

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
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Documentation of Some Peculiar Cultural Features of
Traditional Poetry School; The Case of Debre Meheret
Abun-bet St. Gabreal Monastery Qene School, Gonder

By

Abebaw Bekele

June, 2010
Addis Ababa

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Abstract

This study was designed for the documentation purpose on the cultural practices of the ancient traditional church school. For this purpose one of the Qene school in Gondar, Debre Mehret Abund Bet Seint Gebrel Monstry Qene school was selected based on some important considerations like: the number of students, background of the students, the facility of the school and the duration of the school. Interview based questions check lists, focus group discussion content analysis and participation observation were the method used to collect the necessary data. Interview based questions were given to 10 interviewers (students, teachers and other respondents), focus group discussion were made among the students audio recorder photo and video cameras were also used.

All the methods were focused on the cultural elements of the school, to find out the most common cultural practices in the school, the actual condition of these practices and some problems that the students and the teachers faced with. Thus based on the collected data, the Housing Culture, the Clothing Culture, the Students relationship, Conflict and its resolution, the Teaching Learning and the Culture of Searching for food, are discussed in the paper. The study also find out the change in the above practices, though, the extent of the change varies. Except the Housing Culture which remains more or less unchanged, the other practices are highly changed, and economic problem is the serious one and it brings the change in the school's practices. Due to the change in the traditional way of searching for food i.e., Begging, the other practices are also becoming changed.

And the study made some possible recommendations aimed at supporting the school. So as to make the school more functional as it was previously.

Glossary of Local Terms

k'tne	Special poem having a double meaning
Säm	Direct or surface meaning of poem (k'tne)
Work'	indirect or deep meaning of poem
Abinät	Exemplary (the name given for the ancient church school)
Jänta	My loard. (the name driven from Amharic word 'janegeta')
Märigeta	Leading loard
Lik'ä Lik'awint	Head of pathology
Like Hirujan	Head of the best
Tirgum Bet	House of commentary
Nibab Bet	House of reading
Zema Bet	House of Music
K'idase Bet	House of Liturgy
Mäkuanint	Aristocracy
K'ot'ära	Studying verbs and nouns of the Ge'ez language (the preparation stage in teaching learning activities).
Nägära	Presenting a composed poem in front of a teacher.

Zäräfa	Poem composition (the part of the teaching learning under the lesson stage)
Gäsäsa	Verb as simulation before composing a new poem (k'ine).
Mängäd	Road
Godana	Guide
Lämd	a cloak made of sheep skin
Šäma	a kind of cotton plaid
Gojam Azänä	a kind of cloth made of colored fiber.
K'ifäfa	begging (way of searching for food)
Tämari	students
Šimagile	elder of the given society
Šimgiina	elderly mediation (a traditional way of reconciliation)
Däbälo	sort of big blanket, made of wool.

Chapter One

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Before the coming of modern education in Ethiopia, the process of educating the society was loaded on the shoulder of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. It was sponsored by the church. Although we are not certain about its exact period one can gently guess, that, the church has taught traditional and religious education for youngsters and adults for a long period of time. It was starting from the coming of Aba Selama (freminatos), 4thAD who was the first metropolitan of the Ethiopian Orthodox church, and later the nine saints to Ethiopia; 5thAD that the church had begun monastery life and traditional educational activities (Gorgoriyos 1991:11).

As history tells us, Christianity has thrived in Ethiopia for more than 1500 years especially in the Northern, Northeastern and central part of the country. In about the 4th century, the Ethiopian Christian Church established a comparative system of Education that provided an underpinning for Ethiopia cultural, spiritual, literary and artistic life. The Orthodox Church in Ethiopia was able to provide a sophisticated and peculiar type of education that took as many as thirty years to complete.

The nine saints, as soon as they come to Ethiopia, learned Geez, which was the earliest Ethiopian language. Then, they translated Holy Bible and other Holy Books from Greek to Geez. They also founded different monasteries for their home or “Bäat”, following this many young Ethiopians become apostles of the saints and started learning from the saints (Gorgoriyos 1991:11).

The introduction of Christianity as the state religion marked a turning point in Ethiopia history. Christianity does not constituted a purely religious phenomenon in the country, but plays as integrated role in all aspects of national life of the people. The church is not only a religious institutions, but has for many centuries been the repository of the cultural, political, educational and other social life of the people.

Sylvia Pankhurst (1999:2) stated the role of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in education as follows.

“Anciently education in Ethiopia, as in other countries, was the province of the church, which provided elementary and intermediate schools and monastic universities with branches devoted to theology, history, poetry, music, medicine and surgery.”

Most of the schools were limited to the northern part of Ethiopia. The schools were more traditional and advanced, which precede the period. As cited in Pankhurst’s work, Missionary Bishop Gobat, who visits Ethiopia in 1880, stated that:-

“One in five of the population of northern Ethiopia could read and write, owing to the work of the Ethiopian church, a standard which many European countries did not reach at that time” (Sylvia Pankhurst.1999:3)

In these schools starting from children’s of the ordinary society around the church, the royal families including princes and even the kings were joined and trained the art of writing as well as the art of reading.

Though there was a difference in the kind of courses between the children of the ordinary society and the royal family, both of them were part of the church’s education.

Bayru Tafla; referring to the British envoy major Harris who visited Shewa, between 1840-42, gave us a brief account of the type of education given to the princes, as follows:-

“They are trained to equestrian and war like exercises and to the use to the shield and spear and are made to attend divine service, to fast, to repeat their prayers and to pursue the psalm at night. Their course of education differs little from that of other Abyssinian youths, than who they are even more under monkish influence. The study of the Gebeta hawariat or “table of a apostles” which comprises the seven epistles of Peter, John, James, and Jude and the acquisition of the revelation of the Holy virgin, of saints George and Michael, Saint Takla Haymanat and other, completing the course.” (Bayru Tafla 1972:7).

The Emperors were also part of church school. They were trained not only in the art of writing and reading, but the managerial and Judiciary skill, too.

Negus Sahile Sellase (1813-47), for example, had gone to one of the church schools at Sella Dengay, and his successors too.

Emperor Tewodros II (1855-1868), until he abandoned his studies, due to the political situation of the period, attended his school in the convent of Tekle Haymanot, somewhere between Gondar and Lake Tana.

These church schools later on change their name to Abinät School, and through time the mode of education and the cultural practices of the schools had changed but still their role is not terminated.

The advent of modern education is of comparatively recent in Ethiopia. Until then, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was holding the key to all forms of education. The church had succeeded in improving numbers of scholars schooled at its own educational institutions for centuries, on end who were not only at the service of spiritual but also the of temporal powers. People in general have been also supporting Church education

by providing food and clothing to students attending Church schools by following the cultural traditions established by religious fathers. This is how scholars had come into being for serving the church in particular and the country in general since the advent of Christianity.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Culture is the sum total of the dynamic thinking, knowledge and philosophy of a society. Thus culture it self is dynamic in nature, it is not static. Therefore any culture has a possibility to be changed. What matter is the period it takes to be changed, and the cause of its change (Phillip Conrad 2000/74).

In one or the other hand, related to the way of life every Ethiopian leads, “abinät” schools are too changed in each of their aspects, and connecting to this their number has decreased. Also, there is a wider change of cultural practices among the school tradition, such as the day to day life activities of students, their brother hood relationship students and teachers relationship, students interaction with the community, and so on. This may be happening due to different factors, like:-

The ancient and religious school of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, called “abinät” schools is not what they were some years ago. And they are not as functional as they were. Even their number is not as much as before decades. (Kidane Mariam Getahun, t'ntawi jä k'olo tämar 1980).

So, bearing in mind all the above argument, in advance, the researcher wants o check the condition in Abun Bet Saint Gebreal Monastery k'ene School, weather the argument is really happened or not. Further the researcher wants to discover, the educational aims, the nature of the contents, teaching leaning activity and other cultural practices in the school.

The reason to listing out all these problems is not for the sake of mentioning but, it is for their existence. The current problems of “Abinät” Schools are growing from day to day, unless serious measure is taken, they may lead the future of the schools to a complete close up. Thus before their complete closure or a complete change in their cultural practices, it is better to document them with the help of digital Audio video technology. This is why the project planned to be done.

1.4 Research Question

This study was conducted so as to answer the following research questions.

- What are the cultural practices that commonly practiced in the school?
- Is there a cultural change in the school that makes it less functional?
- In what extent does the change occurred?
- What part of the culture is/are most affected by the change?
- What are/is the most serious factor for the change?
- What is/are the most common problem that the students faced with?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The researcher classified the objective of this work in the project and the thesis parts.

1.4.1 General Objectives

Its general objective is to document the cultural practices of k'ine school in Abun Bet Saint Gebreal Monastery with the help of digital Audio Video Technology, by using different software and on the paper.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

- To state the actually existing Cultural condition of the school;
- To give a brief discussion on the cultural practices of the school;
- To give a discussion on the extent of the change in the schools cultural practices, if it really happened;
- To find out the major problems of the schools that affects their educational activities; and
- To make a survey on the educational activities, classroom management and discipline and teacher-students relationship of the school.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Documenting an endangered culture mean preserving them from extinction. Thus the leading significance of the study is presenting the existing cultural practices of “abinät” school, especially in k'ine bet or school of poetry in a digital way of documentation.

Further, this study will have the following significances.

