

ZAR EXPRESSIONS IN ARSI FəRəK'əSA OF OROMIA

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MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS**

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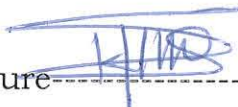


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October 2012

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Study

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Zinawork Assefa, entitled: *Zar expressions in Arsi Fərək'asa of Oromia* and submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts(in Linguistics) complies with the regulation of the University and meets the accepted standard with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee




Examiner	Wondwosen Tesfaye	Signature		Date	Nov. 27/2012
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Abstract

This study is an attempt made to discuss Zar expressions in Arsi Fərək'əsa of Oromo. The expressions include verbal and non verbal expressions. The non-verbal expressions are objects of symbolic representation which include clothes, sacrifice animals colours etc. Verbal expressions include phonological complexity, glossolalia, literal and poetic expressions.

Carriers, devotees and shamans believe that carriers in altered state speak languages which they never speak normal state. However, researchers suggested that carriers in altered state utter a deformed language Leslau (1949). Such claims were part of statements of the present study whose objective is exploring linguistic and non- linguistic expression of Zar, and analysing the data using qualitative method.

The main findings of the research is that carriers in altered state utter phonologically complex words, mixed phrases, non-existing or unknown languages (Glossolalia). Although some things are taken as shared dues of all Zars, each Zar has also a unique demand. Carriers, devotees and shamans have shared knowledge of the dues. The oral and poetic expressions during rites focus on reciting phrases that show the supremacy of Momina's Zar and that of her ancestors.

Finally, the relation between spirit possession and gender differences are remaining issues that need further investigation, this is because female carriers possessed by male Zars have low pitch.



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Chapter one

Introduction

1.1. Background of the study

Fərək'əsa¹ is located in the Arsi zone of Oromia (Ethiopia). It is 22 Kms away from Abbomsa, the capital of Merti Woreda, and 225 Kms southeast of Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. Fərək'əsa is a pilgrimage centre founded by Ayyo Momina², who was born to a Christian family of yəjju in Wollo. Towards the end of the 19th century, she settled in Arsi and was converted to Islam, Richard Pankhurst (2005). But her early life of religious background is debatable in that not all writers agree that she was Christian, Muslim or Pagan. Gemmechu Jemal (2007:1) states that “her early life and religious background is controversial, and an attempt will be made to look into the various aspects of the life and deeds of this controversial and significant woman, who died in 1929”. Before she arrived at Arsi- Fərək'əsa she had settled in Harar and in other parts of the country. She is also known as “Giftii Arusii ” in Afan-Oromo or “jə-arusiwa imməbet”³ in Amharic. Before she was recognized by as jə-arusiwa imməbet and Ayyo Momina, she was called “jubaf wərk'jimər”. jubaf means ‘young’, her father gave this name because she was the last daughter to her parents. She was popular among the local people and others from different areas that knew her story and call her in different names in their language. These people are predominantly from Amhara and Oromo ethnic groups.

Momina previously settled in Galama in 1873 (E.C) where she built her Mosque. In 1880 (E.C) she moved to “Guna gənnəte”, and built another Mosque. Five years later (1885 E.c)

¹Fərək'əsa is a name of a place, it has different forms- fereqasa , ferekesa , fereqesa Gemechu Jemal (2007)

² Ayyo Momina – Ayyo – means ‘mother’ in Afan –Oromo and Ayo-Momina is the name given to the woman by the local people.

³ Gifti arusi or yə arusiwa imməbet- means lady of Arsi

she arrived at Fərək'əsa and built another Mosque. She has a daughter named Bəjjənəf who has two sons and one daughter, named Getahun Məfəsa, K'əqazmaf Taje Məfəsa and Bəlfīn indalə. k'əqazmaf Taje məfəsa was a bodyguard of Emperor Haile Sillassie. He was possessed by his grandmother's (Momina) Zar and like her he was converted to Islam. He changed his name to Səid Nur Ahməd and built his own Mosque three to five kms away from Momina's Mosque at Fərək'əsa and he died later.

Next to him was his son (Hajji Siraj or Sirak) converted to Islam after he was possessed by his father's Zar (Səid Nur Ahməd) and he took charge of the whole activities of the mosque. He is called Hajji Siraj or Sirak. Muslims call him Hajji Siraj whereas Christians call him Hajji Sirak.

At Fərək'əsa, devotees meet four times a year: first on T'ik'imt 19(October27-28), second, on Tahsas 19(December 26-27), third, on Ginbot 19 (May 26 or 27) and fourth on Səne 19(June 25-26). T'ik'imt 19(October27-28), is a big day for devotees, shamans and others because, it is the anniversary of Momina. The date is also associated with St. Gabriel which is celebrated on the same day.

People have various reasons to meet and attend these ceremonies: (1). Zar spirit gets recognitions or gets assigned to carriers by a Zar doctor. A Zar may be new or one transferred from a family member, such as mother or father to a daughter or son. (2) People come to visit (Ziyyera) to receive or pay their annual dues. Any devotee or carrier comes to pray dues. Carriers stay mostly in state of trance until their Zar receives dues from the mosque. These are orders of dancing performances assigned by the Zar doctor after which perfumes are given out. This takes place on (T'ik'imt 19) during the evening around 5:30 Pm.

(3) To negotiate with their Zar, if the latter has caused illness to the carrier. To get relief from the illness, carriers go to annual gatherings. (4) Silat (vow), these groups go to give whatever they had promised the previous year and to make another vow for the future. Others may attend the ceremonies as simple enthusiasts.

During the festive occasions, Zar reveals itself in many ways such as speaking a different type of language and performing dances of different movements.

1.2. Statement of the problem

This section presents the main reasons why the researcher wants to do a study on “Zar expressions and their contexts”. It is believed that the argot or slang of possessed groups and the whole activities of possessed people or individuals are highly ambiguous or indistinct, because during rites of possession, people are in a state of trance and their activity is *esoteric* (very unusual). The following examples may illustrate this.

- (a) Unclear speech: ናን ውላል ውላህል ወይ?
 nan wilal wilə-h-al wəj
 stay 2SM Q
 ‘Have you stayed the day in peace?’
- (b) Simple repetitions of syllables: chi chi chi chi
- (c) Using loan words: shayiida (Arabic) kunoo (Afan-Oromo)
 fajida kuno
 ‘Witness’ ‘this is it’
 ‘This is a witness’

And others are taken as criteria for Zar solicitations. Some researchers have stated the same about Zar expressions. Leslau (1949) and Messing (1958) said that Zar expressions include argot, composed of deformed Amharic paraphrases, and foreign loan word.

A few researches have been conducted on Zar expressions; their nature and forms. The present research attempts to study expressions of people who are possessed by Zar. Their expressions may comprise linguistic elements such as phonemes, morphemes, lexemes and phrases used in the context of Zar rites. In addition, speaking tongues known as ‘Glossolalia’ and speaking foreign languages ‘Xenolalia’ are considered as they occur during the rites of Zar.

1.3. Objective of the study

1.3.1. General objective of the study

This thesis attempts to explore verbal and nonverbal expressions of Zar. Expressions are linguistic and non- linguistic such as performances intertwined and expressed by possessed women and men.

1.3.2. Specific objectives of the study

The specific objectives of the thesis are the following:

1. To describe literal expressions and nonverbal expression types, such as clothes, sacrifice animals and colours.
2. To explain the phonological, morphological, lexical and phrasal elements of Zar expressions as compared to other expressions of day- to- day use.
3. To clarify the glossolalia⁴ or xenolalia⁵ nature of Zar expressions.

⁴ Glossolalia – the term has been formed from the Greek *glossa-* ‘tongues’ and *lalia* –‘speaking’ or ‘chatter’. Glossolalia is speaking tongues, a speech behaviour occasionally associated with religious experience and its significance is debatable, Elvira koic et al. (2005)

1.4. Methodology of the study

In this section, I introduce the methodology used to do the research. To achieve the objectives of the research, the methodologies and methods need to be harmonized. This research is based on data gathered from field through observations and recordings. The researcher focuses on the linguistic and non- linguistic forms of Zar expressions. The qualitative method is employed to analyze the data. To collect the data, participant observations and semi-structured interviews have been used. According to Berg (2004: 5) “By combining several lines of site, researchers obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality; a richer, more complete array of symbols and theoretical concepts; and a means of verifying many of these elements”. The details about methods and methodologies are presented as follows.

1.4.1. Data gathering tools

The researcher collects data on Zar expressions from the site of Fərək’əsa using the following tools:

1.4.1.1. Participant observations

For this research, participant observation is used to get expressions as they are uttered in specific situations. To do this, the researcher immerses himself into the groups of people where Zar expressions are uttered by people in trance. These are not artificial group: most of them are people possessed by Zar who are in a state of trance during rites. Throughout the Zar spell, the researcher acts as a devotee because, any individual can join and observe what is happening. According to Bryman (2004) the participant observer engages himself or herself in a certain group for a certain period of time to observe their behaviour by listening to what they say, record their speech, etc.

⁵ Xenolalia- derived from Greek word ‘‘*xenos*’’- foreign and *lalia* - speaking. Xenolalia means foreign language, it indicates a conscious use of an existing language Elvira koic etal. (2005:307)

According to Dawson (2002:101) “Participant observation can be carried out within any community, culture or context which is different to the usual community and culture of the researcher.” The participant could be from a different religion, ethnic group and culture. The researcher makes himself a member of the group and observes things as they happen. Carriers, devotees and shamans use chat, coffee and music about Zars. The researcher uses high quality voice recorder. This may help the researcher to record expressions of possessed people in their spell. At this time, the researcher desists himself from reflecting personal feelings during the rite. He records expressions from men or women who are in trance.

1.4.1.2. Interview

Interviews have been conducted with a few people to get supportive information from the followers of shamans ⁶. The data gathered in this way is used as support to the data collected through participant observations. The researcher believes that interviews are not always successful in obtaining information. However, in this research, semi-structured interviews have been carried out. According to Dawson (2002:28), a semi-structured interview is the most commonly used tool in qualitative research. Using this tool, the researcher collected data from devotees, shamans and carriers. He asked eight questions to each interviewee. This helps crosscheck the responses of groups and individuals who have been interviewed.

1.4.1.3. Recording

The researcher uses tape recorder and high quality voice recorder during interviews and participant observations. These tools help to collect the utterances of carriers who are in trance. These tools are highly selective and useful for recording linguistic elements such as

⁶ Shaman (Zar doctor) – is a term equivalent to the Amharic word “Awaki” or the Arabic word “woliy” Young (1975). Such a person does diagnosis for those newly possessed by Zar spirit.

deformed and complex utterances from carriers in altered state. Devotees, carriers and Zar doctors or shamans are not allowed to get their utterances recorded. At this time, the researcher desists from using these tools because, the setting is not an artificial and devotees⁷ and carriers are highly sensitive to the rites. Therefore, in order to avoid interferences the researcher had to use these tools secretly. This helps to record the natural utterances of the carriers⁸ who are in trance.

1.4.2. Data analysis method

In this research, qualitative methodology has been used, because the nature of the data from the site is not quantifiable. Qualitative analysis method begins with a complete set of collected data in the form of texts. There are many types of qualitative data analysis methods but the researcher has used thematic qualitative data analysis. Thematic analysis method allows the process of data collection and the data analysis to take place simultaneously Dawson (2002:115). Such texts are verbal and non-verbal expressions of Zar rites. Based on this method, the researcher analyzed data while he was making the site observations, because the researcher has possibilities to observe repeatedly. This increases the quality of the research because the researcher has possibilities to check errors and evaluate the adequacy of the data.

1.5. Significance of the study

This thesis may serve as a source material for sociolinguistic research, especially those who want to conduct further study on the subject of Zar. The description may provide some useful

⁷ Devotees- Refers to the followers of Zar doctor or just to carriers.

⁸ Carriers – is a term equivalent to the Amharic word “balə Zar” meaning ‘the owner of Zar’ or “jə Zar fərəs” meaning ‘the horse of Zar’.

information for linguists and psychiatrists. Followers of the Zar cult believe that they get relief from the performance, which may be taken as folk therapy.

1.6. Scope of the study

Zar spirit possessions and solicitations exist in different parts of Ethiopia. However, in this research, only Fərək'əsa is selected by the researcher. As discussed previously, this place is known all over the country by followers of the Zar cult. Hence, it allows the researcher to collect data within the given time and budget. The researcher finds people from different religions, cultures, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. This makes the data richer than otherwise.

Chapter Two

Review of literature

2.1 Conceptual framework of the study

Zar is a spirit possessing of an individual who is attractive, has beautiful voice, psychological and social stress, etc. Researchers attempt to classify Zar spirit into *evil* and *good spirit*. Why do these differences exist among groups? What is the reality about the concept of Zar? The researcher addresses these two questions in this sub-section.

Torrey (1966:52) said that 'most students described Zar as a spirit or devil but some students of health science describe it as a disease or psychological sicknesses'. Torrey conducted a research when he was teaching at Addis Ababa University and he collected data from health science students. The students came from different cultures and societies. Most students believed that Zar is evil spirit and some of them reported that 'it was a psychological sicknesses' just to satisfy their teacher.

In addition, Boddy (1989) states that Zar refers to types of spirit. The spirit can cause sickness to people for which a ritual of conciliation is necessary. Her definitions are somehow similar to that of Torrey's premises. These include rites of reunion or negotiations between a Zar spirit and its carrier. But in both cases it is assumed that Zar is a spirit that can cause sickness.

In contrast, Zar possession can transfer from mother to daughter, Messing (1958), because the spirit is claimed to be a guardian of its carrier. These divergent opinions about Zar are due to cultural, social, academic differences and lack of adequate data on its nature.

However, the meaning of the word ‘Zar’ in Cushitic languages and in Arabic does not refer to illness, evils, or a symbol of goodness, Natvig (1987). In Cushitic languages, specifically in Afan- Oromo, Zar is called ‘dzari’ which means ‘sky and God’. In Arabic, the term Zar refers to visitation, which implies that when a Zar spirit wants certain things it visits its carrier, Ahmed Al-Shahi (1984). The other concept of Zar is derived from the word *Zahar*, which implies that the spirit appears commonly through dreams. Both definitions indicate that the term Zar refers ‘to visitation by spirit.’

So, how does a Zar spirit acquire meaning of evil or demons⁹? Zar spirit acquired its current meaning from Abyssinian Christians, Natvig (1987). Hence, the word dzari refers to sky and God, the word is originally from Cushitic languages, because it is almost the same across Cushitic. Amharic borrowed it from these languages and it acquired the meaning of evil spirit from Abyssinia Christians. This was also proposed by Cerulli and Littmann. Finally, Cushitic languages borrow the term Zar from Amharic. In Somali, the word Zar refers to evil spirit/demon.

