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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

**THE IMAGES OF FEMALE CHARACTERS IN FILMS: A
CASE STUDY OF TWO MALE-AUTHOR AMHARIC FILMS-
KEZKAZA WOLAFEN AND SEMAYAWI FERES**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGE STUDIES IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN LITERATURE**

BY
TIGIST DEFARU

JULY 2006

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and for most, I am highly indebted to appreciate the unreserved cooperation of my advisor, Ms. Olga Yazbec who so patiently and constantly has provided me with constructive suggestions.

Dr. Ch. A..Rajendra Prasad and Ato Belayneh Abune also did play a great role for the success of this paper which I am highly appreciative of.

I am also very much grateful for the cooperation I have received from Tewodros Teshome, Serawit Fikre, and Surafel Wondimu who were kind enough to share their precious time with me.

The encouragements that I have constantly been given from my family, specially my mother- Akew, have a great place for the completion of this paper.

I give a great value to the cooperation I have continually been given from very dear friends near and far.

Last, but not least, I feel compelled to thank W/t Seble Tessema who typed and patiently edited this paper.

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ABSTRACT

Film is a visual medium which appeals to the senses of viewers. Through films, messages are easily conveyed through pictures; values are constructed, and already existing ones implanted deeper. Taking this distinct feature of film into consideration, feminist film criticism is concerned with how mainstream films are structured in a way wherein stereotypical images are attributed to female characters. The feminist film theory I selected for the analysis of the selected films is primarily developed by Laura Mulvey. This theory basically uses the mirror stage of Jacques Lacan and Sigmund Freud's Fetishism to explain how narrative films are structured and represent female characters as mere objects of male's gaze and how a spectator is compelled to identify himself/herself with the masculine subject on the screen.

Making use of this theory, an attempt is made to analyze the way female characters are made to appear in two male-authored Amharic films. Whether the female characters are represented simply as objects of fetish or as subjects capable of independent action is one of the points touched upon in the analysis. This thesis also looks into the issue of whether male characters are given special privileges in the selected films in contrast to female characters, whether the male characters are positively portrayed so that spectators can derive a narcissistic visual pleasure.

The close feminist analysis of two films shows the presence of stereotypical portrayal of female characters wherein they appear as mere objects of male's gaze. They are controlled and guided by the male characters, who are always found around them. In contrast, honorable values and the potential to win whatever they need to have are attributed to male characters. This in turn makes the male characters get the attention of spectators, who place themselves in the position of male characters.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Women make about half of the population of mankind. The contribution that they have to the development of the world in different sectors ranges from the early stage of a person-as mothers-to the level of involving themselves in different occupations. According to Lerner (1986:4) women are and have been central, not marginal, to the making of society and to the building of civilization.

Unfortunately, the centrality of their effect and influence is quite often denied the credit it should receive and they are usually found marginalized, viewed as secondary citizens that are mentally and physically deficient. In comparison with their male counterparts, they are often given the low rank; they are often told of their failure and are also encouraged to point out the failures of other women. Lerner (1986:218) states, "Women have for millennia participated in the process of their own subordination because they have been psychologically shaped so as to internalize the idea of their inferiority."

Women have been viewed in many cultures as vulnerable, incomplete and lacking physical fitness and mental competence. According to an internet source, they are viewed as biologically and therefore socially different from men, destined to play domestic roles inside the family rather than in public or political ones.

According to O'Connor and Jackson (1988) nobody can detach him/herself from the value he/she has in the specific culture or produce a representative of that culture in which the educational, religious and political aspect of that language is not reflected. Concerning this Lerner (1986:10) says,

The matrix of any idea is reality-people cannot conceive of something they have not themselves experienced or at least that others before them experienced. Thus images, metaphors, myths all find expression in forms which are prefigured through past experience.

This view shows how literature is influenced by the individual's value and experience that creates the literature. Women have been portrayed negatively in different literary works which reflect the cultural and social value that they are given. In fact according to Goodman (1992) it seems that creating non-stereotypical images of women in literature is very challenging for both female and male writers. So women are usually portrayed in literary works as surviving to serve male and as survivors of male violence. According to Ruth (1995:28),

Women have been represented through symbolic constructs which commonly appear in many cultures around the world-freighting females, venerated Madonna's, sex objects, earth mothers and 'misbegotten men'.

Laura Mulvey as cited in King (1992) says that women are usually portrayed showing "to-be-looked-at-ness" and as it is true in real life, they are highly pressurized to play the role of "being desirable" to the male's gaze. Women are usually depicted in literature not in their own natural identity, and their own right of representing themselves but rather as tools easily manipulated by the male characters. They are usually admired for their beauty than for their intellect, and this would make females be deprived of their chance of involving themselves in "action and revolution".

Film, the genre that is the concern of this paper, is a typical medium, which can clearly show the portrayal of female characters. Film is different from written literature. According to Giddings et al (1990), while written literature is "consumed" by relatively small "literate audience",

film is consumed by a "disparate, mass audience". This makes film an interesting area of study as its impact is higher in intensity as well as in magnitude. Through films women are usually given negative image as in other literary genres. According to O'Connor and Jackson (1988:xiv), film writers portray women as:

decadent women, exotic, world weary, sexual creatures whose lives revolved around the men in the films. Each actress, of course, created a unique interpretation of the image. Some with humor and others with pathos, but all operates within the stereotypical framework of the Eve image.

Feminist literary criticism is the application of the theory of feminism to the analysis of literary texts. Being weary of the images imposed on women from the society at large and literary texts in particular; the feminist literary criticism tries to have a close inspection of the way female characters are portrayed in literary works as one of its different manifestations. One of the main concerns of feminist literary criticism is the image of women in literature. The critics look at how women are depicted in literature.

This study particularly takes the aspect of feminist literary criticism, which looks at the way female characters are portrayed in male-authored literary texts. Film is chiefly taken as a literary genre which is the concern of this paper. This is because of its fundamental contribution in shaping the image one could have about a certain topic, and for the vast amount of influence it could have on its daily increasing number of audience. Based on this fact, this paper tries to answer the following questions:

1. Is there any relationship between the way the male film writers portrayed their female characters and the way the society view females?
2. Are the female characters in the films represented as characters

strong enough to act independently or as stereotyped images that are presented as objects of the male's gaze?

3. Do the films present the male characters as independent, courageous heroes who lead the direction of the story in a certain way?

1.2 Objective of the Study

It is aching to learn that one is deprived of the right he/she should get as a result of unreasonable premises. It seems that wherever they go, whatever they read and watch, women find themselves deprived of the privilege they should be entitled to because of only being a human being. It seems that one usually realizes the femininity of the other and expects feminine acts that are considered by the society as correctly representative than viewing one as an independent human being. So taking this into consideration, the objective of this study is:

1. to analyze the image of female characters in the two Amharic films.
2. to closely view the place female characters are given in the films as compared to the male characters.
3. to analyze the direction from which films are presented for the spectators.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Apart from serving as a stepping-stone for those who are interested in making further studies on feminist issues, this research might

1. provide information about the social prejudices against females.
2. show how the societal values and attitudes on different matters influence literary works and also how literary works positively or negatively influence their audiences to strengthen an already existing value and attitude.
3. to widen one's understanding of feminist film criticism particularly in the area of the portrayal of women by men film writers.

1.4 Methodology of the Study

In addition to exploring the literature in the area of feminist film criticism, this study totally depends itself on a thorough textual analysis of films selected for this purpose. Two male written Amharic films are chosen for the analysis: *Semayawi Feres* by Serawit Fikre and *Kezkaza wolafen* by Tewodros Teshome. The basic reason for the selection of these films is their being written and produced by males. Besides, they are very recent films which highly appealed to the audience and are produced and presented almost for the first time after relatively long years of silence in Amharic film production. So I have taken these films as data to be analyzed, taking into consideration their being contemporary and having large number of audiences. I have based myself on both the written scripts and the pictures of the films and have attempted to make a textual analysis of the films using the feminist film criticism as a background. The basic theoretical concept used as a framework for the analysis is Laura Mulvey's notion of the female characters being objects of male's gaze in mainstream films. To clearly show how female and male characters are portrayed in the films, reference to the description of some of the scenes and presentation of extracts from the scripts were found necessary to be included.

1.5 Scope of the Study

As it is mentioned earlier, this is a paper which is concerned with feminist critique of films. The major concern of this paper is showing how female characters are portrayed in films produced by men. Due to constraints of time and space, it is not the objective of this research to look at all Amharic films written and produced by males. Therefore, the subjects of the study in focus are *Kezkaza Wolafen* of Tewodros Teshome and *Semayawi Feres* of Serawit Fikre.

1.6 Limitation of the Study

Even if the history of film production in Ethiopia dated long back, due to the neglect it has undergone, it was a tough task to get materials about the history of film production in Ethiopia. Studies based on films are also not available in considerable numbers which negatively contributed for the defects that might be in this paper.

1.7 Organization of the Paper

This thesis is divided into four chapters. Chapter one is the introduction. It contains the statement of the problem, the objective of the study, the significance, the methodology, the scope and the organization of the paper and the limitation. Chapter two includes a definition of important terms and attempts to review the nature and characteristics of film criticism. I particularly used Mulvey's theory of film criticism as a theoretical framework for the analysis of the two selected Amharic films, which is included in chapter three. The last chapter of this paper, chapter four, is the conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Definition of Important Terms

In this section, I tried to define some concepts that recur in this study.

The male gaze: This term is used in feminist theory as a means to demonstrate power as asymmetries whereby a man gazes at a woman. In the feminist theory, it is believed that since it is almost always the female who is being gazed upon by the male, the man extends power over the woman.

Scopophilia: This literally means “the love of looking”. This term is often used by feminist theories in relation to the predominantly male gaze of cinema. Under the male gaze, the female form is objectified. This is in opposition to the way males are positioned as subjects with their own voice and subjectivity. The term, as is used in feminist film criticism is heavily influenced by both Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis.

Castration Anxiety: according to Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia (2006) this is an idea put forth by Sigmund Freud in his writing on the Oedipus complex; it posited a deep-seated fear or anxiety in boys and men. It is said to originate during the phallic stage of sexual development. It asserts that boys, when seeing a girl’s genitalia, will falsely assume that the girl had her penis removed, probably as punishment for some misbehavior. The boy then becomes anxious lest the same happens to him.

Sexual Fetishism: is a form of sexual arousal where the object of affection is a specific object or part of a person’s body. The term aroused from “Fetish” a term used in anthropology for an object believed to have supernatural powers.

Narcissism: This word was first used in relation to human psychology by Sigmund Freud after the figure of Narcissus in Greek Mythology, who is

a beautiful young man who falls in love with his own reflection in a pool. According to Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (2005), it means the habit of admiring oneself too much, especially one's appearance.

Voyeurism: is a practice in which an individual derives sexual pleasure from observing other people.

2.2 Society's Bias against the Female Sex and its

Reflection in Literary Texts

According to Wiegman and Glasberg (1999), patriarchy literally means a social system in which property passes from father to son. But when this word is broadly used, it refers to any social organization in which men dominate different positions and governmental leadership. It is a system where men are vested with the power of ruling and controlling societal, communal and familial affairs alone where land, housing rights and family decision-making responsibility ultimately belong to men. This patriarchal ideology gave way to the domination of women in various ways. Women are supposed to be subordinates to men in families, government and the economy. There is always a distinction made between the two sexes wherein the men are encouraged to take the position of the "norm", which is accepted by many, and the women are left to be involved with the "less valued" activities. This discrimination of the sexes and the overvaluing of one over the other is clearly shown in the use of the pronoun "he" to refer to all human beings - male and female. "He" is an inclusive pronoun because man is considered complete with values including the woman's, while woman is incomplete and nothing by herself.

Benda's Rapport d'uriel is quoted in Humm (1992:47) as follows:

The body of man makes sense in itself quite apart from that of woman, whereas the latter seems wanting in significance by itself . . . man can think of himself without women. She can't think of herself without man . . . He is the subject . . . the absolute she is the other.

In a patriarchal society, a woman is considered as nothing by herself. She is defined in relation to man as she is not taken as independent. She is expected to fit herself in the ideological framework that the society made available for her.

Jones (1987) states that, in any cultural context, the behavior that male and female should have is fixed by the norms of the specific culture. If anyone tries to disobey the set rules, they should expect to encounter various problems in the society which produces the images and conceptions of the ways the others should behave. This shows that social pressure can be an obstacle to individual's attempt to change.

The ideal woman for most patriarchal societies is the one who is beautiful, quiet and obedient. A perfect woman is pure and sweet with a caring and loving heart. Her place in man's life according to Humm (1992:225), is as a "nurturer, caretaker and helpmate". Ruthven (1984:70) also says that these are "man made taxonomies which use binary categories in order to classify women as sensuous roses or virginal lilies, pedestalted goddesses or downtrodden slaves, Eves or Marys, Madonnas or Magdalenes, damned whores or God's police."

A woman is not expected to be bold and ambitious as passivity is assumed to be in her nature. This shows that if a woman tries to act as a strong and challenging person, the presence of opposition from the other direction is inevitable. This is because it is believed that a strong woman is different from the norm and deserves to be shown hatred and criticism. According to Saadawi (1980), "A woman with courage or ambition, with eyes wide open, and who shows audacity and strength, is still considered ugly, repulsive, coarse and vulgar".

The Ethiopian society according to a paper presented by GALPO Team (2003) is a typical patriarchal society. The society's over valuing of the

male sex and the devaluation of the female sex is clearly shown in different ways. In such patriarchal societies especially in those residing in rural areas, the male sex preference is shown right on the day when the individual comes to this world. Male child's arrival to the world is accepted with excitement and pride which will be announced by a gun shot(Melat1996).This shows how women have almost no chance of escaping from the discrimination which is connected to their sex as the gender/power relationship that resides between the sexes is very much imbalanced and is directly related to men. They are brought up developing low self-esteem for themselves and are taught to be dependent on others. According to GALPO Team (2003:4), "They are marginalized and are given low profile and regard in the social hierarchy."

Through literature values and attitudes of different societies are depicted. The male authors who are members of the society with specific norms and ways of understanding things inevitably find themselves reflecting the same values through their literary works. So it is not something unusual to come across such literary texts with undervalued qualities given to the female characters, denying them the features that an independent individual needs to have.

Most African male writers do not represent the female African characters as independent beings acting on themselves, but rather as beings whose selfhood is suppressed. Women are portrayed as showing virtuous maternal characteristics tender and virgin. This portrayal which is viewed as reflecting positive values of a woman focuses on showing her reproductive function, which eventually leads to showing her as loving mother sacrificing herself for her children. According to Frank (1987) cited in Yehualashet (2004), the female characters are shown as being the shadows of the man representing the mother, the daughter, the sister or the wife of the male character. In the other extreme, women are

depicted negatively as having a threatening nature and negative power, with dangerous force of castrating a man. Concerning this Barthold (1981:59) says, "Women who are portrayed in men's books are polarized as either the prime cause of disruption of the times or as the source of redemption."

At a time when the already existing stereotypes are detected as distractive, the society struggles to form new ones even though according to Ferguson (1977:32), "The emotional force of the old stereotypes remains strong and continues to influence behavior. In some cases, it is possible to see an attempt being made to eliminate this biased view through literature. Literature by showing biases that exist also helps in consciousness raising and helps women overcome the sense of isolation which has for long been the main tool of their domination in patriarchal society. This is shown through the portrayal of female characters as strong, complex and independent human beings. According to Cagan (1978) cited in Baehr (1980:39), 'The assertive, ambitious woman is no longer an oddity but has become a new culture.' Landow (1991) also states that in literary texts, women have started to be changed from traditional enduring, self-sacrificing women, to strong and conflicting characters who search for their identity. They are portrayed as more complex, real and autonomous characters. Murphy (2001:107) also points out that women started to be represented as "an unpredictable, spontaneous, emotionally honest and sexually active..." individuals. Cited in Ferguson(1977) Elizabeth Janeway states that this is a result of the nature of myth which is not strong enough to persist constantly in human mind. She further states that

Myths represent the hopes and dreams of humanity, they must claim to be universally true. This claim makes them persist long after actual experiences have begun to change, but a myth can't indefinitely withstand too many exceptions. As soon as its universality is thoroughly challenged, its

emotional appeal is diminished. New myths begin to evolve and to create new role models.(32)

This clearly shows the possibility of the changing images of women characters in literary texts since the change in the attitude of a society is reflected in literature.

Opposing the idea of male authors' portrayal of female characters negatively, Ruthven (1984) claims that only being a man does not necessarily mean being biased towards the male characters. He states that there are male writers who succeeded in portraying women with their own qualities and exposing the dominant situation that they live in. Ruthven on page (12) also says that there are male writers who create:

female characters so untrammelled by contemporary conventional representations of womanhood that women readers even nowadays are amazed that men should have had such insights into what it means to live as a woman in a male-dominated society.

Related to this, Azeb (1998), states that not all men writers are cruel to their female characters since some portray female characters as autonomous, independent human beings.

2.3 Feminist literary Criticism

In situations wherein a person is looked down upon and is dominated, one cannot get away with such a silencing attitude especially when one has a lot to say and to do. There will always be a struggle to uncover what is concealed and to speak out what is silenced. This attempt has been made by feminist literary criticism. Spencer (1982) as cited in Alembanchi (2005) states that feminist literary criticism tries to provide standards for literature which are as much as possible free of biased depiction of individuals. One of the concerns of feminist literary criticism is a thorough analysis of literary works of women. This phase looks at

women writers not as mere consumers of male-authored texts, but as producers. It looks at themes, genres and structures of literature by women. Here the concern is not only trying to make women writers over looked in history “visible”, but also trying to ask the question whether women writers write differently from men and if so why. The other type of feminist literary criticism looks at women as readers of male authored or produced literature. According to Showalter (1985:128) cited in Olga (2005:113), this one is concerned with ‘the images and stereotypes of women in literature, the neglect and misconceptions about women in criticism, and the fissures in male-constructed literary history’. According to feminist critics, in reading such books, women readers are forced to either consider themselves as inferior or they should resist the biased depiction of female characters in texts written by male authors. The questions to be asked and answered through this criticism are whether reality is defined from male or female characters’ point of view and if the female characters are brought around as mere objects of male’s gaze or as independent subjects.

2.4 Film-A Special Feature of Literature

The origin of the name film comes from the fact that a photographic film which is also called film stock has and historically been the primary medium for recording and displaying motion pictures.

Cinema according to The New Encyclopedia Britannica (1993) bases itself on the contribution of the other art forms. Cinema is the technique and device of the other arts in addition to its own and it is also very close to literature since it is a narrative seen performed (Bekele 1991). Giddings et al (1990) also show the relationship between film and literature saying that written stories and filmed stories are two different forms but belong to a single narrative literature.

According to Heath (1985) cited in Bekele (1991), narrative film is not a single representation of images. It is a narrative wherein what is planned to be conveyed through the narrative is systematically arranged. Because of this, through narrative film a theme can most interestingly and visually be displayed. Herbert Read (1945) quoted in Giddings et al reveals this as follows:

If you asked me to give you the most distinctive quality of good writing, I would give it to you in this one word: VISUAL. Reduce the art of writing to its fundamentals, and you come to this single aim: to convey images by means of words.... to convey images. To make the mind see . . . that is a definition of good literature It is also a definition of the ideal film.

Film is also similar to literature in that besides having specific theme(s), there are characters that are represented by actors and actresses who are responsible for the presence of the action that follows the plot of the narrative. Functionality and imagination are the characteristics which make film similar to literature. Film also performs the same function as literature in teaching and entertaining its spectators.

2.4.1 Distinct Features of Film

Film is considered by many as an important genre of entertainment, education, enlightenment and inspiration to its audience. What make it to be a “universal power of communication” is its visual elements. According to Langham (1996) “Film has a special mystique because of the beauty and accuracy of the images it produces and it is this quality which all lovers of cinema enjoy.”

The medium of cinema is capable of clearly showing all aspects of human life and imaginations of human beings apart from its task of communication. Motion pictures do a great deal of things which are

difficult to do in other art forms. The World Book of Encyclopedia (1970:702) states:

It can show the excitement of a great cavalry charge. Can condense all the agony of war into a single close-up of the face of a dying soldier. By the use of color and costumes, motion pictures recreate the glamour of the courts of kings and emperors. By trick of photography, the giants of legend appear real.

Another unique characteristic of film is that it can show a sequence of ideas and emotions in rapid successions. Though the happenings are shot separately, they appear in the screen following each other in an artistic pattern. This rapid succession of events creates a high emotional effect. The basis of all films beauty and art is movement. It is this ability of the film to show movement by the use of the camera that creates the illusion of reality which offers film its existence as a perfect art according to Rotha (1958). Concerning this, cited in Giddings et al (1990), E.M Foster states that film seems to help come true the 'age-old dream' of allowing a way of communication in which the codes used are quite similar or almost similar to the object that they represent. 'Reality is . . . filtered and abstracted in the mind, conceptualized and then this conceptualization of reality is mapped on to signals which reflect the original reality itself in a way which words can never hope to match.'

The other reason why film has a large number of audience is because it saves the audience the trouble of taking more time on reading it. Belayneh Abune (1999) cited Giddings (1990:4) 'A novel will commonly be several hundred pages long, taking a reader several hours, whereas an average feature film may only last an hour or two.'

As film has all these qualities, one cannot help finding easily drawn towards enjoying watching movies. But while being involved in this act, it

is quite difficult to escape from being influenced by the different values and ideologies that reside in the films. Concerning this Armour (1980:XXIV) says:

Movies have clearly had an impact on our social and artistic lives. Except for television, there has been no more persuasive medium in our country, or any medium that has done more to shape the way we live. It has influenced our view of men and women, of blacks, and of our enemy in war. It has created customs and added words to our vocabulary. It has influenced us as sexual and social beings. It has reinforced those things about ourselves that we most like, and it has drawn us toward new dreams.

If effectively used, film is the most effective medium through which knowledge can be provided and changes in beliefs, opinions and behavior can be brought about to a large number of people. This is because film as a mass medium, reveals certain relationship between the individual and their social environment (Potter cited in Bethlehem 2005). Because of this fact, a great care needs to be given to film which is also instantly a true mass medium in the sense that it 'quite quickly reached a very large proportion of population' Mcquail (2000:23) in Bethlehem (2005).

Since picture affects the audience emotionally more than words alone could do, pictorial stereotypes most of the time appear misinformed perceptions that have the strength of building reality. These pictures can stay in with a person for a life time. And when these pictorial stereotypes reappear so often, they become part of a society's culture (Lester 2000).

2.5 The History of Film in Ethiopia

According to Hailu (1979) the first film was produced in Africa next to France where it was first created. The first filming art was created and finished in 1895 and one of the projectors made there was stolen and

taken to South Africa. The first film was also viewed in Dakar in 1905 and after that, films began to be produced in different countries of Africa. In those films, the Africans were forced to play the role of laborers, cooks, thieves and rebels.

The first narrative film that was made in Ethiopia is by a certain Italian named Abune Masias. The crew who made this film was composed of Italians. This film which has no title known showed the then governmental system focusing especially on the disagreement between Emperor Minilik and Emperor Yohannes from around 1880-1890.

The first Amharic narrative film to be produced by Ethiopians in Amharic language was Ilala Ibsa's film. It was entitled, "Hirut Abatua Manew?" which literally means "Hirut! Who is her father?". All the characters in the film were represented by amateur Ethiopians, but the director and the other people involved in the making of the film were all foreigners.

The next film produced was "Guma" which was authored and directed by the Ethiopian Michelle Papaticis. It was the first colored Amharic film with English subtitles. This film gained some recognition internationally. It was also presented at the international film festival "Canese" and many film companies offered a relatively larger sum of money for it, but due to the disagreement between the director and the producer, that did not happen. It was shown at different international festivals and was granted various medals and prizes.

Before cinema got the acceptance of the people and before it won the confidence of its viewers, it had gone through difficult times. During the first years of its emergence as an art in Ethiopia, since the idea of watching movies was something new, the people had hard times accepting it merely as an art. It was viewed by many as something operating by evil spirit. This fact is reflected in the name given to the first

cinema. "Seitan Bet" which literally means "The House of Satan", was the name given to the first cinema which was founded at Tewodros Square. This cinema was opened by the French man Musie Terras from 1916-1917. The charge asked to watch movies ranged from five cents to fifty cents and that was not affordable by most people. Even those who could afford it believed that cinema was not worth that. They said that it did not make sense to pay money for a thing which was not edible. The first types of films available then were silent movies with French subtitles. So during those times, only French people in Ethiopia or those people who learned French were able to understand the films.

For the reasons mentioned above, the number of people interested in watching films was so limited that the cinemas could not make profit out of the business of showing films. They used such a strategy which seems so silly from the viewpoint of the present film goer. The owners of these cinemas used to ring bells at the doors of the cinemas right before the films started. Assuming that the ringing is heralding the beginning of a famous film, the people used to run to the cinemas.

Now all that has changed and film makers do not take any trouble except for simply advertising the titles of new films produced which immediately will be followed by a long queue of people waiting impatiently to be let into the cinemas and watch the films that are delivered to them in the language that they understand.

2.6 Feminist Film Criticism

The feminist social movement has an enormous impact on film theory and criticism. For feminists, cinema is a cultural practice which represents myths about women and femininity and about men and masculinity. The central concern of feminist film theory and criticism is representation and spectatorship. Early feminist criticism's concern

focused on the stereotypes of women shown through the representation of female characters. This portrayal of women was seen as producing a negative impact on the female audience's perception of themselves and on male spectators' view of females. To avoid this effect, portraying female characters in a positive and accepted way was taken as a solution. But soon enough, it was realized that only creating positive images of women was not sufficient to bring a difference in the basic structure of films. Feminist critics tried to understand the wide spread power of patriarchal imagery using structuralist theoretical framework like semiotics and psychoanalysis. These two fields, especially psychoanalysis have helped a great deal in understanding how sexual difference is shown in narrative films. Cook and Bernink (1999:353) note, "For over a decade, psychoanalysis was to be the dominant paradigm in feminist film theory".

One of the first feminist critics who conducted a criticism of stereotypes from a semiotic point of view was Claire Johnston (1975/1991). She showed the way narrative film builds the ideological image of women. She looked at Roland Barthes' idea of "myth" and investigated the myth of woman in narrative cinema. The sign woman is considered as a structure, code or convention. This represents the ideological meaning that "woman" has for man. A woman is "no-thing" in herself as she is always seen in relation to man. She is negatively viewed as "not-man". The woman as woman is not present in the text of the film. (Johnston 1991, P. 26 cited in Cook and Bernink (1999).

It was Laura Mulvey in her article "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1975/1989), who used psychoanalysis in the understanding of the fascination of watching movies. This has a great deal to offer to understand feminist film theory. Her paper uses psychoanalysis to explore where and how the fascination of film is made stronger by pre-

existing patterns of fascination already at work and within the individual subject and the social expectations that have shaped the individual. What it takes at the initial point is the way film reflects, reveals and even plays on the straight, socially established interpretation of sexual difference which controls images, erotic ways of looking and spectacle. According to Warthal and Herndl (1993:433), "Psychoanalysis is appropriated as a political weapon demonstrating the way the unconscious of patriarchal society has structured film form". Mulvey used Freud's notion of scopophilia (the desire to see) which is sexual in nature and Lacan's concept of ego formation and the mirror stage considered as narcissistic visual pleasure, to show how the male gaze has an influence on female characters' portrayal in films. Since the concepts of Jacques Lacan and Sigmund Freud are essential in feminist film theory and criticism, it is important to discuss them in detail.

2.6.1 Jacques Lacan: The Mirror Stage

This theory of Lacan was developed in the 1930s. It is about a particular stage of human's age in which subjectivity begins to find a form. According to Lacan at the ages between six and eighteen months, an infant looks at itself in a reflecting surface and feels excited at the sight of its own image. The infant perceives the image as being complex and whole and will fix its gaze on the reflection and calls it back to its mind. According to Lacan, these are the first moments wherein the individual comes to know his/her status as a "self-recognizing, thinking subject". This is the first stage wherein the individual identifies him/herself. When the individual identifies him/herself with an image, he/she immediately acknowledges him/herself and converts the apparent unity of the image: identifying (in the sense of noticing) the image and ambitiously and longingly, identifying with the image.

Lacan says there is delusion that occurs which underlies the act of self

recognition. This is because the image is merely an image which is external to the observing subject even though it is the replica of the subject. The image which appears to be the individual is actually a mere representation of the individual. According to Lacan it is important to look at the difference that exists between the effectively ingendered pre-subjective infant which is referred to as 'it', and the individual or subject represented by the pronoun "he" or "she". Lacan says it is this happy supposition of the visual image of the child that forms the ego and enables the creation of the individual mind. Cited in Cook and Bernink (1999), Lacan (1993:38) discusses the "M'econnaissances (Misrecognitions) that constitute the ego, the illusion of autonomy to which it entrusts itself".

According to Lacan, the ego is formed in a seemingly correct but wrong way where in the subject gets a sense of independence only by considering an external image and narcissistically, out of a prime self-love, denying that it is external. This shows that "subjective identity" always resides in primary experience of misrecognition; the sense of identity which is acquired in front of the mirror exists only in terms of an "other". Lacan (1993:37) says "It is this moment that decisively tips the whole of human knowledge into mediatization through the desire of the 'other', constitutes its objects in an abstract equivalence by the co-operation of others."

From Lacan's notion of mirror, one thing is very important for film theory. This focuses on an exciting visual experience gained when there occurs a relationship between the subject and the image seen appearing on a reflective surface which is similar to film going. Mulvey related narcissistic visual pleasure with Lacan's idea of ego formation and the mirror stage. The way in which the child derives pleasure from the identification with a perfect mirror image and forms its ego ideal on the

basis of this idealized image, is similar to the way in which the film spectators derive narcissistic pleasure from identifying with the perfect image of a human figure on the screen (Lacan cited in Cook and Bernink, 1999).

However, both during the mirror stage and in cinema, the identification of the individual with the image viewed is not a clear form of self-knowledge. It is based on “mis-recognition” because it is too much affected by the very narcissistic forces that structure it. Both ego formation and cinema going are structurally characterized by imaginary functions. For Mulvey cinematic identifications are structured based on sexual difference. As Mulvey (1989:20) cited in (Cook and Bernink, 1999) ‘the more perfect, more complete, more powerful ideal ego’ of the hero appears in complete opposition to the distorted image of the passive and powerless female character. Because of this, the spectator is actively forced to identify with the male character than the female character in the film.