- It will pave the way for a further study on “abinät” schools
- It also serves as an input for other researchers.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This work is done on the ancient religious schools of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In these schools different kind of subject are taught under their respective department or faculty. But, the work mainly focuses on k'ine school of thought in Gonder, Debre Meheret Abun Bet Saint Gebreal Monastery. Others like; house of reading "Nibab bet", school of liturgical music "Zema bet", school of interpretation "Tiriguame bet" are not included.

The educational aim of the school, nature of contents, the teaching learning activity classroom management and discipline, and the day to day life of teachers and students, student's relationship with their peers, with their teachers as well as with the surrounding community and the common practices of the school are seen and documented in the study.

1.7. Research Design and Methodology

In Ethiopia the three k'ine schools; the Wadela qine school in Lasta, the Gonji and Washira qine schools in Gojam are the well known and studied k'ine schools. And of course there are also k'ine schools in Gondar like the k'ine school of Abun bet Saint Gebreal, up on which this paper is focus.

While doing this paper the researcher followed the following steps and procedures.

1.7.1 Research Design

The study was started by making contacts with different concerned bodies, churches and church organizations, and by reading different books. After getting clear information from the above concerned bodies, and books, the study was reinforced by a visit to Gondar. Then finally,

the k'ine school of Abun bet saint Gebreal monastery was selected for this study.

1.7.1.1 The Subjects and the Sampling Procedures

The subject of the study includes students and teacher of the k'ine School, the surrounding community, respondents and professionals in different institution like Addis Ababa university and mahibere Kedusan.

In Gondar k'ine is given in different churches and monasteries, but for this paper the sample study is focused on Debre Mehiret Abun bet saint Gebreal k'ine bet and the sampling was based on purposive method. The following points were taken into consideration to compare the k'ine schools to take as a sample.

- **The number of the students;** among the k'ine School in Gonder city, the selected school has a large number of Students than the others. There are around three hundred students.
- **The background of the students;** that large number of the student also increases the diversification in their background. This diversity has its own advantage for the study. It held the researcher to Judge the practices as the school's culture or from the student's background.
- **The duration of the school;** the school is a newly opened. It only has seven years age, but there are students who have more experience than the age of the school. Having the new and the more experienced students make the school more preferable for the study.
- **The students way of life;** since the School is new, the students are faced with great difficulties. The students are not so integrated with the surrounding community as students of the previous school, and here one can see traditional practices of church schools relatively than in the other school.

- **The facilities of the school;** like any other church school, water, food, shelter and other basic necessities are big problems in the school

1.7.1.2 Instruments Used for Data Collection

The items and types of instruments used for data collection depended on type of the respondents, and the culture of the students and the teacher. Most are interview-based-questions, content analysis of the previous documents, participant observation and focus groups discussions.

1.7.2 The Method of the Data Collection and Analysis of the Data

1.7.2.1 The Method of Data Collection

The data is collected using different instrument, methods and procedures. Like interview, observation and focus group discussion.

The interview based questions are prepared for the students the teachers and for the community. The students are selected based on their duration in the school, as below one year and above one year. Thus the total numbers of interviewee were 3 from new students, 3 from senior students, for the teacher, and 5 from other respondents, (3+3+1+5=12).

The other method to check the cultural practices in the k'ine school is participation observation. Amharic and Ge'ez are equally used as medium of instruction as well as in the students day to day language use. And the study is conducted on one k'ine School with three hundred students. The housing culture, culture of searching for food, clothing culture, culture of conflict resolution and the teaching learning practice are the kinds of cultural practices which are selected for the study.

Interview (Semi structured and unstructured interviews) were used to have an actual, relevant idea, opinion, view point moderately, openly and

in a free atmosphere. Thus, while conducting interview in semi structured or unstructured ways, questions have been prepared by focusing on the key ideas i.e., about the cultural practices of the school. Then the interview based questions were given to the selected interviewee. In all cases the informants have been interviewed by raising question that would generate reliable in formations especially about the culture of the k'ine school of abunbet saint Gebreal Church.

- **Informal discussions:** In addition to the above noted methods informal discussions with various individuals, students and k'ine teachers about some selected points of k'ine schools as well as the selected k'ine school for this paper.
- **Observation:** It was one of the important means of collecting information. Here the researcher's observation was used as one means of collecting data. While observation the researcher used audio and video recorders. The researcher observes the necessary information by participating in different activities of the students for one month.
- **Focus Groups discussion (FGD)** it was carried out to get information by organizing a group of students according to their duration in the school, their background and their status in the church education. The reason for the selection of this particular method was that it has a capacity to created discussions among a group of individuals and in the process disclose new information. Thus for this paper different focus group discussion were organized.
- **Content analysis of the previous documents**
To base the study in appropriate theoretical frame work as well as an essential part of triangulation, secondary information was collected and analyzed. This includes document review of these relevant documents such as, documents of studies on church education,

ancient education in Ethiopia, the notion of culture, the level of church education and about the k'ine education etc. more over oral traditions, that directly related to the topic were gathered and interpreted.

1.7.3 Analysis of the Data

The data analysis emerges at the last phase of this study. During the ongoing interview with various informants, the researcher used tape and video recorders to record valuable information with the consent of the students as well as the teacher and the Church's principal. This later followed by listening and transcribing the raw data. The analysis method was also included appraisal of the whole information gathered both from field and library work. Finally efforts were made to merge the practical data with other information collected through other methods and procedures.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

In conducting this study, the researcher has faced some difficulties, which contribute to the limitation of the study. The study intended to collect data by using photo and video cameras. But the principles of the monastery did not allow me to have photos and video images. Hence, the researcher devoted more time and effort to get that necessary information. The researcher of this paper believes that the included information is not exhaustive, but is relevant for this study.

Chapter Two

2. Review of Related Literature and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Review of Related Literature

The researcher while doing this work tried to see the previous works, which are related to this paper in one or other ways. All works in common agreed on the point that “abinät” schools are the home of the ancient and traditional educational system in the country

Head of authorities “lik’ä Selt’änat Habte Mariyam Workneh, (1962:146) in his work “*The Ancient Ethiopian education*” tried to discuss and explains the whole aspects of these ancient schools. He stated about the life of teachers and students in the school, the relationship between students and the surrounding community and the educational methodology of the different school of thought or disciplines. He wrote about the meaning of k’ine, the kinds of k’ine, *ways of k’ine, the method of k’ine teaching and learning, and about the writers of k’ine. According to him, though different writers in different period try their best, saint Yared the first writer of k’ine* in the school of interpretation he briefly showed, the historical background of interpretation. Ways of interpretation and the kind of interpretation.

He finally showed the existing condition of these ancient schools, he said, many different books, like book of pathology the old and new testament were interpreted in “andimta” and single “Nat’äla” interpretation, by the good will of Haile selase I. But this work is done forty years ago, and it doesn’t describe the present, even its scope is limited. The work mainly focused on the educational activity. The cultural aspects of the schools are not seen.

Kidane mariyam Getahun in his work “*T’ıntawi jāk’olo Temari*” (1980 published in Tinsea Ze'gubae printing) stated more about “abinät” school. He discussed the trouble life of students and teachers in the school, the teaching learning activity in the different school of thought, the spiritual strength of the students and about the period it takes to be finished. According to him, it takes more than thirteen years to cover the whole lesson from the beginning of fidäl bet to tiriguame bet. And he tries to compare and contrast the life of the previous student with the “present”, based on some cultural practices and the trouble that they faced. What he says the “present” is that of the period before twenty years.

Mekonnen Desta, in his senior essay “*Traditional Ethiopian Church education and its system at present*” tries to show the historical background of traditional Ethiopia church education and what it looks like to day. His work mainly focused on educational system of the church from the beginning to the present. Mekonnen did not include the cultural practices of these traditional church schools. In his statement, he says that, though, traditional church education system is still preserved, due to the influence of many things these schools are not well functional. Their number is declining as their students as teachers. And he recommends some ideas which he considers as possible remedies to the problems. His work differs from this thesis in its scope the study subject and focus which is merely on educational system

The other work that the researcher used while analyzing the content of the previous work is done by Keffle Adera (Addis Ababa University, 2001). Kffle in his M.A thesis, “*The methodology of teaching k’ine and its contribution to the modern education*” it focuses on the methodological aspects of k’ine teaching and learning. Kiffle explains the different kinds of methodology, that, different k’ine schools in Addis Ababa use and the

contribution of these methods to the modern educational system. He also tries to explain about the different kinds of k'ine and their characters. Like the other above mentioned works, he also does not state the cultural practices of k'ine schools.

Mekonnen Workneh in his senior essay titled, *Developmental, Cultural and Political contribution of the Ethiopia Orthodox Tewahido Church to Ethiopia* raises some Cultural issues which has a little similarity with this work. Mekonnen in his work tried to show the contribution of Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church to the country in the context of development, culture and politics. According to him, the church has a contribution in many cultural practices of the country like, in traditional medicine and in social stability through traditional reconciliation. But still he did not state about the cultural practices of “abinät” schools.

Christine Chailot in her book titled “*The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church Tradition*” discussed more about the Ethiopia Orthodox Church education under the sub-title “Teaching: Traditional and Theological”. According to Chailot, in Ethiopia traditional church education has been given for centuries and even it is still given today in most of the parish churches and monasteries.