Zar has a period of solicitation and rites. A rite is called a *Zar cult*. But it lacks clear definitions. Its indistinct nature is due to cosmological and ritual dissimilarity across places. However, Natvig (1987) gave the following definition of Zar cult:

Zar cult may be defined as referring to a religious group of the cult type, where the basis of recruitment of members is Zar spirit possession and where meaningful long-term relationships with the spirits are cultivated by the means of ceremonially provoked spirit possession on a regular basis. (p. 670)

⁹ Carriers, devotees and Zar doctors do not use the term Zar in the context of Zar rites, because commonly they associate it with evil spirit. Instead of ‘Zar’ they call it ‘Wik’abi’ or ‘?awliya’. ‘Wik’abi’ or ‘?awliya’ refers to a spirit which protects from bad things.

From the definition, Zar cult refers to a group of people who have shared enrolment and rituals. These rituals recur at regular times and the members attend the rituals on the basis of certain events. In the Ethiopian context, groups are mainly from the Amhara, Oromo and Tigre ethnic groups who can be both Christian and Muslim carriers. They have long term relations and regular times of rites. Fərək'əsa is one of the biggest pilgrimage centers, where devotees and shamans regularly meet on the anniversary of Momina, which coincides with the celebration of St. Gabriel, on T'ik'imt 19 E.C.

2.2. Theoretical framework of the study

Zar expressions have no single linguistic theory. However, for this research theories are taken from sister domains such as argot, slang, xenolalia and glossolalia. Zar expressions are accompanied by extra grammatical things such as deformed expressions, glossolalia, xenolalia, symbolic representations of sacrifices such as animals, days of solicitations, and clothes, etc. Therefore, interaction theory, hypnosis theory and symbolic interactionism theory are selected to analyze the data.

2.2.1. Interaction theory

The theory of interaction is one of the theories of metaphorical expressions. Which can be treated in several theories, but Black (1962) reduced them to three types: the substantive theory, comparison theory, and interaction theory (Black 1962 cited in Nöth, 1990:129). Substantive and comparison theories describe metaphorical expressions from a paradigmatic point of view whereas interaction theory describes them from a syntagmatic point of view according to Nöth, (1990: 129).

Interaction theory is a mode of perception or thinking that abstracts some a form of relations between the two objects. These are the modifier and the modified objects. The modifier always comes first to describe the modified object. For example, the expression “bərəhaw səlam” ‘the desert peace’ is a metaphorical expression that has two distinct objects identified as primary and secondary objects. In the content of Zar rites “bərəhaw” ‘desert’ represents the place of the Zar rite and “səlam” ‘peace’ refers to the peacefulness of the rite. In general, the expression indicates the peace fullness of the place of Zar rites.

Black (1993:27) summarized the concepts of interaction theory, along with the core points which have been discussed in his summary. The two objects interact in the following ways.

1. A metaphorical expression has two distinct objects to be identified as primary and secondary objects.

Example - የሆምባው ገበሬ ና ምኑው?
 yə hombaw gəbərə na minnəw ?
 ‘Why do you not come the Homba farmer?’

The word ‘farmer’ represents the spirit found in a place called ‘Homba’ which is the other name of Fərək’əsa. The first object which is ‘farmer’ modifies the second object which is “Zar spirit”. ‘Farmer’ in the rites of Zar symbolizes the Zar and devotees and shaman solicit the spirit to come and show clemency to carriers.

2. Metaphor helps hearers to construct parallel implications based on a given expression.

Example - ሞሚና ወለላ ናት
 Momina wələla nat
 ‘Momina honey is’

The comparisons is between the objects ‘honey’ and ‘Momina’, devotees use such expressions to get a relief from their physical and psychological sickness caused by the Zar

spirit because they believe that Momina has a power to cure her followers. They get relief by praying or vowing to Momina's Zar.

In short the two object interact in the following ways (1) the presences of the primary object provokes the hearer to focus on the secondary object, (2) a metaphor helps hearers to construct parallel implications that is hearers build their own inferences based on the facts which have been observed in the primary object.

2.2.2. Theory of symbolic interactionism

The term symbolic interctionism refers to the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings, Blumer (1969: 78). This indicates that people interact through symbolic representations. The symbols may be gestures, clothes, hair styles, etc. because (1) human beings or social beings or ethnic groups and clans have shared knowledge about the symbols. (2) Mostly symbols originate from of cultures.

The theory of symbolic interactionism focuses on the way people interact through symbols like words, gestures, clothes etc. Blumer (1969) presented three premises: First, humans act on things on the basis of their meaning. Second, meaning arises from social interactions, and third, meaning is modified or amended through interpretative processes. These premises focus on source of meaning and processes of interpretations. Traditionally, there are two sources of meaning. Nature is one source which means that chair is 'chair' or cow is 'cow', and that meaning is a psychological reality. Psychological realty is treated as being constituent element of psychological organizations. Such elements are sensations, ideas, memories, motive attitudes and feelings. However, in symbolic interactionism theory meanings arise from social interactions because, it involves the interaction of individuals in a

social context. Therefore, one can conclude that meaning is a product of social interactions, according to Blumer (1969:4-5).

All the three premises indicate that meaning is created through the process of interpretations. According to Blumer (1969), the process of interpretations has two steps. The first is pointing out things that have meanings for him. Such a process is an internalized processes the actor interacting with himself. Second, based on the first step, the actor selects, regroupes, suspends and transforms meanings in light of the situation in which he is placed and the direction of his actions.

As indicated in chapter one, Zar expressions include symbolic representations such as clothes, sacrificial animals etc. These elements of rites have values for the groups possessed by Zar spirits, because they easily communicate based on what they are doing. In the theory of symbolic interactionism, meaning evolves from the groups interactions in their environments with other groups. Further more symbolic interactionism is the way we learn to interpret and give meanings to the world throughout interactions with others. Therefore, Zar groups are interacting in some specific areas with other groups that have shared knowledge about Zar spirit.

2.2.3. Theory of hypnosis

Hypnosis is considered as an altered state of consciousness, Kokoszka (2007: 66). According to Orne and Dinges, (1988:42) "hypnosis is the state or the condition whereby an individual alters perceptions, memory or mood in response to suggestions administrated in suitable context." In addition, the term hypnosis is most commonly associated with altered state of functioning.

The term altered state of consciousness as proposed by Zinberg (1977) refers to deviations from a way of normal state of consciousness. Historically, the concept of altered state of consciousness (ASC) is related to trance and dissociative states. First, the meaning of trance in a context of hypnosis does not imply the traditional connotation of “a sleep” or “stupor” (like dream or sleeping). Further, it is focussed on rites and beliefs related to spirit possessions, shamanism and ecasty. According to Ernest Rossi (1986), we are never entirely free from some sort of trance and his argument is that “common everyday trance” indicates that our normal waking state is somehow altered. Second, dissociative remains to be the common factors in all types of trance, Shumaker (1995). Furthermore, dissociative is the interruption of consciousness from normal states. According to Marcia Degun-Mather (2006) dissociative also refers to disruption in the usual functions of consciousness, memory, identity or perceptions of the environment.

The notion of altered state of consciousness according to Ludwig (1966:225), is

Any mental state of consciousness induced by any physiological, psychological, or pharmacological agents, which may be known subjectively by the individual himself as representing a sufficient deviation in subjective experience from certain general norms for that individual during alter waking consciousness.

Besides Ludwig (1966), explained that numerous variables play major roles in the productions of altered states of consciousness, among which, is increase of exteroceptive stimulation, emotions like brainwashing, and shamanistic and prophetic trance states during tribal ceremonies.

These variables are similar to Zar solicitations and emphasize in producing altered states of consciousness during some major events like Momina's anniversary celebration. But this does not mean that Zar solicitations are always determined by specific historical events; spirit visitations depend on arguments between Zar spirit, Zar doctor and Zar carrier.

To conclude the discussions, (1) during Zar rites the possessed devotees communicate based what they do such as singing, wearing different clothes, sacrifices etc. All participants have shared knowledge of such things and they easily understand each other. This shows that societies or social groups have power to develop meaning out of symbols that always appear from their interactions in the society. (2) Solicitation of Zar spirit always changes carriers from the normal state of being to an unusual state of being (trance). This phenomenon is governed by the theory of hypnosis. (3) Literal and poetic expressions of Zar contain metaphorical expressions. Interaction theory plays a role in analyzing both the literal and poetic expressions of Zar. These theories taken from the literature of anthropology and psychology show that Zar can be studied in an interdisciplinary manner.

2.3. Sociological characteristics of Zar

Zar cult or Zar spirit is a part of folk belief. Folk belief is accepted as true without hard evidence that passed down through generations without the sanction of official institutions. The transmissions contain different activities performed by the first generation, like a day of celebrations, sacrifices, demands and others. These sociological characteristics are transmitted to generations based on practice and narration. The researcher presents the most common sociological characteristics of Zar below.

2.3.1. When does Zar visit a carrier?

Zar has common solicitation period, Zar rituals take place after the rainy season. Devotees and possessed individuals agree on solicitation times. Possessions of Zar spirit is mainly found in the rural part of Ethiopia, and more than half of the rural people are agrarian and their source of income is based on agricultural products. Cereal and cash crops are collected after the rainy seasons because most farmers do not use irrigations for crop productions. After this season, the farmers change their cash crops and cereals to money and they use the money to buy different things that the Zar demands. At this period, a Zar visits his /her carrier from October to January. The reason is that possessed people and devotees are ready to fulfil their promises to the Zar spirit. Leslau (1949) states that Zar appears at a specific period of time, especially during the festivals of Məsk'əl which marks the end of the rainy season. After or before the season, devotees and possessed people do not provide appropriate sacrifice, instead they put little money aside and they carry out the promise at a given period.

2.3.2. What kind of things does Zar like?

Zar cult is found in Somali, Ethiopia, Egypt and Arabia etc, Natvig (1987), the cult is not unitary. This means that there are rituals and cosmological differences throughout these countries, but in some, there is a basic shared rite like possessed women or men to be clean, to wear clean and colourful clothes and perfumes etc. According to Ahmed Al-Shahi (1984:33) “women who come in black clothes are turned away” because black represents darkness and in order to avoid gloominess or obscurity of the rite, possessed groups and devotees wear clean and white clothes. However, during the solicitations, possessed individuals and devotees do not always buy new clothes. Specifically preparing new or clean clothes are done depending on the income of the possessed individuals.

Other activities performed during Zar solicitations vary depending on Zar types. In the context of this research, more than three types of dominant Zar carriers do unique activities to one another. The dominant Zars are called Adal Moti, T'ək'war and Wəsən Galla (see chapter 3). These have different demands, whatsoever they ask is for the benefit of the possessed individuals. Zars are highly sensitive in relation to their demands, therefore devotees and possessed individuals are anxious to meet the demands of the Zar spirit, Ahmed Al-Shahi (1984). But if the demands are not met, devotees and possessed individuals do what is called "korma makom¹⁰". Once these demands are met in such a way the relations between the Zar and the carrier becomes smooth.

2.3.3. Relations between Zar and gender

Zar affects mainly women. Various scholars discussed the relations between Zar and gender. According to Ahmed Al-shahi (1984), women, less commonly men, are possessed by spirit. There are many reasons why women are possessed. According to Messing (1958), any individual can be favoured by Zar for reasons of weak personality, hereditary transfer from mother to daughter, illness, attractive qualities like beauty etc. According to Messing's discussions, women are more selected than male. Mothers transfer the spirit to daughters but not to sons and among the daughters the most beautiful and weak ones are selected more than others. Leslau (1949) says that in former days, women and young girls were not allowed to move from place to place without servants accompanying them for they fall ill of Zar.

On the basis gender, Zar is classified into male and female. A female Zar is considered very dangerous and it affects mostly male and vice versa, Leslau (1949). The numbers of male

¹⁰ "korma makom - means the possessed person if he/she doesn't have money to buy those things demanded, they put aside some money. This money is a guarantee for the promise between the Zar and the carrier. Then for the coming period of solicitations, the Zar carrier or devotees buy those demands for the spirit according to their promise.

Zars are greater than that of female Zars. This indicates that women are dominantly affected by Zar spirit, because possessions of Zar spirit mainly occurs between the sexes and the spirit may have sexual intercourse with their victim, Messing (1958:1122). In the context of this research only two types of female Zars are reported, against five male Zars. Female Zars reveal themselves by forcing a man to change his biological characteristics like – forcing him to wear women’s dresses, act like females etc.

On the other hand, a male Zar has a power to predict or to tell the future of individuals, people, countries etc. Torrey (1966).As we seen from the discussions the degree of harm varies according to gender, as female Zars are dangerous.

2.4. Review of related empirical studies

Leslau (1949) mentioned some argots used by possessed people in Ethiopia. In the introductory part, he states that Zar affects both Muslims and Christians and this is common among the Amhara, Oromo and Somali. A person possessed by a Zar is called ‘yə-Zar Fərəs’ or ‘the horse of a Zar’ and he goes to the house of a *healer or Fuk’ira*. *Fuk’ira* is a middle man between a Zar and its horse. The role of a *Fuk’ira* is to ask the Zar to show clemency to the possessed person by making a regular time of visitation.

In addition, Leslau states that Zar has a hierarchy like king, chief, servant etc. His research focuses mainly on the Zar argot (1949:207) which is said to be periphrastic. The characteristic feature of this argot is that it uses the general language, that is, Amharic, and a number of loanwords. He classified the words into different categories.

Messing (1958) deals with group therapy and the social status of Zar cult in Ethiopia. His observations are limited to northern Ethiopia, especially Gondar. According to him, groups give recognition to individuals who are newly possessed by Zar. Individuals with Zar experience are called Zar doctors and devotees, Messing (1958: 1120). Zar may show symptoms anytime and the Zar doctor asks it to tell its identity by means of cajolery, promises or threats and finally it is enrolled in the 'Zar society' for the rest of his/her life.

Both a newly possessed individual and a Zar doctor are called "balə Zar". Zar doctors have special ability to make different performances of hysteria, Messing (1958). In addition he states that a doctor has the power to transfer from one devotee to another based on the economy of the patient, Messing (1958:1124). The reason for this is that Zar has two types: poor and rich. If the financial ability of a patient is very limited the Zar moves to one who has good income. The Zar of the poor demands things such as ornaments, new clothes or sandals and the rich men's Zar require expensive things like sheep for sacrifices.

Torrey (1966) discussed that the Zar cult in Ethiopia is called a spirit or devil or disease of psychological nature and he classified Zar in to three types. These are: Zar, Seer Zar and group therapy Zar. According to him, Zar is common mostly among women, seer Zar is less common, and it has the ability to tell the future and is mostly practiced by men. Group therapy Zar is the least common practiced by both men and women Zar doctors. Furthermore, Zar is considered to be predominantly male.