2.6.2 Sigmund Freud: Fetishism and Male Sexual Anxiety

Coming up with the cause of a specious knowledge that underlies the creation of subjectivity is not only the concern of Jacques Lacan’s mirror stage but also Sigmund Freud’s “Fetishism”. According to him, fetishism is not only a kind of sexual behavior which refers to the substitution by an adult male of an object or particular part of the body for the female genitals as the focus of sexual desire. Freud explained the basic cause of a fetishistic-object-choice by taking this back to a young boy’s earlier life stage. Freud states that when a young boy sees a woman’s genitals-initially his mother’s, the boy experiences a severe shock. This shock is the result of fear of “castration” because for him the woman’s lack of a penis is taken as a threat of castration. Cited in Cook and Bernink (1999), Freud (1993:28) states that the future fetishist:

refused to take cognizance of the fact that a woman does not possess a penis. No, that could not be true: for if a woman had been castrated, then his own possession of a penis was in danger; and against that there rose in rebellion the portion of his narcissism which nature has, as a precaution, attached to that particular organ.

As Freud states, the boy tries to deal with such feeling of threat by ignoring it. Ignoring this fact occurs in the process of being severely shocked by it. By the creation of fetish the boy will be able to claim his ignorance of sexual difference. According to Freud, a fetish is a mere substitute of the penis which the woman lacks and it is a symbolic, artificial prosthetic genital organ. The boy becomes aware of the existing sexual difference by instinct but since he is terrified with the danger of castration and is unable to deal with it, he achieves a compromise between the intuition and his anxiety in the form of a fetish object which later makes him to recognize and to ignore a sexual difference at the same time.

According to Freud, instead of totally ignoring femininity, which means woman's body, the fetish "Over-values" the female body for the purpose of gaining sexual pleasure. The fetish selects those aspects of "femininity" which pleases him, in such a selfish, narcissistic way of sexuality .Cook and Bernink(1999)

2.6.3 Psychoanalysis in Feminist Film Criticism

Laura Mulvey showed the relationship that resides in Freud's notion which shows "active" pleasure of looking at another person as an erotic object (Scopophilia) and narcissistic self-regard which involves a gratifying reinforcement of the ego with the act of watching films. She looked at the different orders of repressive fantasy which encourages film going and related it with the way of how female characters are placed in narrative film. According to Mulvey, the powerful look of the camera with

which the spectator identifies excitedly is focused at the figure of a woman who in the narrative film is merely given a place to be observed and controlled by others. Mulvey stated this situation of woman as being a mere focus of attention and controlled object by the camera, the spectator and the film's male protagonists.

Mulvey was able to extrapolate a theory of film spectatorship based on Freud's account of the development of the male child, and particularly on the threat posed to this development due to sexual difference. So according to Mulvey, the cinema regularly shows the danger of castration anxiety provoked in the male child by the sight of the female genitals. Instead of helping overcome this crisis by creating conditions for accepting and understanding sexual difference, narrative cinema replays and moves it further by initiating into the spectator the disordered knowledge of the fetishist. Here the spectator admires the sexual object which he rejects as anything other than an opportunity for substituted sexual satisfaction. Because of this, Mulvey says that "determining the psychological 'acrobatics' of film going is the historical fact of patriarchy which informs, and is reinforced by narrative cinema" Cook and Bernink (1999:349).

According to Warthel and Herndl (1993), women are displayed as sexual objects and a source of erotic spectacles. Women are essential elements of spectacle in narrative films, but are simply presented to work against the development of a story-line, to freeze the flow of action in moments of "erotic contemplation". As cited in Warthel and Herndl (1993:436) Budd Boetticher states:

What counts is what the heroine provokes, or rather what she represents. She is the one, or rather the love or fear she inspires in the hero, or else the concern he feels for her, who makes him act the way he does. In herself the woman has not the slightest importance.

In most films, it is the male character that is active and powerful; he is the agent around whom the action moves. The female character is portrayed as passive and powerless and she comes as a simple object of desire for the male character(s). Since the female's appearance makes the male subject remember the fact that she lacks penis which inevitably brings the fear of castration to mind, the female character is a source of much deeper fears. According to Mulvey, this threat of castration is solved in one of the two ways in narrative cinema. It is solved either through narrative structure or through fetishism. The narrative structure is used here in the way of portraying female characters as to be found guilty. And then the women's guilt is sealed either by punishment or salvation.

In the case of using fetishism as a way of escaping from the threat of castration, narrative cinema represents female characters as a form of fetish which means as a "hyper polished object". According to Mulvey, fetishising the women diverts attention from female "lack" and changes her threatening look into a reassuring object of endless beauty. Related to this Lauretis (1984) cited in Humm (1992:355) states,

The dominant cinema specifies woman in a particular social and natural order sets her up in certain position of meaning, fixes her in certain identification. Represented as the negative form of sexual differentiations, spectacle fetish or specular image, in any case ob-scene, woman is constituted as the ground of representation, the looking glass held up to man.

CHAPTER THREE: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

3.1 A Feminist Critique of Two Male Authored Amharic Films

In this part of the study, using the feminist film criticism as a backdrop, I attempted to analyze the two Amharic films written and produced by male authors. The films that have been analyzed are *Semayawi Feres* which literally means “Blue Horse” by Serawit Fikere and *Kezkaza Wolafen* -“Cold Blazing Fire” by Tewodros Teshome. Since this is a feminist critique, the main focus is on how female characters are portrayed in the two films. I have also tried to show whether the female characters in the two films appear as mere objects of gaze or as subjects capable of independent action. The male characters’ portrayal has also been considered by comparing them with the female characters. The theoretical framework used in the analyses of these films is the theory developed by Laura Mulvey(1975). She discusses the notion of female characters’ being mere fetish objects for the male’s gaze in films. She adds that they are entrapped in the voyeuristic objectification of the male characters in the mainstream films. In her theory, the male characters are subjects of narcissistic objectification for the spectator. In my analyses of the two films, these are important theoretical issues I took into account.

3.1.1 Kezkaza Wolafen

This is a film which narrates the love story of Selamawit and Brook. Selamawit is a beautiful young girl who thinks that she is HIV positive because of the unsafe sex which her ex- boyfriend had persuade her into. But despite this fact, she made herself stronger and continued her learning at a university till Ashagre, a man to whom her father had mortgaged their house, insisted on marrying her. Brook is a university

student who falls in love with Selamawit. When he learned about the intention of Ashagre, he decided to pay the money back to Ashagre and free her from any commitment. But since Brook himself was attracted to her, he started following and asking her to be his wife which she rejected. When her friend Hirut died of HIV/ AIDS, Selamawit lost hope of living and attempted to kill herself. She was saved by Brook and his friend-Ermias. While she was in hospital she confessed to Brook that she loved him, and made him promise that he would not leave her even when she gets tired and sick. After she recovered, she took an HIV test and became negative. This is because her ex-boyfriend had used a condom. At the end, Brook succeeded in marrying her.

3.1.2 Semayawi Feres

This film is about an engineer and his grand new idea of turning the Blue Nile Falls to rain. This man came from London to finalize his project. His arrival to Ethiopia was expected with a great eagerness with some other groups of people who were hovering over to snatch the proposal from his hands and pass it over to a person who is ready to give them a big sum of money. For this mission, Fereselam was found to be the ideal person. She is a writer who authored books which stirred controversies among readers. She was imprisoned for this. When she was released, she came out with a feeling of revenge on the people at large. Her only dream was making a large sum of money. So she agreed to entrap Engineer Eskinder both using her writing talent and her beauty. But when she got closer to him, he forced her to love him, and induced her to give up her mission and stand by his side. She was instrumental in protecting his proposal from the hands of those people. At the end of the film, all those people who stood against him were arrested, the project was safe in Engineer Eskinder's hands, and he stayed together with Ferselam enjoying love.

3.2 Characterization of Female Characters

As Mulvey (1975) states, mainstream films follow a particular format or narrative structure wherein the female characters are given the role of “to-be-looked-at-ness”. The female characters are the objects of male’s gaze which involves the spectator’s look, who sees through the eye of the camera which in turn sees through the eyes of the character who does the look. According to Mulvey, the person who takes the look is usually a male character, who forces the spectator to consider themselves as masculine subjects. One of the reasons for this is to eliminate the threat of castration by taking a visual pleasure-scopophilia, which is divided into voyeurism and fetishism. The female characters of these two films will be analyzed from this backdrop.

3.2.1 Female Characters as Sex Objects-Objects of Fetishism

For Freud, the basic cause of fetishism is not merely an adult man’s desire to substitute female sexual organs with a particular part of the body or with another object. It is a fear of castration that a person has experienced as a child in learning about the lack of penis in females. This awareness brings fear of being castrated in the mind of the child. To avoid this fear, the child starts to consider the female figure as a source of sexual pleasure. Mulvey proved that this was usually the case in mainstream films wherein female characters are over-valued and are considered as the object of desire for the male characters. This according to her is graphically shown in films by close-up shots of the male characters looking at female characters with apparent pleasure and showing different parts of the female character’s body-“...a bit of the leg, her rump wiggling as she walks, her breasts etc.”, (Saco,2006).

The camera records the movements of the fetishized female characters so that as spectators we assume that the male character is looking at her with desire to the extent that we as viewers find ourselves sharing the

view of the male character. In this way the female characters become the object of desire not only to the male character but also to the spectator. This is demonstrated in the analyses of the selected films in this chapter.

3.2.1.1 Fetishized Objects in *Kezkaza Wolafen*

Selamawit, a young college student is shown in this film as a beautiful, slim shapely girl. She has a jet black, long hair which adds extra beauty to her looks. Her charm is further magnified by her dressing style and her way of keeping her hair tidy. We, as spectators are invited to admire her beauty through the camera's steady gaze at her. The camera emphasizes the beauty of her physical features through taking close-up shots. Selamawit is presented as a sex object in the eyes of Brook too. When he met her for the first time at the campus while he was walking in with his friends, he could not help being totally attracted to her. Even when he had to walk away, he could not take his eyes off her and we see him clashing with a person who was coming in his direction right in front of him. In this way, we are made to linger our gaze on her through Brook's eyes-that is through the eyes of the camera. Selamawit, together with her friends is admired by Brook and his friend, Ermias, the first day they met. They expressed their admiration by whistles and Ermias even sang a song to them.

“ፍሬሽ ፍሬሽ ፍሬሽ እንደሎጂ እንደብርቱካን

እንደአናናስ ደግሞ እንደማንጎ”

“Fresh, fresh, fresh as a lemon, orange
As pineapple, mango.”

“Fresh” is a word which has two different meanings in this context. It pinpoints that the girls are freshman students, new to the campus and inexperienced about life in campus. It also connotes that the girls are young and beautiful.

Selamawit's submissiveness and her being a mere object of males' gaze

and desire is shown on the wedding day on which she was supposed to be wedded to Ashagre. She was wearing her wedding-gown which had a veil to cover her face. Her bridesmaids were arguing on how she should be waiting for Ashagre. The question was whether her face should be veiled and he should be the only one to unveil her, or whether she should uncover her face herself before he comes as she was feeling hot. One of them was arguing about the best thing Selamawit should do, and the other was talking about the best thing Ashagre should do. The latter believed that Selamawit was the property already owned by Ashagre, his object of gaze and only he, should be the one to unveil her, take the gaze and possess her. But Selamawit was indifferent to all this. She was so desperate. What she wanted to do at that moment was rather to hide herself from his possessive gaze and be all by herself. They acted as if they were the ones who should decide for her. With a sad look on her face, she addressed the girls:

ብትችሉ ብርድ ልብስ አምጥታችሁ ሸፍኑኝ::

Selamawit: If you can, please, cover my
face with a blanket!?

Hirut, one of Selamawit's friends is the other fetishized object in this film. Her being an object of sexual desire is shown especially through her dressing style. She usually wears miniskirts that dispose her thighs and her "rump wiggling". The manner of her walking is also seductive, intended to invite males' gaze. As spectators, we are invited to gaze at her in a scene wherein Brook's friend, Ermias, looks at her from behind with a wide open mouth and a conspicuous expression of admiration. Spectators may think that Ermias's admiration of the physical appearance of a beautiful girl is natural. On the other hand, they may also feel that a person's inner beauty is more important. It appears that in this context, the girl is only desired for what she looks like rather than the inner qualities she possesses.

3.2.1.2 Fetishized Objects in Semayawi Feres.

Fereselam in *Semayawi Feres* is presented as an attractive woman who is very much conscious of her beauty, which she feels is a source of her power over men. She is shown as an object of fetish that is ready to use her beauty to attract the man who is her target. She is a woman who made herself readily available for the sexual desire of Engineer Eskinder. She is a university graduate, who has authored books, which become a cause of her being thrown into jail; books that contain controversial ideas, meant to strike something new in the minds of their readers. Her beauty is taken as the best way of projecting her desire to get closer to her target, appropriating Eskinder's proposal. By being the object of his sexual desire, she eventually succeeded in making him fall for her. The team leader Teshome, expected her to present herself as an object of gaze for Engineer Eskinder. In a particular scene, he called her to see what she had done to attract Eskinder's attention.

ምሽቱ እንዴት ነበረ?

Teshome: How was the evening?
እስከዚህም ነው።

Fereselam: Not fascinating.

እንዴት?

Teshome: What do you mean?

ጋግርታም ብጤ ነው።

Fereselam: He is such a quiet person.

እደሜልኩን ወረቀቱ ላይ የኖረ መሆኑን አትርሽ።

Teshome: Don't forget that all his life he has been
concerned only about this project of his.

አውቃለሁ

Fereselam: I know.

ካወቅሽ እንደ ኢሊ ሲንቀረፈፍ የከናፍሮችሽን ፕላንቶች አቅምሽው።
እንደጥንጥል ይበራል።

Teshome: So if you know this while he is crawling over
like a tortoise, just let him taste the sweetness

of your lips-he will run like a rabbit.

ተሾመ! በሽርሙጥና አልሞክረውም፣ እራሴን እንደዛ አላዋርድም፡፡

Fereselam: Teshome, I am not a whore-I will not degrade myself to that extent.

በተክሊል እንደሚታገቢው ደግሞ ክርስቶስም ሰይጣንም ያውቃሉ።

Teshome: But both Christ and Satan know that you will not be wedded to him (Eskinder).

For Teshome a woman should either be a respected lady and marry a man or should present her body as a sex object to whomever comes along.

Fereselam's primary intention was gaining the attention of Eskinder through her seductive manners. She seated herself right in front of his table during dinner time, wearing what she thought would make her look more beautiful. Though she thought that she was successful in attracting his gaze, he was actually thinking of something else. The following scene from the film clearly shows what she was thinking about Eskinder's gaze. It also reveals that she misinterpreted his attitude. Moreover, it allows the spectator to know that the two characters were preoccupied with something:

ሴት ብቻዋን ሬስቶራንት ውስጥ? ኢትዮጵያ ተለውጣለች ብራቮ!

Eskinder: A woman, alone, in a restaurant? Wow! Things have changed in Ethiopia, Bravo!

Thinking that he was looking at her beautiful appearance, Fereselam thought:

ስድስት ሚሊዮን ዶላር በእጄ ሲገባ የዛኔ እጋብዝሀለሁ የኔ መሆንዲስ

Fereselam: When I put my hands on my six million Dollars, I will invite you, my Engineer.

As the camera shifts the shooting to Eskinder, he is shown with a smile on his face, wondering:

አባይ የአበሽን ገበሬ አጥግቦ አይቺ ብሞት እንኳን እንደትንሳኤ እቆጥረዋለሁ።

Eskinder: I would consider my death as a blessing if I
could see Abay satisfying the needs of my
country's gstmrtd.

Thinking that the smile is a sign of admiration, Fereselam thought,

ሣቅ እንጂ . . . ቀጥሎ እንደምትጠቅሰኝ እርግጠኛ ነኝ። በላ . . .

Fereselam: Ya you better be amazed. I know that you are
thinking of winking at me. Go ahead.

However, Eskinder swigged his drink and headed towards his room,
which sent rage all over her body.

Even though this first attempt is not successful, her other attempts had
succeeded. She had used her talent as a writer together with her beauty
to attract him. Sometimes, she seemed to believe that he was attracted to
her intellectual talent, but what actually attracted him were her looks.
Here is a conversation she had with Teshome. In the instance below,
Fereselam seems to imply that Eskinder is too much of an intellectual to
be attracted only by her external appearance. On the other hand,
Teshome makes a remark instigating that Eskinder just like other men,
cannot help being overcome by her exquisite beauty. Fereselam, thus,
becomes an object of his gaze.

እስክንድን ለማጥመድ ዳሌና ጭን ቦታ የላቸውም።

Fereselam: Hips and thighs don't attract Eskinder.

ወንድ መሆኑን አትርሽው።

Teshome: But don't forget that he is a man.

ሰውዬ! ሴቶች እራቁታቸውን ከሚሄዱበት ለንድን የመጣ መሆንዲስ ነው ገባህ?

Fereselam: Come on, we are talking about an engineer who
came from London wherein women go naked, do you get it?

እሺ . . . እና . . . አነጋገረሽ?

Teshome: Ok ! So has he talked to you?"

ወደ ነው? የሚገርመኝ ባያነጋግረኝ ነበር።

Fereselam: He can't help talking to me. I would have been amazed if he hasn't.

ቆንጆ ነኝ ነው?

Teshome: Are you saying that you are beautiful?

ቢያንስ ጥፍጥፍ እንዳልሆንኩ ታውቃለህ።

Fereselam: You know that at least I am not ugly.

This implies that Fereselam has become a fetish for Eskinder. What she admires most about him is his dedication to his cherished dream of bringing an end to poverty. On the other hand, what he admires about her is her charms. After listening to the details of his proposal, in amazement, she said:

እስክንድር ፍፁም ነህ!

Fereselam: Oh, Eskinder, you are *perfect*!

እውነት?

Eskinder: Really?

መጉት!

Fereselam: I swear.

አባቴ ይመጉ ቆንጆ ነሽ!

Eskinder: And I swear that you are *beautiful*!”

As a female spectator, watching this film written by a male writer, I would like to comment on the characterization of Fereselam. I feel that this character is implausible. Although I find it normal for her to be attracted to Eskinder and love him, I also feel that she is an inconsistent, frivolous woman. On the surface, she appears to be a talented writer, who could conceive new ideas for which she was sent to prison. In actual fact, however, she is a weak character, preoccupied solely with the material benefits she could get from her interactions with the opposite sex. I would not expect that an intelligent woman, a talented writer, would accept being an object of male's gaze. Such characterization would be strange from feminists' point of view.

In this film, with Teshome as the leader, there are three men who seem to have important roles in the mission of taking the proposal out of Eskinder's hands. These men are Nadew, Paulos and Melaku. Their wives are friends, especially Paulos's wife Serkalem and Melaku's wife, Wubit are frequently seen together. These characters are given almost no role to play in this story. They have no information whatsoever about the activities of their husbands. What they talk about whenever they meet is so trivial and of no substance. They are simply there to fill the circle of the men's lives which would seem incomplete without having them as sex objects. They are presented as readily available sex objects. Even when their husbands are obsessed with snatching Eskinder's proposal, as a result of which the wives are forgotten, they show up to remind them of their duties as sex objects. Wubit is Melaku's young wife, who has no other thing to talk about but men, sex, and fashion. She cannot imagine that Melaku has other more important matters to worry about. She is not clever enough to know, or at least, to guess what he is up to. In one of the scenes, Melaku is watching a documentary film about The Blue Nile Falls. Wubit came along and switched the TV off. He asked her why she acted in this way:

ትንሽ ከባህላችን ያፈነገጠ የፍቅር ፊልም አምርቻል።

Wubit: I want us to watch an erotic film.

በዚህ እድሜያችን?

Melaku: Aren't we too old for that?

የሰሞኑን ሁኔታህን ቢያሸንፈው ብዬ ነው።

Wubit: I think this might help to get over your recent problem.

እንቅልፋም ሆንኩ እንዴ ?

Melaku: Have I become sleepy?

እሱ አንድ ፊቱን ይሻላል።

Wubit: Being sleepy is better than that.

እሺ ግን አሁን እባክሽን ፊልሙን ልቀጥለው።

Melaku: Ok, but please let me continue watching the film.

መላኩ አልከፍትም። አራተኛ ጊዜህ ነው እኮ። ቆይ ስለአባይ ምሁራን ተብላዎት ሁሉ የታዘቡትን ስታይ የሰነበትከው ልትገድበው ነው?

Wubit: No, Melaku, this is your fourth time to watch this film. Is it because your going to irrigate Abay that You have been watching the illusions of the so-called scientists ?(With a laughter)

When Wubit and Serkalem are together, they talk about men, fashion, and losing weight. They are comfortable with being the dolls of their husbands. Whatever they do is to make their husbands happy in exchange of the money that their husbands shower upon them. They are objects of sex not only to their husbands but also to other men who come along their way. This fact is reflected in a conversation Serkalem and Wubit were having:

አ ውብትዬ ውፍረት እንቀንሳለን እያልን ይህንን ያህል ቁርስ?

Serkalem: Oh, Wubitye, why do we eat so much? We have agreed to loss weight.

ባክሽ ሰውነቴ መቀነሱን መላኩ አልወደደውም።

Wubit: I am afraid that Melaku didn't like my losing weight.

እንዳትጠፈበት ብሎ ነው።

Serkalem: He is afraid that you might disappear.

ቀንቶ?

Wubit: Are you saying that he is jealous?

እንክት! ሽንቅጥ ብለሽ ቢ ኢም ደብልደው ስትነጂ የሚጠቅሰሽ ወንድ ብዛት ታይቶት ነው።

Serkalem: Sure. His instincts must have told him what you would look like when you are going to be so slim and drive your B.M.W.He is jealous of the number of men who would wink at you in admiration.

3.2.2 Submissive Wife and Sweet Mother

According to Savitt (2006) a submissive wife is one who is totally dependent, life producing, comforting, confined, sweet and kind. She is a prey of man's power. In Kezkaza *Wolafen*, Selamawit's mother is a desperate woman who has lost everything with the death of her husband, the provider of bread. We could guess that she was dependent on her husband and a submissive wife. This is shown by the state she fell in after his death. She is a woman who is "no-thing" by herself. This feeling of dependence on her husband was changed to relying on another man, Ashagre, whom the husband owed some money. The following instance reveals this fact:

እሰከ ዛሬ ድረስ የኖርነው ባንተ አይደል? ይህን ጊዜ
እኮ አንተ ባትኖር ወይ ሞተናል አልያም
ቤተክርስቲያን ደጅ ላይ ለማኝ ሆነን ነበር።

Mother: We have been relying on you. Had it not
been for your help, we would have been
either *dead* or *begging*. (Emphasis mine)

When she was ill and thought that she had to give her house up to Ashagre, she could do nothing but cry, bitterly complaining and wishing for her death:

አምላኬ እንዲህ ስቃዬን ከሚያበዛው ምን አለ ሞቼ
ባረፍኩት። ምን በድዬው ይህን ባሉን ነጥቆ ቤቴን
ሊበድል . . .

Mother: Why is God worsening my condition? I
would prefer to die. What wrong have I
done? My husband was taken away
from me, and now I'm going to lose my
home.

She is also portrayed as a loving mother, who has given up everything for the sake of bringing her children up. She is a woman who lost the taste and flavor of life with her husband's death. Then after, she lived only for her children. She is a devoted and loving mother that her children are

lucky to have. But I feel that it is a weakness on her part not to be able to accept and overcome problems. When Selamawit poisoned herself her mother cried bitterly:

ለምን ሰላምዬ ለምን ይሄን አረግሽ? እንዴት ያለአባት
እንደአሳደኩሽ እያወቅሽ ልጄ? ስቃዬን እያወቅሽ?

Mother: Why Selamye? Why did you do this to yourself?

You know the troubles I had gone through to
bring you up. You know how I suffered alone
without your father.

In *Semayawi Feres*, the wives of the three men: Teshome, Paulos and Melaku are simply bearing the title “wife” and fulfilling the desires of their husbands. But they are not helpmates that their husbands could consult when the need arises. They are economically and psychologically dependent on their husbands, with no free will even though they can enjoy all the material benefits and luxuries money can buy. This material satisfaction hampered them from becoming independent women, who are subjects rather than objects that men can admire and derive pleasure from.. Very rarely do they seem to get bored of this feeling of being possessed and it is not so often that they are heard complaining. Serkalem shows this feeling only once in the narration:

ኧረ በናፑሽ! አንዳንዴ የተገዛሁ ስለሚመስለኝ ያስጠላኛል።
አረገዝሽ አሜሪካ ሄደሽ ውለጁ፣ ዋና አማረኝ ከጋርድ ጋር
ሽራተን መንበጫረቅ፣ ለልደቴ ስጦታ ቀጭን የአንገት ጌዋ
ስጠብቅ ውሻ ይመስል በወርቅ ሰንሰለት ያስረኛል። ይሄ ኑሮ
ነው?

Serkalem: Sometimes I hate the feeling of being

bought. When I get pregnant, I will be told
by my husband to go to America and to give
birth there; when I want to swim, I have to
go to Sheraton to splash about with a

guard; when I expect a thin necklace for my birthday, he will put a thick chain round my neck like a dog. Should I consider my self as living?

According to Saco (2006), female characters are typically depicted as saying and doing what men would have them say or do. And in this film, the wives are not only made to say and do things in ways their husbands prefer, but they are also not informed about what their husbands are up to. They do not even know the real source of their husbands' income. Serkalem and Wubit alluded to this fact in the conversation that they had concerning their husbands' recent change of behavior. Wubit stated that she could not understand why their husbands are so much worried about the goods that they import from China without much difficulty. To this comment, Serkalem answered:

ታውቂያለሽ? እኔ ግን እሱን ብቻ የሚሰሩ አይመስልኝም።

Serkalem: But you know what, I don't think that this is only what they do.

ባክሽ የራሳቸው ጉዳይ ነው። 240 ሞዴል መርፍዲስ እየነዳሽ በዚህ ቤተመንግስት በመሰለ ቤት ውስጥ እየኖርሽ ባልሽ ለምን በሰይጣን ቀንድ ዋንጫ እየሸጠ አይኖርም ምን አገባሽ?

Wubit: It is their damned business. Why should you be worried about where your husband brings the money comes from when you can luxuriously live driving year 240 model Mercedes and living in such a house looking like a palace?

In this film, the women characters are beings without self, without a soul. As cited in Savitt (2006), Elmann states that women in films are portrayed as having a soft body with a soft mind. This stereotypical view

of women leads one to infer that they are presented as inferior to men, both intellectually and psychologically. The three women in these films are unable to oppose their husbands' wrong deeds, and to react to males' aggression. They are never given answers to their questions because they are considered as women who are not intelligent. When they keep on asking for explanations, they are told to stop nagging. Teshome, the leader of the team which moves against Eskinder, is like Melaku and Paulos, not informing his wife Azeb about what he is doing. Whenever she asks a question, she is silenced by him.

ሰሞኑን ችግር አለ ተሼ?

Azeb: What is the problem Teshe?

ኸግር ጠፍቶ የሚያውቅ ይመስል ምን ትጠይቂኛለሽ?

Teshome: Why are you asking this as if there has never been any problem before?

እረ ይመስገን ነው የምን መፃፉ ነው የምታወራው?

Azeb: Why are you talking about problems? You should be happy with what you have.

ምን ይገባኛል?

Teshome: You never understand things, do you?

ተኼ ለምን ደነዝ ታደርገኛለህ?

Azeb: why do you consider me stupid, Teshe?"

አላልኩም ግን አይገባኸም።

Teshome: I didn't say that, but you don't understand.

ሳትነግረኝ እንዴት ሊገባኝ ይቻላል ተሹ?

Azeb: If you don't tell me, how can I understand, Teshe?

ምን አለበት አሁን አርፈኝ ብትታኝ?

Teshome: Now, why don't you just sleep?"

3.2.3 Helpless and Dependent Women: Objects of Voyeurism

Voyeurism, which is the second form of scopophilia or visual pleasure, is a pleasure one gets by looking at another person sadistically. Unlike

fetishism, which considers the female character as a desirable attractive object of gaze, the voyeuristic gaze is a controlling one because it aims at exercising power over the female object by making her the "bearer of guilt" (Mulvey 1975). Here, the object of gaze is made punishable. In narrative film the female characters are made guilty, devalued for their sins and will be either punished or saved. This is because they are made responsible for the viewers' anxiety of castration.

In *Kezkaze Wolafen*, Selamawit is portrayed as a college student. The spectator finds a positive element in this film. This character is given the role of a girl who has the opportunity to upgrade herself through education instead of being the usual stereotypical image of a girl busy in house chore. This puts her in a highly privileged position when she is compared to her sister, who is deprived of this chance and who is engaged in house hold tasks and sewing clothes. But Selamawit is not portrayed as a fully independent girl capable of making her own decisions although she seems to be so on the surface.

Throughout the story, we see that Selamawit's beauty is a reason of her misery and she is constantly punished for it. Her beauty is a constant reminder of her feminine power which for the male characters signals a threat of castration. The masculine subject gets rid of this fear by constantly punishing the female character. The source of her plight is her own beauty.

Selamawit is compelled to marry Ashagre in exchange of her family's house which her father had mortgaged while he was alive. She is made available for Ashagre, the voyeur who wants to possess her and to shatter her dreams of being educated. All her movements are controlled by him. She was his property even before they get married. At the beginning of the film, there is a car accident that Selamawit and her friends had encountered while they were coming back from Sodere to

Addis Ababa. After the accident, Ashagre shouted at her sister Etagegn when she told him that the accident happened when they were coming back from Sodere. He went mad and went out of the house when he learned that in the car Selamawit was not only with Hirut but also with other men.

