkamtaa hojiirra oole jechuudha.

Odeef-kennitoota kanan argadhe manguddoota naannoo jiran keessatti. Oduu durii, mammaaksa, jaarsummaa, aadaa hawaasichaa nibeeka jedhanii kan isaan naaf eeran gaafachuudhaanan jalqabe. Manguddoonni ani odeeffannoo kana irraa argadhe sunniinis durdurii amma yaadatan natti himanii jiru. Odeef-kennitoonni naaf eeraman sunniinis (warrin argadhe) nama biraa naa eerani. Kanaafuu, iddattoon qorannoo kanaa iddattoo eerummaa yookin dabraa dabarsuu (snowball sampling) kan jedhamu ta'a jechuudha.

Durdurii odeef-kennitootarraa argaman sanniin teeppidhaan waraabbadhe. Isa teeppidhaan waraabame kana baay'inaan osoon aloolaa hindeebi'inan bar-afaanitti deebise. Sababni ani idduma sana osoon jiruu bar-afaanitti jijjiireef yaanni naaf hingaliin yoo jiraateefi teeppiidhaan yoo waraabamu sagaleen hindhaga'amne yoo jiraate achumatti fooyyessuuf akka naa mijatuufi. Akka walii galaatti durdurii shantama kanan walitti qabe hunda isaaniituu barreeffamatti jijjiiree (transcribe) teessiseen jira. Isaan barreeffamatti deebise sanniin hundaa irra deddeebi'ee dubbisuudhaan dhimman barbaadu sanaaf kanneen naaf ta'an filadhee hojii kana keessatti itti fayyadameen jira.

Malli qaaccessa ragaalee qorannoo kanaa qaaccessa addeessaa (descriptive analysis) kan jedhamu. Kunis durdurii walitti qabame keessaa akkaataa himiinsaa ragaadhaaf kan oolu qaama durduriirraa murachuudhaan sirriitti ibsuu ta'a. Ibsi sun akkaataa durduriin ittiin himamu akkuma durdurii fakkeenyaaf dhihaateetti kennama malee durdurii jiran hunda bakka bu'a jechuu waan hintaaneef gadi fageenyaan addeessama.

4. Qaaccessa Ragaalee

Durduriiwwan odeef-kennitootarraa funaanaman xiinxallee yoo ilaallu akkaataa himiinsaa ittiin beekaman qabu. Akkaataan himiinsaa qorannoo kana keessatti irratti xiyyeeffatame baniinsaafi cufiinsa durdurii, hirmaannaa qooddattootaa, yoomessa, seenessaafi (nama durdurii himu) irra deddeebiidha. Jalqabarratti Baniinsaafi cufiinsa durdurii ilaalla.

Hirmaannaa qoddattootaafi yoomessa addatti baasnee xiinxaluurra baniinsa durdurii jalatti ibsuutu filatame. Dhimma nama durdurii himuutiin walqabatu ammoo baniinsa keessattiifi irra deddeebii jalatti ilaalla.

4.1. Baniinsaafi Cufiinsa Durdurii

Baniinsa (beginning) durdurii dhimmoota lamarratti hundaa'udhaan xiinxaluu yaalla. Isaanis: qoddattootaafi yoomessa irratti hundaa'udhaan ta'a.

Qoddattoonni durdurii tokko keessatti hirmaatan keessattuu qoddattoonni hangafa ta'an baniinsa durduriirratti dhufu. Akkaataan (style) kun ammoo dhaggeeffattoonni waa'een maalii akka itti himamu jalqabumarratti akka dhagahaniif gargaara. Fakkeenyaaf, durdurii waa'ee abbaa lafaa seenessu ilaaluu dandeenya. Akkaataan inni ittiin jalqabes waa'uma qoddataa kanaa seenessuudhaani:

> *Namni dur akkana godhe jedhan. Namni durii 'zim' jedheeti [walgahii] walitti yaase jedhan gaa abbaa lafaati. Abbaa lafaati nama duri. [Walgahii] walitti yaasee waarrateeti ... koottaa taa'aa tarree galaa jedhe jedhan. 'Tarree galaa taa'aa' jedhee waarratee, 'Oggaa teechani aanaa aanaan walitti aanaa. Aanaa aanaadhaan akka aanaa walitti aantaniin walitti aanaa' jedhe jedhan…*

Akkaataa baniinsa kanarratti waa'ee qoddatichaa ajaja inni dabarse seenessuudhaan jalqabe. Durduricha amma dhumaatti yoo hordofne qoddattoonni biroos ni'uumamu. Jarreen kunniin garuu qoddataa hangafaaf seenaa dheeressuudhaaf dhufan malee qoddattoota hangafaa miti. Qoddataa hangaftichi amma dhumaatti qajeelfama dabarsuudhaan itti fufa. Kanarraa kan hubannu qoddataa hangafti baniinsa durduriirratti argamuu isaati.

Haaluma walfakkaatuun durdurii waa'ee bulguu seenessu jalatti qoddataan jalqabumatti dhufee seenaan isaa himamuu jalqabe. Abbaan Bulguu sun ilmoo guddifatee kan jiraatu akka ta'e seenichi yemmuu jalqabu himuma duraarratti arganna:

> *"Durii.. Abbaan Bulguu ka'eeti ilmoo guddifate. Ilmoo oggaa guddifatu wanna nyaatu waan dhugu hindhabnee warratti erge…"*

Durdurii kana keessatti Abbaan Bulguufi ilmi inni guddifate qoddattoota gurguddoo seenichaati. Seenaa kana amma dhumaatti yoo duukaa buune gocha lamaan isaanii gidduutti taasisamutu seeneffama. Seenichi akka gara fuulduraatti deemu taasisuf qoddattoonni birootis gidduutti dhufanii hirmaatu. Qoddattoonni sun garuu ammamuu itti hinfufan. Fakkeenyaaf, ilmi guddifatame sun warra dhaqee waa'ee Abbaa Bulguu haadhatti hima. Jalqaba kan gaafate ishiidha. Qoddattuun akka haadhatti hirmaatte sun garuu qooda xiqqoo qabdi. Kanaafuu, qoddattuu guddoos miti-jalqabarrattis hindhufne. Asirraa wanti hubatamu durdurii keessatti qoddattoonni hangafa ta'an jalqabuma durduriitirraa jalqabanii kan hirmaatan ta'uu isaati.

Baniinsa durduriirratti yoomessis ga'ee taphatu qaba. Durdurii keessatti gochi kan raawwate bara kana jechuun hindanda'amu. Durdur jechuu dhumaan himama. Kallattumaan dur jechuullee baatan yeroo darbe keessa gocha raawwate ta'uusaa hubachuun nidanda'ama. Kanas jalqaba durduriirraa argachuu kan dandeenyu ta'uu fakkeenyaan mirkaneeffachuun gaaridha:

> *… namichatu duri ka'ee karaan deemaa jedheeni haadha warraa isaatiin.*
> *Akkana jennaani, 'maarree erga deemtee galaas fudhuu wayyaas fudhuu'*

> *jetteen. Lakkii karaa amma tanaatii wayyaas hinfudhadhuu, galaas hinbaadhuu amma ... tana tarkaanfadheetan deebi'ee dhufaa jedheen...*

Durdurii kana keessatti yeroon isaa bara kana jedhamuu baatullee seenichi kan ta'e bara durii akka ta'e baniinsuma durduricharratti argama. 'Dur akkas ta'e' jennaan waan fuulduratti ta'u miti. Waan duraan ta'e. Kan amma ta'aa jirus miti. 'Dur' kan jedhamu isa darbe darbiinsi isaas kan ture agarsiisa. Durdurii akka fakkeenyaatti fudhanne kana keessattis kan hubatamu dhimmuma kana.

Ammas durdurii biraa fudhannee yoo ilaalle durdurii waa'ee adurreefi hantuutaa seenessu keessattis haaluma walfakkaatuun yeroon seenichi ta'e dur ta'uusaa jalqabuma durduriirratti arganna. Jalqaba durdurichaarraa yaada fudhatame akka asiin gadiitti ilaaluu dandeenya:

> *"Dur hantuutaafi adurreetuu [soddummaadhaaf] walitti dhufan. Adurreefi hantuutatu. Egaa walin nyaannuu jedhanii jaarsi araarseti jedhan. Oggaa araaramanuu mucoo atis kenniif mucoo atis walii kennaa jedhan. Jennaanii 'taraanii, taraanii' gayee jedhama..."*

Yaanni kun baniinsa durduriirratti argama. 'Dur' jechuudhan jalqaba. Yeroon kun akkuma armaan olitti ibsame yeroo murtaa'e miti. Baniinsa durduriirratti argamuun isaa akkaataa durduriin itti jalqabu ykn banamu nutti mul'isa.

Akkaataa baniinsaa keessatti iddoo guddaa kan qabu qabxiin biroo akkaataa seenessaati. Dur-himtoonni (story tellers) oduu durii yemmuu seenessan oduun sun kan mataa isaanii akka hintaaneefi akka namarraa dhaga'an baniinsa durduriirratti dhaggeeffattoota quba qabsiisu. Kanas "jedhan" jedhu malee akkana jedhanii akka waan ofiif arganiitti yookin akka yemmuu gochi tokko raawwate daawwataniitti hinseenessan. Durdurii keessatti akkaataa himiinsaa akkasii kanas kan argannu jalqabumarratti.

Durdurii waa'ee obboleewwan sadanii seenessu keessaa jalqabumarraa kan fudhatame yaanni armaan gadii akkaataa seenessaan seenaa dhaggeeffattootatti himu sun kan isaa akka hinta'in ittiin ibsu sirriitti hubachuu dandeenya. Hima duraa keessatti xumurri 'jedhan' jettu sun yaada nama biraatirraa dhaga'e akka inni seenessaa jiru nutti agarsiisti. Hima itti aanu keessatti ammoo 'jedhan' kan jedhu ammas xiyyeeffannoo itti kennee kan isaa akka hintaane ibsa. Himni sadaffaan 'garuu jecha duri' kan jedhu kan isaa erga hinta'inii eenyutu akkas jedheree gaaffii jedhu akka hinkaafneef kan dur ta'uusaa, manguddoo durirraa daddarbaa dhufee kan isa bira ga'e ta'uusaa ifa godhee teessisa. Mee yaada waraabamee dhihaate haaxiinxallu:

> *"Sadi ta'anii dhalatan jedhan. Jedhan kaa. Garuu jecha duri. Sadi ta'anii oggaa dhalatanii lama [gamna] tokko gowwaadha jedhaniin jedhan. Akka gowwaatitti laalani. Garuu inni gowwaa haa jedhamuu malee [gamna] jedhan..."*

Durdurii kana keessatti egaa dur-himaan oduu dur ta'uu isaa baniinsa durdurichaatirratti akka gaariitti ibsee jira. Durduricha itti fufnee yemmuu hordofnu hima jalqabaa keessatti kan argamtu, xumurri "jedhan" jettu sun amma dhumaatti ittuma fufti. Kanaafuu, dhaggeeffattoonni baniinsuma durduriitirraa ka'anii akkaataa dur-himaan baniinsarratti seenessuu jalqabu hubachuu danda'a jechuudha.

Yaaduma kanaan kan walfakkaatu durdurii waa'ee bulguu seenessus yoo fudhanne jalqabarratti dur-himaan biraa akka asiin gadiitti jalqabe:

> *"Dur jedhanii…Bulgu jedhani garuu amma Bulgu suni amma hinjira jenneetis hiyyaannu duraanis kaa nu haa arganuu haa arguu baatanuu mooji. Amma Bulguu nama nyaata jedhan dur…"*

'Dur jedhanii…' jedhee jalqabuun isaa akkuma kan isa duraa san seenaan himuuf deemu sun kan isaa akka hintaane, oduu durii akka ta'eefi isa kanas sirriitti ibsuudhaaf akkaataa itti fayydame argina. Kanas ittuma fufuudhaan '*Bulgu jedhanii garuu amma suni amma hinjira jennees hiyyaannu duraanis kaa nu haa arganuu haa arguu baatanuu mooji…*' jedha. Asirratti Bulguu san ofii isaatii argee akka hinbeekne ibsa. Warri dur sun arganii, uumanii nutti himanii akka hinbeekne ibsa. Hima itti aanu keessatti garuu oduu durii ta'uu isaa "*…Bulgu nama nyaata jedhan dur*" jedhee oduu afaaniin dhalootarraa darbaa dhufe ta'uu isaa mirkaneessa.

Walumaagalatti akkaataa baniinsa durdurii keessatti 'dur' jechuudhaan jalqabuun akka jiru, 'akkas jedhan' kan jedhus yaaduma kana kan nuhubachiisu akka ta'e, dur-himaan seenicha kan nama biraarraa dhaga'e akka ta'e jalqabumatti ibsuudhaan akka jalqabu argina. Naannoo Oromiyaa bakkeewwan tokko tokkotti durdurii yemmuu jalqaban inni seenessu 'Durdurii' jedhee dubbii yoo kaasu warri dhaggeeffatan 'Mee as guuri, mee gadi guuri' akka jedhanis odeeffannoon jira.

Gara cufiinsa durdurii yemmuu deebinus akkaataa beekamaa akka qabu hubachuun nidanda'ama. Dur-himaan durdurii tokko himee yemmuu xumuru xumuruu isaa akkaataa ittiin beeksisu keessaa tokko dhumarratti "…jedhanii hoodhu," jedhee guduunfuu isaati. Asirratti 'hoodhu' kan jedhu kun ani xumure, kanan dhagahe kanuma jechuu ta'uu danda'a. Kanaaf, fakkeenya gaarii nuu ta'uu kan danda'u durduriiwwan walitti qabaman keessaa mee seenaa haadha mootii tokkoo kan addeessu jalatti kan dhihaate yaa ilaallu:

> *"Haadha nugusaa ajjeeftan. Haadha nugusaa san hinawwaallatan, nama keenya jedhanii, 'Nuuroo' keenya kana siif kenninaa namicha … beeku jaarsa biyyaa yaamanii horii amma dabbasaasaatiin jararraa [fuudhanii] jarri … biyyaa baye jedhanii hoodhu…"*

Durdurii sana keessatti dur-himaan waa'ee namticha ganda dhaqee seenessee yemmuu xumuru dhumarratti "…jedhanii hoodhu," jedhee guduunfe. Asirratti dhaggeeffattoonnis dur-himaan kun seenicha kan itti hinfufne ta'uu isaa kan inni dhumarratti 'hoodhu' jedhe sanarraa ka'anii beekuu danda'u. Kanaafuu, kun akkaataa cufiinsa durdurii keessaa tokko ta'uu isaati.

