

**Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies
Institute of Language Studies
Department of Foreign Languages and Literature**

**Rural Urban Migration as Recounted in the Oral Poetry
of Borena, South Wello: A Thematic Analysis**

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

By: Solomon Debebe Negash



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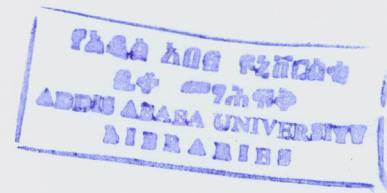
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Abstract

Oral poetry is an improvised narrative or song on a given theme that serves to pass on a range of facts and beliefs from one generation to the other in a given society. In order to improve their life in many ways, Borena Wereda's rural people migrate to urban areas. These people move to Awash, Gewanie, Asayita, Jimma, Tebbi, Addis Ababa and other areas. As one of the social phenomena, the people have developed oral poems by which they record and recount their feelings and experiences.

The study has relied on qualitative data collection methods (in-depth interview, observation, focus group discussion and tape recordings). More than 90 poems were collected and the first 44 were selected and thematically analyzed.

The study takes into account the variables of Cernea and Scott's (2000) IRR model from resettlement and displacement theories. In the oral poems, most of Cernea and Scott's (2000) variables were found drawing parallel lines.

Based on the methods used, the themes of the oral poetry suggest that the descriptions of urban areas before the relocation and realities found in the urban areas after migrants have migrated do not fit to their expectations. The poems that are composed to describe their feelings and expectations before they migrate portray urban areas as suitable and comfortable where jobs are abundant and money can be earned without much difficulty.

The oral poems that are composed to show migrants' feelings and experiences depict urban areas as places where they have encountered difficulties. This is contradictory to what has been expected by them, before.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

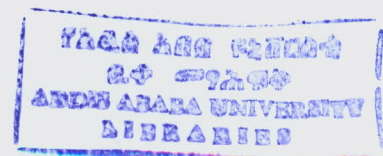
1.1 Background of the Study

Oral poetry is an improvised narrative or song on a given theme that serves to transmit a range of facts and beliefs from one generation to the other in a given society. This tradition serves people express their sorrows, happiness, good or bad memories that can be summed as accumulated experiences in their lifetime.

Experiences of people include movement from place to place in search of better living conditions among other things. These movements to new places also expose people to new experiences. People may find new places quite suitable or unsuitable to them. Their feelings and observations in this regard are also expressed using oral poetry, especially as is typical with highlanders.

It is often said that the highland areas of Ethiopia are the most populated areas of the country. South Wello, like other places in Highland Ethiopia is heavily populated and cultivated.

Under the circumstances, it seems, therefore, that people would look for better opportunities in other areas. In this search of better life, people would move out to other places, to urban areas for example, where they assume they would find jobs and other opportunities. Some of these experiences are expressed in folklore. This study aims at studying the oral poems employed to express these experiences by people in Borena, in South Wello.



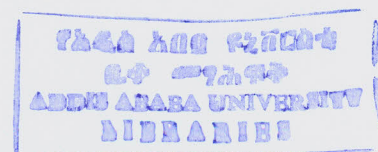
In doing so, the research focuses on describing the oral poetry that deals with movement of people from rural to urban areas. The research also draws from literature that deals with the socioeconomic aspects of migration to be informed of the expectations and the possible consequences regarding dislocation. An attempt is made to critically examine how expectations and realities of rural urban migration are reflected through folkloric oral poetry in the study area.

As a literary study, this research also reflects on the oral poetry employed to express human perception under the circumstances of relocation that are at the same time trying but also may promise some opportunities.

In the first chapter, the paper presents background information about the study area and the people so that the chapter following it will be meaningful. The figures and facts about the study area and the people are supplied in this section.

In order to present a thematic analysis of the data collected from the study area, an attempt has been made to categorize major themes of relocation as recounted through the oral poems into two divisions. The first division presents the oral poems related to thematic classifications that encourage rural urban migration as composed by individuals who have some experience of migration, individuals who have no experience of migration, and those individuals who have great expectations and anticipation to move to new areas. The second division presents the oral poems that recount migrants' feelings in the post-relocation period.

Later, an attempt has been made to summarize the most important points that this research has focused. Conclusions and practical recommendations are forwarded based on the findings of this research in chapter four.



1.2 Statement of the Problem

Oral poetry depicts the life experiences of people. One study of these life experiences is a thesis of oral poetry produced by people in South Wello in response to the devastating famine encountered in the 1980s by Shibeshi in 1989.

Rural-urban migration is a major social phenomenon that has characterized the area (Borena and South Wello) for a long time. Researchers such as Assfa (1987), Berhanu (1998), Mesfin (2000), Meseret (2004), Tesfaye (2007) have explored the role of oral poetry in recounting various social circumstances in and around South Wello as is presented in chapter two. Nevertheless, any study of oral poetry that portrays the major expectations and realities that people face in rural-urban migration in South Wello is lacking.

How do people express in their oral poetry their experiences in the course of the migration and relocation in new places, migrants encounter new people, new surroundings, new manners, norms or customs? How do they communicate through their oral poetry the experiences of facing on the one hand an accommodating atmosphere, or on the other, a rather strange, frustrating, risky or treacherous one? What is the wisdom they draw from these experiences as expressed in their oral poetry? On the other hand what could be the learned wisdom they rely on to buttress themselves to withstand these challenges? This study attempts to address these and related questions based on the oral poetry from Borena area.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study is to explore, describe and analyze in terms of its themes the oral poetry in describing the experiences encountered in rural-urban migration in the study area.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

In order to find out how the oral poetry recounts the rural urban migration in the study area, the following are adopted as the specific objectives of the research:

- To explore the oral poetry that reflects the expectations and imaginations of potential migrants regarding rural urban migration.
- To present the oral poems that describe the realities that people face after migrating to urban areas.
- To identify the role of the oral poetry in describing the consequences of rural-urban migration in the life of the people involved in the phenomenon of such migration.

1.4 Research Questions

In order to gather appropriate data on the subject matter mentioned above, the following are adopted as major research guiding questions:

- How do people describe urban areas through oral poems?
- What were migrants' expectations of urban areas and how are these expectations described through oral poems?
- What are the realities that people faced and recorded through oral poems in the course of rural urban relocation?
- What are the thematic issues that people have learnt after migrating to the new areas and how are they recorded through oral poems?

1.5 Description of the Study Site

In this section, an attempt is made to briefly describe the study area. A succinct presentation of the geographical location, population and socio cultural and historical contexts of the study area are given with the view that the thematic analysis of the oral poems will be meaningful.

1.5.1 Geographical Location

South Wello is one of ten Zones in the Amhara Region in Ethiopia. It is bordered on the south by North Shewa and the Oromia Region, on the west by West Gojjam, on the northwest by South Gondar, on the north by North Wello and on the east by the Afar Region. Towns in South Wello include Kombolcha, Hayq, Dessie, and Wuchale among others. The Weredas found in the zone include: Debre Sina (presently renamed Borena), Ambassel, Dessie, Dessie Zuria, Jama, Kalu, Kelala, Kombolcha, Kutaber, Legambo, Magdala, Sayint, Tehuledere, Tenta, Wegde, Werebabu, Wereilu apart from the newly formed Wereda named Albuko.

South Wello has been heavily cultivated for a long period. Most population live in the central highlands. Usually, it gets very cold in winter nights. Because of the increase of the population, the land has been divided and subdivided and farmers try to grow as much as they can on their tiny patch of land. They grow wheat, and barley at higher altitudes. A local type of grain called 'teff' is popular among the highlanders. These facts, in particular, are common in Borena *wereda*.

There are barely any forests left in Wello. Forest covers only about 1% of Wello's land area and just 3% in Ethiopia as a whole. The unreliable *belg'*, a series of small rain showers, is depended on by the farmers between February and April. As is known, the area is exposed for man made and natural disasters.

Devastating famines have claimed so many lives in the area. As is mentioned in Chapter two, Shibeshi (1989) has explored how the people recorded their experiences of hunger and famine through oral poems.

The area is overpopulated and exposed to recurring famine. Hence, these and other factors instigate rural urban migration.

Mekane Selam is the town of the *wereda*. This town is located at an elevation of 1827 meters above sea level. It is the administrative center of the Borena *wereda*. It hosted an airport with an unpaved runway for a longer period of time. It is also the westernmost area accessible by car in the South Wello.

1.5.2 Population

Based on figures from the Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia, in 2005, this zone has an estimated total population of 2,942,886, of which 1,446,752 are males and 1,496,134 are females; 366,095 or 12.4% of its population are urban dwellers. With an estimated area of 16,956.06 square kilometers, South Wello has an estimated population density of 173.56 people per square kilometer.

The average rural household has 0.7 hectare of land (compared to the national average of 1.01 hectare of land and an average of 0.75 for the Amhara Region) and the equivalent of 0.6 heads of livestock. 10.6% of the population is in non-farm related jobs, compared to the national average of 25% and a regional average of 21%.

Based on 2005 figures from the Central Statistical Agency, Mekane Selam has an estimated total population of 8,481 of whom 4,119 are males and 4,362 are females. The *wereda* is populated by not less than seventy thousand people, in general. Therefore, one can understand that the majority of the people reside in the rural area.

1.5.3 Socio-cultural and Historical Contexts

Famines have occurred in the area in 1962/3 and 1972-74. Another world famous famine was in 1984/5, in which an estimated one million people died in Wello (Wikipedia, n.d para-2). There are still the problems of increasingly smaller farms, less tree cover, more erosion and land exhaustion according to my discussion with the informants.

The government supports a threefold strategy of improving food aid, increasing agricultural inputs, and diversification through agro-industry according to *Wereda* officials. Food aid systems have improved.

Critics say that the land division results in plots too small for a household to survive on. For some people, the re-divisions of land mean that peasants feel insecure about keeping their plot so they do not invest as much in it, and that is an artificial block to migration because everyone wants to hold onto their piece of land because it is all they have.

1.6 Study Methods

In attending to the research objectives and guiding questions mentioned earlier (section 1.3 and 1.4), several strategies were used during the pre-fieldwork, on-fieldwork and later fieldwork periods as situations allowed. The data collection period was between February 25, 09 to April 10, 2009. Before the fieldwork, an attempt was made to frame the research agenda with relevant theoretical frameworks drawn from previous research works on migration and oral poetry during the literature review.

Following, the major strategies that were employed as tools of data collection are described in detail. In addition, the benefit of using each strategy to the research work, in general, is provided.