Torrey mentions conversions of Zar, seer Zar and group therapy Zar. Conversion of Zar is a type of Zar ceremony. Like experienced Zar horses, a newly possessed woman is never certain which holiday her Zar will visit her. Therefore, she spends days preparing things for a

possible visit by a Zar before or after Məsk'əl¹¹. Her preparations include wearing new or clean clothes, arranging different places like beds with coloured cover. Spread green grass on the floor, preparing drinks like Tej, Tela, foods like porridge, butter, lemon, chicken and goat or sheep may be slaughtered. The colour of the clothes is based on the instructions at the previous visit by the Zar. After such preparations, guests or families should not eat or taste before the Zar has tasted it. If the Zar is very happy with the preparations, the women shows different physical movements and she puts her shəma or clothes on her face, but if it is not, the neighbours who attend the ceremony eat the food and they enjoy the feast.

Seer Zar is another type of Zar which visits on a Friday night. Many people who have problems visit the doctor of Zar, and they sit in circle and they are served by devotees. The Zar doctor has a special dress for the event. People tell their problems one by one and they get solutions.

Finally, Torrey deals with similarities between the three types of Zar. According to him, there are cosmological and ritual similarities special clothes, sacrificial animals, perfumes, songs, and dances etc. are similar, but there are also major differences. First, most participants of the group therapy are affiliated to a Zar spirit, but in seer Zar, the group is only there for advice from the master of the Zar.

Second, in seer Zar, it is a man who masters his Zar and can use his Zar to tell about the future. But in group therapy a man does not only master his Zar, but in additions he assumes he has a command in overall Zars and he considers himself to be a carrier of 44 Zars.

¹¹ Məsk'əl- occurs in 17 Meskerem (September) in Ethiopian calendar, mainly celebrated in Ethiopian Orthodox Church. it commemorating the discovery of true cross by Queen Eleni.

Young (1975) discussed why the Amhara have K'urqṇṇa¹² sickness and Zar possession. His research shows the practice mainly in Begemider of the Amhara region. In the introductory part, he states that there are cosmological and ritual differences of Zars among Ethiopia, Egypt, Sudan and Somali and he compared the practice in the 19th and 20th centuries. The difference is that in the 20th century, the possession was induced by a head-swinging and torso-bending dance. The spirit demanded silver ornaments, clothes and accoutrements¹³ of men, particularly of warriors' possession which takes place in settings of feasts, music, and animal sacrifices. But in the 19th century, the spirit, called *tigritiya*¹⁴ affected mainly women (Pearce 1831:290-295; Parkyns 1853:162-168 cited by Young 1975:570). However, during the same period the Zar cult already had existed among the Amhara living further south in Shoa province (Harris 1844:297; Strelcyn, 1955: lxi-lxii 334: cited by Young 1975:571). In line with Young, by the twentieth century, the Zar cult was well established in Begemder. Eventually, *tigritiya* lost epidemiological status and the people tend to assimilate them to the spirit of Zar, Young, (1975).

According to Young, there were two types of sacrifices made to Zar. The first is Mək'ʊadəfa¹⁵ (mostly an ox) and second, /dirka/ sic, dənək'ara¹⁶. Mək'ʊadəfa is intended to be the properties of the Zar without reference to any specification by him. dənək'ara which usually consists of a chicken of some colour, which a sick devotee does to free himself from

¹² K'urqṇṇa is a sickness caused by Zar possession (Young 1975). Literally K'urqṇṇa means individuals affected by any sickness for a long period and are excluded from social interactions.

¹³ Accoutrements- are not familiar during rites of Zar, these materials have other common functions like livening up funeral of warriors, patriots etc.

¹⁴ Tigritiya or tigritya is the name of the spirit in the 19th c. which affects only women. Young (1975:570)

¹⁵ mək'ʊadəfa - sacrifice(slaughtered) demands based on the previous agreement of Zar and carrier. Commonly eaten by Zars and carriers family.

¹⁶ dənək'ara - is done by the road side so that some passer may get it, and it helps to avoid sickness caused by Zar, the term "dənk'ara" more familiar in a society of Zar practitioners than the word "dirka"

sickness. It is done by a road side so that some passerby gets it (Young 1975 cited Leiris 1935).

Each Zar is named on the basis of the importance or the attitude they have towards people, authority and power among the Zar and on the kinds of demand (Leiris 1934a:120; Messing 1958:1124: cited by Young 1975:572).

Besides Young says that k'urq̄ṇa is "Devotees use of the term to signify ailments caused by Zar" (1975: 573). Zar spirit or ganel-demons are one of the various causes of ailments and the symptom is having internal discomfort. There are three types of spirit healers: ?at'mak'i (baptizer), Shaman and Debtera. All of them are capable of treating k'urq̄ṇa and there are differences among them, Young (1975). Shaman is a man or woman who can oblige powerful Zars to show their power over other disease-causing Zars. The Atmakiy/?at'mak'i/ is a priest who baptizes a sick person with sanctified water which repels demons. Debtera/ dəbtəra/ healers are clerics, a liturgical singer, who expels pathogens with medicaments with the help of the spiritual power of the Church.

Natvig (1987) focussed mainly on the Oromo slave's contributions to the history of the Zar cult. He mentioned ceremonial and cosmological differences of Zar cult across among regions. Not many researchers have defined the meaning of Zar or Zar cult except Natvig, (1987). According to him, a Zar cult is referred to as a group of religious organizations and individuals who may have the possibility of becoming members of cult. The groups have a long term relationship with the practice of Zar cult and they tend to make a fundamental break from the main religious organizations of dominant groups. The leader of these groups is a person who is usually possessed as well, and who, after a period of assisting a senior Zar

group leader or through the direct intervention of the Zar spirit itself, has obtained a specialized skill and knowledge of how to deal with Zar spirits.

Furthermore, Natvig (1987:677) deals with theories on the origin Zar in Ethiopia based on two premises. The first is that Zar was originally from Ethiopia, and the second, is that it was from Arabia. According to him, there are disagreements among scholars on the origin. One reason is that Zar spirit has never appeared in Middle East since the 19th C. The earliest datable document of the word "Zar" is from the beginning of 19th C Old Ethiopic texts (Geez). In the translation of Geez texts from Gondar there is the word Zar in (Isaiah 34:14). They designated Zar in a category of spirits. The other two texts indicate that the origin of Zar is in the 16th c. Other literary evidence pushes it to three century back Natvig (1987:676)

Finally Natvig 1987 discussed, in the city of Axum, the society used scrolls, consisting of magical prayers on parchment rolls carried in small leather cases around the neck or the arm. These are supposed to protect the wearer against all kinds of diseases and calamities named in the texts. The word "Zar" occurs in twelve of the scrolls, among twenty-nine of the translated texts by W. H. Worrell, the feminine forms "Zart" and "Zarit" and the form "jar" counted sixteen times each by the wearer of a scroll.

To conclude the discussion, the word Zar is most probably originated in Ethiopia. But some literature indicates that it is originally from Arabia and spread into Eritrea (undated Tigre-text). But the meaning of Zar is commonly quoted as evil or demon by most East Africans. Even if the etymological meaning of Zar in Arabic is equivalent "to visit" the writers use the word to refer to as evil spirit or demons. For example, Body (1989), says the word Zar refers to a demons or sickness. In addition, Ahmed Al Shahi (1984) states it is as sickness and he

suggested that the sickness is cured through praying to GOD or Allah . Therefore, the origin of the word “Zar” is Ethiopia and it spread to the other parts of east African, especially to Sudan and Egypt.

Chapter Three

Data description and analysis

3.1. Major types of Zar

In the context of this research, there are seven Zars known to carriers. These are:

1. T'ək'war Anbasso
2. ʔadal Moti
3. Wəsən Galla¹⁷
4. Təkolaʃ Eyyasu
5. Marami
6. Somale
7. dʒəjlani

The first three are male and Təkolaʃ and Marami are female Zars, and Somale and dʒejilani are Muslim Zars, as will be shown later.

Devotees and carriers have their own assumptions about the number of Zars. Some believe that there are 44 Zars, but they do not know all the names. Others believe the number is not known. From the observation and interviews, the above seven Zars are believed to affect more than 85 % of carriers. People affected by female Zars are few in number. One reason for this is that, mostly, a female Zar affects a male person, though males are not easily affected by female Zars.

¹⁷ The word "Galla" is used by carriers, shaman and devotees.

3.2. Symbolic representations of different types of clothes

As presented in chapter two, symbolic interactionism focuses on how people interact through cultural objects such as clothes, Blumer (1969). A symbol is representation of people or ethnic groups that have shared knowledge of the objects, especially clothes represent a shared identity of groups.

Zars may prefer clothes of certain colours and each Zar may be identified by its specific colour. Carriers know the specific type of colour their spirit wants and are hence careful in making the right choice of colour when buying clothes. Ato Gebre Egziyabher, a 72-year old resource person possessed by Adal Moti says:

(2a) “እኔ ጋር ያ ለው አውልያ አዳል ሞቲ ይባላል ነጭልብስ ፣አረንጓዴ፣ቢጫ፣ ፣ ቀይ ጥለት

ነጠላ ይወዳል።”

/ine gar jalləw ?adal Moti jibbalal nəc'c'i libs, ?arəng^wade, bic'a, k'əj

t'ilət nət'əla jiwəddal/

'My Zar is called Adal Moti, and it likes a shawl with green, yellow, and red hem.'

(2b) “ል ክ ስወጣ እንደ ሙሽራ ሙስዬ ካልወጣሁ አይቀርብም። ምክንያቱም ሀዘን አይወድም ጥቁር ልብስ ለብሼ ብጠብቅ አይቀርብም ። እንደውም ሌላ ሀዘን ይጨምራል እንጂ ውቃቢው አይቀርብም ። ስለዚህ ደስ የሚል ልብስ ለብሰህ መቅረብ አለብህ ክድሚያው ወይንም ባህሉ ካለፈ በኋላ አውልቀህ ታስቀምጣለህ። ካለህ ለአመት አሰፍተህ ትመጣለህ ከሌለህ ደግሞ ያችኑ አጥቦህ ከች ነው። በዛን ቀን የምትለብሰውን ልብስ ለአዘቦት ቀን መልበስ ክልክል ነው። ይህ ልብስ እና በጉ የተከበሩ ናቸው ል ብሱም በ ሌላግዜ አይለበስም በጉም ያለውቅቱ አይሰጥም።”

/ Likk siwət'a mujsira məsijje kalwət'ahu ?ajk'ərbim. Miknijatum hazən

?ajwəddim t'ik'ur ləbse bit'əbk' indəwim lela hazən jic'əmmiral indzi

wik'abiw ?ajk'ərbim. Siləzzih däss jəmmil libs ləβisəh mək'rəb ?aləbih kidmijaw wəjm bə?alu kalləfə bəh^uala ?awilk'əh task'əmt'aləh. Kalləh lamət ?assəftəh timət't'alh kəleləh dəgmo jatʃʃinw ?at'bəh kəch nəw. bəzzank'ən jmitləbsəwn bə?azəbot k'ən məlbəs kilkil nəw./

'During the solicitation of my Zar, I must appear like a bridegroom, neatly dressed. If I fail to do so, the Zar may not come. It does not like gloom that would lead to further problems to the family. At the end of the ritual, the clothes will be kept clean until the next time the Zar comes.'

W/ro Sindu, who is 55 years old, says the following about her Zar:

(2c) “እኔ ጠቋር እና አዳል ሞቲ እካድማለሁ ፣ ለጠቋር ጥቁር ጥለት ነጣላለና ቀሚስ ፣ ለአዳል ቀይጥለት ያለው ነጠላ እና ቀሚስ አለብሳለሁ።”

/ine T'ək'war inna ?adal Motin ikaddimalləhu , lə T'ək'war t'ik'ur t'ilət nət'əla inna k'əmis, lə ?adal Moti k'əj t'ilət nət'əla inna k'əmis iləbsaləhu./

'I have two Zars: T'ək'war and Adal Moti. During the rite of T'ək'war, I have to wear a dress and shawl hemmed in black and during the rite of Adal Moti I wear a shawl hemmed in red.'

Ato Feyisa, 78 years old, also says the following about T'ək'war, Adal Moti and Wəsən

Galla. (2d) “ጠቋር፣ ጥቁር ጥለት ቀሚስ ከእንደፊት ቀይ ፣ አዳል ሞቲ- አረንጓዴ ጥለት ፣ የወሰን ደግሞ ቀይጥለ፣ ት ነው።”

/T'ək'war t'ik'ur t'ilət k'əmis kə?and fit k'əj, ?adal Moti ?arəng^uade t'ilət jə Wəsən dəgimo k'əj t'ilət nəw /

'T'ək^war wants a dress and shawl hemmed in black on one side and in red on the other side. Adal Moti favours a shawl in green and Wəsən Galla in red.'

From the observations and interviews with carriers, each Zar has a specific colour to its liking. But the colours are not the same across carriers. For example, Gebre Egziabher associates yellow and green and Feyisa associate only green with Adal Moti whereas Sindu associates red with Adal Moti. However, from the observation, green is common with Adal Moti. Carriers of T'ək^war say that the two colours, red and black, are used on either sides of a shawl.

The clothes have a common function: making the carrier attractive. Gebre Egziabher underlined that Adal Moti does not come if he (the carrier) is not attractive and W/o Sindu says (2e) “አውልያ ቆንጆ ይወዳል ቤተክርስቲያን እና አውልያ አንድ ነው ንጹህ ነገር ስለሚወድ ነው” / ገawilija k'onjo jiwəddal betəkirstijan inna ገawilija ገand nəw nis'uh nəgər jiwəddalu/ *'Zar and church are the same in that both like neat and beautiful things.'* Ahmed Al-Shahi (1984) also states the same thing about the function of clothes during the rites of Zar.

Why a certain colour is associated with a certain Zar has no good answer except that this is practiced following advice from Zar solicitors, who are individuals leading the rituals. What is common to all Zars is neatness. Each Zar wants its carrier to be neat during the rituals. This is obvious from Gebre Egziabher's statement “ልክ ስወጣ እንደሙሽራ መስዩ ካልወጣሁ አይቀርብም::” ለkk siwət'a muገገra məsiገge kalwət't'ahu ገajk'ərbim/ *'I have to be neat and well dressed like a bridegroom if the Zar is to be solicited.'* Neatness may be restricted to appearing in white

clothes irrespective the colour of the hem. Failure to satisfy the requirements of a Zar will lead to problems such as serious illness.