Ammas akkaataa cufiinsaa kana jecha guduunfituu "hoodhu" jettu sana biraa dhiisanii "…jedhama," jechuudhaan kan guduunfanis ni'arganna. Kanaafis fakkeenya gaarii ta'uu kan danda'u durdurii waa'ee bineessaafi harree jalatti kan dhihaate keessaa kan armaan gadii ilaalla. Harreefi waraabessi walitti dubbachaa turanii dhumarratti akkaataa durduriin ittiin guduunfame qaba.

> *Durii harreefi bineessatu wallole jedhan. Walloli jennaan [harreen] lafaan dhaye jedhan. Maalooree narraa ka'ii jedheen bineessi. Amma irraa ka'e. Ammammoo deebiseet bineessi lafaan dhaye jedhan. Maarree ani duratti sirraa ka'ee amma narraa hinkaatuuyii jedheen jedhan. 'Aayi' biyya keenya namarraa ka'uun hinjiru…asumaanii jedheen jedhan. Harreefi bineessi amma kanaaf walitti [diina] ta'anii jedhama.*

Dur-himaan seenaa harreefi waraabessaa seenessee yemmuu xumuru "…jedhama" jecha jettu fayyadame. Kanarraa kan hubachuu dandeenyu durduriin himamee yemmuu xumuramu

jechi "jedhama" jettus tajaajila kan kennitu akka ta'eefi akkaataa guduunfaa ta'uu isaati. Kanumaan kan walfakkaatu ammas fakkeenya biroo durdurii dhimma hantuutaafi adurree seenessu jalaa fudhannee yaa ilaallu:

> *"Bool'oo qotachoo, jedhe hantuutatu. Oggaa saan achii taf as jedhanisaan jarri achumatti ...jalaa bahanii [haala] kanaatiin adurreen hantuuta [gowwomsina] jedhanii dhaqanii wal [dorgomanii] isaani mucoos hinfudhannee isaanis hindhumnee hinjiranii jedhama…"*

As keessattis kan agarru dur-himaan yemmuu durdurii sana seenessu adurroonni hantuuta nyaachudhaaf yemmuu qophaa'anitti hantuunni beekkattee boolloo akka galte dhaggeeffattootatti himee dhumarratti "…jedhama" kan jedhu fayyadamee akka guduunfedha.

Qooddattoonni durdurii keessatti argaman namas ta'an bineensota qooda namaa fudhatanii argamu. Akkuma namaa walitti dubbatu; akkuma namaa rakkina isaanirra ga'e himatu; mala ittiin rakkina sana keessaa bahanis barbaaddatu. Waliin dubbiin namaafi nama gidduutti ta'u bineessaafi nama yookin bineessaafi bineessa biroo gidduuttis yemmuu gaggeeffamu argina. Durdurii waa'ee ilbiisotaa nutti himu akka fakkeenyatti ilaaluu nidandeenya.

> *"… dur jedhanii taffiidhaa, injiraan jedhanii, tukaanaa saree jedhaniiti harree jedhanii farsoo walitti 'nagadannaa' jedhan jedhan. Amma maarree farsoo*
>
> *naqataniitii, 'Eenyutu ba'aa aduu gabaa san eenyutu baatee bahaa?' jedhan jedhan…"*

Durdurii kana keessatti qooddattoonni argaman martinuu akka namaatti walitti dubbatu; waliin moromu; gocha namaa raawwatu. Ga'ee namaa taphatu. Gochi isaanis kan isaanif ta'u osoo hintaane kan ilmi namaa jireenya guyyaa guyyaa keessatti itti fayyadamu. Jarri shanan sunniin farsoo walitti 'nagadanna' jedhanii ka'an. Farsoon kan namni itti fayyadamu malee kan tafkii ykn kan geergoo miti. Sareefi Harrees taanan farsoo waliin wanti walitti isaan fidu hinjiru. Injiraanis akkasuma. Haata'u malee durdurii kana keessatti qooddattoonni kunniin ga'ee namaa taphatu.

Durdurii waa'ee Raachaafi Kanniisaa seenessus yoo fudhanne akkasuma. Qooddattoonni nama ta'uullee baatan qooda namaa akka taphatan kan qaama durdurii sana keessaa fudhatame akka armaan gadiitti ilaaluu dandeenya: *"Dur maabaraa raacha je'anii kanniisa jedhanii walitti seenan jedhan maabara. Maabara walitti seenanii egaa kanniifni 'maaragumaan' [qophaa'ee] eega kaa…"*

Durdurii Kana keessatti kan isa jalqabaarraa wanti adda taasisu raachi kan bishaan galu ta'uusaafi kanniifni kan damma tolchu ta'uu isaati. Kanarraa kan hafe gochi isaan raawwatan kan namaati. Afooshaa ykn maabara walitti seenuun jiruufi jireenya namaa keessa jira malee jiruufi jireenya Kaanniisaafi Raachaa keessatti kan argamuu miti. Durdurii keessatti garuu wantoonni nama hinta'iin amala namaa fudhatanii (uffatanii) yommuu taphatan argina. Durduriin kunis yaaduma kana nuu mirkaneessa.

4.2 Irradeddeebbii

Akkaataa himiinsa durdurii keessatti irra deddeebiin dhimma ijoodha. Irradeddeebiin durdurii Oromoo keessatti mul'atu bakka afuritti qoodamee xiinxalamuu nidanda'a. Inni duraa himuma tokko keessatti jechoonni argaman kan irra deddeebi'amanii dhihaatan ta'a. Jechoonni hima tokko keessatti irra deddeebi'anii dhihaatan kunniin yeroo baay'ee al-sadi

irra deebi'amu. Inni lammataa himoota walitti aananii dhufan keessatti irra deddeebii mul'atu ta'a. Akkaataa kanaan kan irra deebi'amu jecha ykn gaalee hima duraa keessatti mul'atetu hima itti aanu keessattis dhihaata. Jechi ykn gaaleen irra deddeebi'amu kuni itti fufiinsa durdurichaatiif kallattii agarsiisu. Inni sadaffaan irra deebii hima guutuuti. Himni tokko erga dubbatamee booda akkuma jirutti irra deebi'amuun dubbatama. Gosti irra deddeebii afraffaan irra deddeebii hinbarbaachifne ta'a. Durdurii yemmuu seenessu dur-himaan jechoota ykn gaaleewwan hinbarbaachifne fayyadamee ibsuu danda'a. Hima tokko keessatti gochi raawwatame tokko yeroo dheeradhaaf kan itti fufe ta'uu argisiisuuf dur-himaan xumura bu'uuraa irra deddeebi'ee dubbata. Durdurii dhimma nama bokkaan itti roobee jalatti kan arginus kanuma. Namtichi karaa deemudhaaf warraa manaa isaatti himnaan isheen galaa tolchuufii barbaadde. Inni garuu lafa dhihoo akka deemu itti himee galaas didee deema. Karaatti garuu bokkaan roobuu jalqabe. Kana malees karaan inni deeme sun akka inni yaade dhihoo osoo hintaane fagoo ta'uu isaa argisiisuuf akka armaan gadiitti ibse:

> *"... Amma oduma deemu, oduma deemu, oduma deemuu bakka inni yaade sani*
> *osoo hinga'in bokkeenyi duubaa fidee roobe. Oduu roobuu akka dawoo jala seenee*
> *achi jala taa'e..."*

Durdurii kana keesatti "*…oduma deemu…*" kan jedhu yeroo sadi irra deddeebi'ame. Kan inni agarsiisus namichi karaa dheeraa deemuu isaati. Dur-himaan karaa 'dheeraa deeme' jechuurra gaalee sana akkuma jirutti irra deddeebidhaan ibse. Gaalee irra deddeebi'ametti qaamni aanee dhufes sanuma cimsa. Namichi bakka ga'uuf karoorfate osoo hin ga'in bokkeenyi akka itti roobe. Rooba kanarratti xiyyeeffatee yaada kanaan walqabate ibsuuf akka yaade ibsuuf hima itti aanu keessattis "*…oduma roobuu…*" jedhee itti fufe. Roobichis yeroo dheeradhaaf kan itti fufe ta'uu akka armaan gadiitti ibse:

> *"... bokkeenyi hinuma rooba, hinuma rooba, hinuma roobaa. Amma ... bokkeenyi*
> *sun caamnaan laga qarqara oggaa gawuu lagni sirriitti guute. Ce'uu dadhabe..."*

Ammas gaalee "*…hinuma rooba…*" jedhu yeroo sadi irra deebi'e. Kunis roobichi osoo addaan hincitiin yeroo dheeradhaaf kan roobe ta'uu argisiisuuf mala itti fayyadamedha. Rooba guddaa akka roobes kanarraa hubachuun nidanda'ama. Kanaaf ammoo ragaan hima itti aanee dhufe sana ta'a. Himichis lagni akka maleetti guutee akka ceesisuu dhowwate ibsa.

Himuma tokko keessatti jechoota argaman irra deddeebi'uu kana durdurii tokko keessattis ni'arganna. Durdurii sana keessaatti Bulgu namni mana isaa seenee akka waa jalaa hate kirrii citterraa waan bareef manatti deebi'ee hattichi bakka seene dhabe. Yemmuu kana daabboo fuudhee raawwatee tooftaa armaan gadiitiin dharraasisaa hattuu bakka ishiin dhokattee baase:

> *"... Kirrii sanis kuttee beeki. Daabboo fuudhee daabboo kana.. dhakaa jala seente*
> *jedhan. 'Daabboo kana eenyuu kennu, eenyuu kennu, eenyuu kennu' jedhe jedhan.*
> *Jennaan 'Anaa kenni' jette jedhan..."*

'Daabboo kana eenyuu kennu?' jedhee gaafachuun isaa namoonni biroos kan fudhachuudhaaf dhihaatan akka waan jiruutti hattittii gowwomsa. Irra deddeebi'ee '*...eenyuu kennu, eenyuu kennu, eenyyuu kennu'* yemmuu inni jedhu irra caalaa namoota biroos akka kakaaseefi kan durse akka dafee fudhatu taasise. Akkuma kan jalqabarratti ilaalle kunis yeroo sadi sadi irra deebi'uudhaan dubbate. Achumaan hattittiin bakka jirtuu baatee isheedhaaf akka kennu gaafatte. Asirraa kan hubachuu dandeenyu gaalee irra deddeebi'ame sanaaf xiyyeeffannaa kennee intalattii amansiisuu danda'e.

Durdurii waa'ee gaangee seenessu keessaa kan fudhatame yoo ilaalles gaangeen abaaramtuu ta'uushee argina. Abaarsa kanaafis sababa kan ta'e dur yemmuu Waaqni lafatti dhihoo ture dhiituu isheeti. Gaangeen quuftee waan taatu dhabnaan osoo burraaqxuu Waaqa argattee dhiitte. Qaamni irra deddeebi'ames burraaqicha gaangee sana. Achumaan Waaqnis akka isheen hindhalle abaare. Mee irra deddeebii mul'atu kanaafi waan inni mul'isu haa ilaallu:

> *"... gaangeen quuftudhaa eegee [eegee facaaftee] finxaax, finxaax, finxaax jetteetuma fifinxaaxxee raawwattee Waaqa dhiitte jedhan. 'Dhala sa gogsu, dhala gogi' jedheen jedhan Waaqni..."*

Durdurii kana keessatti gaangeen quuftee burraaquu ishee argina. Dur-himaan burraaqa ishee kana xiyyeeffannoo itti kennee yemmuu ibsuu *'finxaaxuu'* ishee san irra deddeebi'ee dubbate. Finxaaxa ishee kana eegee facaasaa, lukaan waan argattee dhiitaa osoo fiigduu Waaqas argattee ol dhiitte. Asirratti burraaqni ishee sun ykn finxaanni ishee sun yeroo dheeradhaaf kan itti fufe ta'uus kan nu hubachiisu irra deddeebii sana ta'a. Qaamni irra deddeebi'ame ammoo *'finxaax'* kan jedhu yemmuu ta'u xiyyeeffannaa guddaanis achirra jira.

Durdurii armaan gadii keessatti ammas irra deddeebii saffisa mul'isu argina. Namichi karaa deemu warra tokkotti goree waan gaafatan itti hime. Warri gorsiisan sun garuu nutti farrise jedhanii nyaata nama ajjeesu qopheessaniifii fudhatee yemmuu deemu ijoolleen warra sanaa yemmuu duulaa galan itti dhufan. Galaa inni warra isaaniirraa fudhatee deemu sana akkaataa isaan itti nyaatan agarsiisuuf dur-himaan akka armaan gadiitti ibse:

> *"... Eeyee. Nuu kenni qoonqonuu nu fixxee. Kennaafii; laqam, laqam, laqam hoo godhani sun duubaa hoo dhufuu jarri saddeettan lafti marteenii achumatti dhuman..."*

Irra deddeebiin durdurii kana keessatti mul'atu kan saffisa agarsiisu ta'a. Dur-himaan jecha tokko yeroo sadi irra deebi'e. Irra deebii kanas akkaataa jarri yemmuu nyaata sana argatan itti nyaatan argisiisuuf fayyadame. Dafanii dafanii nyaachuu isaanii agarsiisuuf jecha *'laqam'* jedhu irra deddeebi'e. Kanarraa kan hubannu dur-himaan jecha tokko irra deddeebi'ee kan ibsu xiyyeeffannaa akka argatuuf, dafee dafee kan raawwatame ta'uu isaa mul'isuufi.