Chailot in her work focused on the education a system of church school but not on the other cultural practices of these schools. She classified the education system into two general forms as;

- 1) Basic education which consists of teaching, reading and writing and 2, higher education which also organized in their main disciplines, these are the school of liturgical music (Zema bet), the school of poetry (k'ine bet) and the school of interpretation (tirgum bet)

Bayru Tafla in his work titled “*Education of the Ethiopian mäkuaniṅt in the nineteenth century*” stated that “abinät” schools are the ancient traditional and the first educational centers in the country. And these were the place where every part of the society, starting from the ordinary society to the highest class that is the *mäkuaniṅt* or *anstopocracy* and the kings were joined to learn. According to him the periods kings and *mäkuaniṅt* attend their education so as to participate in a divine service, to fast, to repeat their prayers and the pursue the psalm at night. But their course of education differs little from that of other ordinary society, in that, their course includes administrative training.

This work has more variation from the above previous studies. Its basic differences are the objective of the paper, which focus on documenting the existing condition of “abinät” school in school of poetry, and the other difference arise from the place and the time that this work is conducted. The above works are done in different schools but not in Abun Bet Debre Merhired seint Gebreal Monastery. Moreover, its focuses on the cultural practices of one of school of poetry in Gondar, the existing condition of the practice, the nature and the content and the educational aim makes it different from the above works which focused on the pedagogical learning activities of “abinät” schools as a whole.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Issues about Culture

What makes a culture unique is that being attributed only to human being, it encultured across the generation. Animals may learn some practices but, it is only a human being that has cultural learning. A man can learn rules for conduct and can internalize them. Later the cultural rules also lead them to think and act in certain characteristics ways.

Human being can acquire cultural phenomena's both consciously and unconsciously. Consciously from regular class and unconsciously by exposing to the culture so, people share experiences, memories, values, and beliefs as a result of common Enculturation. Thus we can agree on that a culture can be learned. Our learning of culture is different from that of other animals.

“The case with which children absorb any cultural tradition rests on the uniquely elaborated human capacity to learn. Other animals may learn from experience. For example they avoid fire after discovering that it hurts. Social animals also learn from other members of their group” (Phillip, Conrad, University of Michigan 2000: 63).

People's cultural learning depends on its capacity to use symbols which is unique ability for it. Culture is also transmitted through observation. To observe is to pay attention to the things that go on around them. Observation is therefore conscious, and may also be unconscious.

When we say culture is transmitted through generations, it is to say that culture is an attribute of individuals as members of groups and it is transmitted in a society by observing, listening, talking, and interacting with many other people. And it helps us to strengthen our relation.

“Shared beliefs, values, memories, and expectations link people who grow up in the same culture. Enculturation unites people by providing us with common experiences” (Phillip Conrad, 2000:63).

The fact that, why animals can't learn culture is because of their inability to use symbols, in which a man can use and learn culture. So it implies culture is symbolic. This symbol can be ideal or material but which have no a direct or an indirect relation with the thing stand for.

“As is true of all symbols, the association between symbol (water) and what is symbolized (holiness) in Roman Catholic Church is arbitrary and conventional” (Phillip, Conrad, 2000:64).

Cultural practices have power to shape and change one's character or even a biological nature of a man. Our cultural practices and the change on these practices can effect our perception of nature, human nature, and "the natural" so our culture and our perception of nature has a relationship.

The other issue on culture is its integration. All cultural practices of a given society are linked to each other. The change in one element of a culture can affect the other element. It is integrated by the dominant economic activities, values, ideas, symbols and judgment. So far it is said that culture can be Enculturd or learned, shared in a society, and transmitted through generations, but a culture can also be changed by mean of diffusion, acculturation, and by independent invention.

Culture can be changed by borrowing of cultural elements in between different cultures. Since culture has never been truly isolated from the human history, therefore a ways there exist the exchange of cultural traits or elements in between cultures. Contact between neighboring groups has always existed and has extended over vast areas such kind of exchange of cultural traits is diffusion (Boas, 1940/1966 in Phillip Conrad, 2000:74).

Diffusion can be direct or indirect. The direct diffusion will appear when two cultural traits from continuous contact through trade intermarry or wage war on one another. This direct diffusion also can be done peacefully or forcefully. When one culture subjugates another and imposes its customs on the dominated group such bind of direct diffusion is forced. But if there is no an imposition of one custom on another culture it is peaceful integration. The other forms of diffusion are an indirect one. When two cultural traits move from one culture to the other though other mediator culture but without any contact in between the first two cultures, such kind of diffusion is an indirect form of

diffusion. Phillip Conrad stated it as; “when items move from group A to group C via group B without any first hand contact between B with out any first hand contact between A and B. in this case group B might consists of traders or merchants who take products from a variety of places to new markets.”

“Acculturation is the other mechanism of cultural change. It is the exchange of cultural features that results when groups have continuous first hand contact. The cultures of either or both groups may be changed” And Phillip restates it as “with acculturation parts of the cultural change but each group remains distinct.”(Phillip Conrad)

The other mechanism of cultural change is through the process by which humans innovate, creatively findings solution to problems. Such a mechanism is called independent innovation whenever people faced with challenges they try to find a new another way by changing the previous one to get an immediate solution for the problem.

2.2.2 Description of “Abinät” Schools and their Levels of Education

Though we do not know the actual date of the beginning of “abinät” schools in Ethiopia, one can definitely speak that the schools precede all educational activities in Ethiopia (Sylvia Pankhurst 1999:3). And also it is not arguable to guess that their educational activities date back to the earliest days of Christianity. Starting from the coming of Aba Selame Kesate Birhan 4thAD and later the nine saint, some educational activities were begun around the royal palace and then to the nearby community. For instance Bayru Tafla writes:

“...It is assumed that it’s education activities date back to the earliest days of Christianity in Ethiopia Aba Selama, the first Christian metropolitan of the country, who was instrumental in the conversion of King Ezana of Axum in 330 A.D and may be referred to as a royal tutor ”(Bayru Tafla 1972. 5).

After the very expansion of Christianity in the country, and the founding of many churches and monasteries, many schools were opened. This was the first school in the country.

“In the highlands of Christen Ethiopia, as in far away European Christendom, the church for centuries constituted the main guardian of traditional culture and provided the only schools in the land” (Silvia Pankhurset. 1999.6).

Now these schools, which have, in all probability existed for more than thousand years, are attached to individual church and monasteries. The content of education so long given were focused primarily on religious themes aimed at preparing God fearing and loving individuals, preparing individual for salvation and to spread Gospel and humanity. But latter it developed to train the art of writing and reading texts.

The level of church schools has seemed to have some similarity with the status of modern education. According to Christine Chilot, 2002, these schools have basic and higher education form. Basic education consists of teaching reading and writing and changing the psalm. Higher education is organized in three main schools; 1 the school of Liturgical Music (Zema bet), 2 The School of Poetry (k'ine bet), 3 the school of interpretation (tirtguwame bet).

The very first teaching of the traditional elementary education is given in the so called “House of reading” (nibab bet). There the children, boys and some girls repeat loudly in groups, again and again, until they memorize the 26/30 main letters of Ge'ez/Amharic alphabet. The traditional Ge'ez alphabet; abugida is the first to be done by the students. Then they began to learn the act of reading. They read the epistle of John, and psalm from the beginning to the end. Today this teaching also serves as preparation for modern Education. In this school Students also learn the art of traditional writing (qumōhifāt) and calligraphy (Christine Chilot, 2002:83).

According to Christine, in her book of *“The Ethiopia orthodox Church tradition”* in the school of liturgical music (Zema bet) there are four discipline these are; the study of the chant book (diguwa) with all the songs and hymns of the year, study the hymns sung after empathy (zimare) by the choral group of the chanters (däbtāras), and hymns song at funerals and memorials (mäwasit). The lesson is conducted as for the diguwa. Zuramba is known as the school of intelligence for zimare. Aquaquam also another discipline which is a kind of singing that take place by the choir of däbtāras, accompanied by sitars, prayer sticks and drums. Hear students are taught how to use stick and beat the earth with an interesting movement to different direction as well as the use of musical instrument which is called Zimmame. The fourth one is study of liturgy (qidase) and prayer of the house (säatat). qidase is the order and music of the liturgy and of other prayers.

The other School of thought is the school of poetry (k'ine bet) in which orally created poets the Bible and the lives of Saints, but also on any special or national events, or at wedding, funerals, or moral precepts. Creating a good k'ine require an insightful knowledge Ge'ez and also of the Bible, the lives of saints, the country's history legend and customs.

The Ethiopia Orthodox Church believes that k'ine comes from Yared's time during the 6th century. But until the Gondarine period no written k'ine document was founded. The first and ancient collection of k'ine called the Treasure of qine (mäzgäbä qine) date from the 15th century and developed during the Gondarine period (17/18th century).

Two anthologies of k'ine are the later very well known collection of k'ine which is compiled by Hiruy Wolde Selassie 1925. But written by the two authors aläqa Afework Zewdie and aläqa Taye. And still many other temporary k'ine s are being printed.

Donald Levin in his book “wax and Gold” (1972, university of Chicago press), stated that “though exact documentation is not available on the matter k’ine, appears to be one of the flowers of the literary renaissance which took place during the centuries following the ascendance of the Solomonid dynasty. The earliest specimens of queen extant date back to the reign of Emperor Eskender (1478-1494).”

This typical poetry k’ine has two different meanings; one is the (säm) also called “wax” which is the direct meaning and the indirect or hidden one is the (worq) also called “Gold,” Christina stated it as “it is the highest genre of poetry in the Ethiopian tradition, which two levels of meanings, the normal and the hidden or deeper meaning” (Christina, 2002:83).