Symbolic associations of colours are found in Exodus (10:15), I King(14:23) that green is associated with natural growth, life, forgiveness and peace. This colour is associated with Adal Moti which is known for its forgiveness. According to Ezekiel (1:4; 1:27-28; 8:2) the colour yellow is symbolic of brightness and glory. Carriers believe that they should appear bright and glorious to satisfy the Zar. This requirement can transfer from parents to children. This is stated by W/ro Mamite, a 68- year old resource person who said (2f) “ማንኛውም ሰው ደጋጎቹ ያስጨበጡትን እናትና አባቱ የሰጡትን በአግባቡ ከካደሙ አውልደውም አይጥሉም አዳኛም ይሰጡዋል።”/mannijjawm səw dəgagotʃtʃu jasc’əbət’utn innatu inna ʔabbatu jəsət’tutn bagbabu kəkaddəmə ʔawiljawm ʔajt’ləwm ʔaddujnam jisət’əwal. ‘*Anyone who executes properly what he/she has got from parents, the Zar will not forget him/her and may give wealth.*’ Appearing neat and colourful is one of the requirements a Zar like Adal Moti wants.

According to Isaiah (63:2) and II Kings (3:22), red represents blood in war and vengeance. Təkolaʃ and Wəsən Galla are known to have a desire for ‘red’ both of them are known for their being ruthless. Təkolaʃ is a female Zar whose carriers are mostly male, who have to remain unmarried because she is jealous, while a carrier of Wəsən Galla may be forced to change his or her religion.

The colour black is symbolic of things like disease, famine etc. Job (6 :15 -16 and Job 30:30), and it represents ‘judgment’ Jeremiah (14:2). As stated above this colour is associated with T’ək’war which also likes red.

3. 3. Selected days of ritual or 'Kidmiya'

In different literatures, various definitions are given to the word day. In Psalm (90:4) and II Peter (3:8) a day is compared to a thousand years. In both, the word 'day' is used as a figure of speech that God is not limited to time as a human being is. In different literature, the word is associated with :

- (1) A point of time
- (2) A period of light
- (3) A period of 24 hours half of which is night
- 4) A month, year etc.
- (5) Time in its vague sense

For the purpose of this study *a period of 24 hours* is used for the ritual of solicitation of Zar, which has two durations.

1. Days of the week
2. Annual period or days of rites

3. 3.1. Days of the week

A Zar may have a specific day of solicitation by its carrier. This is often determined in consultation with a Zar doctor who leads the ritual. This also can be determined on the basis of the type of Zar. Zar carriers often go to him and tell their problems. Then a specific day will be set for a ritual to be conducted. The Zar will be solicited to show itself and the carrier will be instructed to do certain things to solve the problems, which is often assumed to have been caused by a Zar's demand not having been fulfilled.

After the doctor prescribes or tells the specific day a ritual is carried out. The following is an example of conversations between a Zar spirit, a carrier and Hajji Sirak/Siraj the Zar doctor during, a ritual:

(3.1a) Carrier F¹⁸

- Balə Zar: mata, mata, yamməŋal
- Carrier: *'I have a problem, every night'*
- Hajji: tənəs wit'abbat! (Order the Zar in Amharic)
'Come and ride on her'
- Hajji: ʔadəβ ʔadirgəh ʔadamt' mannəh ʔantə? (Order again)
'Listen carefully who are you?'
- Zar: Wəsən, wəllahi, Wəsən, wəllahi Wəsən wəllahi (in Arabic)
'I am Wəsən, I swear in the name of Allah'
- Hajji: wəllahi
'In the name of Allah'
- Zar: Wəsən wəllahi
'I am Wəsən, I swear in the name of Allah'
- Hajji: kəggon hun limkərillih maksəŋno, maksəŋno tikadmih
'Be next to her, let her serve you on Tuesdays'
- Hajji: makisəŋno, maksəŋno kadmiw Allah jafɪɪf, Allah jimarif
*'Serve him on Tuesdays, may Allah cure you, May Allah give you
mercy'*

(3.1 b) Carrier G

- Carrier: jaməŋŋal, jaməŋŋal
'I 'm sick, I'm sick'

¹⁸ The letters F and G are simply assigned by the researcher during the conversation with carriers, and zar doctors, because these carriers are many in number and difficult to get all their names.

- Zar: T'ək'war nəjn
 'I'm T'ək'war'
- Hajji: lela jast'əgahəw ?allə?
'Is there another one with you?'
- Zar: ?awo
 'yes'
- Hajji : wəsən gəlagilat
Avoid the new comer (this newcomer is mostly an unwanted spirit or according to the Zar doctor, is called demons/ or evil spirit)
- Hajji: Mannəh?
'Who are you?' (This question is directly asked to the spirit after the new comer has left)
- Zar : T'ək'war nəjn
 'I 'm T'ək'war'
- Hajji: wəllahi?
'I swear in the name of Allah'
- Zar: wəllahi
'Swear in the name of Allah'
- Hajji: kəgon hun limkəriilih
'Be next to her: let me advise her for you'
- Hajji: ?antfi wik'abi ?amilakijn tigəbriwaləj?
'Do you give annual dues to your Zar?'
- Carrier : sət't'itʃfəw ?alawk'im

'I have never given him'

Hajji: ləmin?

Hajji: 'why?'

Carrier : siləmmalawk'əw

'I do not know him'

Hajji: bət't'ir ihud k'en t'ik'ur buha bəg sic'iw, ihud, ihud kadmiw, Allah jimariḥ, Allah jasittark'ḥ

'In January on one of the Sunday offer him a blaze sheep, may Allah bless you, may Allah give you mercy'

In (3.1.a), the carrier possessed by Adal Moti ordered to carry out on a Tuesday and in (3.1.b) the carrier possessed by T'ək'war is ordered to carry out offerings on Sunday. In both conversations, the days of the rite are suggested or prescribed by the Zar doctor. This prescription is based on patterns of many years of rites of each Zar. However, carriers associate days with Zar spirit and make their own interpretations. According to Sindu :

(3.1.c) “አዳልሞቲ ሰኞ፣ ማክሰኞ እና ሀሙስ ይካደማል፤ ጠቋር ደግሞ እሁድ እካድመዋለሁ ከዚህ በኋላ ወደ ስራ ነው ምንግዜም ባህሌ ነው፣ ምንግዜም እሁድ ጠዋት፡- የሚካደመው ከቤተክርስቲያን መልስ ነው ምክንያቱም ጠቋር ዳዊት ደጋሚ ነው፡፡ እንዲሁም ሰኞ ጠዋት እና ሀሙስ ጠዋት ጎዘጉዤ አነጣጥራ ቤትን ወልውዬ አሳምሬ ልብሴን ለብሼ እካድማለሁ፡፡”

/ ጎadal Moti səገገno, maksəገገno inna hamus jikkadəmal , T'ək'war dəgimo ihud ikaddiməwalləhu. kəzzih bəh'wala wədə sira nəw. ihud t'əwat jəmikaddəməw kəbetəkristijan məls nəw. indihum səገገno t'əwat inna hamus t'əwat gozgužže ጎanət'at'ife ጎasammire ləbsen ləጔጔfe ikaddiməwalhu./

'The days of rites of Adal Moti are Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday and the rites of T'ək'war are Sunday and Monday mornings. Sunday morning is after mass because T'ək'war is a prayer of the psalm. I cleaned my house and I wear clean clothes to serve him.'

It is stated that T'ək'war is a reciter of the psalm of David and his rites take place after mass suggesting that T'ək'war is Christian

In addition G/Egziyabher states that he can wear the clothes set aside for the rituals of Adal Moti on the other holidays because a spirit and an Ark of the Covenant are the same in that both are ascetic. Only humans make differences between them. This is stated as follows:

(3.1.d) “ልብሱን በንግስቀን መልበስ ችግር የለውም። ምክንያቱም ታቦት እናአውልያ አይጣላም ሰውን ነው እጁ የሚለያቸው ሁለቱ አይቃረኑም ታቦትም መናኝ ነው አውልያም መናኝ ነው።”

/libsun bə'nigs k'ən məlbəs fʃiggir jəlləwm. mīknjatəm tabot inna ʔawil ʔajnnət'at'ələm səw nəw jəmmiləjəʃfəw huləttu ʔajk'k'arrənum tabottm ʔawiljam mənnəj nəw./

'Clothes set for ritual of Zar can be used on other holiday because a spirit and an Ark of the Covenant are the same in that both are ascetic, only humans Make differences'

Such association between an Ark and spirit does not hold across carriers; it is restricted to those who are orthodox Christian carriers.

The Zar doctors and carriers have very scanty reasons why Adal Moti should be solicited on Tuesday and other Zars on other days. Sometimes carriers themselves include other days of

solicitations without the order of the doctor. This shows that the rites of Zar are performed as folk customs and continue through generations. G/Egziyabiher says

(3.1.e) “እሄንን የምናውቀው አባቶቻችን እዚህ እያመጡን አስመርቀውን ፣ ልጅ አላድግ ያለው

አመቸሳ እያስነሳ በዛ በዛ ነው የምናውቀው”

/ ihennin jəmminawk’əw ገabbatot[af]fn izzih ijjamət’t’u ገasmərik’k’əwn ,

lidz ገaladg jaləw ገammət[fi]sa ¹⁹ ijjasnəsa bəzza bəzza nəw

jəmminawk’əw/

‘This thing we know from our ancestors who take us and gets us blessed. If a woman has a child who is afflicted, she gives the child to a spirit of Momina so that he/she is protected.’



This indicates that spirits are protectors from disease and this is obvious from Mamite’s statement “ማንኛውም ሰው ደጋጎቹ ያስጨበጡትን እናትና አባቱ የሰጡትን በአግባቡ ከካደመ አውልያውም አይጥለውም አዲኛም ይሰጠዋል።” /mannijawm səw dəgaggot[fi] jasc’c’əbət’utn bəገagbabu kəkaddəmə ገawiljaw ገajt’ləwm ገadduገnam jiset’əwal / *‘Everyone keeps the tradition of the ancestors and carry out the rites properly, they (the spirits) will not leave him/her without property and health.’*

To conclude the discussion, the times of solicitations like any custom are based on previous traditions, which are kept alive through regular performances. A newly possessed carrier should perform properly following the practice of his/her ancestors.

¹⁹ ገammət[fi]sa -means the woman that has a disease afflicting her newly born infants and has been given to the spirits to protect him/her from the disease.

3.3.2. Annual periods or days of rites

Annual days of rites are determined on the basis of carriers' income. There are two months in which offerings are made to Zars. These are September and January. According to Gebre Egziyaber ,

(3.2.a) “ አዲስ ዘመን በመሆኑ ይቀበላል ከወራቱ ካለፈ አይቀበልም ፣ ጊዜው ሳይደርስ ታህሳስ ብታደርግ ወይንም አሳልፈህ ሚያዝያ ብታደርግም አይቀበልም ፣ ነገር ግን ሁሉንም ማለቴ አይደለም ሰነም የሚሰጥ አለ እንደ አውልያው አይነት ይወሰናል ግን ዋናዎቹ ዘመን መለወጫ እና ጥር ላይ ነው። ጥር ሳያልቅ ወደ ቅዱስ ገብርኤል ወደሚካኤል አካባቢ ነው። የአዲስ ዘመን ደግሞ ቅዱስ ዮሀንስ አርብ ከሆነ ቅዳሜ ይሰጣል የቅዳሜ እንኳን ጭዳ የለውም ወይ እሁድ ይሰጣል ሀሙስ ከዋለ ጥሩ ነው ማክሰኞም ከዋለ ጥሩ ነው አርብ ናሮብም ከዋለ በማግስቱ ይታረዳል።”

/ገaddis zəmən bəməhonu jik'k'əbəlal kəwəratu kalləfə ገajik'k'əbbəlīm. gizew sajdərs tahsas bittadərg wəjnim ገasalifeh mijazija bittadərg ገajik'k'əbbəlm nəgərgin hullunm maləte ገajdəlləm sənem jəmmisət' ገallə ində ገawiljaw ገajnət jiwwəsənal. gin wannawotfu zəmən məlləwəc'a inna t'irr laj nəw. t'irr sajalik' wədə Mikael inna Gəbrel ገakkababi nəw. jəገaddis zəmən dəgmo k'iddus jəh^wans ገarb kəhonə k'idame jisət't'al jək'idame ink^wan c'ida jəlləwm hamus kəwalə t'iru nəw, maksəገno kəwalə t'iru nəw ገarb inna irob kəwalə bəmagstu jitarrədāl./

'At the beginning of a new year, Zars want offering from their carrier. The offering should not be made before and after the specified time. Not all Zars want offerings on the New Year. There are offerings in January or June. Most offerings are made in September and January. The offering in January takes place on the day of St. Michael, January 12(Ec) or the day of St. Gabriel, 19th January (Ec). If the New Year falls on a Saturday,

offerings are postponed to the following day. Saturday is not good time for offerings. It is also forbidden to make offerings on Wednesdays and Fridays as these are fasting days, Tuesday and Thursday are good days.'

Ato Shiferaw, a 52- year old carrier states the following:

(3.2.b) “በጠቋር ስም የዘመን መለወጫ ጠዋት ይሰጣል እስከ ሶስት ቀን ከግቢ አይወጣም ለቅሶ ቢኖርም ለቅሶ ቦታ አይኬድም። በሶስተኛውቀን ጠዋት ጉዝጓዙን ጠርጎ ልብሱን ቀይሮ ከዚህ ወዲያ ሰጠቷል ወደስራው ይወጣል።”

/bə T’ək’war sim jəzəmen mələwwəc’alət t’əwat jissət’t’al. iskə sost k’ən kəggibi ʔajjwwət’t’am lək’som binor lək’sobota ʔajikkedm. bəsostəjɲaw k’ən t’əwat guzg’azun t’ərgo libsun k’əjjiro kezih wədijja sət’t’al wədəsraw jiwət’al/

‘In the name of T’ək’war on a New Year morning, a blaze sheep is slaughtered, for three days I will not move out of my house, if there is also a mourning, I will not go there, after three days, I have to change my clothes and go to work’

From both respondents, it is clear that annual offerings are made on the basis of the Zar type. In (3.2.a) Zar takes annual dues in September and January. In January, the days are the 12th and 19th which are advisable to make offerings. The two days are associated with the two saints, Michael and Gabriel.

Not all days are good for offering. The fasting days, Wednesday and Friday, are excluded as slaughtering is not allowed. Saturday is not a good day either because it is a market day. Some carriers are traders and cannot miss it. The best days are Tuesday and Thursday. First,

the month of September is favoured for the rites because it is the first month of the New Year and the first day of the New Year is what most Zars want to have their annual dues. Second, January is selected for those who have made promises of offerings in this month and for those who could not make it in September. January is also a month of festivals like epiphany and as the saying goes there is no poverty in January, for it is a time of abundance. In addition Ato Shiferaw says:

(3.2.c) “ምናልባት እጄ አተት ብሎ ጥቁር ቡሀውን ማድርግ ካልቻልኩ ገንዘብ እንደኮርማ አቁምልኝ እልና አስቀመጣለሁ። ከዛ የጠር ደሀ የለውም ያን ያስቀመጥኩት ገንዘብ ላይ ሌላ ብር በመጨመር ጥቁር ቡሃውን ገዝቼ እሰጣለሁ።”

/minalbat idzdzē ʔatət bīlo t'ik'ur buhawn madræg kaltfalku gənzəb indəkorma ʔak'umlɪŋɪ ɪlna ʔask'əmt'alləhu. Kəza jət't'ir dəh jəlləwim jan jask'əmt'kut gənzəb laj lela bɪrr bəməc'c'əmmər t'ik'ur buhawin gəztʃe isət'alehu./

'Unfortunately, if I do not have money to buy a blaze sheep, I have to put a little money aside as a guarantee. Then in January by adding some more money to it, I have to buy the blaze sheep.'