1.6.1 In-Depth Interview

Interview with key informants was one of the strategies used for collecting data from the field. About 15 key informants were selected from various groups of the community in consultation with local elders and others as situations allowed among eighty individuals. These key informants were selected from various social groups, i.e. eight of them are male and the remaining are female. Among the total population, more than 60 percent are male while the remaining are female. About fifty percent of the total population are among those who experienced rural urban migration.

On average, the researcher interviewed his key informants three times per week ranging for two to three hours. The discussions with the informants were carried out in informants' homes and their villages.

The interview that was held with some of the key informants was recorded using tape recording for later transcription and translation of the data. The discussion carried out with other informants was recorded for later interpretation mainly through note taking. Local bars serving local beer and other drinks were also possible areas by which the researcher had some discussions with informants on the various oral poems thematic issues.

The researcher managed to collect one hundred and fifty oral poems which are in one or other ways relevant to the concern of this research. Nevertheless, the first ninety-five poems are selected for they represent the major and minor themes this paper is concerned about. These poems were obtained from the population mentioned. In particular, those key informants recite the poems while others also help in explaining the correct meaning of the poems collected when the researcher finds some of the oral poems unclear and ambiguous.

After the task of collecting the poems was successfully accomplished, formal and informal discussions were held among the key informants. The informal discussion was conducted with some small groups of informants each containing four to five individuals. In these discussions, the participants were encouraged to comment on the contents and themes of the poems, which they recounted. These contexts helped the researcher learn the appropriate sense of some of the words and phrases in the process of thematic classification and analysis of the poems.

1.6.2 Observation

An attempt was made to observe the various contexts through which these people perform the oral poems that have relevance with the themes of this research agenda. In this regard, the researcher learns from the informants that, the actual and live performance of these oral poems are usually carried out during early July and September, which are periods the researcher could not be there owing to financial and time constraints. Therefore, the only opportunity left in this regard was listening to informants' description about when and how the oral poems are performed.

Nevertheless, the researcher could employ the observation checklists he has developed. This strategy helped the researcher observe peoples' behavior, feelings and other activities, which have some connection with the research agenda.

Moreover, the researcher attempted to develop comprehensive and coherent field notes. In so doing, the researcher has taken detailed and thorough notes at all times during fieldwork. As well, an attempt was made to identify notes by date, location, and interviewees' information. (Please check the observation checklists appended.)

1.6.3 Focus Group Discussion

This method was applied with the goal of obtaining as much useful information as possible as group interaction can bring out additional information. The researcher stimulated the group discussions but did not take a position on anything. There was no attempt to support or criticize any response, resolve any issue, address any individual problem or concern or reach any conclusion. Both concrete information and opinions from discussants were taken.

Care was taken to group individuals into homogenous groups as far as possible. Likewise, it was also considered that group members were not close friends, so that conditions promote independence of thought.

The researcher made initial contacts with the prospective participants and assured them of confidentiality. Then, the researcher asked them several questions to ensure that they fit within one of the five groups comprising five people each that they are being recruited for. In doing so, the researcher explained the purpose of the focus group, how long it will take, and what feedback they will get. Hence, the researcher made scheduling the groups, checking that they are at an appropriate time for discussions. The researcher facilitated the opportunity to introduce everyone before discussions started and sit down in a manner where everyone can see everyone else.

This strategy allowed the researcher learns about the themes of some oral poetry, which were rather difficult to understand and classify. Hence, it is possible to state that, focus group discussion significantly facilitated the research work.

1.6.4 Tape Recording

In addition to note taking, tape recording was used as one of the strategies in collecting the data from the field. The researcher has used this method by asking informants' consent about recording them while they recite the oral poems. Together, the researcher confirmed to informants that the objective of recording has to do with remembering the context the oral poems were recited and further explanations given regarding their thematic concerns.

As is mentioned above, this strategy helped the researcher take into account the contexts the oral poems were composed during the post fieldwork period. Further, the interpretation of the oral poems by informants as is reserved in the recordings helped the researcher thematically classify the oral poems later the fieldwork. Hence, tape recording is of great importance to the research work.

1.6.5 Review of Documents

In this research, an attempt has been made to collect oral poetry from the field as stated earlier. However, attempt was made to refer to previous research works on oral poems that reflect various social phenomena with special reference to the research setting. In this regard, the review of previous studies on oral poems in Ethiopia in general and that of Borena (South Wello) in particular helped the research to be led by informed discussions on the subject matter.

The endeavor that tried to assess the discussion on migration studies also helped this research benefit from employing the most appropriate theoretical approach that best describes realities recounted through the oral poems given in the research vicinity.

Finally, the poems collected were classified under two major thematic concerns: oral poems depicting realities and feelings of migrants before the relocation

process followed by thematic issues reflecting experiences of migrants after they have moved to the new places. All these poems are appended to the thesis. From among the total poems collected, only the first forty four poems are translated into English for the purpose of this research paper.

1. 7 Significance of the Study

There are not any research works on oral poetry depicting migration per se, that I could trace. The thematic concerns of the only other study on oral poetry (Shibeshi, 1989) are broadly about famine and reactions to the experiences, whereas the concerns of this research are different.

This paper would discuss and analyze the oral poetry of Borena area in depicting rural-urban migration, which also portray the significance of oral tradition in the study area. In so doing, the research would be significant in showing the perception of people when facing the challenges and opportunities in the process of relocation.

In addition to what has been mentioned above, this research would also be relevant and essential for researchers to look into the subject matter. Likewise, it would be worthwhile mentioning the very fact that this research would help policy makers and other concerned stakeholders to recognize the human perception about rural-urban migration and its outcome or impact.

1. 8 Scope of the Study

This study is delimited to exploring oral poems dealing with rural urban migration that are collected from South Wello, Borena *wereda*. The collected poems are thematically analyzed in chapter three of this paper. The poems are thematically classified into those dealing with stirring the interest to involve in rural-urban migration and oral poems dealing with realities found in the urban areas in the post relocation phase.

The study area is selected for the reason that the researcher had some experience regarding the subject matter as he lived in the study area for many years. The seasonal migration of these migrants was a usual happening that the researcher himself witnessed. The researcher had the interest to understand why people move to Awash, Tebbi, Asayita, Dufti, Jimma, Addis Ababa and other urban areas.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

Traditionally speaking, poetry holds a dominant place of importance compared to other forms of literature. Poetry holds an enormous message in a very short form relative to other forms of literature. Honestly speaking, translating this complex form of literature is a mind-boggling task the researcher has encountered.

Conserving its flavor and taste when translated into English is also another difficulty the researcher has encountered. In this regard, the Jewish proverb "Reading poetry in translation is like kissing a girl through a veil" Bukenya et al. (1994), as cited in Daniel (1998), gives a clear picture regarding the difficulty of translation of poetry from one language into the other.

Most of the translated versions of the oral poems do not measure up with the original ones. Hence, in order to supply the approximate meaning, emphasis was given to the interpretation of the poem supplied by the informants during the data collection period through the discussion period following the presentation of the oral poems.

As Okombo (1994:22) presents,

...a translation is only satisfactory in relation to its purpose; it is preferred talking about an appropriate translation to talking about a good translation.

Therefore, it is possible to say that the significance of a translation lies on its effectiveness to meet the preferred goal. In this paper, as well, emphasis is given to present the equivalent meanings of the oral poems collected.

Apart from issues of translation, the researcher faced budget and time limitations. The research could have been better if, the researcher had been able to collect data during the time migrants' move to commercial agricultural farmlands found in the Afar region of the country. Equally important, financial deficiency presented its impact on the researchers' flexibility in collecting the anticipated data from the field. Sometimes, few informants were not ready to spend their time with the researcher owing to financial reasons.

When the researcher set out to the research area He had great expectations. The researcher was eager to do field work. The researcher tried to make friends along the way to the study area. Nevertheless the researcher found out field work quite difficult. Making contacts was neither easy nor was setting up mutually convenient interview times or locations.

Analyzing the data and writing up were challenging too. Avoiding subjectivity in interpreting the oral poems was another difficult circumstance that the researcher had come across. As a way out, in fact, the researcher has greatly used the informants' thematic classifications and interpretations of the poems.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section presents a brief discussion of what scholars had to say about oral poetry and rural urban migration with the view of framing the research agenda with theoretical frameworks. Thus, it is hoped that the research would draw important lessons both from the review of the related literature and the theoretical approaches presented under this section. In particular, this chapter develops three major subsections: discussion of oral poetry in a general context, a brief review of studies conducted on oral poetry by Ethiopian scholars and theoretical approaches towards the end of the chapter.

2.1. Definition and Concepts of Oral Poetry

Any research work may use words or concepts in its own way. In most cases, some words or concepts may have several meanings in different contexts. As well, a specific researcher may use certain words to be understood in the way he/she likes in his/her research work. Therefore, presenting operational definitions for these kinds of concepts would avoid the multiplicity of interpretations among the research users as Balley, (1994) argues. Like wise, for the purpose of this study a working definition for oral poetry was set up in the following manner.

Oral poetry is one of the branches of oral literature, which is also commonly known as folklore. Defining oral literature, in general, and oral poetry, in particular, is a primary undertaking though not so simple.

And in order to be clear with the definition of oral poetry, it is essential to see how folklore is defined by scholars in the field as oral poetry is usually described as the subset of folklore (oral tradition).

In this paper, three definitions of the subject matter are given to help us establish a working definition of oral poetry, in particular.

Pointing out how difficult it is to define folklore, Cuddon (1976: 346) states:

Folk literature: under this general and somewhat vague term one may include folksong, ballad, fairy tales, drama, proverbs, riddles, charms and legends. For the most part, folk literature (or, perhaps, more properly, folklore) is the creation of primitive and illiterate people - and therefore much of it belongs to oral tradition.

As can be seen above, for Cuddon (1976), folklore takes various forms, is oral mainly and typical of illiterate societies by and large. According to him, much of the knowledge, experiences and facts of life among illiterate people are presented in oral forms. Nevertheless, it is possible to say that oral poetry is one of the categories of folklore according to the definition presented above.

Folklore according to Abrams (1981:66) includes:

--- among other things, legends, superstitions, songs, tales, proverbs, riddles, spells, nursery rhymes, pseudo scientific lore about the weather, plants, and animals; customary activities at births, marriages, and deaths; and traditional dances and forms of drama which are performed on holidays or at communal gatherings.

From the above definition it is possible to learn that folklore is part of a culture in a community that is performed on various occasions and transmitted from one generation to the other verbally. Oral poetry is also performed during public occasions. Hence, we can say that oral poetry belongs to folklore as the former is passed through oral means from generation to generation.