The verbs and nouns are selected to have a double meaning. So one first have to enrich his own vocabulary of Ge’ez. Now a day these Ge’ez vocabularies are found in the dictionary form.

When one refers to Church education documents particularly to the k’ine schools, he/she realizes that it is the most highly refined expression of the Ethiopian culture. Though, k’ine is a religious poetry, it is based on samtna worq” wax and Gold, Mängäd, guädana – (‘Road’ ‘Guide’). Säminna “work” (“wax and Gold”) is the formula used by the northern people to symbolize their special kind of verse. This special form of verse is built of two semantic layers. The apparent figurative or surface meaning is called “wax”; their more or less hidden or deep meaning is the “gold”

Levin realized that k’ine is not only a religious though but also it is one culture of the Amhara people. The use k’ine is their day to day language use.

“Education Amhara traditionalists extol wax and gold as a unique creation of their culture. One of them has written, that k’ine is distinctive of Ethiopian’s spiritual culture as Teff. The formula sāmīna worq colors the entire fabric of traditional Amhara life. It patterns the speech and outlook of every Amhara. When he talks, his words often carry double-entendre as a matter of course, when he listen, he is ever on the lookout for latent meanings and hidden motives. As one of my Ethiopian colloquies has said; “wax” and “gold” is anything a formula it is a way of life” (Levin, 1972:5).

In the school of the books (Meḍhaft bet), or known as school of interpretation the four kinds of books; Old Testament, new testament, book of pathology, and book of monks are interpreted and analyzed.

These four disciplines are interpreted by commentaries (andimta). In andimta each sentences, words, and even prepositions are interpreted and analyzed critically. While interpreting texts the teacher use the word meaning “or again” and “bo-zājbe” for the same function. In Meḍhaft bet the teacher who is intelligent enough in all four disciplines is named as four eyes ‘arat ayna’.

Today such kind of teacher is found in Gonder Menbere Mengest Medhanialem Monastery. And the place is known as the school of intelligence for the school of the Books.

Chapter Three

3. Discussion

3.1 Cultural Practices in the School

According to the collected data from “Debre Meheret Abun Bet” Saint Gebreal Monastery k’ine School, different practices which can be consider as culture are revealed. The School has around three hundred students at different level who join the school at different periods. Though the students are many in number in relative to the total area that the school has, no individual student reflects his own unique practices in his day to day life. All the students in the school have of shared and common activities which can represent them.

In this paper the researcher tries to consider these common activities and practices as culture, because, they are not individual in character, rather of individuals as members of groups. “A culture is an attribute not of individuals, but individual as members of a group” (Phillip Conrad, 2000:61).

According to k’iqä hirujan Neka Tibebe Eshete, a k’ine teacher in the school, all activities in his school are not unique in character; they have similarity with other schools, like Chegode, Wadella and Washira. But it doesn’t mean that there is a perfect similarity in all aspects, because of different reasons, like; the students ability of creativity, the reaction of the surrounding community and other activities of the external society. Liqä hirujan said that,

“Even here in my school, although, there is more similarity, there is also a difference in some practices among generations of my own students. The new comer student learns the rules, lows and practices of the school through observation and participation with senior students.” (Liqä hirujan Neka Tibebe Eshete, interview)

This character of the practice is the other reason to consider them as a culture. *“Culture is learned... is transmitted through observation children pay attention to the thing that go on around them” (Phillip Conrad, P. 62).*

jänta, Sene Tsehay, who is senior student of Lijä hirujan, now become assistant teacher said that, through time that small changes in the school as well as in the community brings an impact on many of our day to day life. Like the change in the economy of the surrounding community, forced them to react us negatively then it forced us to search for other means of income generation for food. And we participate in some daily works. It in turn affects the teaching learning process. So the change in the society’s economy also brings a change in the society’s economy also brings a change in the whole of our life in the school. This is why Phillip Conrad said that:-

Cultures are integrated and patterned through their dominant economic forces, social patterns, key symbols, and core values.... If one part of the System changes, other parts as well.

Below are some cultural practices in the school, to be discussed in the study.

3.1.1 Clothing Culture

According to Lik'ä Hirujan Neka Tibebe, clothing is one good example to show the cultural change in the school. He explained that he has twenty six year teaching experience in different schools, and when he compare the previous with the present, it is possible to see the change in the clothing culture (Interview, March 2010, in the school compound).

Previously the students use special clothes of two types; a sort of big blanket (däbälo) made of wool, and a cloak (lämd) made of sheep skin which is more expensive. Though it was very cold, they did not have

trouser, jacket and shoes. They faced with serious hardship. But they attached it with some kind of spiritual value.

Now all these are changed. As the researcher observes the condition, no single students have Däbälo as well as lämd. Most of the students have a kind of cotton plaid (šäma), and the so called (godam azänä) made of fiber. There are also some students who do not use any of the above. Though, they have šäma or Godam Azänä, they use it while begging and at night while sleeping. Except a few students all most all students have trousers, jacket and shoes. It may be from the effect of modernization. The continuous exposure of the students with the external community leads them to copy a new culture and to forget the ancient and the traditional one.



Clothing in the school

3.1.2 Housing Culture

In reverse to the condition of clothing, which shows a change in its culture, housing culture remains unchanged. The ancient small grass hut is still exist with no any meaningful change. Liqä hirujan also agreed on this idea. He explained that

Not only in this school but also in many abināt schools housing culture do not have change. Of course in towns you may find some modern houses often built on the top of underground graves in the church compound but in country side students live in a simple traditional thatched hut, often built in circle form.

The following points could be a possible reason for, why the traditional housing style does not change:

- A. **Economic problem:** students pay about one hundred birr to buy wood and grass from the qimant people, who live in the country side. And if they want to have a larger and well built house, they should pay much more than they can afford, so they are forced to leave the hut as it is.
- B. **Shortage of land:** even if, students can afford for any cost, there is a shortage of land to build a large and modern house. A large house can be built by joining two small huts in to one, but the number of students in a house will be increased, which is not good for their health, and even the church do not allowed to do so.
- C. **Time and energy consumption:** making large and well built house requires much time and energy. But almost all their time is occupied by different activities, which need more priority. And other like the function of the house, since it used for only sleeping at night, and also for some spiritual value, the house still remain traditional.



Housing in the school



In Abun Bet Saint Gabreal k'ine school, the researcher also observed some modern house in the church compounds, but in the school compound all the houses (around 58) are small grass huts. These grass huts are very small in size, its wall is made of pieces of woods which are tied with rope and covered with mud. The roof is covered with grass. The length of the houses roof is relatively higher than the diameter of the house, and its door is too small, no one students can entered into the house unless he bend his back to his knee. The houses couldn't stay for long, so they will be renewed timely.

3.1.3 Searching for Food

The most commonly known practice of the students in abinät school is the way they search for their food. Jenta Sene Tsehay *said that; begging takes much of our time next to teaching learning process. Traditionally the child leaves his family and goes to school to study and live there. But the schools do not have farm land or any other source of income to maintain the lives of the students. Therefore, we should beg food from the surrounding community.*

In a group of two or three students or where necessary sometimes a student alone go and beg with a special bag called akufada on one side, which used to collect food, and have a book (psalm) on the other side, considering that, keeping them from any danger. The students believe that the name of Mary that they use for begging also keep them from dog or other enemy. They beg in the name of the Virgin Many, the “mother of light” (*“for the sake of the name of Mar, the mother of God”*), and some time in the name of the saint of the day. If they get any thing they answer; “may God give you the reward” or “*Mary God bless you and be with you forever*”. When they come back, each student has to share what they have received with others, especially with sick until he get

recovered, blind or handicapped students who cannot go for begging, as mutual support is very important.

The students do not use to eat directly as they bring it, rather they dry it by exposing to the sun and then they cook it in fire by using širo and salt. Then they eat in a group in their hut or room. But previously the student did not used to cook the food what they bring, they eat it directly, unless the foods grain. It is strictly forbidden for the student to eat alone.



Students Cook their Food

The student begs food not only to maintain themselves but also it is by considering begging and going through all kinds of hardships a way of strengthening the students spiritually. Even it, begging is more difficult in modern society, due to its spiritual value it would be better for the students to keep to the habit of begging. But now a time the low economic standard of the surrounding community affect this habit.

3.1.4 Students Relationship, Conflict and Conflict Resolution

Students in the school are from different places, with different personal behavior and socio cultural background. But as soon as they arrive in the school they are forced to be assimilated by the new culture. An aggressive and violent student can't stay or lives there for long period, and therefore, can't continue his education unless he corrects himself. The senior students as well as the teacher advice him to behave according to the rules, regulations and culture of the school. Most of the time and many students who join k'ine School are well experienced in the culture of Abinet School. They are not totally new. At least they have learnt in house of reading, house of liturgical music and school of liturgy or called qidase bet.'

No student has any relative rather than him self in the school. So the first thing that the new comer student has to do is establishing a good brotherhood intimacy with other senior students. Senior students also welcome him. They treat him and give a shelter until he gets his own hut.

Day to day life of the student force to have a spiritual brother hood relationship. In a single hut, about five students live together, two or three students go for begging food, they eat what they have together, if a students get sick the other students are responsible to threat him together, in all their educational activity (preparation stage, presentation stage and lesson stage) they are in pear groups or all together, weekend and festival days are time of hygiene, they clean their small huts and their school campus together, they wash cloth and their body, they learn old and New Testament books interpretation to know some Biblical stories. After work the students round up to talk about different issues, most of the time the issues are about their learning.