Akkaataa durduriin ittiin dhihaatu keessatti kan mul'atu inni biraa irra deddeebii gaalee xumuraati. Hima tokko keessatti qaamni irra deddeebi'amu jechoota bu'uuraa kanneen ta'an gaalee xumuraa gara xumura himaatti argaman ta'u. Qaamni akkasii gaalee xumuraa hima duraa keessatti argamutu qaama murteessaa hima hima itti aanuu ta'ee argama. Asirratti kan qaamni gaalee sanaas bifa jijjiirratanii (maxxantoota adda addaa maxxanfatanii) wajjin irra deebi'u. Akka fakkeenyyaatti irra deddeebii durdurii keessatti mul'atu durdurii dhimma dubartii dhabduu takkaa seenessu keeyyata tokko fudhannee ilaaluu dandeenya:

> *"Dur niitii...[dhabduutu] ilma 'tasaalte' jedhama, seexana 'tasaalte'. Seexana yoo 'tasaaltu' Waaqni 'giddii' hinqabuu ilma kenneef. Ilma kenninaaniif gaabii bittee bakka itti galchitu dhabde. Seexana dhabde. Seexana barbaada oduu [osoo] deemtuu ammaa rakkatte wajjin. Jennaan beekaa manguddoo gaafatte, jaarsa..".*

Durdurii kana keessatti himni tokko hima itti aanu wajjin akka walqabatu taasisuuf jechoota bu'uuraatu irra deddeebi'ame. Hima duraa keessatti niitittiin seexana 'tasaaluu' [wareeguu] ishee argina. Himni itti aanu yaanni durdurii sanaa garam akka qajeelu kan nutti mul'su qaama irra deebi'amu sani. Hima itti aanus yoo fudhanne akkasuma. Niitii sanaaf Waaqni ilma kenneef. "... *Ilma kenneef*...," kan jedhu kanarra xiyyeeffannaan waan jiruuf isarraan

gara kan itti aanutti tarkaanfachuuf "…*ilma kenninaaniif*…" kan jedhu jalqaba hima itti aanuu keessatti arganna. Ammas ittuma fufuudhaan niitittiin kan yaadde milkoofnaan wareega bitte sana galchuu barbaadde. Kanas "*bakka itti galchitu dhabde*," jedha. Himni itti aanu ammoo kan isheen barbaaddu sun seexana akka ta'e agarsiisuuf '…*dhabde*' kan jedhu sana irra deebi'uuf seexana itti dabala. Durdurichi haaluma kanaan itti fufa.

Haaluma walfakkaatuun durdurii waa'ee bulguu seenessu fudhannee yoo ilaallu Abbaan Bulguu ilma guddifatee yemmuu ilmi sun isa hamatu argina. Ilmi Abbaan Bulguu guddifate sun warra irraa dhalate dhaqe. Abbaan Bulguu duuba dhaqee waan inni warra irraa dhalate sanatti himu mana duuba taa'ee dhaggeeffata. Akkaataa dur-himaan seenaa kana yemmuu ibsu irra deddeebi'ee dubbatu akka armaan gadiitti dhihaata:

> *Durii.. Abbaan Bulguu ka'eeti ilmoo guddifate. Ilmoo oggaa guddifatu wanna nyaatu waan dhugu hindhabnee warratti erge[Ilma guddifate sana erge]. Warratti oggaa erguu,… "Akkam ilma koo?" jennaani,[warra guddisa kenne sanatu gaafata] " Waanan nyaadhu waanan dhugu hindhabnee xinnoo galgala galgala fooliisaa tokkotu natti badee jedhe. Oggaa inni akkana jedhu inni [Abbaan Bulguu] duubarra dhaqee mana jala ejjetee dhaggeeffata. Yoo inni galgala galuu waraana qareet eege. Waraana qaree oggaa eeguu,…*

Durdurii kana keessatti dur-himaan yaada tokkorraa gara yaada itti aanuutti yemmuu ce'u jechoota irra deddeebi'u qaba. Jechoonni sunniin ammoo jechoota bu'uuraati. '… *Abbaan Bulguu…ilmoo guddifate*' jedhee raawwatee seenichi kan itti fufu karaa ilma guddifatame sanaan waan ta'eef '… *ilmoo oggaa guddifatu*' jedhee gaalee xumuraa hima jalqabaa keessatti argamu sana irra deebi'a. Ilmi guddifate sun warra irraa dhalate san dhaqee yemmuu hamatu dhaga'ee gale. Yemmuu ilmi sun dhufuu abbaan waraana qaree eege. Kanas yoo ibsu '…*waraana qareet eege.*' jedhee ammas waraana sanarraan seenichi guddachaa deema waan ta'eef '… *waraana qaree oggaa eegu…*' jedhee itti fufa. Kanarraa kan hubannu irra deddeebiin karaa seenichi ittiin guddachaa deemu sanarratti xiyyeeffata. Hima duraa keessatti dhumarra erga dhufee booda hima itti aanu keessatti achirraa ka'uudhaan itti fufa.

Armaan olitti kan ibsamaa dhufe jechootaafi gaalee irra deddeebi'an malee sadarkaa himaatti kan ilaalamu hinturre. Itti aansinee ammoo akkaataa durdurii keessatti dur-himaan hima guutuu irra deebi'ee himu ilaalla. Kunis hima tokko erga dubbatee booda akkuma jirutti ammas isuma deebisee dubbata. Mee akka fakkeenyaatti "Durdurii dhimma labsii dhiheessu" keessaa kan fudhatame yaa ilaallu:

> *Jecha oggaa dabarsuu, 'Niitii gabaabduu hinfuudhinaa, niitii gabaabduu hinfuudhinaa,' jedheet halaalatti lallaba jedhan gaa ofirraa achi fageeche kaani. Oggaa as deebi'ummoo, 'Moowaa qabaattun dhiisinaa,' jedha jedhan. Han ofii san gorsa jechaadha. 'Farda gabaabaa hinbitinaa,farda gabaabaa hinbitinaa, farda gabaabaa hinbitinaa, moowaa qabaatu hindhiisinaa' jedha jedhan. Han ofiititti hima. Akkasan, 'Maasaa karaarraa hinqotinaa, maasaa karaarraa hinqotinaa,Midhaan ta'u hindhiisinaa' jedhee akkasittii kana kana fa'atu jira jedhanii kana fa'a kanan ani beeku…*

Durdurii kana keessatti dur-himaan hima tokko akkuma jirutti irra deebi'ee dubbata. Sararuma jalqabaarraa yoo kaane '*Niitii gabaabduu hinfuudhinaa*' kan jedhu hima tokko. Hima kana lallabee dubbata waan ta'eef takkaan yoo dhaga'uu baatan kan lammaffaa akka dhaga'aniif akkuma jirutti irra deebi'a. Lallabee ykn iyyee kan dubbatu warra alagaa ta'anitti. Jarri kunniinis fagootti argamu. Warra aanaa isaa ta'eef irra hindeebi'u; itti dhihoo

waan jiraniif takkumaan dhagahu. Dhaamsa lallabaan dabarsu ittuma fufuudhaan '*Farda gabaabaa hinbitinaa*' jedhee yeroo lama dubbata. Akkuma isa duraa aanaa ofiitti gadi qabaadhaan (sagalee gadi qabee) yeruma takka qofa '*Moowaa qabaatu hindhiisinaa*' jedhaan. Ammas '*Maasaa karaarraa hinqotinaa*' jedhee alagaadhaaf yemmuu labsii dabarsu irra deebi'ee dubbata. Aanaa ofiitiif garuu osoo irra hindeebi'in yeruma tokko '*Midhaan ta'u hindhiisinaa qotaa*' jedhaan.

Yaada kanarraa hubachuun kan danda'amu yemmuu durdurii seenessan akkaataan hima guutuu akkuma jirutti irra deebi'an jiraachuu danda'uu isaati. Faayidaan isaatis namoota baay'ee ta'aniifi kan nama dubbatu sanarraa fagoo jiran sirriitti dhageessisuufi labsiin ykn dhaamsi darbu sun kan akeekkannaa of keessaa qabu, kan dagatamuu hinqabne akka ta'e ibsuudhaf ta'a.

Armaan gaditti ammoo irra deddeebiin hima guutuu gosa biraatu argama. Irra deebiin akkanaa hima tokko walfaana kan dubbamu miti. Gidduudhaan namni biraa erga dubbatee booda isuma deebisee dubbata. Mee haa ilaallu:

> ... *Jennaani amma 'Hoo na waraani hookan sinwaraanaa' jennaani, 'Maaloo aabbaa akkamittin si waraana?' jennaani, 'Hoo na waraani hookan sinwwaraanaa!' Irraa fuudhee gixxim itti godhe. 'Buqqisi!' jedheen. Buqqise...*

Durdurii kana keessatti Abbaan Bulguu ilma guddifate warratti ergee yemmuu mucichi hamatu mana duuba taa'ee waan dhagaheef gaafa mucaan galutti waraana qaratee eege. Sana booda '*Hoodhuu na waraani ykn sin waraanaa*' jedheen. Mucichi sodaatee maaliif akka inni kana murteesse gaafannaan ammas hima kana akkuma jirutti irra deebi'ee ajaje. Asirratti kan inni irra deebi'eef akeekkachiisa cimaa dabarsuudhaafi. Kanaafis sagaleen inni yeroo irra deebiirratti fayyadame kan duraarra lola of keessaa qaba. Akeekkannaa dabarsuu sana cinaadhaan ajaja hinjijjiramneefi kan filannoo biraa hinqabne ta'uu mul'isuudhaafis irra deebiin akkanaa akkaataa himiinsa durdurii keessatti tajaajila kan kennu ta'a.

Ammammoo irra deddeebii hinbarbaachifne ilaalla. Irra deddeebiin armaan olitti kaafne hundinuu kan durdurii keessatti argamuufi kan dur-himaan kamiyyuu gargaaramu ta'a. Itti aansee kan dhihaatu garuu dur-himtoonni adda addaa haala adda addaa keessatti kan itti dhimma ba'ani. Irra deddeebiin akkanaa kan itti yaadanii irra deebi'an (repetition) osoo hintaane osoo hinkaroorfatin (redundant) kan jedhamu sana. Mee fakkeenya durdurii dhimma adurreefi hantuutaa seenessu keessaa fudhannee yaa ilaallu:

> "...*Oggaa araaramanuu mucoo atis kenniif atis walii kennaa jedhan. Jennaanii 'taraanii', 'taraanii' gayee jedhama. 'Taraan [yemmuu]' gawuu.. adurreetu gaa intala hantuutaa fuudhudhaa dhufa kaa..*".

Durdurii kana keessatti Adurreefi Hantuunni walitti araaramanii soddaa walii ta'uudhaaf walii galan. Haaluma walii galtee saniin jalqaba adurreen intala Hantuutaa fuudhuudhaaf dabareen ga'a. Seenaa durdurii kana yemmuu seenessu dur-himaan irra deebii hinbarbaachifne agarsiisa. Dabareen Adurree gaye jedhan jechuu barbaadee '*taraanii..., taraanii*' kan yeroo lama jedhe sun tokko barbaachisaa miti. Kuni dur-himaan amma yaada biraa argatutti callisee kan irra deebi'u jechuudha. Kanas kan nuu mirkaneessu dur-himaan osoo dubbachaa jiruu yaada addaan kutee deebisee jechuma sana waamuu isaati. Durduruma Adurreefi Hantuutaa sana ammas irra deddeebi'ee kan ibse mee yaa ilaallu:

> *Ogguma saan gadi yaa'anii raawwatanii [simachuudha] wannii jedhan adurroonni hantuuta san guurrachuu..qabuu qabuu [qofaaf] balleechudhaa oggaa*

[kaayyeffatanii] isaan dhaqanuu, hoo saan achi gahan isaan eeggatanii bool'oo ofii qopheeffatanii hundumtuu [iddoo iddoo] taa'an sanitti bool'oo jalaan qotatanii harka lamaan [qofa] akkanatti…

Irra deddeebiin hima kana keessatti mul'atu sarara lammaffaarraa jalqaba. Yaada addaan cicciterraa kaasee '...*guurrachuu, qabuu qabuu...*' kan jedhu irra deddeebii hinbarbaachifne. '*Adurroonni qabuudhaaf...*' jedhee tokko qofa yoo gargaarame ga'aadha. Ittuma fufuudhaan '…*oggaa [kayyeffatanii] isaan dhaqanuu, hoo isaan achi gahan…* kan jedhu ammas yaaduma tokko ibsa. *Yemmuu isaan achi gahanuu*…jedhee itti fufuu qofti gahaadha.

Durduriin dhimma Raachaafaa seenessu jalatti dhihaate akkuma armaan olitti ibsamee irra deddeebii hinbarbaachifneen kan guutame. Raachiifi Kanniifni maabara walitti seenanii Kanniifni gaafa dabaree isaa sirriitti qophaa'ee eegee keessummeessee gaggeesse. Yaada kana yemmuu ibsu haala armaan gadiitiin irra deddeebi'e:

> "...*Nyaatanii, nyaatanii 'inkit' godhanii manasaatii nyaatanii gaa raacha 'taraan' ga'e jedhan. Oggaa raacha taraan ga'u kaa innis diggisee koottaa… koottaa jedhee bishaanuma daaritti diggisee homaa himmi'aawu kan isaayii itti ta'uu dide [qophiin]…*"

Nyaatanii, nyaatanii kan jedhu sirriitti nyaachuu isaanii agrsiisuuf irra deebi'ee dubbate. Kuni rakkina hinqabu. 'Inkit' godhanii [Sirriitti] nyaatanii' kan jedhu barbaachisaa miti. Yaada itti aanu argachuudhaaf kan irra deebi'e ta'a. Kanarraa hubatamuu kan danda'u dur-himaan yaada jalaa bade tokko argachuudhaaf ykn yaada itti aanutti ce'uuf akkaataan itti fayyadamu irra deebii hinbarbaachifne tajaajilamuu isaati.

Akka walii galatti yoo ilaalle irra deddeebiin durdurii keessatti mul'atu hima tokko keessatti jechoota argaman, himoota garagaraa keessatti jechoota argaman, himoonni akkuma jirutti kan irra deddeebi'amaniifi jechoota dur-himaan waa yaadachuudhaaf irra deddeebi'u ta'a. Kanarraa kaanee hubachuu kan dandeenyu dur-himaan faayidaa tokkoof jecha ykn gaalee akkasumas hima tokko akkuma jirutti irra deebi'ee seenessa.