She was showered with Ashegre's gifts which were given because she was his future possession, which had to be a decorated and 'pedestalted' object. When she asked why he acted the way he did towards her, her mother answered this way:

መጽያጽ በክፉ አያስብሽም። አንቺን ለማግባትና
ሚስቱ እንድትሆንኝ ከመፈለጉ በቀር።

Mother: Well, he doesn't have any evil intentions on you. He *just wants* to marry you and *make* you *his* wife.
(Emphasis mine)

This is his way of putting a hand-cuff on her so that she will no more be the young, beautiful Selamawit, whom he had for so long waited upon and looked at as a threatening power, her beauty. She had been harassed by Ashagre until Brook came along with his own desire of possessing her. Through Brook, she gets her freedom back for a while. He paid the money Ashagre had lent to her father and she was freed from the firm grips of the man she did not love. But this is only till Brook started to nag at her with his question of marrying her. As spectators, we are made to consider Brook as a virtuous man as he paid her father's debts. He keeps on telling her that she should not force herself to love him because of what he did for her family. Despite these words, we constantly see him trying to force her into the kind of relationship he wants. He kept on helping her and he even hired her in his own organization-he became her new employer and boss. This is his way of keeping her within the reach of his hands which is an indirect and

inoffensive way of controlling her, of showing his power. Brook was all the time ready to help her. In this context, as Savitt (2006) points out, a woman is seen as eternally waiting to be served, constantly dependent, a victim, usually in the name of love. So Salamawit is being constantly punished in the pretext of being helped. Most of the time, she is seen as crying as she is further and further tortured when asked to do what she did not want to do. She strives to make Brook happy by constantly making herself available, but when it comes to the question of being married to him, she is more tortured. This fact is the result of what her ex-boyfriend did to her. He knew that he is HIV positive but this did not stop him from forcing her into a forceful sex. later, he confessed that he did it just because he did not want to see her walking away from him and be the lover of other men. Through doing this, he thought of getting rid of his rivals, while at the same time making her yield to his love.

The same is true with Brook. He wanted to take possession of her, which otherwise would make him look weak and impotent. He believed that Selamawit shall be his. When she refused to marry him, the once strong and determined Brook became a helpless drunkard. It is Selamawit who caused his degradation and it is only through her that he can maintain his former self. In spite of this potential, she is seen reduced to the level of a helpless crying girl who usually punishes herself, locking herself up in her bedroom and calling herself a non- human being.

The other object of voyeuristic gaze in this film is Hirut. She is a young woman who is not submissive to any man who comes along. She is a type of person who uses whoever is around just to get material satisfaction. She is not afraid of making her own decisions without any one's interference. She simply moves from one man to another like a "rover" that is "winged". Hirut does not allow being possessed by any single man. Whoever happens to be on her way, will end up being her

victim, her source of material satisfaction. She is always seen as enjoying life following the track of men who have money and trapping them with her beauty. Ermias is one of these men who became her victim. When he asked her for a date, she first hesitated claiming that he is a poor and naive student, but at last she went out with him. But when she met another man in the same bar she ignored Ermias and went to the new man. Ermias asked her what she was doing:

ታሸፋለህ እንዴ እሱ እኮ ኮይኛም ነው እዚህ ድረስ (በጣቷ አገጫን እየጫረች)

Hirut: Are you kidding? This guy is loaded with money. (striking her chin with her finger)

Money is her idol. This is clearly shown in another scene in which Selamawit tells her about Ashagre and his gift.

አንቺ ግን እንኳን ወርቁን መለስሽለት። እኔ ብሆን ግን ምን
እንደማድረግ ታውቂያለሽ ? የሰጠኝን ወርቅ ጆሮውን ብዬ ለልጄ
ወተቱን ምኔን መግዛት። ከዛ አሁንም በቃ ብዙ ወርቅ አምጣ
ብዬ ልብሴን ምኔን ገዢዬ ዝንጥ . . . ከዛ ሲሰለፈው ይተወዋል።

Hirut: You did a good thing by returning his gold.

You know what I would do if I were you? I
would sell the gold and buy milk and other
things for my kid. I would just thank him and let
him bring more gold.

Then I would buy the best clothing and whatever
I want . . . then he will give up when he gets
bored with it.

But she did not get along with adultery. She paid dearly due to her indecent behavior. She first gave birth to a child whose father is not known. This is a kind of punishment laid upon her for sleeping with a number of men. The second punishment which cost her life is her being a victim of HIV/AIDS. Her hopes were shattered, and she eventually lost her life. She is at last reduced to the position from which she could no more possess men, be a threat of their autonomous existence. This is one

of the ways of reducing the threat of castration; punishing female characters through death .

In *Semayawi Feres* Fereslam and her sister-Dr. Blein are presented as threats to the male characters, and they are punished and at last saved. Fereslam is sent to Engineer Eskinder by Teshome's team to serve as a bridge between them and him. They wanted to use her as a sex object who can easily win Eskinder's heart and become the object of his fetish. They wanted to use her feminine power for themselves- for their advantage. But this did not work as she herself became weak, submissive and yielded to Eskinder's love. She fell in love with him and could no longer hit her target. The once strong, talented and intelligent Fereslam had changed into a meek, docile woman who vowed to stand beside Eskinder and help him fulfill his dream leaving aside her own plans. Her feminine power becomes a threat to the villains who could no more use her and have her in their control. So they wish she would die ,be killed. But before they could get to her, she was saved and escaped the punishment intended for her. But she wasn't saved for nothing. She was saved because she had confessed to Eskinder about her bad deeds and agreed to submit herself to him. According to Mulvey (1975) cited in Cook and Bernink (1999), this is one of the usual endings given to narrative films in which a woman's guilt is forgotten by making her helpless and dependent. The female character in this film is saved through the love of a man .Certainly, the film has moral implications, but according to Mulvey, such character submits to man's power.

3.3 Characterization of Male Characters

According to Mulvey in mainstream films, the male characters are given a position quite different from that are given to the female characters. The male characters are portrayed as the strong, confident, possessive, creative and brave heroes. They are the people around whom the story

usually revolves and take part in almost all the events of the story. The male characters according to Savitt (2006), are given free reign to become what they like, even to fail if they choose. Because of such highly valued qualities given to the male characters, the spectator is made to take narcissistic identification with them. This form of identification with the prominent male figures in films is a way of ego formation which Mulvey related with the mirror stage of Jacques Lacan. Narcissistic pleasure, which is driven by the film spectator in identifying with the perfectly portrayed male image on the film screen, is similar to the way a child derives pleasure through identification with a perfect mirror image. What the viewer develops is not only pleasure but also ego which is based on the idealized image in the mirror or on the screen. The male characters with all the highly valued images given to them, represent the more perfect and powerful ideal ego which the spectator is forced to identify with.

3.3.1 Male Characters as Means of Driving Narcissistic Visual Pleasure

In *kezkaza Wolafen*, while throughout the story, Brook is given a perfect role of being a means of narcissistic visual pleasure, Ashagre is seen as playing this part in only at some stage of the film.

Brook is shown as a perfect ideal hero who is a college students and he later becomes a graduate and a leader of his own organization. He is not only educated but also a very helpful son for his wealthy old father. He is in charge of his father's business which he successfully carried out. He is a man of all these tough responsibilities. Apart from being rich and educated, he is portrayed as capable of possessing whatever he likes and acting in whatever ways he prefers. Through his careful steps, he is the one who at last wins the hand of Selamawit and made her his wife. He had snatched her out of the hands of Ashagre by paying back the money

Selamawit's father owed Ashagre. It is only through Brook that the whole family gets redemption and gains their once taken away pride and happiness. It is Brook who claims to fulfill not only his but also Selamawit's dreams.

ፍላጎትሽ ሁሉ ሲሳካ ማየት እፈልጋለሁ አላልኩሽም?

Brook: Didn't I tell you I wanna see your dreams come true?

ወለታህ ከምሽከመው በላይ ሆኖብኛል።

Selamawit: "I am highly indebted to you.

Book is portrayed as the most perfect successful and complete character in this film whom the spectator cannot help identifying him or herself with.

A similarly strong and controlling character but who unlike Brook is portrayed as a villain is Ashagre. He is also described as a rich man whose words are considered as God's words to Selamawit's family members. He leads the sequence of the film to some level to the extent of engaging Selamawit in the marriage which she never approved of. He is the person on whom the family relied after the death of Selamawit's father. He is their only hope of surviving and being rescued from going out to the street. Ashagre is the only one to decide their future fate especially Selamawit's. He could either save or ruin her life. He is also the person whose decision will affect the life of the family. He had all this power till he was overturned by another stronger man-Brook. If Brook had not been around, Ashagre would have been the one around whom the story of the film revolved.

In *Semayawi Feres*, Engineer Eskinder is the ideal ego representation. He possesses what a person dreams of having. He is an engineer, who came from London, yearning to finish his project that is ground-breaking in its nobility and in its strength. He is not concerned with satisfying his material needs. He dreams of changing the lives of the people of Ethiopia,

making his country a land of prosperity and a place imagined by many as an ideal place of living. His project is what the whole film is about. Fereselam and all the other people in the film are moving circling him, he is the center-the core of the film. He is a person who makes people be concerned about what he can do, not what he looks like. For a spectator who sits back and watches the film, Engineer Eskinder is presented as a perfect representation of a normal human being, especially a man whose behavior confirms with the values set by the society. So the spectator can not help being drawn towards Engineer Eskinder and imagine him/herself in his position.

3.4 Comparison and Contrast of the Male and Female Characters in the two Selected Films

In this part of the analysis, I will try to take some pairs of male and female characters found in the two films and try to further illustrate the absolutely different position given to them. In *Kerkaza Wolafen* at the beginning of the narration, both Selamawit and Brook were college students. Brook was a fourth year senior student while she is a freshman student. This gives more illustration on how Brook is given the superior position just from the start. Brook is a helpful son to his rich single father while Selamawit is a helpless daughter who could do nothing to help her poor single mother. Brook has a great deal to offer to his father- he offered to help his father by going abroad with him which the father resented claiming that Brook had to take care of their business. Selamawit has nothing to offer; she simply curses her fate and cries almost over everything. She is a dependent helpless person who is 'sold' as a commodity to a rich man while Brook is the independently moving man who is Selamawit's only way of surviving. Brook loved her, paid her debt and married her, and she was loved by him. She became indebted to him and was married to him.

She was forced into sex by her ex-boyfriend and made to be a person who was nearly infected by HIV/AIDS but Brook decided to live with her knowing this fact. This shows how he is allowed to do whatever pleases him even if it is dangerous for him while Selamawit is driven to danger outside her will.

Both Brook's father and Selamawit's mother live without their spouses. And both are sick. Brook's father is given the opportunity to go abroad and get better medical treatment under his daughter's care who lives there. Selamawit's mother has no one to turn to as she was poor and her daughter can not do anything for her. Selamawit has to be "sold" to Ashagre so that the mother could get a solution. But at last it is Brook who even took her to hospital and bought her medicine. She is shown as a helpless and submissive woman who has no control of things let alone to fulfill the dream of her daughter. She simply cries and wishes for her death blaming herself for what happened to Selamawit.

ያለ ፍላጎትሽ እንቅፋት ሆንብሽ አይደል?

Mother: We happen to be a hindrance to you without your will.

Ermias-Brook's friend and Selamawit's friend-Hirut are given some similar features but are treated quite differently. Both like going out with a number of sexual partners; they are not seen going steadily with one partner. Both of them talk only about love, sex and so on. They do not care about anything but living for the day and enjoying their life. But this way of living does not pay Hirut right from the beginning. While Ermias goes with such style of living without any problem, Hirut is forced to be a mother, so that she could assume the role of a submissive woman. We see her being nagged at for such behavior while Ermias keeps on doing what he likes. And it is not even at the end of the film that we see Hirut suffering from HIV/AIDS disease- at last she is punished by death for all

she did. Ermias is found only the carrier of the virus, but he is still in good shape and is determined to live and let others live. He continued living, changing his attitudes and making a good use of himself.

Looking into *Semayawi Feres*, Engineer Eskinder and Fereselam are found as contrasting pairs. He is a man with a brilliant idea of changing the Blue Nile Falls into rain and she is a beautiful lady who occurs in the story to destroy his dream, who runs to get six million Dollars. He is an engineer who goes forward to the last step of confronting his pursuers who become obstacles to fulfilling his dreams, while she is an authoress who has given up writing because she was thrown to jail due to controversial ideas she developed in her books. At last Fereselam becomes Engineer Eskinder's lover, and gives up on her previous indecent style of living. The source of her happiness is Eskinder, and she is determined to be a submissive woman who will live to fulfill his dreams.

Dr. Blein who is Fereselam's sister is Yilma's fiancé. He is an important man working for the government in affairs which concern crime. He is always followed by bodyguards who are always armed. Both of them are shown as being busy in what they do. He knows that she is as busy as himself but expects her to give him more time.

አንቺ ዶክተር ሆነሽ የተረፈኝ ቢዘነትሽ ብቻ ነው።

Yilma: Your being a doctor does nothing good for me except that it makes you busy.

ከኛንተ ስብሰባ አይበልጥም፤ ባለሥልጣን ከመሆን አስር እጅ የኔ ይሻላል። ግን ይልግ አይሰለጥህም? አጃቢዎቻህ፣ ሽጉጣቸው፣ ዋኪ ቶኪ ምናምን . . .

Dr. Blein: But it is not worse than your boring meetings. And my being busy is better than your being a higher official. Aren't you bored of it Yilma? Your guards, their guns walkie- talkie bla bla bla . . .

ስሞኑንማ መሞታችን ነው? ስለስርጋችን የማስበው አንቺ ስትደውዩ ብቻ ነው።

Yilma: These days especially we are dying of piles of works.

I think of our wedding day only when you call me.

እየቀለድክ መሆን አለበት።

Dr. Blein: You must be kidding.

ማለቴ በቃ ውጥረት አለ።

Yilma: I just mean that I am so busy.

ከሚያዝያ ቢያልፍ ግን በቃ መመንኮሴ ነው ገባህ?

Dr. Blein: But you should understand that I will be a nun if

we can not do it in April.

እሺ እማሆይ።

Yilma: Ok 'mother'.

Dr Blein has time to think about her wedding day through all her business while Yilma does not find it worthy of thinking about in the middle of his work. What is more important to him is his work not the wedding day. And because she has some information about Fereselam's connection with Teshome and his man, she was threatened by them and at last she was shot. It is Yilma who followed the track of the men and put them in jail. She is the victim and he is her savior.

3.5 Women's Self Identification in the Films

In *Kezkza Wolafen*, there are situations in which Selamawit is found exposing her feelings and doing things in her own ways. When she is supposed to marry Ashagre without any prior knowledge and compromise, she defended herself claiming that what he did for the family is not something that should be paid back by forcing her into marriage. The following is the conversation that she had with her mother. It clearly shows her determination not to marry someone she did not love.

እሱም ነገረኝ ማንም ጋብቻ ፈፅሞ የማይታሰብ ነገር ነው።

Selamawit: whoever tells me, marriage is inconceivable.

እንዴት ሰላምዬ? አሻግራ እኮ ሞልቶ የተረፈው ባለፀጋ ነው።

Mother: How selamye? But Ashagre is very rich.

የፈለገው ይሁን።

Selamawit: I don't care!

በዛ ላይ ደግሞ ባለውለታችን ነው።

Mother: Moreover, we are indebted to him.

አይሆንም አይሆንም ነው። ውለታ ለጋብቻ ምክንያት አይሆንም።

Selamawit: I said it is impossible ! Marriage isn't a payment
for one's kindness.

Through this speech she made her desire clear, and she confirmed the need to prioritize learning. Moreover, she has refused the golden necklace that Ashagre bought her as a present.

But when the film's narration proceeds, we no more find this strong determined Selamawit, but the tearful and helpless girl. She is made to give in to Ashagre's proposal and is forced to get married before finishing her education. The seemingly stable Selamawit suddenly becomes impulsive, emotional and moody. In another part of the film, when Selamawit is again made to be the object of Brook's gaze, she refused. Brook had sent Seble-Selamawit's friend-to talk to her on his behalf. Seble tries to persuade her by reminding Selamawit what he did for her.

መቼም ከሰው ደግነት እንደሱ አላየሁም።

Seble : I have never seen a person as kind as him.

እኔም አልካድኩም።

Selamawit: I didn't deny that.

አንዲት ሴት ከዚህ በላይ ምን ትፈልጋለች?

Seble: Then what more does a woman need?

ማድረግ የምትፈልገውን። እኔ ደግሞ በዚህ ሰአት የምፈልገው ሌላ ነገር ነው።

Selamawit: What feels right for her. Right now I want
something else.

After her attempt to commit suicide had failed she completely left her resistance and agreed to be Brook's wife.

Fereselam in *Semayawi Feres* vacillates between being a strong determined woman, and at times being a weak, submissive lover. In approaching Eskinder, she talked to him about her talent as a writer. She also tried to exercise the power of her charms. Feminists do not value such female character. Such literary work exhibits the male writer's bias towards female characters. She wanted to show Eskinder that he is too weak to resist her charms. But it so happened that the love of Eskinder was too strong for her to resist. She at last became his prey.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

Using feminist film criticism as a theoretical framework for the analyses of the two male authored films- *Kezekaza Wolafen* and *Semyawi Feres*, this study focuses on the way the female characters in the films are portrayed. Feminist film criticism is related to psychoanalysis. It basically focuses on Jacques Lacan's mirror stage and Sigmund Freud's males' fear of castration and fetishism. Taking this highly integrated relationship between the two theories into account, this study attempted to reveal how the female characters are depicted as objects of male's gaze and how the male characters are shown as being the positively portrayed ones. As a matter of fact, they help the spectator to identify with them, as it is the case in the mirror stage of an infant.

The way the female characters are portrayed in these two films as objects of male's gaze is analyzed using the two forms of scopophilia- driving pleasure by looking at another person. The first of these forms is fetishism and the second is voyeurism.

Fetishism, which refers to a pleasure derived by looking at the different parts of the female's body, is a way of acquiring sexual satisfaction. Through this pleasure, a person is capable of suppressing the fear of castration developed at an early stage of development in being aware of the lack of penis. According to feminist film criticism, the object that is represented for the gaze of the Fetish is a female character and the male character is the subject for whom the female character plays the role of "to-be-looked-at-ness". Through close-up shots of the parts of the female character's body and through showing her as beautiful, the spectator is made to identify with the look of the camera which basically follows the eyes of the male characters in films. In watching such mainstream films, the spectators find themselves forced to assume the masculine position even if they are females.

Through a thorough analysis of how the female characters appear in the two films, attempt is made to show how they are presented as mere sex objects who are around to simply satisfy the sexual desire of the fetish subjects- the male characters. While the male characters are represented as having either good or evil purposes to be accomplished , the female characters are seen appearing in the line of the story playing the role of supporters and means of fulfilling the dreams of the male characters. What is magnified about the female characters is not their intelligence but their physical appearance which is made to look more attractive through the camera's recording system. In the process of being objects of fetishism, these characters have given up their own dreams and are made to follow and fulfill the dreams of their possessors who claim to be unable to live with out them. The female characters in these two films are shown as failures by themselves and are made to attain their values and find their salvation through the male characters. As spectators we are made to take the female characters not as worthy of being considered as having important roles, but as having a simple role of adding some beauty to the look of the film as they are also taken as adding taste to the life of the male characters in the films.

The other form of scopophilia which is used to analyze characterization of the female characters in the films is voyeurism. Voyeurism refers to the gaze one casts on others as a means of controlling them, make them guilty and punishes them. Here, unlike the fetishistic form of visual pleasure which helps to derive happiness through considering the female character as source of sexual pleasure, the voyeuristic form helps to draw pleasure through blaming the female characters for the evil acts they performed. After being made guilty their end will be either punishment through death, or salvation. In the films analyzed both these endings are given to the female characters that are made guilty for the fear of loss that they instigate in the hearts of the male characters. Most

of the female characters in these films had paid for the threats they caused and are at last given salvation. They receive this salvation by making themselves submissive for the males. In both films, almost all the female characters are willing to live with the male characters in the name of love which is one of the ways of giving into the possession and close inspection of the male characters. This shows being the object of the voyeuristic gaze. The other end given to a female character in one of the two films is death, which is the other form of maintaining voyeuristic gaze on females. For example Hirut's being the cause of loss of power for the males is sealed by her being totally removed from the scene. It is through these two forms of scopophilia that the reason for the meek, submissive and dependent portrayal of female characters is analyzed and interpreted.

The last point which is used to further see the difference observed in the portrayal of female and male characters in films is Jacques Lacan's Mirror stage. This stage of infant's development is a stage through which an infant looks at itself in a mirror and forms an ego in identity with the image reflected by the mirror. This misrecognition and identification of ego based instead of reality on a simple reflection of real image is related to the pleasure that is gained by watching films. When looking at male characters in films, they are seen as being given privileged images-strength, determination, brilliance etc. The spectators are made to identify themselves with the male characters and to imagine themselves in the position of the characters. The males found in both *Kezkaza Wolafen* and *Semayawi Feres* are portrayed as strong characters who work hard to accomplish their desire. They are determined to make their dreams come true. They are presented side by side with the female characters that are depicted as being their complete opposites since they do not fulfill their desire but help others fulfill their dreams. The male characters in the films are shown as always rescuing the female

characters and showing them the way out. Looking at the male characters given all these virtues, the spectator cannot help assuming the roles of the male characters and watching film from their angles. They despise the female characters for being both weak and frightening at the same time and they get rid of their fear by focusing on their beauty.

This study is believed to have some contribution in showing the status of the female characters in two male-authored Amharic films which are the subjects of this study. Looking at the rapidly growing number of film viewers, the great contribution films have in strengthening values and attitude that already exist in the mind of viewers and the long lasting effect films produce on spectators, it is important to consider the unquestionable emphasis that should be given to the content of films and especially the stereotypical portrayal of female characters. The primary concern of film production should be given to the quality of films produced rather than to the quantity of films. It is through analyzing the already existing films that the concern towards contents of films can be started and a lot must be done in this area.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work done under the guidance of my advisor. All relevant sources used for the thesis are duly acknowledged.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Tigist Defaru', is written over a horizontal line.

Tigist Defaru

**Development of Oromo
Literature up to 1991**

A Thesis Submitted to the School of
Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa
University

In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of
Arts in Literature

By
TEFERI NIGUSSIE

June, 2006

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Acknowledgements

Oh! Almighty, the greatest ever
Once you weathered my bad times
Changed my life for better
'N thou make me happy,
My work wholesome

I am greatly indebted to my advisor, Dr Yimer Kifle, for his constructive guidance and wise counsel, to which this study owes its stronger sides.

I am very grateful to my parents, for their strong support during my study. I am also very thankful to my friends who took partly all my pains in the course of this study.

I also appreciate the assistance of Oromia Educational Bureau for their financial support during my study.

Abstract

Oromo written literature has got a very fertile ground of oral literature. It is possible to divide Oromo oral literature into three categories

- Folktale
- Oral poetry
- Epigrams

Long ago Oromo written literature began with Arabic alphabet, and showed very slow development over the centuries because of the inconveniences of the use of other languages' alphabets for Oromo language for religious and political reasons.

In the first half of 19th century Oromo literature began in Europe by two ex-slave Oromo: Ware and Gaba'o. With the assistance of this young Oromo Jomard was able to produce the first Oromo written materials.

After Jomard, Lewis Krapf and Charles Tutschek also produced literary materials in the 1840s.

However much of Oromo religious literatures were produced in the third quarter of 19th century by Oromo ex-slaves: Onesmos and his language team for the most part.

Oromo literature began in the 20th century with the publication of Onesmos Nasib Oromo language Bible and Oromo reader, showed a slow change in the first quarter of the century.

During the Italian occupation it went forth to some extent because the Italians encouraged the Oromos to produce their literature.

In 1950 and 1960 it took the other direction and became cultural national movement. This became reality with the formation of "Mache Tulama" and "Arfan Qallo" Association. These two self-help associations played a vital role in promoting Oromo culture. These associations

produced substantial amount of literature that became the base for modern Oromo art in general.

1970 onwards, Oromo literature was characterized by political theme. In the 1950s and 1960s, the major question were equality and equal opportunities between nation and nationalities

But after the 1974, Ethiopian Revolution the opted equality demised and the nation took the question of "self determination up to secession." Most of the literature of this time was pro this idea, and was highly dominated by politics.

In general, it is possible to say that Oromo literature passed through three stages

	1950s	1970
Folklore and religious literature	cultural nationalism	politico cultural nationalism

It is indeed very difficult to forecast confidently the future trend of Oromo literature. Of course, it solved its major problem, the problem of orthography now. Yet, the majority of Oromo literary productions are coming from few well educated individuals who cannot satisfy the cultural need of the Oromo because they are few in number. Again the crudity of form provided that middle professional creative writers need to be given professional training and support. To enhance sustainable development in the language so as to facilitate the process of radical social, political and economic change as well as democratization of the country, Oromo literature should get special attention since Oromo language is the major language of Africa and the lingua franca of horn of Africa.

Oromo Pronunciation

All words from Oromo language origin are spelled according to the newly introduced Latin-Oromo alphabet (Qube) to ease the problems of reading some words.

Key to Qubee (Oromo alphabets)

Oromo language vowels

Short vowels

a, mana (house)
e, hede (wanted) ?
I, miti (not)
o, odu (news)
u, mudu (anointed)

Long vowels

aa, baalaa (leaf)
ee, deeme (went)
ii, fiifi (run)
oo, kootu (come)
uu, Tuuchi (collect)

Oromo language consonants

B, bola (hole)

J, Jaalala (Love)

C, caala (greater)

K, karaa (street)

D, duba (book)

F, fan (foot)

H, hadhas (mother)

Y, yaada (idea)

Q, qaama (body)

' , 'aaru (angry)

G, galma (hall)

R, rosa (rose)

T, tapha (play)

S, sare (doog)

L, (lafa) land

M, mana (house)

N, nama (man)

W, (Waaqa) (God)

Z, zalanga (shelf)

X, xiiqi (zeal)

Ch, shubisu (dance)

Ch, michu (friend)

Dh, dhadha (butter)

Ph, kophi (program)

Ny, (nyaata) (food)

Chapter one

1. 1. Background of the study

1.2. Statement of the problem

Oromo people are approximately more than 30 million living in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia, stood only the third largest indigenous language group in the African continent (Gada Melba 1989). However, very little was studied about this people's language, culture, history, politics, literature and religion in comparison to the other major linguistic groups in the continent.

Oromo as well as other scholars have undertaken a number of studies of Oromo literature. Studies by Oromo scholars are very fragmentary and those undertaken by some others reveal distortions. This thesis attempts to overcome these problems of fragmentation and some distortion in the study of Oromo literature.

Fekede Azeze (1998) said that only thirty senior essays were carried out about Oromo Literature in the last thirty years (1966-1997). Again, there are few MA theses and PhD dissertations on Oromo literature. However, none of them studied the development of Oromo literature in a substantial way.

The study of the development of Oromo literature necessarily starts with a study of the Oromo as well as Oromo language itself. However, since this thesis focuses on Oromo written literature it deals with the development of Oromo writing.

The term development comes from the root word 'develop' which means "to go through a process of natural growth, differentiation or evolution by successive changes" according to *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* 1981. Thus it refers to the natural growth that makes something different from other in the gradual process of consecutive changes.

In this case, when the researcher says development of Oromo written literature, he is referring to its natural growth from the very beginning to 1991 and its different phases within different historical periods.

Literature does not grow in the vacuum. It needs favorable social and historical conditions. So what kind of social and historical conditions contributed to the development or "underdevelopment" of Oromo literature will also be discussed.

1.3. Objectives of the study

This research is a descriptive research mainly focusing on the development of Oromo literature and particularly Oromo written literature. Thus the objectives of this research are: -

1. To find out the origin of Oromo literature
2. To describe different developmental stages of Oromo literature.
3. To point out some of the problems that hindered its development and
4. To suggest a kind of summary where the work perhaps lacks depth.

1.4. Significance of the study

Since this research is original by its type,

1. It may add more knowledge about historical growth of Oromo literature and its different phases and genres
2. It may help undergraduate students who study Oromo literature especially students who take the course, Survey of Oromo literature
3. It may also stimulate other researchers for further research on Oromo literature opening vast ground to be studied.

1.5. Delimitation of the study

This thesis deals with Oromo literature particularly Oromo written literature from the beginning to 1991. The reason for delimitation to 1991 is, there is some one who is doing his Masters Thesis on development of Oromo literature from 1991 to the present in other department (Department of Ethiopian languages and Literature). Secondly, it could be very vast and unmanageable for an MA Thesis if it includes other issues like African literature, development of Ethiopian literature. On the other hand, this research took a year to bring it to a state of completion because the university allows a year for MA thesis.

1.6. Limitations of the Study

When one starts to study Oromo literature or generally about Oromo, the first problem he/ she may encounter is where one should start from. (Asafa, 2004). As Oromo literature was not studied in a very substantial way, it creates a problem for every one who wants to study this people's literature; hence, the great problem the researcher encountered in his study is what to study? In what way? This is to mean, "What is Oromo literature itself? Where does it begin? Did it develop and the phases it went through. What to call those phases? All these were problematic. The other even more difficult problem is lack of research resources on the specific area. Time and money are also considerable limitations. Hence, the research could not cover all the Oromo Literature.

1.7. Organization of the study

The thesis will have five parts. The first chapter is the introductory part in which the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the objectives, methods of the study etc. will be stated.

The second chapter is the oral literature of Oromo in general. In this chapter, the research classifies and describes Oromo oral literature. In this chapter, the writer also tries to show the relationship between Oral literature and written literature.

The third chapter deals with origin and development of Oromo written literature. That means the beginning and development of Oromo literature and its growth phases. In this chapter, the researcher also tries to show some problems that hindered the development of Oromo literature. The fifth chapters will be conclusion and the summary of the highlights of the thesis.

1.8 operational Definition

1. AL: African Literature
2. AWL: African Written Literature
3. AOL: African Oral Literature
4. EL: Ethiopian Literature
5. EWL: Ethiopian Written Literature
6. EOL: Ethiopian Oral Literature
7. OL :Oromo Literature
8. OWL: Oromo Written Literature
9. OOL: Oromo Oral Literature

1.9 Source of data

In conducting this research the information or data are collected from the religious centers and libraries. This is supported by interview administered to different people to enrich the research. Sources of data are books, magazines, newspapers, media institutions (FETV, ET Radio, Radio Fana) will also explored.

1.10 Data gathering instrument and Methodology

This research is descriptive in its type. In data gathering interview is employed as instrument and again observation of the religious places is

carried out to contextualize the study. The interview will be held with two people, who, the researcher believes, know better about the origin and development of Oromo literature. Observation mainly helped the researcher for validity as it helped him to get empirical data.