Gray (1984: 121) defines folklore as follows:

The traditional customs and sayings handed down by the word of mouth in societies not yet dominated by the written word are called collectively 'folklore'...such customs are found alongside written 'literature' in modern western societies as well as in Africa and other areas where literacy has arrived comparatively recently.

Moreover, this definition indicates that, folklore exists not only among the illiterate communities but also among those who are literate.

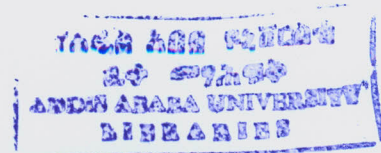
A strict definition of oral poetry, moreover, would include only a poetry that is composed and transmitted without any aid of writing. Meanwhile, oral poetry exists most clearly within oral cultures, but it can survive, and indeed flourish in highly literate cultures as Gray (1984: 121) points out.

In general, from the above definitions, oral poetry is understood as one of the important branches of oral literature. Even though the concern of this paper is not to proceed with comparing various definitions of oral poetry among scholars, attempt is made to set a working definition of oral poetry.

In this paper, oral poetry is understood as an oral tradition (poetry) that survives orally and is performed orally among the group of people this research deals with. The poetry is formed in response to some social phenomena. Hence, people would produce oral poetry as a method of teaching others or recording their experiences among other reasons.

2.2 Characteristics of Oral Poetry

Messages are verbally transmitted in speech or song and may take the form of folktales, sayings, ballads, songs or chants as discussed in the preceding



section. In this manner, therefore, it is possible for a society to transmit oral history, oral literature, oral law and other knowledge across generations without a writing system.

A discussion of the major characteristics of oral poetry is highly relevant to the subject matter of this research paper. These characteristics are volatility, performance, cumulative creativity, formal simplicity, and universality among others Melakneh (1990).

1. **Volatility:** oral poems seem to have the quality of changeability. It changes from time to time, undergoes modifications, and diffuses from society to society. In effect, it loses its original form through time, space and cultural interaction

Regarding the way folklore, in general, or oral poetry, in particular, exists in a community, Coffin and Cohen (1966:10) argue that,

Folklore cannot survive in a set form. Folklore continually changes, varying and developing, because it is shaped by the memories, creative talents, and immediate needs of human beings in particular situations.

As is stated earlier, oral poetry as one of the subset of folklore never survives as it was when it was formed. It, therefore, will change continually as it is highly dependant on humans' day-to-day experience.

2. **Performance:** the most apparent distinctive characteristic of oral literature is that it is transmitted by word of mouth as Gray (1984) states. It is also based on dramatic presentation and the imaginative interaction of the audience. Moreover, oral literature is not as remote as is the case with written literature.

3. **Cumulative Creativity:** its author is mostly unidentified, and so it is attributed to group intelligence rather than that of a person.
4. **Formal Simplicity:** usually it is short in its form and involves a simple relationship between its plot and conflicts.
5. **Universality:** be it literate or preliterate, there is no society with out oral tradition since it is a universal human heritage. This in fact proves against what Cuddon (1976) argues as is presented in the preceding part.

2.3 Functions of Oral Poetry

Regarding the social significance of oral poetry, Okpewho (1992), argues that people use oral literature to express its outlooks about the world and to learn about their ancestors' way of life among other things.

Nevertheless, The New Encyclopedia Britannica (2005) categorizes the functions of folklore from two major perspectives: a behavioral classification of functions and a cultural-geographical classification of functions. Let us, briefly, see these two broad definitions in the following section.

2.3.1 A Behavioral Classification of Functions

Oral literature like written literature satisfies the desires of mortals to transcend their ordinary world. In the myths the heroes visit the otherworld; in the legends ordinary folk are taken to fairyland; and in the *Marchen* the youngest son or daughter of a peasant family makes a royal marriage. This

kind of function, according to The New Encyclopedia Britannica (2005) is labeled as the escapist function or fantasy.

Other functions of folklore include the etiological, justifying, pedagogic and controlling functions. When we say folklore has an etiological function, it is to say that people use folklore to answer man's perennial questions: how did the world begin? Who created the world?

2.3.2 A Cultural-Geographical Classification of Functions

According to The New Encyclopedia Britannica (2005), discussions regarding the functions of folklore should consider the social setting and culture of a community. Folklore separates the so-called non-literate societies lacking written languages from the advanced civilizations engulfed in print.

Moreover, folklore is assumed to function among the illiterate while those with better education are assumed to have no folklore. Nevertheless, several researches conducted in cities depicted those urban communities possessing their own oral poetries and other folkloric elements.

2.4 Research Works on Oral Tradition in Ethiopia

Fekade (2001) and Getie (2001) describe the state of oral literature in Ethiopia more comprehensively than any other works to date. Historically speaking, Fekade (2001) states that the precursors of oral literature research in Ethiopia are Europeans, who began collecting oral literature in Ethiopia in the 1890's. Following from the 1920's, some enlightened Ethiopians such as Alaka Taye Mamo, Belaten Geta Hiruy Woldesillase, Alemayehu Mogess and others did collect and publish oral literature, chiefly on folktales and oral poems, (Fekade, 2001).

In an attempt to distinguish the contribution of Ethiopian scholars' role in the study of oral poetry, Getie (2005:1) writes:

The Ethiopian contribution to the study of Amharic oral traditions in general and oral poetry in particular can be classified into two broad categories: The first group includes writers and scholars who publish literary, cultural and linguistic materials...and the second group includes both professional and amateur historical writers...

Savard (1965) explores the role of war chants in praising Afar heroes. Savard reported that the chants were recorded in 1963 among the group of people living in the lower Awash region of the then Wello province.

Stinson (1965) investigates the role of folktales among the Hadiya of the South region. Stinson discusses that the folktales he collected depict the Hadiya's life, religion and other issues.

'Folktales from Somalia' by Ahmad (1988) shows the significance of oral literature in depicting the various forms of life in Somali communities. John (1994) describes the role of folktales among the Sidama in reflecting their ideology in the production and circulation of wealth.

Fekade (2001) and Getie (2005) describe and briefly document the various researches carried out by Ethiopian scholars in the subject matter mentioned. Nevertheless, these collected materials have never been organized for easy reference by scholars until recent years. Fekade (2001:43) concisely describes this situation in the following manner:

Research on oral literature in Ethiopia has not been properly documented either. No specialized, comprehensive and authoritative bibliography exists as yet, though the publication of various collection of different genres in various languages in European journals seems to have begun during the last century.

Despite the lack of a comprehensive bibliography, some Ethiopian researchers have studied various genres of Amharic oral poetry. These works deal with the social, cultural, historical, political, religious, literary and linguistic aspects of the life of various communities. Getie (2005) who puts the beginning of the collection and analysis of Amharic oral poetry in the early 1900's, mentions to some extent praise songs, war songs and heroic recitals, dirges and funeral songs, work songs, wedding songs, religious poems, hunting poems, children's songs, etc., have been studied.

Debebe (1983) describes how Amharic oral poetry helps in reflecting the socio-cultural life of people, and categorizes the poems into those, which reflect historical happenings, court poetry, praise poetry and hunting poetry among others.

Pankhrust (1990) who wrote two articles based on poems collected from the settlers in Wallega and Wello analyzes the poems thematically and provides contexts for the themes from anthropological and literary viewpoints.

Another important work published on oral poetry is Fekade Azeze's (1998) article that shows the role of oral poetry in recounting famine, drought and God in his study titled: *Unheard Voices: Drought, Famine and God in Ethiopian Oral Poetry*. Moreover, Fekade (2001) presents an overall discussion of the state of oral literature research in Ethiopia, which can show us how oral poetry is helpful in reflecting the multiple realities of life, in general.

Following, an attempt is made to review the contributions of research in oral literature carried out in English language by graduate students of the Addis Ababa University.

It was in the 1972 that oral literature got the first exposure to scholarly studies, a PhD dissertation entitled “Ethiopian Folk Poetry Recreated” by Hailu Araya. Following the opening of graduate programs in the Institute of Language Studies in the Addis Ababa University, a number of MA theses have been produced. Some senior essays written as part of graduation requirements have also taken up folklore as their subjects.

To mention some of the thesis, Abdulkadir (1982), Berhanu (1986), Shibeshi (1986), and Assafa (1987) can be cited as research attempts that explored some aspects of oral literature in Ethiopia. In particular, Abdulkadir (1982) investigated the role of folktales in reflecting Somali cultural elements. In his thesis, he describes and analyzes selected tales. Then, he gives a brief description of each tale together with the cultural element it embodies through thematic analysis.

Kambatta proverbs are explored by Berhanu (1986). In his thesis, Berhanu argues that Kambatta proverbs reveal the life and experiences of the people to the succeeding generations. He further states that the proverbs deal with various subjects. In particular, he emphasizes that, the proverbs help the people to educate and criticize persons and practices.

Shibeshi (1986) explores the role of oral poetry in recounting the devastating famine that happened in Wello. The poems were collected from SIRRINKA in north Wello. He thematically analyzes the poems and relates that the oral poetry developed in response to the famine in the study area clearly documents how harsh and severe were the situations at the time of the famine. Therefore, his study shows that oral poetry helps people document their life experiences.

Another M.A thesis conducted on oral poetry in and around Wello was by Assefa (1987). In his thesis, Assefa presents the religious oral poetry called

Menzuma. He classifies the Amharic language *Menzuma* into two genres: *Menzuma Bequm* and *Menzuma Bequchita* and analyzes them thematically.

Other theses produced in the 1990's include: Melakneh 1990, Tesfaye 1990, Behanu 1998, and Daniel 1998. Melakneh (1990) explores the major themes and motifs of southern Agaw folktales.

Berhanu (1998) describes some of the prominent features of Islamic oral poetry in Wello and identifies the various genres incorporated in it. He found out that the Wello Muslims designate their songs as *Menzuma*. For him, *Manzuma* is composed and sung in both Arabic and Amharic. Poems sung in Arabic are generally called *arabity* while those composed in Amharic and written in Arabic script are known as *ajam*. *Ajam* for him is a poetry composed to be performed in religious ceremonies, which is Islamic. This study can be possibly classified as the second one following Assefa's (1987) attempt on similar genre.

Daniel (1998) thematically analyzes Amharic oral poems associated with the Derg's red terror in Gondar and Gojjam. In his analysis, he successfully shows us that, oral poems clearly document the situation relating to his thesis's thesis statement. Therefore, one can learn that oral poems can describe community's historical records among other things.