5. Guduunfaafi Yaboo

Durduriin Oromoo Tuulamaa akkaataa baniinsaafi cufiinsaa beekamaa qaba. Akkaataa baniinsa durdurii keessatti '*dur*' jechuudhaan jalqabuun akka jiru, kunis yeroon isaa kan ture ta'uu kan agarsiisuufi yoomessi jalqaba durduriirratti kan dhufu ta'uu argina. Qooddattoonni hangafaas baniinsa durduriirratti akka dhufan hubannee jirra. Cufiinsa durduriirratti ammoo '*..jedhamaa hoodhu, ...jedhama*' jechuudhaan yaadichi kan rarra'ee hafu osoo hintaane guutumaa guututti kan guduunfamu ta'uu argina. Durdurii Oromoo Tuulamaa keessatti irra deddeebiinis bal'inaan kan mul'atu ta'uusaa waraqaa kana keessatti ibsamee jira. Irradeddeebiin kunis sadarakaa jechaatti, sadarkaa gaaleefi sadarkaa himaatti akka ta'eefi faayidaan isaan qabanis ibsamee jira. Irra deddiibiin hinbarbaachifneefi durhimaan waa yaadachuuf kan itti fayyadamu jiraachuus arginee jirra. Qabxiin biraa durduriin sun kan nama biroo ta'uusaa (yaada nama dhuunfaa akka hintaaneefi kan nama biroorraa dhaga'an ta'uusaa) agarsiisuuf jecha '*jedhan*' jedhutti irra deddeebi'nii kan fayyadaman ta'uu durdurii Oromoo Tuulamaarraa sirriitti hubanna.

Jijjiiramuun amaluma afoolaa ta'ullee inni durduriirratti mul'atu kun garuu yaaddessaadha. Maqaaleefi jechoonni manguddoonni dur itti fayyadaman amma jechoota ergisaatiin bakka bu'aa deemuun, akkaataa baniinsaafi cufiinsaa 'fooyyessuuf' yaaluun gara fuulduraatti durdurii akka hinballeessinen sodaadha. Kanaafuu, namoota durdurii sirriitti himuu

danda'anirraa sagalees ta'ee sochii qaamaa waliin akka jirutti viidiyoodhaan waraabanii osoo kuusudhaan tursiisanii bayeessa.

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Inter-performer Communication Cues in Folksongs Performance: the Foollee Songs of Tuulamaa Oromoo in Focus

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Abstract

This study investigates inter-performer communication cues in foollee song performance of Tuulamaa Oromoo. It was mainly designed to explore the kinds of communication cues employed in the song performance to communicate effectively and to create harmony among the performers. The study is a pioneering attempt in dealing with communication modes and patterns in performance of Oromoo folksongs. Based on observations of the actual performances at different occasions in North and East Shoa Zones and interview held with selected performers, some nonverbal and verbal communication cues were identified. In focused group discussions the meanings and the intended messages in the process of communication were caught. The results of the study reveal that the lead singer and the chorus use both verbal and non-verbal cues in their communication at the performance occasion. The non-verbal cues include facial expressions, eyeballing, hand movement, beating the ground with feet, body contact, shaking head, use of refrains and the pace of movements. The performers also employ verbal cues to communicate, though the non-verbal cues dominate. As the performances of these songs are being challenged by several factors, it is recommended that further study and documentation need to be carried out.

Keywords - Communication cues, foollee song, group performance, inter-performer communication

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Axereeraa

Kaayyoon qo'annoo kanaa mul'istoota waliigaltee raawwattoota sirba foollee Oromoo Tuulamaa gidduu jiru xiinxaluudha. Keessattuu, gochaafi jecha sirbitoonni kunniin fayyadamanii ergaa walii dabarsuuf itti fayyadaman hiikkaa isaanii waliin agarsiisuudha. Tanaan dura qo'annoowwan karaalee waliigaluu raawwattootaa sirboota Oromooorratti geggeeffaman hinjiran jechuun nidanda'ama. Xiyyeeffannoon qo'annoo kanaas kanneen armaan dura taasifaman irraa adda. Ragaaleen qo'annoo kanaa daawwannaan bakka sirboonni itti raawwatamanii waraabbiin kan guurraman yoo ta'u, karaalee raawwattoonni ittiin waliigalan immoo afgaaffiifi marii garee xiyyeeffannoo fayyadamuun hirmaattota irraa funaannaman. Hiikawwaniifi ergaawwan karaa miti-afaaniin (non-verbal) darban marii gareefi afgaaffii keessatti adda ba'anii ibsaman. Afgaaffiifi marii garee xiyyeeffannoo keessatti kan hirmaatan shaayiiwwan raawwiilee sirboota foollee keessatti bakka adda addaatti qooda fudhatan turan. Akka bu'aan qo'annichaa agarsiisetti, gareewwan raawwii sirboota foollee keessatti shaayiiwwaniifi jalaaqabdoonni waliigaluu karaalee afaanii (verbal) fi mit-afaani fayyadamu. Karaa waliigaluu miti-afaan keessaa eertota fuulaa, ija babaasuu, sochii harkaa, dhiichisa, qaama tuquu, mataa raasuu, ceesisa sirbaafi saffisni sochii raawwattootaan hojiirra oolamaniiru.Gama afaaniinillee raawwattoonni ittiin waliigaluuf, bakka tokko tokkotti fayyadamaniiru. Karaalee waliigaluu keessaa, karaan miti-afaanii raawwii sirboota foollee keessatti baay'inaan raawwattootaan itti maay'ii ba'ame.Sababoota adda addaatiin raawwii sirboota uummataa badaa waan jiruuf qo'annoowwan osoo gama maraan geggeeffamanii gaarii ta'a.

Jechoota Ijoo: Karaalee waliigaluu, sirba Foollee, raawwii garee, waliigaluu matayaa

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1. Introduction

In Africa where oral literature is abundant, its performance is also common or habitual activity across the continent. Most of the studies on oral literature have ignored or given little attention to performance of the folk literature (Finnegan, 1992). But, oral literature and performance are dependent of each others. Without performance, oral literature is non-living (Finnegan, 2012). Among African people, *Oromoo* is known for its performing oral literature in its daily live. Most of the life cycles of *Oromoo* people are accompanied by oral poetry: from the birth to the death of individuals, important live events are accompanied by folksongs (oral poetry).

In *Oromoo* community, the ability to perform oral poetry is taken as the criteria to be active leader in his *Gadaa* grade starting from early age. In *Gadaa* system (political, administrative, social, political …system) of *Oromoo* people, young boys at the age nine were given training how to sing and perform folksongs being in a group (Dirribi, 2011). At the age of 16-24, the third *Gadaa* Grade, the boys are known as *foollee* and acts as social agent that keeps peace and security of the society. It is at this stage in which the boys perform folksongs to criticize those who violate norms, rules, customs and other cultural practices and to praise good citizens and heroes.

> The person who hurts other person, who violates the culture, breaks the norms, harasses the daughters and mothers, who takes the wife of someone by force, the person who disrespect and beats the intelligentsia and elders will leave the country or search for the solutions through reconciliation; otherwise *'Foollee'* will cut (Dirribi, 2011:222).

Tuulamaa Oromoo, one of the largest Oromoo clans, inhabited in central part of *Oromiyaa* that is commonly known as Shoa (mostly North and East Shoa). The clan has been practicing the *Gadaa* system at *Odaa Nabee* (Administrative center) for a long time. Even if, the Gadaa practice as administrative and political system was abandoned in the area, it is still practiced as ritual entity. Specifically, the foollee songs are performed frequently at different occasions in the area. The folksongs that are performed by these boys are known as *foollee* (in North Shoa) and *Absaalaa (*in East Shoa). So, in this paper the concept *foollee* represented both the boys and the songs based on the context of the text it is found in.

Being in the group, they perform the oral poetry by making a circle or a line (during mobile performance) (see Figure 1). The performance of the folksong is in the form of call and response. It has a leader and chorus. The leader sings and the chorus repeats the refrain after him. A role of the leader is taken turn by turn among the performers without any disturbance. It is almost all of the members of the group could be a leader as they have the capacity to sing the songs. The group members communicate effectively among themselves to avoid interruption of the performance.

At some occasions the boys performed the songs for six consecutive hours without a break. In modern musical stage performance, the performers rehearse and practice the songs in advance, so they can perform in harmony without confusion or disturbance. They use different communications cues to avoid interruption or misunderstanding among them. On the contrary, in *Oromoo* community the performers are performed the songs without in advance rehearsal or practice, but without communication difficulties or misunderstandings in the group. It is believed that the performers have been using communication cues to communicate effectively during performance. Ginsborg and King (2012) explained that

effective communication among ensemble members enhances the quality of performance. In *Tuulamaa Oromoo*, the boys employ some cultural ways (modes, cues...) of communication among themselves to communicate effectively without interruption of the performance. The core points of the study are what are these communication cues and what messages and meanings they convey in the community and the group of the boys (the performers).

Studies on communication cues in performance of oral literature are not common as compared to other elements of the genre in Africa. Specifically, in the study of *Oromoo* literature, this research becomes the leading attempt to bring the issue of communication during live performance of folksongs to the attention of researchers. The musical communication cues or modes, the neglected / forgotten aspects of oral poetry or folksongs, become the subject of the study. The study investigates the types of communication cues that have been used by the *foollee* performers in a group performance. In addition, the messages and meanings of the cues that may be conveying to the receiver in the group were identified and described.

It is, generally, looked at inter-performers communication or coordination styles, modes and strategies to create quality performance during *foollee* songs. So, the study is aimed at identifying communication cues (nonverbal and verbal) employed during foollee songs performance in *Tuulamaa Oromoo*. More specifically, the meanings or messages which are conveyed via the cues among the performers will be described and analyzed in detail. In general the study will answer what communication cues employed in foollee songs performance to enhance inter-performers communication for better performance and what messages these cues conveyed among the performers in the group.

2. Literature Review

According to Finnegan (1992) performance is the actual realization of oral arts. It is the fullest presentation of literary works in its natural context. In general case, performance is taken as a dramatic or musical entertainment or the act of presenting a play or a piece of music or other. Finnegan (2012) more expressed that for oral arts, meaning and artistry emerge in performance. This means attention is not only given to words but also to how they are delivered and to elements such as intonation, speed, rhythm, tone, dramatization, rhetorical devices, and performance techniques generally.

Oral forms (oral poetry, oral narratives and short forms) are realized through performances carried out and mediated by people. In a performance, the performers may act singly, in pairs, in a small group or a large group. They may also interact or exchange with other single or collective performers as leader (Finnegan, 1977). On the other hand, communication is a process of exchanging messages between two or more parties. Moreover, communication implies a socially shared code, an encoder who intends to express something particular via that code, and a decoder who responds systematically to that code (Juslin & Laukka, 2003). They also emphasized that true communication has taken place only if the encoder's expressive intention has become mutually known to the encoder and the decoder.

As musical performance is non-stopping act, verbal communication is not more evident during actual performance. But, still performers use verbal communication to get messages across to co-performers or audiences (Jensen and Marchetti, 2010).

Studies showed that in a group music performance, the performers used more nonverbal communication cues as compared to verbal information (Vuust, 2004). He more added that

musicians employ nonverbal cues as messages when they play together. "To convey an expressive intention a performer does not only relay on sound, also the visual channel is utilized" (Dahl, 2006). In jazz musical performance, verbal and non-verbal communication cues were used to communicate instruction, cooperation, and collaboration between performers (Seddon, 2005). Musical performances (traditional or modern) exhibit a sort of communication among the performers via verbal and non-verbal communication cues to correct each other without interruptions (Jensen and Marchetti, 2010).

During performance a group members communicate among themselves to create harmony in musical performance. According to Vines et al (2010) music performance constitutes a form of communication. Effective communication among ensemble members enhances the quality of performance (Kawase, 2014). Ensemble musicians employ multifaceted cues for communication with co-performers: e.g., talk, sound, body movement, gaze, and breath. Verbal interaction among performers before a live performance is important for an ensemble in practice session. It is believed that communication cues are verbal or nonverbal communication modes, styles and strategies that are used by performers in musical ensemble performance to address different messages to co-performers and audiences (Ntuli, 2012; Leavitt, 2016; Leva et al, 2017; Kawase, 2014). According to Cohn (2006) in group musical acts, performers use gestures to communicate information in performance. No one acts as a leader directing the performance; instead, the performance emerges out of the actions of everyone working together (Sawyer, 2003).

In modern musical ensemble or concert, the performers rehearse and practice in advance of actual performance. So, they easily communicate and perform according to the practice without any interruption or difficulties. They familiarize themselves with different communication cues that to be used during actual performance in advance. It is really attracting to look at how the boys, who were gathered from different areas, performed together in harmony without rehearsal or in advance practice in the rural area of *Tuulamaa Oromoo.*

In *Oromoo* particularly in *Tuulamaa* folksong performance is regularly practiced at different occasions. In Tuulamaa Oromoo there are people commonly known as verbal artists (*shaayii*) who have knowledge and expertise in folksongs performance (Assefa, 2015). More importantly, for most of youth (*Qeerroo*) the ability to perform the folksongs is token of brevity, manhood and acceptance in the community. So, young boys usually perform folksongs at different occasions.

In the study, cultural performance theory was applied to investigate some cultural entities that underline the performance of the *foollee* in *Tuulamaa Oromoo*. Some culture related communication cues, modes or strategies (codes) and their meanings in the community and the rules the performance is governed by were analyzed.

According to Foss & Littlejohn (2009) the term cultural performance refers to discrete events, or cultural performances that can be observed and understood in any cultural structure. These events include, for example, traditional theater and dance, concerts, recitations, religious festivals, weddings, and funerals, all of which possess certain characteristics: limited time span, a beginning and an end, a set of performers, an audience, a place and occasion, and an organized program of activity. The theory gives us an approach to understand culture in everyday activities of human being.

The performance of foollee songs in *Tuulamaa Oromoo* is the act of cultural communication in the community. Every act of the performance has cultural meaning and message to the performers and audiences. During the performance the *foollee/Absaalaa* songs, the communication cues that were employed by the boys have cultural meanings and messages. Hence, the verbal and non-verbal communications cues in the songs performance need to be approached via the culture of *Tuulamaa Oromoo*. The meanings and messages of the communication cues are embedded in the cultural, conventional and social practice of the community.

In addition to cultural performance theory, group communication theory also helps the researcher to get the pattern of communication in the group of males those performed *foollee* songs at different occasions. During *foollee* songs performance, the performers' communication was governed by the roles of individual in the group, the combination of the members (homogeneity and heterogeneity), the famousness and level of expertise in executing the songs and size of the group. The theory deals with shared communication cues or modes among the members of a group (Kawase, 2014). By this theory we deal with intra-group communication patterns, conventions and group culture.