Chapter two

Oromo Oral Literature

The origin of any written literature, no matter how much it is developed, is its oral literature. Ever since the first human language was invented before forty to fifty thousands years, it was being used by human beings for communication. The history of written literature only dates back to three thousand years to Mesopotamian civilization where, it is said, first writing originated. When compared to written literature in age, oral literature exceeds it by six times. In addition to this, among the three thousand years old written language of the world, only a few hundreds or so languages have a very sophisticated written language form.

This is very true in Africa where writing in general is new phenomena having just a hundred years of age. Again this is also very true for the Oromo people who started writing relatively later than other nations.

Writing is a new phenomenon in Oromo culture because writing usually emerges from a politically well structured society. Urbanization is also considered as a favorable condition for the emergence and development of writing.

However, the Oromos are predominantly pastoralists even though they had a well organized socio-political system called "Gada" which but eventually gave way for regional power just after the 16th century. For this reason, writing was not practiced in Oromia in a way it had to be. However, the Oromo people developed a bulk of oral literature over centuries which could be a fertile ground for Oromo written literature. So it is very important to have a glance at it to understand the development of Oromo literature.

From the structural point of view, it is possible to divide Oromo oral literature into three: Oromo folktales, Oromo oral poetry and Oromo epigrams as presented below though, in brief.

2.1. Oromo Folktales

The term folktale has been considered as a genre of oral literature referring to a kind of traditional prose narrative. All folk tales seem to come from different parts of the world. However, it is clear that folktales take the color and the form of the area from where they originated.

Folktales, like all pieces of oral literature, are transmitted orally through memory. They are heard, retained and transmitted. They may pass on with or without additions or changes.

Among the stylistic qualities found in most folktales, the plot moves in a straight chronological line with no sub plots changing order, repetition or parallel structure of events to create suspense on the listener and often the weakest among the characters is discovered to be the strongest. Vladimir Propp (1968:22:25)

Again functionally Oromo folk tales can be divided into three major categories. These are myths, legends and fables.

2.1.1 Myth

According to Harry Show, myth is :

"A legendary or traditional story, usually one concerning a super human being and dealing with events that have no natural explanation and proved belief that is accepted uncritically . . . an invented idea or story" Harry Show (1972:249).

This is to mean that it is a story that deals with super human power. It usually tries to explain natural phenomena as well as social customs through an unscientific way.

Oromo myths are of two types: aetiological myth and the other which deals with social customs.

Aetiological myths: - They are set in the most unknown periods and usually introduced by "once upon a time" or in the olden days "or as we heard from our fathers" Claude Sumner(1996:105) stated that *"A presented reality is given as the basis of the narrator's excursion into the past" in such a way natural phenomena are rationalized.*

However some scholars (for instance Finnegan, 1996:34) believe that all myths may not necessarily deal with origin of some thing. But Oromo myths can be according to the definition because there are many folktales that deal with the origin of death, the origin of the world, the origin of man, the origin of mountain and river, and so on.

In Oromo myth, there are also tales that deal with social customs .They tries to explain why social realities (customs) are like they are today. For example: the origin of Gada system.

Functionally and structurally both aetiological tales and tales that deal with the origin of social customs are similar. However, aetiological tales all the time deal with the distant past where as tales of the origin of social customs still try to explain the social customs of recent origin. For example: why the dog barks at a car.

2.1.2. Legends

George Baswell (1962:99) defines legends as "originally were miracle stories of saints' lives designated for instruction and read at religious services or meals, but now they may be any stories presumably based on fact in which traditional elements about peoples, places or incidents have become inextricably mixed. A legend is told to be the truth"

Legends are usually to glorify the great deeds of great people. In some cases, they are similar to myths because both of them are

unscientific. Legends in Oromo begin like myths with "long ago" or "once upon a time" As we heard from our ancestors". However legends are about great deeds of great people in the past whereas myths are mainly concerned with the origin of something. In addition, legends are a combination of fact and fiction particularly in Oromo oral literature. Sumner stated that "The narrator on the one hand has a rigid faith in the facts of his account, and on the other hand, uses his liberties as a creative genius" (Claude Sumner 1996:103)

Oromo legends are functionally divided into two: Those that deal with historical phenomena and those that deal with the deeds of great people.

Historical legends are time bounded. They deal with specific historical phenomena. They may tell us what occurred during "Abba Gada"¹ of some one as to Oromo time calendar.

The other legend is mythic legend in the strict sense which deals with great deeds of extraordinary people. It is time bounded larger deals with abstract ideas. But it deals with a great figure which belongs to remote epic age when men were living in a different condition unlike men of today. The supernatural power is more common than in the historical legend because the narrator brings forward motifs and attitudes in his glorification or degeneration of a chosen society in a chosen place and time (ibid: 104). A good example is Homer's the Iliad and Anglo-Saxon Beowulf.

These types of legends are common in Oromo oral literature but few of them were collected

1. The Oromo was recording time by their own calendar. This calendar consists 30 days and 365 days in a year and 8 years of administrative period.

These two statements seem contradictory because the former says that oral poetry is non-literate society's poetry, whereas the second states that it occurred in the literate society too. Finnegan adds that *"It is found all over the world, past and present, from the meditative personal poetry of modern Eskimo or Maori poets to mediaeval European and Chinese ballads or orally composed Greek epics."* (ibid 1997:2).

From the above definition, it is possible to understand that oral poetry occurred everywhere in the world and even happens now everywhere in the world. However the degree of occurrence may vary because of literacy in the society. This is to mean that oral poetry was the sole means of poetic expression for non-literate societies. Thus, it is easy to find so many varieties oral poetry in non-literate societies than in literate society. Even though less frequent, it is possible to find oral poetic expression in literate society too.

As mentioned before, the Oromos are predominantly a non-literate society. Not only this, but it is also possible to say that it has not developed the culture of writing. It is rich not only in folktales but also in oral poetry. The Oromo has got a short epic and ballad too.

Oromo oral poetry is a relatively more studied literary genre than other genres form of Oromo oral literature. Its publication goes back as far as 1839 by Edme- Francois Jomard ,who was the president of the society de geographic of France in his article "Notice sules Oromo* de Limmou": He collected and Printed three love and three war songs.

Four years later, Karl Tutschek collected about 208 Oromo oral poems from Mhabuba (an Oromo slave girl married to the German prince Macimillan). However, this collection was not published until 1880 because Karl Tuschek died before finishing his work and left the duty for his brother. His brother also died before getting it published and finally the other researcher got it and published it in 1880s.

From then on wards in 1894 Onsimos with his co-author Aster Genno published Oromo spelling book, which contains Oromo oral poetry

and folktales. In 1922, Enrico Cerulli published the folk-literature of the Oromo* of Southern Abyssinia." This book contains many oral poems in their own contexts which make it very important.

However, except for collecting and publishing Oromo oral poetry literary studies were not made until 1960s attempts made by graduating students of Addis Ababa University. From 1960 to 1997, more than 30 senior essays were written on Oromo oral poetry at Addis Ababa University by under graduate students.

Very valuable literary studies were made by Professor Claude Sumner on Oromo oral poetry in 1996 and 1997. He published two books on this topic. The greatest contribution he made was probably the classification of Oromo oral poetry scientifically and the literary analysis he made on the basis of that classification.

Addisu (1990) and Asafa (2002) also studied Oromo oral poetry but they took only one-poetic genre "Geerarsa", Oromo war poetry and studied it from the socio-historical point of view.

Recently in 2004, Roger published his book "Oromo oral poetry from within". This book focuses more on content analysis of Oromo oral poetry, hence, more on interpretation than on description.

From literature point of view and Claude Sumner (1996) it is possible to divided Oromo oral poetry in ^{to} two eight. This are

2.2.1 Love Poetry

Structurally Oromo love poetry is purely metrical with an introductory line which usually serves for sound parallelism as well as rhythmic function. Oromo focuses more on beauty of form of poetry especially in love poetry than its meaning. It may be because of this that we find frequent word and sound parallelism which may not cohere with other lines in the poetry. In Oromo love poetry, the first lines serve as introductory and only have an aesthetic function, though it is frequently expressed by analogy in most of Oromo oral love poetry.

The star shows the word Gala which cannot represent the Oromo.

2.2.2. War or hunting poetry

Heroic poetry is an Oromo lyric poetry usually sung to glorify the hero. In most cases, it is a hunting song but it could be a war song too since it is about a particular hero of great deed. It consists of life experience stories about the social positions of individuals and their achievement (Addisu 1990:1).

Sometimes it begins with introductory verse which forms a kind of parallelism of sound or images with the following verse of the song. In comparison with love poetry it uses sound parallelism less and analogy more. This is may be because in the first case what matters is aesthetic but in the case of the second the focus is on theme. It also has a detailed beauty physical structural form with Parallelism, imperative, interrogative, explanatory, vocative, form by describing events and experience.

2.2.3. Historical oral poetry

This genre deals with historical subjects and the concrete life situation or events celebrated in the society. It is a short lyrical-epic poetry used to narrate national conflict as well as Oromo-and other nations' long war. In some cases, it also shows local domination. It is predominantly an expression of oppression by the ruling class that the oppressed Oromo used.

However, some also deal not with past events but contemporary events that may have historical significance like wars or political maneuvers. (Sumner 1996).

Structurally, this poetry does not have an introductory parallel verse rather it gets in to the message directly. However, it uses analogy in the same way with heroic poetry and its narrative dimension is narrow.

2.2.4 Pastoral songs

Cattle-raising is a major economic activity of Oromo, and oral poems are reflections of real life (Finnegan 1997). Thus oral poetry of Oromos is a real life reflection and representative of its economic and social activities.

Oromo pastoral songs are relatively shorter than other Oromo oral poetry. Its length is usually two to eight lines. Sometimes, it is rhythmical. Sometimes, it is free verse.

As to Claude Sumner (1996) most of them do not describe or characterize the animals themselves but deal with the status and the success of the good cattleman.

Pastoral songs usually do not use analogy or an introductory sound parallelism. They describe everyday life. For example, the oral poetry below is a pastoral song.

Boonsitu loowwanii
Loonin maa boonanii
Gariin gungumee hafa
Jabilee fonanii

Cattle make one pride
Why one is not pride of cattle?
Some remain murmuring
When the calves separated

2.2.5 Festive and religious songs

Religion and society are highly intermingled to the extent that it is all most impossible to study Africa without its religion. Religion governs the whole life of the society hence most African languages do not have a word religion because everything is religion for them.

The same is true for Oromo. The Oromo are very religious and do not begin a day without prayer. The common prayer is a common oral poem (sung in most case in Borana)

Oromoon nagaa	Is Oromo in peace
nagaa	yes in peace
Ala manni nagaa	is outside and inside in peace?
nagaa	yes, in peace
wati maatin nagaa	are cattle and men in peace?
nagaa	yes in peace

This song is sung every day every morning before washing hands. There is also some oral poetry for "waaqaa" but since it is not a major issue I left it out only describing it.

As to Sumner (1996), Oromo festival songs are not different from religious songs. This is because all festivals are according to the religion or at least have some kinds of religious elements in them. Thus the knowledge of the one helps to understand the other better.

Structurally they are somehow different from other OOP because they do not have introductory verses as most of the other do. The other is, its verses are repeated so many times. Especially the first verses in most cases almost repeated after whole verses and they are very long three to fifty lines I have ever seen.

2.2.6 Satirical Poetry

The Oromo uses this lyric poetry filled with irony and sarcasm to expose and discredited works of folly matters. As to Sumner (1996) it is an Oromo literary type in itself with its own content concrete situation in life and form.

Flushness is the most frequent object of laughter or smile and again to some extent woman children and weak men too.

Most of them are moralistic .The Oromos inspire their moralistic values in it.

Like many Oromo's OP they begin with an introductory verse and exhibit the structural nature of, declarative or vocative structural forms.

2.2.7 Economic poetry:

This is a song sung at home during evenings after work for praise or in the work fields to encourage the workers. Most of the time, it is concerned with promoting friendship and discouraging selfishness and enmity it is poetry that deals with life experience and encourages workers.

Structurally, like most Oromo oral poetry it also characterized by introductory verse and is typical by its focus on exclamatory and sentence parallelisms.

2.2.8 Situational Poetry

This poetry is conditional in the sense that it serves as immediate response for an incident. The response could be negative as well as positive, which means to praise as well as to condemn. Thus, it is more moralistic.

Structurally, it does not have correct form. But all the time it begins with the addressee and imperative. It is locally known as Myrisa in Hararge.

This oral poetry is Myrisa for example

Dalaganii argatan malee beela irra hin bahan

Jaartin nama jala hin teeyasu yoo harkaa waa dhabanii

Kabajni qananiisaa yoomaa kuno dalaganii.

Unless by working hard famine never goes out

A wife never lives with you when you become poor

Respect and prosperity is when one work hard.

2.3. Oromo epigrams

Coleridge says that the epigram is " a dwarfish whole, its body brevity and wit its soul". His emphasis is on the length of the text and the power of its message as well as the way it is said. Harty Show (1972) add on this saying epigram is "a witty, ingenious and pointed saying that is expressed tersely".

In general, Sumner (1996) says, the epigram is a short, polished poem ending with some graceful, ingenious, pointed, weighty, witty, or satirical turn of thought.

On the basis of the above definition, it is possible to classify Oromo epigrams into three: proverb, riddle and puzzle. And let me say few things about them.

2.3.1. Proverbs

The attempt to define a proverb is too difficult to undertake and combine in a single definition all the essential elements and give each the proper emphasis. However Sumner (1996) says, "an incommunicable quality tells us these sentences is proverbial, and that one is not".

However some scholars tried to define proverbs. Among these Algirdas Julien Greimas (1970) who defined proverbs in terms of signifying and signified. He says: "*Proverbs are connoted elements. The signified is not situated on the level of the signification of glasses or of girls: The meaning of the proverb is found amongst considerations on youth and old age.*"

According to this definition, proverbs convey meaning computationally and all proverbs use implied meaning

On the other hand, Dominique Zahan (1963) cited in Sumner (1996) says that the function of the proverb is to illustrate in absolutely certain way a "*statement which is analogically applied to a fact that is different from the one expressed by the statement.*"

According to Zahan, proverbs are an expression a speaker or a writer uses to make his statement absolutely true. However, this does seem to cover all aspects of proverbs.

The last definition is given by Firmin Redegem. Redegem(1972) used three criteria to define and classify the species of locutions. These criteria are rhythm, metaphor and norm. He emphasizes that in all proverbs, there are rhythm, image and norm, whereas others like maxim and saying have two or one only.

However as to Cauvin and Sumner, these criteria are not criteria for classifying proverbs and other locutions but "strong poles around which the different elements of proverb gravitate".

2.3.1.1. Classification of Oromo Proverbs

To start from terminology, Sumner (1996) says "In Oromo language there is but one word to cover "saying", "Proverbs" and "Maxims" [Makmaksa]. However, this doesn't seem true. In Oromo the "Makmaksa" more or less covers all meaning of the English proverbs. They have got the septiential forms:- a duality hinted in Griemas, denotation-connotation suggested by Zahan and the three criteria of Rodegem. Oromo also have "Jechama" for 'saying but may not for maxim the terminology. However we can find all proverbs, saying and maxim in the language.

To define Oromo Proverbs, proverbs in general, are very difficult to classify. The reason is may be because of the difficulties of defining proverbs collecting and analyzing the proverbs on the basis of that definition. Again we have similar proverbs for the same thing.

However different scholars have made certain number of research. Onesimus Nesib started collection and publication of Oromo proverbs. He collected 80 proverbs and published it with Aster Geno in 1894. Next to him Enrico Ceruli published 93 proverbs of introduction to his book in 1817. Mario Borello and Angelo Mizzi published 1017 proverbs between 1921-1941. But Mario Borello proverbs are not only Oromo proverbs but also other nation and nationalities proverbs. But a very remarkable work was done by Abduraham Mohammed Korran in his three articles Oromo Proverbs" He classified them in to six category

1. Good advice and comment,
2. Stoicism and Fatalism
3. Folly
4. Bad character and conduct
5. Respect and self respect

6. Foresight and the lack of it. This classification based on the thematic classification of Oromo proverbs.

J. Cauvin says that if one uses a thematic classification and wishes to make a comparative study, this solution is relatively good. However since we do have many proverbs for a single theme matti kuus: (1970) suggests alphabetical order and Mohammad's collection is not in alphabetical order.

The other prominent scholar said to be "the father of Oromo oral literature is Claude Sumnere. He presented his work in two volumes. The first one is "Oromo Wisdom Literature volume I, a collection of proverbs collection and analysis and the second one is proverbs. Songs, folktales:- An Anthology of Oromo Literature.

He classified Oromo proverbs in alphabetical order first and thematically second in his first volume and only thematically in the case of the second one. Even though his thematic classification is based on sequential philosophical approach, it could be categorized in the classification Mohamed made before.

Now-a-days, we do have many collections of proverbs especially by cultural and tourism bureau of Oromia and Wasane Tasha an Oromo oral literature researcher. However, only graduate students of Addis Ababa University and other universities and colleges made few scientific studies. Thus, a lot has to be done to study Oromo proverbs since it is the basis of other oral literature and even written literature.

2.3.2. Riddles

Coddan (1980) in a dictionary of literary terms says that riddles are "an ancient and universal form of literature in its commonest form". However, it is debatable whether we could find riddles all over the world in a similar message and form.

Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary (1979) stated that riddle is problems or puzzles in the form of a question statement etc. So some kind of ingenuity is required to solve it.

Oromo riddles are short and consist of an ambiguous definition and an answer that dispels the ambiguity. Sometimes it also serves as a game.

It does not have actual situation of occurrence. It may serve as introduction for story evening in Oromo or to check somebody's knowledge.

2.3.3. Puzzle

The puzzle of the "enigma" is a statement of a case whose different factors must be untangled. It is part of those innumerable personal contributions, which entertain conversation in an evening or at the public house. The puzzle is there to provoke discussion or to keep it going. It is fictional and does not apply to a real case, but it is considered as describing a real situation.

Sumner (1997) says contrary to the riddle, there is no typical answer to the puzzle. Discussions go on without end. There may be opposition between two solutions solving a particular case. The upholders of each solution defend their own viewpoint, and in general they part each one maintaining his position.

In addition to that, riddle teases someone on how to handle the problem but puzzles make penetrate into the world of solution to practical problem (ibid).

Chapter Three

Oromo Written Literature

3.1. Introduction

Oromos, as I have said in the introduction, are an indigenous people of the Horn of Africa. It is located in the south of Abyssinia which has had a long tradition of writing in Ge'ez script and the Muslim Pastoralist: Afar in the ~~and~~ North and Northeast Somali in the East and Southeast who have had fragmented purely Islamic religious literature in Arabic script first and some secular literature by Latin script now. In the Southwest and West Oromo shares boundaries with many nations and nationalities that were and still are without much writing tradition.

Of course, Asafa Jalata argues that Oromo people cannot be seen out of the cultural development of the Horn of Africa. He says that the Horn of Africa is a cultural hybrid of the two continents: Africa and Asia. Thus, even though the degree of influence varies, there was a politico-cultural religious influence on both sides of the Red Sea.

Again when we come to the region we find the same thing. No society in the horn stands by itself, but takes out mutual part in the influence.

In the east and southeast as well as in the North in Wollo and Raya in Oromia, Muslim influence is high and almost all people were converted to Islam in these areas in the 18th century and before. The others, the west and the central Oromo, were converted to Christianity because of the cultural contact they had with the Christian Amhara and Tigre

This cultural contact with religious expansion brought literacy to the area. This literacy again resulted in literary production even though it was more of religious literature.

3.2. Oromo written literature before 19th century and Arabic literature in Oromia

It seems that the Oromo have had a long cultural as well as religious contact with the Arab world and Muslim people in the south probably with the Somali than other nations. This contact might have brought Islamic literature and Islamic religion itself to the area.

The Oromo probably made cultural and religious contact with the Islamic world in the second half of 13th century. This was through Islamization processes first made in Bali the present province of Bale the place where it is said that the Oromo's were living before the 16th century.

According to Trimingham (1965), the Islamization was first introduced to the region by sufists. This sufi scholars tried to spread Islam by persuasion rather than by coercion and this helped them to establish seats of higher Islamic learning

"the basis of Sufism is the belief that the believer who desires to attain communion with God needs the guidance of one who is experienced in the "Path" there to, one who has been blessed by God on baraka and who can act as an intermediary between the disciple and God" Trimingham (1965:233)

It is strongly believed that Said Nur Hussien (Shiek Hussien) who lived in 13th century, was the popular sufi that preached Islam to the region even though Islamazation began before him by his father and other Arabs living there .Concerning the date the Shiek lived, some scholars like Smith Donald (1896) said that Shiek Hussien came to Bale in the 17th century from Baghdad with his father Muhammed to spread Islam among the Bale's Oromo. On the other hand, Chirulli (1922) said

that Sheikh Hussein was a relative of Bale Sultanate and lived in the 19th Century.

However, oral tradition and newly discovered Arabic book assumed to be written by Sheikh's grand son shows that the Sheikh lived in the 13th century.

Thus it seems more logical to say that the sheikh lived in 13c. Concerning his personal life Eshetu (1973) says that Hussein's educational background was not different from other Moslem children of his time. He went to the village Madrasa where he learned how to read and write Arabic.

Eshetu further said about expansion of education Sheikh Hussein thought that "*unless people meet the learned and the wise, they could not obtain wisdom and knowledge*".

Most probably it was because of this that Sheikh Hussein was able to gather many students around him. It is said that at one time he had 6,666 students. He taught them Quran and Hadith.

This shows that there was highly developed educational system and Islamic learning center like Dirree Anajina where the sheikh him self established his Quranic school.

Therefore it is possible to say this Islamic education helped the area of the people to develop literary tradition. Concerning this Chabal 1996 says that "*Origin of literature, i.e. the process by which writing with in a particular geographical area comes to be regarded as the literature of that area.*"

As to this definition if there is writing there is literature. Therefore as we have seen above Sheikh Hussein and probably his father first preached Islam in the area and established Islamic school (Madarisa) therefore literacy began here and produced literature.

Since I am dealing with Oromo literature the logical question may arise, did Sheikh Hussein and his father preach Islam to the Oromo?

Was Bali Oromo land? These questions lead us to where the Oromos were during this time.

The answer is yes, He did teach Islam to Bali which was an Oromo. Let me start with very obvious evidence proving that the Oromo come from Madda Walabu (Haro Walabu) [mineral water of Walabu]. Madda Walabu is in Bale and thus the Oromo were there at that time. On the other hand, many recent evidences; Nagaso (1984), Mohamad (1994) and (2004) show that the Oromo were in the central and Southeastern part of Ethiopia before 16th century.

Nagaso (1984) claims that the Oromo were one of the people commonly assumed as the Sidama or Muslim states of the Middle Ages. (today in some parts of Oromia, the name also denote Amhara). He explains that except describing this states religiously no one tried to state them in terms of ethnicity or in language. Thus he said this Muslim state might have been Oromo because the Oromo has a long cultural contact with the Arab world.

The other evidence is the name of a person we found in the 13th century and 14th century in Arabic writing as well as Ethiopian Geez writing These names were Oromo name and if the Oromo were not around there or even around the king how can Amad Tsion say "even if others are afraid, how can Tullu be afraid?"

Maps of the 15th century refer to localities like Masara(palace), Teso (address or name of a person), Gora(raspberry, plant or fruit), Ganamo (name of a person in this case), Adadi Mariyam (the whites Mary) located in Showa and Wallo has got meanings in Oromo.

From all this it would be easy to deduce that Oromo were in Shawa, Arsi and Bale before the 16th century. To add to this, the word "Bali" refers to feather which the Oromo carry on their head during Gada ceremony. Thus it may refer to people who wear feather on their head. Again Abba Bahire said "*The Oromo come crossing their countries river Galana*". This statement shows that Galana River (Probably Ganale) is in

the country of Oromo. The other rivers like Wabe(stingless bee or major in this case) and Awash also have meaning in Oromo.

To sum up it is possible to say the Muslim state of Bali and Sharka we found in history books were ethnically Oromo or a combination of Oromo and other nations.

Islam reached these areas before 13th century according to Trimingham 1965:60 *"the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries when the Abyssinian kingdom was weak and confined and continually at war with the Agao was the first period of systematic expansion of Islam in to northeast Africa."*

This matches with the time when Sheikh Nur Hussein and his father came to the area. However, some Arabic documents show that there were Islamic seeds even before the 10th century.

To begin with my main topic it seems that the first literary development begins at this time.

As I have said above if there is literacy there is literature. Hence, it is possible to say Oromo literature began with Arabic literature in Eale with the introduction of Islam.

Regarding this Azais and Chambard cited in Termingham (1955: 207) stated

Islam is deeply implanted in this fertile plain (East and south) and its teaching is widely spread, because whilst in many of the Abyssinian Katama there are no schools but here the smallest Muslim village has its own school with its Kabir together the children in the mosque and teach them to read the Quran.

In such a way the establishment of Islamic school or Quranic School opened way for the development of Muslim religious literature in the area.

Most of the early religious literatures were written in Arabic language for different reasons. First, these early religious literatures were Arabic and came from Arab countries especially from Yemen to

the country of Oromo. The other rivers like Wabe(stingless bee or major in this case) and Awash also have meaning in Oromo.

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Most of the early religious literatures were written in Arabic language for different reasons. First, these early religious literatures were Arabic and came from Arab countries especially from Yemen to

educational purpose. So, they were using this religious material as texts for their students. Because of the absence of printing material made those to copy the original text that came from Yemen and other Arab countries.

The other reason for the use of Arabic for written language is that Arabic was considered as a holy language. The founders of the religion themselves were from Arab countries and when they brought the religion they imposed their language too with the belief that 'Alah' (God) only listens when asked in Arabic and again Arabic is the only standard Quranic language. This is not only true for Arabic but true for other religious languages like Latin and Ge'ez. Both now extinct have given rise to other languages leaving their religious literature to the church.

However, Arabic is different in some ways even though there is opposition from the mosque. There is Islamic literature in Oromo language using Arabic alphabet from the early days of Islam.

The first Arabic literature found in Oromia was probably "Rabbi Al-Qulub fidhikr managib wafada al sayid sheikh Nur Hussayn". This book is said to be written by Ali Umar a local 'Oromo' who lived in the 14th century. Thus this book is the first written literature in the 14th century and it was edited and published by Haji Yusuf Abdi-al Rahman in Cairo in 1967.

This book is a biographical book based on the life and career of Sheikh Nur Hussein. The writer says that "the Sheikh's grandson ordered me to write the book and I wrote it".

In the book we find many Oromo words especially place names and again it also shows the interaction and activities of the Muslim "missionaries" of that area with the local people. From literary viewpoint the book is probably the first written material found in Oromia by the Oromo but not in Oromo language.

The theme of the book seems "righteousness" or to have strong belief in "Alaha". It deals with what the sheikh did in his lifetime, how he

was teaching, what he was teaching and so on. Thus the book was more legendary i.e. deals more with the supernatural power.

The second literary work (chronologically) found in Arabic script in Oromia by an Oromo is "Bafadil". Its author's name is Abdella bin Abdul Rahman Bafadil Al Hadarman and the book is named after him. It is said, (my informant told me) that the book was first written in Yemen and brought to Arsi by a certain Muslim who went to Mecca for Pilgrim. Then the book was given to Sheikh Mohammed Ali who copied the whole book by hand for teaching purpose in his "Madarasa" (school). When he copied it he was also giving more clarification to indigenize and make it clear to his students. This book was copied by the author in 1756AG C. It is not published yet and found in some mosques in Arsi as well as in the hands of some individuals.

The other Arabic literary giant of the area was Sheikh Mohammed Jamal Al-din Al-Anni in his Islamic name and Roobsaa Baaboo Baroodaa his birth name and he was an Oromo of Rayya.

He attended Quranic School from his early teenage and studied under different Sheikhs. My informant told me that he went to Yemen for further study and after he finished his study there he returned to teach in Quranic School. It was at this time that he started to write. He wrote more than fifty books out of which, I found only ten. I haven't seen any of his books published but the manuscript as he wrote it first. The first book I found is, "Kifaayat Al-Tali bin" this book is on Jurisprudence. The other books are Al-Najim al Munir, al-Khulasat Al-Nagiyyat which is about soul purification, Nuzhat Al-Asrar, lataif Al-Isharat, advice for the Muslim, tayara Anfafu Al-Rasail which contains different letters he wrote to his students, Rawdat Al- Asrar-different kinds of poetry most of them are religious and the last one is an article entitled, gilma Al-Najm on Astronomy.

As to my informant, he wrote all his books between 1830s to 1870s and died in 1882. Most of the books were written between 1850sto1870s

according to my informant because at this time Emperor Yohannis religious homogenization to convert the Muslim to Christianity and this Sheikh rebelled against him and declared "Jihad", a religious war on the Emperor. Thus this literary material might be used as religious propaganda for the war. However I couldn't find any historical evidence on this account.

Nevertheless Sheikh Mohammed Jamal's contribution was greater in literary development of Oromo. It seems that with the exception of Ali Umar and Sheikh Mohamed Ali the Oromo's began to express themselves using Arabic language than copying what others wrote before. In such way he and others also contributed much to the great bulk of Arabic literature.

However, these books were not published, so did not reach the people in the way it was designed. Because Arabic was Quranic school language the sheikh and his "darasa" students speak in Oromia. Therefore the majorities of the Muslim population never speak or read Arabic. For this reason the influence of Sheikh Jamal was only around the Mosque. Yet different Muslim Sheikh's quoted him and considered him as one of the great Muslim fathers of the area.

Next to him probably who wrote under the former influence was Sheikh Mohammed Ali, (known after his birth place Sheikh Mahammed Jaju) of Arsi Oromo. He wrote about three books in Arabic. His first book was Kashf Al-Gummah al asharh summah. It was written around the end of the 19th century. This book was a logic book and at the same time a commentary on logic. It is not published yet.

His second book was Al-Sarim Al-Muhab believed to be written in the beginning of the 20th century and the book was a commentary of a famous Arabic grammar book. The third book he wrote in the 1920s was also a critique of beating drums on different occasions. This book is also a critics of the original cultural elements deeply incorporated into Islamic religion, like for example 'wadaja"

In Oromo 'wadaja" is a common practice in which the Oromo prays to God. But in Islam even though the religion strictly forbids this practice it is a very common ceremony even among Muslim Oromo, so when he says beating drum it also includes "Adira" beaten during "wadaja".