Outputs of graduate research in oral literature since 2000 at Addis Ababa University include the following: Mesfin (2000), Yeshaw (2001), Meseret (2004), Biniam (2005), and Tesfaye (2007). Mesfin (2000) deals with *Abbawudde* or begging poems in South Wello. He describes the poems he collected in their social contexts. Mesfin also describes the occasions, training, performance of the poems and discusses the classification of the *Abbawudde* poems.

Yeshaw (2001) analyzes Amharic folk anecdotes from the Arisi-Robe area. Meseret (2004) thematically analyzes the oral poetry of Tamari. Biniam, (2005) analyses Kembatta proverbs reflecting the images of women in the community. Tesfaye, (2007) analyzes the subject matters of Amharic oral poetry in Raya. He tries to show that, the oral poems in his research area describe multiple facts of life and experiences of the people.

As can be seen from the above review of graduate researches, it is possible to conclude that oral tradition is a very great mechanism in reflecting people's life styles and experiences. Different social phenomena may become causes for the creation of oral poems that in turn are passed on from one generation to the other through verbal menses.

Moreover, it is possible to claim that some geographical areas of the country have received attention by researchers interested in the subject matter of oral poetry. Wello is a case in point. Shibeshi (1986), Assafa (1987), Berhanu (1998), Mesfin (2000), and Tefaye (2007) have all explored the role of oral literature in describing various forms of life experiences in Wello.

Nevertheless, as can be seen from the brief summary of these theses, as presented above, none of them brought any discussion relating to the role of oral tradition in recounting rural urban migration, which is a very prominent social phenomenon in the area. Therefore, this research, based on field work in Wello, is an attempt to show how this life experience is reflected through oral poetry in the study area.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

As is clearly given under the section 2.4, above, scholars have tried to investigate the role of folklore in Ethiopia, in general. Nevertheless, none of

these researches attempted to show the role of oral tradition in general and that of oral poetry in particular in reflecting migration from rural areas to urban areas in the country.

However, researchers in other fields of study such as Social Anthropology have put in their efforts to frame different theoretical frameworks to explain migration. Among these, Cernea and Scott's (2000) the impoverishment risks and reconstruction model, and De Wet's (2004) the inherent complexity approach are the notable theoretical frameworks in describing the major consequences that migrants would face in the new areas.

In the second, (De Wet, 2004:51) there are two major approaches to answering the question why does resettlement often go wrong and end up leaving the resettled people (and often others as well) economically, socially and psychologically worse-off than before. These are the inadequate input and the inherent complexity approaches. Accordingly, in these approaches he argues that resettlement projects go wrong mainly due to the lack of national legal frameworks, political will, funding, pre-resettlement surveys and others.

Nevertheless, this research would not delve into the reasons and explanations given by De Wet as a form of evaluating the reasons why resettlement projects go wrong for the reason that the subject matter of this research is not on planning resettlement operation.

As is already mentioned in the first chapter of this study, this paper is purely a literary study interested to investigate how oral poetry describes rural urban migration, a major social phenomenon in South Wello. Hence, even though, this research wouldn't attempt to adopt the theoretical frameworks developed in the field of social science researches as they are,

the paper picks up some of the prominent discussions, which are relevant to the concern of this paper.

As a result, the most relevant components of Cernea and Scott's (2000), impoverishment risks and reconstruction model (hereafter the IRR model) are brought into discussion with the view of framing the research agenda with theoretical lessons drawn from rich discussions in the field of migration research.

2.5.1 The Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model

As mentioned earlier, several conceptual frameworks have been developed by researchers in the field of sociology and social anthropology in an attempt to explain the major predicaments that people face while leaving their native places due to various reasons. Nevertheless, these theoretical frameworks are developed by scholars in the social sciences disciplines.

The IRR model was developed in the 1990s aiming at highlighting intrinsic risks that may lead to impoverishment in forced relocation and the process necessary for reconstruction of settlers' livelihood (Cernea and Scott (2000:14). This theoretical model helps in predicting the potential hazards that could be faced by people participating in any relocation program.

Landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of accesses to common property resources, increased morbidity and mortality and community disarticulation are the variables that Cernea and Scott (2000) believe settlers would face if resettlement program is not well planned.

Let us look closely at the most relevant variables, which Cernea and Scott (2000) label as major impoverishment risks and displacement.

1. Homelessness

Due to labor and financial cost involved in constructing a house in a short period of time, people who move to new places would be forced to live in temporary houses, which are not comfortable. Therefore, homelessness is one of the major difficulties migrants would face after leaving their places.

2. Food Insecurity

People who move to new places without adequate plans would face possible food insecurity problem. This is to say that despite migrants' expectations about new places, things might go in the wrong direction.

3. Marginalization

Migrants would be exposed to economic marginalization when their economic power decreases. This in turn is accompanied by social and psychological marginalization which can be expressed by a drop in social status, in migrants' loss of confidence in society and in themselves.

4. Increased Morbidity and Mortality

Cernea and Scott (2000) argue that massive population displacement threatens to cause serious declines in health levels. Social and psychological traumas caused by displacement foster the outbreak of relocation-related illness which include parasitic and vector born diseases.

This paper will use these variables discussed above in order to thematically analyze the oral poetry found in the study area in this research paper.

As can be seen from the above discussion, even if Cernea and Scott (2000) raise these issues in resettlement program context, we can expect these variables to happen in self-organized people movement. Therefore, in this paper, attempt would be made to see how these expectations, described by Cernea and Scott (2000) are reflected through the oral poetry dealing with rural urban-migration of the people under study.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter, an attempt is made to present and thematically analyze the oral poems collected from the study area through the methods discussed in the preceding section. In trying to make the oral poems clear and understandable to a wider audience, translating the poems to English language is used as one of the basic strategies.

Nevertheless, it has to be clear that, in the process of translation most of the poems lose their beauty, rhythm and intensity of meaning among other things. The task of translation is not only difficult but also inconvenient with regard to its shortcoming in not reflecting the local customs and contexts as is indicated in Chapter one, in particular in the limitation of the study part.

Even if the translation is easier said than done, attempt is made to describe the contexts and meanings of the poems following the presentation of the poems under each thematic division. Moreover, it is found good and sound to present the themes of the poems in subsequent manner. Oral poems that recount migrants' expectation and motivation towards migration, oral poems that depict migrants' experience in the new places and oral poems that reflect their feelings in the post resettlement program are presented, correspondingly.

3.1 Nature of the Oral Poems Collected

The poems are collected from individuals selected for the study purpose. As the common characteristics of oral poetry discussed in chapter two, the poems collected signify various natures. Except few, structurally speaking, on average, the oral poems are two lines (couplets). In addition, they involve

close relationship between their conflicts and resolution. Hence, it is possible to say that the collected poems have formal simplicity.

Oral poetry has various literary features. To begin with, oral poetry is a verbal art. The most apparent distinctive characteristic of the collected oral poems is that they are transmitted by word of mouth. It is transmitted from one generation to the other through oral means.

Some of oral poems seem to have the quality of changeability. They change from time to time and undergo modifications, and diffuse among the community. In effect, some of these poems lose their original forms through time, space and cultural interaction. This is congruent with what Coffin and Cohen (1966) argue as is presented in chapter two.

Furthermore, the poems are based on dramatic presentation. The poet composes the poems in a situation that others accompany him. Most of the poems collected maintain rhythm, too.

The authors of the poems are not known which is precisely presented as one of the basic features of oral literature in chapter two. So it is attributed to group intelligence rather than that of a person. Technically speaking, hence, the poems are credited to collective creativity.

Moreover, oral poetry has poetic devices such as rhythm, imagery, and the many possible ways that words can suggest meaning. Poetry in its simplest definition is organized in units called lines as well as in sentences, and often in stanzas, which are the paragraphs of poetry. Oral poem express intense emotion. These features are also found to be reflected in the oral poems collected in the study area.

3.2 Ideas Covered through the Collected Oral Poems

The oral poems collected in the study area cover a wide variety of issues and lessons. In particular, the oral poems are classified into themes that recount causes for rural urban migration and migrants' expectations and realities they have encountered in the new areas.

Hence, the oral poems that cover issues such as desperate realities in home areas, which are mentioned as major causes for the relocation process, are presented in the first part of this thesis. The oral poems recount landlessness, economic problems in home areas and conflict among family members as major desperate realities that necessitate rural urban migration. Moreover they also show positive images about urban areas which are considered to provide better comfort and accommodation and money could be earned because employment, reasons that initiate rural urban migration in the study area.

Following, the thematic classifications of oral poems depicting migrants feelings and experiences in the post rural urban migration such as: self-esteem, failures in the new areas including physical loss, joblessness, homesickness, adultery, social disarticulation, cultural conflict (food and drink preferences), health and psychological problems, food insecurity, and unable to save money are presented.

The oral poems collected recount almost all the things that migrants encounter beginning with their intentions and plans that made them decide to move.

In terms of their function, the collected oral poems draw parallels with what The New Encyclopedia (2005) describes as a behavioral function. In other

words, the collected oral poems signify behavioral change among the people who have experienced rural-urban migration.

3.3 Thematic Classification of Oral Poems Depicting Causes for Rural- Urban Migration and Migrants' Expectations

Different causes initiate migrants to move to urban places. To mention just a few, looking for job opportunities, desperate realities in original places, such as famine, landlessness and other factors could be causes to make one favor rural-urban migration. The oral poems of the people under study depict these as the major causes for the relocation. Following, we will see how the various themes are described through this medium of communication.

3.3.1 Desperate Realities in Home Areas

When people felt desperate about their living conditions in and around their home areas, they will start looking for other opportunities. In particular, moving to urban areas in search of jobs is one of the best alternatives that people in the rural areas look for.

In the succeeding section, therefore, attempt is made to present the oral poems that recount migrants' desperate outlook in their home areas. Particularly, landlessness, economic problems and conflict are presented as the major themes that these poems recount.

3.3.1.1. Landlessness

The subsequent poem reflects how landlessness is a cause for out migration from rural areas to urban areas or to areas where life is presumed to be better.

Poem 1: እንግዲህ ቦረና ምን አቀማመጠኝ
 አርሼ እንዳልበላ መሬት አልተሰጠኝ

Why should I stay in Borena, then?
For I do not have farmland.

The poem given above depicts the very fact that people could not get farmlands that can enable them sustain their life as farmers. In particular, according to my informants, this problem is severe with the young families as they are individuals who are beginning life as the researcher learnt from the discussion with the key informants. Like all the highland areas of the country, Borena Wereda is over populated and land has become insufficient. For this reason, people have started to depict their home area as a hopeless location. In the poem given above, we can see how this reality is recorded through the oral poems developed by the people.