3. Research Methodology

The data for this study were collected from four districts such as Dagam and Jiddaa from North Shoa and Boosat and Booraa from East Shoa. Each is popular in practicing *foollee* songs among Tuulamaa Oromoo. The data were collected from different occasions where foollee songs are performed in natural contexts. In North Shoa, the boys perform the songs at *Goobee Ceremony (that* starts from mid-July and extends to mid-September). It also takes place during wedding anniversary and at Orthodox Coptic Church celebrations. In East Shoa, the same songs are performed at Buttaa Ritual (Gadaa Power Exchanging Ceremony) that takes place every eight and during the national Irreechaa ceremony at Hora Harsadii. As the data were qualitative in nature, the study was approached qualitatively and descriptive and analytical on purpose to reach cultural meanings of the communication cues.

Performers of the *foollee* songs are culturally known group of boys (16-24) who are unmarried. These groups of *Gadaa* generations are expected to sing at different occasions specifically at *'Buttaa'* ceremony. Moreover, in North Shoa the members of the group became more active in singing to attract girls. So, the participants of the study were the boys of the age interval indicated above. Interview and focused group discussions were made purposefully with performers that take the leading roles or serve as the controller of the group. This helps to indentify and describe the communication cues and messages they intend to convey. During focused group discussions, messages and meanings of the identified communication cues or styles that have been used by the performers during performance and those collected via interview were identified and described. The data were recorded via video and audio recorders for better analysis. On the other hand, observation were made to capture data that could not be obtained through interview and focused group discussions in order to collect more communication cues during live performance of the *foollee* songs.

The data obtained from contextual settings and identified as communication cues were grouped under two major umbrellas: verbal and non-verbal communication cues for further analyses. Specifically, nonverbal communication cues were more classified into kinesics (body language), haptics (touching behaviors), proxemics (use of space), vocalic (paralanguage), oculesics (gaze and eye contact) and chronemics (use of time) (Kawase,

2014; Jensen and Marchetti, 2010). Based on this, each communication cues were organized in the form of table. After that their intended messages by the sender and receiver were identified in the table.

The analysis and interpretation of the messages of cues were given based on the Newcomb's model of communication that emphasizes social system and common background of the communicators. The model asserted that communicators should have common cultural and social knowledge to communicate effectively (Fiske, 1990). So, it suits this study as the foollee singers (performers) have common knowledge about the communication cues, modes and codes and also share rules and regulations of the foollee songs performance. According to Juslin & Laukka (2003) in nonverbal communication the content (what is communicated), the accuracy (how well it communicated), and the code usage (how is it communicated) are fundamental issues to analyze.

In foollee songs performance, inter-performers communication has enabled the performers to perform effectively without interruption. It is believed that the boys have common knowledge about the communication modes. They share common understanding about the meanings and messages of the communication cues while they send and receive. Based on the Newcomb's model of the communication, we analyze the common knowledge (meanings and messages) of verbal and non-verbal communication cues that the boys shared among themselves. In addition, the boys' knowledge of performing styles, timing of role changing, the group members roles in the group and the co-performers diversity all have impact on the efficiency of the communication.

4.   Results and Discussion

4.1. Nonverbal Communication Cues Employed upon *Foollee* Songs Performances

Oromoo as an ethnic group is best known for the creation of *Gadaa* system (political, economical, administrative, military, legal and social system) in Africa. In *Gadaa* system every member (usually male) of Oromoo community is categorized in to age groups (grades) and has roles through his entire life. Among the age group *Foollee* (the third grade) is composed of the youth (16-24) that known as social agent (Dirribi, 2011). This group has the role of keeping security within the society. The *foollee* also performs songs to insult wrong doers (unethical ones) and to praise heroes and good mannered ones. In the society *foollee* members are expected to compose, improvise and perform songs as one of their qualities. So, the group has freedom of performing songs at different occasions.

Even if the Gadaa system as political and administrative practice appears to be abandoned in *Tuulamaa Oromoo*, the practice of songs related to *Gadaa* system is common across the group. In north Shoa (*Salaalee*) the songs themselves are known as foollee whereas in East Shoa they are called *Absaala*. The youth (*Qeerroo*) performed the songs at different occasions such as wedding, harvesting, religious ceremonies, holidays and anniversaries. According informants, the boys have to perform the songs to beloved or kissed by girls (*Wadaajii*, roughly means girl friend only to kiss each other no sexually intercourse). They also used performing folksongs to shown their significance in their peer group and to be famous among the boys and girls. Due to these social views, the performance of folksongs in a group has competitive nature among the performers (boys). More evidently, in a large group of the folksongs performance, becoming *Shaayii* (leader) was demanding famousness, quality of voice and also strength to stand against the others. So, close friends forced to pair together as a leader, to get the chance of singing (See figure 1).

Figure 1: Picture upon foollee song performance in Jiddaa & Dagam Districts, North Shoa respectively

As the observations revealed, the boys have employed body language (kinesics) modes/cues of nonverbal communication in the performance. Among the body language, facial expressions and gestures (head and hand movements) were frequently used by the leader and co-performers (chorus) to request, order, reject and express feelings. The following table shows the kinesics (body language) which were employed in the *foollee* performance.

Table 1ᵃ: Kinesics Communication Cues Employed upon *Foollee* Songs Performance

Kinesics Communication Cues	Sender- Receiver	Message/s it conveyed
Facial Expressions	The leader to co-performers	Happiness/sadness
	A leader to the leader/s	Request to lead (sing)
	The leader to a leader/s	Rejection/acceptance
	Co-performers to the leader	Prove/disprove
Head Movement	The leader to a leader	Refusal/acceptance
	The leader to co-performers/chorus	Wrong refrain
Hand Movement	The leader to co-performers	Orders to repeat again
	The leader to a leader	Signals to calm down

It was observed that the leader (singer) has used facial expression (shining face) to show that the chorus has performed well to the expected standard: the volume and quality of the voice, synchronization among the chorus and saying the correct refrain. On the contrary, the leader was also observed when he was employing facial expression (frown) to send out his sadness about the performance of the co-performers (chorus) while they repeat after him. Particularly to this case, according to the participants in focused group discussion, the leader was not happy as the volume of the chorus was low.

And again, a leader had expressed his request to the leader to take over the leading position with bright face (smiling) in combination with other cues. It was also clearly observed that the chorus signaled out their approval and disapproval of the leader's voice quality and the ability to manage the lyrics of the song via facial expression (frowning). According to Seddon (2005) facial expression is the frequently used and effective communication cue in group musical performance. It was clearly observed that facial expressions are among the body languages that were employed by the *foollee* song performers to communicate effectively while they performed in a group.

ᵃ In the tables (1-5) and information follow chart (figure 2), **the leader** (Shaayii sirba baasaa jiru) represents caller who was (leading) singing at the time of communication where as **a leader** (Shaayii sirba baasuuf deemu) represents any co-performer who was seeking to take the leading (singing) or the caller role and **co-performers/ chorus** (Jalaaqabdoota) stands for the rest performers who are doing the response (repeating after the caller) in a group of foollee songs performance.

The *foollee* singers used head and hand movements to send different messages to co-performers upon acting out singing and dancing performances. As learned from the *Goobee (Y*outh performing praise songs to collect gifts from households starting from mid of July ends on Meskel '*Irreechaa*' celebration) festival celebration that took place on 17th Sept 2015 at Degem District, the head movements of the leader are the means of refusing the request from a leader to overtake the leading position. The leader signaled out to the chorus that the repetition of wrong refrain after him.

At a religious occasion in *Jiddaa* District, the performance of the folksongs was chaotic and inter-performer communication became hardly possible. This was due to the heterogeneity of the group members (from two agro-climate conditions: lowland and highland that formed the group). The participants explained that there was established competition between the lowlanders (commonly known as *Mogoroo* those are living in or around Mogor river Valley) and highlanders (commonly known as *warra Baddaa*) to show who is brave, strong and clever in singing and stick '*Shimala*' fighting. In the group the two blocks were working hard to control the center of the ring/circle to get the chance of leading or becoming '*shaayii*'. In such group the member of *Mogoroo* block, who is the leader of the performance, would not give the turn of leading to the member of *Warra Baddaa* easily.

In this hostile situation two co-performers came out from their position (ring) to the front to take the leading role from the leader simultaneously. This moment created enmity (quarrel) between the co-performers. The then leader of the performance has used hand movement to show one of the co-performers (his close friend) to calm down before leading to fight. In addition, the leader also ordered the chorus to repeat the refrain again as they missed the frequency of repeating it by using hand movement.

Table 2: Vocalic Communication Cues Employed upon *Foollee* Songs Performance

Vocalic Communication Cues	Sender- Receiver	Message/s it conveyed
Volume of voice	The leader to co-performers	Tiredness/energetic
	Chorus to the leader/ a leader	Boredom /appreciation/
		Approval/disapproval

The usage of voice in daily communication is common across many cultures in the world (Knapp and Hall, 2007). It was also observed in the song performance while the voice served as communication cues/modes among the performers to deliver different messages. In the above table, the leader of the performance signaled out his tiredness to the chorus by decreasing volume of his voice while he was singing. One of the participants explained that doing this he conveyed the message of seeking replacement by other performer. The chorus has also used voice to tell the leader, they bored of his vocal quality, performing ability, and taking too much time via decreasing the volume of their voice. More importantly, during an incident when two co-performers came out to take the leading role simultaneously at one occasion, the chorus informs one of the leaders to leave the stage to the other co-performer through volume of their voice. From the two songs of the co-performers, the refrain of the song of the one performer should be heard loudly.

The discussion held with the participants shows the cue conveys the approval of the leader and the rejection of the second leader whose song's refrain is not heard well. Foss and Littlejohn (2009) also related that paralanguage (vocalic) modes are among the nonverbal communications cues used for communication by human being. So, the co-performers told the leader the rejection of his quest to become leader '*Shaayii*' by minimizing the volume of their sound while repeating refrain after him.

Table 3: Oculesics and Haptics Communication Employed upon *Foollee* Songs Performance

Nonverbal Communication Cues	Sender- Receiver	Message/s it conveyed
Gaze (Oculesics)	The leader to co-performers	Checking synchronization of melody /rhythm/ signaling wrong doings
	A leader to the leader	Anger
Touch (haptics)	The leader to a leader	Asking for help
	A leader to the leader	Asking for the leading role

It was witnessed that gazing was also employed in inter-performer communication of the songs performers. At one performance, the chorus has missed synchronization in repeating the refrain of the song. The leader gazed at them being in the middle of the ring till they said it with the same tempo and pace. More importantly, it was also observed that a leader who was seeking to take the leading role showed his anger via gazing at the leader who refused to leave the stage. Therefore, a communication cue has employed to convey different messages at different occasions.

At *Hora Harsadii* annual Irrecha Ceremony (*Oromoo*'s Thanksgiving Day), the leader and a co-leader were observed while touching each other to leave and take the leading role consecutively. The participants witnessed, such kind of communication is usually observed between close friends. On the other hand, gazing behavior, such as eye contact has been found to make for a better performance. Kawase (2014) also revealed that piano duo performers look toward co-performers shortly prior to the parts where tempo changes.

Table 4: Other Nonverbal Communication Cues Employed upon 'Foollee' Songs Performance

Non Verbal Communication Cues	Sender- Receiver	Message/s it conveyed
Initiating Dance	The leader to co-performers	Changing of melody/song/ quitting the leading role
	A leader to the leader/chorus	seeking to take the leader's role/changing of song/melody
Refrain of the song	The leader to co-performers	Time buying to remember lyrics/seeking to be substituted by other performer/ changing melody/song
Pace of Movement	The leader to co-performers	Tiredness/freshness

In addition to body language, movement and vocal elements, the ***foollee*** songs performers use actions as non-verbal communication cues to convey different messages to co-performers. The data shows that initiating a dance by the leader or a leader conveys different meanings to the receivers. Likewise, the discussion made with participants revealed that the leader could initiate dance to show the need for change of melody or the song and to signal quitting/leaving of the leading role, specifically when he get tired. At this time any performer can initiate a dance to show he is going to take the leading role or he needs change to the melody or the song itself. That is why the data in the table realizes a leader has initiated a dance to take the leading role from the leader.

The societal norm for the performers is to wait for the refrain of the song to signal messages to the leader during performance. To do this, the co-performers have to wait for the refrain of the song to be sung by the leader to interfere for whatsoever purpose it is. This is the cultural code of ethics for song performers in the community. But, even if it is taken as code of ethics, some performers did not obey it during performance. By singing the refrain of the song in the middle of the performance, the leader signaled that he forgot the lyrics of the song (time buying strategy), his tiredness and to be substituted and time of changing the

melody or the song itself. During some performances, the leader uses the pace of his movement to signal his tiredness and freshness to the co-performers. If the leader slows his pace of the movements (trotting) in the circle, it was culturally understood that he needs to be substituted by someone else. It is a kind of cue that used to call for help. The data in table 3 also shows that the leader uses touching to be substituted after the co-performers failed to respond to his messages via slowing his pace of movement.

4.2. **Verbal Communication Cues Employed upon** *Foollee* **Songs Performance**

In the *foollee* songs performance, the performers employed verbal communication cues/ modes in some cases. Keller and Appel (2010) witnessed that musical ensemble performance primarily entails nonverbal communication through body movements and musical sounds, though verbal communication usually takes place. The verbal communication modes have been used in some unique groups which have close friends or from the same village and relatives. Interestingly, the verbal communication modes were delivered as a part of the song with similar melody, tempo and pitch (note) in *Tuulamaa's* foollee songs performance to avoid interruption or inconvenience. The direct verbal request did not cause interruption of the performance as it was the part of the song.

Table 5: Verbal Communication Cues during 'Foollee' songs Performance

Verbal Communication Cues	Sender- Receiver	Message/s it conveyed
Please let me take the turn Bear a baby boy that looks like you	A leader – the leader	Let me take the leading role
Let me share your burden Sharing burden like oxen plowing together We are Aallee river boys fighting together	A leader – the leader	Let me take the leading role
Pounding makes Niger seed well Chorus makes goobee good.	The leader- co-performers	Asking for better performance

The verbal communication modes are lyrics of the songs which were produced (composed) in the form of verse. In the first couplet (2nd row of table 5), a leader asked the leader to leave the stage (to give him the leading role) in polite and diplomatic way through the following poems. The sender has used the *Oromoo*'s view about having a baby boy in the family, the core element of *Gadaa* system to convince the receiver.

Songs in Afaan Oromoo	**Translation**
Mee takka as galchi,	Please let me take the turn once
Ilma akka kee dhalchi.	Bear a boy that looks like you

The second verbal cue (3^{d} row) is also articulated for the same purpose (requesting for the leading role) by a leader, but in the form of help and logical argument. The first line of the verse ('let *me share your burden*') shows a leader's trial to convince the leader by telling he is just to help him nothing else.