In addition to the above works in Arabic, there are also some purely literary works. Most of these literary works are poems in praise of the Prophet Mohammad. Some of these works were "Burdaa" named after the author Abu Abedella Mohammad Beside al Busiyeri. It was written in Arabic language. The other one was "waraaqi Qasidat Al-batiryaa". The author was Mohammad bin Abu Bakar. "Tarahi Ibi Kalul Afkar by Jamal Adin Abdul Karim bin Adirgam was also poetry of such kind.

After a long period of Islamic education and Arabic literacy, the idea of using Arabic alphabet for Oromo language was raised. This probably came forth in the 19th century. Perhaps with a modest suspicion, the first person to use this (Arabic) alphabet for Oromo writing was Shiekh Ahmad Siraji. Most of his works are "Mantumina" Islamic religious poetry. He wrote four volumes of Munzumeera and all of them were in Oromo language written in Arabic script in the 19th century.

Then after Muslim Oromo teachers like sheikh Mohammad Asihaba and Shiekh Mohammad Aliy Ta'oo composed different materials using Arabic script in Oromo language.

To conclude, the contribution of Arabic language as well as Islamic education to the development of Oromo literature is beyond question. In a wide sense the contribution is in humanistic spirit, idea, culture and so on. In such a way, it may represent anything written about Oromo in any language. But I should confine myself only to the Oromo language just having Arabic the basis of Oromo written literature.

Arabic was the lingua franca of the area for so many years and the Oromo used it long ago before they used their own (Laur) alphabet. The contribution of the Islamic education was also undeniable since many of

the writers in Oromo language in the early age especially in the east are Muslim and from Muslim Quranic school.

On the other hand, it may also hinder the Oromo language literary development at least in its early stage since the majority of the Muslim community believe that Arabic is a Quranic language thus sacred language therefore using its alphabet for "pagan" language defies it. This debate is still continuing not to use Oromo for religious purpose even after "Quran" is translated into Oromo language using Latin alphabet.

In general, Oromo written literature began in Arabic its life and this went on until first half of 19th century when Oromo also began to appear in Latin alphabet.

3.3. Oromo written literature of the 19th century

3.3.1 Jomard and the two Oromo ex-slaves

After a long but slow literary development in Oromia, written mainly in Arabic and to some extent using the Arabic alphabet in Oromo language, a very remarkable written Oromo literature were began in 19th century. This was mainly as a result of the arrival of some Oromo slaves who were brought by European travelers from slave markets of the Middle East and Africa to Europe. (Makuria 1994). Among the ex-slaves I will discuss only some who contributed much for the development of Oromo literature.

The first of these slaves of whom written records were found were, Ware and Gaba'o from Limmu district of Jimma west Oromia. They reached Paris in the 1930's and were befriended by the famous French geographer Edme Francois Jomard. Ware was born at Sabiche in Limmu from a renowned warrior, rich cattle man called Kill-ho. He was the eldest son of "kill-ho" and only ten years when he began to gain a reputation as a hunter. He was seized by slave merchants on hunting, and taken away to a very far place with other slaves of both sexes.

As soon as he arrived at Khartoum, Ware was identified by an English man who was "struck by the ability of young Ethiopian" paid the money necessary to purchase his freedom and was treated him with paternal care. However, he soon left his patron, and was given to a French officer in Egypt. The officer kept him in that country for two years, and took him to France for his interest in the young boy's moral and intellectual qualities and handed him over to Jomard with the task of having him educated (Pankhrust 1976).

The other Oromo from Limmu was Gaba'o, who later became a best friend of Ware, was brought to France by the famous French traveler Arnauld d' Abbadie. He put the young man with Jomard because he knows his interest in that part of Ethiopia

But details of Gaba'o's life history are unknown because there is reasonable belief that he returned to his native land. From a diary of Antoine brother of D'Abbadie's it is clear that the two brothers were in contact with certain Gaba'o. But whether the two Gab'os were in fact one and the same person is doubtful.

Jomard is interest in the abilities of his students was very high. He commented on Ware, as "full of ability and intelligence". The young Oromo, he recalled was a valuable informant, for he had" left his country at an age when he had already acquired a very precise knowledge of places and many interesting facts" (ibid).

It may be this belief that led him to say" one must expect from this race even greater progress than the very remarkable progress made by the black wolfs in West Africa."

Ware and Gaba'o provided Jomard with a considerable amount of geographical, linguistic and other materials which enabled him to publish " Notice surles Oromo* de Limmou" in the "Bulletin de la society geographique" in 1839. In this article, he explained the country's different valuable geographical information for it was the first geographical information on this area. Ware also helped Jomard in

collecting almost 1,000 Oromo words from his memory with his own interest.

In 1939, with the help of the young Oromo Ware and Gaba'o, Jomard was able to publish the text in Roman script in French the first recorded pieces of Oromo and even African oral literature which consisted of three prayers as pronounced respectively by men, women and girls, and three songs of love and three of war. (ibid).

3.3.2. *Karl Tutschek and the four Oromo ex-slaves*

Besides Jomard's Oromo oral literature probably the first attempt to use Oromo written language in Latin alphabet was made by two ex-slave Christian Oromo, Akkafedhe Dalle and Osho Aga (Panikurst 1976).

Akkafedhe, who was from Bochi in the Ambo area of west Oromia, first began his study with Karl Tutschek with three Sudanese in 1938. He was brought to Europe by Prince Maximilian of Bavaria, who, was traveling in the Middle East.

Oshu Aga was from Urgessa in the Siku area south of Limmu brought to Europe by a British orientalist Thomas Pell Plate. While Akkafedhe was in Munich it was unknown where Oshu was. Then Akkafedhe heard the presence of an Oromo man from Oromo country in Europe with Thomas Pell Plate.

The occasion of acquaintance was accidental and very exciting for both of them. It happened as the manuscript of Akkafedhe "Hafuri kan Akafedhe fi kan Amanati" probably written in 1840 says "1839 - 1840 my teacher met him one day walking in the street. My teacher thought he was an Oromo and so he spoke to him in Oromo language. "Do you speak Oromo language*? He said to him. On this the boy at once looked at him and said, "Are you an Oromo*?" He answered "No, I am not an Oromo but I have an Oromo at home. They went on talking but the boy

was in a hurry so he left him .Then my teacher met the boy as he was coming back from his lesson and talked to him. Then my teacher took me there, and I met the boy." (Cited in Punkhurst (1976)

In such a way they met by accident they acquainted and Oshu Aga spent two months, October and November of 1940 in Munich with Akkafedhe and Tutschek . Akkafedhe said this time 'we meet, we separate we separate we meet" to show their constant visit of each other.

This acquaintance leads Akkafedhe and Oshu to good friendship that resulted in correspondence and consequently became the base is of Oromo literature. According to Punkhurst said (1976) "this was in all probability the first time that the language was used in written form as a medium of communication." Their correspondence began on October 19, 1840 by Oshu's letter when he informed Akafedhe how he had been taken away of his home country and terrorized of being eaten by Bulgu (i.e. Cannibals), and finally taken to Cairo and sold to a king and then brought to Europe. Akkafedhe replied to him on 21st October in a very good and encouraging way to him as follows.

There were many Oromo who can do nothing but grieve at the separation from their fathers and mothers. But bear courageously the fact that you will not see your father and mother again. Who knows, God willing, when you grow up and can manage on your own your master will send you to your country. My brother, what would your mother say when you tell her "A man sold me into a country which I didn't know another person took and brought me up, and when I grew up he told me to go and look for your mother and your father. Idem, Akkafedhe to Oshu, October 21, 1840.

Aga didnot reply in way Akkafedhe wanted. Two days later, he simply said 'even though I liked Vienna I didn't like Munich because the people are bad" Akkafedhe hurt by this short message soon answered saying" Are you tired of writing?" and asked him to tell him about his country.

Aga understood that the former message was inadequate and replied informing his friend he is learning to ride a horse and about his family and country.

I have four sisters. One is married. The other three are at home. Did you ever go hunting? One day I went hunting secretly, and my father beat me severely because I went away without telling him. . . Have you ever eaten buffalo meat? I have eaten buffalo meat many times. It is tasty Have you eaten elephants meat? That meat is no good. Have you eaten bccr's meat? In our country, Borana, boar is not eaten because it is forbidden. It is normal to eat boars in this country I am now defiled because I eat bears meat. In my country I killed a young wild antelope, and its meat is very tasty. In my country I have a good spear I and my brothers used to take a big dog with us and go out hunting together. When we killed boars we did not eat the meat. . In our country there is a mountain called Jabi covered with forest which contains many boars. The boars of that forest were much hunted (.Pankhurst 1976)

In this way Akkafedhe and Oshu Aga wrote 13 letters during their relationship and most of their letters emphasis advising each other. Especially Akkafedhe used to advise Aga to believe in Waqa (God). Again in his turn Aga advised and blessed him saying "If the Ayana of your father is kind to you he will bring you back to your father's country. Then you will see your durbi (i.e. causing) you will see your fira (i.e. friends) you will see your hiri'a (i.e. Age group).

These letters are a landmark in Oromo literature for a certain reason. They used Latin script which is the orthography of Oromo language now. Secondly, they were written out of experience and inform about the condition of that time i.e. the duty of Oromo youth of the 18 century the brutality of slave trade, their perception of white as well as their religion, politics and future hope. Thirdly, they were written by Oromo in Oromo language. Here, of course we do have many written

materials written by Oromo in Arabic or even Jomard's Oromo oral literature but Arabic is not Oromo language.

The young Oromo's contributions were not only these. They were assisting the young scholar Karl Tutschek in many ways and contributed very valuable material to Oromo literature.

Tutschek first came to Munich to study Jurisprudence and had taken up the post of a teacher of four African students. One was Akkafedhe and the others were Sudanese from Darfur, Umele and Denka to prince Maximilian of Germany who had a great interest in his African slaves. Tutschek later on said that his tutorship of the young Africans gave his life "a new and unique direction" and led him to find out the home land and previous conditions of these poor youngsters and as a result contributed something to the research about Africa about which little was known at that time. Concerning this (Punkhurest 1976)states
"... Novelty of the thing attracted him, and a scientific desire of learning something interesting in regard to the home and former circumstances of this strangers, and of thus, perhaps contributing something to a nearer knowledge of Africa, induced him to commence his work with courage".

However, the duty was not easy for Tutschek when he began tutoring the ex-slaves on November 18, 1838. This was as he said "partly inborn and partly imposed suspicion of part of Africans". He spent four difficult months being ridiculed and derided by the boys.

But, this suspicion came to an end at the end of 1839 when one of the boys fell critically ill. When Tutschek solicitously cared for and had a friendly talk with the patient, the unreasonable suspicion disappeared from the young African's mind. Then onward, Tutschek was able to win their confidence and affection.

Karl Tutschek stated his inquire, as soon as he started his tutoring and finally when he overcame their suspicion, he began to get genuine information about the origin of these poor Africans. He realized the importance of limiting himself to one of the four languages spoken by his students.

her lover in 1840 when they departed and she was in Vienna. In addition to that she preserved many Oromo oral poems of those days.

Meanwhile, Tutschek found the other Oromo ex-slave called Aman Gonda from Gomo in the present day Jimma zone, West Oromia. It was said that he was the youngest of all the Oromo boys there in Germany. He was the son of "Abba Funyo", or local functionary. He was the most educated one of all and had good family background which helped him to know more about his country and his mother tongue correctly than others. Because of this he may be admired by Karl Tutschek. With the permission of Duke Paul Wilhelm Tutscheck, he visited Aman two times and stayed a considerable time with him. at this time, he collected from him many words for his dictionary and some oral literature too.

With the assistance of these four ex-slaves, Tutschek embarked on his Oromo study subsequently producing Oromo literature. He presented his first paper about Oromo language; the simple sketch of Oromo grammar, an Oromo dictionary both of them were the first in Oromo language history and also a considerable number of Oromo oral literature:- prayers and songs to the royal academy of Munich and read a report to its philosophical section on January 2, 1841. (Punkhust 1976).

The production of literary work of these four Oromo ex-slaves and the German scholar could not go further. This was because Belile died one year and six months before Akkafedhe's death. The late's death brought a great stack back to Karl Tutschek who was for most producing these literary materials. Aman was believed that he got back to his country and little is known about Oshu Aga.

In 1843 Tutschek completed the draft of Oromo-English-German dictionary which was far larger and more comprehensive than the word list of either Krapf or Rochet d' Heri court.

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data he planned to go to Cairo where he thought could get an Oromo slave that would help him in his Oromo study. Thus he requested the prince for help. The prince so struck with the merit of the work agreed to the request, and promised to contribute money required for a residence of two years in Cairo.

But the tragedy was the young scholar fell ill critically at the end of 1843 at the age of only twenty-eight and died in his native town of Bayreuth in his parents' house.

Thanks to Lorenz, Tutschek's work did not remain unveiled. He continued working on Oromo literary materials in the same method though; he was a student of medicine not of linguistics. He requested Duke Acland to transfer to him the financial support he had earlier delivered to his brother stating that the Oromo English part of the dictionary and much of the grammar had been completed but not enough to be published. He explained it in his own words as following.

Necessarily, not only that, these fruits of an industry not to be fatigued and written with genius and expertness, may not remain unused. So the scientific world had a claim up on the publication of these so interesting and considerable enrichments in the department of linguistic science.
Lorneze 1943 (Cited in Pankhurst 1976)

Lorenz declared the plan which was in his mind.

- "1. It would be of extensive importance to bring to completion the second in complete part of the dictionary from the first finished part and to deduce the third (English-Oromo-German) in the same manner from the first.
2. Not little could be contributed to the completion of the Oromo grammar out of the scattered essays and remarks.
3. Out of the treatises on religion, manners and customs history and geography etc. a very valuable sketch containing many sheets could be elaborated."

However things were not easy for him. The most difficult problem he encountered was language problem. Thus he wanted to give the work to some one who can speak the language and found Mr. Joseph Muller, professor of oriental languages but even though the professor was willing to undertake the work, he had no time to do this entirely new study. So he had to find someone else and said

Should I ask Mr. Jomard librarian at Paris, who to my knowledge is the only one in Europe, who has been occupied with the study of the Oromo language in a more extensive manner? I am from the very outset persuaded, that he would decline the proposal and even incase that he would take on the charge of completing what is to be done in the Oromo language still he would by no means be able to do the least for the other three languages and for the elaboration of the ethnographical, geographical etc. materials of the corresponding countries. I therefore, the brother of the deceased and the only one, whom love and enthusiasm for the subject and other favorable circumstances render in some degree fit for the performance of the great task. Lorenz 1843 cited in Pankhurst 1976.

Finally he decided to do the difficult work by himself and urged Sir Thomas for help stating the scientific importance of his brother's materials for England as follows.

That the whole great undertaking which has become the principal object of the life of my brother was in a close and indeed in the closest relation to England and its scientific as well as political interests and is still so a truth, which among other things has been proved by the lively interest and active support which you, most honored sir, have bestowed upon the efforts of my late brother and according to what I learn from the Judgment of our literature as well as from my own insight into the matter for that to obtain the question of the fruit of my brothers studies. cited in Pankhurst 1976

Sir Thomas responded positively to the request and agreed to provide the necessary financial support, and thus enabled Lorenz to proceed with the work.

As he planned, he succeeded in printing an Oromo-English German dictionary at Munich in 1844. The dictionary has got two title pages one in English, "Dictionary of the Oromo language and the other in German, lexicon der Oromo sprach. The dictionary was written in Latin alphabet and says "composed by Charles Tutschek and published by Lorenz Laworance Tutschek. The dictionary contains about two thousand root words explained in great deal with derivatives and often in context .In addition to this there is a lengthy introduction on the history of Karl's work and some remarks on the Oromo alphabet. It also included numerous references to the young Oromo informants, Akkafedhe, Aman and Aga. Thus many entries were personal experiences like "It occurred but once in dictation of Akkafedhe Dalle, Aman Gonda and Oshu Aga, Akkafedhe does not know this word e.t.c.

Lorenz published the second part of the dictionary of 120 pages with over two thousand five hundred English-Oromo entries, completed by him in 1845.

In the same year, he published his brother's grammatical material in a book entitled "A Grammar of the Oromo Language" which consisted of 83 pages of grammar. In the book, there is also the text and translation of three Oromo Prayers and two letters between Akkafedhe and Aga.

The book was first written originally in German language and translated into English by Morgan J. Smead, an American student and professor then working in Europe for a PhD in language. The Book contains Oromo language grammatical elements like verbs, numerical adjectives and pronouns which were completed by Karl Tutschek and his brother added on that negation, nouns, adjectives and particles from the

paper Karl had submitted to the Royal Academy of sciences in Munich in 1841 (Tutschek 1845).

The publication of these two books was the landmark in the history of Oromo language and literature. First of all, it introduced the Oromo language to the European world. Second, it laid ground for Oromo Literature. Roderick Murchisan, president of the British royal Geographical Society, referred in his presidential address of May 26, 1845, to the German scholar's.

Unmerited patience and good sense in eliciting words and sentences and principles of the grammar, and facts and places, from his illiterates pupils. Nothing can more effectually tend to improve our knowledge of the still unknown portions of the globe, than a preparatory acquaintance on the part of the natives. It presents the readiest means of a grateful welcome in the hut, and in the place. cited in Punkhurst 1876.

As a result, Karl Tutschek was able to influence the European linguists. One of the first was the English professor Francis W. Newman of Manchester. He presented a paper called "Notes on the Oromo verb and pronoun to the British philological society in 1847.

In addition to Karl Tutschek and his brother as well as the Oromos, we could also find some works by several foreigners and of these was the French envoy Rochet d' Harcourt, who arrived in Shewa at the beginning of October 1839. He was not late to appreciate the unique characteristics of Oromo culture. After a year or so of study, he published a book entitled, "the voyage" in 1841. In this book he described the politico-social system called Gada and Oromo religion. He said gathered under large tree (most probably Oda Nabe), the then political center of Oromo) and Oromo women dances and Oromo clans of Showa (Pankhurst 1976)

To add to that, he also collected about seven hundred Oromo words which occupied 33 pages in his book. In 1845 the French scientific

Mission published a 16-page Oromo vocabulary which consisted of nearly six hundred nouns and four hundred verbs and also other linguistic materials in a book entitled "Voyage en Abyssinia" with the help of Herlcourt, in Paris.

3.3.2. Christian Missionary Literature

3.3.2.1. John Ludwing Krapf

Dr. John Ludwing Krapf was the German protestant missionary and an employee of the church missionary society in Britain. He was almost such a man who devoted all his life to the production of Oromo literature, especially Oromo missionary literature. He came to Showa in 1839 with his colleague and compatriot K.W.Isenberg. Soon after two weeks he said he was acquainted with Marecha" a powerful chief of the Abichu tribe of Oromo and with Beku the chief of the Ada'a Oromo" Punkhrust stated that both men asked him for medicine. But he was reluctant for this and what he wanted was to convert this traditional "heathen society", he said.

He was very committed to evangelize the Oromo because he believed *"All these things seem to facilitate a mission among them. A particular reason for attempting a mission among the Oromo is, because we do not know what may be the result of our mission in Showa".*

Krapf's letter cited in Punkhrust(1976)

Thus he believed that learning Oromo language is an urgent task for him because if he could not do that he cannot convert the people. To learn by him self as well as to help other missionaries, he collect Oromo words and compile them in the form of a dictionary is of paramount importance. Thus on August 9 1839, he began to compile Oromo language vocabulary. At this time, he said that he was visited by many Oromo from north Showa and even Muslim Oromo from East Showa. Their request seemed the same i.e. medicine. He recorded that they

provided him some amount of information. So with the help of Berkie his servant from Oromo tribe of Galan he started Oromo language writing.

Krapf first began to write Oromo language using Sabeen letters but soon made up his mind that Sabeen letters doesn't fit for the language. Discussing this question he observed

I... retracted up on the principles I should adopt in my translation. I had hitherto used the Amharic characters; but observing that the Oromo language is not Semitic one, that writing in Amharic has many inconveniencies, and perhaps the word of God may go forth from the Oromo's to the whole of Abyssinia I thought it better to use the Latin characters, employing for the words not found in the Oromo language the characters of the Abyssinian languages, on account of the natural connection of both countries. I know that in using foreign characters I shall be opposed by the Abyssinian priests, who wish nothing but the Aethiopic to be circulated" pankhurst 1976.

Then he devoted all his time for the study of Oromo language and said.

All the time I can spare, I am spending on the study of the Oromo language. I have the pleasure to inform you that I have translated with the assistance of an Oromo the gospel of St. John, and I am reading the translation are able to understand the most of it" After short period of time he was able to collect a short vocabulary containing about 3,000 words and claimed this work as a preparatory one to the future time .cited in Pankkhurst 1976

In 1839 (the date the book bore but most probably in 1840 because he came to Showa in 1839, and it was difficult to learn to translate and publish a book in a new language just in a year) he translated and published St. John of the Bible in Oromo language using the Latin alphabet under the title "Testamen, imbecillium Translationis Evangelii Johannis in Linguam Oromorum*" and was being sold for six

pence per copy. The book was authored by Krapf himself with the assistance of Berkie a woman of Oromo race it says. Slowly Krapf was able to learn about Oromo culture while he was translating religious materials and this in turn may have helped him to enrich his work.

Then in the same year, he sent the translation of St. Mathew and a "short vocabulary of the Oromo language" which he said in his letters to Coats, was composed for exercising Oromo language first and then to help the other missionaries coming afterward to learn Oromo language easily.

At the end of 1842, he authored "An imperfect outline of the Elements of the Oromo language" which consisted of 16 pages of grammar. This book was published by the church missionary society of British. The introduction part was written by Isenberg, a colleague missionary of Krapf. Isenberg pointed out the linguistic similarity between Oromo, Afar and Somali and inquired 'should not this suggest the thought, that there may be a linguistic relation between these three nations?'

The Oromo St. Mathew which was translated and sent for press before a year was published under the title *Evangelium Mathew*, translated in *Linguae Oromorum** in 1841. In the same year Krapf published a vocabulary of the Oromo language which has 42 pages and contains over two thousand words. However, this short vocabulary was first written in German language and translated into English by Isenberg. Both books were published with the financial help of church missionary society of Britain.

With Krapf work, the missionary society was very happy and mean while proudly regarded their progress in its proceedings. In such way from 1841 to 1843, in three years, he finished the translation of the four Gospels as well as the Book of Acts and Genesis (Punkhurst 1976).

However, Krapf could not go further here in the country and interrupted his work for the reason that, he was accused of converting the people (Oromo) from their "fathers religion" orthodox.

Punkhurst put it in the following way. "Their holy book is different from that which has been considered the true word in our country. If they be suffered to return the people will fall from the faith of their fathers."

As a result, Krapf went to Egypt at the end of 1842. Even though some attempts were made to return (Krapf and Isenberg) Sahla Sellase, the then king of Showa, the grandfather of Minilik II decreed "Isenberg and Krapf cannot come to my country again".

However, Krapf did not give up hope due to this obstacle but perused his study, and above all missionary work, among the Oromos. It seems from his letter from Zanzibar to his colleagues in London on January 7, 1844 that he was more patiently involved in Oromo which leads him to claim *"if this nation should be converted to Christianity, it would exercise an "Influence up on the whole of Eastern Africa which we are now unable to calculate or to conceive. It is my belief that providence has placed this nation in this part of Africa for very important reasons. It is the Germany of Africa"* (Punkhurst 1976).

But he went south and decided to study other African languages in addition to Oromo and Amharic in 1843. He compiled an extensive vocabulary in Somali language when he was at Zeila with his colleague Isenberg. In 1844 he went to Mombassa knowing that he was not allowed to Oromia by the Shoan king.

There in Mombassa, he began to collect six African language vocabularies (Kiswaheli, Kikamba, Kipokomo, Kihialu and KiOromo*) and Published this collection in 1850. This book contains about seven thousand Oromo vocabulary. Krapf said that the reason behind including Oromo

Language in the dictionary of the Nilotic, was First to show the difference of the Oromo language from the Nilotic idiom, and secondly, that make the scholar of the Oromo language acquainted with a dialect which is spoken by the Oromo on the East-cost of Africa. The author has always entertained the best feeling towards the Oromo, and he still hopes that an entrance into their country will be opened to the missionaries for he believes that a great destination is yet reserved for this African Germania". Krapf 1850: IX*

However the transcription of this dictionary has a problem even though he said the transcription was made on the basis of their spoken language. On the other hand, the dictionary was more of Borana dialects of Oromo of River Tana (Dana) and has slight differences from other Oromo dialects.

Here again, Krapf was not successful in continuing his missionary work because of instability in the area and returned to Europe at last and did not produce any literary work for a decade. But after ten years the British and foreign Missionary Society requested him to continue the Oromo translation and he replied on, March 31 1860, that he was willing to continue the Bible translation though he said "I am tolerably acquainted with the Oromo language". From the above statement and the long time, (1840s to 1870s), it is evident that Krapf did not produced the Bible as well as his other linguistic materials by himself but only in the help of the Oromo's

For this reason, he wrote to the missionary "not assume up on attempting a work like the Bible translation with out the assistance of a native Oromo qualified for the task." and as a result had an Oromo ex-salve called Rufo from the protestant missionaries at Matamma on the north-west frontier of Ethiopia and Sudan. It was said that Rufo had already learned Amharic and other European languages and thus could fit for the job. On 30 August, 1866 they began translating the Holy

Scriptures. After a year, the four gospels: the acts, the Epistle to the Romans were translated.

While translating others and publishing the Genesis in Oromo language, Krapf suddenly interrupted his work because he was sent to Abyssinia to help the expedition against Tewodros. But he returned to Germany in January 1868 before the expedition ended because of his poor health.

Then after, Krapf began to evaluate Alaqa Zanab's work in addition to his translation. He said that Zanab's translation was good but written in Sabeen letters which cannot represent all the sounds of Oromo. He said this could be easily changed in to Latin alphabet.

However, this provoked a long debate between missionaries as well as linguists till these days. Many missionaries were in favor of using Latin for Oromo language and they did it. Before Alaqa Zanab all written materials were in Latin alphabet. But the argument of some missionaries was that there were many Oromos scattered in Abyssinia who can read Amharic and there were also Amhara's who can speak Oromo language as their own.

"The reasons which render it advisable to print one or two of the Oromo gospels in Amharic characteristics, I have stated it in mine of the 10th inst. to Mr. Knolleke many Oromo whilst residing in Abyssinia have learned to read Amharic and consequently would be delighted at being enabled to read the Gospel in their mother tongue though with Amharic characters. Besides, there are many Abyssinians especially in the frontier provinces, who understand the Oromo as their own. These would make use of the Oromo Gospels. However I think 500 copies would be enough for the first attempt, in no case more than 1000 should be printed." cited in Punkrhust 1976.

Aren Gustav said that at this time he was also editing the Amharic Bible, thus he was busy and only changed the Oromo New Testament written in Sebean letters by Alaqa Zanab into Latin and gave it to the

printers in chrischona. Concerning this Krapf said the whole work was good but not enough. Nevertheless, he was full of praise for the quality of the work.

With great delight I observed that alekae Sanab translation in very many cases exactly like Rufo though they have never met. I confess a great stone has been rolled away from my mind since I have obtained this important help from Sanab, and I really consider it a providential help just at the nick of time. Encouraged by it I shall endeavor to finish the translation of the New Testament towards the close of this year if the Lord grants health and leisure.

Whoever the writer was, the work began to be seen in 1870s with the maximum efforts of Krapf. The first work was the gospel according to St. Luke which was printed in 1870. It had a title in English as well as Oromo and said translated into Oromo language by Dr. J. L. Krapf and Debetera Zanab a native Oromo from Efate East Showa of Oromia and Christian Rufo a native Oromo of Goma tribe.

The Second translation was the gospel according to St. John which was published in 1871 and said printed at the expense and by the request of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London. But like the former it does not refer to anybody as an author.

The third book called Genesis; the first book of Moses was published in 1872 and followed by the book of Psalms in the same year. In 1874 the fifth volume contained three separate items 1. the Acts of the Apostles, 2. The Epistle of Paul, the apostle to the Romans. 3. The 1st and 2nd Epistles of Paul, the apostle to the Corinthians but also incorporated Galatians and Revelation. The sixth and the last work, the gospel according to St. Mathew and Mark, were published in 1875. Finally these six volumes appeared in one under the English title "The New Testament translated into Oromo language by Rev. Dr. Krapf, Debetera Zeneb and Oromo of Efate, Ware an Oromo of Nonno, Shaqa, an Oromo of Leqa and Rufo, an Oromo of Goma. This book was published in 1976.

Krapf at last while editing Zeneb's work after the Hebrew version died in 1881.

Krapf's contribution to the development of Oromo literature was very significant. First of all, he was probably the first European who had life experience and first hand information about Oromo. Of course other Europeans like the Portuguese soldiers and James Bruce wrote about Oromo what they heard from other people (probably Abyssinians). However, Krapf lived in Showa, Ankobar the then capital city of Showa and went for expedition against Showa Oromo with Sallu Sillasse two times. He learned the language during this time from his servant as well as people who visited him. During this time, he also learned Oromo culture and history. Concerning Oromo culture for example when he saw Oromo graveyard, he saw stones and aloe plants and said "I have never seen in Abyssina a grave adorned so nicely like this "(Punkhurest 1976). Then he asked the young Oromo boy why the Oromo decorated their grave in such way and the boy answered "according to Oromo belief, as soon as the aloe plants start growing on the grave of that person, he begins to get righteousness from Waqa and goes to him (Punkhurst 1976).

So Krapf learned about Oromo culture and language thus more or less produced Oromo linguistic and religious literature almost like Oromo. Some of his books, especially the dictionary of the six African languages, are still very important and are used as reference. Besides, he was the first who published the whole New Testament which contains twenty seven books as well as some of the Old Testament books. This makes him the first among the few Oromo literature founders.

The other contribution of Krapf was that he introduced the Oromo to the European world positively. He described Oromo as "Black Germany", "African Germany" of "a great nation who can save Africa" In his writing all the time he refers to (Oromania). He first used in his dictionary to refers to Oromia (a country of Oromo) as "African Germania"

(Krapf 1850:ix). He also said, "give us Oromia and Africa will be ours". Tasgara,(1999). This initiates the European to understand Oromo positively identifying them with the European self-image de-emphasizing the differences that exist.