Poem 2: ሰማይ ሲደማምን በሬ የሌለው ሰው
 አይሄድም ወይ ሀውሳ ምን አልከሰከሰው

When the sky gets darker,
The one who has no oxen,
Should move to Hausa.

The above poem is also an additional reflection of how people become desperate about their livelihood in their home areas and decide to move to other areas. In particular, through this poem, the poet shows how life is difficult in the rural areas when people do not have oxen. As a result, the poet says it is unfair to stay doing nothing and watching others working on their farms.

The next poem is also a witness that recounts potential migrants' hopeless situation in their home areas. Through the following poem, these people were

able to describe how Borena is inconvenient as most young people could not get jobs or income generating activities in general.

Poem 3: እዚህ ተቀምጬ ቀለብ ፈጅ ሆኛለው
 ዱፍቲ ልውረድና ጥጡን እለቅማለሁ
 ይህም ካልተሳካ አድስ አበባ ላይ ሎተሪ አዞራለው

Except expense, I could have nothing here;
I better go down to Dufti and collect cotton.
If that does not work, I will go to Addis Ababa,
Where I may sell lottery.

In addition, the next two poems signify the positive expectations that potential migrants have of urban areas than staying in their home area, which they think, is a hopeless location. The poems indicate the lack of option for the poet except looking for opportunities in other areas caused by desperate realities in home areas.

These oral poems further can help us see how oral poems are volatile in their character, a discussion given in the review of the related literature section.

Poem 4: ቢሆንም ይሆናል ባይሆንም ያው ነው
 አገር አይቶ መምጣት ምን ክፋት አለው

If things turn out good, so much the better,
If not, no matter.
There is no harm in visiting new places.

Poem 5: ቢሆንም ይሆናል ባይሆን ምን አባቱ
 አርሰን እንበላለን ሰፊ ነው መሬቱ

If things in the new areas are fine,
that is all right,
If things in the new areas are not good,
We'll turn to farming, land is plenty.

Therefore, it is possible to say that among other factors, landlessness, having no oxen and hopelessness due to joblessness in home area are the causes that induce people to migrate to urban areas, where they hope to secure other engagements.

3.3.1.2 Economic Problems in Home Areas

As the oral poems described earlier indicate, economic needs are among the influential reasons that necessitate rural-urban migration in the study area. If a family or individual fails to feed its members or himself, searching for jobs in and around urban areas is a compulsory action.

In this regard, the following poem shows how people describe this reality. The researcher has learned that the poem further illustrates how potential migrants would like to be perceived by their fellow men.

Poem 6: ችግርን ቢያዋዩት ይስቃል ጎረቤት
 ተነስኛል ልውረድ ከናት ካባቴ ቤት

A neighbor would laugh,
If I tell my problems.
It is better if I go and leave,
my parents' house.

Moreover, the following poem recounts the fact that failure to pay back what people have borrowed would force them to decide to migrate to other areas in search of jobs.

Poem 7: እሁቴ ሺበሺ ተበድራ ሂዳ ወደ ጂዳ
 እሷም ተጠረዘች ቤተሰብ ተጎዳ
 እንዴት ሊከፈል ነው ይህን የሰው እዳ
 ልልቀቀው አገሩን እኔም ልሰናዳ

Borrowing one thousand to pay back two thousand,
My sister went to Jidda.
But now she is deported, and the family is broke,
How can the family pay this loan?
Let me rather leave the country, let me get prepared.

3.3.1.3 Conflict among Family Members

Conflicts could happen among people living together. It happens due to several reasons, for example owing to competitions over natural resources, differences in opinions over priorities, over political stances and others. Conflict is found to be one of great causes for migration in the study area as can be seen in the following oral poems.

Poem 8: ብሄደው ብሄደው አላልቅ አለ አሳይታ
 ከልጄ ከሚስቴ የተጣላሁ ለታ

Asayita seems far away and unreachable,
Whenever I'm in dispute with my children and wife.

The composer of the above poem depicts how migrating to new areas is a better alternative when a family is to break apart due to conflicts. During the discussion time, informants tried to make clear the intention of this poet, and

they said that the major cause behind the conflict among family members is economic reason. A father would end up in conflict with his children when he fails to provide them clothing and foodstuff among other things, according to the above poem.

Poem 9: አሀያ ተጭና አትሄድም ወዳጃ
 እንደምነው ዱፍቲ የከፋው መሄጃ

A donkey laden would not go *Wedaja*,
Carrying things on its back,
How is Dufti, home of troubled people?

The above poem shows how migration is described as a possible alternative among those who are disinterested to stay in their home areas for various reasons. In other words, in this particular poem, Dufti is described as a place where those that are depressed and not comfortable in their home areas go.

A husband may also disagree with his wife when he fails to afford the expenses and necessities needed for their family among other reasons. As a way out, though temporarily, the head of the family moves to urban areas in search of job opportunity. After staying for a year or more, he would return home bringing clothes for his children and his wife together with some money. In conclusion, we can say that moving to urban areas is one of the ways that family members try to solve their economic problems.

Poem 10: ሀሊና ከራስ ጋር የተጣላ ለታ
 ወይም ዱፍቲ መሄድ አለዛም አሳይታ

When one gets confused,
And remains in conflict with himself;
It is better to go to Dufti or Asayta

This poem depicts that when people are not comfortable with their condition in their home area, migration to new areas is a way out. In particular, the above poem discloses that Dufti and Asayta are good areas for migration when one is could not be at peace with himself, in conflict with his wife or another member of a family.

3.3.2 Good Images about Urban Areas

Relatively speaking, it is possible to argue that people who dwell in and around urban areas in Ethiopia have access to electricity, transportation, and jobs to mention just a few among others. The relative absence of these and other services in rural areas induce people to describe life in urban areas as something better as could be understood from the discussions carried out.

In this regard, those people who have moved to urban places some time in their lifetime and have moved back to rural areas and those who have never moved share experiences through several ways. Oral poems, in particular, help people share their experiences in simple ways. In the succeeding section, therefore, attempt is made to clearly show how urban areas are described by the different categories of people. Thus, one can learn how these descriptions intensify rural-urban migration.

3.3.2.1 Comfortable Accommodation and Money Earning

Those people who have the intension of recruiting laborers for seasonal jobs in Afar region (Awash, Gewanie, and Asayta) for the various commercial farming activities describe receiving places as wonderful and comfortable places endowed with all better things. A very good example in that regard is the following oral poem, among others.

Poem11: አዋሽ አዋሽ
ገንዘቡ ካሽ
መኝታው ፍራሽ

Awash, Awash.
Its money in cash.
Its sleeping is upholstery.

According to the data found through the interview method, the above quoted poem depicts Awash, which is one of the places in the Afar region where farms employ laborers, as a place where money is easily collected.

For potential laborers, the recruiting body describes the resources used for sleeping as quite comfortable compared to things found in Borena. Hence, it is possible to say that, this is among the oral poems composed to recount receiving areas in the way that it entices laborers.

In addition to the description of receiving areas by the people who have been there, who have interest in recruiting seasonal laborers, the local communities' views of other places (urban areas) through oral poetry initiate young men, in particular, to think of leaving their homes and migrate. To testify what has been argued, let us see the following oral poem.

Poem12: ምነው (ደሞ) ለዱፍቲ ልጅ ደግሞ ለገዋኔ
ምነው ላሳይታ ልጅ ቢፅፋ ጋዜጣ
ያንዳመት ስጦታው ጎጆ የሚያወጣ

Why not to the son in Dufti as well as to one in Gewanie,
Why not to the son in Asayita, compose a long letter,
His annual remittance enables one organize family life.

As can be seen above, the local community appreciates and exaggerates the support of a son who has migrated to Dufti, Asayta or Gewanie in a year's time. To put it in other words, local people argue that it is not overdoing it or exaggeration if one writes a long letter to the one who went to Gewanie, Dufti and Asayita for the remittance one gets is by far enough to establish or start a family life.

Poem13: ዱፍቲ የሄደ ሰው ምንኛ ታድሏል
 ጫማው እንኳ ቢቀር የወር ጨው ይችላል

Lucky is one who has gone to Dufti
Even if he can't buy shoes,
He can pay for monthly expenses.

Poem14: ያ ያ ማንዩ ልጅ ዱፍቲ ሄዶ መጣ
 ለግሩ ጫማ ገዝቶ ለራሱ ባርኔጣ

Manyé's son has returned from Dufti,
Buying shoes for his feet and a hat for his head.

The above poems also magnify how it is nice to work in Dufti than staying in Borena. The poems plainly denote that even if one fails to buy shoes, hats, and other clothing, it is at least possible to earn money that can enable one to pay for monthly household expenses.

Nevertheless, as informants have made clear in the discussion period, Asbeza denotes a monthly budget that is required from the market by a household, which does not include agricultural outputs that a farmer can produce by himself.

Poem15: ትንሽ እልፍ ሲሉ እልፍ እየተገኘ
ሞኝ ነው በልቡ ሞትን የተመኘ

While it is possible to get a treasure if one moves out,
It is silliness to wish one rather dead.

The above poem signifies the lesson that one can use to change his life through moving to new places. In other words, the above poem tries to teach those who try to waste their life or commit 'suicide' because they do not know any better, to rather migrate. Thus, it is possible to claim that this poem encourages people to think about migration to new places as an option to improve their life.

As is indicated above, 'suicide' is used to signify every absurd activity of a healthy person in the rural area. In other words, the poem appreciates how migration is one possible way out that can solve ones difficulty.

As one of the social groups that recorded what others have said and recounted, potential migrants share their experience and feelings with their fellow men and others through oral poetry. In other words, migrants also persuade themselves and other peer groups for rural-urban migration. Let us pay closer attention to the following poems.

Poem16: ተነስቼ ልውረድ እንግዲህ ገዋኔ
ብር መሬት ወድቆ ይላል ወይኔ ወይኔ

Let me go down to Gewanie,
Birr (money) is crying out, lying on the ground.

Poem17: እንሂድ ካላችሁ እንሂድ ተነሱ
ገዋኔ ቅርብ ነው ደሴ ከደረሱ

If you want to go, get ready lets go,
Gewanie is not far once we reach Dessie.



Poem 18: እንሂድ ካላችሁ እንሂድ ሀውሳ
የሚመረትበት ብር እንደዳጉሳ

If you decide to go, let us go to Hausa*,
Where money is ripped/harvested like *dagussa*†.