January is selected for economic reasons. According to my respondent most carriers are farmers and the harvest is ready in December and January. In January, almost all farmers get money to buy what the Zar spirit wants. This is the main reasons why they postpone rituals to January. On the other hand, some Zar spirits take annual demands in June, but these are very few in number.

To conclude the discussion, even if annual demands are stated by Zar doctors or shamans, carriers make their own arrangements for the rite on the basis of their means of income. But

making arrangements without negotiation with Zar doctors is impossible, because the spirit may not agree to what a carrier decides. Therefore, a carrier negotiates with a spirit with the help of a shaman something of value to be set as a bailout.

3.4. Animals selected for sacrifice

Animals of different colours are used as sacrifices to Zar. The animals are mostly sheep and chicken. The colours vary depending on the type of Zar. The reason for this is that all Zars do not like the same colour. According to Gebre Egziyabher

(4.a) “አዳል ሞቲ ደግሞ ዳለቻ በግ ይሰጠዋል የሚሰጠውም አመት አለፍ ነው። ማለትም ለጠቋር በሀውን ከሁለቱዎቹ ከቀይ ወንድ እና ከቀይ ሴት ዶሮዎች ጋር አብሬ ከሰጠሁ የሚቀጥለው አመት ሁለቱን ዶሮች ከገብስማ ወንድ ዶሮጋር አድርጌ እሰጣለሁ። ይህ ዳለቸው በግ ደግሞ በሚቀጥለው አመት ለድምር ይሰጣል። ከሱጋርም አብረው ድፎዳቦ፣ አረቄ ነጭጠላ በዚህ አይነት ይሰጣል።”

/ ገadal Moti dalətfə bəg jissət’əwal jəmmisət’t’əwm ገamət ገallef nəw. malətm lə T’ək’war buhawn kəhuləttu dorotf kək’ej wənd inna kək’əj set doro gara ገabrre isət’ahul ləmik’ət’ləw ገamət hultəttun dorotf kəgəbsma wənd doro gara ገabrre isət’alləhu. jih dalətfəbəg dəgmo bəmik’ət’ləw ገamət lədimr jissət’al/

‘To Adal Moti, a gray sheep is slaughtered every two years, which means, if I offer a blaze sheep to T’ək’war with two reddish brown chickens and a rooster, the following year I will offer the two chickens with a grayish rooster. This gray sheep, I offer the following year, during the Məsk’əl festival.’

According to Ato Shiferaw

(4.b) “የኔ ለየት የሚለው ጥቁር ቡሃበግ በጠቋር ስም የዘመን መለወጫ ጠዋት እሰጣለሁ የምሠጠውም ከቀይሴት እና ከቀይ ወንድ ዶርጋር አብሬ ነው ፣ ጠላም ፣ ኑግም ፣ ባቁላ አሹቅ ይደረግ እና በስረአት እቤቴ ደግሼ እሰጣለሁ።”

/ jəne læjjət jemmiləw t'ikur buha bəg bə T'ək'war sim jezəmən mələwwəc'a t'əwat isət'alləhu jəmsət'əwm kək'əjj set inna kək'əj wənd doro gar ʔabrre nəw. t'əlam, nugm bak'ela ʔafuk' jidəragna bəsɾʔat ibete dəgfe isət'aləhu./

'Mine differs from others : I slaughter a blaze sheep in the name of T'ək'war on the first day of the new year morning (September 1st in E.c) I also offer a reddish brown chicken and rooster. In addition, roasted beans, local beer (t'əla), Araki, mashed oil seeds etc.'

According to Ato Feyisa:

(4c) “ጠቋር -ቡሀ በግ ይቀርብለታል ወሰንጋለ ዳለቻ በግ እኔ የማውቀው እነኚህ ነው ቤቴ ስላሉ።”

/T'ək'war buha bəg jik'erblətal Wəsən Galla dalətʃa bəg ine jəmmawk'əw innəjihn nəw bete sɪllalu/

'A blaze sheep offered to T'ək'war and a gray one to Wəsən Galla I know of these two because I carry out the rite of Wəsən Galla and T'ək'war'

As we can see, in (4a) and (4b) a blaze sheep, reddish brown chicken and rooster, and a grayish rooster are common requirements. A blaze sheep and a grayish rooster are interchangeable. A carrier who slaughtered a blaze sheep does not offer a grayish rooster in

the same year. Inversely, carriers who slaughter a grayish rooster do not offer a blaze sheep in the same year. This arrangement is based on the income of carriers. In contrast, it is possible to offer both sheep and rooster depending on the income of carriers.

In (4a) Adal Moti's demand is a gray sheep. This sheep is offered every two years especially by those who are possessed by two or more Zars. Because if a carrier slaughters a gray sheep with a reddish brown chicken and a rooster this year, he/she cannot offer the same in the next year. T'ək'war's blaze sheep is equal to a greyish rooster and Adal Moti's gray sheep is equal to a white- brown spotted rooster (nəc'c'wəsera). This rooster is slaughtered in the absence of a gray sheep. Wəsən Galla's demands are the same as Adal Moti but there is a slight difference between them (4c). The difference is that instead of the gray sheep a reddish brown rooster (k'əjw əsəra) can be slaughtered for Wəsən Galla.

Reddish brown chicken and rooster are common to almost all Zars. These chickens are commonly offered. On the other hand, based on ethnic differences of Zars, carriers are not allowed to offer sacrifices of chicken and goat. Goat is never used because it is a symbols of "demon". Chickens are common demands, but based on ethnic differences they are not offered according to w/o Sindu

(4d) "የኔ ዛሬ የአሮሞ ነው፣ ዶሮ አልበላም ፍየል አልበላም፣ በግነው የምበላው። ዶሮ እና

ፍየል የማልበላው አባቴ፣ አያቴ ስለማይበሉ ነው።"

/jəne Zar jəʔoromo nəw doro ʔalbəlam fiʃjel ʔalbəlam bəg nəw jəmmbəlaw

doro inna fiʃjel jəmmalbəlaw ʔabbate, ʔajate sɪləmmajbəlu nəw /

'My Zar is an Oromo, so I do not eat chicken and goat (meat), I eat lamb only.

Because, both my father and grandfather did not eat chicken and goat meat'

A demand prescribed by a Zar doctor or shaman as transferred from ancestor's practice is taken into consideration. For example, Sindu does not eat chicken and goat's meat because her ancestors did not eat but she is a carrier of the same Zars, T'ək'war and Adal Moti. Others possessed by T'ək'war and Adal Moti eat chicken and they also offer the same. But this is during the days of rituals only, for after and before that, carriers do not eat goat meat.

In general, symbolic representations of different colours of chicken and sheep vary according to each Zar's preference and carriers' ancestral practice. But these differences do not have clear-cut boundaries between them because in all types of Zar, reddish brown hen and rooster are common.

3.5. Zar and gender differences

Zar can be categorized into male and female. The differences are in their demands and other observable characteristics of possessed individuals. Numerically male Zars are greater than female Zars. On the other hand, female Zars are believed to be more dangerous than male Zars. Why female Zars are few in number? Because male carriers are not easily possessed by female Zars and those who are affected by female Zars are few in number. In addition, Torrey (1966), states that, male Zars are more predominant than female Zars.

Zar spirits mostly affect the opposite sex, which means that female Zars possess males and male Zars affect females. As stated above, female Zars are very few in number and inversely large number of women are possessed male Zars. Evidence for this is the number of female attendants which is more than 75%. Physical, psychological flexibility, social and economic stresses may be the reasons why females are easily affected by male Zars, Messing (1958). This leads male Zars to be numerically larger than female Zars.

There are males affected by male Zars. In contrast the probability of a female to be possessed by a female Zar is rare. This variation may be due to the fact that there are few female Zars.

According to Ato Alehegn, age 63,

(5.a) “ተኮላሽ እያሱ እንደሴት የወር አበባ ወንዱን ታሳየዋለች ፣ሴት አውልዶ በመሆኗ ትቀናለች፣ ከሌላሴት እንዲቀርብ ወይም እንዲገናኝ አትፈቅድለትም።”

/Təkolaʃ Eyyasu indəset jəwər abəba wəndun tasajjəwalləʃ, set ʔawilja bəməhon²⁰a tikʼənalləʃ, kəlela set indikʼərb wəjnim indigənanj ʔatfəkidlətm./

‘Təkolaʃ Eyyasu is a female Zar and it causes menstruation on its male carrier and does not allow its carrier to have relation with a woman’

The data gathered through observation supports this view. The person who is possessed by *Təkolaʃ Eyyasu*²⁰ behaves like a woman. He wears a dress like a woman, uses lipstick, gets his hair done in *furuba* style, acts like a woman and speaks like a woman. He avoids beard and moustache etc.

3. 6. Hierarchy of Zar

Researchers try to show hierarchical relations among Zar spirits. They classify Zar as kings and servants, Leslau 1949. But most devotees and shaman think each Zar spirit has equal power. The difference is on the relation between a spirit and its carrier. According to Gebre Egziyabher

(6.a) “መጀመሪያ ከፋች ጠቋር ነው ብር ከፋች ማለት ቀድሞበሰውየውላይ የሚቀርብ ማለት ነው ። ቀጥሎ አዳልሞቲ ፣ ከዛ በመቀጠል ብር አለንጋ ፣ ወሰን ጋላ በርካታ ናቸው። እንግዲህ

²⁰ Gender difference is observed in both sexes possessed by a female Zar like *Təkolaʃ Eyyasu*. On the other hand female carrier possessed by a male Zar has pitch like male, the pitch property specifies the average pitch (or frequency) of the voice. However, the average pitch for a standard male voice is around 120Hz, and a female voice is around 210Hz. But female carriers possessed by male Zars have pitch 140Hz to 150Hz on average.

እነዚህ በሰውየው ላይ ይቅረቡ እንጂ ትልቅ እና ትንሽ በመሆናቸው የለም፤ ። ልዩነታቸው እንደካዳሚው ነው።”

/mədʒəmərɪja kəfatʃ T'ək'war nəw²¹. kəfatʃ malət k'ədmo bəsəwjjew laj jəmɪk'ərb malət nəw. k'ət'lo ʔadal Moti kəzza Bɪr ʔaləŋga Wəsən Galla bərkkata natʃəw. ɪŋdɪh ɪnnəzɪh bəsəwjjew laj jɪk'rəbu ɪndʒɪ tɪllɪk' ɪnna tɪnnʃ bəməhakkələtʃʃəw jəlləm. lɪjʊnətʃəw ɪndəkaddamiw nəw²².

'First comer is T'ək'war: which means it shows up before any Zar spirit , next comes Adal Moti and then Bɪr ʔaləŋga, Wəsən Galla etc. This way they may show up but this doesn't indicate that there is power difference among the spirits. One is not greater than the other the difference is based on the relation between a Zar and its carrier.'

In addition W/o Mamite says that

(6b)“ከፍ ብሎ የሚገዛ አለ በአነስተኛ ደግሞ እንደቀላል ነገር የሚካድምም አለ ፣ በዚህን ግዜ አውልደውም እያቀለለው ይሄዳል። ትንሽ መሆኑ እድሉና አጣው ነው እድሉና ዕጣው ከፍ ካደረገው እያንደረበበ እያትረፈረፈ ይሰጠዋል ።”

/ kəf bɪlo jəmmɪgəza ʔallə bə ʔanəstəjɲa dəgmo ɪndək'əllal jəmmɪkadm ʔallə. bəzɪh gɪzə ʔawɪljaw ɪjak'əllələw jɪhedal. tɪnnʃ məhənu ɪdlu ɪnna ɪt'aw nəw ɪdlu ɪna ɪt'aw kəf kadərrəgəw ɪjjandərəbəbə ɪjjatrəfərəfə jɪsət't'əwal

'Some of the carriers do not solicit their Zar with great respect and some of them solicit with little respect. This makes differences between carriers and the power difference is a matter of a chance'

²¹ kəfatʃ T'ək'war nəw (T'ək'war is the first) because, T'ək'war disclose himself first, but this is not always the case and T'ək'war is not more powerful than others.

²² ɪndəkaddamiw nəw (according to solicitor) means the spirit wants to get a respect from its carrier, based on the nature of the carrier, the spirit makes himself strong and good protector, and reveals through wealth, health and other things of the carrier.

According to Ato shiferaw

(7b) “አውልያ አውልያ ነው። ቋንቋው ይለያይ እንጂ አንድ ነው። አዳል ሞቲ በአጠራሩ እነሱጋ ይለያይ እንጂ አንድ ነው። ምሳሌ :- ገብርኤል እኛ ስንል እነሱ ደግሞ ጁብሪል ይላሉ። በቋንቋው ነው እንጂ የተለየው አውልያ ያው አንድ ነው። እርግጥ ሙስሊም አውልያ አለ በረመዳን ያጸማል በሰላሙ ጊዜ ቢላ ሳይከለክል፣ ቤተክርስቲያን እየሄደ ነግርግን በተነሳ ግዜ ብቻ ለብቻው ነው።”

/ ገawilija ገawilija nəw. k'wank'waw jiləjaj indzi ገand nəw ገadal Moti bəገat'əraru innəsuga jiləj indzi ገand nəw. Misale gəbrəገel ijna sinnil innəsu dəgmo dʒbril jilallu. bək'wan k'aw'nəw indzi jətələjjəw ገawlja jaw ገand nəw . ɪrgit' jemuslim ገawlja ገallə bərəmədan jas's'omal bəsəlamu gize billa sajkələkkil, nəgər gin bətənəsabət gize ləbtʃfaw nəw./

‘Zar is Zar, the difference is language, we call the name of Adal moti others in other languages may call him by a different name. Example st. Gabriel is called Gibrill by Muslims. Even if Zar is common there is a Muslim Zar fasting during Ramadan²³, outside solicitation periods if a carrier is a Christian he has to go to church and eat Christian food , but when the Zar is solicited the carrier cannot eat Christian food.’