Generally the students are good examples of love. They live according to the teaching of Gospel; believe, hope, love they all live together but love is greater than all. They respect each other. The well being of one student has a benefit for others. Individualism has a very little place in the school.

Despite their love and peaceful relation sometime there appear a conflict among students when the researcher asks the teacher about conflict among the students. Liqāhṭrujan NekaTibeb said that some times even our two legs will clash with each other. It shows the existence of conflict with in students.

Conflict among students appeared occasionally, not in the case of the difference in personal interest, rather it is due to their difference on some academic issues. Since the method allows that boy's free creativity and philosophy, there will appear a disagreement on some ideas. This difference may sometimes leads to conflict. Concerning these conflicts,

Liqā hirujan said that; "in k'ine School ideal difference is natural, therefore allowed. This is why the initial creativity of students is always respected. We inform the students that, when ever there is a difference in idea to bring it to me or to other some graduate students for further explanation and to reach on agreement. But they become emotional and then they fall out (Interview, March 2010, in the school compound).

One of the important rules in the school is living together in a peaceful manner, which is the best word of Bible; which says, "Believe, hope love they live all together, but love is greater than all." But if once the conflict is happened, making reconciliation is the only alternative to restore the broken relationship of the students and aimed at bringing peace and fraternity among the students and in cases where disputes arise among the students.

As regards conflict resolution, the school has its own system. The conflict before it reaches to the teacher, there is a reconciliation committee which is set by the students themselves and from themselves to bring peace. The committee has three members from elder senior students. Thus the school uses primary level of reconciliation called *šimgilina* (elderly mediation). The committee has *juddiceriyal* function to give order to the students who are in conflict to keep peace by spiritual advice.

The *šimagiles* first listen to the cause of the conflict carefully from the disputants. The Students, who are in conflict, stand in front of the other students and the mediators in right left position to present their case clearly and truly. There will be a long dialogue among the disputants, and the committee listen every point to give the correct explanation and to identify the student who was in a wrong position and to give the right punishment. The second activity of the *šimagiles*, after they listen, identify the point and the wrong student, they began to speak by giving a short introduction like; *“of course as we all listen to the issues, it is very easy and unable to lead them in to conflict. It is our ancient enemy Devil (Sätjan) that leads them to conflict...”* Then they try to give correction to the educational inquiry, which is the cause for the conflict, by referring different books as well as the speech of their teacher. After they give a correction they turn their face to the one who committed the mistake to give order to ask an excuse for the other student in front of them and other members of the school. Immediately that student asks an excuse having a stone on the back or his neck and standing in front of the other students. Here, the *šimagiles* intervene to give some preach about, excuse by referring the peace teaching of Christ. Then the students make an agreement and greet each other. But if the disputants not well come to bring peace, they will be taken to the next court, that is their teacher.



Conflict Resolution in the School

3.1.5 Teaching Learning Process

Learning is the primary objective of the child why he depart from his family and go to the school (sometimes with the consent of his family and sometimes by his own interest). The child go to Abinet Schools not in search for any basic necessities, rather it is to have a real knowledge from his precious teacher called my Lord 'Jänta', head of pathology 'lik'äli k'awint', head of the best 'li k'ähirujan', the leading Lord 'märigeta' and named by different title. For the child, to have food and other basic necessities, living with his family is much better than in the school, because the question of basic necessities is the major problem that the students faced in the school. Searching for food takes much of the student's golden time of learning.

As the name Abun Bet Saint Gebrel k'ine school indicates, k'ine is the main discipline in the school. The student may stay there for about three and more years to study k'ine. Every day except festivals and weekends the student is with his k'ine study. He conjugates verbs and nouns and composes a new k'ine to present it in front of his teacher. But at weekend and festivals the other discipline called books interpretation; New Testament and Old Testament books are given.

In the school, the students are more eager and active to create a new k'ine and present it in front of his teacher Lik'ä hiruja Neka Tibe Eshete or other some graduate assistance teachers. Lik'ä htruhan said that “In k'ine School the students are more interested while learning it than learning other discipline, for different reasons which will be explained in the methodology part.

3.1.5.1 The Teaching Learning Activity

K'ine teaching learning practice encompasses three inter related and sequential activities. These activities can be classified as preparation 'k'ot'ära', presentation 'nägara' and k'ine lesson which includes 'gäsäsa' and 'tärafa'.

3.1.5.1.1 Preparation 'läk'äma' or k'ot'ära

Every morning the students unless the day is his shift to beg/search for food, he goes to some silent area to study verbs of Ge'ez, which enables him to compose a new k'ine and to present it in front of his professor. Creating a new k'ine requires the student's knowledge of the day, that the church celebrate and the story of the saint the church has to remember. Since one function of k'ine is to remember the lives of the saint who has any story to that day.

Every day there is a main theme for composing the poem, usually from the life of the saint or the next day's feast which gives material ('gold') for the students to prepare his k'ine.

The students has to read verbs to enrich his vocabulary, especially of the verbs in Ge'ez, and select special verbs which help his poem to have a double meaning. After he selects special words, he then conjugates them to make a sentence. He also has to meditate it in order to understand the 'gold' and it's various aspects and to select which he will use for his

k'ine, and then he will look for fitting analogies ('wax'). Then finally he has to rehearse it before presentation. These all activities are parts of preparation stage.

Creating anew k'ine requires a special quiet place, greater concentration as well as contemplation. But jānta Sene Tsehay do not agree on this idea. He said that *“though. It requires a special quiet place, we also can create a new k'ine every where and any time, even while begging food.”*

The interesting part of the phase is its approach from simple to complex k'ine form. Fresh students first create the simplest and the two line k'ine (Gubae qana). Gubae qana is composed of two rhyming verses then to the complex gene form (Māwodis) will be composed when the students become well advanced and nearer to some graduate level. Māwodis qine has eight verses.

3.1.5.1.2 Presentation 'nägära'

The student after he prepare and rehearse his new k'ine, (no k'ine is to be repeated, every day has its own k'ine) he bring it to the teacher. Every k'ine will be presented to the teacher or to assistant teacher, accepted for the next stage or corrected in which case the students will compose a new k'ine every day until his composition is approved. Some students who become some graduate (zārafī) can assist the teachers and correct or accept the student's new k'ine.

The stage has its own discipline. The students should first stand in front of the teachers, putting out his shoes but wear “šäma” then he told the k'ine loudly with its special tune or music.

The teacher listen the k'ine and ask some question like; the meaning of some words, why the student use that word, the context of the k'ine for

the säm 'way' and for the work' 'Gold" the story of the k'ine and so on. If the presented k'ine is correct it will be accepted, but if not the teacher will give some critical comments and correction, according to the day's main theme usually from the life of the saints.

The expected errors from the students k'ine are; thematic error grammatical error, vocabulary error and rhythmic error. All these will be corrected. But the initial creativity of the students is always respected. Thus all the students come at intervals to the teachers to recites in this manner.

3.1.5.1.3 Lesson 'gäsäsa' and 'zäräfa'

The third phase in the teaching learning activity is lesson stage. In this stage, there are two activities these are verb assimilation (gäsäsa) and k'ine composition (zäräfa).

In the lesson stage every student in the school including their teacher turn up the lesson. Every day at night time the student after praying wudasse Mariyam, they round up around a place where a big tree is found. The place is encircled by small huts and left empty purposely for the lesson as a class.

Immediately after wudase Mariyam, all the prayer/students/ greet each other and sit in front of the teacher but one student remains standing to recite a serious of Ge'ez verbs and nouns with their Amharic translation loudly. The others students expect the standing senior student and the teacher, remain quite listeners until they are ordered to do.

The teacher told serious of Ge'ez verbs to the standing students, following him the standing students translate the conjugated forms into Amharic. The teacher and the standing students having finished their conjugation all the other students recite and repeat the roots of verbs until they know them by heart. This activity is known as verb

assimilation /gäsäsa/. The teacher claps his hand after the students know the words by heart. The students understand why the teacher claps his hand; they associate it with some order to be silent. They learn it through time. This is one character of culture.

The second activity of the stage, k'ine composing (zäräfa), is begun following the same technique with the first activity. The first student stands again and the teacher start composing a new k'ine to be repeated fist by the standing student until he is able to say it with out the help of the teacher and then by all students until they know it by heart. Then the teacher explained the different possible meanings and the grammatical function of each word for every type of k'ine at every level. The teacher also teaches vocabulary grammar, history and the Church's thought.

Every thing is given and learned by heart. There is no need of writing. The researcher observe that the lesson is given very quickly it is therefore impossible to take down every thing this may be one reason but the other reasons according to jänta Sene Tsehay, leaning by heart makes the students active and concisions, because it requires special concentration for every word, it helps the students to conduct prayers for the people where ever he is it helps the students to teach people every where with out book and if every thing is written, what if the books will burned, there exist nothing on hand.

3.1.5.2 Nature of the Content

The research asked Liqä Hirujan Neka Tibeb Eshete about the nature of the content and liqä hirujan explained it starting from the nine kinds of k'ine. He explained that in all k'ine there are about nine kinds of k'ine. These are the simples k'ine form *Gubae k'ana*. Which is composed of two verses, ziamlakije composed of three verses mibäzu (three verses),

Wazema (five verses) Silase (six verses), zäjize (five or six verses), kibrjieti (four verses), it'anä mogär (seven or eleven verses) and Mäwädis (eight verses).