Songs in Afaan Oromoo	**Translation**
Mee takkan si furaa,	Let me share your burden
Furaan Qotiyyoodha tan walbira qottu	Sharing burden like oxen plowing together
Dhufte ijoollee Aallee kan walirra loltu.	We are Aallee river boys fighting together

The last line shows the logically way of presenting the request through explanation. It is common to share burden among people that work together or for same purpose and even oxen share burden when they plow together. The above verses witnessed that employment of verbal communication in foollee songs performance of *Tuulamaa Oromoo* to perform the

songs without interruption. Moreover, the verse reveals the unity and respect the foollee grade has to each other in their group.

As discussion made with the participants shows, the leader also employed verbal communication mode to complain about the quality of the performance of the co-performers/ chorus while they repeat the refrain of the song after him. The fourth row of the table shows that the leader indirectly signaled to the co-performers that they were not doing well after him. This typical communication mode is used when the volume of voice of the co-performers became low.

> '***nuugiin tuma tolti***'   roughly means, *pounding makes Niger seed good*, and
> '***goobeen qaba tolti***'   roughly means, *chorus makes song performance good*,

The above couplet shows that the leader is indirectly requesting the co-performers to repeat the song loudly after him. The inter-performer communication flow of the foollee songs performance can be summarized diagrammatically as follows (figure 2) from the finding of the study.
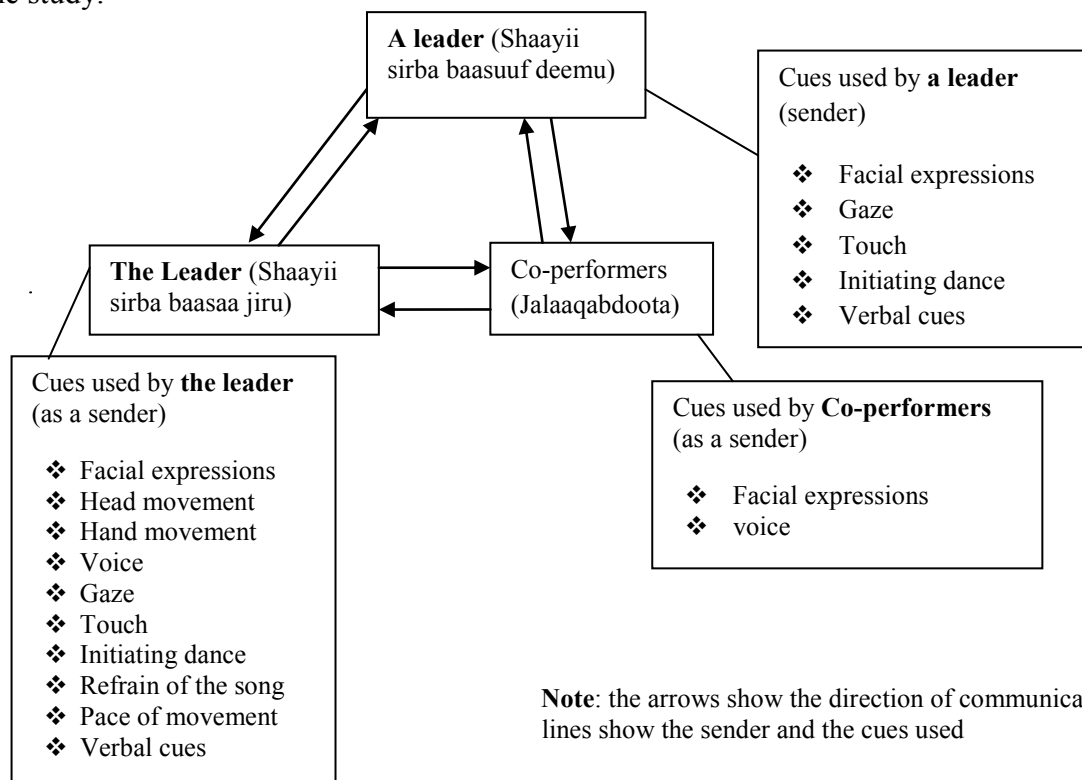

Figure 2: Inter-performer communication pattern (flow) in *foollee* songs performances

The complex communication flow (figure 2) shows that the actors (the leader, a leader and chorus) of the inter-performer communication in foollee songs performance exchange the roles of sender and receiver. All actors were active in sending and receiving the messages to keep the performance smooth and uninterrupted to the end. But, as indicated in the communication pattern flow the leader was frequently sending messages to control, lead and coordinate the co-performers to harmonize the performance. The flow shows the communication pattern (a single issue) among the actors in that very rapid, full of acts and non-stopping actions performances.

5.   Concluding Remarks

The harmony and synchronization of the foollee song performances in *Tuulamaa Oromoo* are the result of good articulation and expressive performance acts realized through nonverbal and verbal communication cues at the actual setting. More importantly, the foollee singers share common cultural codes, the meanings of nonverbal and verbal communication cues. The governing rules and norms upon *foollee* song performance facilitate the effectiveness of the inter-performer communication. The strategy of *foollee* song performance is resulted from the sender and receiver (a leader, the leader and chorus/ co- performers) strong interaction and communication. In addition, their common background knowledge about the channels and the medium that are used in the foollee songs performances also facilitate communication.

The performers of *foollee* songs have used more nonverbal communication cues than verbal information. They are also more active in employing nonverbal communication while they performed the songs in their group. It was believed that nonverbal communication cues were more suitable while the performers were singing and dancing simultaneously in these very non stopping actions. The finding showed that the performers have employed body movements, facial expressions, paralanguages, position, the refrain of the song, and dance as nonverbal communications cues in the foollee songs performance is to promote inter-performer communication.The study disclosed that the leader has used more communication cues than a leader and co-performers.

It can be also concluded that the *foollee/absaala* singers have employed verbal communication cues as a part (lines of the poem) of the song to avoid interruption of the performance. The verbal communications cues (the verses) have dual purposes. They have been used as the lyrics of the songs and as the communication cues simultaneously. More interestingly, as the data revealed some verbal communication cues served as the refrain of the songs during performance.

It is really important to conduct further studies on the communication cues in *Oromoo* folksongs' performances at different occasions and ceremonies. This study was carried out only on *foollee* songs which performed by boys (in similar *Gadaa* age sets). The group under the study was almost homogenous regarding age, sex, and clan. The result could be varying if the groups were heterogeneous. In the study the audiences of the songs performance were not included, so other studies could address the issues of communication between the performers and audiences. The performance of foollee songs is so complex that it is undesirable to touch all aspects of it. Hence issues like performance styles, group dynamics, its social significances, emotions of the performers and so on could be the subjects for other researchers.

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Dress as a form of Nonverbal Communication in the context of Arsii Oromoo

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Abstract

This study is concerned with one of the major genres of material culture, traditional dress, and its role as a form of non-verbal communication. The main objective is to find out the role of dress as a form of nonverbal communication by focusing on one of the famous rituals practiced among Arsii and to investigate the symbolic meanings attached to traditional dress used in relation to this cultural occasion. Therefore, it is delimited to body modifications and body supplements used by participants of the ritual. Interview, focus group discussion and observation were employed for data collection. Moreover, symbolic interactionism theory was employed for data analysis. Results of the study show that in the ateetee ritual women are identified by their clothes, jewelries and handheld objects. These dress types distinguish women from other members of Arsii Oromoo. Cultural features are meaningful if they are collected and treated in their cultural context. Accordingly, the data shows that the cultural meanings of traditional dress can be understood if the perceiver and transmitter are in the same context, so that they could have shared meanings. Therefore, it is recommended that focus should be given to these cultural non-verbal cues as they are identity markers of Arsi women in particular and Arsi people in general.

Keywords - *Ritual, dress, Arsii, non-verbal communication, ateetee*

Axereeraa

Qorannoon kun gahee uffannii aadaa akka waliigaltee dub-maleetti qabu agarsiisurratti kan xiyyeeffate yoota'u, kana agarsiisufiis gochaalee aadaa keessaa sirni ateetee filatameera. Hiikaafi tajaajila uffanni aadaa qabu agarsiisuufis meeshaalee aadaa keessaa uffata, faayaafi qabata aadaarratti daangeeffameera. Odeffannoo funaanuufis daawwaannaa, af-gaffiifi marii garee kan fayyadame ta'ee, yaaxxinni hariiroo mallattoolee (symbolic interactionism) jedhamu hojiirra ooleera. Argannoon qorannichaa akka agarsiisuutti uffanni aadaa sirna ateeteerratti uffatamaniifi qabataman enyummaa ummata Oromoo Arsii nicalaqqisiisu. Itti dabalees, hiika uffata aadaa mala dub-maleetiin dabarsuu akka danada'au hubachuuf aadaa ummatichaa beekuun barbachisaa akka ta'e qorannichi agarsiiseera. Kanaafuu, meeshaaleen aadaa enyuummaa ummata Oromoo Arsii calaqqisiisan kunuunfamanii dhalootaa dhalotatti akka darban qaamni dhimmi ilaalu xiyyeeffannoo itti kennee hojjechuu qaba.

Jechoota Ijoo- *sirna aadaa, uffata aadaa Arsii, dub-malee, ateetee*

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1. Introduction

Regardless of the culture difference among the people in the world, birth, marriage and death are rites of passage. (Sims, Martha C. and Stephens, Martine, 2005) These social events are accompanied by different practices as well as cultural objects according to the culture. Objects used in birth, marriage, funeral etc. may communicate gender, social status, the economic system, social and religious life non-verbally. Arsii Oromoo is the Oromoo ethnic group in the Oromia regional state of the Federal government of Ethiopia. This people are one of the largest groups of the Oromoo people residing in a vast territory stretching from East Shewa to Bale in Ethiopia. Eshete (2008) and Jebessa (1995) stated that genealogically, the Oromoo refer back their origin to two great ancestors, namely Booranaa and Baareentumaa. These ancestral divisions characterize the cultural and national identity of the nation. Among the two moieties of Oromoo the Arsi descended from the Baarentu Oromoo who inhabits by and large the eastern parts of the Oromia Region in Ethiopia including west and East Hararghe, Arsii (Arsii and West Arsii) as well as Baale zone according to the current administrative division of Oromia.

Since the antiquities, Arsii Oromoo's life has been attached to their cattle. As Hirut (2001) puts it, the life of an Arsii Oromoo particularly that of woman is highly attached to the possession of animals' product. These days, together with the cultivation of land, the people are practicing agrarian life. They depend on the cattle for their food (meat and dairy products), use their skin or hide as a raw material for making clothes and jewelries. Accordingly, therefore, each member of the people from child to old commonly wear clothes and adorn their body using jewelries made from verities of animal skin (Yenealem, 2000).

Even if the history of material culture is as early as that of the history of humans, its study has been quite out of fashion, though not so very long ago it was otherwise. Field-workers still record random data and gather up museum specimens, but serious and systematic attention has been given to language, art, ceremonies, and social organization **(**Dorson, 1972; Prown, 1982**).** Moreover, the limitedness of studies on material culture despite its interdisciplinary significance as valid source of knowledge on socio-cultural features of oral societies in Ethiopia motivated the researcher to conduct research on the issue. With regards to its significance, Material culture identifies cultural practices, wisdom, meaning and identity of a society; it is a means to know oneself. Accordingly, this study on material culture would enhance the knowledge about traditional dress as a form of non-verbal communication in Oromia in general and the Arsii Oromoo in particular. What is more, this work hopefully contributes to the growing scholarship on the interdisciplinary nature of Oromo material culture and non-verbal communication and initiates further studies in similar areas in general and on Arsii Oromoo in particular.

Therefore, the study is planned to find out the role of dress as a form of nonverbal communication by focusing on one of the famous rituals practiced among Arsi and to investigate the symbolic meanings attached to traditional dress used in relation to this occasion.

2. Literature Review and Theoretical framework

Dorson (1972) classified folklore into four major genres. These are oral literature, material culture, social folk custom and performing folk arts. Among these material culture focuses on how societies build their homes, make their clothes, prepare their food, farm and fish and do all their other everyday activities. It is concerned in brief with the society's craft arts. Walls (1990, p. 107),defined material culture as, "… the transformation of natural resources to cultural artifacts that we commonly call material culture-those tangible creations that are based upon and incorporate human needs ,ideas, values and beliefs". Just as we create material culture, so too are we shaped by the material culture that surrounds us. Material culture is an

interdisciplinary field of enquiry. Speaking of this reality, Woodward (2007, p.26) states "…Contemporary studies of material culture have developed a strongly interdisciplinary nature". According to this scholar material culture is the area of focus for the fields such as, architecture and landscape design, consumer research and marketing studies. Consequently, in this study, material culture is discussed as a bridge between folklore and linguistics by focusing on traditional dress as a form of non-verbal communication.

Therefore, the analytical framework of the present study, then, benefits from Prown's (1982) functionalist classification of material culture. It focuses on "adornment" for it includes jewelry, clothing, hairstyles, cosmetics, and tattooing, and other alterations of the body which are generally termed as dress.

Roach-Higgins, Ellen, Mary and Eicher, Joanne B.1992, p.7; Eicher, Evenson, and Lutz, 2000) define dress as, "an individual assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements of the body. Dress would, by this definition, include garments, jewelries, accessories, headdress, mutilation and scarification." And modifying and supplementing the body is carried out with the involvement of all senses. The visual aspects of dress (such as shape and color), appear primarily, but the other senses are also involved, such as touching skin, textiles, or leather, smelling scents applied to or associated with body or fabric, hearing the crunch of jewelry, and tasting pomades or lipstick are all related with senses (Peek and Yankah, 2004, p.205).

Ritual is one of the most powerful socialization mechanisms known. According to Sims and Stephens (2005, 94), "Rituals are associated with birth, puberty, marriage, and death, and rituals establish our entry to or exit from different parts of life or group experience". Through the rituals which accompany rites of passage we define and re-affirm our traditions and ourselves. Sims and Stephens (2005) further explained that rituals are repeated, habitual actions, but they are more purposeful than custom; rituals are frequently highly organized and controlled, often intended to indicate or announce membership in a group. As far as non verbal communication is concerned, everything which is connected with ritual cannot be expressed only through words; above all however, ritual involves action which is accompanied by material objects, it is performed, enacted, and reflected the past and shaping the future.