Carriers believe that there is difference between Muslim and Christian Zars. The different languages of carriers are taken as cause differences. Even if Zar differs in name based on the language, but they believe most Zars are the same (7b). However, a Zar like T'ək'war does not

²³ Muslim Zars affect both Christians and Muslims, Christians possessed by Muslim Zars, if the Zar is very powerful they may be forced to change his/her religion or kill the carrier himself or his family.. On the other hand, if the Zar is not powerful only the carriers forced to change his/her religion during the rites and on some common Muslim festivals. Mostly these carriers are Christians therefore they avoid alcohol like beer (t'əla) and (tedz) and Christian foods during the rites. But after the rites she/he goes back to Christian diet.

deal with Muslims carriers because T'ək'war is Christina Zar (7a). On the other hand, Jeylan and Somale are commonly considered as Muslim Zars. In addition, some Zars like Wəsən Galla and Adal Somale force their carries to change their religion during the rites. These Zars possessed both Christians and Muslims. Unfortunately if the Zar religion is Islam, the Christian carrier is forced to change his/her religion during the rites.

To conclude the discussion, Muslim Zars affect both Christians and Muslims. The Christian carriers affected by Muslim Zar follow dogmatic principles of Islam. In contrast Christian Zar does not affect Muslims carriers. However, both Christian and Muslim Zars, during the rite, use shared Arabic words. Both of them have equal knowledge of Arabic and other foreign languages as if often claimed to which we now consider.

3.8. Linguistic ability of carriers

Researchers, devotees and shamans state ideas about the linguistic abilities of Zar carriers. Devotees and shaman believe that carriers have ability to speak any existing languages during a rite. On the other hand, researchers believe that Zar language is esoteric or deformed expressions as Leslau (1949) said.

However, there is a gap here, since no adequate research has been done on the issues of linguistic ability of Zar carriers. Leslau's research may be the only one that deals with the language of Zar. Even if devotees and shamans believe that carriers speak existing but foreign languages (xenolalia) during the rite, there is no sufficient evidence that they speak such a language during rites.

During solicitation of Zar, carriers change from a normal state of consciousness to unusual state of consciousness. According to Zinberg (1977), this change is called altered state of consciousness (ASC). Rossi (1986) adds that any one is never entirely free from altered state of consciousness and it is like day-to-day activity. There are various variables in altered state of consciousness.

As has been discussed in chapter two, shamanistic is one of the variables in the productions of altered state of consciousness and it is treated under hypnosis theory. Devotees, carriers, doctors use stimulants like coffee, chat or k'at etc. in a rite of Zar. The spirit itself does not get solicited without coffee and chat, which are shared demands of Zar spirits. (8a) “ጫቱን ቅጥ ቡና ጠጥቶ መለመን ነው የሰውን ትቶ” /C’atun k’imo bunna t’ət’to mäləmən nəw jəsəwn tito/ ‘Forgetting people, pleading to the spirit by chewing chat and drinking coffee suffice.’ The expression refers to carriers who use coffee and chat to solicit a spirit and get into a trance state.

The ability to speak glossolalia or xenolalia comes in a state of trance. Carriers do not know anything about themselves in such a state. Gebre Egziyabher says

(8b) “እኔ አሁን አውልያው በላዬ በሚቀርብበት ወቅት ምን እንደሆነ ያቁጭ ያለው ሰው ደህነኛው ያውቅ እንደሆነ እንጂ እኔ ምንም የማውቀው ምንም ነገር የለም::”

/ine ?ahun ?awilija bälaje bämik’ərbibbät wək’t min indəhonə ja k’uc’ jaləw səw dəhnəjjaw jawk’ indəhonə indzi ine jemmawik’əw minimm nəgər jələm/

‘When I am possessed and in trance, I do not know anything maybe other people know about what is happening’.

Zar carriers have a common feature when they are in a trance or possessed by Zar in a rite like speaking a unique languages (Glossolalia or Xenolalia), shouting, laughing, hymns etc.

3.8.1. Glossolalia vs. xenolalia

As defined in chapter one, glossolalia refers to speaking or uttering non existing language in a state of trance and it occurs in cases where there is a predominance of the unconscious state, Goodman (2008). Xenolalia refers to speaking a foreign language during trance but the carriers never speak it in a normal sate of consciousness.

In a context of Zar, devotees and Zar doctors believe that the spirit speaks an existing language. The language may vary according to the Zar type. A Zar may speak Somali or Arabic etc. but the carriers do not speak either of the languages in their normal state.

According to Gebre Egziyabher:

(8.1 a) “አዳል ሞቲ እስላም ላይ ቢወጣ ያው በቋንቋውቸው ነው የሚጠቀመው ማለትም ቁራክን በሚቀሩበት በአረብኛ ነው የሚናገረው። በሌላ በኩል ደግሞ ከርስቲያኑላይ የሚወጣው አውልያ በየጎሳው እንደሚናገረው ቋንቋ አውልያው በሚቀርብበት ጊዜ የዛን ህብረተሰብ ቋንቋ ይናገራል። ምሳሌ እኔላይ አዳል ሞቲ አለብኝ አውልያው በሚነሳብኝ ወቅት በአማርኛ ለቤተሰቦቼ እንደሚናገር ከሄደ በኋላ ይነግሩኛል። አውልያ እና አውልያ ይግባባል። በማንኛውም ቋንቋ መግባባት ይችላሉ ነገር ግን አንዳንዴ ሌላው በማያውቀው ቋንቋ ይግባባሉ በመሀከላቸው ችግር የለም። አንዳንዴ ደግሞ አንዱ አውልያ አረብኛ ይናገራል መልሶ ይፈታል ለካዳሚው በሚገባው ቋንቋ ። ታዲያ ይህ ባላውልያ በደህናው ጊዜ ፈጽሞ አረብኛውን ቋንቋ መናገር አይችላልም ።”

/ʔadal Moti islamu laj biwæt'a jaw bæk'wank'watʃfəw nəw jəmmi't'əkəməw.
maləttm k'urʔan bəmmik'ərubbət bəʔarəbjɲa nəw jəmminnagərew . bəlela
bəkkul dəgmo kirstijanu laj jəmmiwæt'aw ʔawilja bəmmik'ərbbət gize
jəzzan hibrətəsəb k'wank'w'a jinnagəral . ləmsale inelaj ʔadal moti ʔalləbjɲ

3.8.1.1. Pure glossolalia

In a rite of Zar, carriers speak purely non-existing language. It means that the language is non-existing in the carriers environment. They do not utter the words and phrases in normal state of consciousness and they do not repeat them once they have uttered them. The following data show pure glossolalia :

- (a).Cry²⁴: la ʔonas
- (b).Cry: ʔajnuhare kodaas jilo hʔaʔino ʔajloha dʒiiri ʔno ʔasafa laʔihi
naʔorajis
- (C).Cry: kaʔadʒo naʔala fadi
- (d).Cry: kaʔajniri si niʔara ʔalofomi
- (e).Cry: pa ʔana ʔanindjis jo ʔajno ʔajdo ʔalo ʔasada ʔalnasjis
- (f).Cry: jibunas jiʔunah naʔalasidi .
- (g).Cry: Fak'ano fajjis
- (h).Cry: ʔaβʃira naʔofa jjilesi la ʔaraɖ
- (I).Cry: taʔaɳɳjulis jinoh ʔajno ʔaβ^{wa}
- (J).Cry: ʔanua lalia fadis
- H. Cry :il ləfəko lalhedaɖ ɖəf ilawal witʃwan
- I. Carrier A: anɿri jotinaninɿra
Carrier B: hande finɿida hane

The data is an example of pure glossolalia in a Zar trance. It is common in Pentecostal churches and it is known as 'lisan' or speaking in tongues²⁵. The difference is that Zar

²⁴ Cry – Refers to shouts, carriers in altered state sometimes produce as introductory to utter non- words or phrases.

carriers do not use only glossolalia continuously: they mix it with existing words of different languages. The glottal stop and tone are shared characteristics of Zar carriers.

Many researchers have tried to identify the phonological and morphological features, syntactic structures, the semantics and pragmatics of expressions of Pentecostal glossolalia, but no adequate structures have been reported, H.A. Osse et al (1972).

Likewise glossolalia of carriers do not have clear structure and as we observe from the above data here there are some patterns identified linguistically for example, the glottal stop “ʔ” commonly occurs at the beginning and middle of utterances. The semi vowel “j” repeatedly comes in the middle and at the end of utterances and at the beginning of utterances there is some high pitch or cry or shouting.

In addition, carriers utter some very familiar words found in their speech. The word “sii” and “ʔabfira” is found in Afan-Oromo and Arabic dictionary. “sii” refers to ‘you’ and “ʔabfira” refers to ‘an agreement’, in addition to these two words, there are other words and phrases which are non-existent .

To conclude the presentation carriers glossolalia do not have syntactic structures, semantic interpretations and pragmatic use.

²⁵ In religious contexts, and especially in Christian charismatic settings, glossolalia is a highly respected phenomenon. It is connected with the idea of being possessed by the Holy Spirit and the communication is with God. Elvira Koice et al (2005)

3.8.1.2. Mixed glossolalia

Mixed glossolalia refers to utterances of non-existing words mixed with some familiar words. The underlined utterances below are a mix of Amharic, Afan-Oromo and Arabic expressions:

1. ?awmeram ha?iləla bakidani ?ilalah ?ana mahij ?anasida imaje faisida ?ailəlah
imajen faisida ?iləlahwəi ?anadilafum
2. ?ehe mek'e ?aha ?aha ?ekerekimua ?emilaw mogas ?ekejera, jəsumale lidz nən
jətəmarəkubət, fira delise, ?ajo he?e he?e mek'e Ayyo kotta demmi ela jəsələlew
gala naguma saiada jənen k'əank'ua man ?abatu indajitawək' jəmfəligəw
3. Cry: lahi lahi bbbbb ?abbbb wədəza lahila ?iləlah! atimtaŋ lahilaila ?iləlah, lahila
?iləlah ha! lahibb lahibb lahibbbbbb lahila ?iləlah lahila ?iləlah zəraf
4. ?e garbichaa mamu oh anni garbichaa ək mindənəh ?awljanəh oliyaa tattu
hirəbəfu oliyaa tattu ək maali atti? maali atti? wəralia wət'adzja wərə gəndə hasu
kijai rekstorfrulai
5. Cry .fiarafiara fiaraj inate momina wəlahi bilahi
 - wəlahi bilahi fiara fiara... wodzila, homβa homβa ?salamaliχum woχj woχj
 - halo halo halo fialo fialo fialo χala χla χala χala jəwliħ χala χala χala χalaj
gibren inedzdzsilhalehu filahn kəfələk
6. ?ohoi səidina ma kabi iansa etinəta kodunisis jətədälje girf iko nən indih
7. inate momina hadrala fahida hadra
8. inate jərajaw wəmbəde ?ep etfa nukute natabo ?əp nəw nəw nəw mam mam
mam mərhaban mərhaban mərhaban

➤ The following table shows the utterances with their glosses:

Carriers	Words	Glosses
1	haʔiləla (Arabic)	a short form which refers to <i>'Allah is the only God'</i>
	imajje (Amharic)	<i>'my mother'</i> reference to Momina
2	jəsumale lidz nəj jətəmarəkubət (Amharic)	<i>'I am a child of Somali that I have been conquered'</i>
	ʔajjo (Afan-Oromo)	<i>'mother'</i>
	Ayyo kotta demmi (Afan-Oromo)	<i>'mother come and go'</i>
	jəsələlew galla (Amharic)	<i>'sellale's Oromo'</i>
	Nagumam (Afan-Oromo)	<i>'Very well'</i>
	jənen k ^w ank'a ^w man ʔabatu indajtawək' jəmiffəligəw (Amharic)	<i>'who is the one who wants my language not known'</i>
3	wədəza lahila ʔiləlah! (Amharic and Arabic)	<i>'leave me, Allah is the only God'</i>
	atimtəjɲ (Amharic)	<i>'don't hit me'</i>
	zəraf (Amharic)	<i>'expression of power or courage'</i>
4	Garbichaa maali atti? (Afan-Oromo)	<i>'servant of who are you'</i>
	Anni garbichaa (Afan-Oromo)	<i>'I am a servant'</i>
	mīndnəh ʔawlijanəh (Amharic)	<i>What are you? Are you Awliya (zar)?'</i>
	oliyaa tattu hirəbəfu (Afan-Oromo)	<i>'Awliya doesn't disturb'</i>

	Rek * ʔastorfrulai (Arabic)	<i>'I repent to Allah'</i>
5	<u>fiaraj</u> (Tigrigna) <u>inate momina wəlahi bilahi</u> (Amharic)	<i>'Well ---my mother Momina Allah is the only GOD'</i>
	<u>homβa homβa</u> <u>ʔasalamaliyum</u> (Arabic)	<i>Homba peace be yours</i>
	<u>halo halo halo</u>	<i>'Hallo, hallo---'</i>
	<u>jəwlih</u> (Amharic)	<i>'Look'</i>
	<u>gibren inedʒdʒsilhalehu filahn</u> <u>kəfələk</u> (Amharic)	<i>'My dues-----?' <i>If you want I will upset your dwelling'</i></i>
6	<u>Səidina</u>	<i>Name of the previous Zar doctor 'NurAhmed'</i>
	<u>jətədälje girf ikonəj indih</u> (Amharic)	<i>I was trained by Tadelije (expression of emotion)</i>
7	<u>inate Momina</u> (Amharic)	<i>'My mother Momina'</i>
8	<u>inate jəräjjaw wəmbəde</u> (Amharic)	<i>'my mother, gangster of Rayya'</i>
	<u>nəw nəw nəw</u> (Amharic)	<i>'Right, right ...'</i>
	<u>mərhaban mərhaban mərhaban</u> (Arabic)	<i>'Right, right ...'</i>

In (1) the carrier speaks glossolalia with Amharic and Arabic words. “imaje” is Amharic meaning ‘mother’. In the context of this research, ‘mother’ refers to Momina, the founder of the shrine. The other words are Arabic and these are very familiar to Muslims “laila?ailalah” meaning ‘Allah is the only God’. In (2) the speaker inserts words and phrases into the glossolalia utterances. The words are from Amharic and Afan Oromo. “jəsumale lidz nəŋ jətəmarəkubət” is an Amharic phrase meaning ‘I am a child of Somale who has been conquered’. It refers to the woman who is the carrier of the Adal Somale spirit. “?ajjo kota demi” and “naguma” are Afan Oromo words meaning ‘mother come and go’. The word “?ajjo” mother again represents Ayo Momina or ‘mother Momina’. During rites carriers ask for the mercy of the spirit. “naguma” meaning ‘fine’ and “jəsələlew galla” is Amharic meaning ‘Selale’s Oromo’ this may refer to the place where the carrier comes from.