The first one or the positive sense is Oromia is a great nation of course stretching from South Tigray to Northeast Kenya (12° N to 2 N) Geda Melba (1989). Again, the East West stretch is also very wide. In addition to that, its population was estimated between 6 to 10 million at that time.

Thus with all these facts, if he said "The nation that changes face of the Africa" it didn't seem wrong.

The other perception, I said in the contrary of the reality is, some European, for example the British missionaries at Love dale, South Africa described Oromo as black Germany *"Their skin a light chocolate brown, their hair frizzed but not woolly, and in a few exceptional cases it is silk on, which would indicate Aryan descendent."* Short Biography of the Oromo rescued slaves 1891."

In reality, this is not true. As stated at the beginning of this thesis, the Oromo are descendants of Cushitic people and true Black Africans not the Aryan descendants of Germany.

To sum up, Krapf's contribution to Oromo literary development was tremendous; it puts him as one of the great men in early Oromo literature.

3.3.2.2 Christian Rufo and Alaqa Zeneb

Literature about the life of Christian Rufo is scarce. But some sources show that he was an Oromo ex-slave. From Krapf's letter to the British Bible Society "my friend in Gonder and Cairo can send me an Oromo* who can speak Oromo language and Amharic." One can learn something about Rufo from this letter. Then, they sent him Rufo. There Rufo labored a lot and helped Krapf in his Bible translation into Oromo language which Krapf interrupted for almost two decades (1850-1870).

Thus Rufo's contribution must have been very much for Krapf as he said when he compared him with Alaka Zeneb .“ Alaka Zanab translated in the same way as Rufo did, even though they did not know each other”.

Krapf also said that Rufo was unable to do his job as required because he had almost forgotten his mother tongue. Thus he came to Jerusalem as a Missionary school teacher. However, Wolbert (2002) recently came up with a new idea. He said that the majority of religious materials Krapf published in the 1870s were belongs to Rufo and he added Rufo was sent to Jerusalem not because he was unable to translate the religious materials but he was stubborn. After he sent to Jerusalem he went to Cairo and died there in 1871.

The other good translator of Bible to Oromo language was Alak (Debtera) Zeneb. He was Emperor Tewodros' chronicler and secretary. It is said that he was from Showa Oromo of Efate. But Tasgaraa called him Hailu, the writer of Tewdros chronicler and he was from Gojam. The other evidence we could find is what he told Krampf "he said that the mother of the Oromo had been woizoro (lady) of the Abyssinian kings. when they resided on the mountain Entotot, in the neighborhood of Gurage-that the lady was given in marriage to a slave from the south of Gurage, by whom she had seven children who were educated in their father's language and customs as well as in his business." cited in short Biographies of the Oromo rescued slaves (1891).

This oral story is an Abyssinian legend about Oromo. In Oromo, every Oromo would say "I am a descendent of Borona or Barentu" Madda Walabu" or "Fugug," or "Tullu nama dur (Mohamad 1991).

So this gives us a hint that probably Alaka Zeneb was an Abyssinian who can speak Oromo language or Assimilated Oromo who forgets his own history.

Whatever his background, as far as his work is concerned he contributed much to Oromo literature. As Gustave (1977) says, all the

New Testament and other Old Testament books printed after 1870 were Alaka Zeneb's translations.

However, since these books were published in Latin alphabet, Dr Krapf's and Rufo must have gone through it. But like Rufo Alaka inspired Krapf to work the 1870s Oromo religious material.

3.3.2.3. Onesimos Nasib (Hiikaa Awajji) 1856-1931

In the late 19th Century, Oromo literature showed a remarkable progress. The very special thing of this time , first it was the time when the European interest about Africa grew up very much and thus decided to scramble for Africa. Thus they were patronizing the Horn of Africa in the name of missionary to go to interlard. Secondly and for most, it was the time when many Oromo slaves where set free and trained as missionary. It was this chance that contributed to the great literary production of the time.

One of the great literary men destined to lay down the basic foundation of Oromo literature was Onesimos Nasib or known by his birth name Hiikaa Awajji. He was also known as "abba Gammachis" after his son Gammachis and commonly called the father of Oromo literature.

Thus to understand his contribution, it may be important to note his life history. Onesimos was born in 1856 in Hurumu district 18 kilometers away from Mattu the provincial city of Illu Abba Bor, in the western part of Oromia. He was the last son of his family with two sister and three brothers. When he was around four years old his father died and the whole family was left to his mother. His family was a pastoralist family and while they were in search of water and grass for their cattle the battle broke out between two tribes of the area. In this war Onesimos and his sister as well as brothers were captured and sold as slaves.

On his account in Massawa before he went to Sweden he said that his mother attempted to make him free just paying any price and my

master seemed willing to let me. But before my mother came he sold me to the other person and I lost my mother forever.

He made successive attempts to be free from the hard yoke of slavery but he was not successful. However, after being sold eight times he was bought by Werner Muzinger, a Swiss scholar and adventurer in Cairo.

Muzinger handed over Onesimos to the Swedish missionaries and soon Onesimos started education in school opened by Swedish Evangelical Missionary. In this school Onesimos studied religion, history, geography, arithmetic and language. The missionaries who were impressed by his capacity and interest to learn sent him to the Johnelund missionary training institutes and he graduated with a diploma in 1881. Then he came back to Africa and started teaching at his former school.

Before he started his translation, he wanted to return to this native country but he was not successful. He first tried the journey through the Sudan in 1881. However, this journey was not successful for lack of clear and enough information. In this expedition, they lost two members of the expedition and returned to Munkullo almost after nine months.

It was at this time that he decided to produce Oromo literature which later became his life's most important mission. Aren (1977) says "set about the most important part of his life-work: that of creating an Oromo literature." He began Oromo literature by translation because he thought that it was only through Christianization that the Oromos learn about God and become prosperous. So he was determined to translate religious literature first. He began translation because he heard from merchants i.e. Damotee from Jimma that the Oromo's around Jimma were in need of education and when any book is read to them they listen attentively. Tasgaraa Hirphoo (1999) put it as follows.

*Akka Daamoteen himetti, namootni biyya sonaa da nuun reefuu waa'ee
amantii islaamaa dhaga'an malee, hiikaa Quraanaa hin beekan. macaafni
Kamillee afaan Kamiin illee, Yeroo dubbi famu ffamu guddaa fi soda
guddaadhan dhaggeeffatu wanti dubbifamu isaaniif akka kadhata gara
Waqayyotti dhi'aatuutti akka ilaalamu itti time. Onesomos kana yeroo
dhaga'ee, jarreen kana giddutti Macaafa Qulqulluu tamsaasuun yeroo
isaa akka ta'e hubate*

*As Daamatee told, a lot of people of that country (Jimma), only recently
heard about Islamic religion. They heard only about Islam not know
Quran. If any book in any language read to them they listen in fear and
respect. They think any reading material as a pray made to please God.
When Onosmos heard this, he realized that this time is a good time to
disperse holy bible in this people.*

However, Onosimos did not start the translation of Bible first. Rather he started with the translation of some short religious materials "Kateekismoos". This book was about Christian life and it also served to understand the Bible in a short period of time. It was this i.e. Onosmos may have believed that a "person who reads this book would be strong in faith" and so translated it into Oromo language before his other works. But this book was only published with other religious books in 1899. Next to this, Onosmos translated John Bunya's "man's heart" into Oromo language under the title of "Garaan namaa mana waaqayyoo yookii. iddoo bultii seexanaa ti" which means "man heart is the home of God or the abode of devils". This book was also published later in 1899.

After three years of interruption, because in 1884 Onosmos went to king Yohannes with English captain Crowe as a translator to Tigray. Soon he returned to ImuKulu their missionary station in Eritrea but soon decided to go with missionaries that contained six persons including himself via Harar, Shewa to Jimma.

This third expedition was also not successful because Minilik did not allow them to pass through his territory. They stayed at Aliyu Amba for a short period of time and returned to IMukulu in 1886.

After returning, he did not sit idle until the door was opened to him for Oromo evangelization. Soon, he began to translate religious literature as he did before. He translated a book of religious songs called "Galata Waqayyoo Gofa Maccaa" in 1886 and published it in 1887 at Imkuluu. This book was translated from a Swedish missionary called "Sion's Tuner" and contains about hundred songs. It was purely religious and yet serves Mekana Iyasus church as Hymn. The importance of this book was so great for early missionary churches in Oromia because it teaches how to pray. It was edited by Martin Norfeld who added some on it and left out some which do not have musical note.

In the same year, Onesimos composed Oromo Swedish dictionary of 6000 words. Next he translated the New Testament "Kaku haraa" which was completed and published in 1893.

Here as I have discussed before Oromo New Testament was translated and published in 1876 by J.L. Krapf, Roofo and Alaka Zeneb. This holy book was given to Onesimos before he started his New Testament translation. He went through it but could not find it valuable, complete and fairly accurate and he rejected it because he said first, some words were not translated in the way Oromo understood. Secondly, it was also full of other languages probably (Amharic) morphology which the Oromos merely understand. (Tasgara, 1999). Besides, the other probability was this book was written in Latin alphabet which was more alien to Oromo than a Sabeian alphabet. Onosimos believed that it was more important and better to use Sabeian letter than the European Latin alphabet. This also must contribute to the rejection of the former New Testament. However, there are some people who say Rufo who contributed much to the former New Testament criticized by Onesimos for he totally relied on the "Tulama" Oromo dialect.

A missionary called Hailu from Harar with professor Reinisch translated St. Mathew into Oromo language and published it in 1886. Onesmos has seen this book and said

Hiikaa kana keessatti karaa tokkoo jechoonni Oromo siritti akka dubbatamutti caafamuu in dandeenye, karaa kaan immoo afaan Oromoo Ituu qofaatii waan hiikameef, afaan daangaa biyaa ormaati fi biyaa ormaati"

"In this translation on the one hand, some words are not transcribed in a way the people speak and on the other hand the language used in the translation was totally Ituu dialect and because Ituu is on the border of Oromo and other nation (Afar, Argobba, Amhara) it is also full of other languages vocabularies that are stranger to the Oromo's" (cited in Tasgara 1999)

Thus Onesimos believed that it would be better to translate a new Oromo New Testament than editing and correcting the former one and he did it. This New Testament was edited and reprinted in 1995 in Korea and still serves as a New Testament Bible. Now it is in Latin alphabet.

Onosmos believes that literacy supports evangelization and promotes education. From his life history, one can surely say that he devoted all his time to education because he was teaching even while he was translating his books and then after in Najjo and Nekemti .

When he returned from Showa (Intoto) he found some Oromo girls freed from slave and soon he started to teach them. He was teaching them in their native language and may be this was the first time in the Oromo language history to be used as instructional language. Onesmo in his letter to the Swedish missionary who was supporting him said "now I am very happy, I am teaching enthusiastically these new Oromo girls. How it is interesting to teach them in their own mother tongue! Now I am totally saved "(cited in Tasgara 1999).

It seems that it was for such strong belief in education in vernacular language that he wrote and published the first Oromo reader "Jalqaba Barsiisa" with Aster Ganno 500 Oromo songs and 79 short stories which were mainly, collected from Oromo oral literature. It contains "Atete songs, faru loonii (Cattle praise) war poetry, fables etc. It was the first Oromo textbook used in school in Imkulu Eritrea in which Onesmos was teaching and later used in first modern school established in Boji Karkaro by Daniel Dabala and Gebre Statwos and six years later Onesmos established his school in Najjo.

This book, as Enrico Cerulli, in "the Folk-literature of the Oromo* of the south Abyssinia", Harvard African studies, volume II in 1922 "Appears to have been written purposely to discredit the Swedish mission. Huntingford on the other hand in his book the Oromo of Ethiopia repeated it as follow

The texts in this book of Onesmos are in the Maca dialect of limmu, from which Onesimos came. Its purpose seems to have been to discredit the Swedish mission, for the texts, Ostensibly intended to "show the Oromo the way to God" include songs of love and war, and ritual songs relating to pagan worship and the cult of Atete, the Oromo fertility goddess.*

However writing this book with the substance of Oromo oral literature to read Oromo language does not make Onesmos the opponents of the Swedish missionary or discrediting their mission they were to play in Oromia.

The first of the entire book is intentionally prepared for Oromo language teaching as a text book. To do this using oral literature was by far important because written literature cannot stand by itself unless it is based on oral literature. Secondly, it concretizes language learning Nelly Zefeiriadou (2001) said.

It seems that Onesmos knew this or may be safe to say he knew the "Swedish reader" given in Swedish school and also a book by which

he learned the Swedish language. Thus, with this background he prepared a book in a similar way except for its content.

Tasgara (1999) said that without the contribution of these Oromo girls especially Aster Ganno, the book would not have been written as well as published. So even though Onesmos knew how to write that book much of the contribution of that book came from Aster Ganno.

However Onesmos great genius was only seen later when he translated the "Oromo language holy Bible". He finished this translation in 1897 published it in 1899 at St. Chrischona in Switzerland. He traveled to Europe and stayed there about nine months to assist with proof reading and personally supervising the printing.

Onesmos was very happy when this book, his great work was printed in Chrischona forgetting the morning because of the death of his daughter while he was in Switzerland supervising the printing. He said it in this way.

*Waaqayyoo amma badhaadhumma namni dhowwachuu dandeenye saba
oromof kenne jira. waaqaayyoo guutummaa macaafa Qulqulluu kumni
lama fi kakuu haara kumni shan kun dafee iddoo qopha'ef sanga haa ga'u.
Sabni Oromoo hawwiidhaan isa eeggcehaa jira" (cited in Tasgara
1999: 70)*

*Now God gave the Oromo's the prosperity man cannot grant. Le: God
allow these two thousand copies of the Holy Bible and the five thousand
new Testament reach the place It is intended for. For Oromo's are
waiting for it in great desire.*

With this book other short religious materials some of them were translated before the holy Bible. Among this Katekismos which is the Oromo version of Luther's catechism and John Bunyan's man's Heart bearing the Oromo title "Garaan Namaa mana waaqayo yookiis iddo Bulitii seexana" were published and the translation of Birth's Bible

stories entitled *si'a lama duu shantamii-lama* by Aster Ganno was also published in the same year.

Onesmos translation of the Bible has been described by historians and linguists as a great intellectual feat (Dahlberg 1932). Gustav Aren Also said" the Oromo version of the Holy Scripture is a remarkable achievement, it was to all intents the fruit of the dedicated labor of one man, Onesimos Nesib. (Gustav Aren 1977:385). This book, Onesmos bible version is still in use but with some edition and in Latin alphabet whereas it was in Ge'ez alphabet when it was written first.

Onesmos' contribution to Oromo literature is greater than that of any other Oromo writer. If he is comparable he is only compared with Sheikh Beker Saphalo who invented the Oromo orthography.

The very thing that makes Onesmos very different is his linguistic ability that put him on the top of Oromo literature. He speaks seven languages: Oromo, Amharic, Arabic, English, Swedish, German and Italian. This became more mysterious when we come to his Oromo language ability. He was only four in 1860 when he was separated from his family and he spent the rest of his time almost ten years in the hands of his master from whom only few two or three seemed Oromo from his biography.

Thus where did Onesmos learn such interesting and idiomatic Oromo expression? Of course the help of Aster Ganno was very great but could not cover the brilliant work of Onesmos.

In general, Onesmos laid down the cornerstone for Oromo literature. It was his book that was first sent to Oromia and (Jimma and Wallega) even before he came back to his native country. It was said that once when Fitwari Dibaba a governor of Najjo came to Nekemte and returned to Najjo Alaka Geberstatwos while they were going together Gebere-Ewostateos (the first missionary who established the first modern school with Dani'el Dabala in Bojjii Karkaro in 1893) read the New Testament Onesmos translated into Oromo language. Dibaba was

surprised very much of learning Bible story in Oromo language because there was a general assumption that Oromo language is spoken language and cannot be written language.

The Fitawurari liked the book even though he had eye sight problem .He learned being assisted by his wife who was taught before him how to read and write by Gebre-Ewostatwas. Fitawurari Dibaba was interested in the book and gave land to Dani'el and Ewostatwas to build a new school. It was at this time that the Onesmos Nesib book started to be distributed in west Oromia widely. The Oromo literacy also began with the introduction of this book and went to great distance. (Tarfassa1973).

On the other hand, Onesmos adopted and even invented the Ge'ez alphabet for Oromo language which became a tradition until 1991 when OLF prepared a day workshop in which more than 1000 Oromo intellectuals participated and decided to use Latin alphabet. However, Onesmos' contribution was great in this area too because the writer after him like Mangasha Riqxu ,Kuwe Kumsa, Mammo Mararir, Dafa Jamoo, Fayyisa Dadhi and Tamsigen Gammada produced Oromo literature using the same alphabet. In his Ge'ez Oromo alphabet he invented unique alphabet for the Oromo sound " dha ".

However, Onesmos was criticized, for his Oromo Bible version was not based on the Greek and Hebrew texts. But Onesmos was quite happy about the result of his labor.

He foresaw that the scholars in Europe would criticize him for having not used the Greek and Hebrew texts. He was not worried about their censure. He was confident that his translation represented pure and idiomatic Oromo. He remarked that it would take trained philologists many years to produce a better version. (Aren 1977:385)

Indeed no new translation of the complete Oromo Bible has yet been made after hundred and seven years except changing the

Onesmos's Ge'ez into the Latin alphabet and this makes his work the most stupendous.

To sum up since Onesmo's contribution is far greater it would be appropriate and not a mistake to say he is the father of Oromo literature.

3.3.2.4. The Oromo Language Team: a miniature Oromo

Academy in Exile

After return from Shewa, Onesmos was very happy because he found young energetic and gifted Oromo girls at Imukulu. Soon, he organized this team of Oromo liberated from slavery and sheltered later at the Swedish mission station of Gelb in the highland of Mensa in Eritrea. Here this team was engaged in education and translation and formed "Oromo-speaking colony" the leader of which was Onesmos. Dr-Fride Hylander said about this team:

As the interior of the country seemed to be closed, the pioneers in Eritrea made themselves ready for a future advance by gathering a group of intelligent and promising Oromo and giving some a refuge at Gelb, in the province of Mensa. Here they were engaged in education and translation and formed "Oromo-speaking colony" the leader of which was Onesmos"
(Hylander 1969:83)

This team was organized about 1890 and consisted of fifteen to twenty (Makuria 1995). In this team, there were foreigners like Nile Hylander and the members were Aster Ganno from Wallega, Lidia Dimbo whom Onesmos married in 1888 after his first wife died, Stefanos Bonaya who was originally from Lamu in present day Kenya and Natnael from Oromo.

In the team, Aster Ganno was very influential and had contributed very much and showed that she really was given good language ability. It was said that when Onesmos was in short of convenient word in his translation he would call on Aster and would get the appropriate word.

She wrote from her memory a collection of five hundred Oromo songs, fables and stories some of which were included in Oromo reader.

Thus, the members of this team contributed in different ways to the preparation of the background literature for the educational and missionary work to be launched in Oromo land. About 15,000 vocabulary words were collected with the aim of compiling dictionary, facilitating the translation of the scriptures and preparation of educational literature. This team also prepared a comprehensive grammar of the Oromo language; unfortunately this work was not published.

General work of Onesmos and the Oromo language team accomplished at Galeb could be considered without doubt, the most important significant step towards creating an Oromo literature in the 19th century. They were the pioneer of Oromo literature of that time. These men and women, freed from the cruel grips of slave traders by the humanitarian acts of individuals, supported by the missionaries, labored in a foreign land to make Afaan Oromo a written language with the hope of returning one day to their native land and spread literacy among their people and take special place in Oromo language history.

3.3.4 1900-1974 Oromo Literature

3.3.4.1. Oromo Literature 1900-1930

The late 19th century was a very important water shade in Oromo history. The weak but democratic 'Gada' government in Oromia, was replaced by Turko-Egyptian Islamic government in the east which ruled for ten years and replaced by Emperor Minilik's imperial rule in 1887. The central and the western part of Oromia also fell in the hands of the northern at the same time and at the end of the 19th century, all parts of Oromia in Ethiopia fell under Minilik imperial rule and the rest of the south Borana in north Kenya fell under British colonial rule before 1900. (mohamad 1980)

On the other hand, it was the time when the missionaries were beginning to see the seed they saw germinating and as a result set themselves for farther work.

These two factors contributed much to the development as well as for under development of Oromo literature.

To begin with, the first Oromo language development work that can be found on the literary map of the language is Abuni Jakobi's "wagelium nagaa:- kan G.K. Jesus-Kristos, Qedus Mateos akka kitabe". This book was translated into Oromo language by Abunni Jakobi in 1900. The book has 134 pages in all and the first few pages are how to pray and the introduction part.

This book was written in Latin alphabet. Even though it was some how clear than the former Bible translation in its use of clear and simple orthographic system as the language is spoken, yet it has spelling as well as some grammatical errors.

But he used in his book sometimes double consonant for geminating which the others did not use before him! for example he writes 'Abba' and again double vowels for long vowels for example 'nagaa'.

However his language is not as pure as Onesmos because some words are Amharic words as well as Latin and so the Oromo's hardly understand it. For example the title of the book "wongelium" is a Latin word.

The Oromo language began the century with the Inauguration of Onesmos Nasib's Oromo Bible and Abba Jacob's St. Mathew, which show slight development in the next decades.

After a decade, another dictionary of English-Oromo was published by the British traveler, Foot in 1913. Again a decade later E. Cerulli's "Folk-Literature of the Oromo of southern Abyssinia" was published in 1922.

In this book, Cerulli made an admirable effort in collecting different kinds of song poems, prose works on historical subjects and texts of magic and prophetic literature with important cultural and historical significance. Concerning his work Desalanyi 1985:9 says that

Almost no literary work of this kind had been produced on the Oromo language: - It was in FLGSA (this book) that the folk literature of the Oromo was "made accessible" to the public for the first time. It can be said therefore, that Cerulli has contributed not only to the preservation of considerable items of folk literature of the Oromo people, but also to the future literary development in the Oromo language.

Therefore, the contribution of Cerulli was very great. However Cerulli wrote his work in English and the folklore in Oromo. Thus may be considered as Anglo-Oromo literature.

3.3.4.2. Oromo Literature 1930-1974

But we could find more literary production on the second quarter of the 20th century than the first. This time especially in the 1930s it was another historical period in which the Italians occupied Ethiopia.

It seems true that, this time the Italian language policy was slightly different from the former Imperial Ethiopia strict language policy. During 1934-1936, more than five books, out of which two were in Oromo, were published. In addition to this it was said that the Italian encouraged education in vernacular language in addition to the Italian language. Some people also say they launched radio broadcasting program in Oromo language from Jimma but no evidence is still found on this account.

However, the Italian language policy was only the "lip service" for they knew that there was national oppression in the country in which Oromo deprived its right and in doing this they thought possible to initiate Oromo national sentiment in order to create disunity in the

country which may help them to resist. It was after the Italian occupation we find remarkable development in Oromo literature.

3.3.4.3. *Sheikh Bakrii Saphalo (1895-1980) another corner stone of Oromo literature.*

The 1930s came up with another engine of Oromo literature which can push forward the work Onesmos began before. This man like Onesmos Nasib and his Oromo cultural team devoted his whole life to the development of Oromo literature.

To understand his contribution to the development of Oromo literature it may be good to have a bird view of his biography.

Shiekh Bakarii also known as Abubkar Osman Oda which was his real name, was born in 1895 in a place called Saphalo, a river in the area of Wadaye Qabbanawa Sukkaawe, Oborra District near Dire Dawa. His father was the last Abba Gada, who was replaced by Egyptian, and converted to Islam. So Abubaker grew up listening to living testimony of his father as he recounted the major historical development. According to Mohammad 1996, Bakarii received his basic Quranic education in his village Saphalo. Then, he studied Islamic education in different local areas under different teachers. He finished his local Islamic education in 1927 and involved in long distance learning with the world renowned Al-Azhar University that introduced him to the political revolutions in Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

Like Onesmos, Sheikh Bakari had a great deal to disperse knowledge among the Oromo. He first started teaching in his former school Saphalo Islamic school. Soon he opened his second school at Addele near Dire Dawa.

He opened his third school at Ligibo in 1948 where it is said he launched his intellectual journey. In 1953, he established his fourth school at Kortu, east of Dire Dawa. In addition to this, he also established teaching centers ". . . in the city of Dire Dawa, in the town

of Goota. . . Qabanawa and Bobbaasa. He also went to Bale and established teaching center around Dodola (Alin 2000).

Sheikh Bakrii is one of the few literary giants of the Oromo and a great scholar of his day. If he is contestable he is only contested with Onesmos Nesib who has been discussed in detail before this chapter.

He was one of the most famous revolutionary poets of his day who direct the literary path of Oromo. He was the first Oromo who used the creative writing and creative literature for the first time to non-religious purpose. Concerning poetry (Alin Kalfa 2000) says

The Poetic content of Shaykh Bakrii not only has a wealth of information about the general conditions of the time but it also has a great contribution to the development of the language. Some of them were expressed in simple and attractive language, whereas others expressed proverbially. He also used idiomatic and figurative speeches . . . the government took the form of cultural expression and revival.

His poetry is divided into two: religious and secular. However, in content they were the same, they reflect political ideas rather than simply religious matters or love.

There is a saying about him which expresses his double nature. "He was a great religious man during day time and a great Oromo nationalist in the night."

His early poems were not so nationalistic when compared to his later poems. They focus on "Social evils" like chewing chat etc.

Jima hin tuqini kan rabsu biraa fagaadhuu
sii galaa moo re'ee kan nyaattu baalaa
Amaas qamahan marii jiru hin tararuu
marii jima yoo taatee simee dabala
Ilaalii kunoo kan nyaatu heddu maraachee
Been dhaqi laali yoo feetee agru magaalaa

Do not chew Jimma (chat) get away from the one who gives to you
Are you a camel or a goat that eats leaves?

He who chews Jima does not do what is planned
If the plan is to chew Jima he is the first to join you
Look at how those who chew a lot became crazy
Go to town if you want to see how chewing Jima makes people crazy

Besides the social evils his poems also deal with the beauty of Oromo country, its trees, animals, rivers, valleys hills and people.

However, it was his involvement in long distance learning in Al-Azhar University of Cairo, as well as the political shift in Ethiopia probably the Italian occupation in 1935 and the return of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1941 that changed his mind radically and as a result Oromo literature too. In one of his poem he showed the oppression in this way

Xaliyaanin tanki gangalche

Gama ceekaa daraaraa

Amaara galee fixee

Akka hoolaa baraaraa

Mosolooniin caccabsee

Milaa siree Amaaraa

motichi dheer faa deemee

Gogogaan fuula a'a raa

motiin hiyeessa midhee

Abadu numa qaaraa

The Italians drove their Tanks

Towards the flowering Ceeka tree

They entered and finished the Amhara

Like a sheep for feast

Mussolini destroyed them

The legs of the Amhara throne

The king panicked and went into exile

The skinny man with angry face

The king who oppresses the poor

Will be overthrown.

In this poem, Sheikh Bakarii tried to show what happened during the Italian war of occupation. But it is in his last two lines that he brought his prophetic argument that inevitably "the king who oppress the poor will be overthrown" in deed that happened after three decades. He also reflected his alignment with oppressed poor.

But he became a militant revolutionary writer after the British restoration of Emperor Haile Selassie to power in Ethiopia in 1941 (Mahamad 2004). Mahamad says the Sheikh was very unhappy with the Emperor's policy of banning the use of Afaan Oromo for broad casting and for educational purposes. It was during this time that he began to work on the "Oromo orthography, the other reason that pushed him toward cultural national activist. (Alini 2000) said

"... from 1942 on wards, Amharic was promoted as the sole national language of the empire and all other national languages, particularly Afaan oromo were suppressed. The regime prohibited the use of Oromo literature for educational or religious purposes.

This was also triggered by the implementation of the imperial decree No.3 of 1944 which regulates the work of missionaries.

Amharic was declared to be the language of instruction throughout the Ethiopian Empire and the missionaries were expected to learn it (Art. 13). They were allowed to use Oromo language only for ordinary oral communication with the local population. But not for preaching gospel or educational material (Nagarit Gazeta 1944 no.3).

This all must have contributed for his search for alternative means of reaching Oromo. As a result he invented Oromo orthography after a decade's labor in 1953

During the 1950s his ideas, poems and cultural nationalism captured the imagination (of the Oromo elite in Hararghe, especially in the city of Dire Dawa. It was at this time that the Oromo's began to

regard him as the "store house of knowledge, the fountain of poetry the living encyclopedia of Oromo wisdom" (Mohamad 2004).

This literary development gave birth to Oromo cultural national movement in 1960s. With the tactful leadership of Shiek Bakri, the famous Oromo cultural movement "Afran Quallo Association"(a cultural association named after Qallo the son of Humbana and Afran was his four son) from which a famous poets and singers like the late Abubakar Musa, the late Ayub Abubakar, Shantam Shubissa and the most famous and internationally recognized singer Ali Birra, who became legends in his own life time was established. This association again established two musical bands known as Biftu Ganama(the sun of the morning) and Urjii Bakalcha(the morning star) which become the base of modern Oromo music.

Arfaan Qallo served the Oromo as the cultural institution in which long freedom voice was escalated as well as the bank of Oromo cultural heritage during this time.

It was the first Oromo musical as well as literary institution in which different nationalist poetry that reflects the people's culture and politics of the day were presented to the people that later become Oromo cultural resistance and laid down the ground for Oromo cultural renaissance. It was established in 1960 and became popular within a short period of time. It was the members of that cultural association that opened the door to the vast universe of modern Oromo music which Mohammad Hassen 2001 said "one of the greatest cultural achievements of the past four decades." It was here in this association that the powerful poems that clearly show the richness and beauty of the Oromo language were produced. In short, it was the cultural association that created the pan-Oromo cultural movement

However, this cultural association did not go further. It was soon banned by the Haile-Silise's government in 1963 and its leader Shiekh Bakari Harassed and sentenced to ten years of house confinement and

the other well known poet Ayub Abu Beker fled to Somalia where he became the cause for the beginning of the Oromo language radio program from Mogadishu which played a crucial role in raising Oromo political awareness. Here again Shiekh Bakrii was sending anonymous poems which was read by Ayub himself. The Oromo radio program was so powerful that the Emperor sent a secret agent to Mogadishu and murdered Ayub Abubakar in 1966 (Mohamad 2001, Alin 2000).