From the above oral poems, we can distinguish that Hausa is described as a place where money can be found with little or no difficulty. This suggests that potential migrants have good images about urban areas or industrial places, agro-industrial centers, or of modern farms, or plantations.

Poem 19: እምዬ ታች ዱፍቲ በእናት ተካሁሽ
ሲከፋኝ ሲከፋኝ ብቅ እምልብሽ

Dear mother Dufti, I have taken you for a mother,
Where I could go to anytime, I feel discomfort.

The above poem shows that Dufti is close to the heart of some one who considers it as the best alternative when things in migrants' home area go wrong. This indirectly suggests that migrants move to urban areas when things in their home area get deteriorated. It seems that migrants are not voluntary to move to other areas unless and otherwise they have no hope in their places. This is also confirmed when informants explained the issue during the discussion period.

-
- Hausa- the former name for the present Afar region.
 - † Dagussa- teff like cereal grain.

Poem 20: ይኸ ዱፍቲ ማለት እንዴት ያለነው
በነፃ መኪና ተገብሮ ልዩው

What does this Dufti look like?

Let me go and see it using free transport.

The poem given above recounts the eagerness and great expectations of potential migrants about Dufti, a place where most people usually migrate to in search of jobs. This is developed in response to what people heard from the experienced migrants. Local people and potential migrants recorded what they have seen from their friends and neighbors who migrated to Dufti for job purposes and returned home bringing clothes and other things to their families.

The following two poems reflect the relative betterness of receiving areas as related by experienced migrants. In particular, poem 21 recounts the challenges and opportunities that exist in the new areas. Poem 22 also is a testimony that tells others how migrants are successful.

Poem 21: የቴቢን በረሀ ከፈራው ልብህ
የዱፍቲን በረሀ ከፈራው ልብህ
አፈ ጓንዴ ቅማል ይጫወትብህ

If you are worried, about going to Tebbi wilderness,
If you get bothered, about going to Dufti arid region,
Let the big-mouthed lice, mess around on you,

Poem 22: የመንደር አውደልዳይ
እየው ሱሪየን
እየው ጫማየን
አንተ ሴት ስትጠብቅ የገዛሁትን

You the womanizer,
Look at my trousers,
Look at my shoes, which I bought,
While you were idling with village women.

3.4 Thematic Classification of Oral Poems Depicting Migrants' Feelings and Experiences in the Post Rural-Urban Migration

As is clearly indicated in the preceding section, people go away from their original areas to urban areas in search of jobs and other things. Nevertheless, most of the time, migrants do not find receiving areas as they imagined through the descriptions offered from various people. Needless to mention, the preceding section shows how Dufti, Awash, Gewanie and other urban places, which these migrants usually arrive at, are described.

When migrants' expectations clash with the realities on the ground, people also record their experiences through oral poems. Therefore, in the following part, we will see the thematic issues covered by the poems collected from the study area in this regard.

3.4.1 Self-esteem

In the area people want to preserve their status among their fellow friends just like any one else. Though these people have suffered from various difficulties that have made them move to urban areas in search of jobs, they

do not want to be perceived as inferior in their home areas as the data gathered through the interview and discussions confirm. To describe this reality, they reflect their feelings through oral poems. Following is a poem that recounts this fact.

Poem 23: ስርት ስርት አርገን እንግባ አገራችን
እንደወጡ ቀሩ አይበል ጠላታችን

Let's do our jobs and get back home,
Our enemy should not be delighted,
Saying that we are gone for good.

The poem cited above describes migrants' feelings in the new areas. This particular poem denote how people are worried not for their wellbeing rather for the talk of their home area. They are very much concerned about the way they are described in their home areas when they get back. In order for them get good descriptions by their fellow men, these people try to work harder and bring something good when they get back home.

3.4.2 Physical Loss

Poem 24: ካገራ ወጥቼ የሰው ሀገር ሳድን
ሳይለሰልስ ቀረ ነኝ ሳይደነድን

While looking for chances outside my home,
I remained emaciated.

The above poem clearly shows the mismatch between migrants' expectations and the realities after they have moved to urban areas. The people describe what they have witnessed after relocation to the new areas. The poem presented above denotes the regret people express in the new places. To put it in other

words, this poem is about difficulties migrants face in the new sites despite their positive expectations. The migrants found the new areas uncomfortable for their physical well-being.

Poem 25: የዱፍቲ በረሀ መከራው ብዙ ነው
ላብን አንጠፍጥፎ በአጥንት መሄድ ነው

The heat in Dufti is demanding
It makes one sweat to skinniness

Besides, poem 25 is a record of the multiple challenges that migrants face in the new areas. Contradictory to migrants' desire to improve their life, through their labor, unpredictable and numerous challenges come in their life bringing physical loss. In an attempt to reflect their feelings and experiences in this regard, they have used the above quoted oral poem.

This poem, in particular, is composed to recount the various challenges the people encountered while in the urban areas. Thus, during the focus group discussion, almost all participants agreed that this oral poem is developed after recognizing the multiple difficulties people are exposed to in the new areas. In other words, this oral poem tries to describe urban areas exactly opposite to how they were depicted to them through oral poems when current migrant laborers were in home areas.

Poem 26: አባቴን ተው በሉት እርግማኑን ይተው
እናቴን ተይ በሏት እርግማኗን ትተው
ለኔ አያስቡም ወይ ለምንከራተተው

Please tell my father to stop cursing me
Please tell my mother to stop cursing me
Don't they worry about me who is wandering here and there?

The above poem describes the philosophy of migrants related to unexpected failures in urban places. Migrants seem to contend that new places become even more uncomfortable because their fathers and mothers did not approve and were not happy about the decision of the migrants to move to urban areas.

According to my discussion with the key informants, young people are traditionally expected to look after their parents in farming activities. Nevertheless, when the young move to urban areas without their parents' permission they think that they encounter difficulties. Moreover, they think that their fate in the new areas is highly related with their parents' consent from their hurt.

Poem 27: የአለሜ መኪና የእግዚር ትንሽ ወንድም
የዛሬን አድርሽኝ ከንግዲህ አይለምድም

Alemie's car, God's younger Brother
Please take me home,
I'll not make another mistake

The above poem is composed to reflect migrants' experience at new places. As is indicated above, people do not find urban places as they were described through the oral poems and other descriptions. Therefore, the above poem reflects their desperation to go back home before things get worse.

3.4.3 Joblessness

Poem 28: ዱፍቲ ወረድኩና ጥጥ ልለቃቅም
እንኳን የሚለቀም የሚታይ የለም

I went down to Dufti to pick cotton
Leave alone cotton to pick, there's nothing to be seen

This poem reflects the mismatch between migrants' expectations and realities on the ground. Before migrants moved to the new areas as is indicated in the preceding section, Dufti and other places were described as places where money can be collected easily. Nevertheless, the above poem recounts migrants' discontent regarding this phenomenon. The poem shows that, not only money is difficult to collect but also some people do not get jobs to do.

3.4.4 Homesickness

Homesickness is also another challenge these migrants face in the new areas. The following poems recount this experience in a very clear manner.

Poem 29: የሀውሳ መኪና ይላል ደሴ ደሴ
ማስታወሻ አይደለሽ አልይዝሽ በኪሴ

The car to Hausa cries Dessie, Dessie;
You aren't (notebook) wallet,
I can't insert you into my pocket.

Poem 30: ትዝታሽን ልከሽ አባ መንዝርን
ስራም አልተሠራኝ ተነጋ እስካሁን

Sending your memory- *Aba Menzir*,
You troubled me,
Since morning to dusk.

Poem 31: አገራ ቦረና ያለሽው ደቦኔ
ሚስትዬን ሳሚልኝ ስለኔ ስለኔ

Debené, the bird in Borena,
Please kiss my wife for me, for me.

As can be understood from the above poems, the persons who composed these poems recount their feelings in the new area. The persons have no means of contacting and/or having information about their wives, in particular. Therefore, homesickness is one of the sentiments (thematic issues) that the oral poems in the study area depict. This is, in fact, one risk that Cernea (2000) has described while describing the major risks that migrants face in new areas.

3.4.5 Adultery

Poem 32: እኔ ዱፍቲ ሄጄ ጆሮየ ቢነጣ
ኮበለለኝ ሚስቴ የሰው ወዝ ለውጣ

Due to the sore I got upon my return from Dufti,
My wife eloped, attached to another man.

Poem 33: እኔ ዱፍቲ ሄጄ ሚስቴን ያሞኘ ሰው
እንደኔ ይምጣና ብድሩን ይቅመሰው

The one who has deceived/ cheated with my wife,
While I was in Dufti;
Let him come here and feel the pinch.

Poem 34: አልሰማም መስሎሻል ሰምቻለሁ ወሬ
ኮምበልሻን ስዳፋ ከበቡሽ እንዳውሬ

Don't think that I haven't heard,
I heard alright, that they surrounded you like beasts,
Before I travelled past Kombolcha.

The poems presented above cover the themes of adultery that rural-urban migration brings. As migrants move to other places living thier wives home, this potential risk arises.

3.4.6 Social Disarticulation

Poem 35: ሀወሳ ጥሩ ነበር ስጋ በልቶ ጠጅ
የከሌ አበሉ ልጅ አያሠኝም እንጅ

Hausa was fantastic,
One could eat meat with *Tej*,
But no one calls you after your father.

As is mentioned in the part dealing with issues described earlier, migrants are also concerned about their self-esteem. They don't want to be perceived inferior either by their fellow men in their home areas or those who receive them in the urban areas. The above quoted poem is a testimony in this regard.

In other words, the poem depicts the clash between the migrants' expectations and the way they are perceived in the new places. According to the above poem, migrants become disinterested due to the lack of recognition in the new setting as they used to experience in home areas. They think that they are socially marginalized. This draws parallels with what Cernea (2000) has described as one of the major risk that migrants face in the new areas.

3.4.7 Cultural Conflict (Food and Drink Preferences)

Poem 36: የእኔ ዱፍቲ መሄድ የደላው መስሎሻል
ሆዴ በቀለጦ ተቆዝሮልሻል
ስሜም ተቀይሮ ጥስቅ ሆኖልሻል

Don't think that I feel comfortable,
When I go to Dufti;
My stomach gets distended,
And I am renamed pot belly (*Tisk*).

Poem 37: ትኮምሪ እንደሆን አረቄ ኮምሪ
ይሄ የወሎ ልጅ አይጠጣም ቅራራ

If you have to sell drinks, you should sell Araki.
This boy from Wello does not drink *kirari*•.