In (3) Amharic and Arabic words are inserted into the glossolalia. “attimtəŋŋ” and “zəraf” are Amharic words. “attimtəŋ” meaning ‘don’t hit me’ and “zəraf” is ‘an expression of courage’. In (4) the carrier mixes Amharic and Afan Oromo. “garbichaa”, “maali atti”, “?olijan tatu hirəbəfu” and “garbichaa” are Afan Oromo Phrases. “Anni garbichaa” meaning ‘servant’ refers to the fact that she is the servant of Momina hence she has power to know if somebody has been newly possessed by a spirit. , “maali atti” meaning “who are you” and “oliyaa tattu hirəbəfu” meaning ‘if you are a Zar spirit don’t disturb the others’. “mindnəh ?awljanəh” is Amharic for the same question ‘who are you? Are you a Zar spirits’

These carriers mix at least two languages at the same time. Those words taken from Arabic are very familiar to most people and listeners can easily understand their meaning. Other carriers who mix Amharic and Afan- Oromo are bilingual in the two languages (4). And others know very few common words like in (2) though they do not pronounce them properly.

3.8.2. The Role of code mixing in Zar expressions

There are three processes of code mixing: insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization (Muysken 2000:3). Insertion refers to lexical item from one language inserted into the structure of another language. Alternation is using two or more languages alternatively at switch points and congruent lexicalization refers to words from two languages used in the same structure (Muysken 2000:4). However this research does not go through the three processes of code mixing. It only focuses on the insertion processes because during a rite of Zar, carriers use insertion of items in their utterances more often.

The function of code mixing in a rite of Zar is not the same as in day-to-day activities. A Zar spirit uses code mixing to show its power because linguistic ability is taken as a key factor in rite of Zar.

Carriers mostly use code mixing during the rite of Zar. Amharic speakers insert words from Afan-Oromo and Arabic into Amharic. On the other hand, for those Afan-Oromo speakers, Afan-Oromo is a matrix language into which Amharic and Arabic words are inserted.

Example of insertion of Amharic, Afan-Oromo and Arabic words in utterances:

1. Kan manaan loolamu kan ristiin loolamu

'One who has problem both in and outside the home'

2. Yaahabashaa qaalin rabbin moo kattabamtee jirti.

'Abesh, the word of God has been written'

3. Mana ayyantu dhaqxee salaamsattaa

'She goes to a wise woman's home and greets'

4. Kuni ilee ilmaan rakkatee jirtii walaahi.Ati ilman rakatee hinjirtu?

'In the name of Allah she is in trouble with children. Don't you?'

5. Tariikaa haadha kenyatii

'The history of our mother'

6. Anaan shaydaa Mominaantiyya.

'Momina is my witness'

7. Kaafana Ziyyaara Abiyoon hin micamnee ta'eetti

'A cloth of pilgrims to Abiyo (Shekena Hussen) not washed'

8. kaadhadhee manaas ijaree, kadhadhee yemuxiinyi jedhee

'I pray and build home, I pray and stick'

9. kan achi dubbatus rabuma kadhachaa jiraa damozumaff addan baasne

'A person/group talks from there, pray to GOD only, we grouped for a reward'

10. ?aləngə indet inate dirri laj jigebal

'How can a whip be drawn into my mother's dwelling'

11. muartəna, fərrəna ?ahal jijjazlij

'May Allah protect you from envious and ill-wishers'

Code mixing in the context of Zar rite may be categorized into various types. One core function of code mixing is to magnify the power of the Zar spirit. Specially inserting words from Arabic is familiar in Zar rites. Using familiar Arabic words does not show religious differences. In (4) “wəllahi” is an Arabic word meaning ‘in the name of Allah’. This word is inserted into Afan-Oromo structure by an Afan-Oromo speaking carrier. But this word has the equivalent in Afan-Oromo “maqaa waqayootiin”. The word “wəllahi” is familiar to Muslims but this word is not uttered by only Muslim carriers. In (11) the word “wəllahi” is inserted into Amharic matrix structure uttered by Amharic speaking Christian carrier and Christian Zar like T’ək’war’. In (6), (7) and (10) words from Arabic are inserted in one of the matrix (Afan -Oromo or Amharic) structures but the carriers are from both religions.

The frequency of insertion from Afan- Oromo into Amharic is less than that from Amharic into Afan -Oromo. This may be due to the long contact of the two languages. However, the process of insertion from Arabic into Afan- Oromo, and Amharic into Afan – Oromo is quite different. The process of insertion from Arabic to Afan- Oromo doesn't lead to phonological changes but in the process of insertion of Amharic into Afan –Oromo leads to various phonological processes.

In (1) “qaalin” /k'al-in / meaning ‘word’ the form of this word in Amharic is /k'al-u / or /k'al-ua/. The inflectional morpheme “-u” indicates 3SM and “-ua” indicates 3SF. But in Afan –Oromo the inflectional morpheme “-in” is a postpositional clitic .In (5), the word “risti-in” is similar to (1). In (5), “tarikaa” /tarik-aa/ meaning ‘history of her/him’ the form of this word in Amharic is /tarik-u/ or /tarik-ua/. In Afan – Oromo “-aa” is nominalise, but in Amharic “-u” refers to 3SM and “-ua” to 3SF. In (9) “damozumaff” /dəmoz-u-aff/ whose contextual meaning is ‘for a reward’ and the Amharic equivalent is /lə -dəmoz/ ‘for salary’. The Amharic preposition “lə-” is replaced by the postpositional clitic the “-aff” in Afan-Oromo.

To conclude the discussion, code mixing has the role of magnifying the linguistic ability and power of Zar carriers. Even if these words are familiar and simple, some carriers do not use them in their day- to- day communication based on their religion. Zar rites may be taken as an intersection area of Muslim and Christian carriers in the use of words irrespective of religious differences.

3.8.3. Phonological features of Zar expressions

In Zar expressions, phonological deviations characterize carriers use of language. Carriers do not pronounce words clearly. This makes it difficult for listeners to understand devotees expression in trance.

<i>Utterances with difficult pronunciations</i>	<i>formal pronunciations</i>	<i>gloss</i>
1. [ʔaʔəlam]	/ʔasəlam/	'may peace'
2. [gəβrhe]	/gəbre:l/	'name of angel'
3. [nuraməra]	/nur ʔahməd/	'the previous Zar doctor'
4. [k'əla]	/k'əllal/	'simple'
5. [tik'əlβo]	/k'əlb/	'instinct'
6. [nigaraməra]	/nəgərəŋna/	'trouble maker'
7. [doftor]	/dɔktər/	'doctor of Zar'
8. [tʃəl]	/tʃər/	'generous'
9. [muʃu]	/muʃʃira/	'bride'
10. [mənənu]	/mənənənu/	'the monastic/ascetic'
11. [T'ək'wəro]	/T'ək'wər/	'the name of Zar'

The types of change are : (1) shortening, (2) adding of phonemes at the beginning or end of morphemes and (3) replacing sounds and words.

First, examples of forms with shortening are [muʃu] and [k'əla]. These words are formed by deleting syllable at the end of the words, / muʃʃira/ → [muʃu] here the syllable “-ra” is deleted by carriers / k'əllal/ → [k'əla], “-l” is deleted in the utterance of carriers. Second, inserting of phonemes at the beginning and end of morphemes are instances in the word

/k'əlb/ → [ti-k'əlβ-o]. In this word the prefix "ti-" and the suffix "-o" are added at the beginning and end of the word /k'əlb/. Finally /T'ək'war/ → [T'ək'war-o] the suffix "-o" is added.

Third, replacing sounds and sometimes words are very common in Zar expressions. The examples of simple sound changes are like in the following:

/dɔktɔr/ → [dɔftɔr],
 /tʃəɾ/ → [tʃəɽ]
 /gəbrɾel/ → [gəβrhe]
 /ʔaʂəlam/ → [ʔaɽəlam] and
 /mənnənu/ → [mənnənu]

In these words, the change is in sound and morpheme as shown below:

/k/ → [f]
 /r/ → [l]
 /rel/ → [heØ]
 /s/ → [t̪]
 /ɲ/ → [n]

In the first example /k/ → [f], the change is from velar /k/ to the labiodental [f]. The second is from the alveolar trill /r/ to alveolar lateral [l]. The third is from the alveolar trill /r/ to the glottal [h] and the alveolar later /l/ to [Ø]. Finally is the change from the alveolar /s/ to the dental [t̪]. These are simple changes that occur word internally. Other changes take place in the form of replacements of parts of words such as Nurʔahməd changing to Nuraʔaməra and Nəgərəɲna changing to Nəgarʔaməra. In the first case, the carrier pronounce ʔahməd as

[ʔaməra] and in the second carriers pronounces the suffix /-əŋŋa/ as [ʔamera], but the meaning of [-ʔamera] is not clear.

3.9. Metaphoric expressions of Zar

Metaphoric expressions of Zar include literal and poetic expressions. The literal expressions include the following:

3.9.1. Literal expressions

1. Isinttu gabaa Ayyo battanii

'You went to a market of Ayyo'

2. Ebon isinitti oldebbia

'A spear may get back to you'

3. gibren lakliŋŋ wənzəŋŋa indalməslih ʔadalsomale nəŋŋ

'Send my annual due, I am Adal Somale not a local one.'

4. j ənnate wəttadər jəmmomin wəttadər

'My mother's soldier, Momina's soldier'

3.9.2. Oral poems

5. innate imməbete bəʔadzajbətihu

kəbləl kəbləl bīlo dīngaj zəjərəhu

'My mother and my queen in your miracles even stones roll down to greet you'

6. indəmn jaləw nəw jəmmi't'ələw ʔantun,

bəftawn firo sijagəŋŋ mədanitun

'What kind of person would hate you, when he/she gets cured from his /her illnesses'

7. jəgalamaw geta jəmominat bet

məmc'aw ʔajtawək' ʔadəgaw dingət

jafərsəwal jəmok'əwn bet

'The king of Galama (home of Momina) comes unexpectedly and destroys all warmly set house'

8. kəʔantu jələmmədə kələlamm ʔajləmd

kəhuləttum hagər kəsetim kəwənd

'If once familiar with Momina, no one can be familiar with others, male or female'

9. c'ink' mət'abatʃfəw jemist libbona

bal inna bet t'iləw ləʔallah ʔaddəruna

'Trouble comes into the heart of a wife, she leaves her husband and home and follows Allah'

10. sɪtabəla ʔababla sɪttas'om ʔababla

ɪmmamma Təkolaʃ jəhomba wələla

'When she feeds, it is with persuasion, and when she get one fast it is with persuasion, mother Təkolaʃ is a honey of Homba.'

11. Somale jalkəw lajk'ər səw jalew lajhon

bəkəntu ʔadəkəkəməw hasabu bonənə

'Somale, if you say once not even one can change your word'

As discussed in chapter two in metaphoric expressions the two objects interact in the following ways :

(1)The occurrence of a primary object incites the hearer to focus on the secondary object.

This indicates that the hearer is in search of further interpretations of the secondary object. In

(1.) the literal expression "Isinttu gabaa Ayyo battanii" 'you went to a market of Ayo'

contains two objects : the primary object is “gabaa” ‘*Market place*’. But the metaphor of “gabaa” does not indicate a market centre. It refers to participants of a Zar cult during annual feast of Ajomomina. Additional metaphoric meaning of the phrase is a group of participants negatively known by carriers. In (2) “Ebon isnitti oldebbia” lit. ‘*a spear may get back to you*’ the primary object “Ebo” refers to ‘spear’ if one of the participants cheats a Zar doctor or carrier or devotee, immediately he/she may be punished by Momina’s Zar. So following this assumption, a ‘spear’ is associated with punishment.

Based on the primary objects hearers are provoked to infer the secondary objects or truths.

The truth may derive from experiences or shared knowledge of group members.

<u>Primary objects</u>	<u>Secondary objects</u>
Gabaa ‘market place’	attendant of festival
Ebo ‘spear’	punishment

(2) Metaphor helps hearers to construct parallel implications based on a given formation.

In (11), Somale jalkəw lajk’ər səw jalew lajhon

bəkəntu ʔadəkkəməw hassabu bonnənə

‘*Somale, if you say once, not even one can change your word*’

The parallel implication of the expression is that Somale is the name of a Zar called “Adal Somale” Carrier assumes that “Adal Somale” speaks the Somali language. Attendants believe that Adal Somale is a dangerous Zar whose word cannot be challenged, once said it is final.

(10) sitabəla ʔababla sittä’om ʔababla

immamma Təkolaʔ jəhomba wələla

‘*When she feeds, it is with persuasion, and when she gets one fasting, it is with persuasion, mother Təkolaʔ is a honey of Homba.*’

Even if carriers sing the song, they know that the inverse, Təkolaḥ is a female Zar and carriers assume that she is jealous and she mostly affects males, she does not allow them to have any relations with women. But from the expressions hearers construct a parallel with a pure honey and a gift from a place called “Homba”. This is the place where Momina’s mosque is found. Furthermore, carriers think that Təkolaḥ is the mother of all Zar spirits.

(7) jəgalamaw geta jəmominat bet

məmc’c’aw ʔajttawək’ ʔadəgaw dingət

jafərrisəwal jəmok’əwn bet

‘The king of Galama (home of Momina) comes unexpectedly and destroys all well set Homes’

From this expressions, hearers infer that the place called Galama is a branch of Momina’s mosque. The power of the king of Galama is derived from Momina’s power and it attacks unexpectedly those who do not believe in the spirit of Momina. Orally, followers of Momina state that from the beginning of emperor Minillik II up to Derg regime, the practice of Zar cult was not recognized by governments and was not allowed to spread throughout the country. The parallel truth of the expression is like a command for those who don’t believe in Momina’s Zar. On the other hand, in (6) and (8) the reference is to the forgiveness of Momina and how she is very acquainted with devotees, carriers and shamans.

(6) ɪndəmn jalləw nəw jəmmiṭ’əlaw ʔantun

bəʃtawn ʃiro sijageŋ mədanitun

‘What kind of person would hate you, when he/she get cured from his /her illnesses with Your blessing’

(8) kəʔantu jələmmədə kələlamm ʔajləmd

kəhuləttum hagər kəsetm kəwənd

'If one is familiar with Momina , no one can be familiar with others male or female'

In the first case Momina is taken as a healer of any sickness so that no one can hate her, when it is known that people get cured without any payment. Second, one who is familiar with Momina it is difficult not to follow her. In short, the metaphor of the above two expressions are people who do not believe and disrespect or criticize Momina's Zar may get punished, while those who follow her Zar get relief from their sickness and problems.

In addition to this, the following metaphorical expressions show the parallel interactions of the two subjects:

(4) jəɪnnate wəttadər jəmomin wətadər

'My mother's soldier, Momina's soldier'

(5) innate imməbete bəʔadzajbəthu

kəbləl kəbləl bīlo dingaj zəjərəhu

'My mother and my queen with your miracle come rolling to even stones greet you'

The relation between the two objects is parallel. The first object 'soldier' represents the secondary object 'Zar spirits'. Spirits ordered by Momina and her ancestors are like soldiers who respect orders of their leader and attack or affect other people who do not follow or respect her and her Zar. In (5) the primary object is "stone" which acquires the nature of human being, because, greeting is not the characteristics of a stone. The primary object, a stone equally acts like a secondary object, a human being. Based on the expressions, carriers, devotees and Zar doctors want announce that Momina has a power to do miracles. To show this power they use metaphors of "stone" and "human".