As Sims and Stephens (2005) stated during ritual performances there are likely to be particular dress types participants must follow, and/or designated ceremonial clothing or jewelry they must wear. According to the given idea each person who plays a specific role in a ritual is likely to wear certain clothes, jewelries and other body modification and body supplements. "These differences in clothing indicate who's who in the group: who's a novice, who's an "official," who's merely observer (2005, p.99).The rituals and the cultural practices attached to them are often connected with the group or people and thus they served as a means of strengthening the relationships within the group. This holds true for Oromo people rituals in general and that of Arsii Oromoo in particular. Oromoo rituals recreate, enact, and maintain the social order.

Passing or receiving information about a particular fact or circumstance is one of the most important objectives of communication. When we think of exchanging our ideas with others or giving some information to others, we do it in two ways. We either speak or tell or we can just do it without words. Burgoon (1978) stated we can communicate through language in different ways like verbal or non-verbal means of human communication. Among the two basic forms of communication, nonverbal communication is a form of communication expressed through gestures/body language/, behaviors and social interactions. It also considered as an indispensable component of human interaction and it bears close relationship with culture.

Each culture has a set of norms regarding the appropriateness of different types of body language and paralinguistic factors (Yongming and Fan, 2010).

Furthermore, Non- verbal channels are rich and effective in transmitting a large amount of information in the social interaction (Aliakbari and Abdollahi, 2013, p.35). It refers to communication through touch or smell, through various kinds of artifacts. For example, our manners of dressing, hair style, ornamentation, facial expression etc. are sources of information. Likewise, nonverbal communication like that of material culture is an area of study which is interdisciplinary by its very nature. As Matsumoto et.al, (2013) stated, it is an area of study for many disciplines- sociology, psychology, anthropology, folklore, language study etc. The fields tend to focus on a slightly different aspect of nonverbal communication depending on their areas. Based on this fact the concept dress which is one of the major features of material culture is also one aspect of non-verbal communication. As stated in Yammiyavar, Pradeep, Clemmensen, Torkil and Kumar, Jyoti (2008), different field of studies on nonverbal communication have identified areas of study in non-verbal behavior into nine categories as paralinguistic, kinesics, facial expressions, visual behavior, proxemics, touch, occulesics, artifactics and chronemics. Though there are different terminologies proposed by scholars in the field of nonverbal communication in relation to material[a] aspects, they have common characteristics in transmitting messages. In this article, therefore, the main purpose is to show the importance of traditional dress in maintaining nonverbal messages.

The various forms of nonverbal communication mentioned above have features which distinguish them from other forms of communication. As stated in Devito (1989, p.214) and Adler (2003, p.150) cited in (Ifa, 2012), there are different characteristics of non-verbal communication which are taken as universals. These are: contextuality, multi-channeled, continuous, rule governed, bound to culture and believable.

According to Danesi (2004, p.178) "clothing is more than mere bodily covering for protection. It is a sign system that is interconnected with the other sign systems of society through which we can send out messages- about our attitudes, our social status, our political beliefs, etc". This is where dress plays a role as a form of nonverbal communication in general, and object language in particular, in transmitting messages. Arsii Oromoo people use different cultural objects in different occasions to communicate different messages. Among them body supplements and body modifications, as they are one of the forms of object language, communicate sex, status, age, and economic wealth.

As far as the survey carried out on the previous research works is concerned, research works on the area are limited in number. There are only a few researches that have conducted in different areas where Oromoo people are living. Jewaro (1987) conducted his research on the material culture as a communication media with particular reference to Arsii Oromoo of kofele District.

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[a]Among the different forms of nonverbal communication, Kinesics, body language[a] or body movement is a form of nonverbal communication which includes gestures, facial expressions, eye contact, touching, and any other movement of the limbs and the body. Body shape, physique, posture, height, weight, hair, and skin color are the physical characteristics associated with kinesics (Lunenburg, 2010). Artifactics is also treated in Yammiyavar, et al. (2008, p.33) as one of the forms of nonverbal communication, but it has similar characteristics with that of body language and kinesics. This form of nonverbal communication has been associated with the study of non-verbal messages sent out by personal accessories, such as dress and fashion accessories used by a person.

The communicative function of objects used during marriage ceremony was the focus of the research. Abdisa (1988) on the other hand identified the objects used during birth, baptism, and marriage ceremony among Oromoo of Kellem Wollega to show some comparative aspects of Action and Object Language. Likewise, Ifa (2012) carried out a research on the non-verbal communication used during marriage ceremony, heroism, and lightning ceremony in the Iluu Abbaa Booraa Oromoo society.

In general, the focus of research works mentioned is on the nonverbal communication (object language) used in different occasions among Oromoo people in different areas. As stated above, no extensive research works are found on non-verbal communication and the communicative function of objects especially from folklore perspective. Therefore, as mentioned in the introduction there is a need for an interdisciplinary study on this area. This fact therefore, inspired the researcher to conduct a research on dress as a form of non-verbal communication with particular reference to *ateetee* ritual of Arsii Oromoo.

With regard to dress, researchers have approached the study of dress from theoretical perspectives originating in different disciplines and findings thus tend not to be complementary. Kaiser (1983, p.4) cited in Mupfumira and Jinga (2013, p.291) presented three principal approaches to the study of dress. These are: symbolic interactionist, cognitive and cultural. Among them the focus of this study is on Symbolic interactionist theory/approach. Symbolic Interactionist theory is a sociological theory that focuses on the processes of person to person interactions and how people develop viewpoints about themselves and others (Ritzer 2008) cited in Mupfumira and Jinga (2013). The function of symbolic interaction is to assist in deriving meaning through non-verbal cues and symbols. The basic premise of the theory is that we act towards objects on the basis of, action and meaning they have for us. This theory views the perception of dress as involving both the wearer and the perceiver bringing to an encounter their own social constructs; dress may symbolize something different to both and as a result of the dynamic interaction between the two participants; the symbolic value of the clothing may have changed both. Therefore, researchers using this approach have tended to use qualitative methods to evaluate the perceptions of both the wearer and the perceiver, and there has been a tendency to assume that social constructs are not quantifiable (Kaiser, 1990).

Therefore, the function of symbolic interaction is to assist in deriving meaning through non-verbal cues and symbols. The basic premise of the theory is that we act towards objects on the basis of, action and meaning they have for us. The meanings are derived through social interactions with others. The meanings are again held and modified through interpretative processes (Mupfumira and Jinga 2013, p.289). Therefore, in order to see the way nonverbal meanings are transferred through dress in the Arsii Oromoo culture, this theory is preferred to be one of the explanatory tools.

3. Methods and Materials

Qualitative research is a means to understand the world. It helps the researcher to see things in their natural settings and those meanings that people bring to them can be brought from different sources of data be collected by using different ways of data collection techniques. Since this study is concerned with describing cultural aspects through observation, interview, and having various ways of discussion, it applies a qualitative research method. The present study, in this connection, is an ethnographic work as it is based on a fieldwork. In Ethnography it is assumed that people make inferences- that go beyond what is explicitly seen or said to what is meant or implied. They display their culture through behavior in specific social contexts Marvasti (2004). On the other hand, as Dundes (1965), Dorson (1972) and Sims and

Stephens (2005) describe, collecting and analyzing various genres of folklore of a given society gives insights into the culture, philosophy and other ways of life.

The first step in the data collection process is to find an adequate and appropriate sample. West Arsi zone was selected for indigenous techniques of preserving traditions and cultures are more prevalent by a particular attention to the traditional dress. Among the 12 districts the three namely Kokosa, Kofele and Adaba were selected for the data collection. For the selection of consultants[b] both purposive and snowball samplings were employed. In this regard, I made contact with Obbo Bonsemo Mi'esso, the former language and culture expert of West Arsi Zone Culture and Tourism office. He has worked as a teacher in most parts of the zone. I selected him purposively to identify appropriate consultants for the study. Therefore he was one of the key consultants in the data collection process as well as he helped me in the selection of consultants' from the districts mentioned earlier.

In this study participant observation, unstructured and semi structured forms of interview and focus group discussions were applied for data collection. The collection process was accompanied by equipments such as photo camera, audio and video recorders and note book (Bartis, peter 2002). Data was organized based on its sequence during the performance. But more emphasis is given to traditional dress and its symbolic significance as a form of nonverbal communication while analyzing the data.

4. Results and Discussion

As far as Arsii Oromoo is concerned, there is a ritual performed by women called *ateetee*. It is the social mechanism by which they secured the violation of their right caused by nature and/or human.

There are various reasons for the preparation and enactment of this ritual among Arsi women. According to consultants those reasons can be generally categorized under the two basic types of *ateetee*. These are *ateetee falaa* and *ateetee goraa*. Consultants also told that the classification is based on the case related to Arsii Oromoo in general and Arsi women in particular. In the case, if there is a conflict between husband and wife or between a woman and a man in the village or far from the village *ateetee* ritual is performed and this is named as *ateetee goraa*.

On the other hand, when natural crises such as drought and famine take place in the area where the people are living and to pray for the fertility of a woman who needs to have a child or to give birth peacefully the ritual is organized by women. Moreover, during the field it was also observed that in recent days, *ateetee* ritual is started to be performed at the day of Culture and Tourism in a district, zone, region or national level. These all are included under *ateetee falaa* in which the term *falaa* is refers to -solution.

When we are talking about *ateetee* ritual, it is inevitable to talk about material objects. The most important ceremonial objects which accompany *ateetee* ritual are *siinqee* (ritual stick) and *qanafaa* (sacred piece of wood). According to Arsii Oromoo oral history, Oromo women

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[b] There are different terms which are used by different scholars to name the people who give available data for the research. As Daymon and Holloway (2002) stated, usually it is difficult for researchers to know what term to use for the people they interview or observe, especially as the name makes explicit the stance of the researchers and their relationship to those being studied. Terms such as, participant, informant, subject, respondent are commonly used in different fields of research. Gilbert et al., (2006) on the other hand, suggested that for the researcher who conducts an ethnographic research in the field of documentary linguistics as well as culture the term consultant is more suitable. Therefore, based on the given idea, the term consultant is used in this article.

received certain ceremonial objects and powers from the *Gadaa* system. Culturally it is believed that *Abbaa Gadaa*/leader of *Gadaa*/ brought to his wife two symbols of female honor and authority. These are a *siinqee* (ritual stick) and a *qanafaa* (sacred piece of wood). Among these *siinqee* is given to a woman at the day of her wedding as a symbol for the transition from girlhood to womanhood and it stays with her throughout her life. On that particular day, the bride accepts different gifts of traditional handheld objects as her staffs from her family. Among those handheld objects, *siinqee* is one of the basic gifts. According to Kuwee (1997, p.3), "*siiqqee* is a stick given to the bride from her mother on her wedding day and stay with her throughout the rest of her life". In Arsii Oromoo culture, on the wedding day when the mother blesses her daughter, she holds one end of the *Siinqee* and the daughter the other. This symbolizes the link between the mother and the daughter on one hand and the link among all women, on the other, as the wedding is a rite of passage for the bride to be a womanhood like that of her mother and women in the village.

Qanafaa is a sacred object which is to be tied around woman's forehead after giving birth and for four or five months afterward depending on the sex of a baby she gave birth. This wearing of the *qanafaa* represented the high dignity of mothers, a symbol for respect and symbolizes the social position of a woman among the women in particular and the Arsii Oromoo in general. This cultural object also served as the focal point of female protest and resistance. This is because, as consultants told, a woman with this sacred object on her forehead is respected by all members of the people and she is also called *waayyuu* (respected woman). In the culture the number of *qanafaa* the woman put on her forehead depends on the number of children she gave birth at a time.

In Arsii Oromoo culture, whenever natural disasters fall, women gather and perform the ritual. For instance, when crops failed, the rains stopped, epidemics spread, or in times of war, women are the appropriate Arsii Oromoo members who prayed to relieve the hardships. As it was observed from the group discussion during the field, in such cases, the men formally ask them to gather around a riverside-*malkaa*. Then the women gathered and prayed to get solution for the trouble. According to the oral history, for example, in the case of a need for rain, after the women have prayed, *Waaqaa*- the Supreme Being, would immediately provide the community members with as much rain as they wanted.

Moreover, in the culture while *ateetee* participants go and back from the ritual place, "one has to avoid crossing their path. In this case, one has to stop with a respectful silence and wait until the women holding *siinqee* and bunch of grass pass off" (2004, pp.114). As mentioned before, nonverbal communication is contextual and culture based. Therefore, In the cases like not crossing the woman holding *siinqee* and bunch of grass (to represent grace or development) one has to know what he/she is doing in relation to such cultural activities. In addition, this cultural activity is a means by which message is transferred through non-verbal way and can be understood in the context of that culture.

Each *ateetee* ritual involved several actual meeting before it is concluded by a sacrifice. Cultural equipment's a woman uses in the ritual are passed down from mother to daughter and include *siinqee,* cultural clothes, jewelries, and food and drink containers. As mentioned earlier, at the day for the ritual performance, the women go to an area of suitable grass and water-*malkaa*- culturally such areas are considered as a symbol for the sources of life. The women on the way to *malkaa* are identified by their handheld object, *killa* -with *miccirraa* (a cultural food made from grind barley flour and butter), *cicoo* (handheld object) full of milk. They gather there to pray for peace, for rain and for health of human and cattle.

In addition to those handheld objects, a woman who participates in *ateetee* ritual is identified by her way of dressing. In the places where Islamic religion is dominant, women are expected to cover their hair due to their religion. They wear a black headdress called *guftaa* secured by a white cloth-*shaashii* together with jewelry named as *sandaaba* on their forehead. Whereas, women who follow the traditional religion or other religions have braided hair style with jewelries; participants also wear *lotu* and *forora* jewelries on their forehead. In addition, they do have *qarrisaa* earring which is attached to their earlobe. In the culture, women are known by wearing different jewelries. Among them necklaces are of various styles and colors. Women, who participate on the ritual, wear various forms of necklaces such as, *jomore, kalxata, callee hudhoo*[c]*, jombollaa, hadhooftu, kaafuraa, tafsee*[d]*, callee faaximee, maracoo (*This jewelry is not common for all woman rather it is worn by a *qondaala's (the hero's)* wife).