The reason behind banning this association was partly because at this time 1963 "Bale peasant rebellion" broke out and the poems and the writing system of Sheikh Bakri were found in 1964 among the Oromo guerrilla fighters in Bale. The national consciousness of the area may also hasten the banning.

1960 was also characterized by another cultural movement of Oromo called Macha Tulama. The Macha Tulama Association was established in Addis Ababa (Finifinne) Gulale in 1963 by Colonial Alemu Qixxeessa and lawyer Hailamiriam Gemada. The organization was first established to promote Oromo culture and language. In addition to this, the association was so busy to establish schools in different parts of the country and constructing roads and health center. As Olana Zoga 1985 says The association was so vast and so visionary that it is possible to say "a government under government".

It was this Association that staged the first Oromo language theater for the public in Bushaftu (Debreziet) in 1965 on the Oromo Bazaar prepared by the association in the town. The writer was a famous historian and play writer Mammo Mezamir who was among the founder of the association. At the same time Mammo wrote Oromo history in Oromo language and different plays. However none of them reached the public except the "Barumsa" education staged in Bushoofu "Barumsaa" was about the importance of education in general and it also has some cultural elements in it.

The association was in the first front of playing the role of gathering the Oromo's for pan-Oromo cultural movement. It was able to get support from all directions and soon it was kept an eye on by the government and with in a few but very important years it was able to print its real stamp on the Oromo cultural nationalism. Again this cultural association was banned in 1967. Since this association has got supporters from military, intellectuals, peasants and merchants, in short, from all walks of life of Oromo the banning did not affected it.

But all this pushed Oromo literature to its third phase: the politico-cultural nationalism of 1970 and on ward. The good example of this is Shiekh Bakrii and his students. During 1950 and 60s the literary works reflect the equal opportunities for language and cultural respect. This literary development was the product of national and international situation of the time. As I have said before Sheikh Beker's contact with Al-Azhar university of Cairo introduced him to political revolution of Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Besides as Mohammad said.

He listened daily to British Broad costing service Arabic language program and the voice of the Arab radio program from Cairo. He read Al-Ahram, the most influential newspaper in the Arab world. He shared with others what he read or heard over the radio. He wrote powerful poems on the 1952 about Egyptian revolution and the 1956 Suez Canal crisis, the Algerian revolution and the Vietnamese revolution.

In addition to the political revolution, the struggle for independence of the African country has also great impact on the Oromo intellectual development of that time. More than any other independence movement the neighboring state of Somalia's independence of 1960 seems to radicalize the Oromo intellectual activities.

Besides the external influence, the internal situation, the steady rise of the students' movement, the banning of Macha Tulama self help association and the Bale peasant movements set the sentimental idea of "Oromia before Minilik" and Oromia after independence.

These sentiments fostered the idea which says Oromia is under colonial government and should be an independent nation, which the OLF took and made its political program later. For example if we take Shekhi Bakari's poem.

odar ormii beekke odu nu dura
Hula itti cufaadhaa mara banaa
oduu dur dhageenyaan kale bilisaa
sima maa gabra taata soda ilma namaa
Abbootuma keetii kale nagasee
Taraan isin genyaan kuno amma

If people know their history
All closed doors are opened for them
From our history we know that we were independent people
yesterday
Why do you enslave yourself in fear of other human beings?
Your fathers were kings yesterday
It is your turn now.

This poem clearly shows what the Oromo poets were dreaming for at that time and the thematic development from cultural to political nationalism. To add more the lyric poem of Ali Birra can be a good example.

Maal maal himanii
Yoommu a yaadan dhibamani
kan roorroo alga jibbee
Bilisumma saba qabee
gaaratti gale
maal maalii hima
Jiru addunyaati irra
Maalii abdata
jiraa garbumma irra.

What, what is said
When mentally disturbed

He who hates alien domination
Back Taken by His people's freedom
Went to forest
What he says?
About this world
What is his hope, of this world?

Like the previous time missionary literature shows better development than secular literature. Some of the published materials were with an unknown author like "odu qulqulu akka yana qulqulan xaafettii 1934. Holy News written by saint Johon, "Dhaamsa Qulqulu akka xaffame lukken 1945" The holy missage written by luk, and waan Ergattun tolichite 1954 " the acts".

But the first full -fledged novel is "Huursaa" Even though some scholars hesitate to consider it as a novel because more of it was oral literature was published in 1973.

Hursaa is a story about a river, from Oromo folklore and it is because of its orality and undeveloped plot and characters, it is considered as semi fictional work.

The writer was Dafa Jamo whose father was a student of Onesmos. His book was similar to Amos Tutola's the Palm wine Drunkard and can be seen in the same way.

Sheikh Bakerii's Oromo orthography was also another characteristic of Oromo literature of this time. We do not have an evidence for what initiated the sheikh to work on a totally indigenous alphabet. However, it is evident from his nationalist view and R.J. Hayward and Mohammed Hassan 1996:- "he said that a people such as the Oromo, possessing glorious historical traditions and a uniquely democratic society, was nevertheless condemned to obscurity without a means of writing"

In addition to the above reason, the political case according to Mohamad 2004 was "the deliberate policy of suppressing Afaan Oromo"

that may have motivated him. The Shiekh was probably in need of Oromo children to learn in their mother tongue, just like the Amhara children do. Further more, he may have wanted the Oromo language to be broadcasted in radio programs just like Amharic, the Afar, Somali, Tigre and Tigrinya which had government financial support at that time.

On the other hand, the linguistic aspect which meant no orthography probably in the world of the Shiekh, Arabiz and Ge'ez is suitable for Oromo language. Concerning this, Mohamod 1996:415 says. *"It does seem highly likely that Shaykh Bakrii was the first Oromo who saw clearly the Problem inherent in attempting to write the Oromo language by means of orthographic systems which had been devised primarily for other language."*

All this must have contributed to the invention of the Oromo orthography of Shiekh Bakrii. It took him ten to twelve years, from 1942 to 1953 to finish the alphabet.

The Shiekh's Oromo alphabet was totally indigenous (see the appendix) and a very remarkable achievement for Oromo language.

The orthography has 28 Oromo sounds and all of them are consonants. It also has ten vowels and added on the root of the consonants. The alphabets also have certain ways of geminating.

The orthography is a very good way of writing Oromo language compared to other languages' alphabets. First of all, it fulfills the criteria the language needs for example representing the whole sounds in the language stress and germination and also spelling system.

However, one of the short coming of Shiekh Bakrii Oromo orthography is that it may take one to learn a long period of time because the alphabet is in its syllabic level thus needs to study all the probable syllable of $28 \times 2 \times 10 = 560$ syllables. In addition to that, it doesn't show clearly when sounds are geminated and stressed.

The contribution of this Oromo orthography to Oromo literature is of course very small. Only few poems written by Shiekh Bakri and his students and yet only a letter is found (see appendix.)

The Oromo writing system was banned probably in 1964 because it was assumed that using this orthography the Oromos were against the government. It was especially when it was found with Oromo guerilla fighters in Bale that it became a criminal offense thus deterring the people from using it. As a result, Sheikh Bakrii was confined at home and later fled to Somalia and the great father of Oromo revolutionary poet died in refuge camp in 1981 at the age of 85.

Besides the Oromo orthography, Sheikh Bakri also translated algebra and geometry into the Oromo language. In addition to his poems, he has some major works like "Dirasa fi Al- Mintiqa Harariya jugrafiyyan wa Bashariyyan" in Arabic language and deals with the geography and demography of Hararghe region. He also has three manuscripts in Arabic on Oromo history. These are "Janiyi Shammakh min hadayiz al. Tawarikh" (a collection of unripe dates from the garden of history) which is typed, and about 95 pages long. His second manuscript on history is entitled *maqaddamat taysir al zarriya al Tawarikh* (a simplified introduction to nuclear (raw) history which is typed and about 48 pages long. The third manuscript on history is entitled " *kitaab Irsaal al sawarikh ila sama al tawarikh*" (" A guided missile to the sky [exalted] History, typed and has 56 pages. The other books of Shiekh Bakri deal with Islam teaching are " *Taysir al Zamiya ala uclear fughaa? fi al kam al Sharia* (A simplified [guidance] to the law of sharia (fiqh) and *Al Mawahib al admadiyyan fil-awl aladdiyyan*. In addition to these he has got two biographical works: *Qalal'id durar fi tarikh Sheikh Umar* (A pleasant and pearl biography of Sheik Umar" and "Anafa fi tarikh Sheikh Yusuf" (a biography of Shiekh Yusuf.)

However, all these works are the only remaining works of Sheikh Bakrii. Others were destroyed, burned down by the military regime at his

main residence at Kortu in 1978 because it contributed much to the development of Oromo nationalism.

To sum up, the work of this activist teacher, eloquent speaker and a militant revolutionary poet was uncontested literary figure in Oromo literary history "a cultural Hero, whose achievement" was so profound as to dwarf" standing against imperialism and anti-colonialism up to today.

3.3.4.4. Oromo University Students' Literature

Oromo students were active participants in the radical student movements of in Ethiopia in 1960s.(Makuria 1994)they took the other side of movement. They raised the question of national oppression in the country in contrary of class struggle.

In 1969, they printed their secret bulletin "kana beektaa?" (do you know this?).They printed the second bulletin in 1972.The Oromo students in Europe also published "hirmata dubbi" (participation in speech" in1973.Kana beektaa? Focused on Oromo oral literature whereas hirmata dubbi was on Oromo language grammar.

3.3.5 Oromo Literature 1974-1991

The 1974 Ethiopian Revolution brought a remarkable change in Oromo literature history and Oromo society in general .It soon started to play a very crucial role during the revolution and after the revolution.

The No 3 1944 Imperial decree which forbid Oromo language and all other languages except for Amharic for that matter was nullified. The revolution ushered in tantalizing ideology of equality between the nations and nationalities of the country.

The poetry, dram, films and long novels about the cruelty of the backward feudal system were produced and at the same time the inevitable victory of socialism was preached using literature as an instrument.

The soliloquy revolutionary voice of Sheikh Bakri was accompanied by many poets and playwrights from different areas. The revolution really seems "true" revolution that ensures and supports the rights of developing one's own language and cultural heritage in the Emperor once called "the prison of nations".

During this time, 1974, an official radio program in Oromo language was launched. However, long before this time Oromo language radio program started in 1950s in Cairo Egypt, by the Oromos living there. The tragedy was this Oromo radio program was closed by the request of Haila Selasie when he visited Egypt in 1956.

The Oromos who launched the radio program of whom most of them were from Arfan Qallo went to Mogadishu and joined Ayub Abubaker and opened another new powerful radio station. It was during this time that the government started a radio station in Harar to jam the radio station broad coasted from Mogadishu.

Harar radio station was broadcasting programs in three languages: Oromo, Amharic and Somali language. This radio station broadcasted so many poems and radio plays which in turn promoted Oromo lyrics poetry to a great extent.

As Gragg 1982 says "the political revolution of 1974 necessitated the Oromo language press and radio broadcasting" Thus both radio programs: Oromo language service and "Barisa" a famous weekly newspaper appeared after September 12, 1974.

The role of these new media was very great in developing Oromo language and literature and as soon as the broadcasting began different poems, radio drama and different literary works started to be broadcasted in great quantity which facilitated the standardization of Oromo language.

On the other hand, it was a very important time when different Oromo literary materials were produced by different authors, like the radio even more than the radio different literary materials entertained by

Barisa "Barisa" established by Mahad Hamid Mudde a well known Oromo poet, and lexicographer who pushed the Oromo language one step ahead. The Oromo language has the newspaper it had not had before at this time. Poems were presented to the public using the newspaper that Created Oromo readers group which, formed the sociology of Oromo literature.

Again concerning the publication of books, even though there were many published works it was not satisfactory when Oromo language is compared with publications in other languages in the country.

Jalataa Jafaro's "Gamta Saba" (Socialism) 1974 was the first work published after the revolution. Gregg commentary on this book says that the first openly published book in Oromo language in the country. Again in the same year in October there was a theater which says "The first Oromo Theater" published. The book is not found in any library I surveyed but is possible to understand from the catalogue that it has got 50 pages.

The other work of Jalataa Jafaro was "Adaa Oromo Wallagga" (Walagaa Oromo culture). It was published in 1982. It has got a lot of oral poetry and also different folktales. Jalata said concerning his book that he wrote "the culture like Gada, Butaa, cattle praising songs, traditional medicine and other Oromo heritage that were about to become extinct. After a year in 1983 he published his third book Gumbi Odu (collection of news) which was an ontology of his different poems in its first part and different short stories in the second part.

Mangesha Riqxu's "Collected Oromo proverbs and Oromo oral prose, published under the title "Oromo folk takes for new generation" in 1973 also published "Biifu "diramaa" the sun of the morning in 1974.

There were also translations of different books in Oromo language during this time. The title of the first translation was 'Waldhanso Gitootafi Waldhaanso Ummataa' (Class Struggle and People's Revolution) by Tamsigen Gemmada. He tried to explain human political development

starting from pre-slavery communal society to communism. The book also has a glossary in which he explained some political terminology in Oromo language.

Kuwwe Kumsaa also published "Manfeestoo Koministii Markisifii fi Eengilisii" the 1847 Marx and Engle's Communist manifesto in 1985.

In addition to the above translations, the Dergue propaganda committee published five short books in 1978 for its fourth revolutionary co memorial: "Seenaa Dafqaan Bulaa Ityoophiyaa Kaleessa Hamma Harattii, Qabiyyee Lafa Badiyyaa Kaleessaa Hanga Hara'aatti" The owner of rural land from yesterday to today, Lafa Mandaraatiif Lafa Irraa Hafa Kaleesaf Hara'a (Urban Land and Houses Yesterday and Today) about the ownere of urban land and additional houses, warraaqsaiifi yaaphiyaatifi looltootaa (Ethiopian revolution and the military) and the last Waraagsoo Itiyoophiyaa keessatti ga'ee mana baruumsaa taligafi gumimessa ummataa (The role of a political school and public organization in Ethiopian revolution.

Besides all these secular works the religious literature also showed undeniable change. It was almost after three quarters of a century that religious works emerged in such number. These are "Gammachisa" (that makes happy) 1982, "Hojji Ergamoototaa, Hiika haraa" (The Acts; New Translation) 1985, Qulqulu wangeela Gooftaa keenya yasus kiristoos isa Yohaannis caafe (the book of St .John) 1985, Gara koo Kotaa ana irras baaradha (first program) 1986, Dubbisaa odduu gaggarii (read this good news)1987, Ergaa Phawuloos gara warra Rommatti erge (The message of St. Paul to Rome) 1987 and the last one is, kaku hara Afaan Oromoatin (new Testament in Oromo language).All these books were published by the Ethiopian Bible society and were in Ge'ez alphabet.

The 1974 political revolution which was hoped would change the assimilation policy of the Emperor Haila Silassie betrayed those who were the cause and played a greater role in the revolution. In the beginning it declared that

"Each nationality will have regional autonomy to decide on matters concerning its internal affairs with its environs. It has the right to determine the contents of its political; economic and social life use its own language and elect its own leaders."

But the Dergue regime had no moral, political as well as intellectual bases to build a pluralistic multi-lingual society in which all suites for its own language and cultural development as it declared before.

Soon the national operation in which all nations and nationalists were suffering appeared in other fashion. In the name of revolution and unity of the country the identity of the nations began to be seen as anti unity.

"The present government has followed the Leninist doctrine of the right of nations (ethnic groups) to self-determination to date no instance of self-domination has been seen, and the persistence of armed conflict...show that the problems are far from settled. The present policy seems to be one of issuing liberal statements, carrying out largely taken literacy and cultural programmes. . . and ade facto continuation of the old policy of amharization. Several recent reports on the composition of the ruling military circles show aswing back to Amhara domination after an earlier period of more balanced make up" Gragg 1982

It seems that the Dergue regime accepted the question of nations because of the war in Ogden a thus it must do so to get support from "suppressed" nations and nationalities

Soon in 1978, following the quick Ethiopian victory over the invading Somali army in Ogden "narrow nationalism" was declared as the main enemy of the "revolution" narrow nationalism was then a code name of Oromo nationalism (Mohammad (2005).

Barisa the only news paper existed under the Dergue which was launched by a few individuals, within a short period of time able to

engage many Oromos in the capital city and the provincial towns became popular and widely distributed. Barisaa brought together many Oromo in the capital and gave them the opportunity to discuss the national problems. 1977 a cultural show involving troops from many of the Oromo regions was staged to raise funds for the production of Barisa (Bulcha 1994). The show was great success for the Oromo's but a headache for the Dargue regime.

So in 1977 the newspaper was nationalized and later on the staff of Bariisa including the founder Mahad Hamid Mudde was jailed and was replaced by Oromo Speaking non-Oromo's.

Then after, Barisaa ceased to be a free press and the Oromo voice. It became the Dergue propaganda pamphlet. For example there was clear difference between the poetry before nationalization and after nationalization. Poetries before nationalization focus on culture, importance of respecting, learning and developing ones not culture and language. There were more than sixteen poems out of thirty poem in the first one and half year in Bariisa. This poem show it clearly

Gara fulduraatti yaa nama	In the future men
Guddis afaan kee dhalootaa	Develop your mother tongue
Kan arraba ittiin hiikatan	That you first speak
Namummaa keessan ittin baraton	By which you learned your
	being human

After nationalizing the newspaper Oromo poetry doomed with the newspaper. The beautiful poems began to be replaced by simple propagandist verse focusing on literacy the only means by which the Dergue was getting much aid from the west and war of Somalia.

As a result of this, the number of copies of the weekly newspaper drastically decreased.

As Markuria 1994 says

Before its nationalization in 1976 the number of copies printed weekly was 35,000 or about 1,820,000 annually. Immediately after nationalization its circulation plummeted by 90%. In 1982/83 only 104,000 copies of Bariisaa were annually produced. This was 5.7% of what was produced and distributed before nationalization.

The decrease in the number of copies of Bariisaa also resulted in the decrease in the number of literary output because it was the only means of outlet for the Oromo public opinions but now under the control of the government and used as a political bullet.

The other aspects of the Dergue, success in a sense the Dergue received a UNESCO prize for the "socialist" adult literacy program. This program intended to be given to nationalities language in Ethiopia and was hoped to contribute for spreading literacy program. At the same time it was thought that it could contribute for Oromo literature.

The Dergue ordered certain Oromos as well as non-Oromos who speak the language to prepare the literary materials. Soon, like Onesmos, the Oromo language team was established and it began to produce educational materials that facilitated the literacy.

The content of the literacy materials were almost similar to the Amharic ones. They even seemed Oromo language version of Amharic language unlike Onosimos and Aster Ganno's Oromo reader, it has a little no elements from Oromo oral literature and more of it focus on "collectivism" the then political ideology, basic health education and using improved agricultural materials were also the other issue.

The Dergue literary program was hardly successful and did brought little development at all in Oromo literary history. There are so many reason for the failure among which the major one are listed below

The use of the Ge'ez alphabet for writing Oromo language and other Cushitic languages made it difficult for most people to read the materials in their mother tongues. Concerning this makuria 1994 says

"Those who attended the " Oromo" literacy classes gain no more than an ability to identify the various characters of the Amharic fiddle (alphabet)"

This was because of the unsuitability of Ge'ez alphabet for Oromo language on one hand and the other was the incapability of the teachers themselves to read the literary materials, fluently.

The lack of literature in Oromo language was also the other problem of the literacy program. Thus even those who can manage to learn faced serious problem in reading skills hence reading develop only through reading.

Because of these two reasons mentioned above the Dergue literacy program was not successful and the "literate" soon regressed to illiterate after graduation from the literacy program and the time spent for literacy considered as the wasted time.

Thus the contribution of the socialist literary program for Oromo literature was insignificant for the reason mentioned above.

However, because they were few in number when compared to the whole people, middle class intelligentsia which is very important for literature production, mostly from abroad the Oromo books began to be seen in the market.

Folk literature takes up the imagination of many Oromo language students of Addis Ababa University. Besides Fayyisa Dadhi wrote his first Drama "Kuno Ilaala" (now see it) and his second drama "Abba Burre"(the owener of the cow called Bure) 1981and staged it in 1986 Gaddisaa Biru finished his first novel "Waa Lama Dhabu" (loosing two things at the same time) in 1984.

During this time thus, it is possible to say that there were little diversified literary genres than in the former period in which poetry and religious literature were dominant.

As soon as the Dargue focused on anti national questions, Oromo literature also began to take its third direction (phase) and became an instrument for politico-cultural national movement.

The Dergue forbade Gaddisaa's novel, "wajama Dhabu" from being published because his book was in Oromo language and he was asked to translate in to Amharic to publish it. He said no and then he should wait until the fall of Dergue to publish his book.

Bariisaa closed down for unknown reason in 1987 even after nationalized and the forum of Oromo poetry turned to other Oromo publication out side the country.

After the Dergue totally controlled the political power, the Oromo elites thought that it was impossible to develop Oromo language within that context. They clearly understood that the Assimilation policy redressed and continued in the same direction but with different magnitude.

Then after the migration of Oromo intellectuals, peasants, pastoralists and students swelled the refuge camps of the neighboring countries.

It was here in refuge camp that the Oromo Diasporas literature began and showed remarkable change especially among the intelligential group in the diaspora like Asafa Jalata, Lemmu Baissa Mohammad Hassen, Sisai Ibisa, kuwee keemsaa, Mahad Hamid mudde and Ibsa Gutama played a great role and became profit writes in the Oromo Diaspora literature.

Magazines such as Oromia Speaks, Bakkalcha Oromo, Sagallee Basona (Bulletin of the OLF military activities) and "warragga" (organ of the OLF youth) began to be published in English and Oromo language by Oromo refuges in Khartoum in Sudan. The book called "Oromia" was also published in 1980 under the name Gada Malba.

The union of Oromo students in Europe (UOSE) also published materials like: Bakalcha, Sagallee Oromo and Kara Wallabumma, whereas the union of Oromo students in North America (UOSNA) published Wallanso and Sagallee Wallaanso.

For short period of time there also existed a union of Oromo women in Europe with a separate publication called Oromitittii.

In these publications there was a great deal of Oromo poetry and only few short stories. Some times there were short dramas both in country and outside which was solely prepared for different occasion.

The content of this time Oromo literature was highly loaded with politics, as Oromo politics also embraces culture and language development and the important point should be touched here is OLF.

To develop the Oromo language and bring it out of the neglect that colonialism has imposed up on it. The OLF considered the struggle to develop the Oromo culture and language as one of the major aspects of struggle for national survival. Hence its language policy was implemented a long side armed struggle from the very beginning.

As a result, OLF made literacy in Afaan Oromo a requirement to become a fighter and Oromo language and Oromo history became a basic course for the recruits. The front took the Latin alphabet formally used by the union of Oromo Students in Europe (UOSE) with some adaptation and produced some educational and political literature. In 1982, the Humanitarian wing of the front, ORA, (Oromo Relief Association) was able to publish a full range of primary school textbooks and readers book along with teachers' handbook and literacy materials for adults.

After the mid 1980s, elementary education for refugee children in the Sudan and other neighboring countries was implemented. The daily radio program "Sagalee Adda Bilisummaa Oromo (voice of the Oromo liberation Front also began broadcasting at the same time.

Therefore, the contribution of OLF to the development of Oromo literature of that time specifically and for linguistic and cultural revival was quite significant.

To conclude the students movement out of which the Ethiopian revolution emerged had impact on the development of this time Oromo

literature because most of the writers during this period were the Oromo student activist of Haila Silase regime.

For a short period of time probably for three years after the revaluation, Oromo literature showed quite a satisfactory change but soon began to demise in the country and began to germinate from outside the country.

It was during this time that it was fully used for political struggle which made the literature itself politico- cultural literature.

In fact using literature for political purpose is still common in Oromo, which has got its root from the Dergue regime.

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my work and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name Teferi Nigussie

Signature 

Place Addis Ababa University Addis Ababa

Date of Submission July 25, 2006

the man out. The man was not ready to give in that easily, he would go to God's wife. On his way there he saw a donkey rolling, and passed by saying, 'What on earth was that!'

The man went to God's wife and asked her if her husband was in. She said, 'Yes, the donkey you saw now is he.' 'I saw not man but donkey,' he said and asked her what he came for. She said, 'Your first request was right; one has to ask God only for peace and love and not for wealth. Go and tell him that you don't want any wealth but peace.'

The man went to God and said, 'I don't want any cattle, goats or camels; I only beg you to give me peace.' Then God asked, 'Who told you to ask like this?' 'No-one.' God realized that this was the work of his wife. He became very angry. His anger was demonstrated in the form of a storm. The storm we see today was created then. God reproved his wife for telling the man the secret. But to return to the man, God gave him peace.

When the man got peace his few cattle thrived and multiplied. The man became very rich and grew very proud. One day as God was playing *sadeeq* [a board game] with him, the man said, 'Of the two of us, who is wealthier?' God said, 'I don't know; but we will see. Tomorrow, I will bring together my cattle and you will bring together all your cattle.' The man said, 'How can I bring all of them into one place? What land could take all my cattle?' 'I will cut back the forest and prepare a large enough field,' said God. The vast field at Dida Liban was made that day.

The next day the man came with all his cattle. Next came God bringing with him his cattle, which are lions, snakes and hyenas. God mixed his with the man's. The lions, snakes and hyenas at once killed all the man's cattle. Only one he-goat escaped death.

The man saw what had happened and said, 'God, I have seen that you are mightier and wealthier. You made the mule barren. You have made me empty. Now what am I to do with this one he-goat?'

'I will bless this he-goat for you; put it to graze on a hill. The cattle I have taken from you will not be given back to you. I will bless and sanctify this he-goat; I will give it a name.' And God blessed the goat and left the world.

War came upon the man and he sacrificed the goat and prayed for victory. That goat is Wayu Bano. Today when the Borana go to war they sacrifice a he-goat and call it 'Wayu Bano he-goat.'

The man got many spoils from the war, though he was unable to handle peace.

A5 Gada and Gadayo Galgalo

The first man whom God created was a Borana called Boficho. Boficho had two wives. The senior was Borana and the junior was Guji. The senior wife became jealous of the younger one and wanted to kill her. One day when the second wife went to look after the cattle, the first wife, (the senior one) gave

her son, Gadayo, a pointed rod to kill the second wife. As he had been instructed Gadayo flung the rod at her from his hiding place. She came home groaning where Boficho, her husband, removed the rod from her body. Then he whipped Gadayo.

The senior wife, seeing the failure of her first attempt, pursued a second. She made a spear and gave it to Gadayo. She told him to stab the young woman, slipping the spear through the adjoining wall. Gadayo did as he was told and the woman was killed. This was the first appearance of death.

Due to the introduction of death and the killing of each other, all the people under Boficho said, 'If we began to kill each other we do not want to live together; we will go our own way.'

One group of people gathered under a sycamore tree and said, 'We are Borana'. Another sat under *birbira* tree and called themselves Guji. And in this way the Konso sat under a rock, Somalis settled by the river, the Darasas sat beside an ant hill and others crossed the sea and became white people. So the family of man disintegrated.

Gadayo ran from the face of his people. He travelled for a long time. As he went God appeared to him disguised as a toddler. After exchanging greetings God [the small boy] asked him where he was going. Gadayo went on without replying. He went on. And once again God, now as an old man, appeared to Gadayo. He asked him the same question. This time Gadayo replied, 'I am looking for God.' 'Why do you search for God?' 'So that he will give me food, drink and wealth.' The old man gave Gadayo many cattle. Gadayo slaughtered a cow, ate and continued on his journey. As he went the cattle disappeared one by one until one cow remained.

Now he met an old man who asked him where he was going. Gadayo told him his purpose. The old man asked Gadayo to give him the cow. He gave it to him. Then the old man advised Gadayo: 'If you find God, ask him not for wealth but love.'

Gadayo resumed his journey. He met with God, who appeared to him as an old man. 'Where do you go?' asked the old man. 'To God.' 'Why?' 'So that He may give me love; the love of men, women, and children. To ask him for law and custom which I could live by.'

And God declared to Gadayo, 'I give you love; be sweet. You will be father to your people. You will bless them. You are the reconciler and the judge.' Gadayo asked, 'I am alone; where are the people I will be father to?'

'Go back to the country where you killed your mother. There you will find the children of the woman you killed, the children of your father. Rule over them.' After this God gave him a book (law) by which he would live. So he returned to his homeland.

On his way back Gadayo met the old man who had given him counsel. The old man asked him where he came from. Gadayo said, 'I am the father

of Borana. I return after receiving law and authority.' Then Gadayo gave the book to the old man.

The old man gave the book to the Borana who were under the syamore tree. They were living together with cattle and a cow ate the book. They told what happened to Gadayo. He told them to slaughter the cow and the content of the book was found imprinted upon its intestine. From that day on, when the Borana want to know about something, they sacrifice a cow and read its intestine.

It was in this way that Gadayo received the Gada law.

A6 God and the Poor Man

The man was poor, with many children and few cattle. He went to God to ask for cattle (look, this story is about the origin of our traditions). He went. He was to say to God, 'I have got many children, but I don't have enough cattle to feed them, please provide for me.'

God's children were performing some kind of ritual when the poor man came. They were at the entrance. When the poor man came they asked him, 'Father, where are you going?' 'To your father; is he at home?' 'Yes, why?' He declined to tell them and went in.

He found God and said, 'Father prosper me, make me well.' God said, 'Go away; I have made you well, I have prospered you. Go.' He kept coming to God for many days. He had only seven cattle and each time he returned home from visiting God he found one cow dead. He would skin it, eat the meat and return to God. 'Father prosper me.' 'Go I have already prospered you.' Always it was like this. Now the man was left with only one cow.

As usual he met God's children at the gate. 'Father where are you going?' they asked him. 'To your father.' 'Why?' This time he responded, 'I am poor I have got many children and nothing to give them. That is why, I keep coming.' Then the children advised him, 'Don't talk like this to our father. Ask him for love; love to the old, to the young, to the big, to the small. Ask for grace and blessing. But don't ask for any cattle.'