However, k'ine are divided in to nine different forms; they all have the following common character. In all k'ine the nature of the content is;

- A. All k'ine are playing with double meaning their content have the sämnna worq (wax and Gold) system
- B. The content of k'ine is composed from the churches taught of dogma, k'änona, and history of the church as well as the saints.
- C. The content of each day k'ine depends on the theme of the day or the next day. Because each day has its own main theme for composing the gene usually from the life of the saint or the next day's feast
- D. Each words are selected and have special meaning
- E. Each line usually ends with the same letter of alphabet
- F. Each k'ine form has its own musical rhythm in structure.

3.1.5.3 Educational Aim

According to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church tradition, nothing is carried out with out any purpose or thematic value. In the church's education starting from House of reading 'nibab bet' to the school of interpretation (tirqum bet), everything is evaluated according to its aim. Though, the aim differs based on the level, all schools have their own educational aim.

When we come to the school of Poetry the following are the main educational aims of learning it.

- *The* word k'ine indicates, being governed it is a way of expressing thanks for God and his best. So the first aim of k'ine is to show the majesty of God, and to give to expresses and thanks for God and the Saints as their level.
- A. Secondly it is aimed at making students well equipped in Ge'ez language through long practice for their school called school of the "Books". Unless one performs well in k'ine he is not allowed to begin the school which follows that of the commentaries. And it is said that to have a good k'ine one has to have a profound knowledge of Geez.
- B. The teacher as well as the students believe that learning k'ine make people strong. Therefore students' learn it to make themselves strong and better spiritual.
- C. Since k'ine requires great concentration on each words while learning. Therefore learning k'ine can develop the student's conscious and renews the sprit.
- D. It aimed at expressing the taught and mystery of the church and its tradition. Because k'ines are composed from the mystery of the faith.
- E. Learning such special poem enables the students to philosophize and create new things from the preexisting one by him.
- F. In k'ine school the question what? where? why? And so on are common. The method allows doing so, therefore, it develops the logical reasoning of the students.
- G. The students in the school while composing poem of double meaning, not only on the values of faith but also he focus on daily life experience. Thus, it helps him to evaluate and appreciate moral values and the beauty of nature
- H. Learning k'ine corrects the habit of extravagancy on using words. One k'ine educated student can explain two or more things in one concept.

3.1.5.4 Cultural Change in the School

Anyone who visit the school for the first time, and if he/she do not have any prior knowledge about abinät schools and their culture, he/she can be absorbed in the practices easily. But if a man has much prior familiarity with the schools, or has an experience in such practices, he may worried about it, or the reaction could not be as such well, because the person can possibly identify the change in the practices, by comparing it with what he previously know. To compare the present cultural practices of one abinät school with the previous of that school, it is not necessary required to be a part of that given school, rather being a teacher or a student's of where ever the school is too enough. It is due to the similarity of trends, culture, ethnics and discipline with a little difference among the schools.

According to the literatures the researcher analyzed while doing this paper, all the ancient traditional religious schools of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church has more or less the same and similar cultural condition. (Habte Mariyam Werkeneh, 1962) The following could be the possible reasons for their similarity in cultural practice; the first one is the moral and the thought that they stand on. Every school is found attaching itself to a single church and monastery of having the same christen discipline and thought. Thus the schools also follow that similar discipline and thought which is later become the base for every cultural practices of the schools.

Though the school do not have a formal educational system (they have unwritten but well structured system), that christen moral makes them to have one and the same cultural practices. The Second reason can be the existing of cultural transitions among the schools. Teachers and students of abinät School move from one school to the other to teach and learn their respective level of education and to qualify themselves.

There are some schools which are well known in a specific discipline and called as school of specialization. So students go to such schools to specialize their education.

....in a single School one can find different discipline like; poetry 'k'ine' books interpretation 'tirguame', liturgy 'k'idase', church music 'zema' and others, but that school is well known in specializing one of the above. The teacher also is well known and named in that special discipline. Therefore students go to that teacher/school to specialize themselves. (Yenta Sene Tshay, interview)

They go to Gondar city and Beta Mariyam (south wello) to graduate in ak'qua k'quam, Debre Abay Monastery in Tigray and Selelkula in Wadela (North Wello) to specialize in qidase, Zuramba Monastery and Beteherm (in Gaint south Gondar) to Zema, Zuramba to specialize digwa, wadla delanta (in Wollo), Gonji, Washera and Selalkusa all the three in (Gojam) to graduate in qine, and to Menbere mengest medhone Alem Monastery (in Gondar) to books interpretation. This movement of students and teachers become one mechanism for cultural transformation, which enables the schools to practice their culture in the same manner. Saying all the above is to show the existence of similarity in cultural practices, and to indicate the possibility of comparison of practices. Consequently, by referring the previous culture of any other k'ine school it is possible to judge the existing cultural conditions of abun bet saint Gebreal monastery k'ine School. Focusing on the practices which already are discussed on the above topic of this chapter, the researcher tries to investigate the existing cultural situation of the given school, whether there is change in cultural practice or not. Though we know that change in every human life is natural, it is better to check the circumstance, whether it actually happened in the school, or not. If the change is happened, how much is the extent? And what are the factors for the change? Are the points to be discussed.

Not only in these traditional church schools but also in all aspects of the society, we can easily comprehend that, there is a change from yesterday's activities to today's. Unless we consider life as something static, no single element of life is untouched and remains entirely the same as it was years ago, May be the degree and the grounds of the change varies from one aspect to the other. This is why Marx stated that;

“Every thing in the world is dynamic, it is on movement, life will be changed, means of production will develop, the old relations will also destroyed.” (Marx, in Josef Stain, Socialism or Anarchism, 1952:10).

Marx considers everything as dynamic, which is in a change every night. And he sees the change as a social development. But all change should not be considered as a social development it may have a shortcoming on its back. The other socialist leader, Josef Stalin also supports the idea of Marx. He said that:

“Social life is on un terminated movement and development. Life should not be considered as something which is not movable or unchanged. It never stopped somewhere at a point. In its absolute movement life carries the old and the new....” (Josef Stalin, 1952:11).

As regard the change in the cultural practices of the school, the investigator also observe a remarkable change on the stated practices. In fact the extent of the change varies from housing to clothing and so on the others. Among the practices relatively housing culture seems unchanged. In the school compound the traditional small size huts made of pieces of woods, mud and grass are the only houses. No single modern house is found. It is due to different factors, which are positive for the housing culture to remain untouched but negative for the student's life. The most imperative one is; economic factor; leave alone the students to buy any modern material to build modern houses, they faced with a great difficulties in getting other basic necessities, like food, water and health treatment. They can't afford to buy any further building materials

to have a better and modern houses. So they prefer the existing traditional small size grass huts to live in. But there are some possible risks that can affect the time-honored and cultural practices of housing. These are; like, the developmental program and the business focused activities around the church and the expansion of burial grounds and their being modernized.

Now a day's every church in the country is at a swift change to modernization, and take part in any kind of developmental, program. It built modern schools, hospitals and modern market centers. So does Debre mehert abun bet saint Gebreal Monastery. The monastery has built one modern school and according to Lik'ä hirujan Nekatibeb Eshete, for the future the monastery has look a head other programs. So unless the program deem and value the culture of the school, this developmental program may displace the students or change the housing culture of the school.

Like the above developmental agenda, the spreading out and reconstruction of burial grounds can affect the school. The students will be displaced or may lose their school totally. And the traditional small size grass huts could be altered by modern house built on the top of underground graves, now is seen in the church's compound and some out of the church. After some (many) year(s), (it depends on the progress of the programs, such developmental and modernization activities) take over the old tradition and impose its customs on the traditional practices of housing (Phillip Conrad, 2000). In such a way the housing culture will completely changed.

On the rest of the cultural practices, the clothing culture, searching for food, and the teaching learning activity, the change is very much evident. All these practices are in corporately changed. The change in the way of searching for food affects their teaching learning and clothing culture in

one or the other way, because, cultural practices are interdependent and affect each other.

Cultures are not haphazard collections of customs and beliefs. Cultures are integrated, patterned systems. If one part of the system changes other parts changes as well (Phillip Conrad, 2000:67).

It is well known that any traditional church schools do not have their own sources of income to maintain the lives of the students as well as the teachers. They persist by a traditional way of searching food called k'ifāfa or begging. But such kind of searching for food is now become difficult in this modern society. Not only modernization but also the low economic standard of the surrounding community makes begging impossible. However, factors make bagging impossible, it would be better for the student to keep to the habit of begging for some spiritual values. Mean while, though the students attach begging with some spiritual value, the negatively reaction of the society forced them to a new kind of activity to bring an immediate solution for the actual problem. They participate in building areas, they fetch water for hotels, they carry bags and other belongings of travelers from bus station to home, they carry goods from home to market and via to home and so on. Through time the number of students participating in such daily works may increase or all of them can be part of it. Cultural anthropologist (Phillip Conrad, 2000) named it as “independent invention” and defined as:

“... The process by which humans innovate creatively finding solutions to problems.... Faced with comparable problems and challenges, people indifferent cultures have innovated and changed in similar ways, which is one reason cultural generalities exists.”