This poem recounts migrants experience in the new places regarding their drink preference. Though other oral poems that are similar are lacking as the researcher was collecting the data it was possible to appreciate from the discussion that some food items and drinks were inconvenient and difficult to adapt to fast. In this regard the poem quoted above could reflect the circumstance these migrants experience in the new setting.

3.4.8 Health and Psychological Problems

Poem 38: አፍዴራ ሄድኩና ብር ልለቃቅም
ቫይረሱ መጣና እኔን ልቅም

I went to Afdera hoping to make money,
Rather the virus got hold of me.

Poem 39: የሀውሳ መኪና ነብስህን አይማረው
ቀረ የወሎ ልጅ አገሩ እያማረው

The lorry to Hausa, be damned
Sons of Wello are all left away,
nostalgic of their homes.

The poems given above clearly recount the danger migrants face in the new areas, which in fact is incompatible with what they expected. This is congruent

• *Kirari* is the watered down version of traditional beer, known as *t'ella*.

with what Cernea and Scott's (2000) pick up as one of the risks (increased morbidity and mortality) people face in resettlement areas, new places.

Poem 38 is a good example that portrays the risks one would face in the urban areas. In addition to what can be understood from this oral poem almost all informants whom the researcher has interviewed are highly frustrated about health risks they would face in urban areas. By and large, from their experience, they come to imagine that urban areas are where serious health problems occur.

According to the discussion with informants, the researcher has learnt that poem 39 recounts the death incidents migrants encounter in urban areas. Further, from the researcher's observation while the poet composes the above poem, it was possible to learn that migrants encountered several cases.

Poem 40: የሚስቴ ውሽማ ልጆቼን አደራ
አንተ በእርጎ ብላ ልጆቼ ባሬራ
እንዳታጋጭብኝ ከግድግዳ ጋራ

My wife's lover / *wushimma* /,
You may consume the yoghurt, but give my children with *aréra*
And do not bang them against the wall.

As can be understood from the above poem, during the post relocation period, migrants suffer from some psychological problems. In particular, from poem 40, above, it is possible to see that the poet gets depressed thinking about how his children are treated by his wife's lover (*wushimma*).

3.4.9 Food Insecurity

Poem 41: አፍዴራ ወርጄ ናቶሎ ብልህ
አንተንም እንዴኔ እራብ ያቃጥልህ

If I call you to come to Afdera,
While I was in Afdera,
It is to expose you to hunger just like me.

This poem describes how food insecurity is one of the challenges that migrants face in the new areas. While reciting this poem, the poet looked concerned for fellow men listening to him. Annoyance and regret accompanied his reciting. Thus, the poet tries to teach the forthcoming generation about the potential food insecurity in destination areas as the researcher could find out during the focus group discussions. This is congruent with the discussion carried out in the chapter two dealing with the pedagogic function of oral poetry in a general context.

Further, this draws parallel with one of the risks Cernea (2000), describes saying people who move to new places without adequate plans would face possible food insecurity problem.

3.4.10 Inability to Save Money

Poem 42: ገንዘባችን ሁሉ አለቀ በሻይ
ሚስትም ሳናገባ ትዳርም ሳናይ

Our money is spent for tea,
We could not get a wife, or experience marriage.

The poet who has composed this poem tries to depict the situation migrants encounter in urban areas in a general context. The very central message

recorded through this poem shows how much migrants end up in failure regarding misusing their time and money. Here, migrants are described as losers than their counterparts who remained in their home areas.

Poem 43: ሀውሳ ገራገሩ የብር ሀገር ነው
እንደምነው ዱፍቲ የመቀመጫው

Hausa is the country of wealth
How is Dufti, home of expense?

Poem 43 clearly describes, in particular, that of Dufti as a place where migrants lose their money. Whereas, Hausa is described as a place where people earn money for job opportunities are available.

Poem 44: ይለቅማል በከንዶ ያስመዝናል መቶ
ጠጅ አየመረረው የሚጠጣው ቢራ

Collecting full of sack weighing 100 kilogram
Drinks beer disliking *Tej*

Poem 44 also describes migrants' experience in that they prefer better food and drinks in the new areas. In the focus group discussion time, it was possible to learn that, this enjoyment is taken as a cause for unable to save money among the migrants.

In general, migrants record their feelings and experiences through their oral poems as is presented above. These oral poems clearly depict the challenges the rural people face as well as the opportunities they enjoy while they are in the urban areas.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Conclusion

The study relied on the data found during the fieldwork period as is stated in the first chapter. The major data collection strategies include interview, focus group discussion and recordings of recitals. Following, attempt is made to present the major conclusions that can be made from the findings presented in chapter three.

Rural urban migration is a compulsory decision among the people living in rural areas of Borena Wereda, South Wello owing to man made and natural factors. Looking for job opportunities, desperate realities in home area such as recurring famine, landlessness, conflict are found to be the major causes that drive rural people to urban areas as they are reflected in the oral poetry of the people in the study area.

Moreover, in this paper, from the thematic classification of the oral poems, it is learnt that good images of urban areas such as comfortable accommodation and money earning, instigate people to move to urban areas in the study setting. Those people, who have the intension of recruiting laborers for seasonal jobs in Afar region (Awash, Gewanie, and Asayta) for the various commercial farming activities describe receiving places as wonderful and comfortable places endowed with all better things.

Those people who have moved to urban places sometime in their lifetime and have moved back to rural areas and those who have never moved to urban areas share experiences through oral poetry. The oral poems help people share their experiences in better ways. In particular, the collected poems clearly show

how urban areas are positively as well as negatively described by the different categories of people. Thus, it is possible to learn how these descriptions are closely related with rural urban migration.

The collected poems reflect the different experiences people faced during the relocation scenario. These different experiences were thoroughly classified into different themes. For instance, the major thematic issues that the oral poems cover to recount the post migration phase include physical loss, joblessness, homesickness, adultery, social disarticulation, cultural conflict (food and drink preferences), health and psychological problems.

Therefore, it is possible to learn that most of the poems recount failure cases that migrants encounter in the urban areas. These oral poems depict the controversy between migrants' expectations and realities in the new areas. Most of the collected poems testify that the descriptions and presentations of urban areas through the oral poems were not right and rather deceiving.

It is also noticed that the oral poems have helped the people in the study area recount their experiences and these experiences could be passed on to next generations. The various experiences reflected through the oral poems draw parallel with Cernea's theoretical framework (IRR), which the research has adapted.

4.2 Recommendations

The following recommendations are forwarded based on the findings of the research. It is hoped that the recommendations to be given will have practical implications in improving the challenges migrants could possibly faced in the scenario.

Wereda officials and other concerned stakeholders should provide clear and straightforward information regarding destination (urban) areas, which is reflected in the oral poems. This, therefore, will give potential migrants real information about the possible dangers that they may be exposed to in the urban areas. In other words, potential migrants should have the right psychological readiness to face challenges and opportunities in the new areas.

As this research is a primary attempt to recount rural urban migration through the oral tradition of the study area, further research by those interested in the subject matter is appreciated. Stakeholders working in this area should also support attempts in this regard.

Governmental and non-governmental organizations should rehabilitate those people who suffered from various challenges in the urban areas.

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Appendix-1
Observation Checklist

1. Who are expected to recite oral poems? male or female?
2. Is there any age category to be noticed?
3. When are the oral poems performed?
4. How do poets recite a particular poem?
5. What are the accompanying things that a poet or listeners do while the oral poets recite/produce the poems?
6. What are the accompanying body languages produced while a poet produce a poem?
7. How should a poet appear while reciting a poem in terms of clothing?
8. What other things can be observed about the poets while they are reciting poems?

Appendix -2

The Amharic Oral Poems

➤ Oral Poems that Depict Causes for Rural- Urban Migration and Migrants' Expectations

1. ተነስቼ ልውረድ እንግዲህ ገዋኔ
በር መሬት ወድቆ ይላል ወይኔ ወይኔ
2. (ምነው) ደሞ ለዱፍቲ ልጅ ደግሞ ለገዋኔ
ምነው ላሳይታ ልጅ ቢፅፋ ጋዜጣ
ያንዳመት ስጦታው ጎጆ የሚያወጣ
3. እንግዲህ በረና ምን አቀማመጠኝ
አርሼ እንዳልበላ መሬት አልተሰጠኝ
4. ችግርን ቢያዋዩት ይስቃል ጎረቤት
ተነስቼ ልውረድ ከናት ካባቴ ቤት
5. ያያ ማንዬ ልጅ ዱፍቲ ሄዶ መጣ
ለግሩ ጫማ ገዝቶ ለራሱ ባርኔጣ
6. የቴቢን በረሀ ከፈራው ልብህ
የዱፍቲን በረሀ ከፈራው ልብህ
አፈ ጓንዴ ቅማል ይጫወትብህ
7. ሀውሳ በርሃ ነው አይታይም ጭሱ
በረጅም አውቶቡስ እዛው ካልደረሱ
8. አዋሽ አዋሽ
ገንዘቡ ካሽ
መኝታው ፍራሽ

20. እንሂድ ካላችሁ እንሂድ ተነሱ
ገዋኔ ቅርብ ነው ደሴ ከደረሱ
21. ብሄደው ብሄደው አላልቅ አለ አሳይታ
ከልጄ ከሚስቴ የተጣላሁ ስታ
22. ህሊና ከራስ ጋር የተጣላ ስታ
ወይም ድፍቲ መሄድ አለዛም አሳይታ
23. ሰዩ ገበያ ላይ መኪናው አናፋ ጭኝቱን ጀመረ
ዱፍቲ የሚሄድ ሰው ሆብሎ ተነሳ መሳፈር ጀመረ
24. እንዳይሄድ ወለደ እንዳይቀር ነደደ
ቀረ አሉ ያጎበዝ እንዳጎበደደ
25. እኔም ወስኛለው ፈጥኜ ልወጣ
ገዋኔ የሚለው መኪና ሲመጣ
26. ሚስቴ ደህና ሁኚ ልሄድነው ገዋኔ
ጥጡን ለቃቅሜ በቆሎ ገንጥዬ እመጣለሁ እኔ

➤ Oral Poems Depicting Migrants' Feelings and Experiences in the Post Rural-Urban Migration