He went in to see God and said, 'Father bless me, establish my love with Sabo, establish my love with Gona [the two exogamous moieties]; with friends, neighbours and all; with the grass and all. Make me sweet.'

'Who taught you to talk like this?' asked God. The man hid the truth and said, 'No-one but myself.' (Look now sleep is about to be created.) 'You lied to me,' said God and killed the man. He stayed for a while after killing him and then woke him up. He had only made him sleep, you know. It is in this way that sleep has come on us. Now God asked him again and the man spoke the truth: 'Your children taught me to speak in this way.'

Then God gave the man a honeybird: 'Take this,' an eagle, 'Take this also,' a fox and a cattlebird [tick bird]. The honeybird leads to where honey is found. The eagle shows where a dead elephant is lying [for its tusk]. The

fox shows where water is found and the cattlebird [which always sits on the back of cattle, leads to where cattle are found].

Now the man got everything. He had been left with only one cow and now he got everything he needed – cattle, camels, elephant's tusk.

It is in this way that sleep has come on us.

Then God told the man how he should pray and perform rituals: 'Perform your rituals during the night times.' The man got everything. All the people loved him. He was greeted by young and old alike; 'abba yoyyaa, abba yoyyaa', a salutation of affection.

A7 Disintegration of the Oromo

Guji, Borana, Arsi and Wallega – these were one people, one family. It is Hawey who bore them. Her husband is Adem. Only Hawey and Adem were living in the land. There was none other. Hawey gave birth to four children: Boran, Guji, Arsi, and Wallega. Wallega was the youngest.

One day there came Shetan (Satan). He said to Hawey, 'Hawey, your husband visits another woman; why do you live with him?' 'Which husband of mine? How can there be another person in this world besides the two of us?' 'Come I will show you.' He took her to a river and she saw her reflection in it. Adem came home. She said, 'You sleep with another woman in secret.' 'What woman?' 'I have seen her.' 'What has happened to you? Is there another person other than you and me?' he said. She brought him to the water. 'There you both are!' she said showing him the reflection. She killed herself.

The brothers grew up. They quarrelled one day, and the eldest one struck the youngest. The others intervened: 'What is the matter?' 'I will kill him.' 'How will you kill him?' '[He will be dead] like our mother'. But they were unable to quell them. Borana killed Wallega. Now Wallega had one son.

'If we have come to such an end, we have to separate,' they said. Each ran away from the other. Arsi went facing Makka Madina. Borana went towards the east. Guji took to the north, and Wallega the way to the west. Then Borana said, 'I am Borana.' When they asked him why he said so he answered, 'Because my mother bore me under the boror tree.'

Now one man, whom the Arsi today venerate and call Shekana Hussen (see Aguilar 1998; Baxter 1990) – this man, God loved him. Shekana Hussen was Borana, from the Matari-Gadula clan. He was in Agal. Today they venerate him at this place. Sitting quietly he beat a drum *dum dum dum*. The people went and saw him. One boy thinking he was a sorcerer pierced him with his spear. Shekana Hussen left the place trailing his blood. From Agal by way of Borbor he came to El Dal. Dragging his leg he went and stopped at Afartu Qalliti. There he found a sheep. He sacrificed it. The places that today we call Arer, Sasaq, Debano and Yoyo are the places where his blood fell on the ground.

D15 *The Hobgoblin who Ate the Herdboy*

A very long time ago it is said that a hobgoblin came to a boy who was herding camels. First it devoured the boy, then swallowed his milking-pot and finally it devoured the five camels. The father who came in search of the boy cried:

Have you seen Aliyo's son?
Have you seen his milking-pot?
Have you seen the five camels?

Then hobgoblin replied:

Aliyo's son is devoured
His milking-pot is devoured
The five camels are devoured.

[And he ate the father.]

Then came the mother of the boy and cried:

Have you seen Aliyo's son?
Have you seen his milking-pot?
Have you seen the five camels?

Hobgoblin answered:

Aliyo's son is devoured
His milking pot is devoured
The five camels are devoured.

Now came a woman pregnant with twins. She said:

Have you seen Aliyo's son?
Have you seen his milking-pot?
Have you seen the five camels?

This time hobgoblin refused to answer. There the woman gave birth to a son and a daughter. The newly born son came to hobgoblin and asked:

Have you seen Aliyo's son?
Have you seen his milking-pot?
Have you seen the five camels?

Hobgoblin answered:

Aliyo's son is devoured
His milking pot is devoured
The five camels are devoured.

The baby who heard this struck hobgoblin with a spear and killed it.

D16 *The Qallu's Bird*

It is said that a very long time ago the Qallu went to war. He went off to a far-distant country, a country he did not know. It rained and he sheltered in a stone cave. A stone fell at the entrance and sealed the cave. Now a crow came and sat on the edge of a pond beside the cave. The crow said to the Qallu, 'Pond owner allow me water to drink.' 'I may or may not allow you, will you summon help for me?' asked the Qallu. 'Yes I will,' said the crow. 'How do you ask for help?' The crow replied, 'I will go to your village and cry 'Kaak, kaak, kaak ...' The Qallu said, 'You know nothing, you will never drink from my water, go away.'

Now the crow went away and up came the sparrow. She said, 'Pond-owner allow me water to drink.' 'I may or may not allow you, but will you summon help for me?' 'I will,' she said. 'How do you ask for help?' The bird said, 'I will go to your village and cry:

The Qallu went to war
He went to fight in a far place
He went to a place he doesn't know.
It rained
He sheltered in a stone cave
A stone fell on him
With a heifer and a cow
With a horned sheep
With thong of giraffes' hide
With a belt of a woman who gave birth
Go to him.

'Ah! you know it. What is your name?' said the Qallu. 'Mother grass,' she said. 'My dear Mother grass, dip into the water, swing your tail and go,' he said. The bird bathed in the pond and went to the village. She perched on the fence and said:

The Qallu went to war
He went to fight in a far place
He went to a place he doesn't know.

left the scene for a moment. There was meat among the food. The dik-dik's eye fell on the meat. Her craving grew and she stole the meat before God returned to distribute the food. The dik-dik ran away with the meat and stopped in the bush to eat it. But just before having a bite, she heard the voice of God and ran away again. She ran and stopped to eat. Again she heard the voice of God, and ran again. The dik-dik was unable to eat the meat she stole.

Finally God appeared to her and asked her why she stole the meat. 'I was tantalized by it,' said the dik-dik. God said: 'Originally I had planned to give meat to you and grass to mankind. But, now that you have taken it before I gave it to you, from this day on you will eat grass and men will eat meat.' And it became so.

That is why today Dik-dik is always on the run, and stops for a moment between the runs. She thinks God is after her and stops to listen.

M17 *The Camel's Genitals*

God gathered all the animals of the earth to equip them with sex organs so that they could reproduce. Every animal came to God and collected its private parts. When it was the turn of the camel he went past God without stopping to collect his. When God saw the camel has gone past, he picked an organ and threw it towards the camel. It stuck hind-wards.

That is how the genital of the he-camel came to point in the wrong direction.

M18 *Leader and Home: The Hares and the Guinea Fowls*

Hares and Guinea Fowls were holding an assembly when a man came across. He asked them, 'You who are sitting here, shall I destroy all of you or kill your leaders?'

The guinea fowl said, 'Kill the one leader we have; don't destroy our way of life. If a leader is killed today, the leader is one man, it is this home that gives birth to a leader. A leader will be born but home won't. Kill our leader, don't destroy the herd.'

The hares said, 'Destroy our home; a community who has lost its leader is a lost community. Don't kill our leader destroy our home.'

It became so. Today you don't see two hares walking together; no-one has ever seen this. Their home was destroyed. One hare gives birth in the bush and runs away. But the guinea fowls' home was not destroyed and you see them in large groups living together.

M19 *The Power of Harmony*

People who travel together must not oppose each other. Two men set out in search of cattle. As they were travelling in the bush one of them said, 'Look, cattle.' The other replied, 'I see.' And they got the cattle. Again as they went one of them said, 'Look, camel.' The other replied, 'I see.' They got the

camel. 'Look goats.' 'I see.' They got them. 'Look a dead elephant.' 'I see.' [One points to where there is nothing and says 'look'. When the other agrees 'I see' the non-existent object comes into existence.]

One man saw them and said, 'Please I have no cattle; take me with you. I have no money take me with you.' They refused to take him. He asked them why they refused him. They told him, 'We are afraid that you will oppose us. We don't disagree among ourselves. We agree with each other.' He begged them, 'I will not disagree with you, please my brothers take me.' 'All right we will take you; but don't oppose us. Tomorrow we will go together, be ready,' they said.

They went together in the morning. 'Look cattle!' 'Where?' said the new man and there were no cattle. 'Look camel!' 'Where?' They got none. 'Look goats!' They got none. 'Look honey!' 'Where?' They got honey. 'Look a dead elephant!' 'Where?' he said and they got none.

They returned home that day empty handed. When they got home they told the man to go away from them. They banished him and resumed their old way.

Now: 'Look cattle!' 'I see!' And they got them.

M20 *The Wise, the Coward and the Brave*

Three men: one wise, one coward and the other brave said to each other, 'They say there is a land where humans eat humans. Let's go and see if it is true.' They set out and arrived at the land of the hobgoblin. Two of them stayed behind and the coward entered the house of the hobgoblin. The hobgoblin asked, 'From where did you come?' The coward told him. Then the hobgoblin asked, 'Have you ever heard that in this area humans eat humans?' 'I have, but I am not alone, I have a friend; one man only is no use to you.' 'Go and call your friend,' the hobgoblin said.

He, the coward, returned to his friends. 'Have you seen him?' asked the brave man. 'Yes I saw him. Let's go together again.' The two returned to the hobgoblin's house. 'Where did you come from?' the hobgoblin asked the brave man. 'We heard that you eat men and we came to see for ourselves.' 'Do you have friends?' the hobgoblin asked. 'Yes we have one.' 'Go and call him.'

They went back to the wise man and told him, 'They told us that they will devour us. Once we have come here there is no way we could escape. It is your turn to go, and we came to tell you.'

The wise man came. 'How are you?' 'How are you?' [greetings with the hobgoblin.] The wise one said to the hobgoblin, 'Lay us the mat; we will pass the night here.' The hobgoblin killed a cow for them and they ate. Then said the hobgoblin, 'You have eaten meat, now we too want to have some meat.' He was ready to kill them.

'Just before that,' said the wise one, 'I have news for you, receive it from me. I was in the enemy land fighting a battle. I heard about you and came from there. Do you prefer to eat three of us or do you want many men, cap-

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ربيع القلوب

في ذكر مناقب وفضائل

سيدنا الشيخ نور حسين رضي الله عنه

ترجمه

كتاب زهد الأسرار وطهارة الأقدار

في مناقبه وفضائله أيضا

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

عميت قلوبنا من دنى الآثام وصلت من طريق الله دنى و تاهت و فست
من فضول الكلام و منست من مجالسة موتى القلوب و ماتت قلوبنا
ودفت في قبور النقلة لم نجد في مداراتنا و أحيايتها عاجلا إلا قول
شيخنا و سيدنا حسين بن ملكاي (واسم والده الشيخ المكرم دى المنزلة
العالية عند رب الأرباب و قطب الاقطاب عند الأصحاب الشيخ ابراهيم
و أما لفظ ملكاي ثبت له باسم هر كان يبر فيه ههنا ما بلغنا من
الرواية) الخصوص بمراتب المعارف و عجائب الأسرار المودع كنوز
الحكم و مطالع الأنوار الموهوب فضل الله العظيم طيب الرضى الشافى
بالكشف لكل عليل و لهذا اخترنا طريقته بمو ذرب أزل حتى تأبى
لأن طريقته و آثاره لا يذكرها إلا ذوى العقول التى صلت عن الرخاد
و طبخت على الفساد و لم يصعبها نور الاغتناء بتركها متابعة الانبياء عليهم
السلام حيث حشا إلى تأليفها من هو في نور نبوة و ضياء رسالة و نبوة
حكمة و أثر رحمة و ظل عصمة و عنوان نعمة بين أمتهم بالحق مأمونة
عن الفتى و الرقى الشيخ الفاضل المتصم بالله القائم بالله محمد بن الشيخ
الوقور العظيم الصبور المرحوم زكريا بن الشيخ الكامل قنوة الإسلام
محمد بن الشيخ المعارف الربانى شيخ جميع المناجح حسين بن ملكاي

الحمد لله الذى جعل المسلم أفضل مكاسب الآخرة و جعل التو
أبهى اللباس فى الآخرة الذى يذكر أوليائه و نور قلوبهم ب نور معرفته
و يحى و يحياها ظلم النعوس و أسرج فيها أنوار مبررات به شمس
وزين سمائها بزيه الكواكب و جعلها هدى للمهدي و رجوماً لمسترق
السمع من الشياطين النماوية الذى حرم على أوليائه و أحباؤه ناره و عتبه
حيث قال: و قالت اليهود و النصارى نحن أبناء الله و أحباؤه قل
قلم يعبئ بكم يذوبكم و المفهوم من الآية يدل على أن الله تعالى
لا يعبئ أحباؤه و لو كانوا من أحباؤه لا عذبهم و أوعد أيضاً على ترك
اتباع سبيل المؤمنين النار الجميع حيث قال: و من يشاقق الرسول
من بعد ما تبين له الهدى و ينبغ غير سبيل المؤمنين فوالله
ماتوا بفضله جهنم و سأيت مصيراً أوعز بالله منها أحمد على جبريل
نعمه و كرمه و أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله و أشهد أن محمداً عبده و خاتمه
الآثام و رسوله صلى الله عليه و على آله و سلمة النجاة و أحباؤه نجوم الهدى
و أنوار وجهه المظهرات من الأدناس سيد السادات الرواس أما بعد

بِأَنَّ أَيْدِيَهُمْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَلَهُمْ أَجْرٌ كَبِيرٌ

لَهُمْ أَجْرٌ كَبِيرٌ

لَهُمْ أَجْرٌ كَبِيرٌ

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وَسَيُجَازِيهِمْ بِأَجْرٍ كَبِيرٍ

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شَيْءٌ لَا طِبِيَّةَ إِلَّا نَجَسَ طَاعُونُ شَيْءٍ
وَقَالَ لِسَائِمِ بْنِ وَهَابٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ
رَبَّنَا ذِي طِبِّ لَمْ تَجْعَلْ شَيْئًا سِوَاكَ
كَفَّ طِبًّا وَرَبَّنَا نَسُو رَسْمًا نَسَانِي وَنَعُودًا لِلَّهِ
بَعْدَ مَسَامَاتِ دِفَاتِ جِهْلٍ مَلُوحِنَا
رَبَّنَا لِي وَرَبَّنَا لِي كَالْوَلِي
طَابَ مَنَافِي خَافِيْنَ كَرُوْ سَلِيْنَ
مَلَأَ عِلْمَانِ عَمْرٍ نَسَا دَا جُوْ سَمَا عُوْ سَلِيْنَ
كَرَارَاتِ أَوْ دَرِيْ سِيْ دَا كُوْ سُوْ سَلِيْنَ
بِرَّ هُوَ دِيْنُ كِيْ سَرِيْ طَاهِرٍ وَبَاطِنِ

بَشَرٍ دَعُوْنَا أَوْ لَا نَحْصِلْ أَمْرِيْنَ
نَعْنِيْ عَلَاطِيْ سَتِ دُخْرِكِ رَبِّ
وَمَا جَاءَ دَرِيْ سِيْ بَا مَوْصِيْ عِيْلَايِ سَعِيْ عِيْلَايِ
رَبَّنَا عَلَيَّ عُوْجُودِيْ أَنْ مَرَّ سَتِ
عَا خَا خَلِيْ عَا خَا دَحْلَالِيْ
عَا خَا سِيْوَ طِيْ عَا خَا نَبِيْ هَلِيْ
بَعْدَ فِدَا لَنْ دَرِيْ مَانِ حَسِيْ حَسِيْ
نَعُوْ عِيْلَايِ اللَّهُ سَمِيْحُ الْغُرَبَاتِ
مَلَأْنَا مَوْلَاهُ عَا فَا سَمِيْحُ سَلِيْ
رَبَّنَا هُوَ طَابَ سَمِيْحُ دَرِيْ
رَبَّنَا عَا كِيْ سَمِيْحُ مَلَانِ وَنَبِيْ مَلَانِ

4-15

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Claudio Cacciari

It is hoped that the abstract representations at the head of the column will make clear the significance of the forms in their respective columns. Nevertheless, some brief comments may be appropriate. The 1st forms are the totally unmodified consonant class. Each 1st form represents in an abstract

22. 11. 1960

① $28 \times 28 = 784$ 个

9	L
8	T.
7	F
6	G
5	H
4	I
3	J
2	K
1	L

② 13796: 0890: 24111: 89334: 578 =

سرور حال کینما سحر کاست
نور کاست المصطفیٰ و نغمی

مركز القضاة

1114

[The page contains several lines of handwritten text in Urdu script, which appears to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the paper.]

I II III IV V VI VII VIII IX X XI XII XIII XIV
C Ca Cu Cl Ce Co Cr Cs Cg Cf Ce Co Cn Cg

Bases are listed (i.e. the vertical arrangement) follows the order which is consistently followed in each of the smaller matrices of the manuscript. There are thirteen columns in the table, numbered I-XIII. Each column corresponds to a different vocalization or other phonologically relevant modification of the consonant base. An abstract representation of each of these modifications is presented at the head of the column: for example Ca, Cō, etc. The forms of a particular column will be referred to by means of the number. Thus it will be convenient to speak of IVth, Xth or XIIIth forms, etc.¹³ Moreover, taking combinations of letters and numbers we are able to refer precisely to any form occupying a particular cell within the matrix, for example bX, ðIV, etc. The ordering of the columns (i.e. the horizontal arrangement) follows the order in which these appear in matrices I-III in the manuscript.

It is hoped that the abstract representations at the heads of the columns will make clear the significance of the forms in their respective columns. Nevertheless, some brief comments may be appropriate. The 1st forms are the totally unmodified consonant bases. Each 1st form represents in an abstract

[illegible]

13-3-07

أصل الحروف

3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	1	2	3
5	6	7	8	9	1	2

② 17796: 0290: 2400: 0934: 5700:

[illegible]

محررات حال كذا
محررات التخليص
محررات القصاص

- Andra

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13-3-67

1. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

FIG. 5

way the entire set to its right. Ist forms are not themselves used in writing. When compared with Ist forms the IInd, IIIrd, IVth, Vth and VIth forms can all be seen to have graphic elements appended to them. Each of these appendages indicates a different following phonemic vowel, i.e. a, u, i, e, and o respectively. The VIIth, VIIIth, IXth, Xth and XIth forms also contain graphic elements of various sorts. Each of these indicates a different following phonemic vowel, i.e. ā, ū, ī, ē and ō respectively. (Later we shall consider the graphic representation of the phonological relationship between these vowel counterparts: see p. 362. XIIth forms represent the consonants, but like Ist forms they are really abstractions of the actual sounds which occur in writing unless modified by one or other of the vocalic marking elements. The XIIIth form, therefore, is the base for a further set of ten forms, each representing a different vowel. It has not been thought necessary to include these since the vocalic marking elements are identical to those of the Ist forms. Finally, the XIVth form represents the short consonant bases. Finally, the XVth form

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Although we have no reason whatsoever to entertain the belief that Shaykh Bakri had ever studied modern linguistics, or was acquainted with the concept of the phoneme, it is nevertheless the case that his writing system is, almost entirely phonemic; that is to say, it is a system achieving the ideal of just one graphic symbol for each phonologically distinctive sound of the language. In one or two points, however, it is not completely phonemic.

It is clear from a study of Eastern Oromo that [k] and [x] are really realizations of the same phoneme. In long intervocalic occurrences or when following a liquid or nasal we find only [k], while in short intervocalic occurrences we usually find [x]. Word-initially, however, the two sounds are in variation. This variation is witnessed rather nicely in the example sentences and phrases which illustrate the use of the orthography; see Fig. 5. In the second line we find the question Maqānkē ēññu 'What is your name?'. It is written both in Shaykh Bakri's orthography and in Ethiopic. Later on in the thirteenth line, we find the phrase obolāyan kē 'your brother'. In the first case the possessive kē is treated as an enclitic and since it then follows the nasal is spelled with kX, while in the second case it is not treated as an enclitic and is spelled with xX. On the eighth line the first symbol of katabān 'writing' is xII, while the final word of the last line Kabirā 'proper name' has kII initially. A further indication that the [k]:[x] distinction is a subphonemic one appears in the spelling of bēke 'I know' on line 4. In the Shaykh's orthography the sound ([x]) is spelled with xV, but in Ethiopic with h. The fact that an attempt was made in this case to distinguish what are clearly only allophones may very well be explained as a hypersensitivity to phonetic distinctions brought about by Shaykh Bakri's awareness of the phonemic contrast of ḥ: ẖ in Arabic.

Another matter that appears to challenge the phonemic ideal is the fact that there are two symbols each for h and s, though all competent linguistic descriptions are fairly unanimous in according the language only one h (laryngeal fricative) phoneme¹⁴ and one s (alveolar sibilant) phoneme. The matrices of Figs. 2-4, as well as the accompanying illustrative sentences, are unhelpful in this case, for h¹ and h² are used in what appears to be a quite unprincipled way.¹⁵ When, however, we examine Shaykh Bakri's own use of h¹ and h² (at least in the MS of the letter shown in plate 1) we discover that h¹ is employed consistently to represent the laryngeal fricative, while h² is used only to represent a voiceless pharyngeal fricative. The latter occurs, of course, only in words borrowed from Arabic, as, for example, in the proper names Hāmid, Ahmad and Fārah, all of which appear in line 3 of the letter. It seems then that it was Shaykh Bakri's intention to maintain the Arabic distinction in written Oromo, though it seems odd that h² appears in the main matrix of symbols, rather than

¹⁴ There is one notable exception to this statement. Hodson and Walker (1922) claim that there are two 'h' sounds in Oromo. 'The fully breathed Arabic ḥ only exists in one limited form, though the difference between ḥ and ḥ is distinct at times' (p. 12, § 3). Their vocabulary, moreover, contains a sprinkling of words containing ḥ. One possible explanation for this may be that one (or more) of the informants employed by the investigators knew either Somali or Arabic, if not both, and was strongly predisposed to recognize the existence of a pharyngeal 'h' in Oromo as well. There is some confirmation for this idea in that Hodson and Walker make a parallel statement concerning the voiced counterpart of the pharyngeal fricative, thus: 'A modified ẖ is sometimes heard, though Galla does not have the sound so much as Somali, being a softer language and less guttural' (p. 12, § 3). It may even be that the possibility of hearing a third ḥ, the pharyngeal ḥ, was the explanation for the pharyngeals have since been reported for Oromo.

Walaloota "Abbaa Walaloo Warraja Cromoo" kan tahan,
Sheik Bakrii Saphaloo walaleessa: keessa gariin kana.

Jangal Yoo Gootan Malee

Sheik Bakrii Saphaloo

Jangal yoo gootan malee, tolaan dhugaa himanii
Mul'atumaafi jiraa, hammi cimaan dhumanii
Gabrichumnaa uffattee if gombistee hin rafanii
Jeeyna logaa adii huqqatulle hin tumanii
Hingartanii if cinaa warra gabrooma diduu
Korma jeeynoota biraa dhiira Kibbaa Yamanii
Dhiigalolaa godhanii, reefkara jaajatanii
Bahar wajjila lolaa, danfatti guuramanii
Akkas yoo taatan malee dadaan naxaa hin horanii
Beeki arra gaara dadaa kummi miizananii
Guntaa tahuun najisaa dhiiga maleen hin dhiqamuu
Akka gooftaa ta'aniif dhiiga namaa himanii
Tuuta xalaata dhufee biyya namaa falamuu
Bakkayyuma dhawaa haga gargar diigamanii
Dirgim lolaan godhaa iyyatanii himatu
Kaniyyatee dirmachuu bakkayyu haa himanii
Bar tuffate ajabee warri namaa nu jajee
Ummatumnaan dhokatee akka hattutti dhumanii
Eessatti badee, dhokate dilli Bareento (Oromo) dhale
Ummanni kuun mul'atee bika itti baallamanii
Yoo guddinaa ogoloo caalan miliyoona kudhanii
Ar'a akka guutan miliyoona diyyamani kunoo amanii
Dur warri mmoo gooftaadha namni fedhe hin tuqatu
Lolli jabaan dhalatee yoo xiqqa miidhamanii
Ar'a akkamiin sasanii huxux jachuu dhatanii
Usan Sidaama sodaa dur ugguuu himanii
Tokko hin sossoohu kunoo orma biyyaa mataa

Laaltu shanyii Oromoo bilisumni warriimamanii
Jibbanti moodhugumaajaaalaan hin qabanii
Numa dhumna sodaaf isaa akkaan unanii
Humti hin kafaltu garuu cima gabrummaa diduu
Hin oggalchiiftu odoo kan dhib shanu dhumanii
Hangam Jazaa'ir (Algeria) iblee bilisumnaa fudhatee
Lolatti misaala tahee bakkayyuma himanii
Yoo namni isaa lafee bakkayyumaan dhawanii
Kum kum tokkoo fi cinaa warri xalaatni fixee
Akkasumaan adawwii mukatti qumqumanii
Ar'a kunoo bilisaa orma duraa dhibanee
Namni hundaan kabajee inni dha naansamanii
Garjaleen siihi, ka'i Oromo/warra aboo ja'anii
Warri akka keetii hedduu kan dhoysa dhumanii
Walifitanii jibbannaan bittiin tahuun bad'i
Akkas Sidaamni garraan gabbatanii quufanii
Yoo kun Islaama tahe yoo kuun Kiristaana tahe
Hamma jiruu adunyaa waa adda hin fuudhamanii
Akka cabsuuf sossoobee gar gar Sidaamni muree
Fottoysinaan waldhabee akkasitti moohamanii
Tan kutte nuuf qacacaa, tan dhufu taan daranii
Ifisa qaawa tokkoon lama hinciniinamanii?
Si akkamitti Sidaamni badaan nurratti bulee nagasee
Asitti nyaata arkannaan gabbatanii cimanii
Shaggar waraanni tahee dhiigni galaana bahee
Hin anfariirru odoo kum dhib shanu du'anii
Tokkichummaan jiru gar gar bahuun dhumuu
Warri addaan bahe achi buutee hin himanii
Walitti qabuu agaraan bittiin godhuu hamilee
Ka dur dhufuus lolumaaf dirgim tahee baqataa
Tan qabaniis dachumaa teenyatti maa gamanii
Kan qolqolaawe ho'u yoo biyya teenya dhufe
Hattichilleen ni kume yoo cubbuun kumanii

Boruun Fi'amee

Sheek Bakrii Saphaloo

Boruun fi'amee ni gaangee moo si gaalaa?
 Ifii mi'atee samaa Destaa zigaalaa?
 Simalee namuu cabuus kabatee jiraataa
 Xilaata di'aww gube? garsiisa laalaa
 Odoo ati'nee gosa dhambuubu taate
 Eessaa Dessitaan osoo jiruusi dhaalaa
 Boruu ka'i waa sadii dhaluun si geessee
 Isii a'amuun yoo namaatii gubaalaa
 Afaan Oromoo, dachii, kan sadeessoo diinii
 Azaaba kamii balaan sitti buute caalaa
 Maqaa hamaan ofii badaduu si faalaa
 Amrii tahuuf jiraattu ka beeku Waaqaa
 Karaa dhugaa gorii, loli! dhiisi faalaa
 Hirtee jadhee garii kijibaani nyaataa
 Biraa tari waan qushaasha mataa gulaalaa
 Boruu hin maminii Dessitaa laboobi
 Innuu hin badadu gudaada dhufe si laalaa
 Yookaa ganamii, fagaattuus Odaa itti yaamii
 Yoo akhii awwaate korii yaami Zuqaalaa
 Hulaa ifriit Dessitaan kumaani guutaa
 Isaatu ibliis dilii dur baase caalaa
 Karaa badii nadhoo si duraa qaceelchee
 Ilaali guyyuu kumaatu dhalataa diqaalaa
 Nama gola diin Islaan fi xuuftaa'a
 Duruu hin jiranii awaajo oduu halaalaa
 Garuu du'a hin oolanii amanii taraadii
 Lolii du'i yaa Boruu, bonuuf misaalaa
 Boruu hin maminii Dessitaa laboobi
 Xilaata ar'aa badaa kasasuun bilaashii
 Waraanuma kee itti kaafuu karaan kutaalaa
 Badaan mariin sirraa ti'atee hin godaanuu
 Marii dha jennaan eessaa horittuu si laalaa
 Hineehaminii kilaafi marii dabeessaa

Maqaa hamaadhaan ofii badadee si faalaa
 Ciamee si' namaa jiruu saree hin jiraatuu
 Madaafa? dhabuus qawwee bufatee utaalaa
 Jimaa hin tuqin? karaabsu biraa fagaadhu
 Si gaallani immoo re'ee? kanyaatu baalaa
 Ammaas qamahaan marii jiruu hin taraatu
 Marii jimaa yoo taate simnee dabaalaa
 Ilaali kuunoo kanyaatu hedduu maraache
 Bu'ann dha qimee laali, yoo feete arguu magaalaa

Giddiin Bilisni Siin Saramuu

Sheek Bakrii Saphaloo

Giddiin bilisni siin saramuu
 Hingartuu gafarsilleen hin fi'amu
 Oromo tan raftu taatu malee
 Namni kuun tuffatamee hin bitamu
 Tuffiif didan maqaa gosa ifii
 Elemolleen ja'an Atoo Alamuu
 Oborraa godhan maqaa Abarraa
 Waaqollee garte Warqee godharnuu
 Oromo ja'an kunoo umaroo
 Maqummaan dur qabanuu didamuu
 Dessitaa ja'an Dasii didanii
 Kan Dasii ja'ee akka waan diramuu
 Dessitaa gabbaramee nagasaa
 Kan Boruu gad gombifamee qu'amuu
 Lafallee hedduu jijjiire maqaa
 Ka maqaa dur dhawe seenee saramuu
 Oromo tokko tahuu dhabuu
 Durattu gargaaramaaf hin filamuu
 Hinni geewal filataa hin ji'ini
 Kanummaan itti galee hin tuqamuu
 Kan achii galte'e'ee'anii hidhani