The changing from the traditional way of searching food or begging to a new kind of activity i.e. daily work, also affect their teaching learning process. The students who are in daily work miss some part of their learning. Most of the time particularly in the time of preparation and

presentation they are out of the school compound, and totally out of the teaching learning activity. They can't read anything, specially verbs and nouns of Ge'ez language which enables them to create a new k'ine, frequently they do not present a new k'ine, they come to school at the time of wudasse maryam' and they become too tired in lesson stage. Those students who involve in daily work are not willing to tell their name and they hide themselves from other student as well as their teachers. There may be some kind of punishment. They told the researcher that they will buy food, clothes and books by the money they got. In spite of the fact that the students lost much of their time in search for money, they do not want to leave their education at all. After all they form a continuous first hand contact with the surrounding community, and it also affects the other culture, i.e., clothing.

While doing daily work the students make a continuous first hand contact with the external modern society. Since the number of the students is less than the society they are forced to be dominated and to change their clothing to cop up with the external modern society Their "shama" and godzam azana is not comfortable for the work they do. Thus their clothing is being change by other kind of cloth. The students now are acculturated by a new cultural trait. Their ancient clothing lemd and debelo are changed by shema and godzam azana and it also being changed by modern clothes.

3.1.5.5 Dog and the Student

What and who makes them enemies to each other?

The student in planning to go to search for food, "the dog" is his great concern, in addition to the place where and when he to go. When he is thinking about his bag that helps him to collect food, he should equally remember the stick (s). The student consider the name of Mary and Saints as a safe guard to keep him from any reaction. The student

believe in the name of Mary the “mother of light” and the name of saints of the day, the names help him to come back home peacefully with his daily food. Leykun one of the students in the school said that;

Jäk'olo Tamari selämamlak bilo Jänatun sim t'arto

The students in the name of mother of God,
calling his mother

Wäto Jemäläsal akufadawen molto

Return back with full of food in his bag

silämäbrihan täme Jaläläta

When the students say in the name of the

Mother of light strong

emetem aJkäfu wuśaw ajbäräta.

The house mother will not be cruel, the Dog

will not be strong

The above poem indicates that the name of Mary is use for both making a women to react kindly and so “the dog.”

Though the students believe as such in the above, the stick “dula’ is always with him. He never walk devoid of a stick or if necessary two sticks, because two or above dogs may come at the same time. So he uses the sticks to guard and kick the dogs. He often defend himself rather than to kick in frightening the owner of the dog. In fear of it, most of the time, the students go in a group of two or three.

The researcher asked to one of the k'ine student in the school Janta Gebrkidan that, if you consider that the name of Mary and the saints

keep you from dog, why do you have a stick always when ever you go for begging? Having a short smile he answered by referring the world of Bible. He says “I believe, but I never go without stick because it may be examining God. It is written as don’t examine your God.”

After all what and who makes the dog and the student enemies each other? it may be the piece of enjera and bread that they receive from, to survive themselves. Dogs can easily identify and know the student in his clothing i.e. šäma and godamazänä and in his stick. Even at a main road dogs bark highly when they see a student. It is impossible to find a student who is not bitten by dog, the severity differs from student to student jänta Tesfa Alem slept for three months being bitten by dog, while begging in the k’imant village.

Chapter Four

4. Conclusion and Recommendation

4.1 Conclusion

Evidently one can conclude that the ancient traditional religious schools of the Ethiopia Orthodox Church are the think-tank of the country. Most indigenous knowledge in Ethiopia are the result of these schools. The schools were the sponsorship for any educational activity, not only for religious thought but also they were /are an exceptional place for art, philosophy, administrative skill (both secular and religious) Ethics and discipline. Many cultural practices related to the state even now are of the schools. These roles of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church schools existed for centuries, attaching themselves to individual churches and ancient monasteries. Though the church schools have a significant role in many aspects of the state, they got scanty attention in the field of history and other field until the coming of Samuel Gobat, who was the first writer to describe traditional education in the early nineteenth-century. And even now we can't find as much discussion on the cultural practices of the schools as the modern one. This is why this MA thesis is focused on the cultural practices of these traditional schools.

This paper discuss more about the cultural practices of the Church school, in particular focusing on k'ine school of Dabra Meheret Abun Bet Saint Gebreal monastery, Gondar. Abun Bet Saint Gebreal monastery k'ine school is comparatively young aged. It opened in 1994 E.C, when liqä liqä liqawint Nekatibeb Eshete arrived there to be the first k'ine teacher in the school. As it was already discussed in the preceding chapters the school has around three hundred students living in fifty eight small grass huts, and some special buildings which are underground graves.

Like in all other church school here also there are different cultural practices that the investigator observed in the field work and discussed in this paper. These cultural practices of the school are; housing culture, clothing culture, student's relationship and traditional conflict resolution, searching for food and the teaching learning practice. The students in the school may stay there two/three years to complete every level of the k'ine lesson, from the first level called māvādts to the highest level.

Education is the main task of the students in the school. When a student graduates he will assist his professor in teaching learning activities. The teaching learning activity has three parts. These are preparation (k'ot'āra), presentation (nāgāra) and lesson (gāsāsa and zārāfa). The teaching learning method allows the boys free creativity but this method leads the students to conflict. No personal interest that smashes the peaceful relationship of the students rather it is that boy free philosophy. Meanwhile once the conflict appears among the students, the traditional conflict resolution system called šimgilina (elderly arbitration) restore peace among the disputes. In the above cultural practices of the school, in one or the other way the researcher observe by comparing them with the previous literatures.

Since the students survival is dependent on the surrounding community the change in economic standard of the neighboring community, (becoming low) brings a chaos on all practices of the school. First it affects the traditional way of searching for food and it in turn affects the whole cultural aspects of the school.

4.2 Recommendation

Though the ancient traditional schools of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido church were the very important place of any educational activity in the country for a long period of time, they do not get grand attention as their role. Due to this reason the schools in general are now endangered, or not as functional as they were. So, prompt measures should be taken by the concerned bodies. And the researcher recommends the following points.

- Further studies should be done on the school and its culture. The study findings should also be displayed.
- The existing cultural practices of the school should be documented and archived dignitary, to keep them for the next generation. The coming generation may or may not use it.
- Creating awareness about cultural issues on the surrounding community as well as the church principals.
- Supporting the school, on the way which can't affect the cultural practices of the school to a concept cultural change and later to close.
- Any developmental activities, should consider and respect the cultural traits of the school

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ሀ/ማሪያም ወርቅነህ (ሊቀ ስልጣናት) ጥንታዊ የኢትዮጵያ ሥርዓት ትምህርት በብርሃንና ሰላም ቀዳማዊ ኅይለሥላሴ ማተሚያ ቤት 1962።

ጎርጎሪዮስ (አባ) የኢትዮጵያ ኦርቶዶክስ ተዋህዶ ቤተክርስቲያን ታሪክ አዲስ አበባ። ትንሳኤ ዘገባኤ ማተሚያ ቤት ሰኔ 1991።

እምባቆም ቃለወልድ ስለ ቅኔ ትምህርትና ጥቅሙ። proceedings of the 3rd International Conference of Ethiopian Studies (1966) 117-132

ኪዳነ ማሪያም ጌታሁን (መ/ር) ጥንታዊ የቆሎ ተማሪ። ትንሳኤ ዘገባኤ ማተሚያ ቤት 1980።

Appendix A1

Observation Check List

No	Cultural practices	The extent of the change			
		None	Some	Highly	Severely
1.	Teaching Learning				
1.1	Wudase Marijam				
1.2	k'ot'ära				
1.3	Nägära				
1.4	Gäsäsa and Zäräfa				
2	Searching for food (Begging)				
3	Clothing				
3.1	Lämd and Däbälo				
3.2	Šäma and Gojam azänä				
4	Way of conflict resolution (šingilina)				
5	Housing (Traditional Small Grass Huts				

Appendix A 2

No	Cultural Practices	How often it practiced			
		None	Some times	Most of the time	Always
1.	Teaching Learning				
1.1	Wudase Maryam				
1.2	k'ot'ära				
1.3	Nägära				
1.4	Gäsäsa and Zäräfa				
1.5	Books Interpitation				
2	Searching for food				
2.1	Begging				
2.2	Other				
3	Cooking				
4	Clothing				
4.1	Lämd and Däbälo				
4.2	Šäma and Gojam azänä				
4.3	Other modern clothes				
5	Farming or other plantation practices				
6	Housing	None	Some	Most	All
6.1	Small grass huts				
6.2	Modern houses				

Appendix B1

Interview Based Questions

ለመምህሩ የቀረቡ ቃላዊ ጥያቄዎች

በቅድሚያ ውድ ሠዓትዎን ለእኔ ሠጥተው ከእኔ ጋር ቃለ ምልልስ ለማድረግ ፈቃደና በመሆንዎ ያለኝን ምስጋናና አክብሮት ለመግለፅ እወዳለሁ፤ በመቀጠል ስለእርስዎ ፣ ስለተማሪዎችዎ እና ስለት/ቤቱ አጠር አጠር ያሉ ነጥቦችን በማንሳት እንወያያለን ።