In general, the functions of expressions are categorized into three (1) function of indicating that Momina has a power that can affect or kill anyone (2) function of explaining Momina's protection of her followers (devotees, shamans and carriers) by solving their problems (3) function of believing that Momina or her ancestor has power to give order to Zar spirits.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1. Conclusion

The practice of Zar rites is common all over Ethiopia. Fərək'əsa is one of the biggest pilgrimage centers. The founder of the center is called Ayyo Momina. She Arrived at Fərək'əsa and built her mosque in 1885. Momina was both a carrier and doctor of Zar spirit. After Momina died in 1929 her spirit was transferred to her son Taye Meshesha. After the death of Taye Meshehsa, Hajji Siraj became in charge of the whole activities of the mosque. In the last three decades, carriers, devotees and Zar doctors have met regularly four times a year to celebrate the Zar rites.

As stated in chapter one, this research has general and specific objectives. The general objective was to explore linguistic and non-linguistic expressions of Zar spirits and the context. The specific objective include describing symbolic representations of clothes, scarifies of animals etc., and to describe phonological and morphological properties of Zar expressions which include glossolalia and xenolalia.

To achieve the general and specific objectives, adequate data were collected from the site that is from Momina's shrine. To collect the data semi-structured interviews were prepared and participant observations were also done. During interviews and observations a high quality voice recorder was used to record utterances of carriers, devotees and shamans. After the data collection, qualitative analysis method was selected to analyze and interpret the data.

Subsequently, the main findings of the research include verbal expressions and nonverbal objects of symbolic representations. These are used as parts of the expressions in Zar rites.

First, nonverbal expressions include clothes and scarifies of animals required by different Zar spirits. As has been discussed in chapter three, animals and clothes of different colours are preferred by each Zar type. Carriers, devotees and shaman have shared knowledge about these. The demands of Zar spirits are classified into shared and unique demands.

1. Shared demands include red hemmed shawl and reddish brown chicken and roosters.

These demands are common to all Zars.

2. Unique demands are those which refer to demands specific to one or two Zars. For example, the colour green is associated with Adal Moti, black and red are associated with T'ək'war Anbeso etc. In addition, a blaze sheep is symbolic of T'ək'war, whereas gray sheep is associated with Adal Moti etc.

Second, in verbal expressions, when carriers get into an altered state of consciousness their Zar speaks to devotees, Zar doctors and other Zars in a common language like Amharic for example, which is familiar to devotees, carriers and doctors. However, Zars commonly utter non-existing words and/or utterances mixed with existing words. This linguistic ability helps a Zar to get acceptance by carriers and devotees, simply because he uses utterances not understandable to others.

Even if a Zar utters 'glossolalia' or non-existing words, devotees and carriers believe that the Zar (carrier in altered state of consciousness) speaks Arabic, Somali, and Afan-Oromo etc. But in their normal state of consciousness, such carriers may never speak the language that he/she has spoken during the altered state.

1. Carriers use some familiar Arabic words which are common in their day- to- day communications. During the altered state of consciousness (trance) they utter both, those familiar Arabic words and words from non-existing languages (Glossolalia). Devotees and carriers may not speak Arabic or Somali, etc. except that they know few Arabic words which they mix with existing words in their language.
2. Carriers and devotees do not have explicit knowledge of the non existing language (Glossolalia). They know that they speak a language because they believe they have a unique linguistic ability to utter in their altered state.
3. Carriers, doctors and devotees believe that in the state of trance they can speak any language used in and outside the compound of Zar centers like Momina's shrine.
4. What carriers in trance do is mix languages such as Afan- Oromo and Arabic, Amharic and Arabic, and Amharic and Afan –Oromo. There is also mixing of existing words of Amharic, fan-Oromo or Arabic with non- existing words.
5. The words uttered by carriers during altered states show features of deletion, insertion shortening of morphemes replacing sounds at the beginning or end of utterances.
6. Literal and poetic expressions were noted in relation to Momina's power of affecting or killing anyone, protect her followers and solve their problems, Momina and her

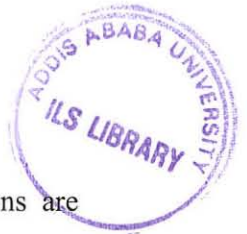
ancestors are believed to have power to give orders to Zar spirits to identify themselves and behave according to orders given by Zar doctors.

The utterances of carriers during altered state can be divided into male and female. A woman possessed by a male Zar has low pitch, this issue needs further research, and since female have high pitch under normal circumstances.

4.2.Recommendations

From the presentations of the findings of the study the following recommendations are forwarded.

- (1) Unique ability of Zar spirit, including performing unusual activities of carriers in trance and speaking glossolalia need further research by experimental linguists.
- (2) The reality of linguistic ability of carriers or doctors during altered state of consciousness as stated by Leslau (1949) is stated as deformed or exoteric utterance. But according to the present research, utterances made by carriers are pure glossolalia, mixed glossolalia with phonological changes taking place. The phonological changes require in depth research
- (3) Gender differences of Zars of male and female carriers lead to alteration of pitch. Female carriers produce low pitch utterances during trance which need further research.



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Appendix I

The utterance carriers in altered state of consciousness

Carrier A

Intro. laʔonas

Intro. Ajnuharekodaas jilohʔaʔinoʔajloha dʒiiriʔnoʔasafa laʔihinaʔorajis

Intro. kaʔadʒonʔalafadi

Intro. kaʔajniri siniʔaraʔalofomi

Intro. paʔanaʔanindjis joʔajnoʔajdɔʔaloʔasadaalnasjis

Intro. Jibunas jiʔnahnaʕalasidi

intro. Faqanofajjis

intro. aβfiranaʔofajjilesilaʔaraɖa

intro. taʔaŋŋjulisjinohʔajnoʔaβwa

intro. ʔnualalia fadis

Carrier B

janate wotadər jamomin wotadər, janate filfəl hɕla,hɕla hɕla ʔsalaħ malifum
jamomi filmo ʔsalaħ malifum ʔlasaħ bakriwo,gibren ʔlaħ,ʔlaħ,ʔlaħ

hahahaha ʔasalamalikʰum naħ naħ gibren naħ naħ gibren naħ naħ gibren,naħ
naħ naħ naħ.... xgibren , xgibren ,xgibren ʔasalamalih

ʔjlaħ laħ laħxgibren xgibren laħ laħ laħ.....

intro.harahařařař haraj inate momina wəlahi bilahi

wəlahi bilahi hara hara...

ʔhohoho ʔhehehehe ʔhohoho ʔhehehehe? hahahahaha ...

ʔsala malikum ,ʔsala malikum, ʔlanga indet jgəbalw inate diri laj indet jigebal
alagaw jətə sət'əh ləwɔ'nəw inj lənate diri nəw inde aləngaw antə? antə ʃəjt'an
ant'ən bilo balə awilija. antə ʃəjt'an antə bukalifa,balə abəba, aləmdahaxaw
məsida ʔhlalala ʔjt'an aləmdahaxaw məsida ʔhlalala,alənga inate dire laj
ajgəbam antə,kələflafa kələflafa wəsəngala karamara lited litgabanəw indzi
jəmət'ahəw aləga litasgebanəw inde? hombaw fəlfəla adal somale hombawi
fəlfəla adal somale ʃbaso momina ja tmoinat tmominat

intro.

ʔsalamalixm gibren ʔj gibren , gibren gibren antə gibren ʔloa loha gibren təw
gibren antə ʃəjt'an adal somale nəj antən bilo awilja antən bilo awak'i antə
c'əbari antə səjt'an ʔsalamalikum jəmomina dire ʃjt'an antən bilo antən bilo
asaf ʃəjt'an təw , ine ʔlwət'am jəmalwət'abət miknjat ʔləj jənate ʔnkase ifok
hono jiwgaj ,ibab jilakibh jənate kərama jiwgah jənate hadra jiwgah, jənate
ʔnbəsa jənate jumət antə jənən tark ʔtawik'm , mintak'aləh siləne wiʃa səjt'an
iwnət jənate kərama humba təwəldo k'uba jadəgəw , jəmomina aʃkər
jəminəninəw iwnət lədʒn jargik ajləflih, bukri liβ bukri libəs inate mədʒən
sa'id masan mədʒən girac'a mədʒan, nigus mədʒan jəʃubaf kərama mədʒən
jənate wətadər mədʒan, (another carrier 221.617199 inate momina hadrala
jahida hadra)

intro.harafharafhar haraj inate momina wəlahi bilahi

wəlahi bilahi hara hara... wodʒila, homβa homβa ʔsalamalixum woxj woxj

gəβtʃe nidʒis dʒis sarəgilatʃəw,gəba nədʒadʒ ʔantəla ʔantəna nəsinisires ,
C'iflk'il argew nədʒfəw biwət'a ʔjnəkajm.miknjatum ihe kələj jəmət'anəw
jəmət'anəw awo awo almət'am iza səjt'an məsijewalhu, nəgreatʃhualəhu
jalək'əbət nəw inde jəmk'əbaw iza wət'tʃenəw jəminədʒsilh wəlahi bilahi
jənate wətadər dəgimo indajk'əjəmbij bije nəw indʒ min agəbaj antə halo halo
jəmomin muʃra gibren bijehaləhu ,jəmiot'əfaw kəsir jaləwnəw halo halo
gibren Bijehalehu gibren Adalsomali mət'tʃenəw jəminədʒsilh awo gəbtʃenəw
jəminədʒsilh halo gibren gibren gəbtʃenəw jəminədʒsilh wəlahi bilahi gibren
gəbtʃenəw jəminədʒsilh inate mominan adalsomali ajdələhum ʔhahaha
jəhamus ʔrəgawr mudzʒʃh(glossolalia)gibren ʔtaʃufbj ibakh halo ʔsala
maʔlikum jəmomin muʃu gibren wənzəna indalməsilh gibren bijehaləhu antə

gibren antə lik'lak'i indatamət'a ine jəmomin ʔkər ine lik'lak'i ʔlfəlglīm
adalsomali jəhomba gilgəl dʒəma tolotolo wirəd halo halo halo xalo xalo
liwət'alət nəw halo halo halo halo halo halo xala xla xala xala jəwlih xala xala
xala xalaj gibren inedʒsilhalehu filahn kəfələk halo halo ʔasalaməlikum
jəmomin mufr ʔasalaməlikum lakilj gibren Adalsomale jəmiɓaləw nəj gibren
laklij wənʒəna indalməslih ʔdalsomale nəj

Carrier c

intoro. lahi lahi bbbbb ʔbbbb wədza lahila ʔilələh ! atimtaɓ lahilaila
ʔilələh,lahila ʔilələh ha! lahibb lahibb lahibbbbbb lahilaʔilələh lahilaʔilələh
zəraf

Carrier D

ntro.il ləʒəko lalhedaɓ dɛf ilawal witʒwan ʔe gərbitʒa mamu oh anigərbitʒa ək
mindnəh ʔwljanəh? ʔolijan tatu hirəbəʒu ʔolijan tatu ək mali ati? mali ati?
wəralia wət'adzia wərə gəndə hasu kijai rekstorfrulai

inate jərəjaw wəmbəde əp etʒa nukute natabo əp nəw nəw nəw mam mam mam
mərhəban mərhəban mərhəban(ormo speakers)

Carrier E

A .ine silətəbəlawn B.silək'uia ʔsgrəwatadia ləmn aduma səjdina A .muartəna
jərəj ahal jijazlif , təɓtabi ʔstəɓtabi ʔlah jijazilh inate jiftuh ʔhunm inate jiftuh
ʔhunm ajo jiftuh nurahməd jiftuh awof doftor jiftuh nanulale wiləhal wəj ite
wilale wiləhal wəj doftər gəbəjaw bərəhaw laj nanulale wiləhal wəjnanulale
wiləhal wəj tol gəbəjaw bərəhaw laj təl gəbəjaw tʒəl gəbəjaw tʒəl gəbəjaw tʒəl
gəbəjaw tʒəl gəbəjaw nanulale wiləhal wəj bərəhaw laj iləhaləh ɓərhe wilhal ɓərhe
wiləhal ilhaləhu wəsənu wiləhal ilhaləhu t'əkuaro ɓərhaləhu ilhaləhu ɓərhe
wilhal wilhal wilhal ilhaləhu mənəɓu ialhaləhu mənənu ilahaləhu ilahaləhu
ilhalehu ilahaləhu atʒre wəlahi ʔdʒre ilahaləhu ilahaləhu ɓrhw ilahaləhu
ilahaləhu ilahaləhu ɓərhe ilahaləhu

nuraməra k'alal jizəzlif nura mərə tik'əlɓo jizəzlif nuraməra k'alal jizəzlif
nuraməra k'alal jiθdk'ilʒ jidrəsilʒ ʔratunʔlah jargilʒa ʔlah jiftaʒ nigaraməra



jink'əlilf jəgodələ jimulalɲ jərak'ə jik'rəbilɲ ʔlah jitarək'f balah bəmje nə inate
jikedsulf hadzafn ʔlah jawt'aw fəɾəɲan ʔlah jijazlatʃhu

jətaməmə jifəɾ baɲnawic'w ʔlah jidrəslatʃhu ʔlah jabdzatʃhu ʔlah jabdzafʃhu
hadraw mədzən gəbəjaw mədzən tənɯ mədzən tənəgagraw mədzən hadztʃhu
jidrəslatʃhua hadzatʃhun ʔlah jawt'aw jalatʃhutn ʔlah jarglatʃhu ʔselam ʔselam
ʔselam ʔselam jalwdzi jolhe səlam ʔselam ʔselam ʔselam gəβrhe ʔselam
məlikum ʔsəlam ʔsəlam mikaelajsəlam ʔətəlam ʔtəlam sudəjadaj səlam ʔmen
ʔlah ʔmen ʔlah ʔmen ʔlah ʔmen ʔlah jətaməmə jifəɾ jəgodələ jimula

B.(glossolalia) ʔohoi səidina ma kabi iansa etinəta kodunisis jətədalje girf
ikonəj indih A.anɲri jotinaninɲra B. hande fintɲda hane

A. wai wai B. hota ʔehe mek'e ʔha ʔha ʔekerekimɯa emilaw mogəs ʔekejera,
jəsumale lidz nəɲ jətəmarəkubət, fira delise, ʔjo heʔe heʔe mek'e ʔjo kota demi
ela jəsələlew gala naguma saiada jənən k'koank'ɯa man ʔbatu indaj tawək'
jəmifəligəw

Carrier F

ʔwmeram haʔiləla bakidani ʔilalah ʔna mahij ʔananasida imaje fəisida ʔiləlah
imajen fəisida ʔiləlah

wəi ʔnadilafum