27. ዱፍቲ ላይ ሲዘልቁ ይታያል አሳይታ
እመሃል ላይ ሆኜ ልቤ ተንገላታ

28. አዋሽ ገንዘብ በግዴታ
መኝታው ጋሌታ

29. አገራ ቦረና ያለሽው ደበኔ
ሚስትዬን ሳሚልኝ ስለኔ ስለኔ

30. አባቴን ተው በሉት እርግማኑን ይተው
እናቴን ተይ በሏት እርግማኗን ትተው
ለኔ አያስቡም ወይ ለምንክራተተው

31. ቢሆንም ይሆናል ባይሆንም ያው ነው
አገር አይቶ መምጣት ምን ክፋት አለው

32. ቢሆንም ይሆናል ባይሆን ምን አባቱ
አርሶን እንበላለን ሰፊ ነው መሬቱ

33. የአለማ መኪና የእግዜር ታንሽ ወንድም
የዛሬን አድርሻኝ ከንግዲህ አይለምድም

34. እንዲህም እንዲህም እንድህም የወግ ነው
እስር ያረገችኝ እንዳልራመድ ነው

35. በአስካኪታ ዶሮ በቃሪያ ዝግን
እንክት አርጎ መብላት የታመብትን

45. ዱፍቲ ወረድኩና ጥጥ ልሰቃቅም
እንኳን የሚለቀም የሚታይ የለም

46. አፍዴራ ወርጄ ናቶሎ ብልህ
አንተንም እንዴኔ እራብ ያቃጥልህ

47. አፍዴራ ሄድኩና ብር ልሰቃቅም
ቫይረሱ መጣና እኔን ልቅም

48. የዱፍቲ ልጅ መጣ የወር እብድ መስሎ
የገዋኔው መጣ ከረቫቱን አስሮ

49. አውሳ ዝናብ አይጥል ይመጣል በመስኖ
ታየኝ አካላቷ ሽንብራ እሸት መስሎ

50. አውሳ ጎድጓዳ ነው አይታይም ጢሱ
በረኻም አውቶቡስ እዛው ካልደረሱ

51. እኔ ሀውሳ ሄጄ ሚስቴን የነካ ሰው
እንደኔ ይምጣና ብድሩን ይቅመሰው

52. አውሮኻን ሲሄድ ይላል ባየር ባየር
የሚወዱትን ልጅ ባይን ነው መዘየር

53. የዛሬ ጓድና ፊስታል አንድ ናቸው
አንድ ቀን አይውልም አገልግሎታቸው

54. ገንዘባችን ሁሉ አለቀ በሻይ
ሚስትም ሳናገባ ትዳርም ሳናይ

55. አየነው አየነው ዱፍቲንም አየነው
ከግር እስከራሱ

ጅማንም አየነው ከግር እስከራሱ

ሸዋንም አየነው ከግር እስከራሱ

ደስ ደስ የሚለው ካገር ሲመለስ

56. በልቶ ጠጥቶበት ገንዘቡ ሲያልቅበት
ይወርዳል ታንጋዬ ነፋስ እንደጠፋበት

57. እኔ ዱፍቲ ሄጄ ጆሮየ ቢነጣ
ጠበቀችኝ ሚስቴ የሰው ወዝ ለውጣ

58. ኮምበልሻን ስዳፋ አትርሽኝ ስልሽ
ደሴንም ስዳፋ አትርሽኝ ስልሽ
ዱፍቲ ገባሁልሽ ከራማም የለሽ

59. እኔ አውሳ ሁኜ ሚስቴን የነካ ሰው
እሱም ከዛው ሄዶ ብድሩን ይቅመሰው

60. የእኔ ዱፍቲ መሄድ የደላው መስሎሻል
ሆዴ በቀለጦ ተቆዝሮልሻል
ስሜም ተቀይሮ ጥስቅ ሆኖልሻል

61. የሚስቴ ውሽማ ልጆቼን አደራ
አንተ በእርጎ ብላ ልጆቼ ባሬራ
እንዳታጋጭብኝ ከግድግዳ ጋራ

62. የአውሳ መኪና ይላለ ደሴ ደሴ
ማስታወሻ አይደለሽ አልይዝሽ በኪሴ

63. ይለቅማል በኮንዶ ያስመዘናል ሰባ
እሱ የሚበላው የሰባ የሰባ

64. አባት አረገመኝ እናት አረገመኝ
የኬሻ መኝታ ምነው ደጋገመኝ

65. የአውሳ መኪና ነብስህን አይማረው
ቀረ የወሎ ልጅ አገሩ እያማረው

66. አልሰማም መስሎሻል ሰምቻለሁ ወሬ
ኮምበልሻን ስዳፋ ከበቡሽ እንዳውሬ

67. የመንደር አውደልዳይ
እየው ሰራየን
እየው ጫማየን
አንተ ሴት ስትጠብቅ የገዛሁትን

68. ስምንተኛ ሜዳ ሲያናፋ ሲያናፋ
ሰባተኛ ሜዳ ሲያናፋ ሲያናፋ
አባቱ ቢመጣ መሳፈሪያ ጠፋ

69. ትዝታሽን ልከሽ አባ መንዝርን
ስራም አልተሠራኝ ተነጋ እስካሁን

70. ማሬው ልጅ ቦረና የበረሀው ዘንዶ
የጥጡን ጭንቅላት አደረገው ነዶ

71. ያመኝ የነበረ አያመኝም ተውከት
ያስታማሚን ነገር ሲሸገር አየሁት

72. አንጀቴን አንጀቴ ጎኔን ጎኔ ወጋው
አንቺ አለሽኝ ብዬ ሳልሸምት በበጋው

73. አገሩ ላማረው ለናፈቀው ሰው
የውስማን መኪና ቆሟል ከፒያሳው

74. የደሴ ዙሪያ ሠው ጥጥ መልቀም አያውቅም
አህያ ለመጫን አያጠያይቅም

75. ሄዶ ተቆለሰ ከመስመራ ላይ
ካቦ ማናጀሩን ሊያሲዘኝ ነው ወይ

76. ሰማይ ሲደማምን በሬ የሌለው ሰው
አይሄድም ወይ ሀውሳ ምን አልከሰከሰው

77. ይለቅማል በኮንዶ ያስመዘናል አስር
እሱ የሚበላው ኪሎ ኪሎ ምስር

78. አውሳ ጥሩ ነበር ስጋ በልቶ ጠጅ
የከሌ አበሉ ልጅ አያሠኝም እንጅ

79. ከሰፈሩ ሁሉ ባቲን አልወዳትም
መዳፊያ ነው እንጂ መቃኛ የላትም

80. እየለቀመው ነው እያግበሰበሰው
ብር አቧራ አይደለ ከመሬት አያፍሰው

81. ከዛሬ ከነገ ያልፍልኝ በማለት
ወገቤን ገደልኩት ኬሻ በመጎተት

82. እምየ ዱፍቲ ላይ ያለው ቅጅ ቅጅ
ያችኑ ኪሎውን ተማምኖ ነው እንጅ

83. እንጀራው ዳጉሳ ወጡ ኮራ ነው
የወንድ ልጅ አገር ሂማሩ እንዴት ነው

84. ያውሳ ገራገሩ የብር ሀገር ነው
እንደምነው ዱፍቲ የመቀመጫው

85. ትኮምሪ እንደሆን አረቄ ኮምሪ
ይሄ የወሎ ልጅ አይጠጣም ቅራሪ
86. አህያ ተጭና አትሄድም ወዳጃ
እንደምነው ዱፍቲ የከፋው መሄጃ
87. እምዬ ታች ሀውሳ ወርቅ ይፍሰስብሽ
መስከረም ሲመጣ ቀን ወጣሁብሽ
88. የገዋኔን ምድር ሁሉም ሰው ለከፈው
እስኪ ወረድ ብዩ ዱፍቲን ልዘይረው
89. እነ መቶ ኪሎ አጥር ተደግፈው እመስመር ሲውሉ
እነ 20 ኪሎ ሽልለው አለፉ
90. እምዬ ታች ዱፍቲ ውለታ ዋለልኝ
እምዬ ታች ሀውሳ ውለታ ዋለልኝ
አንገቴን ስደፋ እራሴን ቻለልኝ
91. እምዬ ታች ዱፍቲ በእናት ተካሁሽ
ሲከፋኝ ሲከፋኝ ብቅ እምልብሽ
92. ቀብራራው ዱርዬ መቶ ብር ያለው
ሀምሳውን ከፍሎኛል ሀምሳው ገና ነው
ማታ ይከፍለኛል መችም ልብ የለው
አገሩ እንዳይገባ እናቱ ረግማው
93. እኔ ዱፍቲ ሄጄ ሚስቴን ያሞኘ ሰው
እንደኔ ይምጣና ብድሩን ይቅመሰው
94. ስርት ስርት አርገን እንገባ አገራችን
እንደወጡ ቀሩ አይበል ጠላታችን
95. ካገራ ወጥቼ የሰው ሀገር ሳድን
ሳይለሰልስ ቀረ ጎኔ ሳይደነድን

Appendix-3
List of Informants, Their Address and Interview Date

Informants from Ketto Kebelle (Ayena Locality)

Name: Yimer Gidyelew
Age: 60
Sex: Male
Interview date : 01/03/09

Name: Kemal Ahmed
Age: Male
Sex: male
Interview date: 02/03/09

Name: Tewabech Mohammed
Age: 45
Sex: Female
Interview date : 05/03/09

Name: Tarikua Mekuria
Age: 27
Sex: Female
Interview date : 07/03/09

Informants from Key Afer Kebelle (Abotie Locality)

Name: Muhie Ahmed
Age: 50
Sex: Male
Interview date : 13/03/09

Name: Abesha Negash
Age: 46
Sex: Female
Interview date: 15/03/09

Name: Zebiba Muhie
Age: 33
Sex: Female
Interview date: 04/03/09

Name: Kemila Asen
Age: 35
Sex: Female
Interview date : 19/03/09

Name: Azalech Worku
Age: 40
Sex: Female
Interview date: 22/03/09

Informants from Key Afer Kebelle (Keteba Locality)

Name: Shimelis Mussa
Age: 25
Sex: Male
Interview date : 25/03/09

Informants from Key Afer Kebelle (Fiche Locality)

Name: Mekasha Kassa
Age: 29
Sex: Male
Interview date : 28/03/09

Name: Kassa Haile
Age: 60
Sex: Male
Interview date: 28/03/09

Informants from MeKane Selam

Name: Negesse Deselegne
Age: 45
Sex: Male
Interview date: 01/04/09

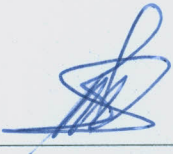
Name: Ayelu Hailu
Age: 40
Sex: Female
Interview date: 02/04/09

Name: Fantaye Assafa
Age: 35
Sex: Female
Interview date: 04/04/09

Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has never been presented for a degree in any other university, and all sources used for the thesis are properly acknowledged.

Name Solomon Debebe

Signature 

Date June 2009

Advisor _____

Signature _____

Date _____