1. ስምዎትን ፣ በቤተክርስቲያን ውስጥ ያለዎትን የትምህርት ደረጃ አንዲሁም በዚህ ትምህርት ቤት ውስጥ ምን እንደሚያስተምሩ ቢገልፁልኝ ።
2. ይህ ትምህርት ቤት ከተቋቋመ ምን ያህል ጊዜ ሆነው? መቼ ነው የተጀመረው?
3. እርስዎ በዚህ ትምህርት ቤት የመጀመሪያው መምህር ነዎት ?
4. ከዚህ ትምህርት ቤት ውጪ ያስተማሩበት ቦታ አለ ?ምን ያህል ጊዜ አስምረዋል
5. ከቅኔ ትምህርት ሌላ ያስተማሩት ትምህርት አለ ?
6. አሁን በዚህ ትምህርት ቤት ውስጥ ምን ያህል ተማሪዎችን ያስተምራሉ ?
7. የእርስዎ መተዳደሪያ ምንድነው ?
8. የተማሪዎች የትምህርት አቀባበልና ቅኔ ለመማር ያላቸው ፍላጎት ምን ያህል ነው ?
9. የቅኔ ትምህርት የትምህርቱ አሰጣጥ እንዴት ነው?
10. ቅኔ ምንድነው?
11. የቅኔ ትምህርትና ቅኔ መቼና በማን ተጀመረ?
12. የቅኔ አይነቶች የሚባሉትን ሊያብራሩልኝ ቤተቻቸው ስንት ስንት ነው?
13. የቅኔ ትምህርትን በሙሉ ለማጠናቀቅ ምን ያህል ጊዜ ይፈጃል ?
14. እስኪ ወደ ተማሪዎች ህይወት እንምጣና የተማሪዎች ህይወት ምን ይመስላል ?ምን ይባላሉ ?ምግባቸውን ከየት ያገኛሉ ?
15. ድሮ ድሮ ተማሪዎች ምግባቸውን የሚያገኙት በልመና ወይም ቅፈፋ በሚሉት መንገድ ነበር ፣ ይህ ነገር አሁንም አለ? ስለ ሁኔታው ቢነግሩኝ
16. ቀድሞ የነበረውን የአብነት ት/ቤት ባህልና አሁን ያለው ሲያነጻፅሩት ምን አየ ነት አንድነትና ልዩነት ያዩበታል? ለምሳሌ በትምህርቱ አሰጣጥ ፣ በተማሪዎች የእርስ በርስ ግንኙነት ፣ በተማሪዎች አለባበስ ቤት አሰራር
17. በተማሪዎች መካከል ግጭት ሊፈጠር ይችላል ለመሆኑ ግጭቱ እንዴት ይፈታል?
18. ተማሪዎች ከልመና ሌላ ገቢ የሚያገኙበት ፣ ራሳቸውን ማስተዳደር የሚችሉበት መንገድ አለ
19. አብዛኛውን ጊዜ ተማሪዎች የሚጋጨባቸው ጉዳዮች ምን ምን ናቸው
20. አሁን በትምህርት ቤቱ ውስጥ የሚመለከቷቸው ለውጦች አሉ? ካሉ በምንና እንዴት ሊፈጠሩ እንደቻሉ ይነግሩኛል ?
21. በአጠቃላይ የአብነት ትምህር ቤቶች በተለይ ደግሞ እርስዎ አሁን ባሉበት በዚህ ት/ቤት ዋና ዋናዎቹ የተማሪው ችግሮች የሚሏቸው ምንድን ናቸው ?
22. አብዛኛውን ጊዜ ተማሪዎች የሚጋጨባቸው ጉዳዮች ምን ምን ናቸው ?

Appendix B 2

ለተማሪዎች የቀረበ ቃላዊ ጥያቄዎች

በቅድሚያ ወድ የትምህርት ሰዓትዎን ሠውተው ለአጭር ደቂቃዎች ከእኔ ጋር ለመወያየት ፈቃደና በመሆንዎ ከፍተኛ ያለ አክብሮቱንና ምስጋናዎን ለመግለፅ እወዳለሁ ፣ በመቀጠል ለውይይት ያመቸን ዘንድ ጥያቄዎቹን አጠር አጠር አድርጌ አቀርብልዎታለሁ ፣ እርስዎ በተቻለ መጠን ዘርዘር አድርገው ይግለፁልኝ ።

1. ስምዎትንና ክየት አካባቢ እንደመጡ ቢገልፁልኝ
 2. ከዚህ በፊት ምንምን ተምረዋል ?
 3. ዘመናዊ ትምህርትስ እስከ ስንት ተምረዋል ?
 4. እስከ አሁን የት የት የአብነት ት/ቤቶች ተምረዋል ?
 5. በሌሎች ትምህርት ቤቶች ያዩትና በዚህ የገጠመዎት ሁኔታ እንዴት ነው ? ይመሳሰላል ወይስ ልዩነት አለ ? ለምሳሌ በትምህርት አሠጣጡ ፣ የቤቶች አሠራር .በተማሪዎች የእርስ በርስ ግንኙነት፣ በአለባበስ ሁኔታ እና በሌሎች ሁኔታዎች ።
 6. ድሮ ድሮ ተማረው የዕለት ምግቡን የሚያገኘው ከአካባቢው ማህበረሠብ ፣ በመለመን ነበር ፣ ይህ ሁኔታ አሁን አለ ? እናንተ አሁን የዕለት ምግባችሁን እንዴት ነው የምታገኙት ?
 7. ለልመና ስትሄዱ የአካባቢው ማህበረሠብ አቀባበል እንዴት ነው ለመዘከር ፈቃደና ነው ?
 8. ከልመና ውጪ ሌላ፣ ገቢ የምታገኙበት መንገድ አለ? ካለ በምን አይነት መልኩ
 9. በተማሪዎች መካከል ግጭቶች ተፈጥረው ያውቃሉ? እንዲያው ካጋጠመዎት የብዙዎች መነሻ ምንድናቸው ?
 10. ግጭቱ ከተፈጠረስ በኋላ ግጭቱ እንዴት ይፈታል ?
 11. የቅኔ ትምህርት ከሌላው የቤተክርስቲያን ትምህርትስ የሚለይበት ሁኔታ አለ ? ካለ በምን መልኩ ይለያል ?
 12. የቅኔ ትምህርትን እንዴት ነው የምትማሩት ? እስከ የተርምህርቷን ሂደት ዘርዘር አድርገው ይግለፁልኝ
 13. በዚህ ትምህርት ቤት ውስጥ የሚያጋጥሟችሁ ዋና ዋና ችግሮች ምንድን ናቸው ?
 14. በት/ቤታችሁ ውስጥ ያሉትን ትናንሽ የሳር ጎጂዎች ለምን በሌላ የቆርቆሮ ወይም ለሌላ ዘመናዊ መልኩ ለምን አትቀይሯቸውም ?
 15. እንደው ብዙ ጊዜ ስለ አብነት ትምህር ቤት ህይወት ስናነሳ ውሸና ተማሪው ተያይዘው ይነሳል ፣ ጉዳዮችሁ ምንድነው ?
- እንደው ብዙ ሀገዜ ስለ አብነት ህይወት ስናነሳ ውሸና ተማሪው ተያይዘው ይነሳሉ ጉዳዮችሁ ምንድነው
16. አመጋገባችሁ እንዴት ነው ? የምታመጡትን ምግብ በቀጥታ ትመገቡታላችሁ ? የምትመገቡትስ የየራሳችሁን ነው ?

Appendix B 3

ለአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ የቀረበ ምላረ መጠየቅ

በቅድሚያ ውድ የሥራ ሰዓትዎን ሠውተው ለአጭር ደቂቃዎች ከእኔ ጋር ለመወያየት ፈቃደኛ በመሆንዎ ክፍ ያለ አክብሮቴንና ምስጋናዎን ለመግለፅ እወዳለሁ። በመቀጠል ለውይይት ያመቸን ዘንድ ጥያቄዎችን አጠር አጠር አድርጌ አቀርብልዎታለሁ ፣ እርስዎ በተቻለ መጠን ዘርዘር አድርገው ይግለፁልኝ።

1. ስምዎትንና የሥራ ሁኔታዎን ቢገልፁልኝ
2. የመኖሪያ አካባቢዎ ምን ይባላል ?
3. ስለ አብነት ትምህርት ቤቶችና ስለተማሪዎች ምን ያውቃሉ ?
4. እርስዎን ጨምሮ የሚያውቋቸው የአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ ለተማሪዎቹ ያለው አመለካከት ምን ይመስላል ? ለምሳሌ ለልመና ሲመጡ ለመዘከር ያላችሁ ፈቃደኝነት ። ?
5. ተማሪዎች ከአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ ጋር ያለ፣ቸው ተሳትፎ ምንድነው ? ለምሳሌ በእድር ፣ በማህበርና በሌሎች ልማታዊ ሥራዎች ላይ
6. የአብነት ት/ቤቶች ለማህበረሰብ ፣ ለቤተክሰርስቲያንና ለሃገር ያላቸውን ፋይዳዎች ያውቃሉ ? ትንሽ ቢገልፁልኝ
7. የአብነት ት/ቤቶች ያሉባቸውን ችግሮች ያውቃሉ ? ምን አይነት ችግሮች ያሉባቸው ይመስልዎታል ?
8. የአቡን ቤት ቅዱሳን ገብርአዜል ገዳም የቅኔ ት/ቤት ተማሪዎች በልመና ከሚያገኙት የዕለት ምግብ ውጪ ሌላ ገቢ አላቸው ? ካወቁ ቢገልፁልኝ
9. ወደፊት ይህ የአብነት /የቅኔ/ ት/ቤት በምን አይነት መልኩ መቀጠል አለበት ይላሉ ?
10. ከአካባቢው ማህበረሰብ ልጆች በዚህ ት/ቤት ውስጥ የሚማር አለ ? ወይም ከዚህ ቀደም ይማሩ የነበሩ ገጥምዎት ያውቃሉ ?