It is also common for a woman to have hand jewelries such as *qube* on her finger(s) and *bito, and naashaa* on wrist and upper arm of the left hand respectively. She wears *laakkaa and laakkayaa* bangles on the right hand wrist and upper arm respectively. In addition, it was also observed that it is common to see a woman who wears leg ring(s)-*saasiraa* especially around *kokkosaa* district. These cultural features identifies woman from other members of the people. In this cultural occasion in addition to their function as jewelries, wearing one or more *qubee, saasiraa, bitoo, naashaa* and *laakkaa* culturally symbolizes wealth for the woman who wears it.

In addition to jewelries and handheld objects participants also identified by their traditional clothes. They wear *kadhoo handaaraa, boke* or *bonkoo* gown. Under *boke, bonko or kadhoo handaaraa*, they wear a traditional blouse (top)-*qolo qomo.* It is a cloth made from cotton and a thread with a variety of color. Regardless of its size, it is common among female from the stage of wedding to an old age.

Before cotton and fabricated clothes were introduced to the culture, women were used to wear two types of skirts. These are *qeexxaa* and *harsamaa. Qexxaa* is a skirt made from different (most of the time two) animals skins and is worn by a bride and young married woman together with *kadhoo kasaa, kallo handaraa* and *boke*. the second type of skirt is *harsamaa*- a traditinal cloth made from cow hide and worn by an aged woman. Even though, *harsamaa* is traditional leather cloth for Arsi woman, it is rarely worn by woman in present days. Instead of *harsamaa*, women wear *huccuu or keessaseeni* as cultural clothes. Thus, currently, it is obvious to see women wearing *keessaseeni* or *huccuu* clothes made from cotton during the ritual. An Arsii Oromoo woman at the day of her wedding starts to use traditional belt made from hide strings called *Hanfalaa*. It is made from well prepared soften cattle hide and used to tie *qexxaa* or *harsamaa* to the waist. Currently, this kind of cloth is rarely used by some women. Instead a cotton waist tie (belt) called *sabbata* is available among women. It helps to secure *keessaseeni* or *huccuu* skirts which are worn with almost the same style with that of *qexxaa* and *harsamaa*.

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[c] It is called *callee hudhoo*- because of the close attachment that the jewelry has to the neck as compared to the jewelries worn this part of the body.

[d] Though the participants on the ritual are all women, Tafse/tasbee jewelry is discussed on its function for this particular group. But, in the culture it is also used as a symbol of engagement like finger rings used in others culture.

In addition to other clothes of women in the areas where data was collected, there is a one sided thread made cloth which is worn above *harsamaa* called *qolo ateetee*. It is worn by a woman who starts to participate on *sirna ateetee (ateetee* ritual). It has different colors patterned with a strips design.
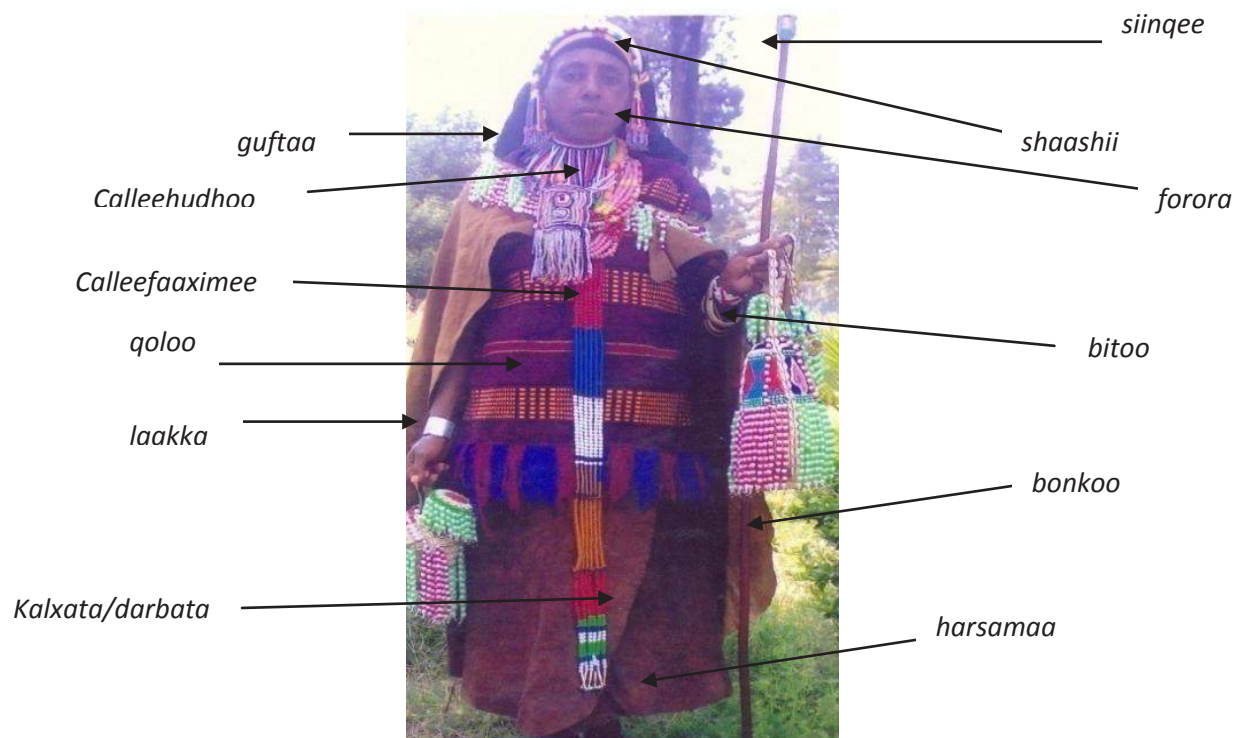
Photograph 1: A woman with cultural dress

Therefore, for someone who observes the gathering of women with a combination of these cultural dress types can understand that they assemble for *ateetee* ritual[e]. So, it is obvious to understand the role of dress in the ritual without a need for verbal explanation.

As mentioned earlier, In Arsii Oromoo culture, there are various reasons for the performance of *ateetee* ritual to be held. In the case of the conflict between husband and wife, if he is beating his wife with *Qanafaa* or not allow her to participate in women gatherings, she prepares herself for complain. This is one of the reasons for the *ateetee goraa* to be organized. As *Qanafaa*, is a sacred object or the high dignity of mothers which distinguishes the woman who gives birth recently, in the given time, the woman should be respected and no one is allowed to discourage, attacks or dishonest her.

As consultants described if this cultural rule is obeyed the woman calls her friends for help of securing her right. In the cases like the husband beats or verbally abuses his wife, thus an offended woman(his wife) leaves her responsibility, hold her *siinqee* and calls *ateetee* outside her house by ululating (calling) *"ilii-ilii-ilii"* loudly until neighbors gather and join her. This shout (scream) for gathering is known as *Iyya dubartii or iyya siinqee*.

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[e] Even if the focus of this article is on exploring the role of traditional dress as a form of nonverbal communication by giving special attention to *ateetee* ritual, one can observe a woman with traditional dress types on cultural occasion's for instance wedding ceremony in the areas where this study is conducted.

In this context the phrase *iyya dubartii* refers to woman's shout, and *iyya siinqee* is a voice of *siinqee*. This means as *siinqee* is the cultural weapon for woman, shouting by holding *siinqee* is directly related with in search of security. At the time such scream is noticed from outside, women who have heard the ululating (the call) are expected to come and join the woman having their *siinqee* on their hand. This is because; in the culture violation of women's right is like breaking her *siinqee* and this is regarded as killing the woman.

From this it is observed that *siinqee* and *qanafaa* objects have great place in *ateetee* ritual and are means's of nonverbal communication among the people in general and the women in particular.

Photograph 2: Women gathering for ateetee ritual

In the process of the ritual, the offender for example, a husband who beat his wife with *qanafaa* is expected to be there on the occasion and he is directly asked if he has committed the offence. The outcome is that the wrongdoer asks women's forgiveness by compensating the group and appeasing their divinity. Therefore, the wrong doer is expected to ask apologize in three ways. One, by presenting a cow or calf for sacrifice for the women to feast on or buying cotton thick cloth (*gaabii)* to the woman he/she abused. What is more, by presenting honey and serving a drink made from it to the participants. The wrongdoer can do all depending on the complexity of his offence. But, the women may exempt the scarification of the cow, if they think the family economy will be affected badly. With regards to the color of the cattle, as consultants agreed black is the most favorite. This is because in the culture black symbolizes *waaqaa*- the Supreme Being.

Photograph 3: The ateetee gathering at the time of blessing the gift giver

As it obesrved from the picture during the process of blessing they put thier siinqee on the back of the cow. They are doing this in two ways; one by using words and expressions as well as using an object-the nonverbal means of communication symbolizing their acceptance to the gift presented.

During the ritual, after the cow or calf is slaughtered, the the skin on the tail is splitted and given to the women. At the time each woman tie the skin at the tip of their *siinqee*. In the culture specially around *kokosaa* district the number of splitted cow or calf skin is a symbol for her participation on *ateetee*.

While the ritual is performed, the women gather in some place by making a raw or circle and sing traditional songs. The thanks giving for their cattle is one of the various folk songs which are performed in the ritual.Moreover,the women in the ateetee gathering raise various issues using the songs. In addition to the issues related to rain making and gifts they also bless and present their pray to ateetee by saying the following:

Malkaananna dhilteedhinna dhiltedheinnaa
Sa'aa namaa qixxee jirraa ilililililiiii
Si jaalannee sindeebinaa kaayyoo laalaa sijaalannee sindeebinaa
Anaa wajjin Rabbii wajjin sijaalannee sindeebinaa

the blessed area/malka/ save us from your eyes
we are in the middle of human and cattle.
we love and respect ateetee!
with God and the folk we love and accept ateetee!

In the ritual, as it is a time for blessing and good joy there could be a curse, if the offender does not confess his mistake in person or in absentia, the women impose a more serious curse called *abaarsa siinqee* (the curse of *siinqee*). This is the stage when all of the women place their *siinqee* on the ground and pray to *waaqaa* for the offender to be punished. And it is believed that the person who is cursed by the women gathering will immediately punished by *waaqaa*. Therefore, in the culture putting down *siinqee* on the ground during the women gathering is a non-verbal implication that they are going to curse someone who made a mistake in relation to the ritual or to mean the law is disrespected.

As explained before, the ritual is performed by women; and it is special occasion for them. Culturally in the ritual girls are not allowed to participate. The conflict is resolved by *siinqee* which is a weapon for women and girls are not allowed to hold *siinqee*, until they get married. Therefore, the reason for the absence of girls is connected with the role of *siinqee* in the ritual as well as the age class they belong. Therefore, this case observing only women gathering, not girls, with their cultural dress communicate the *ateetee* ritual nonverbally.

As discussed above, *ateetee* ritual is one of the most important cultural occasions to show the role of Arsi Oromo woman dress types in transferring messages through nonverbal way as dress is a form of nonverbal communication Here under the dress types observed on *ateetee* ritual which are used by participants and their embedded meanings are summarized and presented in the following way.

Table 1.*Ateetee* **ritual and the symbolic role of dress as a form of nonverbal communication**

Particular occasion	Users of dress types	Dress types	Symbolic meanings embedded to them (nonverbal cues)
Ateetee ritual gathering of women with their *siinqee* because of woman scream	Woman	*Qanafaa* *Siinqee*	High dignity of mothers A weapon for women right protection in search of security.
at the day of the ritual the day of sacrifice	Women gathering	All dress types *Guftaa*-headdress *Shurrubbaa*-hair-style with *heeqoo* *Sandaaba*-forehead jewelry *Qola*- hair band *Fororaa*-headdress *Lotuu*-forehead jewelry *Qarrisaa*-earring *Callee addaa,Callee hudhoo, Haadhoftuu, Kaafuraa,, Jomoree, Jombollaa , Callee faaximee* *Darbata* *(kalxata),* *Tafsee,* *Maracoo* **clothes** *Boke*-gown *Bonkoo*-gown *Harsamaa, kessaseeni* or *huccuu* **jewelries** *Qubee*-ring *Bitoo*-bangle *Naashaa wrist bangle* *laakkaa*-wrist bangle and arm bangle *Saasiraa*-toes ring *handheld objects* *(killaa* and *qorii* full of milk and *miccirraa)*	together symbolizes womanhood Religions status of womanhood Womanhood (kokkossaa) Religions status of women womanhood Adult woman Its number symbolizes wealth Being a wife of a hero womanhood Its number symbolizes wealth Its number symbolizes wealth
	Gift given to a woman(women) offended by a wrongdoer	thick shawl (*gaabii*)	compensation A need for forgiveness

5. Conclusion and Recommendation

In general, *ateetee* ritual is said to be a public gathering of women and it serves as religious, family and social function inter and intra Arsii Oromoo. A woman who participates in *ateetee* ritual is identified by *siinqee* handheld object, wearing *qanafaa* (this is particular for the woman who gave birth recently) and by her way of dressing. Having *guftaa* headdress or braided hair style with jewelries; putting *qarrisaa* earring, wearing various forms of necklaces such as, *jomore, kalxata, callee hudhoo, jombollaa, hadhooftu* etc. and having hand jewelries such as *qube, bito, naashaa, laakkaa*, and *saasiraa* identifies woman from other members of the people. The study reaveals that Cultural features are meaningful when treated in their peculiar contexts. The meanings of the traditional dress can also be understood if the perceiver and transmitter are in the same context, so that they could have shared meanings. The traditional dresses play a great role in expressing the people in various ways. The features inturn demonstrate cultural meanings, beauty, and wealth of the wearer. Besides, Arsii women's traditional dress types also serve as a sacred object, status indicators and identity markers in general.

In the process of *ateetee* ritual dress types have a great role to transmit messages non-verbally. Moreover, among the characteristics of nonverbal communication contextuality, culture bound and collectivity are commonly observed in the ritual. The dress types used in the occasion tell that though they are identity markers to identify the people from other ethnic groups, it requires someone to have knowledge of the culture. The study implies the importance of understanding nonverbal communication to understand meanings communicated in a culture. This is because of the culture based nature of non-verbal cues.

Though urbanization, the spread of religion and modern education have a positive contribution in the life of the community, they also played a significant role in the decline of Arsii Oromoo traditional dress. Therefore, it is very important to teach the generation about their indigenous culture. This is because the embedded meanings attached to those cultural objects are also identity markers of people. Consequently concerned bodies should work well to preserve the cultural objects which are part and parcel of *ateetee* ritual. Apparently, it is essential to create awareness among children who are members of that group to protect the culture from extinction.

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